Xenophon

Xenophon, Carleton Lewis Brownson
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY
EDITED BY
E. CAPPES, PH. D., LL. D.  T. E. PAGE, LITT. D.  W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT. D.

XENOPHON

HELENICA, BOOKS VI & VII
ANABASIS, BOOKS I—III
XENOPHON

HELENICA, BOOKS VI & VII
ANABASIS, BOOKS I—III

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
CARLETON L. BROWNSON

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXXI
# CONTENTS

**HELLENICA—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOOK VI</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK VII</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ANABASIS—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK I</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK II</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK III</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX TO HELLENICA</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MAP—THE MARCH OF THE TEN THOUSAND**       At end
XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

BOOK VI
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

5

1. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ταύτα ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπει κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις, ἐστράτευον καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα. ὡς δ' ἀυτὸς καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπρέσβευον εἰς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνια καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι εἰ μὴ βοηθήσουεν, οὐ δυνήσοιτο μὴ πείθησθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἐκ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαβιβάζουσι κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Φωκέας Κλεόμβροτον τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τέτταρας μόρας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος.

2. Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τούτου τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυδάμας Φαρσάλιος. οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μάλα ἡδοκίμει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλὸς τῇ καγάθος εἶναι ὡστε καὶ στασιάσαντες οἱ Φαρσάλιοι παρακατέθεντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἄκροπολιν, καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπέτρεψαν λαμβάνοντι, ὅσα ἐγέργαστο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναλύσκειν καὶ. εἰς τὴν
I. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians, then, were occupied with these things. As for the Thebans, after they had subdued the cities in Boeotia they made an expedition into Phocis also. And when the Phocians, on their side, sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and said that unless the Lacedaemonians came to their assistance they would not be able to escape yielding to the Thebans, thereupon the Lacedaemonians sent Cleombrotus, the king, across to Phocis by sea, and with him four regiments of their own and the corresponding contingents\(^1\) of the allies. 

At about this time Polydamas of Pharsalus also arrived from Thessaly and presented himself before the general assembly of the Lacedaemonians. This man was not only held in very high repute throughout all Thessaly, but in his own city was regarded as so honourable a man that, when the Pharsalians fell into factional strife, they put their Acropolis in his hands and entrusted to him the duty of receiving the revenues, and of expending, both for religious purposes and for the administration in general, all the sums which were prescribed in their

\(^1\) Four regiments was two-thirds of the Spartan army; each one of the allies was therefore required to send out the same fraction of its total forces.
3 ἀλλὰν διοίκησιν. κάκεινος μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦτων τῶν χρημάτων τήν τε ἀκραν φυλάττων διέσφυζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τᾶλα διοικῶν ἀπελογίζετο κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ ὅποτε μὲν ἐνδεήσεις, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθη, ὅποτε δὲ περιγένοιτο τῆς προσόδου, ἀπελάμβανεν. ἥν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόξενος τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς τῶν Θετταλικῶν τρόπων. οὕτως οὖν ἔπει ἄφικετο εἰς τήν Δακεδαίμονα, εἴπε τοιάδε.

4 Ἔγω, δὲ ἄνδρες Δακεδαίμονιοι, πρόξενος ὑμῶν ἰδὲ καὶ εὐεργέτης ἐκ πάντων ὑμᾶς μεμνήμεθα προ-
γόνων, ἄξιώ, ἐὰν τέ τι ἀπορῶ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴναι,
ἐὰν τέ τι χαλεπῶν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ συνι-
στήται, σημαίνειν. ἀκούετε μὲν οὖν, εὗ ὀδ' ὅτι,
καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἰάσους ὄνομα· ὅ γαρ ἀνήρ καὶ δύναμιν
ἐχει μεγάλην καὶ ὀνομαστὸς ἐστιν. οὕτως δὲ
σπουδᾶς ποιησάμενος συνεγένετο μοι, καὶ εἶπε

5 τάδε: "Ὅτι μὲν, δὲ Πολυδάμα, καὶ ἀκουσάν τήν
ὑμετέραν πόλιν Φάρσαλον ὁ δυναίμην ἀν παρα-
στήσασθαι ἐξεστὶ σοι ἐκ τῶν δε λογίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ
γάρ, ἐφη, ἔχω μὲν Θετταλίας τὰς πλείστας καὶ
μεγίστας πόλεις συμμάχους· κατεστρεφήμην δ' ἀυτὰς ὑμῶν σὺν αὐταῖς τὰ ἑναντία ἐμοὶ στρατευ-
μένων. καὶ μὴν οἴσθα γε ὅτι ξένους ἔχω μισθο-
φόρους εἰς ἔξακισχελίους, οἷς, ὅς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδε-
μία πόλις δύνατ' ἀν ῥαδίως μάχεσθαι. ἀριθμὸς
μὲν γάρ, ἐφη, καὶ ἄλλοθεν οὐκ ἀν ἐλάττων ἐξέλ-

1 Φάρσαλον MSS. : Kel. brackets, following Schäfer.

4
laws. And he did, in fact, use these funds to guard the Acropolis and keep it safe for them, and likewise to administer their other affairs, rendering them an account yearly. And whenever there was a deficit he made it up from his own private purse, and whenever there was a surplus of revenue he paid himself back. Besides, he was hospitable and magnificent, after the Thessalian manner. Now when this man arrived at Lacedaemon he spoke as follows:

"Men of Lacedaemon, I am your diplomatic agent and 'benefactor,'¹ as all my ancestors have been of whom we have any knowledge; I therefore deem it proper, if I am in any difficulty, to come to you, and if any trouble is gathering for you in Thessaly, to make it known to you. Now you also, I am very sure, often hear the name of Jason² spoken, for the man has great power and is famous. This man, after concluding a truce with my city, had a meeting with me and spoke as follows: 'Polydamas, that I could bring over your city, Pharsalus, even against its will, you may conclude from the following facts. You know,' he said, 'that I have as allies the greater number and the largest of the cities of Thessaly; and I subdued them when you were with them in the field against me. Furthermore, you are aware that I have men of other states as mercenaries to the number of six thousand, with whom, as I think, no city could easily contend. As for numbers,' he said, 'of course as great a force might march out of

¹ A title of honour which Greek states often gave to aliens who had rendered them service.
² Tyrant of Pherae, a city in south-eastern Thessaly.
XENOPHON

Θου ἄλλα τα μὲν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στρατεύματα τοὺς μὲν προεληλυθότας ἦδη ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ οὐπώ ἀκμάζοντας. σωμασκούσι γε μὴν μᾶλα ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει. παρ’ ἐμοὶ δὲ σφύγοις μισθοφορεῖ, ὡστὶς μὴ ἰκανὸς ἠστὶν ἐμοὶ ἵσα πονεῖν. αὐτὸς δ’ ἐστὶ, λέγειν γὰρ χρὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τάληθη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μᾶλα εὐρωστός καὶ ἄλλως φιλόπονος. καὶ τοῖνυν τῶν παρ’ αὐτῷ πείραν λαμβάνει καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ἦγειται γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὅταν πη στρατεύματι. καὶ οὐς μὲν ἂν μαλακοὺς τῶν ξένων αἰσθάνηται, ἐκβάλλει, οὗ δ’ ἂν ὀρᾶ φιλοπόνως καὶ φιλοκινδύνως ἔχοντας πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, τιμᾶ, τοὺς μὲν δημοιρίας, τοὺς δὲ τριμοιρίας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τετραμοιρίας, καὶ ἄλλως δώροις, καὶ νόσων γε θεραπείαις καὶ περὶ ταφὰς κόσμῳ. ὥστε πάντες ἱσασίν οἱ παρ’ ἐκείνῳ ξένῳ ὅτι ἡ πολεμικὴ αὐτοῖς ἄρετή ἐντιμότατον τε βίον καὶ ἀφθονώτατον παρέχεται.

7 Ἐπεδείκυνε δέ μοι εἰδότι ὅτι καὶ ὑπήκουσι ἦδη αὐτῷ εἰεν Μαρακόλ καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ ὑπαρχος. "Ὡστε, ἔφη, τί ἂν ἐγὼ φοβούμενος οὐ ῥαδίως ἂν ὑμᾶς οἰοίμην καταστρέψασθαι; τάχα οὖν ὑπολάβοι ἂν τις ἕμοι ἄπειρος. Τί οὖν μέλλεις καὶ οὐκ ἦδη στρατεύεις ἐπὶ τοὺς Φαρσαλίους; ὅτι νῃ Δία τῷ παντὶ κρείττον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐκόντας ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκοντας προσαγαγέσθαι. βιασθέντες μὲν γὰρ ὑμεῖς τ’ ἂν βουλεύοις δ’ ἡ δύνασθε
some other city also; but armies made up of citizens include men who are already advanced in years and others who have not yet come to their prime. Furthermore, in every city very few men train their bodies, but among my mercenaries no one serves unless he is able to endure as severe toils as I myself. And he himself—for I must tell you the truth—is exceedingly strong of body and a lover of toil besides. Indeed, he makes trial every day of the men under him, for in full armour he leads them, both on the parade-ground and whenever he is on a campaign anywhere. And whosoever among his mercenaries he finds to be weaklings he casts out, but whosoever he sees to be fond of toil and fond of the dangers of war he rewards, some with double pay, others with triple pay, others even with quadruple pay, and with gifts besides, as well as with care in sickness and magnificence in burial; so that all the mercenaries in his service know that martial prowess assures to them a life of greatest honour and abundance.

"He pointed out to me, further, although I knew it before, that he already had as subjects the Maracians, the Dolopians, and Alcetas, the ruler in Epirus. 'Therefore,' he said, 'what have I to fear that I should not expect to subdue you easily? To be sure, one who did not know me might perhaps retort, "Then why do you delay, instead of prosecuting your campaign against the Pharsalians at once?"' Because, by Zeus, it seems to me to be altogether better to bring you over to my side willingly rather than unwillingly. For if you were constrained by force, you, on the one hand, would be planning whatever harm you could against me, and I, on the other,
XENOPHON

κακόν ἐμοί, ἐγώ τ' ἄν ύμᾶς ὡς ἀσθενεστάτους βουλοίμην εἶναι· εἰ δὲ πεισθέντες μετ' ἐμοῦ γένοισθε, δήλον ὅτι αὐξοίμεν ἄν ὦ τι δυναίμεθα

8 ἀλλήλους. γιγνώσκο μὲν οὖν, ὁ Πολυδάμα, ὅτι ἡ σή πατρὶς εἰς σὲ ἀποβλέπει· εάν δέ μοι φίλικῶς αὐτὴν ἔχειν παρασκευάσῃ, ὑπισχυόμαι σοι, ἐφη, ἐγώ μεγίστον σε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετ' ἐμὲ καταστήσειν οὗν δὲ πραγμάτων τὰ δεύτερα σοι δίδωμι ἀκούε, καὶ μηδὲν πίστευε μοι ὅ τι ἄν μὴ λογιζομένῳ σοι ἀληθῆς φαίνεται. οὐκοῦν τότῳ μὲν εὐδήλου ἡμῖν, ὅτι Φαρσάλου προσγενομένης καὶ τῶν ἐξ ύμῶν ἡρτημένων πόλεων εὐπετῶς ἄν ἐγὼ ταγός Θεττάλων ἀπάντων κατασταίην· ὡς ὕπερ μὴν, ὅταν ταγεύσῃ Θεττάλια, εἰς ἕξακισχελίους μὲν οἱ ὑπεύοντες γίγνονται, ὑπέλται δὲ

9 πλείους ἡ μύριοι καθίστανται. ἄν ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ὅρων οἶμαι ἄν αὐτῶν εἰ καλῶς τις ἐπιμελότο, οὐκ εἰναι ἐθνὸς ὁποῖῳ ἄν ἀξιώσαις ὑπῆκοοι εἶναι Θετταλοί. πλατυτάτης γε μὴν γῆς οὐςκη Θετταλίας, πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ ἐθνὴς ὑπῆκοα μὲν ἐστιν, ὅταν ταγός ἐνθάδε καταστῇ· σχεδὸν δὲ πάντες οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκον- τισται εἰςίν· ὅστε καὶ πελταστικώς εἰκός ὑπερε- χειν τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. καὶ μὴν Βουωτοὶ γε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὁσοὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις πολε- μοῦντες ὑπάρχονσι μοι σύμμαχοι· καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἄξιούσιν ἐμοί, ἄν μόνον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθερῶ αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀθηναίοι δε εὐδ' ὅτι πάντα ποιήσαιεν ἄν ὡστε σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν γενέ-

1 Over-lord, a Thessalian title.
2 Therefore Thessaly was famous for its cavalry, and produced hoplites also (see above); but peltasts—which were at
HELLENICA, VI. I. 7-10

should be wanting to keep you as weak as I could; but if it was through persuasion that you joined with me, it is clear that we should advance one another's interests to the best of our ability. Now I know, Polydamas, that your city looks to you, and if you make her friendly to me I promise you,' he said, 'that I will make you the greatest, next to myself, of all the men in Greece; and what manner of fortune it is wherein I offer you the second place, hear from me, and believe nothing that I say unless upon consideration it appears to you true. Well, then, this is plain to us, that if Pharsalus and the cities which are dependent upon you should be added to my power, I could easily become Tagus of all the Thessalians; and, further, that whenever Thessaly is under a Tagus, her horsemen amount to six thousand and more than ten thousand men become hoplites. And when I see both their bodies and their high spirit, I think that if one should handle them rightly, there would be no people to whom the Thessalians would deign to be subject. Again, while Thessaly is an exceedingly flat land, all the peoples round about are subject to her as soon as a Tagus is established here; and almost all who dwell in these neighbouring regions are javelin-men, so that it is likely that our force would be far superior in peltasts also. Furthermore, the Boeotians and all the others who are at war with the Lacedaemonians are my allies, and they are ready to be my followers, too, if only I free them from the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians also, I know very well, would do anything their best in a rough country—could nevertheless be obtained, Jason urges, from the mountainous regions which adjoined Thessaly and were likely to become subject to him (see below).
XENOPHON

σθαί. ἄλλ' ἐγὼ οὖκ ἂν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι. νομίζω γὰρ ἐτί βάρον τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἢ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἄρχην παραλαβεῖν ἂν.

11 Εἰ δὲ εἰκότα λογίζομαι, σκόπει, ἡφη, καὶ ταῦτα. ἔχοντες μὲν γε Μακεδονίαν, ἐνθευ καὶ Ἁθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα ἄγονται, πολὺ δὴπου πλεῖους ἐκεῖνων ἵκανον ἐσόμεθα ναῦς ποιήσασθαι. ἀνδρῶν γε μὴν ταῦτας πληροῦν πότερον Ἁθηναίους ἢ ημᾶς εἰκός μᾶλλον δύνασθαι, τοσοῦτος καὶ τοιούτους ἔχοντας πενέστασ; τοὺς γε μὴν ναύτας τρέφειν πότερον ἡμᾶς ἰκανωτέρους εἰκός εἰναι τοὺς δι' ἀφθονίαν καὶ ἀλλοσε σῖτον ἐκπέμποντας ἢ Ἁθηναίους τοὺς μηδ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανον ἔχοντας, ἂν

12 μὴ πρίωνται; καὶ χρήμασί γε εἰκός δῆπον ἡμᾶς ἀφθονωτέροις χρήσθαι μὴ εἰς νησύδρα ἀποβλέποντας, ἀλλ' ἤπειρωτικά ἐθνή καρποῦμενος. πάντα γὰρ δῆπον τὰ κύκλῳ φόρον φέρει, ὅταν ταχεύσῃ τα Ἐθέταλίαν. οἴσθα, δὲ δῆπον ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν οὐ νῆσους ἀλλ' ἤπειρον καρποῦμενος πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν· ὁν ἐγὼ ὑπήκουσιν ποιήσασθαι ἢτὶ εὐκατεργαστήρεον ἥγομαι εἶναι ἡ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶδα γὰρ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους πλὴν ἐνὸς μᾶλλον δουλείαι ἢ ἄλκην μεμελετηκότας, οἶδα δὲ ὑφ' οίας δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσης καὶ τῆς μετ' Ἀγησίλαοι εἰς πάν ἀφίκετο βασιλεὺς.

13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην.
to become allies of ours, but I do not think it best to establish a friendship with them; for I believe that I could obtain empire by sea even more easily than by land.

"To see whether my calculations are reasonable," he said, 'consider these points also. With Macedonia in our possession, the place from which the Athenians get their timber, we shall of course be able to construct far more ships than they. Again, who are likely to be better able to supply these ships with men, the Athenians or ourselves, who have so many serfs of so excellent a sort? And who are likely to be better able to maintain the sailors, we, who on account of our abundance even have corn to export to other lands, or the Athenians, who have not even enough for themselves unless they buy it? Then as for money, we surely should be likely to enjoy a greater abundance of it, for we should not be looking to little islands for our revenues, but drawing upon the resources of peoples of the continent. For of course all who are round about us pay tribute as soon as Thessaly is under a Tagus. And you certainly know that it is by drawing upon the resources, not of islands, but of a continent, that the King of the Persians is the richest of mortals; and yet I think that it is even easier to reduce him to submission than to reduce Greece. For I know that everybody there, save one person, has trained himself to servitude rather than to prowess, and I know what manner of force it was—both that which went up with Cyrus and that which went up with Agesilaus—that brought the King to extremities."

"Now in answer to these statements I replied
XENOPHON

οτι τα μεν άλλα αξιόσκεπτα λεγει, το δε Λακε-
δαιμονίοις οντας φιλους αποστηαι προς τοις
εναντιοις, μηδεν έχοντας έγκαλειν, τουτ' έφην,
απορον μοι δοκει είναι· ο δ' επαινεσας με και
ειπ'ων οτι μαλλον εκτεον μου ευθ, οτι τοιοοτος
ευθ, εφηκε μοι ελθοντι προς υμας λεγειν ταληθη,
οτι διανοοιτο στρατευειν επι Φαρσαλίους, ει μη
πεισομεθα. αιτειν ουν έκελευε βοηθειν παρ'
υμων. Καλ εαν μεν θεοι,1 έφη, διδωσιν ιστε σε
πειθειν ικανην πεμπειν συμμαχιαν ως έμοι πολε-
μειν, αγ', εφη, και τουτω χρωμεθα ο τι αν ἄπο-
βαινη εκ του πολέμου. αν δε σοι μη δοκωσιν
ικανος βοηθειν, ουκ ήδη άνεγκλητος αν δικαιως
εις ει2 τη πατρίδι, η σε τιμα, και συ πραττοις
tα κρατιστα;

14 Περι τουτων δη έγω ήκω προς υμας και λεγω
παντα οσα εκει αυτος τε ορω και εκεινον άκηκοα.
και νομιζω ουτως εχειν, ο άνδρες Λακεδαιμονιοι,
ei μεν πεμψετε εκεισε δυναμιν, ως μη έμοι
μων άλλα και τοις άλλοις Θετταλοις ικανην
dokein ειναι προς Ιάσονα πολεμειν, αποστησονται
αυτου αι πολεις· πασαι γαρ φοβουνται οποι ποτε
προβήσεται η του άνδρος δυναμις. ει δε υεδα-
μωδεις και άνδρα ιδιωτην οξεσθε αρκεσειν, συμ-
βουλευω ήσυχιαν εχειν. ει γαρ ίστε, οτι3 προς
te megalην εσται ρωμην ο πολεμος, και προς

1 theol Cobet: sol Kel. with MSS.
2 ei Madvig: en MSS.: en τη πατρίδι... και οδ πράττειν
Kel.
3 Omitted by MS. B : Kel. brackets.

12
that while the other matters which he mentioned were worth considering, nevertheless for people who were friends of the Lacedaemonians to secede and go over to their enemies without having any charge to bring against them—this, I said, seemed to me to be impracticable. He thereupon, after commending me and saying that he must cling to me the more because I was that sort of a man, permitted me to come to you and say the truth, that he was intending to undertake a campaign against the Pharsalians if we did not yield to him. Therefore he bade me ask assistance from you. 'And if,' said he, 'the gods grant that you persuade them to send a supporting force large enough to make war with me, so be it,' he said, 'and let us abide by whatever may be the result of the war; but if it seems to you that they do not give you adequate assistance, would you not justly be blameless thenceforth if you should follow the course that is best for your city, which honours you?'

"It is about these matters, then, that I have come to you, and I tell you the whole situation there as I myself see it and have heard it from his lips. And I believe that this is the case, men of Lacedaemon, that if you send thither a force such as shall seem, not to me only, but also to the rest of the Thessalians, large enough to make war upon Jason, the cities will revolt from him; for all of them are afraid of the lengths to which the man's power will go. But if you imagine that emancipated Helots and a private individual as commander will suffice, I advise you to remain quiet. For, be well assured, the war will be against strong forces

1 i.e. not a king.
XENOPHON

άνδρα δι φρόνιμος μὲν οὔτω στρατηγὸς ἐστὶν ὡς ὁσα τε λανθάνειν καὶ ὁσα φθάνειν καὶ ὁσα βια-
ξεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖ οὐ μάλα ἀφαμαρτάνει. ἵκανὸς
gὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτὶ ἀπερ ἡμέρα χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅταν
σπεύδῃ, ἀριστον καὶ δείπνου ποιησάμενος ἄμα
πονεῖσθαι. οἴεται δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύσεσθαι χρὴναι,
ὅταν ἀφίκηται ἐνθ' ἀν ὁμομημένος ἥ καὶ διαπράξη-
tαι ἀ δεῖ καὶ τὸν μεθ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ταῦτα εἰθέκεν.
ἐπίσταται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐπιπονήσαντες ἀγαθὸν τι
πράξωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐκπλήσσει τὰς γνώμας
αὐτῶν ὡστε καὶ τούτο μεμαθήκασι πάντες οἱ
μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πόνων καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ
gίγνεται. καὶ μὴν ἐγκρατέστατός γ' ἐστὶν δὲν
ἐγὼ ὁίδα τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ὡστε οὐδὲ
dia ταῦτα ἄσχολιαν ἔχει τὸ μὴ πράττειν ἀεὶ τὸ
δεόμενον. ύμεῖς οὐν σκεψάμενοι εἶπατε πρὸς ἐμὲ,
ὡσπερ ύμῖν προσήκει, ὅποια δυνήσεσθε τε καὶ
μέλλετε ποιῆσειν.

17 Ὅ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τότε
μὲν ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ λογισάμενοι τὰς τε ἐξώ μόρας
ὁσα αὐτοῖς ἔδει καὶ τὰς περὶ Δακεδαίμονα πρὸς
τὰς 1 τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς
ὁμόρους πόλεμον, ὑπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι
οὐκ ἂν δύναντο ἰκανὴν αὐτῷ ἐκπέμψαι ἑπικου-
ρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπιόντα συντίθεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον
ὁπῃ δύνατο ἀριστα τα τε εαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς
πόλεως. κάκεινος μὲντοι ἐπαναίσθας τὴν ἄπλο-

1 After τὰς the MSS. have ἐξω: Kel. bracketa.
and against a man who is so sagacious a general that whatsoever he undertakes to accomplish, whether it be by secrecy, or by getting ahead of an enemy, or by sheer force, he is not very apt to fail of his object. For he is able to make as good use of night as of day, and when he is in haste, to take breakfast and dinner together and go on with his labours. And he thinks it is proper to rest only after he has reached the goal for which he had set out and has accomplished the things that are needful; moreover, he has accustomed his followers also to the same habits. Yet he also knows how to satisfy the wishes of his soldiers when by added toils they have achieved some success; so that all who are with him have learned this lesson too, that from toils come indulgences. Again, he has greater self-control than any man I know as regards the pleasures of the body, so that he is not prevented by such things, either, from doing always what needs to be done. Consider, therefore, and tell me, as be-seems you, what you will be able to do and intend to do."

Thus he spoke. As for the Lacedaemonians, at the time they deferred their answer; but after reckoning up on the next day and on the third their regiments abroad, to see how many they numbered, and the regiments which were in the vicinity of Lacedaemon to be employed against the triremes of the Athenians and for the war upon their neighbours, they replied that at present they could not send him an adequate supporting force, and told him to go home and arrange his own affairs and those of his city as best he could. He, then, after commending the straightforwardness of the state, departed.
XENOPHON

τητα τῆς πόλεως ἀπήλθε. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄκροπολιν
τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἔδειτο τοῦ Ἰάσωνος μη ἀναγ-
κάσαι αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι, ὅπως τοῖς παρακαταθε-
μένοις διασφάζῃ τοὺς δὲ ἐαυτὸν παῖδας ἐδωκεν
ὄμηρους, ὑποσχόμενοι αὐτῷ τὴν τε πόλιν πεῖσας
ἐκούσαν σύμμαχον ποιήσειν καὶ ταγὸν συγκατα-
στήσειν αὐτὸν. ὥς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις,
eὐθὺς μὲν οἱ Φαρσάλιοι εἰρήνην ἦγγον, ταχὺ δὲ
ὁ Ἰάσων ὀμολογούμενος ταγὸς τῶν Θεσπαλῶν
καθειστήκει. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτάγευσε, διέταξεν
ιππικόν τε ὅσον ἐκάστη πόλις δυνατῇ ἤν παρέ-
χειν καὶ ὁπλιτικόν. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ ἵππεῖς
μὲν σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις πλεῖους ἢ ὀκτακισχίλιοι,
ὀπλιταί δὲ Ἐλογίσθησαν οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων,
πελταστικόν γε μὴν ἰκανὸν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώ-
πους ἀντιταχθῆναι· ἔργον γὰρ ἐκεῖνων γε καὶ
tὰς πόλεις ἄριθμησαί. προείπε δὲ τοῖς περιοίκοις
πᾶσι καὶ τὸν φόρον ὅσπερ ἐπὶ Σκόπα τεταγμένος
ἡν φέρειν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἑπεραίνετο·
ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἐπάνειμι, ὅθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσωνος
πράξεις ἐξέβην.

II. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δακεδαμίνοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι
συνελέγοντο εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ Ὁβεβοῖοι
ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐφύλαττον τὰς
eἰσβολάς. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι, αὐξανομένους μὲν
ὀρῶντες διὰ σφᾶς τοὺς Ὁβεβοίους, χρήματα τε οὐ
συμβαλλομένους εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπο-
κατάλογοι καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ ληστείαις

19

16
And he begged Jason not to force him to give over the Acropolis of the Pharsalians, his wish being that he might still keep it safe for those who had put it into his hands; but he gave his own children to Jason as hostages, with the promise not only to win over the city and make it his willing ally, but also to help in establishing him as Tagus. When, accordingly, they had exchanged pledges with one another, the Pharsalians at once observed peace, and Jason was speedily established by common consent as Tagus of the Thessalians. Having become Tagus, he assessed the contingents of cavalry and hoplites that the cities were to furnish, according to the ability of each. And the result was that he had more than eight thousand horsemen, including the allies, his hoplites were reckoned at not fewer than twenty thousand, and there were peltasts enough to be set in array against the whole world; for it is a task even to enumerate the cities which furnished them. Further, he sent orders to all who dwelt round about to pay the same tribute as had been fixed in the time of Scopas.  

Thus these events were proceeding to their issue; I now return to the point at which I digressed when I took up the story of Jason.

II. The Lacedaemonians, then, and their allies were gathering together in Phocis, and the Thebans had withdrawn to their own country and were guarding the passes. As for the Athenians, since they saw that the Thebans were growing in power through their help and still were not contributing money for their fleet, while they were themselves being worn out by extraordinary taxes, by plundering expeditions

---

1 Ruler of Crannon and Tagus of Thessaly in the period of the Persian wars.
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

ἐξ Αιγίνης καὶ φυλακαίς τῆς χώρας, ἐπεθύμησαν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Δακεδαίμονα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο.

2 Ἐκεῖ οὖσα δ' ἐκείθεν δύο τῶν πρέσβεων πλεύσαντες κατὰ δόγμα τῆς πόλεως εἶπον τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε ὡς εἰρήνης οὖσης· ὃ δ' ἀμα ἀποπλέων τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων φυγάδας ἀπεβίβασεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. ἔπει δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ζακυνθίοι πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαϊμονίους ἔλεγον ὅλα πεπονθότες εἶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, εὐθὺς οἱ Δακεδαϊμονίοι ἀδικεῖν τε ἡγούμενο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ναυτικὸν πάλιν κατεσκεύαζον καὶ συνεστάττοντο εἰς ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπ' αὐτής τε τῆς Δακεδαϊμονος καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Δευκάδος καὶ Ἀμβρακίας καὶ Ἡλίδου καὶ Ζακυνθοῦ καὶ Ἀχαίας καὶ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ Τροιζήνου καὶ Ἕρ-μιόνος καὶ Ἀλιῶν. ἔπιστῆσαντες δὲ ναυάρχου Μνάσιππον ἐκέλευον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν θάλατταν καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιον διδάσκοντες ώς καὶ ἐκεῖνοι χρήσιμον εἴη τὴν Κέρκυραν μὴ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι.

4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Μνάσιππος, ἐπεὶ συνελέγη αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν, ἐπελευσεν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν εἴχε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρους σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Δακεδαϊμονος μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων. ἔπει δὲ ἀπέβη, ἐκράτει τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐδόχου ἐξειργασμένην μὲν παγκάλως καὶ πεφυτευμένην τὴν χώραν, μεγαλοπρεπεῖς δὲ οἰκήσεις

18
HELENICA, VI. ii. 1–6

from Aegina, and by guarding their territory, 874 B.C. they conceived a desire to cease from the war, and sending ambassadors to Lacedaemon, concluded peace.

Two of the Athenian ambassadors, acting in accordance with a decree of the state, sailed directly from there and gave orders to Timotheus to sail back home, inasmuch as there was peace; as he was sailing back, however, he landed in their country the exiles of the Zacynthians. And when the Zacynthians in the city sent to the Lacedaemonians and told them the sort of treatment they had received at the hands of Timotheus, the Lacedaemonians immediately deemed the Athenians guilty of wrong-doing, set about preparing a fleet again, and fixed the proportionate contingents, for a total of sixty ships, from Lacedaemon itself, Corinth, Leucas, Ambracia, Elis, Zacynthus, Achaea, Epidaurus, Troezen, Hermion, and Haliae. Then they put Mnasippus in command of this fleet as admiral and directed him to look after all their interests in that part of the sea, and especially to make an expedition against Corecyra. They likewise sent to Dionysius,¹ pointing out that it was advantageous to him also that Corecyra should not be under the Athenians.

Mnasippus, accordingly, as soon as his fleet had been gathered together, set sail to Corecyra; and besides the troops from Lacedaemon who served with him he also had no fewer than one thousand five hundred mercenaries. Now when he had disembarked he was master of the country, laid waste the land, which was most beautifully cultivated and planted, and destroyed magnificent dwellings and

¹ Tyrant of Syracuse.
καὶ οἰνώνας κατεσκευασμένους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν· ὥστε ἐφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὥστ' οὐκ ἔθελεν πίνειν, εἰ μὴ ἀνθοσμίας εὗη. καὶ ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ βοσκήματα πάμπολλα

7 ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατεστρατο-

πεδεύσατο τῷ μὲν πεζῷ ἐπὶ λόφῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς

πόλεως ὡς πέντε στάδια, πρὸ τῆς χώρας οὖν, ὅπως ἀποτέμνοιτο ἐντεύθεν, εἰ τις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Κερκυραίων ἔξιοι· τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν εἰς τάπεθ

θάτερα τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐνθεν ὄφετ' ἀν τὰ προσπλέοντα καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι καὶ

διακωλύειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι,

8 ὃπότε μὴ χειμῶν κωλύοι, ἐφόρμη. ἐποιλόρκει

μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν.

'Επεὶ δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν

ἐλάμβανον διὰ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι κατὰ γῆν, κατὰ

θάλατταν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰσήγητο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ

9 ναυκρατεῖσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν. καὶ

πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς 'Αθηναίους βοηθεῖν τε

ἐδέοντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὡς μέγα μὲν ἄγαθον

ἀποβάλοιν ἂν, εἰ Κερκύρας στερηθείει, τοῖς

δὲ πολεμίοις μεγάλην ἂν ἵσχυν προσβάλοιειν ἐξ

οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ πόλεως πλὴν γε Ἀθηνῶν οὔτε

ναῦς οὔτε χρήματα πλείον ἄν γενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ

κείσθαι τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ Κοριν-

θιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῷ τούτοιν

καθήκουσιν, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τοῦ τῆς Δακωνικῆς

χώραν βλάπτειν, ἐν καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντι-
wine-cells with which the farms were furnished; 374 B.C. the result was, it was said, that his soldiers became so luxurious that they would not drink any wine unless it had a fine bouquet. Furthermore, very many slaves and cattle were captured on the farms. Afterwards he encamped with his land forces on a hill which was distant from the city about five stadia and situated between the city and the country, so that he might from there intercept any of the Corcyraeans who might try to go out to their lands; then he had the sailors from his ships encamp on the other side of the city, at a point from which he thought they would observe in good time any vessels that approached and prevent their coming in. In addition he also maintained a blockade at the mouth of the harbour when the weather did not interfere. In this way, then, he held the city besieged.

When the Corcyraeans found themselves unable to get anything from their farms because they were overmastered by land, while on the other hand nothing was brought in to them by water because they were overmastered by sea, they were in great straits. Accordingly, sending to the Athenians, they begged them to come to their assistance, and pointed out that they would lose a great advantage if they were deprived of Corcyra, and would add great strength to their enemies; for from no other state, they said, except Athens, could come a greater number of ships or a greater amount of money. Further, Corcyra was situated in a favourable position with respect to the Corinthian Gulf and the states which reach down to its shores, in a favourable position for doing damage to the territory of Laconia, and in an extremely favourable position with respect to Epirus across the
XENOPHON

πέρας Ἡπείρου καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπὸ Ἔκκελίας παράπλου. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐνόμισαν ἵσχυρὸς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι, καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμπουσι Κτησικλέα εἰς ἐξακοσίους ἔχοντα πελεταστάς, Ἀλκέτου δὲ ἐδείχθησαν συνδιαβιβάσαι τούτους. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ψυκτὸς διακομισθέντες ποι ὁ ἐς ὑφήλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ναῦς πληροῦν, Τιμόθεου δὲ αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἔχειροτόνησαν.

ὁ δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτόθεν τὰς ναύς πληρῶσαι, ἐπὶ νῆσων πλεύσας ἐκείθεν ἐπειρᾶτο συμπληροῦν, οὕτως ήγούμενος εἶναι ἐπὶ συγκεκριμένας ναύς εἰκῇ περιπλέυσαι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἀναλοῦν τὸν τῆς ὁρας εἰς τὸν περίπλουν χρόνον, συγγνώμην οὐκ ἔσχον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ παύσαντες αὐτὸν τῆς στρατηγίας Ιφικράτην ἀνθαίρουνται. οὗ δὲ ἔπει κατέστη στρατηγός, μάλὰ ὄξεως τὰς ναύς ἐπιπληροῦτο καὶ τοὺς τριήρις ἄρχους ἧμάγκαζε. προσέλαβε δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἰ ποὺ τὶς ναύς περι τὴν Ἀττικήν ἔπλει καὶ τὴν Πάραλον καὶ τὴν Σαλαμίναν, λέγων ὡς ἐὰν τάκει καλῶς γένηται, πολλὰς αὐτοῖς ναῦς ἀποτέμψηοι. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ αἱ ἀπασιπ σερὶ ἐβδομήκοντα.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι οὕτω σφόδρα ἐπείνων ὡστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀυτομολούντων ἐκήρυξαν ὁ Μνάσιττος πεπρᾶσθαι ὁστὶς αὐτομολοιή. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔδεν ἤττουν ἡπτομό-
way and the coastwise route from Sicily to Peloponnesus. When the Athenians heard these things they came to the conclusion that they must give serious care to the matter, and they sent out Ctesicles as general with about six hundred peltasts and requested Alcetas\(^1\) to help to convey them across. Accordingly these troops were brought across by night to a place in the country of Corcyra, and made their way into the city. The Athenians also voted to man sixty ships, and elected Timotheus as commander of them. But he was unable to man his ships at Athens, and therefore set sail for the islands and endeavoured to complete his crews there, thinking that it was a serious matter to sail light-heartedly around Peloponnesus to attack ships with well-trained crews. The Athenians, however, believing that he was using up the time of the year which was favourable for his voyage, did not pardon him, but deposed him from his office and chose Iphicrates in his place. As soon as he assumed office, he proceeded to man his ships expeditiously, and compelled his captains to do their duty. He also obtained from the Athenians whatever war-ships were cruising here or there in the neighbourhood of Attica, as well as the Paralus\(^2\) and the Salaminia, saying that if matters in Corecyra turned out successfully, he would send them back many ships. And his ships amounted, in all to about seventy.

Meanwhile the Corecyraeans were suffering so greatly from hunger that on account of the number of the deserters Mnasippus issued a proclamation directing that whoever deserted should be sold into slavery. And when they kept on deserting none the

\(^1\) cp. i. 7. \(^2\) cp. ii. i. 28.
ΧΕΝΟΡΩΝ

λον, τελευτῶν καὶ μαστιγῶν ἀπέπεμπεν. οἱ μέντοι ἐνδοθέν τοὺς γε δούλους οὐκ ἔδέχοντο πάλιν εἰς τὸ τείχος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἔξω ἀπέθνησκον. ὁ δ' αὐ̃ Μνάσιππος ὅρων ταύτα, ἐνόμιζεν τε ὁσον οὐκ ἦδη ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκαίνητο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τινας αὐτῶν ἀπομέθυσεν ἐπεποίηκε, τοῖς δὲ μένουσι καὶ δυνὸν ἦδη μηνοῖν ὁφειλε τὸν μισθὸν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, ὡς ἐλέγετο, χρημάτων καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων αἱ πολλαὶ αὐτῷ ἀργυρίου ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπεμποῦν,

16 ἀτε καὶ διαποντίου τῆς στρατείας οὕσης. κατιδόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πυργῶν οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς τε φυλακὰς χείρον η πρόσθεν φυλαττομένας ἐσπαρμένους τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεκδραμόντες τοὺς μὲν τινας αὐτῶν ἐλαβοῦν,

17 τοὺς δὲ κατέκοψαν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ο Μνάσιππος, αὐτὸς τε ἐξωπλίξετο καὶ ὁσοὺς εἶχεν ὀπλίτας ἀπασιν ἐβοήθει, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς μισθοφόρους.

18 ἀποκρυμάζων δὲ τινῶν λοχαγῶν ὥν οὐ ράδιον εἶη μὴ διδόντας τάπιτηδεια πεθομένους παρέχει, τοὺς μὲν τινα βακτηρία, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντας καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν συνεξῆλθον πάντες· ὅπερ ἥκιστα εἰς μάχην συμφέρει.

19 ὃ δ' ἐπεὶ παρετάξατο, αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας τῶν πολεμίων τρεφόμενος ἐπεδίωκεν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐγγύς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ἀνέστρεφον τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μυημάτων ἐβαλλοῦν

20 ό δ' ἐπεὶ παρετάξατο, αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας τῶν πολεμίων τρεφόμενος ἐπεδίωκεν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐγγύς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ἀνέστρεφον τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μυημάτων ἐβαλλοῦν
HELLENICA, VI. II. 15-20

less, at last he even tried to drive them back with the scourge. Those in the city, however, would not admit the slaves within the wall again, and many died outside. Now Mnasippus, seeing these things, and believing that he all but had possession of the city already, was trying innovations with his mercenaries. He had before this dismissed some of them from his service, and he now owed those who remained as much as two months' pay. This was not, so it was said, because he lacked money, for most of the states had sent him money instead of men,1 because it was an overseas expedition. Now the people in the city, observing from their towers that the enemy's posts were less carefully guarded than formerly, and that the men were scattered through the country, made a sally, capturing some of them and cutting down others. When Mnasippus perceived this, he put on his armour and went to the rescue himself, with all the hoplites he had, and at the same time ordered the captains and commanders of divisions to lead forth the mercenaries. And when some captains replied that it was not easy to keep men obedient unless they were given provisions, he struck one of them with a staff and another with the spike of his spear. So it was, then, that when his forces issued from the city with him they were all dispirited and hostile to him—a situation that is by no means conducive to fighting.

Now after he had formed the troops in line, Mnasippus himself turned to flight those of the enemy who were in front of the gates, and pursued them. When, however, these came near the wall, they turned about, and from the tombstones threw spears

1 Under the arrangement described in v. ii. 21.
καὶ ἡκόντιζον ἄλλοι δ' ἐκδραμόντες καθ' ἔτερας πύλας ἐπιτίθενται ἄθροοι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ὄκτῳ τεταγμένῳ, ἀσθενὲς νομίζοντες τὸ ἄκρον τῆς φαλάγγας ἔχειν, ἀναστρέφειν ἐπειρῶντο. ὡς δ' ἤρξαντο ἐπαναχωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ὡς φεύγονσιν ἐπέθεντο, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι ἐπανέστρεψαν· καὶ οἱ ἐχόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμών. ὁ δὲ Μνάσιππος τοῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι οὐκ ἔδυνατο βοηθεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρυ προσκειμένους, ἀλλ' ἐλείπτο τού ἐλάττωσι. τέλος δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄθροοι γενόμενοι πάντες ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μνάσιππον, ἥδη μάλα ὀλέγοις οὐσί. καὶ οἱ πολλαὶ ὄρωντες τὸ γεγυμένον ἐπέξῆσαν.

23 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνων ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδίωκον ἥδη ἀπαντεῖ. ἐκινδύνευσαν δ' ἂν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλειν σὺν τῷ χαρακώματι, εἰ μὴ οἱ διώκοντες τὸν ἀγοραίον τῇ ὀχλον ἱδόντες καὶ τὸν τῶν θεραπόντων καὶ τῶν τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, οὐθέντες ὅφελός τι αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀπεστρέφοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν τροπαίοι τε ίστασαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ὑποστόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἐγεγένητο, οἱ δ' ἔξω ἐν πάσῃ δὴ ἄθυμα ἦσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐλέγετο ὅτι Ἰφικράτης τε ὅσον οὐκ ἥδη παρείη, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τῷ ὀντι ναῦς ἐπλήρουν. Ἡπερμένης δὲ, διὰ ἑτύγ-

1 The ἀναστροφή involved two movements, (1) a facing about, followed by a march to the rear, and (2) a turning of the lino until it stood behind the adjacent troops, thus doubling the depth of the phalanx. In this case the enemy's
and javelins upon the Lacedaemonians; meanwhile others sallied out by the other gates and in mass formation attacked those who were at the extreme end of the line. These latter, who were drawn up only eight deep, thinking that the outer end of the phalanx was too weak, undertook to swing it around upon itself.1 But as soon as they began the backward movement, the enemy fell upon them, in the belief that they were in flight, and they did not go on and swing forward; furthermore, those who were next to them also began to flee. As for Mnasippus, while he was unable to aid the troops which were hard pressed, because the enemy was attacking him in front, he was left with an ever smaller number of men. Finally, all of the enemy massed themselves together and charged upon Mnasippus and his troops, which were by this time very few. And the citizens, seeing what was going on, came out to join in the attack. Then after they had killed Mnasippus, all straightway joined in the pursuit. And they probably would have captured the very camp, along with its stockade, had not the pursuers turned back upon seeing the crowd of camp-followers, of attendants, and of slaves, imagining that there was some fighting ability in them. At this time, accordingly, the Corcyraeans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies of the dead under a truce. And after this the people in the city were stouter of heart, while those outside were in the utmost despondency. For there was not only a report that Iphicrates was already practically at hand, but the Corcyraeans were in fact also manning ships. Then attack prevented the accomplishment of the second movement:
ΧΑΝΕΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΑΦΟΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΜΥΑΣΙΤΠΩ ὌΝ, ΤΟ ΤΕ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΟΝ ΠΑΝ ὍΣΟΝ ἩΝ ἘΚΕÎ ΣΥΝΕΕΠΛΗΡΩΣΕ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΧΑΡΑΚΩΜΑ ΤΑ ΠΛΟΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΓΕΜÍΣΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΆΝΔΡΑΠΩΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΜÁΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΣΤΕΛΛΕΝ· ΑΥΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΣΥΝ ΤΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΒÁΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΣΩΘΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΩΝ ΔΙΕΦÚΛΑΤΤΕ ΤΟ ΧΑΡΑΚΩΜΑ· ΤÝΛΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΜÁΛΑ ΤΕΤΑΡΑ- ΖΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΝΑΒÁΝΤΕΣ ἘΠΙ ΤΑΣ ΤΡΗΡΕΙΣ ΑΠΕΠΛΕΟΥΝ, ΠΟΛΛÝΝ ΜΕΝ ΣÎΤΟΝ, ΠΟΛΛÝΝ ΔΕ ΟÎΝΟΥ, ΠΟΛΛΑ ΔΕ ΆΝ- ΔΡÁΠΟΔΑ ΚΑΙ ἈΣΘΕΝΟÚΝΤΑΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΙ- ΠΩΝΤΕΣ· ΔΕΙΝÎΝ ΤΟΝ ἘΠΕΦÕΒΗΝΤΟ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΑΛΗΨΕΙΝ ὩΣΤΟ ΤΩΝ ἈΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ἘΝ ΤΗΝ ΝÝΣΩ. ΚΑΙ ἘΚΕÎΝΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΕΥΚΑΔΑ ἈΠΕΣΩΘΕΣΑΝ.

27 'Ο ΔΕ 'ΙΦΙΚΡÁΤΗΣ ἘΠΕΙ ἩΡΞΑΤΟ ΤΟῦ ΠΕΡΙΠΛΟΥ, ἌΜΑ ΜΕΝ ἘΠĽΕΙ, ἌΜΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΟΣΑ ΕΙΣ ΝΑΥΜΑΧΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΣΚΕΥΑΖΕΤΟ· ΕΥΘÚΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΑ ΜΕΓÁΛΑ ΙΣΤİΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΕΛΙΠΕΝ, ὩΣ ΕΠΙ ΝΑΥΜΑΧΙΑΝ ΠΛΕΩΝ· ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΚΑΤΕΙΟΙΣ ΔΕ, ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΦΟΡΟΝ ΠΝΕÚΜΑ ΕΙΗ, ὌΛÎΓΑ ἘΧΡΗΤΟ· ΤΗ ΔΕ ΚΩΠΗ ΤΟΝ ΠΛΟΥΝ ΠΟΙΟÚΜΕΝΟΣ ἈΜΕΙ- ΝΟΝ ΤΕ ΤΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΑ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΆΝΔΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΜΕΙΝΟΝ ΤΑΣ ΝΑΙΣ ΠΛΕÎΝ ἘΠΟΙΕΙ. ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ὌΠΗ ΜΕΛΛΟΙ ΆΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΕΙΣΒΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ Η ΔΕΙΠΝΟ- ΠΟΙΕΙΣΒΑΙ, ἘΠΑΝΗΓΑΓΕΝ ἈΝ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΑΣ ἈΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑÛΤΑ TA ΧΩΡΙΑ· ἘΠΕΙ Δ' ΕΠΙΣΤΡΕΨΑΣ ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΠΡΟΦΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΤΡΗΡΕΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟΝ ἈΦΙΕ ΆΝΘΑΜΙΛΛΑΣΒΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ, ΜΕΓΑ ΔΗ ΝΙΚΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΗΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΩΤΡΟΡ ΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΤΟΥ ἈΛΛΟΥ ΕΔΕΟΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΥΣ ΆΡΙΣΤΗΣΑΙ. ΤΟΙΣ Δ' ὩΣΤΑΤΟΙΣ ΑΦΙΚΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΖΗΜΙΑ ἩΝ ΤΟ 28
Hypermenes, who chanced to be vice-admiral under Mnasippus, manned fully the entire fleet which he had there, and after sailing round to the stockade and filling all his transports with the slaves and the captured property, sent them off; he himself, however, with his marines and such of the soldiers as had been left alive, kept guard over the stockade; but finally they, too, embarked upon the triremes in great confusion and went sailing off, leaving behind them a great deal of corn, much wine, and many slaves and sick soldiers; for they were exceedingly afraid that they would be caught on the island by the Athenians. And so they reached Leucas in safety.

As for Iphicrates, when he began his voyage around Peloponnesus he went on with all needful preparations for a naval battle as he sailed; for at the outset he had left his large sails behind him at Athens, since he expected to fight, and now, further, he made but slight use of his smaller sails, even if the wind was favourable; by making his voyage, then, with the oar, he kept his men in better condition of body and caused the ships to go faster. Furthermore, whenever the expedition was going to take the noonday or the evening meal at any particular spot, he would often draw back the head of the column from the shore opposite the place in question; then he would turn the line around again, cause the triremes to head toward the land, and start them off at a signal to race to the shore. It was counted a great prize of victory to be the first to get water or anything else they needed, and the first to get their meal. On the other hand, those who reached the shore last incurred a great penalty in
XENOPHON

te elattono'sthai pasei toutois kai oti ana'gesebai ama e'dei, epei' smi'menei' synebaive gar tois mean prootois afikovmeneis kai' hsi'xiav apanta
29 poiein, tois de teleutaiois dia stou'dhs. phila-
kas ge mhn, ei tychoi en tis polemwa ari스트opoiou-
menos, tas mean en tis yh, osper proshekei, kath-
isti, ev de ta'iis navoiv airopmenos an touis istouis
ap'to toutoi eskopeito. poli ouv eti pheon ou'toi
kathewron h o'i ek tou omalou, af' vpsi'loterou
kathorwntes.1 opou de deiptepoiito kai kath-ndou,
ev men tis stratopedhor vuktwp por ouk ekae,
pro de tou stratou'matost phos epoiei, iva mideis
lath' prosiw. pollakis de, ei eudia eit, euvus
deiptusas anyyeto kai ei mean ayra ferou, theou'tes
ama anepauntou. ei de elaiunev deoi, kata meros
30 touis navtas anepaun. ev de tois meb hmeran
plois ap'do smheivon tote mean eti keurws yge, tote
d' eti falagonos. osite ama mean epleou, ama de
panta dis eis vma'mhian kai hskhieites kai
epi'stamevoi eis tin ypo touw polemwn, ws yontu,
katekhmenw thulattan afikovunw. kai to mean
polla en tis polemwa kai yr'is tov kai edeiptunw
dia de to tanagkaia monon prattei kai tos
botheias efthanen anagomenos kai tach yeperaivne.
31 peri de ton Mnasi'ptou thana'tov etygyhanev onw
this Lakounikhs peri tas Sfagias. eis tin 'Hleian

1 af' vpsi'loterou kathorwntes MSS.: Kel. brackets, following
Hartman.
that they came off worse in all these points, and in the fact that they had to put to sea again at the same time as the rest when the signal was given; for the result was that those who came in first did everything at their leisure, while those who came in last had to hurry. Again, in setting watches, if he chanced to be taking the midday meal in a hostile country, he posted some on the land, as is proper, but besides he hoisted the masts on the ships and had men keep watch from their tops. These men, therefore, could see much farther, from their higher point of view, than those on the level. Further, wherever he dined or slept, he would not have a fire inside the camp during the night, but kept a light burning in front of his forces, so that no one could approach unobserved. Frequently, however, if it was good weather, he would put to sea again immediately after dining; and if there was a favourable breeze, they sailed and rested at the same time, while if it was necessary to row, he rested the sailors by turns. Again, when he sailed by day, he would lead the fleet, by signals, at one time in column and at another in line of battle; so that, while still pursuing their voyage, they had at the same time practised and become skilled in all the manoeuvres of battle before they reached the sea which, as they supposed, was held by the enemy. And although for the most part they took both their noonday and their evening meals in the enemy's country, nevertheless, by doing only the necessary things, he always got to sea before the enemy's forces arrived to repel him and speedily got under way again.

At the time of Mnasippus' death Iphicrates chanced to be near the Sphagiae in Laconia. Then,

1 Islands situated off Pylos.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

dè ἄφικόμενος καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰχθύν καλοῦμενον ὤρμισατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραιᾷ ἐντεύθεν ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Κεφαληνίας, οὕτω καὶ τεταγμένος καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ὡς, εἰ δέοι, πάντα ὅσα χρὴ παρεσκευασμένος ναυμαχοί. καὶ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μνασίππου αὐτόπτου μὲν οὐδείς ἥκηκεν, ὑπόπτευε δὲ μὴ ἀπάτης ἐνεκα λέγοιτο, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἄφικετο εἰς τὴν Κεφαληνίαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἀνέπαυε τὸ στράτευμα.

32 Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὅταν οἴωνται ναυμαχῆσειν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἁσκεῖται καὶ μελετᾶται· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι ἔπει ἄφικέσθαι ταχὺ ἐδει ἑνθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ναυμαχῆσειν φετο, ἡμέρητο ὅπως μήτε διὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀνεπιστήμονας εἶναι τῶν εἰς ναυμαχίαν μήτε διὰ τὸ ταύτα μελετῶν βραδύτερον τι ἄφικέσθαι.

33 Καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαληνίᾳ πόλεις ἐπλευσεν εἰς Κέρκυραν. ἐκεῖ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκούσας ὅτι προσπλέοιεν δέκα τρίηρεις παρὰ Διονυσίου, βοηθήσουσαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ σκεψάμενος τῆς χώρας θεῖα τοὺς τε προσπλέοντας δυνατὸν ἢν ὅραν καὶ τοὺς σημαίνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταφανεῖς εἶναι,

34 ἐνταῦθα κατέστησε τοὺς σκοπούς. κάκεινοι μὲν συνέθετο προσπλεόντων τε καὶ ὀρμούντων ὡς δέοι σημαίνειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τριηρώρχων
after reaching Elis and sailing past the mouth of the Alpheus, he anchored beneath the promontory called Ichthys. From there he put to sea on the following day for Cephallenia, having his fleet in such order and making the voyage in such a way that, if it should be necessary to fight, he should be ready in all essential respects to do so. For he had not heard the news of Mnasippus' death from any eyewitness, but suspected that it was told to deceive him, and hence was on his guard; when he arrived at Cephallenia, however, he there got definite information; and so rested his forces.

Now I am aware that all these matters of practice and training are customary whenever men expect to engage in a battle by sea, but that which I commend in Iphicrates is this, that when it was incumbent upon him to arrive speedily at the place where he supposed he should fight with the enemy, he discovered a way to keep his men from being either, by reason of the voyage they had made, unskilled in the tactics of fighting at sea, or, by reason of their having been trained in such tactics, any the more tardy in arriving at their destination.

After subduing the cities in Cephallenia he sailed to Corcyra. There, upon hearing that ten triremes were sailing thither from Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians, he first went in person and looked over the ground to find a point from which any who approached the island could be seen and the men stationed there to send signals to the city would be visible; he then stationed his watchers at that point. He also agreed with them as to how they were to signal when the enemy were approaching and when they were at anchor. Then he gave his orders to
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ Ν

προσέταξεν εἰκοσιν, οὕς δεήσοι, ἔπει κηρύξειν, ἀκολουθεῖν· εἰ δὲ τις μὴ ἀκολουθήσοι, προεῖπε μὴ μέμψεσθαι τὴν δίκην. ἔπει δὲ ἐσημάνθησαν προσπλέουσαι καὶ ἐκηρύξθη, ἀξία ἐγένετο θέας ἡ σπουδὴ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὄστις οὐ δρόμῳ τῶν μελ-35 λόντων πλεῖν εἰσέβη εἰς τὰς ναύς. πλεύσας δὲ ἔνθα ἦσαν αἱ πολέμιαι τριήρεις, καταλαμβάνει ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τριήρων εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκβεβηκότας, Μελάνιππος μέντοι ὁ Ρό-διος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε μὴ μένειν ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτὸς πληρωσάμενος τὴν ναῦν ἔξεπλει. ἐκεῖ-νος μὲν οὖν καὶ περ ἀπαντῶν ταῖς Ἰφικράτους ναυσίν ὤμως ἀπέφυγεν· αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Συρακοουσῶν
36 νῆς ἀπασαὶ ἔλαβοσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ὁ μέντοι Ἰφικράτης τὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀκρωτηριασάμενος ἐλκὼν κατηγάγετο εἰς τὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων λιμένα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν συνέβη ἐκαστὸν τακτὸν ἀργύριον ἀποτείσαι, πλὴν Κρινύππου τοῦ ἀρχοτος· τούτοις δ' ἐφύλαττεν, ὡς ἡ πραξόμενος πάμπολλα χρήματα ἢ ὡς πωλήσων. κάκεινος μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐθαίρετω θανάτῳ ἀποθυμησκε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀφῆκε, Κερκυραίους
37 ἐγγυητάς δεξάμενος τῶν χρημάτων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ναύτας γεωργοῦντας τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τὸ πλείστον διέτρεφε, τοὺς δὲ πελταστάς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεών ὀπλίτας ἔχουν διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ταῖς μὲν φιλίαις πόλεσιν ἐπεκουρεῖ, εἰ τίς τι δέοιτο, Θυριεύσι δέ, μάλα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀλκίμοις καὶ χωρίων καρτέρων
34
twenty of the captains, whose duty it should be to follow him when the herald gave the word; and in case anyone failed to follow, he warned him that he would not have occasion to find fault with his punishment. Now when the signal came that the triremes were approaching, and when the word was given by the herald, the ardour of all was a sight worth seeing; for there was no one among those who were to sail who did not run to get aboard his ship. When Iphicrates had reached the place where the enemy's triremes were, he found the crews of all save one already disembarked on the shore, but Melanippus, the Rhodian, had not only advised the others not to remain there, but had manned his own ship and was sailing out to sea. Now although he met the ships of Iphicrates, he nevertheless escaped, but all the ships from Syracuse were captured, along with their crews. Thereupon Iphicrates cut off the beaks and towed the triremes into the harbour of Corcyra; as for the crews, he concluded an agreement that each man should pay a fixed ransom, with the exception of Crinippus the commander, whom he kept under guard, intending either to exact a very large ransom or to sell him. Crinippus, however, was so mortified that he died by a self-inflicted death, and Iphicrates let the rest go, accepting Corcyraeans as sureties for the ransoms. Now he maintained his sailors for the most part by having them work for the Corcyraeans on their lands; the pel-tasts, however, and the hoplites from his ships he took with him and crossed over to Acarnania. There he gave aid to the cities which were friendly, in case any of them needed aid, and made war upon the Thyrians, who were very valiant men and were in
38 ἔχουσιν, ἔπολεμει. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ναυτικὸν προσλαβῶν, σχεδὸν περὶ ἐνενήκοντα νάυς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν πλεύσας χρήματα ἐπράξατο, τὰ μὲν παρ’ ἐκόντων, τὰ δὲ παρ’ ἀκόντων ἐπείτα δὲ παρεσκευάζετο τὴν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν κατ’ ἐκείνα πόλεως πολεμιῶν οὐσῶν τὰς μὲν ἑθελούσας προσλαμβάνειν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις πολεμεῖν.

39 Ἠγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν τῶν Ἰφικράτους οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐπαινῶ, ἐπείτα καὶ τὸ προσελέσθαι κελεύσαι ἑαυτῷ Καλλίστρατον τε τῶν δημηγόρων, οὐ μάλα ἑπιτήδειον ὄντα, καὶ Χαβρίαν, μάλα στρατηγὸν νομίζομεν. εἴτε γὰρ φρονίμους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι συμβούλους λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, σῶφρον μοι δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, εἴτε ἀντιπάλους νομίζων, οὕτω θρασέως ἡ μῆτε καταραθυμῶν μῆτε καταμελῶν μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι, μέγα φρονοῦντος ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ τούτῳ μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. κἀκεῖνος μὲν δὴ ταύτ’ ἔπραττεν.

III. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὅρωντες ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας Πλαταιᾶς φίλους ὄντας, καὶ καταπεφυγότας πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἱκετεύοντας δὲ Θεσπίας μὴ σφάς περιδείν ἀπόλιδας γενομένους, οὐκέτι ἑπήνουν τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ πολέμειν

1 θρασέως: Kel. inserts after it ἐπράττεν ὡς.
HELENICA, VI. ii. 37–III. 1

possession of a very strong fortress. Furthermore, he took over the fleet which was at Corcyra, and with almost ninety ships first sailed to Cephalenia and collected money, in some cases with the consent of the people, in other cases against their will. Then he made preparations to inflict damage upon the territory of the Lacedaemonians, and to bring over to his side such of the other hostile states in that region as were willing and to make war upon such as would not yield.

Now for my part I not only commend this campaign in particular among all the campaigns of Iphicrates, but I commend, further, his directing the Athenians to choose as his colleagues Callistratus, the popular orator, who was not very favourably inclined toward him, and Chabrias, who was regarded as a very good general. For if he thought them to be able men and hence wished to take them as advisers, he seems to me to have done a wise thing, while on the other hand if he believed them to be his adversaries and wished in so bold a way to prove that he was neither remiss nor neglectful in any point, this seems to me to be the act of a man possessed of great confidence in himself. He, then, was occupied with these things.

III. Meanwhile the Athenians, seeing that the Plataeans, who were their friends, had been expelled from Boeotia and had fled to them for refuge, and that the Thespians were beseeching them not to allow them to be left without a city, no longer commended the Thebans, but, on the contrary,

1 The fleet of the Corcyraeans (cp. § 24 above) having been added to Iphicrates' original seventy (§ 14) ships. The text, however, appears to be faulty.
XENOPHON

μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἥσχυνοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν ἐλογίζοντο· κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς διν ἐπραττον οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἐπεὶ ἐώραν στρατεύοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φίλους ἀρχαίοις τῇ πόλει Φωκέας, καὶ πόλεις πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον

2 πολέμῳ καὶ φίλαις ἐαυτοῖς ἀφανίζοντας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενος ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θῆβας πρέσβεις ἐπεμψε παρακαλοῦντας ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βούλοιτο, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· ἐπειτα δὲ ἐξερέμην καὶ αὐτῷ πρέσβεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν αἱρεθέντων Καλλίας Ἰππονίκου, Ἀὐτοκλῆς Στρομβιχίδου, Δημόστρατος Ἀριστοφάνου, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Κηφισόδοτος, Μελάνω-ποσ, Δύκαιθος. 1 καὶ 2 Καλλίστρατος δὲ ὁ δημήγορος παρῆν ύποσχόμενος γὰρ Ἰφικράτει, εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη, ἢ χρήματα πέμψει τῷ ναυτικῷ ἢ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν, οὔτως Ἀθήναι τῇ ἦν καὶ ἐπραττε περὶ εἰρήνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τούς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, πρῶτος ἔλεξεν αὐτῶν Καλλίας ὁ δαδούχος. ἦν δ' οὗτος οὗς μηδὲν ἦττον ἤδεσθαι υφ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπ' ἀλλῶν ἐπινούμενος· καὶ τότε δὴ ἤρξατο ὅδε πῶς.

4 Ὡ άνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐχω 3 μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρὸς

1 After Δύκαιθος the MSS. proceed: ἐπεὶ δὲ προσήλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. These words are dropped by Kel. and almost all editors, after Cobet. 2 Inserted by Kel., following Köpnen. 3 Inserted by Kel., following Fritzche.
while they were partly ashamed to make war upon them and partly reckoned it to be inexpedient, they nevertheless refused any longer to take part with them in what they were doing, inasmuch as they saw that they were campaigning against the Phocians, who were old friends of the Athenians, and were annihilating cities which had been faithful in the war against the barbarian and were friendly to Athens. For these reasons the Athenian people voted to make peace, and in the first place sent ambassadors to Thebes to invite the Thebans to go with them to Lacedaemon to treat for peace if they so desired; then they sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon themselves. Among those who were chosen were Callias, the son of Hipponicus; Autocles, the son of Strombichides; Demostratus, the son of Aristophon; Aristocles, Cephisodotus, Melanopus, and Lycaethus. Callistratus, the popular orator, also went with the embassy; for he had promised Iphicrates that if he would let him go home, he would either send money for the fleet or bring about peace, and consequently he had been at Athens and engaged in efforts to secure peace; and when the ambassadors came before the assembly of the Lacedaemonians and the representatives of their allies, the first of them who spoke was Callias, the torch-bearer. He was the sort of man to enjoy no less being praised by himself than by others, and on this occasion he began in about the following words:

"Men of Lacedaemon, as regards the position I hold as your diplomatic agent, I am not the only member of our family who has held it, but my

1 The Plataeans and Thespians had, in fact, won especial distinction in the Persian wars.
2 Of the Eleusinian mysteries. \textit{op. ii. iv. 20.}
XENOPHON

πατήρ πατρόφαν ἔχων παρεδίδου τῷ γένει βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ύμῖν δηλώσαι, ὡς ἔχουσα ἡ πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκεῖνη γὰρ, ἦταν μὲν πόλεμος ἡ, στρατηγὸς ἡμᾶς αἴρεται, ὦταν δὲ ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσῃ, εἰρηνοποιοῦσ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμπει. κἀγὼ πρόσθεν διὰ ἢδη ἦλθον περὶ πολέμου καταλύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφότεραις ταῖς προσβείαις διεπραξάμην καὶ ύμίν καὶ ἦμῖν εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ τρίτον ἤκω, καὶ ἤγονμαι πολὺ δικαίωτατα νῦν ἄν 5 διαλλαγῆς τυχεῖν. ὅρὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν ύμῖν, ἄλλα δὲ ἦμῖν δοκοῦντα, ἄλλα ἦμᾶς τε ἀκθομένους καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶν τε καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἀναιρέσει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τὰ αὐτὰ γυγνώσκοντας φίλους μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις ἡ πολέμοις εἶναι; καὶ σωφρόνους μὲν δῆπον ἐστὶ μηδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα εἰ ἡ πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁμογνωμονοίμεν,1 οὐκ ἄν πάνω τῶν θαυμαστῶν εἰς μὴ 6 εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι; δίκαιοι μὲν οὖν ἢν μηδὲ ὁπλα ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις ἡμῖν, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἀρρητα ἤρα πρῶτος ξένους δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἄρχηγῇ καὶ Διοσκούρῳ τῶν ὑμετέρων πολίταιν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα

1 ὁμογνωμονοίμεν MSS.: ὁμογνωμονοῖν Kel.

1 Triptolemus of Eleusis had, according to the legend, carried from Attica throughout Greece both the cult of

40
father's father received it from his father and handed it on to his descendants; and I also wish to make clear to you how highly esteemed we have been by our own state. For whenever there is war she chooses us as generals, and whenever she becomes desirous of tranquillity she sends us out as peacemakers. I, for example, have twice before now come here to treat for a termination of war, and on both these embassies I succeeded in achieving peace both for you and for ourselves; now for a third time I am come, and it is now, I believe, that with greater justice than ever before I should obtain a reconciliation between us. For I see that you do not think one way and we another, but that you as well as we are distressed over the destruction of Plataea and Thespiae. How, then, is it not fitting that men who hold the same views should be friends of one another rather than enemies? Again, it is certainly the part of wise men not to undertake war even if they should have differences, if they be slight; but if, in fact, we should actually find ourselves in complete agreement, should we not be astounding fools not to make peace? The right course, indeed, would have been for us not to take up arms against one another in the beginning, since the tradition is that the first strangers to whom Triptolemus, our ancestor, revealed the mystic rites of Demeter and Core were Heracles, your state's founder, and the Dioscuri, your citizens; and, further, that it was upon Peloponnesus that he first bestowed the seed

Demeter and the knowledge of her art—agriculture. Heracles was the traditional ancestor of the Spartan kings (cp. iii. iii. 3), while the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, were putative sons of Tyndareus of Sparta.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

dωρήσασθαί. πώς οὖν δίκαιον ἢ ὑμᾶς, παρ' δὲν ἐλάβετε σπέρματα, τὸν τούτων ποτὲ καρπὸν ἐλθεῖν δηώσοντας, ἡμᾶς τε, οὐς ἐδώκαμεν, μὴ οὐχὶ βούλεσθαί ὡς πλείστην τούτων ἀφθονίαν τροφῆς γενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐκ θεῶν πεπρωμένου ἐστὶν πολέμους ἐν ἀνθρώπων γίγνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲν χρὴ ἄρχεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς σχολαίτατα, ὅταν δὲ γένηται, καταλύσθαί σε δυνατόν τάχιστα.

7 Μετὰ τούτων Αὐτοκλῆς, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφῆς εἶναι ὑμῖν, ὥδε ἡγόρευεν Ἄνδρας Δακεδαλίμονι, ὅτι μὲν ἡ μέλλω λέγειν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν ἰδηθήσεται οὐκ ἀγνοῶ. ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, οὕτως βούλονται, ὥστε δὲν ποιήσωνται φιλίαν, ταῦταν ὡς πλείστουν χρόνου διαμένειν, διδακτέον εἶναι ἀλλήλους τὰ αἰτία τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀιὲ μὲν φατε. Αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις χρὴ εἶναι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔστε μάλιστα ἐμποδῶν τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ. συντίθεσθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις τούτων πρῶτων, ἀκολούθειν ὅποι ἄν ὑμεῖς ἡγήσθε.

8 καίτοι τῷ τούτῳ αὐτονομίᾳ προσήκει; ποιεῖσθε δὲ πολεμίους οὐκ ἀνακοινώμενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἡγεῖσθε. ὅστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐμενεστάτους ἀναγκάζονται στρατεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι. ἐτὶ δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντίωταν αὐτονομία, καθίστατε ἐνθα μὲν δεκαρχίας, ἐνθα δὲ τριακονταρχίας καὶ τούτων τῶν ἁρχόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἁρχωσίν, ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωνται βίας κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις.

1 δὲ MSS.: ἡ Kel.
of Demeter’s fruit. How, then, can it be right, 371 B.C. either that you should ever come to destroy the fruit of those very men from whom you received the seed, or that we should not desire those very men, to whom we gave the seed, to obtain the greatest possible abundance of food? But if it is indeed ordered of the gods that wars should come among men, then we ought to begin war as tardily as we can, and, when it has come, to bring it to an end as speedily as possible.”

After him Autocles, who had the reputation of being a very incisive orator, spoke as follows: “Men of Lacedaemon, that what I am about to say will not be said to your pleasure, I am not unaware; but it seems to me that men who desire the friendship which they may establish to endure for the longest possible time, ought to point out to one another the causes of their wars. Now you always say, ‘The cities must be independent,’ but you are yourselves the greatest obstacle in the way of their independence. For the first stipulation you make with your allied cities is this, that they follow wherever you may lead. And yet how is this consistent with independence? And you make for yourselves enemies without taking counsel with your allies, and against those enemies you lead them; so that frequently they who are said to be independent are compelled to take the field against men most friendly to themselves. Furthermore—and there can be nothing in the world more opposed to independence—you establish governments of ten here and governments of thirty there; and in the case of these rulers your care is, not that they shall rule according to law, but that they shall be able to hold possession of their cities by force. So that
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ ὡστ' ἐοίκατε τυραννίσι μᾶλλον ἡ πολιτείαις
9 ἡδομενοι. καὶ ὅτε μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταττεν
αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, μᾶλα γιγνώσκοντες
ἐφαινεσθε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐᾶσοιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐκάστην
τῶν πόλεων ἀρχεῖν τε ἐαυτῆς καὶ οἷς ἄν βούληται
νόμοις χρησθαί, οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ τὰ βασιλεῖς
γράμματα. ἔτει δὲ παρελάβετε τὴν Καδμείαν,
οὐδ' αὐτοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπετρέπετε αὐτονόμους εἶναι.
δεὶ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἔσεθαί οὐ παρὰ
τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἄξιοιν τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν,
αὐτοῖς δὲ ὅπως ἂν πλείστα δύνανται πλεονε-
κτοῦντας φαίνεσθαι.

10 Ταῦτα έπὶ τῶν σιωπην μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποίησιν,
ἡδομένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Λακε-
δαιμονίοις ἐποίησε. μετὰ τοῦτον Καλλιστράτος
ἐλέξειν ὁλ' ὅπως μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
οὐκ ἔγγεγένηται ἀμαρτήματα καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ
ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἔγω μὲν οὐκ ἄν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ εἰπεῖν.
οὑ μέντοι οὕτω γιγνώσκω ὡς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν
οὐδέποτε ἐτί χρηστέον. ὅρω γὰρ τῶν ἄνθρωπων
οὐδένα ἀναμέτρητον διατέλειν. δοκοῦσι δὲ
μοι καὶ εὐποροτέροι ἐν τὸν γίγνεσθαι ἄνθρωποι
ἀμαρτάνουτε, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν κολάσθωσιν ὑπὸ
tῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἠμέις. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ ἔγαγε
ὁρῶ διὰ τὰ ἀγνωμόνως πρακτάντα ἐστίν ὅτε
πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γιγνόμενα· ὅν ἦν καὶ ἡ κατα-
ληφθεῖσα εν Θηβαις Καδμεία· νῦν γοῦν, ἂς
ἔσπουδάσατε αὐτονόμους πόλεις γενέσθαι, παρ-
σαι πάλιν, ἐπεὶ ἡδικήθησαν οἱ Θηβαιοῖ, ἐπ'
HELENICA, VI. iii. 8–11

you manifestly take pleasure in despotisms rather than in free governments. Again, when the King directed that the cities be independent, you showed yourselves strongly of the opinion that if the Thebans did not allow each one of their cities, not only to rule itself, but also to live under whatever laws it chose, they would not be acting in accordance with the King's writing; but when you had seized the Cadmea, you did not permit even the Thebans themselves to be independent. The right thing, however, is that those who are going to be friends should not insist upon obtaining their full rights from others, and then show themselves disposed to grasp the most they can."

By these words he caused silence on the part of all, while at the same time he gave pleasure to those who were angry with the Lacedaemonians. After him Callistratus said: "Men of Lacedaemon, that mistakes have not been made, both on our side and on yours, I for one do not think I could assert; but I do not hold to the opinion that one ought never again to have any dealings with people who make mistakes. For I see that no one in the world remains always free from error. And it seems to me that through making mistakes men sometimes become even easier to deal with, especially if they have incurred punishment in consequence of their mistakes, as we have. In your own case, also, I see that sometimes many reverses result from the things you have done with too little judgment, among which was, in fact, the seizure of the Cadmea in Thebes; now, at any rate, the cities which you were eager to make independent have all, in consequence of the wrong done to the Thebans, fallen again under their
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΘ

ἐκεῖνοις γεγένηται. ὡστε πεπαιδευμένους ἡμᾶς ἦστε τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀκερδές ἐστι νῦν ἐλπίζω τάλιν.

12 μετρίους εὖ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλία ἐσεσθαί. ἂν δὲ βουλόμενοι τινες ἀποτρέπειν τὴν εἰρήνην δια-
βάλλουσιν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οὐ φιλίας δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ φοβούμενοι μὴ Ἄνταλκίδας ἔλθῃ ἔχων παρὰ
βασιλείως χρήματα, διὰ τοῦτο ἦκομεν, ἐνυμήθητε ὡς φλυαροῦσι. βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ δῆπον ἐγραψε
πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι: ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι λέγοντες τε καὶ
πράττουσις τί ἀν φοβούμεθα βασιλέα; ἡ τούτο
οἰεί τις, ὡς εἴκοσι βούλεται χρήματα ἀναλώ-
σας ἄλλους μεγάλους ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἡ ἀνευ
dαπάνης ἄ ἐγνω ἁριστα εἶναι, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ πε-
πάρχασι;

13 Ἔφευ. τί μὴν ἦκομεν; ὁτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀπο-
ροώντες γνοίητε ἄν, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ
κατὰ θάλατταν ἱδόντες, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ
κατὰ γῆν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. τί μὴν ἐστίν; εὐδηλον
ὁτι τῶν συμμάχων τινὲς οὐκ ἀρεστὰ πράττονσιν
ἡμῖν. ἰσως δὲ καὶ βουλοῦμεθ᾿ ἀν δὲν ἐνεκαπερι-
σώσατε ἡμᾶς ἃ ὅρθως ἐγνώμεν ὡμίν ἐπιδεῖξαι.

14 ἰνα δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφόρου ἐτὶ ἐπιμνησθῶ, εἰσὶ μὲν
δῆπον πασῶν τῶν πόλεων αἰ μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα, αἱ
dὲ τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονοῦσαι, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει
οἱ μὲν λακωνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀττικίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν

1 εὐδηλον ὁτι . . . ἡμῖν Kurz: εὐδηλον ὁτι εἰ . . . ἡμῖν ἡ ὑμῖν ἀρεστὰ MSS., which Kel. retains, while marking the passage
as corrupt.

2 ὁ ὅρθως ἐγνώμεν MSS.: ὡς ὅρθως ἐγνωτε Kel.
power. Hence I hope that now, when we have been taught that to seek selfish advantage is unprofitable, we shall again be reasonable in our friendship with each other. Now touching the slanderous allegations of certain people who wish to defeat the peace, to the effect that we have come here, not because we desire friendship, but rather because we fear that Antalcidas may arrive with money from the King, consider how foolishly they are talking. For the King directed, as you know, that all the cities in Greece were to be independent; why then should we, who agree with the King in both word and deed, be afraid of him? Or does anyone imagine that the King prefers to spend money and make others great, rather than, without expense, to have those things accomplished for him which he judged to be best?

"So much for that. Why, then, have we come? That it surely is not because we are in straits, you could discover, if you please, by looking at the situation by sea or, if you please, at the situation by land at the present time. What, then, is the reason? Manifestly that some of our allies are doing what is not pleasing to us. And perhaps we also should like to show you the gratitude we rightly conceived toward you because you preserved us. Furthermore, to mention also the matter of expediency, there are, of course, among all the cities of Greece, some that take your side and others that take ours, and in each single city some people favour the Lacedaemonians and others the Athenians. If, therefore,

¹ At the close of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians rejected the proposal urged by many of their allies, that Athens should be destroyed. cp. II. ii. 19, 20.
XENOPHON

ήμείς φίλοι γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἄν εἰκότως χαλεπῶν τι προσδοκήσαμεν; καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τις ἄν ύμων φίλων ὄντως ἐκαύσος γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπῆσαι; κατὰ θάλαττάν γε μὴν τίς ἄν ύμᾶς βλάψαι

τι ἡμῶν ύμῶν ἐπιτιθείσων ὄντως; ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτε μὲν πόλεμοι ἂεὶ ποτὲ γίγνονται καὶ ὅτι καταλύονται πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ ὃτι ἡμεῖς, ἃν μὴν νῦν, ἀλλ' αὐθίς ποτὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσουμεν. τι οὖν δὲ εἴκων τὸν χρόνον ἀναμένειν, ἐως ὅτι πλήθους κακῶν ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὡς τάχιστα πρὶν τι ἀνήκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ποιῆσαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶν οὖτε ἐγών στι γενώμενοι καὶ νεικηκότες ἦδη πολλάκις καὶ δόξαι ἔχοντες οὕτως φιλοικοῦσιν ὡστε οὓς πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἄν ἐκτηθέντες τὴν ἀσκησιν καταλύσωσιν, οὐδὲ γε τῶν κυβερνῶν οὖτες αὐτὰ εἶν ἐν τι ἐπιτύχωσι, περὶ διπλασίων κυβερνῶσιν ῥῳ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς πλείους ἀπὸ ταύτα παντάπασι γυγομένους. ἀ χρή καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας οἷς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα μηδὲν ποτε καταστῆναι, ὡστε ἡ πάντα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντ' ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐως δὲ καὶ ἐρώμεθα καὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν, φίλους ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι. οὖτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ' ἄν δ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ύμεῖς δ' ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ μείζους ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοίμεθα.

Δοξάντων δὲ τοιῶν καλῶς εἰπέν, ἐψηφίσαμο τοί Δακεδαμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ὧν τοὺς τε ἀρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πεζικά, τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτούμονος ἑαυτός. εἰ δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοίν, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν.
we should become friends, from what quarter could we with reason expect any trouble? For who could prove strong enough to vex us by land if you were our friends? And who could do you any harm by sea if we were favourably inclined toward you? Moreover, we all know that wars are forever breaking out and being concluded, and that we—if not now, still at some future time—shall desire peace again. Why, then, should we wait for the time when we shall have become exhausted by a multitude of ills, and not rather conclude peace as quickly as possible before anything irremediable happens? Again, I for my part do not commend those men who, when they have become competitors in the games and have already been victorious many times and enjoy fame, are so fond of contest that they do not stop until they are defeated and so end their athletic training; nor on the other hand do I commend those dicers who, if they win one success, throw for double stakes, for I see that the majority of such people become utterly impoverished. We, then, seeing these things, ought never to engage in a contest of such a sort that we shall either win all or lose all, but ought rather to become friends of one another while we are still strong and successful. For thus we through you, and you through us, could play even a greater part in Greece than in times gone by.''

Since these men were adjudged to have spoken rightly, the Lacedaemonians voted to accept the peace, with the provision that all should withdraw their governors from the cities, disband their armaments both on sea and on land, and leave the cities independent. And if any state should act in violation of this agreement, it was provided that any which so
tais ádikouménais póleis, tò de mè bouloiménì
mè einai èvorkon symmáxein tois ádikouménous.

19 épì tou'tois ómosan Lakedaimónioi mèn ùpèr aú-
tòw kai tôn symmáxwv, 'Athenaioi de kai oi sým-
máxoi kata pólweis èkastoi. àpograpafímenoi ò
én taís ómwmokúniais póllesi kai oi Òbbaioi, prós-
elthontes pálin tì ústeraìa oi prèsebeis aútw
èkelenon metagráfnein antì Òbbaíon Bouwtoùs
ómmwkokótas. ò de 'Ágghìlaois àpekríntato óti
metagráψεi mév ou'dèn òn tò pròtwon ómosán tè
kai àpográψαvno: éi ménstoi mè bouloimto èn taís
spoudaìs èinai, èxaleífyein òn èfì, eì keleúioen.

20 óutw òhè eirhínev tôn allwv pèpoiménev, pròs òhè
Òbbaioùs mònous àntilògiás óúsèis, oi mèn 'Athè-
naioi òutwv eìghov tìn ògnavì òs èv òn Òbbaíow
ò tò lègòmenon òhè dékatevðhìna èlpìs èìh, aútoi òhè
òi Òbbaioi panteIhlìs Údýmow èxontes àthèlìthnon.

IV. 'Ek de tou'tou oì mèn 'Athenaioi tás te
frouràs èk tòn pòleów àpògon kai 'Ífikróatì
kai tás naìs metepémptono, kai òsà ústeron
èlabè meta tòus òrkous tòus èn Lakedaimóno
2 genvoménous, pánta ònàgkasaì àpodóùína. Lakeda-
imónioi mèntoi èk mèn tòw allwv pòleów tòus
tè òrmòstatas kai tòus frourous àpígygon, Klèom-
broton de èxonta tò èn òwkeùsi strátèumà kai
èperwtoùnta tà oíkoi tèlì tì xhì povèin, Pròðòw

50
desired might aid the injured cities, but that any
which did not so desire was not under oath to be the
ally of those who were injured. On these terms the
Lacedaemonians took the oath for themselves and
their allies, while the Athenians and their allies
took the oath severally, city by city. The Thebans
also signed their names among the cities which had
sworn, but on the following day their ambassadors
came in again and demanded that the writing be
changed to read that “the Boeotians” instead of
“the Thebans” had sworn. Agesilaus, however,
replied that he would change no part of what they
had sworn to and signed in the first place; but if
they did not wish to be included in the treaty, he
said that he would strike out their names if they so
directed. When, accordingly, under these circum-
stances the others had concluded peace, while the
only controversy was with the Thebans, the Atheni-
ans were of the opinion that now there was hope
that the Thebans would be decimated, as the com-
mon saying puts it, and as for the Thebans them-
selves, they went home utterly despondent.

IV. After this the Athenians, on their side, pro-
ceeded to withdraw their garrisons from the cities
and to send after Iphicrates and his ships, and they
compelled him to give back everything which he had
captured after the time when the oaths were taken
at Lacedaemon. But the Lacedaemonians, on the
other hand, while they withdrew both their governors
and their garrisons from all the other cities, did not
follow this course in the case of Cleombrotus, who
was at the head of the army in Phocis and now
asked the authorities at home what he should do.

1 i.e. insisting upon their claim to headship in Boeotia.
XENOPHON

λέξαντος ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοῖ διαλύσαντας τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τοὺς ὥρκους καὶ περιαγγείλαντας ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαλέσθαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὁπόσον βούλοιτο ἐκάσθη πόλις, ἐπείτα εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐφὴ αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, τότε πάλιν παρακαλέσαντας ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ βούλοιτο βοηθεῖν, ἀγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· οὔτω γὰρ ἂν ἐφή οἰσθαί τοὺς τε θεοὺς εἰμενεστάτους εἶναι 3 καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἢκιστ' ἀν ἀρεσθῇ· ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον μὲν φλαρεῖν ἠγήσατο· ἢδ' γὰρ, ὡς ἐοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἠγεν' ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ διαλύειν τὸ στρατεύμα, ἀλλ' εὔθως ἀγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐθβαῖους, εἰ μὴ αὐτονόμους ἀφίοιεν τὰς πόλεις.1 ἐπεὶ οὖν ἦσθετο οὐχ ὅπως τὰς πόλεις ἀφίεντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ στρατεύμα διαλύοντας, ὡς ἀντιτάττοντο πρὸς αὐτῶν,2 οὐτω δὴ ἀγεῖ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βουστίαν.

Καὶ ἦ μὲν οἱ Ἐθβαῖοι ἐμβάλειν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσεδόκουν καὶ ἐπὶ στενῶ τινι ἐφύλαττον οὐκ ἐμβάλλει· διὰ Ὄισβών δὲ ὅρειν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεῖς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρέουσιν, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αἱρεῖ, καὶ τροχηρεὶς τῶν Ἐθβαίων δώδεκα λαμβάνει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ ἀναβας ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐστρατοπεδέυσατο ἐν Δεύκτρου τῆς Θεσπικῆς. οἱ δὲ Ἐθβαῖοι ἐστρατοπεδέυσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρυ λόφῳ οὐ πολὺ διαλείπουντες,

1 After πόλεις the MSS. proceed : ὃ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἐπειδὴ ἐπίθετο τὴν εἰρήνην γεγενημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἤρωτά τι χρῆ ποιεῖν· οἱ δ' ἐκέλευσαν αὐτῶν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐθβαίους, εἰ μὴ ἀφιοίεν τὰς Βουστίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους. These words are dropped by Kel. and all editors.

2 ὡς ἀντιτάττοντο πρὸς αὐτῶν Βροδαῖας; ὡς ἀντιτάττοντο πρὸς αὐτῶς MSS., which Kel. retains, but brackets.
Prothous did indeed say that it seemed to him they ought first to disband the army in accordance with their oaths and send round word to the various cities to make contributions, as large as each city chose to make, to the temple of Apollo,¹ and afterwards, in case anyone tried to prevent the cities from being independent, to call together again at that time all who wished to support the cause of independence and lead them against those who opposed it; for he thought, he continued, that in this way the gods would be most favourably inclined toward them and the cities would be least annoyed. The Lacedaemonian assembly, however, upon hearing these words, came to the conclusion that he was talking nonsense; for at this moment, as it seems, Fate was leading them on; and they sent orders to Cleombrotus not to disband his army, but to lead it at once against the Thebans if they did not leave the cities independent. When, therefore, he learned that, so far from leaving the cities independent, the Thebans were not even disbanding their army, in order that they might marshal themselves against him, under these circumstances he undertook to lead his troops into Boeotia.

Now Cleombrotus did not enter Boeotia from Phocias at the point where the Thebans expected him to enter and where they were keeping guard at a narrow pass; but proceeding by way of Thisbea along a mountainous and unexpected route, he arrived at Creusis, captured its wall, and took twelve triremes belonging to the Thebans. After accomplishing this exploit and marching up from the sea-coast, he encamped at Leuctra, in the territory of Thespiae. And the Thebans encamped on the opposite hill not

¹ i.e. for a war fund.
XENOPHON

οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμάχους ἀλλ’ ἢ τοὺς Βοιω-
τοὺς. ἐνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομπρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι προσ-
ἰώντες ἔλεγον. Ὡ Κλεόμπροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς
Θηβαίους ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πό-
λεως τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθήσονται γάρ
σου καὶ οὗτοι εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἀφικομένοι οὐδὲν
τῆς χώρας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐδήσσασα, καὶ οὗ οὐστερον
στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγησιλάον
ἀεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος. εἶπεν οὖν
ἡ σαυτοῦ κύδη ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας. οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον. οἱ
δὲ ἐναντίοι. Νῦν δή, ἔφασαν, δηλώσει ὁ ἄνηρ εἰ τῷ
ὄντι κηδεταὶ τῶν Θηβαίων, ὦσπερ λέγεται.1

6 Ὅ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμπροτος ταύτα ἀκοῦν παραξύ-
νετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συναπτείν. τῶν δ’ αὐ Θηβαίων
οἱ προεστώτες ἐλογίζοντο ὡς εἰ μὴ μαχοῦτα, ἀπο-
στήσοντο μὲν αἱ περιοικίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ
dὲ πολιορκήσοντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξω οἱ δῆµοι οἱ Θη-
βαίων τάπιτηδέα, ὅτι κινδυνεύσωι καὶ ἡ πόλις
αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἀτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες
πρόσθεν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρείττον εἶναι
7 μαχομένους ἀποθυήσειν ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν. πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις παρεθάρρυνε μὲν τι αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ χρη-
σμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Δακεδαιμονίους
ηττηθῆναι ἐνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἣν μνήμα, αἱ
λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίῶν
τινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτὰς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ
tούτο τὸ μνήμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης.

1 λέγεται MSS.: λέγει Kel.

54
very far away, with no allies except the Boeotians. 371 B.C. Then his friends went to Cleombrotus and said: "Cleombrotus, if you let the Thebans escape without a battle, you will be in danger of suffering the uttermost penalty at the hands of your state. For they will remember against you not only the time when you reached Cynoscephalae and laid waste no part of the country of the Thebans, but also the time when, on your later expedition, you were beaten back from effecting your entrance, although Agesilaus always made his entrance by way of Cithaeron. Therefore if you really have a care for yourself or a desire to see your fatherland again, you must lead against these men." Such were the words of his friends; but his opponents said: "Now is the time when the man will make it clear whether he is in truth partial to the Thebans, as rumour has it."

Cleombrotus, then, as he heard these things was spurred on to join battle. The leaders of the Thebans, on the other hand, calculated that if they did not fight, the cities round about would revolt from them and they would themselves be besieged; further, that if the people of Thebes were thus cut off from provisions, the city itself would be in danger of turning against them. And since many of them had been in exile before, they estimated that it was better to die fighting than to be exiled again. Besides this, they were also somewhat encouraged by the oracle which was reported—that the Lacedaemonians were destined to be defeated at the spot where stood the monument of the virgins, who are said to have killed themselves because they had been violated by certain Lacedaemonians. The Thebans accordingly decorated this monument before the
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

 ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὡς οἱ τε νεὼ πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀνεφώγοντο, αἱ τε ἱέρειαι λέγοιεν ὡς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέου καὶ τὰ ὀπλα ἐφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρμημένου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τινὲς λέγουσιν ὡς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνά-
8 σματα ἢ τῶν προεστηκότων. εἰς δ’ οὖν τὴν μάχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίωις πάντα ἐναντία ἐγίγνετο, τοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατωρ-
θοῦτο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ μετ᾽ ἀριστοῦ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ ἡ τελευταία βουλή περὶ τῆς μάχης. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ὑποπινώντων καὶ τῶν οίνων παροξύναι
9 τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον. ἐπειδ’ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἐκάτεροι καὶ πρόδηλον ἦδη ἢν ὦτι μάχη ἐσοῦτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπιέναι ὀρμημένοι ἐκ τοῦ Βοιωτίου στρα-
τεύματος τῶν τὴν ἄγορὰν παρεσκευακότων καὶ σκευοφόρων τινῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων μά-
χεσθαι, περιόντες κύκλῳ οὐ τε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος μισθοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πελτασταί καὶ τῶν ἵππεων Ἡρακλέωταί καὶ Φειλάσιοι ἐπιθέ-
μενοι τοῖς ἀπιούσιν ἐπέστρεψαν τε αὐτούς καὶ κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδο τὸ τῶν Βοιω-
τῶν. ὅστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μεῖζον τε καὶ ἀθρόωτερον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στρά-
τευμα. ἐπειτα δὲ, ἀτε καὶ πεδίον ὄντος τοῦ μεταξὺ, προετάξαυτο μὲν τῆς έαυτῶν φάλαγγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἱππέας, ἀντετάξαυτο δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἐαυτῶν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππικόν μεμελετηκός διὰ τε τὸν
56
battle. Furthermore, reports were brought to them from the city that all the temples were opening of themselves, and that the priestesses said that the gods revealed victory. And the messengers reported that from the Heracleium the arms also had disappeared, indicating that Heracles had gone forth to the battle. Some, to be sure, say that all these things were but devices of the leaders. But in the battle, at any rate, everything turned out adversely for the Lacedaemonians, while for the other side everything went prosperously, even to the gifts of fortune. For it was after the morning meal that Cleombrotus held his last council over the battle, and drinking a little, as they did, at the middle of the day, it was said that the wine helped somewhat to excite them. Again, when both sides were arming themselves and it was already evident that there would be a battle, in the first place, after those who had provided the market and some baggage-carriers and such as did not wish to fight had set out to withdraw from the Boeotian army, the Lacedaemonian mercenaries under Hieron, the peltasts of the Phocians, and, among the horsemen, the Heracleots and Phliasians made a circuit and fell upon these people as they were departing, and not only turned them about but chased them back to the camp of the Boeotians. Thereby they made the Boeotian army much larger and more densely massed than it had been before. In the second place, since the space between the armies was a plain, the Lacedaemonians posted their horsemen in front of their phalanx, and the Thebans in like manner posted theirs over against them. Now the cavalry of the Thebans was in good training as a result of the war with the Orchomenians.
Το "ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ" πρὸς Ὄρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τῶν πρὸς Θεσπιάς, τοῖς δὲ Δακεδαιμονίους κατ᾽ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἵππικόν. ἔτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὰ φανθεὶς, τὸτε ἦκεν ὁ συντεταγμένος λαβὼν δὲ ἀν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα ὅπως δοθείᾳ αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἄν ἐστρατεύετο· τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σῶμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἰσαν. τοιοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸ ἵππικόν ἐκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος τοὺς μὲν Δακεδαιμονίους ἔφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τήν ἐνωμοτίαν ἄγειν· τούτῳ δὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα τὸ βάθος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἐλαττῶν ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἰσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς εἰ νικήσειαν τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ ἀλλο πᾶν εὐχείρωτον ἔσοιτο. τοὺς πολέμους, πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸ μετ’ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ὅτι ἤγοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἵππεις συνεβεβλήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἦττηντο οἱ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων. φεύγοντες δὲ ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὀπλίταις, ἐτὶ δὲ ἐνέβαλλον οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι. ὅμως δὲ ὅσι οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῇ μάχῃ σαφεῖ τούτῳ τεκμηρίῳ γνοίᾳ τις ἂν· οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἐδύναντο αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ ζώντα ἀπενεγκεῖν, εἰ μὴ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἐπεκράτουν ἐν ἑκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ. ἐπεὶ μὲντοι ἦπεθανε Δείνων θεό πολέ-
and the war with the Thespians, while the cavalry of 371 B.C. the Lacedaemonians was exceedingly poor at that time. For the richest men kept the horses, and it was only when the ban was called out that the appointed trooper presented himself; then he would get his horse and such arms as were given him, and take the field on the moment's notice. As for the men, on the other hand, it was those who were least strong of body and least ambitious who were mounted on the horses. Such, then, was the cavalry on either side. Coming now to the infantry, it was said that the Lacedaemonians led each half-company three files abreast, and that this resulted in the phalanx being not more than twelve men deep.\footnote{i.e. the half-company numbered thirty-six men.} The Thebans, however, were massed not less than fifty shields deep, calculating that if they conquered that part of the army which was around the king, all the rest of it would be easy to overcome.

Now when Cleombrotus began to lead his army against the enemy, in the first place, before the troops under him so much as perceived that he was advancing, the horsemen had already joined battle and those of the Lacedaemonians had speedily been worsted; then in their flight they had fallen foul of their own hoplites, and, besides, the companies of the Thebans were now charging upon them. Nevertheless, the fact that Cleombrotus and his men were at first victorious in the battle may be known from this clear indication: they would not have been able to take him up and carry him off still living, had not those who were fighting in front of him been holding the advantage at that time. But when Deinon, the polemarch, Sphodrias,
XENOPHON

μαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν καὶ Κλεόνυμος ὁ νῖος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἵππεις ἕπειρᾳ καὶ οἱ συμμορφεῖς τοῦ πολεμάρχου καλοῦμενοι οἳ τε ἄλλοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁχλου ὁδούμενοι ἀνεχόμοψαν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ εὑροῦμου ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἑώραν τὸ δεξιὸν ὁδούμενον, ἐνέκλιναν· ὃμως δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεῶτων καὶ ἦττημένου ἐπεὶ διέβησαν τὴν τάφρον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔτυχεν οὐσα αὐτοῖς, ἢθεντο τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ χώραν ἔθενεν ἄρμηντο. ἦν μὲντοι οὐ πάνυ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ, ἄλλα πρὸς ὀρθίῳ μᾶλλον τι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μὲν τινες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφόρητον τὴν συμφοράν ἡγούμενοι τὸ τε τροπαιον ἔφασαν χρῆναι κωλύειν ἰστάναι τοὺς πολεμίους, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς μὴ ὑποσπόνδους, ἄλλα διὰ μάχης πειρᾶσθαι ἀναρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ὀρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεῶτας ἐγγὺς χελίους, ὀρῶντες δ' αὐτῶν Ὀπαρτιάτων, οὕτων ἔκει ὡς ἐπτακοσίων, τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακοσίων, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους πάντας μὲν ἄθυμος ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸ μάχησθαι, ἔστι δὲ οὗτοι αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους τῷ γεγενημένῳ, συλλέξαντες τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους ἐβουλεύοντο τὴν χρή ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει υποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναρεῖσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἔπεμψαν κηρυκα περὶ σπονδών. οἱ μὲντοι Θηβαῖοι μετὰ ταύτα καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν.

15 Ἐνομενών δὲ τούτων, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν

1 μὲν ἵππεις Stephanus: μὲν ἵπποι MSS.: μένιπποι Kel.
2 After ὀντων the MSS. have τῶν : Kel. brackets, following Hartman.

60
one of the king's tent-companions, and Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, had been killed, then the royal bodyguard, the so-called aides of the polemarch, and the others fell back under the pressure of the Theban mass, while those who were on the left wing of the Lacedaemonians, when they saw that the right wing was being pushed back, gave way. Yet despite the fact that many had fallen and that they were defeated, after they had crossed the trench which chanced to be in front of their camp they grounded their arms at the spot from which they had set forth. The camp, to be sure, was not on ground which was altogether level, but rather on the slope of a hill. After the disaster some of the Lacedaemonians, thinking it unendurable, said that they ought to prevent the enemy from setting up their trophy and to try to recover the bodies of the dead, not by means of a truce, but by fighting. The polemarchs, however, seeing that of the whole number of the Lacedaemonians almost a thousand had been killed; seeing, further, that among the Spartiates themselves, of whom there were some seven hundred there, about four hundred had fallen; and perceiving that the allies were one and all without heart for fighting, while some of them were not even displeased at what had taken place, gathered together the most important personages and deliberated about what they should do. And as all thought it best to recover the bodies of the dead by a truce, they finally sent a herald to ask for a truce. After this, then, the Thebans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies under a truce.

After these things had happened, the messenger
μόνα ἄγγελῶν τὸ πάθος ἀφικνεῖται γυμνοπαι-
dιῶν τε οὐσίας τῆς τελευταίας καὶ τοῦ ἀνυμαχινοῦ
χοροῦ ἐνοῦν ὄντος. οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι ἐπεί ἦκουσαν τὸ
πάθος, ἐλυπώντο μὲν, ὡσπερ, οἷμαι, ἀνάγκη· τὸν
μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἔξηγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι
εἰσὶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους
ἐκάστου τῶν τεθνεὼν ἀπέδοσαν· προείπαν δὲ
tαις γυναιξὶν μὴ πωμεῖν κραυγῆν, ἀλλὰ σιγῆ τὸ
πάθος φέρειν. τῇ δὲ υστεραῖα ἡν ὅραν, ὅν μὲν
ἐτέθνασαν οἱ προσήκοντες, λαπαροῦς καὶ φαί-
dροις ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀναστρεφομένως, ὅν δὲ
ξώντες ἡγγελμένοι ἦσαν, ὃλιγούς ἀν εἴδον, τούτους
dὲ σκυθρωποὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς περιόντας.

17 'Εκ δὲ τούτου φρουρὰν μὲν ἐφαινοῦ οἱ ἔφοροι
taiς ὑπολοίποι πόρων μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα
ἀφ' ἡβης. ἐξέπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω μορὼν
μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν εἰς
τοὺς Φωκέας μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἀφ'
ἡβης ἐστράτευτο· καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ἄρχαὶς δὲ τότε
καταλειψθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μὲν οὖν
'Αγγέλαιος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὕτω ἰσχυεν· ἥ
dὲ πόλει Αρχίδαμον τῶν νῦν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ
ἡγεῖσθαι. προβήμως δ' αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο
Τεγεάται· ἔτι γὰρ ἔξων οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, λα-
κωνίζοντες καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ

1 ἄγγελῶν MSS.: ἄγγέλλων Kel.
2 ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ MSS.: ἐκέλευεν ἄντ' αὐτοῦ Kel.

1 A Spartan festival, celebrated with singing, dancing, and
gymnastic exhibitions.
who was sent to carry the news of the calamity to 871 B.C. Lacedaemon arrived there on the last day of the festival of the Gymnopædiae,¹ when the chorus of men was in the theatre. And when the ephors heard of the disaster, they were indeed distressed, as, I conceive, was inevitable; yet they did not withdraw the chorus, but suffered it to finish its performance. Further, although they duly gave the names of the dead to their several kinsmen, they gave orders to the women not to make any outcry, but to bear the calamity in silence. And on the following day one could see those whose relatives had been killed going about in public with bright and cheerful faces, while of those whose relatives had been reported as living you would have seen but few, and these few walking about gloomy and downcast.

After this the ephors called out the ban of the two remaining² regiments, going up as far as those who were forty years beyond the minimum military age; they also sent out all up to the same age who belonged to the regiments abroad³; for in the original expedition to Phoci only those men who were not more than thirty-five years beyond the minimum age had served; furthermore, they ordered those who at that time had been left behind in public office to join their regiments. Now Agesilaus as a result of his illness was not yet strong; accordingly the state directed Archidamus, his son, to act as commander. And the Tegeans served with him zealously; for the followers of Stasippus were still alive, who were favourable to the Lacedaemonians and had no slight power in their own state. Likewise

¹ cp. i. 1 and note. ² i.e. now at Leuctra.
πόλει. ἔρρωμένως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν συνεστρατεύοντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγχανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μᾶλα προθύμως ἴκολούθουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας. ἐπλήρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοῖς τε οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἐδέοντο καὶ Σικυώνιων συμπληροῦν, ἐφ’ ὃν διενούντο τὸ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν. καὶ ὦ μὲν δὴ Ἦριδαμος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπεμψαν εἰς Ἱλυσίας ἀγγελον ἐστεφανομένου, καὶ ἀμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραξαν, ἀμα δὲ βοηθείων ἐκέλευσαν, λέγοντες ὡς ὡς ἐξεἰς Δακεδαιμονίων πάντων ὑπὸ εὐποιηκέσαν αὐτοὺς τιμωρήσασθαι. τῶν δὲ Αθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθημένη. ἔπει δ’ ἦκονσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα ἤνωθεν πᾶσι δήλου ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἔπὶ ξένων τῶν κήρυκα εκάλεσαν, περὶ τῆς βοήθείας οὔδεν ἀπεκρίναντο. καὶ Ἦριδαμος μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κήρυξ. πρὸς μέντοι Ἰάσονα, σύμμαχον ὅντα, ἐπεμπὸν σπουδὴ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν,

διαλογιζόμενοι τῇ τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο. ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς τριήρεις μὲν ἐπλήρου, ὡς βοηθήσων κατὰ θάλατταν, συλλαβῶν δὲ τὸ τε ξενικὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰππεάς, καὶ περὶ ἀκηρύκτῳ πολέμῳ.
the Mantineans from their villages\(^1\) supported him stoutly; for they chanced to be under an aristocratic government. Furthermore, the Corinthians, Sicyonians, Phliasians, and Achaeans followed him with all zeal, and other states also sent out soldiers. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians themselves and the Corinthians manned triremes and requested the Sicyonians also to help them in so doing, intending to carry the army across the gulf on these ships. And Archidamus accordingly offered his sacrifices at the frontier.

As for the Thebans, immediately after the battle they sent to Athens a garlanded messenger, and while telling of the greatness of their victory, they at the same time urged the Athenians to come to their aid, saying that now it was possible to take vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians for all the harm they had done to them. Now the Senate of the Athenians chanced to be holding its sitting on the Acropolis. And when they heard what had taken place, it was made clear to everyone that they were greatly distressed; for they did not invite the herald to partake of hospitality and about the matter of aid they gave him no answer. So the herald departed from Athens without having received a reply. But to Jason, who was their ally, the Thebans sent in haste, urging him to come to their aid; for they were debating among themselves how the future would turn out. And Jason immediately proceeded to man triremes, as though he intended to go to their assistance by sea, but in fact he took his mercenary force and his bodyguard of cavalry and, although the Phocians were engaged in a bitter warfare

\(^1\) See v. ii. 5-7.


XENOPHON

tὸν Φωκέων χρωμένων, πεξὶ διεπορεύθη εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων πρῶτον ὃθεῖς ἢ ἀγγελθεῖς ὅτι πορεύοτοι. πρὶν γοῦν συλλέγεσθαι τι πανταχόθεν ἔφθανε πόρρω γυγνό-
μενος, δῆλον ποιῶν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μάλ-
λον τῆς βίας διαπράττεται τὰ δέοντα.

22 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, λεγόντων τῶν Θηβαίων ὡς καιρὸς εἰπέτιθεσθαι τοῖς Δακε-
dαιμονίοις, ἀνοθεὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνον σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ,
σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους, ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς ὁ
'Iάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλὸν ἔργον γεγενημένον ὅπι
ἀξίον αὐτοῖς εἰπέ διακινδυνεύσαι, ὥστε ἡ ἐπὶ μεῖζο
καταπράξαι ἡ στερηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης

23 νίκης. Οὐχ ἄρατε, ἐφή, ὅτι καὶ ὢμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν
ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε, ἐκρατήσατε; ὦλεσθαι οὐν χρῆ
καὶ Δακεδαμονίους ἀν, εἰ ἀναγκάζοντο, τοῦτον
ζην ἀπονοηθέντας διαμάχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δὲ,
ὡς ἔοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς μεγά-
λους ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικροὺς. τοὺς
μὲν οὖν Θηβαίους τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τοῦ
dιακινδυνεύειν: τοὺς δὲ αὖ Δακεδαμονίους ἐδίδα-
σκεν οἷον μὲν εἰπῃ ἤττημένον στράτευμα, οἷον δὲ

24 νεκρικός. Εἰ δὲ ἐπιλαθέσθαι, ἐφὴ, βούλεσθαι τὸ
γεγενημένον πάθος, συμβουλεύω ἀναπνεύσαντας
καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος καὶ μεῖζον γεγενημένον
τοῖς ἀπατήτοις οὕτως εἰς μάχην ἰέναι. νῦν δὲ,
ἐφη, εὑ ἵστε ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὑμῶν εἰσὶν οἱ

1 Before τοῦ the MSS. have ἐγενέσθαι: Kel. brackets, following Madvig.
2 ἐπιλαθέσθαι MSS: ἐξιδάσασθαι Kel.
against him, proceeded by land through their country into Boeotia, appearing in many of their towns before it was reported to them that he was on the march. At any rate, before they could gather troops together from here and there, he was already far on ahead, thus making it clear that in many cases it is speed rather than force which accomplishes the desired results.

But when he arrived in Boeotia and the Thebans said that now was the right moment to attack the Lacedaemonians, he with his mercenaries from the heights above and they by a frontal assault, Jason sought to dissuade them, pointing out that since they had done a good work, it was not worth while for them to venture a decisive engagement in which they would either accomplish yet greater things or would be deprived of the victory already gained. "Do you not see," he said, "that in your own case it was when you found yourselves in straits that you won the victory? Therefore one must suppose that the Lacedaemonians also, if they were in like straits, would fight it out regardless of their lives. Besides, it seems that the deity often takes pleasure in making the small great and the great small." With such words, then, he endeavoured to dissuade the Thebans from making the final venture; to the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, he pointed out what manner of thing a defeated army was, and what an army victorious. "And if you wish," he said, "to forget the disaster which has befallen you, I advise you first to recover your breath and rest yourselves, and then, after you have become stronger, go into battle against men who are unconquered. But now," he said, "be well assured that even among
XENOPHON

diалегονται περὶ φιλίας τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἂλλα ἐκ παντὸς τρόπον πειρᾶσθε σπονδᾶς λαβέιν. ταῦτα δ', ἐφ' ἐγὼ προθυμοῦμαι, σῶσαι ύμᾶς βουλομένους διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίαν πρὸς ύμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὸ προξενεῖν ύμῶν. ἔλεγε μὲν οὖν τοι-αύτα, ἔπραττε δ' ἵσως ὅπως διάφοροι καὶ οὕτωι ἀλλήλως ὄντες ἀμφότεροι ἐκείνοις δέοιτο. οἱ μὲν-τοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, πράττειν περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐκέλευον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηγγέλθη ὅτι εἶχαν αἱ σπονδαί, παρήγγειλαν οἱ πολέ-μαρχοι δειπνήσαντας συνεσκενάσθαι πάντας, ὦς τῆς νυκτὸς πορευομένους, ὅπως ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρώνα ἀναβαίνουεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδειτυησαν, πρὶν καθεύδειν παραγγειλάντες ἀκολουθεῖν, ἤγοντο εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος, τῷ λαθείν πιστεύοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς σπονδαῖς. μάλα δὲ χαλέπως πορευόμενοι, οί δὴ ἐν νυκτὶ τε καὶ ἐν φάβῳ ἀπίόντες καὶ χαλέπῃν ὀδὸν, εἰς Λιγόσθενα τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀφυκνοῦνται. ἐκεῖ δὲ περιτυγχάνουσι τῷ μετὰ Ἀρχιδάμου στρατεύματι. ἐνθα δὴ ἀναμένα, ἐὼς καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες παρεγένοντο, ἀπῆγε πάν ὦμοι τὸ στρατεύμα μέχρι Κορίνθου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οἰκαδὲ ἀπῆγαγεν.

27 Ο μὲντοι Ἑάσων ἀπιὼν διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος 'Ταμπολιτῶν μὲν τὸ τε προάστιον εἶλε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθησε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε πολλοὺς· τὴν δ' ἄλλην Φωκίδα διήλθεν ἀπραγμόνως. ἀφικόμενος

68
your allies there are those who are holding converse with the enemy about a treaty of friendship with them; by all means, then, try to obtain a truce. And I am myself eager for this," he said, "out of a desire to save you, both because of my father's friendship with you and because I am your diplomatic agent." Such, then, were the arguments he urged, but he was acting perhaps with the purpose that these two parties, at variance as they were with one another, might both alike be in need of him. The Lacedaemonians, however, after hearing his words bade him negotiate for the truce; and when the report came that the truce had been made, the polemarchs gave orders that after dining all should have their baggage packed and ready with the purpose of setting out during the night, in order that at daybreak they might be climbing Cithaeron. But when the men had dined and before they went to rest, the polemarchs gave the order to follow, and led the way immediately upon the fall of evening by the road through Creusis, trusting to secrecy more than to the truce. And proceeding with very great difficulty, since they were withdrawing at night and in fear and by a hard road, they arrived at Aegosthenes in the territory of Megara. There they fell in with the army under Archidamus. And after waiting there until all the allies had joined him, Archidamus led back the whole army together as far as Corinth; from there he dismissed the allies and led the citizen troops back home.

As for Jason, on his way back through Phocis he captured the outer city of the Hyampolitans, laid waste their land, and killed many of them, but he passed through the rest of Phocis without any hostile
Δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν κατέβαλε τὸ Ἡρακλεωτῶν τεῖχος, δὴλον ὅτι οὐ τούτῳ φοβοῦμενος, μὴ τινι ἀναπεπταμένης ταύτης τῆς παρόδου πορεύσοιντο ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐνθυμομενος μὴ τινε τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἐπὶ στενῷ οὐσαν καταλαβόντες ἔργους αὐτῶν, εἰ ποι βούλιοι τῇς Ἑλλάδος πορεύεσθαι. ἔπει δὲ ἀπήλθε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν, μέγας μὲν ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῇ νόμῳ Θετταλῶν ταγὸς καθεστάναι καὶ διὰ τὸ μισθοφόρους πολλοὺς τρέφειν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἰππέας, καὶ τούτους ἐκπεποιημένους ὡς ἄν κράτιστοι εἶνεν. ἐτὶ δὲ μείζων καὶ διὰ τὸ συμμάχους πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἥδη εἶναι αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔτι βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι. μέγιστος δ’ ἦν τῶν καθ’ αὐτῶν τῷ μηδ’ ὑφ’ ἐνός εὐκαταφρόνητος εἶναι.

Ἐπιόντων δὲ Πυθίων παρῆγγειλε μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι βοῶς καὶ ὅσι καὶ αἰγας καὶ ὡς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν. καὶ ἐφασαν πάνω μετρίως ἔκαστῃ πόλει ἐπαγγελλόμενῳ γενέσθαι βοῶς μὲν ὡς ἐλάττους χιλίων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοσκήματα πλεῖον ἡ μύρια. ἐκήρυξε δὲ καὶ νικητήριον χρυσοῦν στέφανον. ἔσεσθαι, ἣτις τῶν πόλεων βοῶν ἡγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ θρέψειε. παρῆγγειλε δὲ καὶ ὡς στρατευσόμενοι εἰς τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια χρόνου Θετταλῶν παρασκευάζεσθαι. διενοείτο γάρ, ὡς ἐφασαν, καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τῷ θεῷ καὶ
act. Upon arriving at Heracleia, however, he destroyed the walled city of the Heracleots, manifestly having no fear that when this passage-way had been thus thrown open anyone would march against his own dominion, but rather making provision that none should seize Heracleia, situated as it was at a narrow pass, and block his way if he wanted to march to any place in Greece. And when he had come back again to Thessaly, he was in great repute both because he had legally been made Tagus of the Thessalians and because he maintained about him many mercenaries, both foot-soldiers and horsemen, these moreover being troops which had been trained to the highest efficiency; his repute was yet greater by reason of his many allies, including, in addition to those whom he already had, also those who were desirous of becoming such. And he was the greatest of the men of his time in that he was not lightly to be despised by anyone soever.

Now when the Pythian festival was approaching, Jason sent orders to his cities to make ready cattle, sheep, goats, and swine for the sacrifice. And it was said that although he laid upon each city a very moderate demand, there were contributed no fewer than a thousand cattle and more than ten thousand of the other animals. He also made proclamation that a golden crown would be the prize of victory to the city which should rear the finest bull to lead the herd in honour of the god. Furthermore, he gave orders to the Thessalians to make preparations for taking the field at the time of the Pythian festival; for he was intending, it was said, to be himself the director both of the festal assembly

1 Thermopylae.  2 See i. 18.
τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς διατιθέναι. περὶ μὲντοι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ὅπως μὲν δεινοεῖτο ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἄδηλον: λέγεται δὲ ἐπερομένων τῶν Δελφῶν τῷ χρῆ ποιεῖν, ἐὰν λαμβάνῃ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεόν ὅτι αὐτῷ μελήσει. ὅ δ' οὖν ἀνὴρ τηλικοῦτος δὲ καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διανοούμενος, ἔξετασιν πεποιηκὼς καὶ δοκιμασίαν τοῦ Φεραίων ἰππικοῦ, καὶ ἦδη καθήμενος καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος, εἰ τις δεδεμένος τοῦ προσόποι, ὕπο νεανίδαν ἐπτά προσελθόντων ὡς διαφερομένων τι ἄλληλοις ἀποσφάττεται καὶ κατακόπτεται.

βοηθήσαντων δὲ ἐρρωμένως τῶν παραγενομένων δορυφόρων εἰς μὲν ἔτει τυχτῶν τῶν Ἰάσσων λόγχη πληγεῖς ἀποθυμήσκει· ἐτερος δὲ ἀναβαίνων ἐφ' ἱππον ἐγκαταληφθείς καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβών ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀνατηθήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἱπποὺς ἀπέφυγον· ὅποι δὲ ἀφίκοιτο τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις ἐτιμῶτο. φ' καὶ δὴλον ἐγένετο ὅτι ἵσχυρῶς ἐδείσαν οἱ "Ἑλληνες αὐτῶν μὴ τύραννος γένοιτο.

'Ἀποθανόντος μέντοι ἐκείνου Πολύδωρος ἄเดλφος αὐτοῦ καὶ Πολύφρων ταγοὶ κατέστησαν. καὶ ο μὲν Πολύδωρος, πορευομένων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς Λάρισαν, νῦκτωρ καθεύδων ἀποθυμήσκει ὑπὸ Πολύφρωνος τοῦ ἄδελφον, ὃς ἐδόκει· ὁ γὰρ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐξαπιναιός τε καὶ οὔκ ἔχων φανερὰν πρόφασιν ἐγένετο. ὁ δ' αὐτός Πολύφρων ἦρξε μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν, κατεσκευάσατο δὲ τὴν ταγείαν τυραννίδι.
in honour of the god and of the games. What he intended, however, in regard to the sacred treasures, is even to this day uncertain; but it is said that when the Delphians asked the god what they should do if he tried to take any of his treasures, Apollo replied that he would himself take care of the matter. At any rate this man, great as he was and purposing deeds so great and of such a kind, after he had held a review and inspection of the cavalry of the Pho- raeans, and was now in his seat and making answer if anyone came to him with any request, was struck down and killed by seven young men who came up to him as though they had some quarrel with one another. And when the guardsmen who attended him rushed stoutly to his aid, one of the young men, while still in the act of striking Jason, was pierced with a lance and killed; a second was caught while mounting his horse, suffered many wounds, and so was killed; but the rest leaped upon the horses which they had in readiness and escaped, and in most of the Greek cities to which they came they were honoured. This fact, indeed, made it plain that the Greeks had conceived a very great fear lest Jason should become tyrant.\footnote{i.e. an absolute and irresponsible ruler, whereas the position of Tagus was a legal, elective office.}

When he had thus been slain, Polydorus, his brother, and Polyphron succeeded to the office of Tagus. Now Polydorus, while the two were on their way to Larisa, was killed at night in his sleep by Polyphron, his brother, as people thought; for his death was sudden and without manifest cause. Then Polyphron, in his turn, held sway for a year, and made the office of Tagus like the rule of a tyrant. For in
XENOPHON

όμοιαν. ἐν τε γὰρ Φαρσάλῳ τὸν Πολυδάμαντα καὶ ἄλλους τῶν πολιτῶν ὅκτω τοὺς κρατίστους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐκ τε Δαρίσης πολλοὺς φυγάδας ἐποίησε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν καὶ αὐτός ἀποθυμήσκει ὑπ’ Ἀλέξανδρου, ὡς τιμωροῦντος τῷ Πολυδώρῳ καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα καταλύνοντος. ἔπει δ’ αὐτὸς παρέλαβε τὴν ἄρχην, χαλέπος μὲν Θεταλοῖς ταχὺς ἐγένετο, χαλέπος δὲ Ῥηθαῖοις καὶ Ἀθη-

ναίοις πολέμοις, ἄδικος δὲ ληστής καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τοιούτος δ’ ὦν καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτὸ ἀποθυμήσκει, αὐτοχειρίᾳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἄδελφων, θυσίας δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἄδελφοις ἐξήγγειλεν ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκρυψεν αὐτοῖς ἐνδού ὄντας ὅλην τὴν ἦμέραν. καὶ ἐξαιρεῖται μεθύοντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἔπει κατεκοίμισεν, ὁ μὲν λύχνοις ἐκάτο, τὸ δὲ ξίφος αὐτοῦ ἐξήγειρκεν. ὡς δ’ ἔσθεν ὀκνοῦντα εἰσίναι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἄδελφους, εἰπεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ἡ ἡδὴ πράξειν, ἐξεγερεῖ αὐτοῦ. ὡς δ’ εἰσῆλθον, ἐπιστάσατο τὴν θυραν

37 ἐκέχετο τοῦ ῥόπτρου, ἐὼς ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄνηρ. ἡ δὲ ἔχθρα λέγεται αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μὲν τινῶν ὡς ἐπεὶ ἔδικε τὰ ἐαυτοῦ παιδικὰ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, νεανίσκουν ὄντα καλὸν, δειθείς αὐτῆς λύσαι ἐξαγαγόν αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν οἱ δὲ τινὲς ὡς, ἐπεὶ παϊδεῖς αὐτῷ ὁμών εὐγίνοντο ἐκ ταύτης, ὁτι πέμπτων ἐς Θῆβας ἐμβ feudε τὴν Ἰάσωνος γυναῖκα.1 τὰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὶα τῆς ἐπι-

θυσίας ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτω λέγεται: τῶν δὲ ταῦτα πραξάμενων ἄχρι οὐ δὴ ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο

1 After γυναῖκα the MSS. have ἄναλαβείν: Kel. brackets, following Stephanus
Pharsalus he put to death Polydamas and eight more of the best among the citizens, and from Larisa he drove many into exile. While thus engaged he, also, was slain by Alexander, who posed as avenger of Polydorus and destroyer of the tyranny. But when Alexander had himself succeeded to the position of ruler, he proved a cruel Tagus to the Thessalians, a cruel enemy to the Thebans and Athenians, and an unjust robber both by land and by sea. Being such a man, he likewise was slain in his turn, the actual deed being done by his wife's brothers, though the plan was conceived by the woman herself. For she reported to her brothers that Alexander was plotting against them, and concealed them within the house for the entire day. Then after she had received Alexander home in a drunken state and had put him to bed, while the light was left burning she carried his sword out of the chamber. And when she perceived that her brothers were hesitating to go in and attack Alexander, she said that if they did not act at once she would wake him. Then, as soon as they had gone in, she closed the door and held fast to the knocker until her husband had been killed. Now her hatred toward her husband is said by some people to have been caused by the fact that when Alexander had imprisoned his own favourite, who was a beautiful youth, and she begged him to release him, he took him out and slew him; others, however, say that inasmuch as no children were being born to him of this woman, Alexander was sending to Thebes and trying to win as his wife the widow of Jason. The reasons, then, for the plot on the part of his wife are thus stated; but as for those who executed this deed, Tisiphonus, who was the eldest of the brothers,
XENOPHON

Τισίφωνος πρεσβύτατος ὤν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀρχήν εἶχε.

V. Καὶ τὰ μὲν Θεταλικά, ὡσα περὶ Ἴασον ἑπράξθη καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον μέχρι τῆς Τισιφόνου ἀρχής δεδῆλωται· νῦν δὲ ἐπάνειμι ἐνθεῖν ἐπὶ ταύτα ἔξεβην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ Δεύκτρα βοσθείας ἀπήγαγε τὸ στρατευμα, ἐνθυμηθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὅτι οἱ Πελοποννησοὶ ἐτι οὐφοται κρήναι ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ οὕτω διακόειντο οἱ Δακεδαίμονοι ὡσπερ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διέθεσαν, μεταπέμποντας τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι βοῦλοντο τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχειν ἡν βασιλείς κατέπεμψεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθουν, δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο μετὰ τῶν κοινωνεῖν βουλομένων ὦμόσαι τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον. Ἐμμενῷ ταῖς στονδαίς ἄς βασιλεῖς κατέπεμψε καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμβάλλων. ἔαν δὲ τις στρατεύῃ ἐπὶ τινα πόλιν τῶν ὦμοσας ὁνδὲ τὸν ὅρκον, βοσθήσω παντὶ σθένει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔχαιριν τῷ ὅρκῳ· Ἡλείοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον ὡς οὐ δέοι αὐτοῦμοι ποιεῖν οὔτε Μαργανέας οὔτε Σκίλλουντίους οὔτε Τριφυλίους· σφετέρας γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ψηφίσαμεν, ὡσπερ βασιλείς ἔγραψεν, αὐτοῦμοι εἶναι ὦμοίως καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις, ἔξεπεμψαν τοὺς ὀρκωτάς,
held the position of ruler up to the time when this 858 B.C. narrative was written.¹

V. All the events, then, which took place in Thessaly in connection with Jason, and, after his death, down to the rule of Tisiphonus, have thus been described; now I return to the point from which I digressed to discuss these matters. When, namely, Archidamus had led back his army from 871 B.C. the relief expedition to Leuctra, the Athenians, taking thought of the fact that the Peloponnesians still counted themselves bound to follow the Lace- daemonians, and that the latter were not yet in the same situation to which they had brought the Athenians, invited to Athens all the cities which wished to participate in the peace which the King had sent down. And when they had come together, they passed a resolution to take the following oath, in company with such as desired to share in the peace: "I will abide by the treaty which the King sent down, and by the decrees of the Athenians and their allies. And if anybody takes the field against any one of the cities which have sworn this oath, I will come to her aid with all my strength." Now all the others were pleased with the oath; the Eleans only opposed it, saying that it was not right to make either the Marganians, Scilluntians, or Triphyrians independent, for these cities were theirs. But the Athenians and the others, after voting that both small and great cities alike should be independent, even as the King wrote, sent out the officers charged with administering the oath and directed them to

¹ Xenophon probably died in 354 B.C. Hence this portion of his narrative was written between 358 (see above) and 354 B.C.
καὶ ἐκέλευσαν τὰ μέγιστα τέλη ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει ὀρκώσαι. καὶ ὁμοσαν πάντες πλὴν Ὡλεύων.

'Εξ ὧν δὴ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς, ὥς ἦδη αὐτόνομοι παυτάπασιν ὄντες, συνήλθον τε πάντες καὶ ἐψη-φίσαντο μίαν πόλιν 1 τὴν Μαντίνειαν ποιεῖν καὶ 4 τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ αὐξ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἕγοντο, εἰ τούτῳ ἁνευ τῆς σφετέρας γνώμης ἔσοιτο, χαλεπον ἔσεσθαι. πέμπουσιν οὖν Ἀγη-σίλαον πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὅτι ἐδόκει πατρικὸς φίλος αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἔπει δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, τὸν μὲν δήμον τῶν Μαντι-νέων οἱ ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἥθελον συλλέξαι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον λέγειν ὅτιν δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχεῖτο αὐτοῖς, εὰν νῦν ἐπισχωσι τῆς τειχί-σεως, ποιήσειν ὅστε μετὰ τῆς Λακεδαιμονικῆς γνώμης καὶ μὴ δαπανηρῶς τειχισθῆναι τὸ τείχος.  5 ἔπει δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἅδυνατον εἰς ἐπισχεῖν, δόγματος γεγενημένου πάση τῇ πόλει ἠδὴ τειχί-ζειν, ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπείρη ὀργεξό-μένος· στρατεύειν γε μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐ δυνατον ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἐπ' αὐτονομίᾳ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγενη-μένης. τοῖς δὲ Μαντινείσιν ἐπεμποὺ μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἀρκαδίκων πόλεων τινὲς συντειχισθῆνας, οἱ δὲ Ὡλεύοι καὶ ἀργυρίου τρία τάλαντα συνεβάλοντο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸ τείχος δαπάνην. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς περὶ ταῦτ' ἠσαν.

6 Τῶν δὲ Τεγεατῶν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον καὶ Πρόξενου ἐνήγον ἐπὶ τὸ συνίειν τε πάντες  

---

1 πόλιν MSS.: πάλιν Kel.
administer it to the highest authorities in each city. 371 B.C. And all took the oath except the Eleans.

As a natural result of these proceedings the Mantineans, feeling that they were now entirely independent, all came together and voted to make Mantinea a single\(^1\) city and to put a wall about it. But the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, thought that it would be a grievous thing if this were done without their approval. They accordingly sent Agesilaus as ambassador to the Mantineans, because he was regarded as an ancestral friend of theirs.\(^2\) Now when he had come to them, the officials refused to assemble for him the Mantinean people, but bade him tell them what he desired. He then offered them his promise that, if they would desist from their wall-building for the present, he would arrange matters so that the wall should be constructed with the approval of Lacedaemon and without great expense. And when they replied that it was impossible to desist, since a resolution to build at once had been adopted by the entire city, Agesilaus thereupon departed in anger. It did not seem to be possible, however, to make an expedition against them, inasmuch as the peace had been concluded on the basis of independence. Meanwhile some of the Arcadian cities sent men to help the Mantineans in their building, and the Eleans made them a contribution of three talents in money toward the expense of the wall. The Mantineans, then, were occupied with this work.

Among the Tegeans, on the other hand, the followers of Callibius and Proxenus were making efforts to the end that all the people of Arcadia should

\(^1\) cp. v. ii. 7.  \(^2\) cp. v. ii. 3.
Ἀρκαδικὸν, καὶ ὁ τι νικῆ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τούτῳ κύριον εἶναι καὶ τῶν πόλεων οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ἔπραττον ἐὰν τε κατὰ χώραν τὴν 7 πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμοις χρησθαί. ἦττώ-μενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πρόξενον καὶ Καλλίβιον ἐν τοῖς θεαροῖς, νομίζαντες, εἰ συνέλθων ὁ δήμος, πολὺ ἀν τῷ πλῆθει κρατῆσαι, ἐκφέρονται τὰ ὀπλα. ἰδόντες δὲ τούτῳ οἱ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνθωπλήσαντο, καὶ ἀριθμῷ μὲν 1 ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο: ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς μάχην ὀρμη-σαν, τὸν μὲν Πρόξενον καὶ ἅλλους ὅλγους μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείνουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἅλλους τρεψάμενοι οὐκ ἐδίωκον καὶ γὰρ τοιούτος ὁ Στάσιππος ἦν οἷος μὴ βουλεύσαθι πολλοὺς ἀποκτινύναι τῶν 8 πολτῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον ἀνακη-ρυκότες ὑπὸ τὸ πρὸς Μαντινείας τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπεχείρουν, ἡσυχίαν εἰχον ἡθροισμένοι. καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἐπε-πόμφεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας βοήθειν κελεύ-οντες· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς περὶ Στάσιππον διελέγοντο περὶ συναλλαγῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταφανεὶς ἦσαν οἱ Μαντινέας προσίστατος, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναπηδώντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευον βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην, καὶ βοῶντες σπεύδειν διεκελεύοντο· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνοί-9 γουσι τὰς πύλας αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιπ- πον ὡς ὡσθοντο τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐκπίπτουσι κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον φερούσας πύλας, καὶ φθάνοντι πρὶν καταληφθῆραι ὑπὸ τῶν διωκότων εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν καταφυγόντες, 2 καὶ ἐγκλεισάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δὲ μεταδει- 1 After μέν the MSS. have οὐκ: Kel. brackets, following Dobrée. 2 καταφυγόντες MSS.: καταφεύγοντες Kel.
unite, and that whatever measure was carried in the common assembly should be binding on the several cities as well; but the followers of Stasippus made it their policy to leave their city undisturbed and to live under the laws of their fathers. Now the followers of Proxenus and Callibius, defeated in the council of the magistrates, and conceiving the thought that if the people came together they would prove far superior in numbers, gathered openly under arms. Upon seeing this the followers of Stasippus also armed themselves in their turn, and they did indeed prove fewer in number; when, however, they had set forth for battle, they killed Proxenus and a few others along with him, but although they put the rest to flight they did not pursue them; for Stasippus was the sort of man not to desire to kill many of his fellow-citizens. Then the followers of Callibius, who had retired to a position under the city wall and the gates on the side toward Mantinea, inasmuch as their adversaries were no longer attacking them, remained quietly gathered there. They had long before this sent to the Mantineans bidding them come to their aid, but with the followers of Stasippus they were negotiating for a reconciliation. When, however, the Mantineans were to be seen approaching, some of them leaped upon the wall, urged the Mantineans to come on to their assistance with all possible speed, and with shouts exhorted them to hurry; others meanwhile opened the gates to them. Now when the followers of Stasippus perceived what was going on, they rushed out by the gates leading to Pthantium, gained refuge in the temple of Artemis before they could be overtaken by their pursuers, and after shutting themselves in, remained quiet there.
XENOPHON

εξιτος ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸν νεών καὶ τὴν ὀροφήν διελόντες ἐπαίον ταῖς κεραμίσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπει ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἀνάγκην, παύεσθαι τε ἐκέλευον καὶ ἐξέναι ἐφασαν. οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι ως ὑποχείρους ἔλαβον αὐτοὺς, δήσαντες καὶ ἀναβαλόντες ἐφ’ ἀμαξαν¹ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Τεγέαν. ἐκεῖ δὲ μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καταγόντες ἀπέκτειναν.

10 Τούτων δὲ γεγομένων ἐφυγον εἰς Λακεδαιμονά τῶν περὶ Στάσισπον Τεγεατῶν περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐδόκει βοηθήτεον εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους τοῖς τεθνεώσι τε τῶν Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐκπεπτωκόσι. καὶ οὐτώ στρατεύονς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους σὺν ὀπλοῖς ἐληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τεγεάτας. καὶ φρουρῶν μὲν οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἐφαίνον, 'Αγησίλαον δ’ ἐκέλευεν ἡ πόλις ἤγεισθαί. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι Ἄρκαδες εἰς Ἀσέαν συνελέγοντο. Ὄρχομενίων δὲ οὐκ ἔθελόντων κοινωνεῖν τοῦ Ἄρκαδικοῦ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Μαντινέας ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδεγμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ συνελεγμένον ἔνεικὸν, οὐ Πολύτροπος ἦρχεν, ἔμενον οὐκότι οἱ Μαντινεῖς τούτων ἐπιμελόμενοι. Ἡραεῖς δὲ καὶ Λεπρεῖται συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ.

11 τοὺς Μαντινέας. ο δὲ Ἄγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ διαβατηρία, εὐθὺς ἔχωρει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. καὶ καταλαβὼν πόλιν ὄμορον οὖσαν

¹ ἐφ’ ἀμαξαν Hartman: ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν MSS., followed by Kel.
HELENICA, VI. v. 9-12

But their foes who had followed after them climbed upon the temple, broke through the roof, and pelted them with the tiles. And when the people within realized the hopelessness of their situation, they bade them stop and said they would come out. Then their adversaries, as soon as they had got them in their power, bound them, threw them into a wagon, and carried them back to Tegea. There, in company with the Mantineans, they passed sentence upon them and put them to death.

While these things were going on, about eight hundred of the Tegeans who were partisans of Stasippus fled to Lacedaemon as exiles, and subsequently the Lacedaemonians decided that, in accordance with their oaths, they ought to avenge the Tegeans who had been slain and to aid those who had been banished. So they decided to make an expedition against the Mantineans on the ground that, in violation of their oaths, they had proceeded in arms against the Tegeans. The ephors accordingly called out the ban, and the state directed Agesilaus to act as commander. Now most of the Arcadians were gathering together at Asea. But since the Orchomenians refused to be members of the Arcadian League on account of their enmity toward the Mantineans, and had even received into their city the mercenary force, commanded by Polytropus, which had been collected at Corinth, the Mantineans were remaining at home and keeping watch upon them. On the other hand, the Heraeans and Lepreans were serving with the Lacedaemonians against the Mantineans. Agesilaus, then, when his sacrifices at the frontier proved favourable, at once proceeded to march against Arcadia. And having

83

a 2
XENOPHON

Εὖταιν, καὶ εὐρὼν ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκούντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικίᾳ οἰχομένους εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδίκον, ὡμώς οὐκ ἤδικησε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ’ εἰς τε αὐτοὺς οἰκεῖν, καὶ ὠνομήνοι ἐλάμβανον ὅσων δέοιτο. εἰ δὲ τι καὶ ἠρπάσθη, οὔτε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξευρὼν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἑπικοδόμει δὲ τὸ τείχος αὐτῶν ὅσα ἔδειτο, ἑσστερ αὐτοῦ διέτριβεν ἀναμένων τοὺς μετὰ Πολυτρόπου μυσθοφόρους.

13 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Μαντινεῖς στρατεύοντον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τείχους μάλα χαλεπῶς ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἀπέθανον τινες αὐτῶν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες ἐν τῇ Ἑλυμίᾳ ἐγένοτο, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομένιοι ὀπλίται οὐκέτι ἠκολούθουν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολυτρόπον ἐπέκειντο καὶ μάλα θρασεῖς, ἑνταῦθα γνώντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἀποκρούσονται αὐτοὺς, ὅτι πολλοὶ σφῶν κατακομβησθήσονται, ὑποστρέψαντες ὁμόσε ἑκόρησαν τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολυτρόπος μαχόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνῄσκειν τῶν δὲ ἄλλων φευγόντων πάμπολλοι ἄν ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἵππεῖς παραγενόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄπισθεν περιελάσαντες τῶν Μαντινέων ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς διώξεως. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς τάυτα πράξαντες οἰκαδε ἀπῆλθον.

14 Ο δὲ Ἀγγέλαιος ἀκούσας τάυτα, καὶ νομίζας οὔκ ἃν ἐτί συμμεῖξαι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ μυσθοφόρους, οὕτω προῆ. καὶ τῇ μὲν 84
occupied Eutaea, which was a city on the border, 370 B.C. and found there the older men, the women, and the children living in their houses, while the men of military age had gone to the Arcadian assembly, he nevertheless did the city no harm, but allowed the people to continue to dwell there, and his troops got everything that they needed by purchase; and if anything had been taken as booty at the time when he entered the city, he searched it out and gave it back. He also occupied himself, during the whole time that he spent there awaiting the mercenaries under Polytropus, in repairing all those portions of the city wall which needed it.

Meanwhile the Mantineans made an expedition against the Orchomenians. And they came off very badly from their attack upon the city wall, and some of them were killed; but when in their retreat they had reached Elymia and, although the Orchomenian hoplites now desisted from following them, Polytropus and his troops were very boldly pressing upon them, then the Mantineans, realizing that if they did not beat them off many of their own number would be struck down by javelins, turned about and charged their assailants. Polytropus fell fighting where he stood; the rest fled, and very many of them would have been killed had not the Phliasian horsemen arrived, and by riding around to the rear of the Mantineans made them desist from their pursuit. The Mantineans, then, after accomplishing these things, went back home.

Agesilaus heard of this affair and came to the conclusion that the mercenaries from Orchomenus could not now join him; under these circumstances, therefore, he continued his advance. On the first day
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

πρώτη ἐν τῇ Τεγέατιδι χώρα ἐδειπνοποιήσατο, τῇ δ' ύστεραια διαβαίνει εἰς τὴν Μαντισσάν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ὑπὸ τοὺς πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρει τῆς Μαντινείας· καὶ ἔκει ἁμα ἐδήν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἔπορθε τοὺς ἀγροὺς. τῶν δὲ Ἀρκάδων οἱ συλλεγέντες ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ νυκτὸς παρῆλθοι εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. τῇ δ' ύστεραια ὁ μὲν Ἀγγισίλαος ἀπέχων Μαντινείας ὅσον ἐκκοσι σταδίους ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας Ἀρκάδες, ἐχομενοὶ τῶν μεταξὺ Μαντινείας καὶ Τεγέας ὄρων παρῆσαν μάλα πολλοὶ ὁπλῖται, συμμείζαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς Μαντινεύοις καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀργείοι οὐ πανδημεῖ ἴκολοθοῦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἦσαν μὲν τινες οἳ τῶν Ἀγγισίλαον ἐπείθουν χωρὶς τούτως ἐπιθέσαν· ὁ δὲ φοβοῦμενος μὴ ἐν ὅσῳ πρὸς ἐκείνους πορεύοιτο, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐξελθόντες κατὰ κέρας τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὠπισθὲν ἐπιτέσσοιεν αὐτῷ, ἐγνω κράτιστον εἰναι ἐᾶσαι συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰ βούλοιτο μάχεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ φανεροῦ τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἐγεγένητο. 17 οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς διέξελθόντες παρὰ τὴν Μαντινείαν θυμόνειν τῷ Ἀγγισιλάῳ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπιφαίνονται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰς τάξεις δραμεῖν, Ἀγγισίλαον δ' ἐπαναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὰ ὀπλα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνοι μὲν ἐγνωσθησαν φίλοι ὄντες, Ἀγγισίλαος δὲ ἐκεκαλ- λέρητο, ἐξ ἀρίστου προῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. ἐσπέρας δ' ἐπιγιγνομένης ἔλαθε στρατοπεδευσά-
HEILENICA, VI. v. 15-17

he took dinner in the territory of Tegea, and on the following day crossed into the territory of the Mantineans and encamped at the foot of the mountains to the west of Mantinea; there at the same time he laid waste the land and plundered the farms. Meanwhile the Arcadians who had assembled at Asea made their way by night to Tegea. On the next day Agesilaus encamped at a distance of about twenty stadia from Mantinea. But the Arcadians from Tegea, a very large force of hoplites, made their appearance; they were skirting the mountains between Mantinea and Tegea, desiring to effect a junction with the Mantineans, for the Argives, who came with them, were not in full force. And there were some who tried to persuade Agesilaus to attack these troops separately; he, however, fearing that while he was marching against them the Mantineans might issue forth from their city and attack him in flank and rear, judged it best to allow the two hostile forces to come together and, in case they wished to fight, to conduct the battle in regular fashion and in the open.

The Arcadians from Tegea had by now effected a junction with the Mantineans. On the other hand, the pelotasts from Orchomenus, and with them the horsemen of the Phliasians, made their way during the night past Mantinea and appeared as Agesilaus was sacrificing in front of his camp at daybreak; and they caused the Lacedaemonians to fall hurriedly into line and Agesilaus himself to retire to the camp. But when they had been recognized as friends, and Agesilaus had obtained favourable omens, immediately after breakfast he led his army forward. Later, as evening was coming on, he unwittingly
μενος εἰς τὸν ὁπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινείας,
18 μάλα σύνεγγυς καὶ κύκλῳ ὅρη ἔχοντα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖα ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔθυετο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἰδὼν δὲ συλλεγομένους ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μαντινέων πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρεις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐρᾶς του ἕαυτῶν στρατεύματος, ἔγινω εξακτέον ἐλναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφηγοῖτο, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τῇ οὐρᾷ ἐπίθοιντο οἱ πολέμοιοι. ἰσχυρίαν δὲ ἔχων καὶ τὰ ὀπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἀν' οὐρᾶς εἰς δόρνο ὁπισθεν τῆς φάλαγγας ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ οὕτως ἀμα ἐκ τε τοῦ στενοῦ ἔξηγε καὶ ἱσχυρότεραν αἰὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδεδίπλωτο ἡ φάλαγγα, οὕτως ἔχοντι τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ προελθὼν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐξέτεινε πάλιν ἐπ' ἐννέα ὁ δέκα τὸ στράτευμα ἀ σπίδων. οἱ μέντοι Μαντινείς οὐκέτι ἐξήχαν καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι συστρατευόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἐπειθοῦν μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μάχην, πρῶν οἱ Θῆβαιοι παραγένοιτο· εὖ δὲ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι παρέσομοι· καὶ γὰρ δέκα τάλαντα δεδανείσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ σφῶν εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἰσχύοιν εἶχον ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ.

1 The scene is a long, narrow valley. The rear (ὀπλα) of the Lacedaemonian line is at the head of the valley, while the van, where Agesilaus has his position, is at the opening of the valley into the plain. The enemy are gathering upon the hills on one side of the valley. Agesilaus first faces his troops toward the enemy (τὰ ὀπλα... φαίνων). The marching line is thus transformed, technically, into a “phalanx,”
HELENICA, VI. v. 17–20

encamped in the valley which lies behind the town of Mantinea; it is surrounded by mountains which are only a short distance away. On the following day at daybreak he was offering sacrifices in front of the army; and seeing that troops were gathering from the city of the Mantineans on the mountains which were above the rear of his army, he decided that he must lead his men out of the valley with all possible speed. Now he feared that if he led the way himself, the enemy would fall upon his rear; accordingly, while keeping quiet and presenting his front toward the enemy, he ordered the men at the rear to face about to the right and march along behind the phalanx toward him. And in this manner he was at the same time leading them out of the narrow valley and making the phalanx continually stronger.¹ When the phalanx had thus been doubled in depth, he proceeded into the plain with the hoplites in this formation, and then extended the army again into a line nine or ten shields deep. The Mantineans, however, now desisted from coming forth from their city, for the Eleans, who were making the campaign with them, urged them not to fight a battle until the Thebans arrived; and they said they were quite sure that the Thebans would come, for they had borrowed ten talents from the Eleans themselves for the expenses of the expedition to aid them. The Arcadians, then, upon hearing this, remained quiet in Mantinea;

or line of battle. Then, by the ἀναστροφή (see note on ii. 21), the ὀψίς, i.e. the original rear of the marching line, is folded back and gradually drawn out, "behind the phalanx," to the open end of the valley. The entire army now marches out into the plain. There the process just described is reversed, so bringing the line back to its original form.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ 

ό δ' Ἀγησίλαος καὶ μάλα βουλομένος ἀπάγειν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ γὰρ ἦν μέσος χειμῶν, ὥμος ἦκει κατέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχον τῆς Μαντινέων πόλεως, ὅπως μὴ δοκοῖ φοβοῦμενος σπεύδειν τὴν ἁφοδον. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πρὸ ἀριστοποιησάμενος ἀπῆγεν ὡς σтратοπεδευσόμενος ἐνθαπερ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐταίας ἐξώρισε. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἤγε τὴν ταχίστην εἰς τὴν Εὐταιαν, καίπερ μάλα ὕψίζων, βουλόμενος ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ὀπλίτας πρὶν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἱδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τις εἶποι ὡς φεύγων ἀπαγάγοι. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς πρόσθεν ἀθυμίας ἔδοκε τι ἀνειληφέναι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι καὶ ἐνεβεβλῆκε εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ ἤπειρος τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς ἠθελήκη τῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Δακωνικῇ ἔγενετο, τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέλυσεν οἶκας, τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ἠφήκεν ἐπὶ τὰς εαυτῶν πόλεις.

22 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει καὶ ἰσθοῦντο διαλελυμένου αὐτῶ τὸ στράτευμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἱθροισμένοι ἔτυγχαν, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἁραιᾶς, ὧτι τε οὐκ ἦθελον τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν καὶ ὅτι συνεισεβεβλῆκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνεπίμπτον τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ ἔκοπτον τὰ δένδρα.

'Επεὶ δὲ οἱ Ὀιβαῖοι βεβοηθηκότες παρεῖναι ἔλεγοντο εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὐτως ἀπαλλάττονται ἐκ τῆς Ἁραιᾶς καὶ συμμυγνύουσι τοῖς
and Agesilaus, even though he was exceedingly de-
sirous of leading back his army—for it was mid-winter
—nevertheless remained there for three days, not far away from the city of the Mantineans, that he might not be thought to be hurrying his departure out of fear. On the fourth day, however, after breakfasting early he began his homeward march, intending to encamp at the place where he had originally made camp on his departure from Eutaea. But since none of the Arcadians appeared, he continued his march as rapidly as possible to Eutaea, even though it was very late, with the desire of getting his hoplites away before they even saw the enemy's fires, so that no one could say that he had withdrawn in flight. For he seemed to have brought the state some relief from its former despondency, inasmuch as he had invaded Arcadia and, though he laid waste the land, none had been willing to fight with him. And after he had arrived in Laconia, he let the Spartiates go home and dismissed the Perioeci to their several cities.

As for the Arcadians, since Agesilaus had departed and they learned that his army had been disbanded, while they themselves were still gathered together, they made an expedition against the Heraeans, not only because they refused to be members of the Arcadian League, but also because they had joined with the Lacedaemonians in invading Arcadia. And after entering the territory of Heraea they proceeded to burn the houses and cut down the trees.

It was not until the Thebans with their supporting force were reported to have arrived in Mantinea that the Arcadians departed from Heraea and united
23 ὲθβαίοις. ὡς δὲ ὅμου ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν ὲθβαῖοι καλῶς σφίσιν ὄντο ἐχεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβηθήκεσαν μὲν, πολέμου δὲ οὐδένα ἔτι ἔώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπείναὶ παρεσκευάζοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλείοι ἐπείδην αὐτοὺς ἤγείσθαι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Δακωνικήν, ἐπιδεικνύοντες μὲν τὸ ἐαυτῶν πλῆθος, ὑπερεπαινοῦντες δὲ τὸ τῶν ὲθβαίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτρωι νίκῃ· ἡκολούθουν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκουοι γεγενημένοι καὶ Εὐβοῖαις ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Δοκρῶι ἀμφότεροι καὶ Ἀκαρνάνες καὶ Ἡρακλεώται καὶ Μηλεῖοι· ἡκολούθουν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἵππεῖς τε καὶ πελτασταί. ταῦτα δὴ συνιδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Δακεδαίμονι ἐρημίαν λέγοντες ἴκετευν μηδαμῶς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Δακεδαίμονων χώραν.

24 Οἱ δὲ ὲθβαίοι ἢκουον μὲν ταῦτα, ἀντελογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτη μὲν ἡ Δακωνική ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρούρας δὲ καθεστάναι ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐπροσοδωτάτοις. καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰίῳ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, ἔχων νεοδαμώδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ τετρακοσίους· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Λεύκτρῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτοι οἱ ὲθβαίοι, ὡς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἁν ταχέως τὴν τῶν Δακε-
with the Thebans. When they had joined forces, the Thebans thought that matters stood well with them, inasmuch as they had come to bring aid and there was no longer an enemy to be seen in the land; they accordingly made their preparations for going back. But the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans urged them to lead the way with all speed into Laconia, pointing out the number of their own troops¹ and praising beyond measure the army of the Thebans. For all the Boeotians were now training themselves in the craft of arms, glorying in their victory at Leuctra; and they were reinforced by the Phocians, who had become their subjects, the Euboeans from all their cities, both the Locrian peoples,² the Acarnanians, the Heracleots, and the Malians; they were also reinforced by horsemen and peltasts from Thessaly. The Arcadians, then, seeing all this and describing the dearth of men in Lacedaemon, begged them by no means to turn back before invading the country of the Lacedaemonians.

But while the Thebans listened to this request, they took into account, on the other hand, the fact that Laconia was said to be exceedingly difficult to enter, and that they believed garrisons were posted at the points of easiest access. For Ischolaus was at Oeum, in Sciritis, commanding a garrison composed of emancipated Helots and about four hundred of the youngest of the Tegean exiles; and there was another garrison also at Leuctrum, above Maleatis. The Thebans likewise weighed this consideration, that the force of the Lacedaemonians would gather

¹ The Theban army according to Plutarch (Ages. 31) numbered 40,000 hoplites, while Diodorus (xv. 62) puts the combined forces at more than 70,000 men.
² op. iv. ii. 17.
Δαιμονίων δύναμιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἃν αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἁμείνων ἡ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν. οὐ δὲ πάντα λογιζόμενοι οὐ πάνυ προπετεῖς ἦσαν εἰς τὸ ἴεναι εἰς τὴν Δακεδαιμονα. ἔπει μὲν τοῖς ἦκον ἐκ τε Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἔρημιαν καὶ ὑπισχυόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἡγήσεσθαι, καὶ κελεύοντες, ἂν οἱ ἔξαπατῶντες φαύνωνται, ἀποσφάττειν σφᾶς, παρῆσαν δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν περιοικῶν ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ φάσκοντες ἀποστήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνον φανεῖσθαν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἔλεγον δὲ ὡς καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι οἱ περιοικοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὗκ ἐξέλοιεν βοηθεῖν πάντα οὐν ταῦτα ἀκούοντες καὶ παρὰ πάντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπείσθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ Ἄρκαδες κατὰ Οἰδών τῆς Σκιρίτιδος.

Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δύσβατα προελθὼν ὁ Ἰσχόλαος υφίστατο, οὐδὲνα ἄν ταύτῃ γε ἔφασαν ἀναβήναι νῦν δὲ βουλόμενος τοῖς Οἰάταις συμμάχους χρήσθαι, ἐμείνεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ οἱ δὲ ἀνέβησαν παμπληθείς Ἀρκάδες, ἑνταῦθα δὴ ἀντιπρόσωποι μὲν μαχόμενοι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχόλαον ἐπεκράτουν ἐπεί δὲ καὶ ὅπισθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων ἀναβάλλοντες ἐπαινὸν καὶ ἐβαλλὸν αὐτοὺς, ἑνταῦθα δὲ τὸ Ἰσχόλαος ἀποθυμήσκει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἀμφιγνωθεὶς διέφυγε. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὰς Καρύας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπει ἄσθοντο τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, πολὺ δὴ θρασύ-
quickly and that they would fight nowhere better than in their own country. Therefore, taking into account all these things, they were by no means eager to proceed into Lacedaemon. But when people had come from Caryae telling of the dearth of men, promising that they would themselves act as guides, and bidding the Thebans slay them if they were found to be practising any deception, and when, further, some of the Perioeci appeared, asking the Thebans to come to their aid, engaging to revolt if only they would show themselves in the land, and saying also that even now the Perioeci when summoned by the Spartiates were refusing to go and help them— as a result, then, of hearing all these reports, in which all agreed, the Thebans were won over, and pushed in with their own forces by way of Caryae, while the Arcadians went by way of Óeum, in Sciritis.

Now if Ischolaus had advanced to the difficult part of the pass and had made his stand there, no one, by all accounts, could have accomplished the ascent by that route at least; but in fact, since he wished to employ the Oeans as allies, he remained in the village, and the Arcadians ascended the pass in very great numbers. There, in the face-to-face fighting, the troops with Ischolaus were victorious; but when the enemy showered blows and missiles upon them from the rear, on the flank, and from the houses upon which they mounted, then Ischolaus was killed and all the rest as well, unless one or another slipped through unrecognized. After achieving this deed the Arcadians marched to join the Thebans at Caryae; and when the Thebans heard what had been accomplished by the Arcadians, they proceeded to
XENOPHON

terou katébaivon. kai tìn mév Séllassián eivthús
ékaoi kai épórðoun. épeti de én tò pedífl ëgénounto
év tò teménei tòu 'Apolllwos, énvaúdo éstratopedeússanto: tì d' ústeraía époreúnto.

Kai ìlía mév tís geyfýras ou' épexeíroun dia-
baínein épi tìn pólin kai gar év tò tís 'Aléas
ierf ëfaiónunto ènnavtói oí óplítai. én deixiá d' ëxountes tòn Eúroútan parhísan káontes kai por-
28 òthounes pollón kágathón meéstas oíkías. tòn d' èk tís póleous aí mév gynaíkés ou'de tòn káptiów
órwvai ëneíxontov, áte ou'dépote idóúsvai polemións-
oi dé Sparmítatái àteiéxontov ëxountes tìn pólin,
àllós ìllh diapaxhteis, múla ólignó kai òntes
kai phainómenoi ëphuláttov. èdóxe dè tois télesi
kai proeipéin tois Eliosin, eí tís boúloito óptla
lambánnein kai eís tágw tíðesthesi, tâ pístà
lambánnein òs èleuthérous èsómenous òsoi suv-
29 polemísasei. kai to mév prōtōn ëfasan ápoy-
gráphasv tò plexh ëxákiaschlous, ósste fóbov
áv óutoi paréichov suýntetanýmenv kai lían ëddó-
kouv pollói eínav: èpeti méntoi èmenv mév oí èx
'Orc'hmenouv músthoforóv, èbosthísan dé tòís Dake-
daimonios Fleiásoi te kai Korínthoi kai 'Epí-
daúroí kai Pèllhneis kai ìllhái dé tínes tòn
 póleous, hè kai toús ápoyegrammévous hètòn
òrródovn.

30 'Ovs dè proiðov tò stráteuma ëgéneto kai'
'Amúklas, taúthi diébaivon tòn Eúroútan. kai
ói mév Òthbaíoi, òpou stratópedeúntov, eivthús
96
Hellenica, VI. v. 27–30

make the descent with far greater boldness. Coming to Sellasia, they at once burned and pillaged it; but when they arrived in the plain, they encamped there, in the sacred precinct of Apollo. The next day they marched on.

Now they did not even make the attempt to cross over by the bridge against Sparta, for in the sanctuary of Athena Alea the hoplites were to be seen, ready to oppose them; but keeping the Eurotas on their right they passed along, burning and plundering houses full of many valuable things. As for the people in the city, the women could not even endure the sight of the smoke, since they had never seen an enemy; but the Spartiatae, their city being without walls, were posted at intervals, one here, another there, and so kept guard, though they were, and were seen to be, very few in number. It was also determined by the authorities to make proclamation to the Helots that if any wished to take up arms and be assigned to a place in the ranks, they should be given a promise that all should be free who took part in the war. And it was said that at first more than six thousand enrolled themselves, so that they in their turn occasioned fear when they were marshalled together, and were thought to be all too numerous; but when the mercenaries from Orchomenus remained true, and the Lacedaemonians received aid from the Phliasians, Corinthians, Epidaurians, Pelleneans, and likewise some of the other states, then the Spartiatae were less fearful of those who had been enrolled.

Now when, in its onward march, the army of the enemy came opposite Amyclae, at this point they crossed the Eurotas. And wherever the Thebans encamped they at once threw down in front of their
XENOPHON

οὐν ἔκοπτον δένδρων κατέβαλλον πρὸ τῶν τάξεων ὡς ἐδύνατο πλείστα, καὶ οὗτος ἐφυλάττοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τοῦτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, καταλείποντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα εἰς ἄρπαγην ἔπι τὰς οἰκίας ἔτρεποντο.1 ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἠμέρα τρίτη ἡ τετάρτη προῆλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς τῶν ἱππόδρομον εἰς Γαιανόχου κατὰ τάξεις, οὗ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ὁσι Φωκέων ἡ Θετταλῶν ἡ

31 Λοκρῶν ἱππεῖς παρῆσαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων ἱππεῖς, μάλα οἶδαν φαινόμενοι, ἀντιταγμένοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν. ἐνέδραν δὲ ποιήσαντες ὀπλατῶν τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσον τριακοσίων ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνδαρίδῶν, ἀμα οὗτοι μὲν ἐξέθεον, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἤλαινον. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνέκλιναν. ἠδόντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς φυγήν ὄρμησαν. ἐπεὶ μὲν οὗ τε διάοκοντες ἐπαύσαντο καὶ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα ἔμενε, πάλιν δὴ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλεῖν ἀν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ἢδη τι ἐδόκεις θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι· ἐκείθεν μὲντοι ἀπάραν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἑφ' Ἐλος καὶ Γυθείων. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπίμπρεσαν, Γυθείω δὲ, ἐνθα τα νεώρια τοῖς Δακεδαίμονίοις ἢ, καὶ προσέβαλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἦσαν δὲ τιες τῶν περιοίκων οὔ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θηβαίων.

32

1 ἔτρεποντο MSS. except B: ἔτραποντο Kel. with B.

1 A most striking indication of Xenophon's pro-Spartan feeling (see Introd. p. x) is found in the fact that he here omits all reference to the greatest of the humiliations which Sparta suffered at this time: (1) the re-establishment by Epaminondas, the Theban general, of the independence of 98.
lines the greatest possible quantity of the trees which they cut down, and in this way guarded themselves; the Arcadians, however, did nothing of this sort, but left their camp behind them and turned their attention to plundering the houses. After this, on the third or fourth day of the invasion, the horsemen advanced to the race-course in the sanctuary of Poseidon Gaeacochus by divisions, the Thebans in full force, the Eleans, and all the horsemen who were there of the Phocians, Thessalians, or Locrians. And the horsemen of the Lacedaemonians, seemingly very few in number, were formed in line against them. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians had set an ambush of the younger hoplites, about three hundred in number, in the house of the Tyndaridae,¹ and at the same moment these men rushed forth and their horsemen charged. The enemy, however, did not await their attack, but gave way. And on seeing this, many of the foot-soldiers also took to flight. But when the pursuers stopped and the army of the Thebans stood firm, the enemy encamped again. It now seemed somewhat more certain that they would make no further attempt upon the city; and in fact their army departed thence and took the road toward Helos and Gytheium. And they burned such of the towns as were unwalled and made a three days' attack upon Gytheium, where the Lacedaemonians had their dockyards. There were some of the Perioeci also who not only joined in this attack, but did regular service with the troops that followed the Thebans.²

Messenia, which for centuries had been subject to the Spartans; and (2) the founding of "the great city," Megalopolis, as the capital of an independent Arcadia. Nevertheless, Xenophon alludes several times in the following book to the accomplished fact of Messenian independence and to Megalopolis.
XENOPHON

33 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φροντίδι ἦσαν ὅ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ἐτυχον δὲ παρόντες πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἐτί υπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτῶν. οἶδεν δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἄρακος καὶ Ὀκυλλός καὶ Φάραξ καὶ Ἐτυμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλονθεὺς σχεδὸν πάντες παραπλήσια ἔλεγον. ἀνεμίμνησκον τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς αἰεὶ ποτὲ ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καιροῖς παρίσταντο ἐπʼ ἀγαθοὶς αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἔφασαν τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ότε αὐτοῖ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων, προθύμως βοηθεῖν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ὅσʼ ἀγαθὰ εἶχα, ὅτε κοινῶς ἀμφότεροι ἔπραττον, ὑπομιμησκόντες μὲν ὡς τὸν βάρβαρον κοινῆ ἀπεμαχέσαντο, ἀναμιμησκόντες δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναίοι τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρεθαν ἡγεμόνες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων φύλακες, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συμβουλομένων, αὐτοὶ τε κατὰ γῆν ὀμολογομένως ύφ’ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες προκρίθησαν, συμβουλομένων αὐτοί ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ οὐδὲ πως ἔπεμν' Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὀμονοίσωμεν, νῦν ἐλπίς το πάλαι λεγόμενον δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους. οἱ μὲντοι Ἀθηναίοι οὐ πάνω ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ θρόνως τις τοιούτος διήλθεν

1 The house of the Peisistratidae, in 511 B.C.
2 In the so-called Third Messenian War, 464-455 B.C.
HELLENICA, VI. v. 33-35

When the Athenians heard of all these things, they were in a state of concern as to what they should do in regard to the Lacedaemonians, and by resolution of the Senate they called a meeting of the Assembly. Now it chanced that there were present ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians and of the allies who still remained to them. Wherefore the Lacedaemonians spoke—Aracus, Ocyllus, Pharax, Etymocles, and Olon-theus—almost all of them saying much the same things. They reminded the Athenians that from all time the two peoples had stood by one another in the most important crises for good ends; for they on their side, they said, had aided in expelling the tyrants\(^1\) from Athens, while the Athenians, on the other hand, gave them zealous assistance at the time when they were hard pressed by the Messenians.\(^2\) They also described all the blessings which were enjoyed at the time when both peoples were acting in union, recalling how they had together driven the barbarian back, recalling likewise how the Athenians had been chosen by the Greeks as leaders of the fleet and custodians of the common funds,\(^3\) the Lacedaemonians supporting this choice, while they had themselves been selected by the common consent of all the Greeks as leaders by land, the Athenians in their turn supporting this selection. And one of them even said something like this: “But if you and we, gentlemen, come to agreement, there is hope now that the Thebans will be decimated, as the old saying has it.” The Athenians, however, were not very much inclined to accept all this, and a murmur went round to the effect that

\(^1\) Referring to the formation of the Confederacy of Delos, 477 B.C.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ\n

ως νῦν ταύτα λέγοιεν, ὅτε δὲ εὐ ἐπραττον, ἐπεκείντο ἡμῖν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔδοκε εἶναι ὅτι ἴνικα κατεπολέμησαν αὐτοὺς, Θηβαῖοις βουλομένων ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι τὰς Ἀθηναίας, σφείς ἐμποδῶν γένοιτο. οὐ δὲ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ως κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους βοηθείν δέοι: οὐ γὰρ ἀδικησάντων σφών ἐπιστρατεύοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις, ὁτι οἱ Μαντινεῖς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς. διέθει οὖν καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ: οἱ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενου ἀποθανοῦσιν ὑπὲ τῶν περὶ Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ ἀδικείν, ὅτι ὅπλα ἐπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.

37 Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνέστη Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε: Ἀλλὰ ταύτα μέν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵσως ἀντιλέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἀρξαντες ἀδικεῖν ἡμῶν δὲ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἐχει τις κατηγορήσαι ἡ ὡς ἐπι πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἡ ὡς χρήματα τινων ἔλαβομεν ἡ ὡς γὴν ἀλλοστριαν ἐδήσαμεν; ἄλλ᾽ ὡμοὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἔλθοντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκόφασι καὶ σκίας κατακεκάυκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα διηρπάκασι. πῶς οὖν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθήτε ὑπὸ περιφανῶς ἡμῖν ἀδικομένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ποιῆσετε; καὶ
"this is what they say now, but in the time when they were prosperous they were hostile to us." The weightiest of the arguments urged by the Lacedaemonians seemed to their hearers to be, that at the time when they subdued the Athenians, though the Thebans wanted to destroy Athens utterly, it was they who had prevented it. Most stress was laid, however, upon the consideration that the Athenians were required by their oaths to come to their assistance; for it was not because the Lacedaemonians had done wrong that the Arcadians and those with them were making an expedition against them, but rather because they had gone to the aid of the Tegeans for the reason that the Mantineans, in violation of their oaths, had taken the field against them. At these words an uproar again ran through the Assembly; for some said that the Mantineans had done right in avenging the followers of Proxenus who had been slain by the followers of Stasippus, while others said that they were in the wrong because they had taken up arms against the Tegeans.

While the Assembly itself was trying to determine these matters, Cleiteles, a Corinthian, arose and spoke as follows: "Men of Athens, it is perhaps a disputed point who began the wrong-doing; but as for us, can anyone accuse us of having, at any time since peace was concluded, either made a campaign against any city, or taken anyone's property, or laid waste another's land? Yet, nevertheless, the Thebans have come into our country, and have cut down trees, and burned down houses, and seized property and cattle. If, therefore, you do not aid us, who are so manifestly wronged, will you not surely be acting in violation of your oaths? They were the same oaths,
ταύτα ὃν αὐτὸι ἐπεμελήθητε ὁρκῶν ὅπως πᾶσιν ὑμῖν πάντες ἥμεις ὁμόσαμεν; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθορύβησαν ὡς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρηκτός τοῦ Κλειτέλους.

38 Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος καὶ εἶπεν· "Ὅτι μέν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐκποδῶν γένοιτο Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπὶ πρῶτος ἂν ὑμᾶς στρατεύσαιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πᾶσιν οἴμαι τούτο δήλον εἶναι. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνους ἂν ὑμᾶς οὐσιν ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι αὐτῶς τῶν Ἐλλήνων. εἰ δ’ οὕτως ἔχει, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Δακεδαιμονίου ἂν ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι στρατεύσαντας βοηθήσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ δυσμενεῖς οὕτως ὑμῖν Θηβαίους καὶ ὁμόρους οἰκοῦντας ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι τῶν Ἐλλήνων πολὺ οἴμαι χαλεπῶτερον ἂν ὑμῖν φανῆναι ἢ ὁπότε πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους εἶχετε. συμφορῶτερόν γε μεντᾶν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσατε ἐν ὃ ἔτι εἰσίν οἱ συμμαχοῦν ἢ ἢ ἔστω ἀπολομένως αὐτῶν μόνοι ἀναγκάζοισθε διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους.

39 Ἐν δὲ τινες φοβοῦνται μὴ ἐὰν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵτι ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχωσιν ὑμῖν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἄν εὗ ἄλλο οὕς ἂν κακῶς τις ποιῇ φοβεῖσθαι δεῖ μὴ ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν. ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε χρή, ὅτι κτάσθαι μὲν τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλεις προσήκει, ὅταν ἔρρωμενεστατοὶ δῶσιν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν, εάν ποτ’ ἔδύνατοι γένωνται, ἑπικουρίαιν

104
HELENICA, VI. v. 37-40

you remember, that you yourselves took care to have all of us swear to all of you.” Thereupon the Athenians shouted their approval, saying that Cleiteles had spoken to the point and fairly.

Then Procles, a Phliasian, arose after Cleiteles and said: “Men of Athens, it is clear to everyone, I imagine, that you are the first against whom the Thebans would march if the Lacedaemonians were got out of the way; for they think that you are the only people in Greece who would stand in the way of their becoming rulers of the Greeks. If this is so, I, for my part, believe that if you undertake a campaign, you would not be giving aid to the Lacedaemonians so much as to your own selves. For to have the Thebans, who are unfriendly to you and dwell on your borders, become leaders of the Greeks, would prove much more grievous to you, I think, than when you had your antagonists far away. Furthermore, you would aid yourselves with more profit if you should do so while there are still people who would fight on your side, than if they should perish first and you should then be compelled to enter by yourselves upon a decisive struggle with the Thebans.

“Now if any are fearful that in case the Lacedaemonians escape this time, they may again in the future cause you trouble, take thought of this, that it is not those whom one benefits, but those whom one injures, of whom one has to fear that they may some day attain great power. And you should bear in mind this likewise, that it is meet both for individuals and for states to acquire a goodly store in the days when they are strongest, in order that, if some day they become powerless, they may draw
XENOPHON

41 τῶν προπεπονημένων. ὕμιν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινός καὶ ρὸς παραγεγένηται, ἐὰν δεομένοις βοήθησητε Δακεδαίμονίσως, κτήσασθαι τούτοις εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασίστους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐκ ἔπτ ὅλγον μοι δοκοῦσι μαρτύρων νῦν ἀν εὐ παθεῖν υφ’ ὑμῶν. ἀλλ’ εἰσονταί μὲν ταῦτα θεοὶ οἱ πάντα ὀρώντες καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς ἀεί, συνεπίστανται δὲ τὰ γνωμόμενα δὴ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ πολέμοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀπαντεῖς Ἐλληνες τε καὶ βάρ-

42 βαροὶ. οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἠμελές. ὡστε εἰ κακοὶ φανεῖσαν περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἂν ποτε ἐτί πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐπίπειεν δὲ χρὴ ὡς ἄνδρας ἄγαθους μᾶλλον ἥ κακοὺς αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι· εἰ γὰρ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ οὗτοι δοκοῦσι διατελεκέναι ἐπαίνου μὲν ὀρεγόμενοι, αἱσχρῶν δὲ ἔργων ἀπεχόμενοι.

43 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐνθυμήθητε καὶ τάδε. εἰ ποτε πάλιν ἔλθωι τῇ Ἐλλάδι κίνδυνος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τίσιν ἂν μᾶλλον πιστεύσατε ἡ Δακεδαίμονίσως; τινας δὲ ἂν παραστάτας ἥδιον τούτων ποιήσαισθε, ὅν γε καὶ οἱ ταχθέντες ἐν Θερμοπόλαις ἀπαντεῖς εἴλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ ξώντες ἐπεισφρέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἐλλάδι; πῶς οὖν οὐ δίκαιον ὃν τε ἐνεκα ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἄγαθοι μεθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ ὃν ἐπίτες καὶ αὖθις γενέσθαι πάσαν προθυμίαν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέχεσθαι;

44 Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων συμμάχων αὐ-

 τοῖς ἕνεκα προθυμίαν ἐνδείξασθαι. εἰ γὰρ

1 αὐτοῖς MSS.: Kel. brackets.
upon their previous labours for succour. So to you has now been offered by some god an opportunity, in case you aid the Lacedaemonians in their need, of acquiring them for all time as friends who will plead no excuses. For it is not in the presence of only a few witnesses, as it seems to me, that they would now receive benefit at your hands, but the gods will know of this, who see all things both now and for ever, and both your allies and your enemies know also what is taking place, and the whole world of Greeks and barbarians besides. For to none of them all is it a matter of indifference. Therefore, if the Lacedaemonians should show themselves base in their dealings with you, who would ever again become devoted to them? But it is fair to expect that they will prove good rather than base men, for if any people in the world seem consistently to have striven for commendation and to have abstained from deeds of shame, it is truly they. Besides all this, take thought of the following considerations likewise. If ever again danger should come to Greece from barbarians, whom would you trust more than the Lacedaemonians? Whom would you more gladly make your comrades in the ranks than these, whose countrymen, posted at Thermopylae, chose every man to die fighting rather than to live and admit the barbarian to Greece? Therefore, both because they proved themselves brave men along with you, and because there is hope that they will so prove themselves again, is it not surely right that you and we alike should show all good-will toward them?

"It is also worth while to show the Lacedaemonians good-will for the sake of the allies who are present with them. For be well assured that those who
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

ἰστε ὅτι οὗτοι τούτοις πιστοὶ διαμένουσιν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, οὗτοι καὶ οὐκ ἄσχυνοντ' ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδόντες χάριτας. εἰ δὲ μικραὶ δοκοῦμεν πόλεις εἶναι αἱ τῶν κινδύνου μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ἐθέλουσαι, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις προσγένηται, οὐκέτι μικραὶ πόλεις ἐσώμεθα αἱ βοηθοῦσαι αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὁ ἀνδρεὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, πρόσθεν μὲν ἄκοινών ἐξῆλθον τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πόλεως ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀδικομένους καὶ τοὺς φοβομένους ἐνθάδε καταφεύγοντας ἐπικουρίας ἦκουσιν τυγχάνειν· νῦν δ' οὐκέτι ἄκοιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς Ἰδὶ παρῶν ὁρῶ Λακεδαμιόνιοι τε τοὺς ἐνομαστοτάτους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους φίλους αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τῇ ἦκουσι καὶ δεομένους αὐτῶν ἐπικουρήσατι. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ Θεβαίους, οἳ τότε οὐκ ἐπείσαν Λακεδαμιόνιοι ἐξαιρεθήσασθαι ὑμᾶς, νῦν δεομένους ὑμῶν περιδεῖν ἀπολομένους τοὺς σώσαντας ὑμᾶς.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρων προφόνων καλὸν λέγεται, ὅτε τοὺς Ἀρηγείους τελευτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ οὐκ εἶασαν ἀτάφους γενέσθαι· νῦν δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἔτι ἡζόντας Λακεδαμιόνιοί μὴ ὑβρισθῆναι μὴτε ἀπολέσθαι ἐάσατε. καλοῦ γε μὴ κάκεινον ὄντος, ὅτε σχόντες τῇ Ἐὐρυσθέως ὑβριν διεσώσατε τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας, πῶς οὐ καὶ ἐκείνον τὸ δέ κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περισώσατε; πάντων δὲ κάλ-

1 See § 35 above, and cp. note on iii. 13.

108
remain faithful to them in their misfortunes are the very men who would be ashamed if they did not make due requital to you. And if we who are willing to share the peril with them seem to be small states, reflect that if your state is added to our number, we who aid them shall no longer be small states. In former days, men of Athens, I used from hearsay to admire this state of yours, for I heard that all who were wronged and all who were fearful fled hither for refuge, and here found assistance; now I no longer hear, but with my own eyes at this moment see the Lacedaemonians, those most famous men, and their most loyal friends appearing in your state and in their turn requesting you to assist them. I see also the Thebans, who then did not succeed in persuading the Lacedaemonians to enslave you, now requesting you to allow those who saved you to perish.

"It is truly a noble deed that is told of your ancestors, when they did not suffer those Argives who died at the Cadmea to go unburied; but you would achieve a far nobler deed if you did not suffer those Lacedaemonians who still live either to incur insult or to perish. And while that other deed was also noble, when you checked the insolence of Eurystheus and preserved the sons of Heracles, would it not surely be an even nobler one if you saved from perishing, not merely the founders, but the whole state as well? And noblest of all deeds

1 After the defeat of the legendary expedition of the "Seven against Thebes" it was only the intervention of the Athenians which compelled the Thebans to permit the burial of the enemy's dead.

2 The sons of Heracles, driven from Peloponnesus by Eurystheus, found protection and aid at Athens.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

λιστον, εἰ ψήφω ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ὡμᾶς τότε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, νῦν ὡμεῖς σὺν ὁπλοῖς τε καὶ
dιὰ κινδύνων ἐπικουρῆσετε αὐτοῖς. ὅποτε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαλλόμεθα οἱ¹ συναγορεύοντες βοη-
θῆσαι ἀνδράσιν ἄγαθοίς, ἢ ποῦ ὦμιν γε τοῖς ἔργῳ δυνάμενοις βοηθῆσαι γενναία ἀν ταῦτα
φανεῖη, εἰ πολλάκις καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι
γενόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίωι μὴ ὄν ἐβλάβητε μᾶλλον
ἡ ὄν εὗ ἐπάθητε μηνηθεὶτε καὶ χάριν ἀποδείητε
αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπὲρ ὦμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἄγαθοὶ ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο.

49 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν
μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἴνείχοντο ἀκουόντες, ἐψή-
φίσαντο δὲ βοηθεῖν πανδημεί, καὶ Ἰφικράτην
στρατηγὸν εἴλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο καὶ
παρῆγγειλεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, πολ-
λοὺς ἔφασαν προτέρους αὐτῶν Ἰφικράτους ἐξελ-
θεῖν. ἕκ δὲ τούτου ἤγειτο μὲν ὁ Ἰφικράτης, οἱ δὲ
ἡκολούθουν, νομίζοντες ἐπὶ καλῶν τι ἔργον ἴγη-
σεθαί. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Κόρινθον διέτριβε
τινας ἡμέρας, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῇ διατριβῇ
πρῶτον ἔψεγον αὐτῶν ὡς δὲ ἔξηγαγέ ποτε, προ-
θύμως μὲν ἡκολούθουν ὅποι ἤγοιτο, προθύμως δ',

50 εἰ πρὸς τεῖχος προσάγοι, προσέβαλλον. τῶν δὲ
ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ πολέμων Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ
Ἀργείαι καὶ Ἡλεῖαι πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἀτὲ
ὀμοροὶ οἰκούντες, οἱ μὲν ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ φέροντες

¹ οἱ MSS.: Kel. brackets.
if, after the Lacedaemonians saved you then by a vote, void of danger, you shall aid them now with arms and at the risk of your lives. Again, when even we, who by word urge you to aid brave men, are proud of doing so, it would manifestly be generous of you, who are able to aid by act, if, after being many times both friends and enemies of the Lacedaemonians, you should recall, not the harm you have suffered at their hands, but rather the favours which you have received, and should render them requital, not in behalf of yourselves alone, but also in behalf of all Greece, because in her behalf they proved themselves brave men."

After this the Athenians deliberated, and they would not endure to listen to those who spoke on the other side, but voted to go to the aid of the Lacedaemonians in full force, and chose Iphicrates as general. And when his sacrifices had proved favourable and he had issued orders to his men to dine in the Academy, many, it is said, went thither ahead of Iphicrates himself. After this Iphicrates led the way and they followed, believing that he would lead them to some noble achievement. And when, after arriving in Corinth, he delayed there for some days, they at once began to censure him, for the first time, for this delay; then when he at length marched them forth, they eagerly followed wherever he led the way, and eagerly attacked any stronghold against which he brought them. As for the enemy in Lacedaemon, many Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans had already departed, inasmuch as they lived just across the border, some of them leading and others

1 cp. II. ii. 8.
ο τι ἠρπάκεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπίεναι ἐβουλύντο ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἔωρων ἐλάττονα τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ἡμέραν γιγνομένην, τὰ δὲ, ὅτι σπανιότερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνύλωτο, τὰ δὲ διήρ- παστο, τὰ δὲ ἐξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς δὲ ἔτι καὶ χειμών ἦν, ὡστ' ἦδη πάντες ἀπίεναι ἐβουλύντο. ὣς δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονοῦ, οὗτῳ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἰφικράτης τοῦ 'Ἀθηναίου ἀπῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἐστρατήγησεν, οὐ ψέγω. ἐκεῖνα μέντοι ἀ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκεῖνῳ ἔστρεφε, πάντα εὐρύσκω τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἁσυμφόρως πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ τῷ 'Ονεώ, ὡς μὴ δύναντο οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπελθὲιν οἰκαδὲ, παρέλιπεν ἄφυλακτον τὴν καλλιστὴν παρὰ Κεγχρείας πάροδον. μαθεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος εἰ παρεληλυθότες εἰλὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ Ὥνειον ἐπεμψε σκοποῦσι τούς τε Ἀθηναίων ἰππέας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίων ἀπαντας. καίτοι ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔττον ὄλγοι τῶν πολλῶν ἰκανοὶ· εἰ δὲ δέοι ἄποχωρεῖν, πολὺ ρᾴν τοῖς ὄλγοις ἡ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ὀδὸν εὐπόρου τυχεῖν καὶ καθ' ἱσυχίᾳ ἄποχωρῆσαι. τὸ δὲ πολλοὺς τε προσάγειν καὶ ἔττονας τῶν ἐναντίων πῶς οὐ πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἢτε ἐπὶ πολὺ παραταξάμενοι χωρίον οἱ ἰππεῖς διὰ τὸ πολλοὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ ἐδει ἄποχωρεῖν, πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο· ὡστε οὐκ ἔλαττος ἀπώλειον εἰκοσιν ἰππέων. καὶ τότε μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὡπως ἔβουλυντο ἀπῆλθον.
carrying what they had taken as plunder. On the other hand, the Thebans and the rest were desirous of departing from the country, partly for the very reason that they saw their army growing daily smaller, and partly because provisions were scantier, the supply having been in part used up or stolen away, in part wasted or burned up; besides, it was winter, so that by this time all alike wanted to withdraw. When, accordingly, they proceeded to retire from Lacedaemon, then, of course, Iphicrates likewise proceeded to lead back the Athenians from Arcadia to Corinth. Now I have no fault to find with any good generalship he may have shown on any other occasion; but as regards all his actions at that time, I find them to have been either futile or inexpedient. For while he undertook to keep guard at Oneum so that the Thebans should not be able to get back home, he left unguarded the best pass, which led past Cenchreae. And when he wanted to find out whether the Thebans had passed Oneum, he sent as scouts all the horsemen both of the Athenians and of the Corinthians. And yet a few men would have been quite as efficient for seeing as the many; while if it were necessary to retire, it would be much easier for the few than for the many both to find an easy route and to retire at their leisure. But to employ a force that was numerous and still inferior to the enemy—was this not surely the height of folly? For inasmuch as the horsemen extended their line over a large space because they were a large force, when it was necessary to retire they encountered a large number of difficult places, so that no fewer than twenty horsemen lost their lives. At that time, then, the Thebans returned home as they pleased.
BOOK VII
Γ

1. Τῷ ὁ ὅστερῷ ἔτει Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις ἦλθον αὐτοκράτορες 'Αθηναίοις, οἱ συμμαχίας Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔσοντο. λέγοντων δὲ πολλῶν μὲν ἡγέσαν, πολλῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ός δέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱσοῖς καὶ ὁμοίοις τῆν συμμαχίαν εἶναι, Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος εἶπε τόνδε τῶν λόγων.

2. Ἐπείπερ, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ἠγαθῶν ὑμῖν ἔδοξέν εἰναι Λακεδαιμονίων φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι χρήναι τούτο σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἡ φίλια στὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον συμμενεῖ. ἐὰν οὖν ἦ ἐκατέρως μάλιστα συνοίσει, ταῦτῃ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ποιήσωμεθα, οὕτω κατὰ γε τὸ εἰκὸς μάλιστα συμμένοιν ἂν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σχόδον τι συνωμολόγηται, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας νῦν ἡ σκέψις. τῇ μὲν οὖν βουλῇ προβεβούλενται ἴμετέραν μὲν εἶναι τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τὴν κατὰ γῆν. ἔμοι δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα οὖκ ἄνθρωπίνη μᾶλλον γνώμη ἡ θεία φύσει τε καὶ τύχῃ διωρίσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τότον ἔχετε κάλλιστα πεθυκότα πρὸς τούτο. πλείσται γὰρ πόλεις τῶν δεομένων τῆς θαλάττης περὶ τῆς ὑμε-

1 Inserted by Kel., following Pluygers.
BOOK VII

I. In the following year ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, with full powers, came to Athens to take counsel as to what should be the terms of the alliance between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. And while many foreigners and many Athenians said that the alliance ought to be on terms of full equality, Procles the Phliasian made the following speech:

"Men of Athens, since you have decided that it is a good thing to make the Lacedaemonians your friends, it seems to me that you ought to consider this point, how the friendship is to endure for the longest possible time. Now it is only by making the compact on such terms as will be most advantageous to each party that we can expect it to be, in all probability, most enduring. The other points, then, have been pretty well agreed upon, but the question of the leadership is at present under discussion. Now it has been proposed by your Senate that the leadership by sea shall belong to you, and the leadership by land to the Lacedaemonians. And I, too, think that this distinction is based, not so much upon human judgment as upon divine arrangement and ordering. In the first place, you have a position most excellently adapted by nature for supremacy by sea. For most of the states which are dependent upon the sea are situated
XENOPHON

tέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦσι, καὶ αὐταὶ πᾶσαι ἀσθενεῖστεραὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ λιμένας ἔχετε, ὅν ἄνευ οὐχ οἶον τε ναυτικὴ δυνάμει χρησθαί. ἔτι δὲ τριήρεις κέκτησθε πολλάς, καὶ πά-4 τριον ὕμων ἔστι ναυτικὸν ἐπικτᾶσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὰς γε τέχνας τὰς περὶ ταύτα πᾶσας οἰκείας ἔχετε. καὶ μὴν ἐμπειρία γε πολὺ προέχετε τῶν ἄλλων περὶ τὰ ναυτικά: ὁ γὰρ βίος τοῖς πλείστοις ὕμων ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὡστε τῶν ἱδίων ἐπιμελῶμενοι ἃμα καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγώνων ἐμπειροὶ γίγνεσθε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε. οὐδαμῶθεν ἀν τριήρεις πλείον ἀθρόαι ἐκπεύσειαν ἢ παρ' ὕμων. ἔστι δὲ τούτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον πρὸς ἡγε-μονίαν πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἱσχυρὸν γενόμενον 5 ἡδίστα πάντες συλλέγονται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν δέδοται ὕμων εὐτυχεῖν ἐν τούτῳ. πλείστους γὰρ καὶ μεγίστους ἁγώνας ἡγωνισμένου κατὰ θάλατταν ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἀποτευχήκατε, πλείστα δὲ κατωρθώκατε. εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεθ' ὕμων ἐν ἡδίστα τούτου τοῦ κινδύνου μετέ-6 χείν. ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀναγκαία καὶ προσήκουσα ὕμων αὐτή ἡ ἐπιμέλεια ἐκ τῶν ἐνθυμήθητε· Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὕμων ἐπολέμουν ποτὲ πολλὰ ἔτη, καὶ κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν προύκοπτον εἰς τὸ ἀπολέσαι ὕμᾶς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ θεὸς ἐδωκέ ποτε αὐτοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπικρατήσας, εὐθὺς ὑπ'
round about your state, and they are all weaker than yours. In addition to this, you have harbours, without which it is not possible to enjoy naval power. Furthermore, you already possess many triremes, and it is a traditional policy of yours to keep adding ships. You likewise possess as peculiarly your own all the arts and crafts which have to do with ships. Again, you are far superior to other men in experience of nautical affairs, for most of you get your livelihood from the sea; hence, while attending to your private concerns, you are also at the same time gaining experience for encounters by sea. Here is another point also: there is no port from which more triremes can sail forth at one time than from your city. And this is a matter of no slight importance with reference to leadership, for all men love best to join forces with the power which is first to show itself strong. Furthermore, it has also been granted you by the gods to be successful in this pursuit. For while you have engaged in very many and very great combats by sea, you have met with an exceedingly small number of misfortunes and have achieved an exceedingly large number of successes. Therefore it is likely that the allies would like best to share in such perils if they were under your leadership. And that this devotion to the sea is indeed both necessary and proper for you, you must conclude from the following fact: the Lacedaemonians once made war upon you for many years, and though masters of your land could make no progress toward destroying you. But when at length the deity granted them to win the mastery by sea,

¹ The reference is to the Peloponnesian War, which was terminated by the capture of the Athenian fleet by the Lacedaemonians at Aegospotami (Hell. II. i. 20–32).
XENOPHON

ἐκεῖνοις παντελῶς ἐγένεσθε. οὐκοῦν εὐδήλουν ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπασα ὑμῖν ἦρτηται σωτηρία. οὐτως οὖν πεφυκότων πῶς ἂν ἔχωι καλῶς ὑμῖν Δακεδαιμονίους ἐπιτρέψαι κατὰ θάλατταν ἤγειρθαι, οἱ πρῶτοι μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀπειρότεροι ὑμῶν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' οὐ περὶ τῶν ἵσων ὁ κίνδυνος ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἁγῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοις μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι μόνον ἀνθρώπων, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως;

8 Τὰ μὲν δὴ ύμέτερα οὗτοι ἔχειν τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ἐπισκέψασθε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ· ὅστε τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντες καὶ εἰ θαλάττης εὐργοιοντο, δύναντ' ἂν καλῶς διαζῆν. ἐγνωκότες οὖν καὶ οὕτω ταύτα εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδῶν πρὸς τὸν κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον τήν ἄσκησιν ποιοῦνται. καὶ τὸ πλείστον δὲ ἄξιον, τὸ πείθονται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὕτω μὲν κράτιστοι κατὰ γῆν, ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐπειτα δὲ ὡσπερ ὑμεῖς ναυτικῷ, οὔτως αὖ ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ γῆν πλείστοι καὶ τάχιστ' ἂν εξέλθουσιν· ὅστε πρὸς τούτους αὐτοὺς κατὰ γῆν εἰκός τοὺς συμμάχους εὐθαρσεστάτους προσεῖναι. ἐτι δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς δέδωκεν, ὡσπερ ὑμῖν κατὰ θάλατταν εὐτυχεῖν, οὔτως εἰκόνοις κατὰ γῆν πλείστους γὰρ αὖ οὕτω ἁγώνας ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡγωνισμένου ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἐσφαλμένοι εἰσὶ, πλείστα δὲ κατωρθωκότες. ὡς· δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαία οὐδὲν ἦττον τούτους ἡ κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμέλεια ἡ ὑμῖν ἡ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων

1 κατὰ γῆν inserted by Kel., following Hartman.
straightway you fell completely under their power. 809 B.C. In these circumstances, therefore, it is plain to be seen that all your safety depends upon the sea. Such, then, being the situation ordained by nature, how could you be content to allow the Lacedaemonians to be leaders by sea, when, in the first place, they themselves admit that they are less experienced than you are in this work, and when, in the second place, they do not risk as much as you do in contests by sea, but merely the people on board the triremes, whereas you risk wives and children and the entire state.

"This is the situation on your side; consider now that of the Lacedaemonians. Firstly, they dwell in the interior; hence, so long as they are masters of the land, they can lead a comfortable existence even if they are shut off from the sea. Therefore, realizing this fact themselves, they carry on their training from their very boyhood with a view to war by land. Furthermore, in that which is of the greatest importance, obedience to their commanders, they are best by land, as you are by sea. Again, they on their side can set forth by land, as you can with a fleet, in greatest numbers and with greatest speed; therefore it is to them in turn that the armies of the allies would be likely to attach themselves with greatest confidence. Besides, the deity has granted, as to you success by sea, so to them success by land; for while they on their side have engaged in very many combats on the land, they have incurred an exceedingly small number of defeats, and have won an exceedingly large number of victories. And that this devotion to the land is no less necessary for them than devotion to the sea for you, one may

121
XENOPHON

έξεστι γυγνώσκειν. ύμεις γὰρ τούτων πολλὰ ἔτη πολεμοῦντες καὶ πολλάκις καταναυμαχοῦντες οὐ-
δὲν προύργου ἐποιεῖτε πρὸς τὸ τούτων καταπολε-
μῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄπαξ ἡττήθησαν ἐν τῇ γῇ, εὐθὺς καὶ
περὶ παίδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ ὅλης
τῆς πόλεως κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς ἔγενετο. πῶς οὖν οὐ
τούτως αὐτῶν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐπιτρέπειν κατὰ γῆν
ἡγείσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀριστα τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐπι-
μελεῖσθαι; ἐγώ μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ τῇ βουλῇ προ-
βεβούλευται, ταῦτα εἰρήκα τε καὶ συμφορώτατα
ἡγοῦμαι ἀμφοῖν εἶναι. ύμεῖς δὲ εὐτυχοῦτε τὰ κρά-
τιστα πᾶσιν ἤμῖν βουλευσάμενοι.

12 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἴπεν, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ οἱ
τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων παρόντες ἐπήνευσαν ἀμφό-
τεροι ἰσχυρῶς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ. Κηφισόδοτος δὲ
παρελθὼν Ἀνδρέας Ἀθηναίοι, ἔφη, οὐκ αἰσθά-
νεσθε ἐξαπαιτώμενοι· ἄλλ' ἐάν ἀκούσητε μου, ἐγὼ
ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπιδείξω. ἦδη γὰρ ἡγήσεσθε
κατὰ θάλατταν. Λακεδαίμονιοι δὲ υμῖν ἐὰν συμ-
μαχῶσι, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψουσι τους μὲν τριήρα-
χους Λακεδαίμονίους καὶ ἰσως τους ἐπιβάτας, οἱ
dὲ ναῦται δῆλον ὅτι 1 ἔσονται ἡ Ἐλλάτες ἡ μισθο-

13 φόροι. οὐκοῦν ύμεῖς μὲν τούτων ἡγήσεσθε. οἱ δὲ
Λακεδαίμονιοι ὅταν παραγγείλωσιν υμῖν κατὰ γῆν
στρατεύαν, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψετε τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ
touς ἵππες. οὐκοῦν οὐτως ἐκεῖνοι μὲν υμῶν
αὐτῶν γίγνονται ἡγεμόνες, ύμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων

1 δῆλον ὅτι MSS. : Kel. brackets, following Nauck.
judge from the results. For you made war upon them for many years, and though you defeated them many times by sea, could make no progress toward subduing them. But so soon as they incurred one defeat on the land, immediately their wives and children and their entire state were at stake. Hence for them, on their side, it would surely be a dreadful thing to allow others to be leaders by land, when they themselves are best at the administration of affairs by land. As for myself, therefore, the course which has been proposed by your Senate is that which I have urged, and which I believe to be most advantageous to both parties; and may you, for your part, be fortunate in reaching the conclusion that is best for us all."

Thus he spoke, and both the Athenians and those Lacedaemonians who were present applauded his speech vigorously. But Cephisodotus came forward and said: "Men of Athens, you do not observe that you are being deceived; but if you will listen to me, I will prove it to you very speedily. As the matter now stands, you are to be leaders by sea. And if the Lacedaemonians are your allies, it is clear that the captains, and perhaps the marines whom they send out, will be Lacedaemonians, but it is also clear that the sailors will be either Helots or mercenaries. You, therefore, will be leaders of these people. When, however, the Lacedaemonians give you the order for a campaign by land, it is clear that you will send your hoplites and your horsemen. By this plan, therefore, they become leaders of your own selves, while you become leaders merely of their slaves and

---

1 The speaker is referring again to the Peloponnesian War.
2 At Leuctra (vi. iv. 1-15).
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

doúlnwv kai ἑλαχίστον ἀξίων. ἀπόκριναι δὲ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Δακεδαμώνιος Τιμόκρατες, οὐκ ἄρτι ἔλεγες ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵσοις καὶ ὀμοίως ἥκοις τὴν συμμαχίαν ποιούμενος; Εἶπον ταῦτα... Ἐστὶν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κηφισόδωτος, ἵσαίτερον ἢ ἐν μέρει μὲν ἐκατέρως ἥγεισθαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ, καὶ ὑμᾶς τέ, εἴ τι ἀγαθόν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῇ, τούτων μετέχειν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ κατὰ γῆν; ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπείσθησαν, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ πενθήμερον ἐκατέρως ἥγεισθαι.

15 Ἡστρατευομένων δὲ ἀμφιτέρων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Κόρινθον ἐδοξε κοινῆ φυλάττειν τὸ Ὀνείον. καὶ ἔπει ἐπορεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, παραταξάμενοι ἐφυλαττοῦν ἄλλος ἀλλοθεν τοῦ Ὀνείου, Δακεδαμώνιοι δὲ καὶ Πελληνεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἔπει ἅπειχον τῶν φυλαττοῦντων τριάκοντα στάδια, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. συντεκμηράμενοι δὲ ἤνικ' ἄν φοντο ὀρμηθέντες καθανύσαι ἁμα κνέφα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν Δακεδαμώνιων φυλακήν ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψευσθήσαν τῆς ᾃρας, ἅλλ' ἐπισπεύσαν τοῖς Δακεδαμώνιοις καὶ τοῖς Πελληνεύσιν ἦνικα οἱ μὲν νυκτεριναὶ φυλακαὶ ἄδη ἐληγοῦν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στιβάδων ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἐκαστος. ἐν-ταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι προσπεσόντες ἐπαινον παρε-σκευασμένοι ἀπαρασκευάστους καὶ συντεταγμένοι

124
their men of least account. Answer me," he said, 369 B.C.
"Timocrates of Lacedaemon, did you not say a
moment ago that you had come with intent to make
the alliance on terms of full equality?" "I did
say that." "Then," said Cephisodotus, "is there
anything more equal than that each party in turn
should be leader of the fleet, and each in turn leader
of the army, and that you, if there is any advantage
in the leadership by sea, should share therein, and
we likewise in the matter of leadership by land?"
Upon hearing this the Athenians were led to change
their minds, and they voted that each party should
hold the leadership in turn for periods of five days.

Now when both peoples and their allies had pro-
ceeded to Corinth, it was determined that they
should together guard Oneum. Accordingly, while
the Thebans and their allies were on the march, they
formed their lines and proceeded to keep guard at
one point and another of Oneum, but the Lacedae-
monians and the Pelleneans at the most assailable
point. And the Thebans and their allies, when they
were distant thirty stadia from the troops on guard,
encamped in the plain. Then, after calculating the
time at which they thought they should start in order
to finish their journey at dawn, they marched upon
the garrison of the Lacedaemonians. And in fact
they did not prove mistaken in the hour, but fell
upon the Lacedaemonians and the Pelleneans at the
time when the night watches were just coming to an
end, and the men were rising' from their camp-beds
and going wherever each one had to go. Thereupon
the Thebans made their attack and laid on their
blows—men prepared attacking those unprepared,
and men in good order against those in disorder.
17 ἀποντάκτος. ὡς δὲ οἱ σωθέντες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν ἑγγύτατα λύφων, ἐξὸν τῷ Δακεδαιμονίῳ πολεμάρχῳ λαβόντι ὀπόσους μὲν ἐβούλετο τῶν συμμάχων ὀπλίτας, ὀπόσους δὲ πελταστάς, κατέχειν τῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξήν ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ Κεγχρείῶν κομίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐποίησε ταύτα, ἀλλὰ μάλα ἀποροῦντων τῶν Θηβαίων πῶς χρὴ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Σικυώνα βλέποντος καταβήναι ἡ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, στονδὰς ποιησάμενος, ὡς τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκει, πρὸς Θηβαίων μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς έαυτῶν, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς μεθ’ αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγεν.

18 Οἱ δὲ Θηβαίοι ἀσφαλῶς καταβάντες καὶ συμμείξαντες τοῖς έαυτῶν συμμάχοις, Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ Ἀργείως καὶ Ἡλείως, εὐθὺς μὲν προσέβαλον πρὸς Σικυώνα καὶ Πελλήνην στρατευσάμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἑπίδαυρον ἐδήσασαν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἐκείθεν μᾶλα πάντων ὑπεροπτικῶς τῶν ἐναντίων, ὡς ἐγένοτο ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κορινθίων ἄστεως, δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειούντα ἱόντι, ὡς εἰ ἀνεφυμέναι τύχοιευ, εἰσπεσοῦμενοι. ἐκβοηθήσαντες δὲ τινὲς ψιλόν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶσι τῶν Θηβαίων τοῖς ἐπίλεκτοις οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχουσι τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τὰ ὑπερέχοντα χωρία, βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν πρῶτων καὶ μᾶλα συχνούς, καὶ
And when such as came out of the affair with their lives had made their escape to the nearest hill, although the polemarch of the Lacedaemonians might have got as many hoplites and as many peltasts as he pleased from the forces of the allies and might have held his position—for supplies might have been brought in safety from Cenchreae—he did not do this, but while the Thebans were in great perplexity as to how they were to descend on the side looking toward Sicyon, failing which they would have to go back again, he concluded a truce which, as most people thought, was more to the advantage of the Thebans than to that of his own side, and under these circumstances departed and led away the troops under his command.

The Thebans, then, after descending in safety and effecting a junction with their allies, the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, immediately attacked Sicyon and Pellene; they also made an expedition to Epidaurus, and laid waste the whole territory of the Epidaurians. Returning from there in a manner which showed great disdain for all their adversaries, as soon as they came near the city of the Corinthians they rushed at the double toward the gates through which one passes in going to Phlius, with the intention of bursting in if they chanced to be open. But some light troops sallied forth from the city against them and met the picked men of the Thebans at a distance of not so much as four plethra from the city walls; then they climbed up on burial monuments and elevated spots, killed a very considerable number of the troops in the front ranks by hurling javelins and other missiles, and after

1 The famous "Sacred Band."
ΧΕΝΟΡΧΩΝ

τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωκον ὡς τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια. τοῦτον δὲ γενομένου οἱ Κορινθιοὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐλκύσαντες καὶ ὑποσπόνδους ἀποδόντες τριπαίδων ἔστησαν. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἀνεψύχθησαν οἱ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχοι.

20 Ἀμα τε δὴ πεπραγμένων τοῦτον καταπλεῖ Δακεδαιμονίων ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου βοήθεια, τριήρεις πλέον ἢ εἰκοσιν. ἦγον δὲ Κελτοὺς τε καὶ Ἰβηρας καὶ ἱππέας ὡς πεντήκοντα. τῇ δ’ ύπτεραί οἱ Θηβαῖοι τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι διαταξάμενοι καὶ ἐμπλήσαντες τὸ πεδίον μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐχομένων τῆς πόλεως γηλόφων ἐφθειρον εἰ τι χρήσιμον ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κορινθίων ἱππεῖς οὐ μάλα ἐπλησίαζον τῷ στρατεύματι,

21 ὀρῶντες ἰσχυρά καὶ πολλὰ τάντισπαλα. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἱππεῖς, ὅσουπερ ἦσαν, οὗτοι διεσκεδασμένοι ἄλλος ἄλλη παραθέσαντες ἡκούντιζον τε προσελάυνοντες, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὄρμων ἐπ’ αὐτούς, ἀνεχόρουν, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφοντες ἡκούντιζον. καὶ τάντα ἀμα ποιοῦντες κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ ἀνεπαύντο. εὶ δὲ καταβεβηκόσιν ἐπελαύνοιεν τινες, εὐπετῶς ἀναπηδώντες ἀνεχόρουν. εἰ δ’ αὐ τινες διώξειαν αὐτοὺς πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τοῦτος, ὅπως ἀποχωροῦεν, ἐπικείμενοι καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες δεινὰ εἰργάζοντο, καὶ πάν τὸ στράτευμα ἡνάγκαζον ἑαυτῶν ἐνεκα καὶ 22 προιέναι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν. μετὰ ταύτα μέντοι οἱ

1 ὅσουπερ ἦσαν MSS.: ὅσοι παρῆσαν Kel.
HELENICA, VII. i. 19–22

putting the rest to flight, pursued them about three or four stadia. When this had taken place the Corinthians dragged the bodies to the wall, and after they had given them back under a truce, set up a trophy. In this way the allies of the Lacedaemonians were renewed in their spirits.

Just after these events had happened, the expedition sent by Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians sailed in, numbering more than twenty triremes. And they brought Celts, Iberians, and about fifty horsemen. On the following day the Thebans and the rest, their allies, after forming themselves in detached bodies and filling the plain as far as the sea and as far as the hills adjoining the city, destroyed whatever of value there was in the plain. And the horsemen of the Athenians and of the Corinthians did not approach very near their army, seeing that the enemy were strong and numerous. But the horsemen sent by Dionysius, few though they were, scattering themselves here and there, would ride along the enemy’s line, charge upon them and throw javelins at them, and when the enemy began to move forth against them, would retreat, and then turn round and throw their javelins again. And while pursuing these tactics they would dismount from their horses and rest. But if anyone charged upon them while they were dismounted, they would leap easily upon their horses and retreat. On the other hand, if any pursued them far from the Theban army, they would press upon these men when they were retiring, and by throwing javelins work havoc with them, and thus they compelled the entire army, according to their own will, either to advance or to fall back. After this, however,
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

Θηβαίοι μείναντες ού πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπῆλθον οἰκαδε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἔκαστος οἰκαδε. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ παρὰ Διονύσιον εἰς Σικυώνα, καὶ μάχη μὲν νικῶσι τοὺς Σικυωνίους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. Δέρας δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ κράτος αἴροσι, καὶ ἦ μὲν παρὰ Διονύσιον πρωτὴ βοήθεια ταῦτα πράξασα ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Συρακούσας.

Θηβαίοι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Δακεδαμιονίων μέχρι μὲν τοῦτον τοῦ χρόνου ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἐπιφευρότο ἡγου-23 μένων Θηβαίων. ἐγγενόμενος δὲ τις Δυκομήθης Μαντινεύς, γένει τε οὐδενὸς ἐνδείης χρήματι τε προήκων καὶ ἄλλως φιλότιμος, οὗτος ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς 'Αρκάδας, λέγων ὡς μόνοις μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρὶς Πελοπόννησος εἰς, μόνοι γὰρ αὐτο-χθονεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῖεν, πλεῖστον δὲ τῶν 'Ελλη-νικῶν φύλων τὸ 'Αρκαδικὸν εἰς καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχοι. καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπεδείκνυε, τεκμῆρια παρεχόμενος ὡς ἐπικούρων ὔποτε δεσθειν τινες, οὐδένας ἤροντο ἀντὶ 'Αρκά-δων. ἔτι δὲ οὔτε Δακεδαμιούνιος πῶς ποτὲ ἀνευ σφῶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς 'Αθῆνας οὔτε νῦν Θη-βαίους ἔλθεῖν ἀνευ 'Αρκάδων εἰς Δακεδαίμονα. 24 'Εαν οὖν σωφρονήτε, τού ἄκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν τοῖς παρακάλη φείσεσθε: ὡς πρῶτορον τε Δακεδαι-μονίοις ἄκολουθούντες ἐκεῖνοις ηὐξῆσατε, νῦν δ', εἰάν Θηβαίους εἰκῇ ἄκολουθήτε καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος 130
the Thebans remained but a few days and then returned home, and the others likewise to their several homes. Then the troops sent by Dionysius invaded the territory of Sicyon, and they not only defeated the Sicyonians in battle on the plain and killed about seventy of them, but captured by storm the stronghold of Deras. After these exploits the first supporting force sent out by Dionysius sailed back to Syracuse.

Up to this time the Thebans and all who had revolted from the Lacedaemonians had been acting and carrying on their campaigns in full accord, under the leadership of the Thebans. Now, however, there appeared a certain Lycomedes of Mantinea, a man inferior to none in birth, foremost in wealth, and ambitious besides, and filled the Arcadians with self-confidence, saying that it was to them alone that Peloponnesus was a fatherland, since they were the only autochthonous stock that dwelt therein, and that the Arcadian people was the most numerous of all the Greek peoples and had the strongest bodies. He also declared that they were the bravest, offering as evidence the fact that whenever men needed mercenaries, there were none whom they chose in preference to Arcadians. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians had never, he said, invaded the territory of Athens without their help, nor had the Thebans at present come to Lacedaemon without the help of the Arcadians. "If you are wise, therefore, you will leave off following wherever anyone summons you; for in former days, by following the Lacedaemonians, you made them great, and now, if you follow the Thebans heedlessly and do not make the claim to enjoy the leadership by turns with them,
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

ηγεῖσθαι ἀξιῶτε, ἵσως τάχα τούτους ἄλλους Λα-
κεδαιμονίους εὔρήσετε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα
ἀκούοντες ἄνεφυσώστο τε καὶ ὑπερεφίλουν τῶν
Ἀυκομῆδην καὶ μόνον ἀνδρὰ ἥγοιντο· ὡστε ἄρ-
χοντας ἐταττον οὕστινας ἐκείνους κελεύοι. καὶ ἐκ
τῶν συμβαινόντων δὲ ἔργων ἐμεγαλύνουτο οἱ Ἀρ-
κάδες· ἐμβαλόντων μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἐσπίδαυρον τῶν
Ἀργείων, καὶ ἀποκλεισθέντων τῆς ἔξοδου ὑπὸ τε
τῶν μετὰ Χαβρίου ἔξων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ
Κορινθίων, βοηθήσαντες μάλα πολυρωκουμένους
ἐξελύσαντο τοὺς Ἀργείους, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνδρά-
σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις πολεμίοις χρώμενοι.
στρατευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀσίνην τῆς Δακαίων
ἐνίκησάν τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρᾶν καὶ
τὸν Γεράνωρα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχον γεγε-
νημένον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ προάστιον τῶν Ἀσι-
ναιῶν ἐπόρθησαν. ὅπου δὲ βουληθεὶκιν ἐξελθεῖν,
οὐ νῦξ, οὐ χειμών, οὐ μῆκος ὅδοι, οὐκ ὀρή δύσ-
βατα ἀπεκώλυνε αὐτούς· ὡστε ἐν γε ἐκεῖνο τῷ
χρόνῳ πολὺ φωντο κράτιστοι εἶναι. οἱ μὲν δὴ
Θηβαῖοι διὰ ταῦτα ὑποφθόνως καὶ ὑπκέτι φιλι-
κώς εἶχον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. οὐ γε μὴν Ἡλείοι
ἐπεὶ ἀπαιτοῦντες τὰς πόλεις τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀσ
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφηρέθησαν, ἐγνώσαν αὐτοὺς
τοὺς μὲν ἐαυτῶν λόγους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιου-
μένους, τοὺς δὲ Τριφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀποστάντας περὶ παντὸς ποιουμένους,
ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἐφάσαν εἶναι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ
Ἡλείοι δυσμενῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς.
it may be that you will soon find in them another set of Lacedaemonians." Upon hearing these words the Arcadians were puffed up, and loved Lycomedes beyond measure, and thought that he alone was a man; so that they appointed as their leaders whomsoever he directed them to appoint. But the Arcadians were exalted as a result also of the actual achievements which fell to their lot; for when the Argives had invaded the country of Epidaurus and their way out had been barred by the mercenaries under Chabrias, and by the Athenians, and the Corinthians, they went to the rescue and released the Argives from an absolute blockade, although they had not only the enemy's troops but also the character of the country to contend with. They also made an expedition to Asine in Laconia, defeated the garrison of the Lacedaemonians, slew Geranor, the Spartiate who had become polemarch, and plundered the outer city of the Asinaeans. And whenever they wished to take the field, neither night nor storm nor length of journey nor difficult mountains would prevent them; so that at that time they counted themselves altogether the strongest of the Greeks. For these reasons the Thebans naturally felt somewhat jealous and no longer friendly toward the Arcadians. As for the Eleans, when they demanded back again from the Arcadians the cities of which they had been deprived by the Lacedaemonians and found that the Arcadians gave no heed to their words, but paid the highest regard to the Taphylians and the others who had revolted from them, because these people said they were Arcadians, as a result of this the Eleans in their turn felt unfriendly toward them.
27 Οὔτω δὲ ἐκάστων μέγα ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶς φρονούντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἔρχεται Φιλίσκος Ἀβύδηνός παρ’ Ἀριστοβαρζάνους χρήματα ἔχον πολλά. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς συνήγαγε περὶ εἱρήνης Θηβαίοις καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔλθοντες τῷ μὲν θεῷ οὐδὲν ἄνεκοινώσαντο ὅπως ἃν ἡ εἱρήνη γένοιτο, αὐτὸι δὲ ἐβουλεύοντο. ἔπει δὲ οὐ συνεχόρουν οἱ Θηβαίοι Μεσσήνην ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι, ξενικὸν πολὺ συνέλεγεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, ὅπως πολεμοῖς μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων.

28 Τούτων δὲ πραπτομένων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου δευτέρα βοήθεια. λεγόντων δὲ Ἄθηναίων μὲν ὡς χρεῶν εἰὴ αὐτῶς, ἱέναι εἰς Θετταλίαν τάναντια Θηβαίοις, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὡς εἰς τὴν Δακωνικήν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐνίκησεν. ἔπει δὲ περιέπλευσαν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λαβὼν αὐτῶς Ἀρχίδαμος μετὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἔστρατεύσεως. καὶ Καρύας μὲν ἔξαιρε κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ὅσοις ξὺντας ἔλαβεν, ἀπέσφαξεν. ἐκεῖθεν δ’ εὖθὺς ἔστρατους ἀναμένεις εἰς Παρρασίους τῆς Ἁρκάδων μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔδησεν τὴν χώραν. ἔπει δ’ ἐβοήθησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Μηλέας γηλόφοις. ἐνταῦθα δ’ ὅντος αὐτοῦ Κισσίδας ὁ ἀρχων τῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου βοηθείας ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐξήκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος ὅσοι εἰρημένοι ἦν παραμένειν. καὶ ἀμα ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν.
HELLENICA, VII. I. 27-29

While the several allies were each thus filled with proud confidence in themselves, Philiscus of Abydus came from Ariobarzanes with a large amount of money. And in the first place he brought together at Delphi the Thebans, their allies, and the Lacedaemonians to negotiate in regard to peace. But when they had arrived there, they did not consult the god at all as to how peace should be brought about, but deliberated for themselves. Since, however, the Thebans would not agree that Messene should be subject to the Lacedaemonians, Philiscus set about collecting a large mercenary force in order to make war on the side of the Lacedaemonians.

While these things were going on the second supporting force sent out by Dionysius arrived. And when the Athenians said that it ought to go to Thessaly to oppose the Thebans, while the Lacedaemonians urged that it should go to Laconia, the latter plan carried the day among the allies. Accordingly, after these troops from Dionysius had sailed round to Lacedaemon, Archidamus took them, along with his citizen soldiers, and set out on an expedition. He captured Caryae by storm and put to the sword all whom he took prisoners. From there he marched at once with his united forces against the people of Parrhasia, in Arcadia, and laid waste their land. But when the Arcadians and Argives came to their assistance, he retired and encamped in the hills above Melea. While he was there Cissidas, the commander of the supporting force from Dionysius, said that the time for which he had been directed to stay had expired. And as soon as he had said this he departed by the road

1 cp. v. i. 28.
2 See note on vi. v. 32.
καὶ ἄπηει τὴν ἐπὶ Σπάρτης. ἔτει δὲ ἀποτελεῖσθαι
μενον ὑπετέμνοντο αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ἐπὶ στενῷ
τῆς ὅδου, ἑνταῦθα δὴ ἑπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον
καὶ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευε. κάκεινος μὲντοι ἐβοήθει·
ἀφ᾽ ἑγένοντο ἐν τῇ ἔπ᾽ Ἐυρησίων ἐκτροπῆ, οἱ
μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργείου προσέβαινον εἰς τὴν
Λάκαιαν, καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἀποκλείσοντες αὐτὸν τῆς
ἐπὶ ὀίκον ὅδοι. ὁ δὲ, οὐπέρ ἐστι χωρίον ἐπίπεδον
ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῆς τε ἐπ᾽ Ἐυρησίων καὶ τῆς
ἐπὶ Μηλέας ὅδοι, ἑνταῦθα ἐκβάς παρετάξατο ὡς
30 μαχούμενοι. ἔφασαν δὲ αὐτόν καὶ πρὸ τῶν λό-
χων παριόντα τοιάδε παρακλεύσασθαι. Ἀνδρεῖς
πολίται, νῦν ἁγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἀναβλέψαμεν ὡρ-
θοῖς ὁμμασίν· ἀποδῶμεν τοῖς ἐπυγνωμένους τὴν
πατρίδα οὖν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρελάβο-
μεν· παυσώμεθα αἰσχυνόμενοι καὶ παῖδας καὶ
γυναῖκας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ξένους, ἐν ὅις πρό-
σθεν γε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιβλεπτότατοι
31 ἦμεν. τούτων δὲ ῥήθηντον εἴς αἰθρίας ἀστραπᾶς
tε καὶ βροντᾶς λέγουσιν αἰσίους αὐτῷ φανῇν·
συνέβη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τέμνονς
tε καὶ ἁγαλμά Ἡρακλέους 1 εἶναι, τοιγαροῦν ἐκ
tούτων πάντων οὕτω πολὺ μένον καὶ θάρρος τοῖς
στρατιώταις φασὶν ἐμπεσεῖν ὡς τ᾽ ἐργον εἰναι τοῖς
ηγεμόσιν ἀνείργειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀδομένους
eἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἔτει μέντοι ἤγείτο ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος,
leading to Sparta. But when, as he was marching away, the Messenians tried to cut him off at a narrow place on the road, thereupon he sent to Archidamus and bade him come to his aid. And Archidamus did in fact do so. Then as soon as they all arrived at the branch road leading to the country of the Eutresians, there were the Arcadians and Argives advancing towards Laconia, they also having the intention of shutting off Archidamus from his homeward way. He accordingly, at just the point where there is a level space at the junction of the road leading to the Eutresians and the road to Melea, turned out of his path and formed his troops in line for battle. It is said that he also went along in front of the battalions and exhorted his men in the following words: "Fellow citizens, let us now prove ourselves brave men and thus be able to look people in the face; let us hand on to those who come after us the fatherland as it was when we received it from our fathers; let us cease to feel shame before wives and children and elders and strangers, in whose eyes we used once to be the most highly honoured of all the Greeks." When these words had been spoken, it is said that from a clear sky there came lightnings and thunderings, of favourable omen for him; and it chanced also that on the right wing was a sanctuary and a statue of Heracles. As a result, therefore, of all these things, it is reported that the soldiers were inspired with so much strength and courage that it was a task for their leaders to restrain them as they pushed forward to the front. And when Archidamus led the advance, only a few of the

1 The circumstance was of good omen because Heracles was the traditional ancestor of the Spartan kings.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

όλιγοι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων δεξάμενοι εἰς δόρυ αὐτῶς ἀπέθανον· οί δὲ ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον, πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ἰππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελ-32 τῶν. ὡς δὲ ληξάσης τῆς μάχης τροπαίοι ἐστήσατο, εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν οἰκάδε ἀγγελοῦντα Δημοτέλη τὸν κήρυκα τῆς τε νίκης τό μέγεθος καὶ ὅτι Δακε-δαιμονίων μὲν οὔδε εἰς τεθναίη, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπληθεὶς. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφασαν ἀκούσαντας ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἁγησιλάου καὶ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν ἑφόρων πάντας κλαίειν οὕτω κοινόν τι ἀρα χαρᾶ καὶ λύπη δάκρυα ἔστιν. ἐπὶ μέντοι τῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τῇ ὅποι πολὺ τι ἦττον Δακεδαιμονίων ἑσθησαν Θηβαῖοι τε καὶ Ἡλείου κύτως ἤδη ἥχοντο ἐπὶ τῷ φρονήματι αὐτῶν.

33 Συνεχῶς δὲ βουλευόμενοι Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἂν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ λάβοιεν τῆς Ἐλλάδος, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ πέμψειαν πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, πλεονεκτήσαι ἂν τι ἐν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ ἐκ τούτων παρακαλεσάντες ἤδη τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ προφάσει ὅτι καὶ Εὐθυκλῆς ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιος εἰς παρὰ βασιλεῖ, ἀναβαίνοντι Θηβαίοι μὲν Πελοπίδας, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὁ παγκρατιαστής, Ἡλεῖων δὲ Ἀρ-χίδαμος· ἥκολοῦθε δὲ καὶ Ἀργείος. καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-ναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἀνέπεμψαν Τιμαγόραν τε καὶ Δέοντα. ἔπει δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο, πολὺ ἐπλευν-έκτει ὁ Πελοπίδας παρὰ τῷ Πέρσῃ. εἰχε γὰρ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι. μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ
enemy waited till his men came within spear-thrust; 868 B.C. these were killed, and the rest were cut down as they fled, many by the horsemen and many by the Celts. Then as soon as the battle had ended and he had set up a trophy, he immediately sent home Demoteles, the herald, to report the greatness of his victory and the fact that not so much as one of the Lacedaemonians had been slain, while vast numbers of the enemy had fallen. And when the people at Sparta heard this, it is said that all of them wept, beginning with Agesilaus, the senators, and the ephors; so true it is, indeed, that tears belong to joy and sorrow alike. On the other hand, both the Thebans and the Eleans were almost as well pleased as the Lacedaemonians at the misfortune of the Arcadians—so vexed had they become by this time at their presumption.

And now the Thebans, who were continually planning how they might obtain the leadership of Greece, hit upon the idea that if they should send to the King of the Persians, they would gain some advantage in him. Thereupon they immediately summoned their allies, on the pretext that Euthycles, the Lacedaemonian, was also at the King's court; and there went up thither Pelopidas for the Thebans, Antiochus, the pancratiaist,1 for the Arcadians, and Archidamus for the Eleans; an Argive also went with them. And the Athenians, upon hearing of this, sent up Timagonas and Leon. When the ambassadors arrived there, Pelopidas enjoyed a great advantage with the Persian. For he was able to say that his people were the only ones among the Greeks who

1 The παγκράτιον, a regular "event" in the Greek national games, was a combination of boxing and wrestling.
XENOPHON

συνεμάχοντο ἐν Πλαταϊᾷς, καὶ ὅτι ὑστερον οὐ-
δεπώποτε στρατεύσαιντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα, καὶ ὁς
Δακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι
οὐκ ἔθελήσαιεν μετ’ Ἀγησιλάον ἐλθεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν
οὐδὲ θύσαι εάσαιεν αὐτὸν ἐν Αὐλίδῃ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι,
ἐνθαπερ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅτε εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἠξέπλει
θύσας εἶδε Τροίαν. μέγα δὲ συνεβάλλετο τῷ
Πελοπίδα εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐνευκήκησαν
οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάχῃ ἐν Λευκτροῖς καὶ ὅτι πεπορθη-
kότες τὴν χώραν τῶν Δακεδαιμόνιων ἐφαίνοντο.
ἐλεγε δὲ ὁ Πελοπίδας ὅτι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρ-
kάδες μάχῃ ἤττημενοι εἰεν ὕπ’ Δακεδαιμόνιων,
ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ παρεγένοντο. συνεμαρτύρει δ’ αὐτῷ
ταῦτα πάντα ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγοι ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Τιμα-
gόρας, καὶ ἐτιμάτο δεύτερος μετὰ τοῦ Πελοπίδαν.

ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐρωτώμενοι ὑπὸ βασιλέως ὁ Πελο-
pίδας τῇ βούλῃ ἐν τῇ αὐτῷ γραφήματι εἶπεν ὅτι
Μεσσηνην τε αὐτόνων εἶναι ἀπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων
καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἄνελκειν τὰς ναῦς· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ
πείθοντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς· εἰ τις δὲ πόλις
μὴ ἑθέλοι ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην πρῶτον ἴεραι.

γραφέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τοῖς
πρέσβεσιν, εἶπεν ὁ Δέων ἀκούοντος τοῦ βασιλέως:
Νὴ Διᾷ, ὡς Ἀθηναίοι, ὡρὰ γε ὑμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν,
ἄλλον τινὰ φίλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ζητεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ εἰπεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,
HELLENICA, VII. i. 34–37

had fought on the side of the King at Plataea, that they had never afterwards undertaken a campaign against the King, and that the Lacedaemonians had made war upon them for precisely the reason that they had declined to go with Agesilaus against him¹ and had refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice to Artemis at Aulis,² the very spot where Agamemnon, at the time when he was sailing forth to Asia, had sacrificed before he captured Troy. It also contributed greatly toward the winning of honour for Pelopidas that the Thebans had been victorious in battle at Leuctra, and that they had admittedly ravaged the country of the Lacedaemonians. Pelopidas also said that the Argives and Arcadians had been defeated by the Lacedaemonians when the Thebans were not present with them. And the Athenian, Timagoras, bore witness in his behalf that all these things which he said were true, and so stood second in honour to Pelopidas. Pelopidas was therefore asked by the King what he desired to have written for him; he replied, that Messene should be independent of the Lacedaemonians and that the Athenians should draw up their ships on the land; that if they refused obedience in these points, the contracting parties were to make an expedition against them; and that if any city refused to join in such expedition, they were to proceed first of all against that city. When these things had been written and read to the ambassadors, Leon said in the King’s hearing, “By Zeus, Athenians, it is time for you, it seems, to be seeking some other friend instead of the King.” And when the secretary had interpreted to the King what the Athenian had said, he again

¹ See III. v. 5. ² This incident is described in III. iv. 3–4.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

πάλιν ἐξήνεγκε προσγεγραμμένα· εἰ δὲ τι δικαιότερον τούτων γιγνώσκουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ἱόντας πρὸς βασιλέα διδάσκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις οἴκαδε ἐκαστοι, τὸν μὲν Τιμαγόραν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Δέοντος ὡς οὔτε συσκευῶν ἔαυτῷ ἐθέλοι μετὰ τε Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πρέσβεων ο μὲν Ἡλείος Ἀρχίδαμος, ὃτι προτίμησε τὴν Ἡλιν πρὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἔπηνει τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃ δὲ Ἀντίοχος, ὃτι ἠλπάντοντο τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν, οὔτε τὰ δῶρα ἐδέξατο ἀπήγγειλε τε πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους ὡς βασιλεὺς ἀρτοκότους μὲν καὶ ὄψινους καὶ οἰνοκόπους καὶ θυρωροὺς παμπληθείς ἔχοι, ἀνδρας δὲ οἱ μάχουν ἄν Ἑλλησι πάνω ζητῶν οὐκ ἔφη δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀλαζονεῖαν οἱ γε δοκεῖν ἔφη εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ὑμουμένην ἄν χρυσῆν πλάτανον οὐχ ἰκανὴν ἔφη εἶναι τέττυγι σκιάν παρέχειν.

Ὡς δὲ οἱ Ῥήβαιοι συνεκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπασῶν ἀκουσομένους τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ὁ Πέρσης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας φαράγιδα ἀνέγγυο τα γεγραμμένα, οἱ μὲν Ῥήβαιοι ὀμνύοι ταῦτα ἐκέλευον βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὔς ὁμοῦμενοι ἀλλ᾽ ἀκουσόμενοι πεμφθέησαν· εἰ δὲ τὶ ὅρκων δέοντο, πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πέμπτεν ἐκέλευον. οἱ μὲν τοι Ἀρκας Δυκομήδης καὶ τοῦτο
brought out a further writing: "And if the Athenians are aware of anything juster than these provisions, let them come to the King and inform him." Now when the ambassadors had returned to their several homes, Timagoras was put to death by the Athenians on the complaint of Leon that he had refused to share quarters with him and had taken counsel in all matters with Pelopidas. As for the other ambassadors, Archidamus, the Elean, praised the doings of the King, because he had honoured Elis above the Arcadians; but Antiochus, because the Arcadian League was less regarded, did not accept the royal gifts, and reported back to the Ten Thousand 1 that the King had bakers, and cooks, and wine-pourers, and doorkeepers in vast numbers, but as for men who could fight with Greeks, he said that though he sought diligently he could not see any. Besides this, he said that for his part he thought that the King's wealth of money was also mere pretence, for he said that even the golden plane-tree, that was forever harped upon, was not large enough to afford shade for a grasshopper.

When the Thebans had called together representatives from all the cities to hear the letter from the King, and the Persian who bore the document, having shown the King's seal, had read what was written therein, although the Thebans directed those who desired to be friends of the King and themselves to swear to these provisions, the representatives from the cities replied that they had not been sent to give their oaths, but to listen; and if the Thebans had any desire for oaths, they bade them send to the cities. Indeed the Arcadian, Lycomedes, said this besides,

1 *i.e.* the Arcadian assembly.
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΩΝ

ἐλεγεν, ὅτι ούδὲ τῶν σύλλογον ἐν Θῆβαις δέοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐνθα ἄν ἦν ὁ πόλεμος. χαλεπαίνοντων δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν Θῆβαιων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς διαφθείροι τὸ συμμαχικόν, οὔτε εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἦθελε καθι-ζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπιών ὠχετο, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ εἴς Ἀρκαδίας πρέσβεις. ὡς δ' ἐν Θῆβαις οὖν ἥθελσαν οἱ συνελθόντες ὤμοσαι, ἔσπεμπον οἱ Θη-βαιοὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὄμνυναι κελεύ-οντες ποιήσειν κατὰ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα, νομίζοντες ὅκνησειν μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἀμα ἐαυτοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κόρινθον πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἀφικομένων ὑπέστησαν οἱ Κόρινθοι, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοιντο πρὸς βασιλέα κοινών ὄρκων, ἐπη-κολούθησαν καὶ ἄλλη πόλεις κατὰ ταύτα ἀπο-κρινόμεναι. καὶ αὐτή μὲν ἡ Πελοπίδου καὶ τῶν Θηβαιῶν τῆς ἄρχης περιβολὴ οὖτω διελύθη.

41 Αὕτως δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, βουλθεὶς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς προσαγαγέσθαι, ὅπως μᾶλλον σφίση καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι προσέ-χοιν τῶν νοῦν, ἔγνω ἐκστρατευτέον εἶναι ἐπὶ τήν Ἀχαίαν. Πεισίαν οὖν τὸν Ἀργείον στρατηγοῦντα ἐν τῷ Ἀργεί οὔπεθεῖ προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ Ὥνειον. καὶ οἱ Πεισίας μέντοι καταμαθὰν ἀμελουμένην τὴν τοῦ Ὥνειοῦ φιλακῆν ὑπὸ τε Ναυκλέους, δι᾽ ἦρχε τοῦ ἄγνικον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ὕπο Τιμομάχου τοῦ Ἀθηναίον, καταλαμβάνει νῦκτωρ 144
that it was not even proper for the congress to be held in Thebes, but rather at the seat of war, wherever it might be. Then, since the Thebans were angry with him and said that he was destroying the compact of alliance, he refused even to occupy a seat at the congress, but took himself off, and with him went all the ambassadors from Arcadia. Accordingly, inasmuch as those who had come together refused to take the oath at Thebes, the Thebans sent ambassadors to the cities and directed them to swear that they would act in accordance with the King's letter, believing that each one of the cities taken singly would hesitate to incur the hatred of themselves and the King at the same time. When, however, upon the arrival of the ambassadors at Corinth, their first stopping-place, the Corinthians resisted the proposal, and replied that they had no desire for oaths shared with the King, then other cities also followed suit, giving their answers in the same terms. Thus it was that this attempt on the part of Pelopidas and the Thebans to gain the leadership came to its end.

Epaminondas, on the other hand, wishing to bring over the Achaeans to the side of the Thebans, in order that the Arcadians and the other allies might be more inclined to give heed to them, decided that he must march forth against Achaea. He therefore persuaded Peisias, the Argive, who held the position of general at Argos, to occupy Oneum in advance. And Peisias, after he had learned that the guard over Oneum was being maintained carelessly by Naucles, who commanded the mercenary troops of the Lacedaemonians, and by Timomachus, the Athenian, did

1 A mountain range, south-east of Corinth, over which the road from Northern Greece into Peloponnesus passed.
μετὰ δισεκατόνων ὀπλιτῶν τὸν ὑπὲρ Κεγχρείων
42 λόφου, ἔχον ἔπτα ἤμερῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐν δὲ
tαύταις ταῖς ἤμεραις ἔλθοντες οἱ Ἡθαῖοι ὑπερ-
βαίνονσι τῷ Ὀνειῷ, καὶ στρατεύονσι πάντες οἱ
σύμμαχοι ἐπὶ Ἀχαίαν, ἡγούμενον Ἐπαμεινώνδου.
προσπεσόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων ἐκ τῆς
Ἀχαίας, ἐνδυναστεύει ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὡστε μὴ
φυγαδεύσαι τοὺς κρατίστους μήτε πολιτείαν
μεταστήσαι, ἀλλὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν
Ἀχαίων ἡ μὴ συμμάχους ἐσεθαί καὶ ἀκολου-
θήσειν ὅποι ἀν Ἡθαῖοι ἡγόμενα, οὕτως ἀπήλθεν
οἰκαδε. κατηγοροῦντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν τε Ἀρκά-
δῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ὡς Δακεδαιμονίοις
κατεσκευάσκως τὴν Ἀχαίαν ἀπέλθοι, ἔδοξε Ἡθ-
βαίοις πέμψαι ἁρμοστὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀχαίδας πόλεις.
οἱ δὲ ἔλθοντες τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους σὺν τῷ πλῆθει
ἐξέβαλον, δημοκρατίας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαίᾳ κατέ-
ςτησαν. οἱ μέντοι ἐκπεσόντες συστάντες ταχύ,
ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων πορευόμενοι, ὅτες
οὐκ ὀλίγοι, κατήλθον τε καὶ κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις.
ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελθόντες οὐκέτι ἐμέσεσον, ἀλλὰ προ-
θύμως συνεμάχουν τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιεῖξοντο
οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐνθεν μὲν ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων, ἐνθεν
dὲ ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν.
43 Ἡν δὲ τῷ Σικυώνι τὸ μὲν μέχρι τούτου κατὰ
τοὺς ἄρχαίους νόμους ἡ πολιτεία ἦν. ἐκ δὲ
toῦτον βουλόμενος ὁ Ἐὐφρων, ὁσπερ παρὰ τοῖς
Δακεδαιμονίοις μέγιστος ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτω
146
indeed seize the hill above Cenchreae by night with two thousand hoplites, having provisions for seven days. Within this number of days the Thebans arrived and crossed over Oneum, and all the allies thereupon marched against Achaea, under the leadership of Epaminondas. Now upon the urgent entreaty which the aristocrats of Achaea addressed to him, Epaminondas effected through his personal influence an arrangement that their opponents were not to banish the aristocrats or to change the form of government, but after receiving pledges from the Achaeans that in very truth they would be allies and would follow wherever the Thebans led the way, he thereupon returned home. When, however, the Arcadians and the Achaean opposition brought against him the charge that he had arranged matters in Achaea in the interest of the Lacedaemonians and had then gone away, the Thebans resolved to send governors to the Achaean cities. When they arrived they drove out the aristocrats, with the assistance of the commons, and established democracies in Achaea. But those who had been thus exiled speedily banded themselves together, proceeded against each one of the cities singly, and as they were not few in number, accomplished their restoration and gained possession of the cities. Then, since after their restoration they no longer followed a neutral course, but fought zealously in support of the Lacedaemonians, the Arcadians were hard pressed by the Lacedaemonians on the one side and by the Achaeans on the other.

As for Sicyon, its government up to this time had been in conformity with its ancient laws. But now Euphron, who had been the most powerful of the citizens in his influence with the Lacedaemonians
καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν πρωτεύειν, λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὡς εἶ μὲν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι ἐγκρατεῖς ἐσοντο τοῦ Σικυώνος, σαφῶς, ὅταν τὴν, πάλιν λακώνει ἡ πόλις. Ἐὰν δὲ δημοκρατία γενήσηται, εὐ ἵστε, ἐφή, ὅτι διαμενεῖ ἦμιν ἡ πόλις. Ἐὰν οὖν μοι παραγενησθε, ἐγώ ἔσομαι ὁ συγκαλῶν τῶν δήμων, καὶ ἀμα ἐγώ ἦμῖν ταύτην πίστιν ἐμαυτοῦ ὁδὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν βέβαιον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παρέξω. ταῦτα δ', ἐφη, ἐγώ πράττω εὐ ἵστε ὅτι πάλαι μὲν χαλεπῶς φέρων, ὡσπερ ἥμεις, τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀσμενος δ' ἀν τὴν δουλείαν ἀποφυγών. οἱ οὖν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργείοι ἡδέως ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ. ὡς δ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ παρόντων τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συνεκάλει τὸν δήμον, ώς τῆς πολιτείας ἐσομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἅπασι καὶ ὅμοιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλέσθαι οὐσινας αὐτοῖς δοκοῖ: οἱ δ' αἱροῦνται αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑὐφρωνα καὶ Ἰππόδαμον καὶ Κλέανδρον καὶ Ἀκρίσιον καὶ Δύσανδρον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καθίστησιν Ἀδέαν τῶν αὐτοῦ νίου, Δυσμένην τὸν πρόσθεν ἀρχοντα ἀποστήσεις. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τούτων τῶν ἕνων ὁ Ἑὐφρων πιστοὺς τινας εὐ ποιῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἄλλους προσελάμβανεν, οὕτε τῶν δημοσίων οὕτε τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων φειδόμενος. καὶ ὅσους δ' ἐξέβαλεν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ, καὶ τοῖς τούτων χρή-
and wished in like manner to stand first with their adversaries also, said to the Argives and to the Arcadians that if the richest men should remain in control of Sicyon, it was manifest that whenever an opportunity offered, the city would go over to the Lacedaemonians again, "while if a democracy is established, be well assured," he said, "that the city will remain true to you. If, therefore, you will be at hand to support me, I will be the one to call the people together, and I will not only give you in this act a pledge of my good faith, but will make the city steadfast in its alliance with you. This I do, you must understand," he said, "because, like yourselves, I have long found the arrogance of the Lacedaemonians hard to endure, and I should be glad to escape from servitude to them." Accordingly the Arcadians and the Argives, upon hearing these words, gladly presented themselves to support him. Then he immediately called the people together in the market-place in the presence of the Argives and the Arcadians, announcing that the government was to be on terms of full equality. When they had come together, he bade them choose whomsoever they saw fit as generals; and they chose Euphron himself, Hippodamus, Cleander, Acrisius, and Lysander. When this had been done, he also appointed Adeas, his own son, to the command of the mercenary troops, removing Lysimenes, their former commander. And straightway Euphron made some of these mercenaries faithful to him by treating them generously, and took others into his pay, sparing neither the public nor the sacred funds. He likewise availed himself of the property of all those whom he banished for favouring the Lacedaemonians.
μασίν ἔχρητο. καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων δὲ τοὺς μὲν δόλῳ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἔξεβαλεν ὡστε πάντα ὑφ' ἑαυτὸ ἐποιήσατο καὶ σαφῶς τύραννος ἦν. ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέποιεν αὐτῷ οἱ σύμμαχοι, τὰ μὲν τι καὶ χρήμασι διεπράττειο, τὰ δὲ καὶ, εἰ ποιο στρατεύοντο, προθύμως ἔχων τὸ ξενικὸν συνηκολούθει.

Π. Ὡστὸ δὲ τούτων προκεχωρηκότων, καὶ τῶν τε Ἀργείων ἐπιτετειχικότων τῷ Φλειάοντι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου Τρικάρανος, καὶ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις αὐτῶν τειχιζόντων τὴν Θυαμίαν, μάλα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι καὶ ἐσπάνιζον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὁμοί δὲ διεκαρτέρουν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ. ἄλλα γὰρ τῶν μὲν μεγάλων πόλεων, εἰ τι καλὸν ἐπραξαν, ἀπαντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς μέμνηνται· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἰ τις μικρὰ πόλις οὕσα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα διαπέπρακται, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄξιον εἶναι ἀποφαίνειν. Φλειάσιοι τούναν φίλοι μὲν ἐγένοντο Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι μέγιστοι ἦσαν· σφαλέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχῃ, καὶ ἀποστάντων μὲν πολλῶν περιοίκων, ἀποστάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν Εἰλώτων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πλὴν πάνω ὀλίγων, ἔπιστρατεύοντων· δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πιστοὶ διέμειναν, καὶ ἔχοντες πολεμίους τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀργείους ὁμοί ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διαβαίνει τελευταῖοι λαχόντες εἰς Πρασιᾶς τῶν συμβοηθησάντων, ἦσαν 150
Furthermore, he treacherously put to death some 367 B.C. of his fellow-officials and banished others, so that he brought everything under his control and was manifestly a tyrant. And he managed to induce his allies to permit these proceedings of his, partly by the use of money, and partly by following with them zealously at the head of his mercenary force wherever they made an expedition.

II. When these matters had progressed to this 366 B.C. point and the Argives had fortified Mount Tricarum, above the Heraeum, as a base of attack upon Phlius, while the Sicyonians were fortifying Thyamia on its borders, the Phliasians were exceedingly hard pressed and suffered from lack of provisions; nevertheless, they remained steadfast in their alliance. But I will speak further of them; for while all the historians make mention of the large states if they have performed any noble achievement, it seems to me that if a state which is small has accomplished many noble deeds, it is even more fitting to set them forth. Now the Phliasians had become friends of the Lacedaemonians at a time when they were greatest; and when they had been defeated in the battle at Leuctra, when many of the Perioeci had revolted from them and all the Helots also had revolted, and likewise their allies with the exception of a very few, and when all the Greeks, one might say, were in the field against them, the Phliasians remained steadfastly faithful, and, though they had as enemies the most powerful of the peoples in Peloponnesus—the Arcadians and Argives—nevertheless went to their assistance. Furthermore, when it fell to their lot to cross over to Prasiae last of those who joined in the expedition (and these were the Corinthians,
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

4 ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀργίζομεν τῇ τῶν Φλειασίων περὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προθυμία ἐνέβαλον πανηγυς ἐκ τῶν Φλειασίων καὶ τήν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔδησον, οὕτως ὑφίεντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀπεχώρουσι φθείραντες ὅσα ἐδύνατο, ἐπεξελθόντες οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἵππεῖς ἐπηκολούθοντο αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὄπισθοφυλακοῦντο τοῖς Ἀργεῖοι τῶν ἵππων ἀπάντων καὶ λόγων τῶν μετ’ αὐτῶν τεταγμένων, ἐπιθέμενοι τοῦτοι ἔξηκοντα ὄντες ἐτρέψαντο πάντας τούς ὄπισθοφυλακας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ὅλους αὐτῶν, τροπαίοι γένοις ἐστήσαντο ὅρων τῶν Ἀργείων οὐδὲν διαφέρον ἢ εἴ πάντας ἀπεκτόνεσαν αὐτοῖς.

5 Αὖθις δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐφρούρουν τῷ Ὄνειον, Θηβαίοι δὲ προσήγαγον ωσ ὑπερβησόμενοι. πορευομένων δὲ διὰ Νεμέας τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων, ὅπως συμμείβατεν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, προσήγαγον μὲν λόγον τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδες ως εἰ ἔθελησειν ἐπιφανήναι μόνον σφίσι,

1 Before οὐδ’ the MSS. have ἀλλ’ : Kel. brackets, following Hartman.
HELLENICA, VII. II. 2–5

Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Haliens, Sicyonians, and Pelleneans—for at that time the last mentioned had not yet revolted from the Lacedaemonians), even when the Lacedaemonian leader went off with those who had crossed first and left the Phliasians, even so they did not turn back, but hired a guide from Prasiae, and, although the enemy were in the neighbourhood of Amyclae, slipped through as best they could and reached Sparta. And the Lacedaemonians, besides honouring them in other ways, sent them an ox as a gift of hospitality. Again, when the enemy had retired from Lacedaemon, and the Argives, in anger at the devotion of the Phliasians toward the Lacedaemonians, had invaded the territory of Phlius in full force and were laying waste their land, even then they did not yield; but when the Argives were withdrawing, after having destroyed as much as they could, the horsemen of the Phliasians sallied forth and followed after them, and, although all the Argive horsemen and the companies posted behind them were employed to guard their rear, the Phliasians nevertheless, who were but sixty in number, attacked these troops and turned to flight the entire rearguard; to be sure they killed but few of them, yet they set up a trophy, with the Argives looking on, precisely as if they had killed them all.

Once again, the Lacedaemonians and their allies were guarding Oeneum, and the Thebans were approaching with the intention of crossing over the mountain. At this time, as the Arcadians and Eleans were marching through Nemea in order to effect a junction with the Thebans, exiles of the Phliasians made them an offer that if they would only put in
λάβοιεν δὲν Φλειούντα. ἔπει δὲ ταῦτα συνωμολογηθη, τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεκαθῆρον ὑπ’ αὐτῷ τῇ τείχει κλίμακας ἔχοντες οἱ τε φυγάδες καὶ ἄλλοι μετ’ αὐτῶν ὡς ἔξακώσιοι. ἔπει δὲ οἱ μὲν σκοτοὺς ἐσήμαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρικαράνου ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιώντων, ἢ δὲ πόλις πρὸς τούτους τῶν νοῦν ἔχειν, ἐν δὴ τούτῳ οἱ προδιόντες ἐσήμαινον τοὺς υποκαθημένους ἀναβαίνειν. οἱ δ’ ἀναβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τῶν φρουρῶν τὰ ὄπλα ἔρημα, ἐδίωκον τοὺς ἡμεροφύλακας ὡς τάγματες ἀρ’ ἐκάστης δὲ τῆς πεμπάδος εἰς ἡμεροφύλαξι κατελέπτετο. καὶ ἐνά μὲν ἐτι καθεύδοντα ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλοι δὲ καταφυγόντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡραιον. φυγῆ δ’ ἐξαλλομένων κατὰ τού τείχους τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀστυ ὀρῶντος τῶν ἡμεροφυλάκων, ἀναμφισβητήτως εἶχον 7 οἱ ἀναβάντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔπει δὲ κραυγῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικομένης ἐβοήθουν οἱ πολίται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεξελθόντες εἰς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φεροῦσῶν πυλῶν, ἔπειτα πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν προσβοηθοῦντων ἔχωρον πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οἱ δὲ πολίται συνεισπίπτοσιν αὐτοῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέσον τῆς ἁρπαγέως οὖθ’ ἐρημοῦν ἐγένετο. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ τείχος καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπαινοῦν καὶ ἐβάλλουν τοὺς ἔνδον. οἱ δὲ χαμόθεν ἠμύνοντο καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ 8 τὸ τείχος φερούσας κλίμακας προσεμάχοντο. ἔπει δὲ τῶν ἐνθευν καὶ ἐνθευν πύργων ἐκράτησάν τινων.
an appearance to help their party, they would capture Phlius; and when this plan had been agreed upon, during the night the exiles and others with them, about six hundred in number, set themselves in ambush close under the wall with scaling ladders. Then as soon as the watchmen signalled from Tricaranum that enemies were approaching, and the city was giving its attention to these last, at this moment those who sought to betray the city signalled to the people in ambush to climb up. When they had climbed up and found the posts of the guards weakly manned, they pursued the day-guards, who numbered ten (for one out of each squad of five was regularly left behind as a day-guard); and they killed one while he was still asleep and another after he had fled for refuge to the Heraeum. And since the other day-guards in their flight leaped down from the wall on the side looking toward the city, the men who had climbed up were in undisputed possession of the Acropolis. But when an outcry reached the city and the citizens came to the rescue, at first the enemy issued forth from the Acropolis and fought in the space in front of the gates which lead to the city; afterwards, being beset on all sides by those who came against them, they withdrew again to the Acropolis; and the citizens poured in with them. Now the space within the Acropolis was cleared at once, but the enemy mounted upon the wall and the towers and showered blows and missiles upon the people who were within. Meanwhile the latter defended themselves from the ground and attacked the enemy by the steps which led up to the wall. When, however, the citizens gained possession of some of the towers on this side and on that, they
XENOPHON

οἱ πολῖται, ὁμόσε δὴ ἐχώρουν ἀπονευομένως τοῖς ἀναβεβηκόσιν. οἱ δὲ ὀδούμενοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ τε καὶ μάχῃ εἰς ἐλαττὸν συνειλοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καὶρῷ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκυκλοῦντο, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλὴν τὸ τεῖχος τῆς ἁκροπόλεως διόρυττον· τῶν δὲ ἐνδοθεν οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐξωθεν ἐτί ἀναβαίνοντας, ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν ὄντας, ἐπαίουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούς πῦργους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πῦρ εὑρόντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς υφῆς του ἀυτούς, προσφοροῦντες τῶν δραγμάτων ἀ ἐτυχον ἐξ αὐτής τῆς ἁκροπόλεως τεθερισμένα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πῦργων τὴν φλόγα φοβοῦμενοι ἐξῆλθοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παιόμενοι ἐξῆπτον.

9 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαξ ἠρξαντο ὑπείκειν, ταχὺ δὴ πᾶσα ἡ ἁκρόπολις ἔρημος τῶν πολέμων ἐγεγένητο. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐξῆλαυνον· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἱδόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπεχώρουν, καταλιπόντες τὰς τε κλίμακας καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἀποκεχωλευμένους. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν πολέμών οἱ τῶν ἐνδον μαχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἐξο ἀλλόμενοι οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ὄγδοηκοντα. ἐνθα δὴ θεάσασθαι παρὴν ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας δεξιομένους ἀλλήλους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας πιεῖν τε φεροῦσαι καὶ

1 The wall of the Acropolis on one side made part of the city wall, while on the other side it separated the Acropolis from the lower city. The Arcadians and Argives are
closed in desperate battle with those who had mounted upon their walls. And the enemy, as they were forced back by them—by their courage as well as by their fighting—were being crowded together into an ever smaller space. At this critical moment the Arcadians and Argives were circling around the city and beginning to dig through the wall of the Acropolis from its upper side;¹ and as for the citizens within, some were dealing blows upon the people on the wall, others upon those who were still climbing up from the outside and were on the ladders, and still others were fighting against those among the enemy who had mounted upon the towers; they also found fire in the tents and began to set the towers ablaze from below, bringing up some sheaves which chanced to have been harvested on the Acropolis itself. Then the people upon the towers, in fear of the flames, jumped off one after another, while those upon the walls, under the blows of their human adversaries, kept falling off. And when they had once begun to give way, speedily the whole Acropolis had become bare of the enemy. Thereupon the horsemen straightway sallied forth from the city; and the enemy upon seeing them retired, leaving behind their ladders, their dead, and likewise some of the living who had been badly lamed. And the number of the enemy who were killed, both in the fighting within and by leaping down without, was not less than eighty. Then one might have beheld the men congratulating one another with handclasps on their preservation, and the women bringing them manifestly attacking the first mentioned, i.e. outer, part of the wall of the Acropolis; but the precise meaning of κατὰ κεφαλὴν is uncertain.
ΧΕΝΟΨΩΝ

άμα χαρά δακρυόσας. πάντας δέ τους παρόντας
tότε γε τῷ οὕτω κλαυσίγελως εἰχεν.

10 Ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει εἰς τὸν
Φλειώντα οἳ τε Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἳ Ἀρκάδες ἀπαντεῖς.
αὐτίον ἄρ τῇ ἐπικείσθαι αὐτούς ἀδὲ τοῖς
Φλειάσιοις ὃτι ἀμα μὲν ἀργίζοντο αὐτοῖς, ἀμα δέ
ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον, καὶ ἐν ἑλπίδῃ ἦσαν ἀδὲ διὰ τὴν
ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παραστήσεσθαι αὐτούς.
οἵ δὲ ἑπεῖς καὶ οἳ ἐπιλεκτοὶ τῶν Φλειάσιων
καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ
ποταμοῦ ἐπιτίθενται σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων ἑπείδη καὶ κρατήσαντες ἑποίησαν τοὺς
πολέμους τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὰς ἀκρω-
ρείας ὑποχωρεῖν, ὡσπερ ἀπὸ φίλου καρποῦ τοῦ
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ φυλαττομένους μὴ καταπατήσειαν.

11 Ἀὖθις δὲ ποτε ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὸν Φλειώντα ὃ
ἐν τῷ Σικυώνι ἄρχων Θηβαῖος, ἄγων οὐς τε αὐτὸς
ἐίχε φρουροὺς καὶ Σικυώνιος καὶ Πελληνεάς·
ἡδη γὰρ τότε ἡκολούθουν τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ
Εὐφρων δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔχων μισθοφόρους περὶ
dιαχιλίους συνεστρατεύετο. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι
αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Τρικαράνου κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ
"Ἡραιον, ὡς τὸ πεδίον φθεροῦντες· κατὰ δὲ τὰς
eἰς Κόρινθον φερούσας πύλας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκροῦ
κατέληπτε Σικυώνιος τε καὶ Πελληνεὰς, ὡπὼς μὴ
tαύτῃ περιελθόντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι κατὰ κεφαλὴν
12 αὐτῶν γένοιτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραιον. ὡς δὲ ἐγνώσαν

158
HELLENICA, VII. ii. 9–12

drink and at the same time crying for joy. Indeed, "laughter mingled with tears" did on that occasion really possess all who were present.

In the following year likewise the Argives and all the Arcadians invaded the territory of Phlius. The reason for their continually besetting the Phliasians was partly that they were angry with them, and partly that they had the country of the Phliasians between them, and were always in hope that through want of provisions they would bring them to terms. But on this invasion also the horsemen and the picked troops of the Phliasians, along with the horsemen of the Athenians who were present, attacked them at the crossing of the river; and having won the victory, they made the enemy retire under the heights for the rest of the day, just as if they were keeping carefully away from the corn in the plain as the property of friends, so as not to trample it down.

On another occasion the Theban governor at Sicyon marched upon Phlius at the head of the garrison which he had under his own command, and of the Sicyonians and Pelleneans—for at that time they were already following the Thebans; and Euphron also took part in the expedition with his mercenaries, about two thousand in number. Now the main body of the troops descended along Tricaranum toward the Heraeum with the intention of laying waste the plain; but the commander left the Sicyonians and Pelleneans behind upon the height over against the gates leading to Corinth, so that the Phliasians should not go around by that way and get above his men at the Heraeum. When, however, the people

1 An allusion to Iliad vi. 484.
XENOPHON

οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον ὁρμημένους, ἀντεξελθόντες οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων ἐμάχοντο καὶ οὐκ ἀνύ-εσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα ἀκροβολιζόμενοι διήγον, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Εὐφρονα ἑπιδιώκοντες μέχρι τοῦ ἰππασίμου, οἱ δὲ ἔνθεθεν μέχρι τοῦ Ἡραιοῦ.

13 ἔπει δὲ καιρὸς ἔδοκε εἶναι, ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι κύκλῳ τοῦ Τρικαράνου· ἄστε γὰρ τὴν σύντομον πρὸς τοὺς Πελληνέας ἄφικεσθαι ἡ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους φάραγξ εἰργῆ. μικρὸν δ’ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον προπέμψαντες οἱ Φλειασίοι ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἴστιντο τὴν παρὰ τὸ τείχος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πελληνέας καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηβαίον δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Φλειασίων ἡμιλ-λώντο ὅπως φθάσειαν τοῖς Πελληνεύσι βοηθή-ςαντες. ἄφικόμενοι δὲ πρότεροι οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμ-βάλλουσι τοῖς Πελληνεύσι. δεξαμένων δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες πάλιν σὺν τοῖς παρα-γεγενημένοις τῶν πεζῶν ἐνέβαλον καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἀποθυσκοῦσι τῶν τε Σικυωνίων τινὲς καὶ τῶν Πελληνίων μᾶλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες

14 ἀγαθοί. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν Φλειασίοι τροπαίοι ἵσταντο λαμπρῶν παιανίζοντες, ὡσπερ εἰκός· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Θηβαίον καὶ τὸν Εὐφρονα περιεώρον ταῦτα, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ θέαν παραδεδρα-μηκότες. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σικυωνίων ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ’ εἰς τὸ ἀστυ ἀπεχώρησαν.

160
in the city perceived that the enemy had set out for the plain, the horsemen and the picked troops of the Phliasians sallied forth against them, gave battle, and did not allow them to make their way to the plain. And they spent most of the day there in fighting at long range, the troops of Euphron pursuing up to the point where the country was suited for cavalry, and the men from the city as far as the Heraeum. When, however, it seemed to be the proper time, the enemy retired by a circuitous route over Tricaranum, for the ravine in front of the wall prevented them from reaching the Pelleneans by the direct way. Then the Phliasians, after following them a little way up the hill, turned back and charged along the road which leads past the wall, against the Pelleneans and those with them. And the troops of the Theban general, upon perceiving the haste of the Phliasians, began racing with them in order to reach the Pelleneans first and give them aid. The horsemen, however, arrived first, and attacked the Pelleneans. And when at the outset they withstood the attack, the Phliasians fell back, but then attacked again in company with such of the foot-soldiers as had come up, and fought hand-to-hand. At this the enemy gave way, and some of the Sicyonians fell and very many of the Pelleneans, and brave men, too. When these things had taken place the Phliasians set up a trophy, sounding their paean loudly, as was natural; and the troops of the Theban general and Euphron allowed all this to go on, just as if they had made their race to see a spectacle. Then, after these proceedings were finished, the one party departed for Sicyon and the other returned to the city.
XENOPHON

16 Καλὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεπράξαντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι τὸν γὰρ Πελληνέα Πρόξενον1 ξῶντα λαβόντες, καίπερ πάντων σπανιζόμενοι, ἀφῆκαν ἀνευ λύτρων. γενναίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀλκίμους πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις φαίη εἶναι τοὺς τοιαύτα διαπραττομένους;

17 "Ὡς γε μὴ καὶ διὰ καρτερίας τὴν πίστιν τοῖς φίλοις διέσφυν περιφανεῖς· οἱ ἐπεὶ εἴργοντο τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν, ἔξων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου ἄνωυμενοι, διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγοραν ἵοντες, χαλεπῶς μὲν τιμὴν πορίζοντες, χαλεπῶς δὲ τοὺς κομίζοντας διαπορεύοντες, γλύσχρως δὲ ἐγγυητὰς καθιστάντες τῶν ἄξοντων ὑποζυγίων. ἢδη δὲ παντάπασιν ἀποροῦντες Χάρητα διεπράξαντο σφίσι παραπέμψαι τὴν παραπομπὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ἔγενετο, ἐδεήθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀχρείους συνεκπέμψαι εἰς τὴν Πελλήνην. κάκεινος μὲν ἐκεῖ κατέληπον, ἀγοράσαντες δὲ καὶ ἔπισκευασάμενοι ὑπόσα ἐξύπαντο ὑποζύγια νυκτὸς ἀπῆσαν, οὐκ ἀγνοούντες ὅτι ἐνεδρέυσοντο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες χαλεπώτερον εἶναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τάπιτήδεια. καὶ προῆσαν μὲν οἱ Φλειάσιοι μετὰ Χάρητος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέτυχον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εὐθὺς ἔργον τε εἰχοντο καὶ παρακελεύσαμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐνέκειντο, καὶ

1 Πρόξενον Schneider: πρόξενον Kel. with MSS.
Another noble deed which the Phliasians performed was this: when they had made a prisoner of Proxenus, the Pellenean, even though they were in want of everything, they let him go without a ransom. How could one help saying that men who performed such deeds were noble and valiant?

Furthermore, that it was only by stout endurance that they maintained their fidelity to their friends is clearly manifest; for when they were shut off from the products of their land, they lived partly by what they could get from the enemy’s territory, and partly by buying from Corinth; they went to the market through the midst of many dangers, with difficulty provided the price of supplies, with difficulty brought through the enemy’s lines the people who fetched these supplies, and were hard put to it to find men who would guarantee the safety of the beasts of burden which were to convey them. At length, when they were in desperate straits, they arranged that Chares\(^1\) should escort their supply train. Upon his arrival at Phlius they begged him to help them also to convoy their non-combatants to Pellene.\(^2\) Accordingly they left these people at Pellene, and after making their purchases and packing as many beasts of burden as they could, they set off during the night, not unaware that they would be ambushed by the enemy, but thinking that to be without provisions was a more grievous thing than fighting. Now the Phliasians, together with Chares, went on ahead, and when they came upon the enemy they immediately set to work, and, cheering one another on, pressed their attack, while at the same time

\(^1\) An Athenian general.

\(^2\) Since the events described in §§ 11–16 above Pellene had rejoined the Lacedaemonian alliance.
άμα Χάρητα ἐπιβοσθεῖν ἐβόων. νύκης δὲ γενομένης καὶ ἐκβληθέντως ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, οὕτω δὴ οἶκαςτε καὶ έαυτοὺς καὶ ἔδοκεν ἀπέσωσαν.

'Ως δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἡγρύπνησαν, ἐκάθευδον μέχρι 20 πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας. ἔπει δὲ ἀνέστη ὁ Χάρης, προσελθόντες οἳ τε ἰππεῖς καὶ οἱ χρησιμότατοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔλεγον. 'Ω Χάρης, ἔξηστι σοι τῆμερον κάλλιστον ἔργον διαπράξασθαι. χωρίον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις ἡμῖν οἳ Σικυώνοι τειχίζουσιν, οἰκοδόμους μὲν πολλοὺς ἔχουσε, ὀπλίτας δὲ οὐ πάνυ πολλοὺς. ἡγησόμεθα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἰππεῖς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ ἐρρωμενέστατοι. συ δὲ τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχων ἐδὸν ἀκολούθης, ἵσως μὲν διαπεπραγμένα σοι καταλῆψῃ, ἱσως δὲ ἐπιφανεῖς σὺ ῥοπῆ, ὀσπερ ἐν Πελλήνῃ, ποιήσεις. εἰ δὲ τὶ δυσχερές σοι ἑστὶν ὑμῖν λέγομεν, ἀνακοίνωσαι τοῖς θεοῖς θυόμενοι: οἴόμεθα γὰρ ἔτι σε μᾶλλον ἡμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ταῦτα πράττειν κελεύσειν. τούτῳ δὲ χρῆ, ὁ Χάρης, εὑρίσκει, ὅτι ἐὰν ταῦτα πράξῃς, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιτετειχικῶς ἔσει, φιλίαν δὲ πόλιν διασεσωκώς, εὐκλεέστατος δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἔσει, ὅνομαστότατος δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς 21 συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ Χάρης πειθεῖς ἐθύετο, τῶν δὲ Φλειασίων εὑθὺς οἱ μὲν ἰππεῖς τοὺς θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰπποὺς ἑχάλινουν, οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται ὁσα εἰς πεζὸν παρεσκευάζοντο. ἔπει δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὀπλα ἐπορεύ-
HELENICA, VII. ii. 19–21

they shouted to Chares to come to their aid. And when victory had been achieved and the enemy driven out of the road, in this wise they brought home in safety both themselves and the supplies they were conveying.

Now inasmuch as the Phliasians had passed the night without sleep, they slept until far on in the day. But when Chares arose, the horsemen and the best of the hoplites came to him and said: "Chares, it is within your power to-day to accomplish a splendid deed. For the Sicyonians are fortifying a place upon our borders,¹ and they have many builders but not very many hoplites. Now therefore we, the horsemen and the stoutest of the hoplites, will lead the way; and if you will follow us with your mercenary force, perhaps you will find the business already settled for you, and perhaps your appearance will turn the scale, as happened at Pellene. But if anything in what we propose is unacceptable to you, consult the gods by sacrifices; for we think that the gods will bid you do this even more urgently than we do. And this, Chares, you should well understand, that if you accomplish these things you will have secured a stronghold as a base of attack upon the enemy and have preserved a friendly city, and you will win the fairest of fame in your fatherland and be most renowned among both allies and enemies." Chares accordingly was persuaded and offered sacrifice, while on the Phliasian side the horsemen straightway put on their breastplates and bridled their horses, and the hoplites made all the preparations necessary for infantry. When they had taken up their arms and were proceeding to the place

¹ cp. § 1.

165
οντό ἐνθα ἐθύετο, ἀπήντα αυτοῖς ὁ Χάρης καὶ ὁ μάντις, καὶ ἔλεγον ὃτι καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ. Ἄλλα περιμένετε, ἐφάσαν· ἡδη γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξιμεν. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐκηρύξθη, θεία τινὶ προθυμία καὶ οἱ μυσθοφόροι ταχὺ ἐξέδραμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Χάρης ἦρξατο πορεύεσθαι, προῆσαν αυτοῦ οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ταχέως ἤγοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτρόχαζον τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς κατὰ κράτος ἠλαύνον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ κατὰ κράτος ἔθεον ὡς δυνατὸν ἐν τάξει, οἷς καὶ ὁ Χάρης σπουδὴ ἐπηκολούθει. ἦν μὲν οὖν τῆς ὀρας μικρὸν πρὸ δύντος ἠλίου· κατελάμβανον δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ τείχει πολεμίους τοὺς μὲν λουομένους, τοὺς δὲ ὑποποιομένους, τοὺς δὲ φυρώνας, τοὺς δὲ στυβάδας ποιεσμένους. ὡς δὲ εἶδον τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐφόδου, εὐθὺς ἐκπλαγέντες ἔφυγον, καταλυπόντες τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδράσι πάντα τάπιτήδεια. κακεῖνοι μὲν ταύτα δειπνήσαντες καὶ οἰκοθεν ἄλλα ἠλθόντα, ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ σπείρασαντες καὶ παιανίσαντες καὶ μυλακάς καταστησάμενοι, κατέδαρθον. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἀφικομένου τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγγέλου περὶ τῆς Θυαμίας, μάλα φιλικῶς κηρύξαντες τὰ ξεύγη καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα καὶ σίτου γεμίσαντες εἰς τὸν Φλειαύνον παρῆγαγον καὶ ἐωσπερ ἐτειχίζετο τὸ τείχος, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας παραπομπαὶ ἐγίγνοντο.

III. Περὶ μὲν δὴ Φλειασίων, ὡς καὶ πιστὸν τοὺς φίλους ἐγένοντο καὶ ἄλκιμοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ 166
HELLENICA, VII. ii. 21—III. 1

where he was sacrificing, Chares and the seer met them and said that the sacrifices were favourable. "Wait for us," they said, "for we, too, will set forth at once." And as soon as word had been given by the herald, Chares' mercenaries also speedily rushed out with a kind of heaven-sent eagerness. Now when Chares had begun to march, the cavalry and infantry of the Phliasians went on ahead of him; and at first they led the way rapidly, and then they began to run; finally, the horsemen were riding at the top of their speed and the foot-soldiers were running as fast as it is possible for men in line to go, while after them came Chares, following in haste. The time was a little before sunset, and they found the enemy at the fortress, some bathing, some cooking, some kneading, and some making their beds. Now so soon as the enemy saw the vehemence of the onset they straightway fled in terror, leaving all their provisions behind for these brave men. The latter accordingly made their dinner off these provisions and more which came from home, and after pouring libations in honour of their good fortune, singing a paean, and posting guards, they went to sleep. And the Corinthians, after news had reached them during the night in regard to Thyamia, in a most friendly way ordered out by proclamation all their teams and pack-animals, loaded them with corn, and convoyed them to Phlius; and so long as the fortifications were building,1 convoys continued to be sent out every day.

III. The story of the Phliasians, then, how they proved themselves faithful to their friends and continued valiant in the war, and how, though in want

1 Now by the Phliasians.
ΧΕΝΟΡΡΟΝ

diетέλεσαν, καὶ ως πάντων σπανίζοντες διέμενον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, εἰρήται. σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Αίνεας Στυμφάλιος, στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων γεγενημένος, νομίζασι οὐκ ἀνεκτῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν τῷ Σικυώνι, ἀναβὰς σὺν τῷ έαυτοῦ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συγκαλεῖ τῶν Σικυωνίων τῶν τε ἐνδόν ὃντων τοὺς κρατιστοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀνευ δόγματος ἐκπεπτωκότας μετεπέμπετο.

2 φοβηθεὶς δὲ ταύτα ὁ Εὐφρων καταφεύγει εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Σικυωνίων, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Πασίμηλον ἐκ Κορίνθου, διὰ τούτου παραδίδωσι τὸν λιμένα τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ αὐτῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἀνεστρέφετο, λέγων ὡς Δακεδαιμονίοις διατελοί πιστὸς ὃν. ὅτε γὰρ ὑψός ἐδίδοτο ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰ δοκοῖ ἀφίστασθαι, μετρῇ.

3 ὅλων ἄποψιφισάσθαι ἕφη ἐπείτα δὲ τοὺς προδόντας ἐαυτῶν βουλόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι δημον καταστήσασθαι. Καὶ νῦν, ἐφι, φεύγουσιν ὡς ἔμοι πάντες οἱ υἱῶσ προδιδόντες. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐδυνάσθην εἰγὼ, δὴν ἂν ἔχων τῆν πόλιν πρὸς υἱῶσ ἀπέστην. νῦν δ’ οὖ ἐγκρατὴς ἐγενόμην τῶν λιμένα παραδέδοκα υἱῶν. ἢκροώντο μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ταύτα· ὅποσοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο οὐ πάνω κατάδηλον.

4 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπείπερ ἡρξάμην, διατελέσαι βούλομαι τὰ περὶ Εὐφρωνος. στασιασάντων γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σικυώνι τῶν τε βελτίστων καὶ τοῦ δῆμου, λαβὼν ὁ Εὐφρων Ἀθήνηθεν ξενικὸν πάλιν κατέρχεται. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄστεως ἐκράτει σὺν τῷ δῆμῳ.

168
of everything, they remained steadfast in their alliance, has been told. At about this time Aeneas the Stymphalian, who had become general of the Arcadians, thinking that conditions in Sicyon were not to be endured, went up to the Acropolis with his own army, called together the aristocrats among the Sicyonians who were in the city, and sent after those who had been exiled therefrom without a decree of the people. And Euphron, seized with fear at these proceedings, fled for refuge to the port of the Sicyonians, and after summoning Pasimelus to come from Corinth, through him handed over the port to the Lacedaemonians and appeared once more in their alliance, saying that he had all the time remained faithful to the Lacedaemonians. For he said that at the time when a vote was taken in the city as to whether the Sicyonians should decide to revolt from them, he, with a few others, voted against it; and that afterwards he had set up a democracy out of his desire to avenge himself on those who had betrayed him. "And at this moment," he said, "all who were traitors to you are in exile by my act. Now if I had found myself able, I should have gone over to you with the entire city. As it is, I have given over to you the port, over which alone I had gained control." Those who heard him say these words were many, but how many believed him is by no means clear.

However, since I have begun it, I desire to finish the story of Euphron. When the aristocrats and the commons at Sicyon had fallen into strife, Euphron obtained a force of mercenaries from Athens and came back again. And with the help of the commons
XENOPHON

Θηβαίον δὲ ἀρμοστοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔχοντος, ἔπει τιγων τἀκ 

ἀν δυνάμενος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐχόν 

των τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς πόλεως κρατεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματὰ ψεῦ 

τοῦς πείσων Θηβαίους ἐκβάλλειν μὲν τοὺς κρατίστους, παρα 

δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῷ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ 

οἱ πρόσθεν φυγάδες τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν 

παρασκευὴν, ἀντεπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θῆβας. ὡς 

δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἄλλων αὐτῶν οἰκεῖοι τοῖς ἄρχουσι συνόντα, 

φοβηθεῖτε πὴ διαπράξαι τὸ βούλεται, παρε 

κινδύνευσαν τινὲς καὶ ἀποσφάττουσιν ἐν τῇ 

ἀκρόπολε τὸν Εὐφρονα, τῶν τὸν ἀρχόντων καὶ 

τῆς βουλῆς συγκαθημένων. οἱ µὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντες 

τους ποιήσαντας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν βουλὴν, καὶ 

ἔλεγον τάδε.

6 Ὡ άνδρες πολίται, ἡμεῖς τουτουσι τοὺς ἀπο 

κτείναντας Εὐφρόνα διώκομεν περὶ θανάτου, 

ὁρῶντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν σώφρονες οὐδὲν ἠπίουν ἄδικόν 

οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πονηρὸν ποιοῦσι μὲν, 

λανθάνειν δὲ πειράωνται, οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον πάντας 

ἀνθρώπους υπερβεβλήκασι τόλμη τε καὶ μιαρία 

ὡςτε παρ᾽ αὐτῶς τε τᾶς ἀρχὰς καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς 

ὑμᾶς τοὺς κυρίους οὐσίως δὲι ἀποδηνήσειν καὶ 

οὐσίως μῆ, αὐτογνωμονήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν 

ἀνδρᾳ. εἰ ὁν ὅτου ἢ δῶσουσι τὴν ἐσχάτην 

dίκην, τὶς ποτὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν θαρρῶν πορεύ 

σεται; τὶ δὲ πείσεται ἢ πόλις, εἰ ἔξεσται τῷ 

βουλομένῳ ἀποκτείνα τὴν δηλώσας ὅτου ένεκα 

ἡκε ἐκαστος; ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τοὺς διώκομεν ὡς
HELENICA, VII. III. 4–6

he was master of the town; a Theban governor, 368 B.C. however, held the Acropolis, and since Euphron realized that with the Thebans holding the Acropolis he could not possibly be master of the state, he got together money and set out with the intention of persuading the Thebans, by means of this money, to banish the aristocrats and give the state over to him again. When, however, the former exiles learned of his journey and his plans, they likewise proceeded to Thebes. And as they saw him in familiar association with the Theban officials, they were seized with fear that he might accomplish what he wanted, and some of them took the risk and slew Euphron upon the Acropolis while the officials and the senate were in session there. But the officials brought those who had done the deed before the senate and spoke as follows:

"Fellow citizens, we arraign on the capital charge these men who have slain Euphron, seeing, as we do, that while right-minded men commit no unjust or unrighteous deed, and the wicked, although they commit them, strive to do them in secret, these persons have so far surpassed all mankind in hardihood and villainy that in the presence of the very magistrates and in the presence of you, who alone have authority to decide who shall die and who shall not, they took decision into their own hands and slew the man. Therefore if these men do not suffer the extreme penalty, who will ever have the courage to visit our city? And what will become of the city if any one who so desires is to be allowed to slay a man before he has made known for what purpose he has come here? We, then, arraign these men
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

ἀνοσιωτάτους καὶ ἀδικωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους καὶ πλείστων δὴ ύπεριδόντας τῆς πόλεως. ὡμεῖς δὲ ἀκηκοότες, ὅποιας τινὸς ύμων δοκοῦσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι δίκης, ταύτην αὐτῶς ἐπίθετε.

7 Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ ἀποκτείναντῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ὕρνοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γεγενήσθαι· εἰς δὲ ὤμολογήκει, καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὥδε πως ἤρχετο. Ἀλλὰ ὑπερορᾶν μὲν, ὡ Θηβαῖοι, οὐ δυνατὸν ύμῶν ἄνδρι ὃς εἰδείη κυρίους μὲν ὁντας ὁ τι βούλεσθε αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι· τίνι μὴν πιστεύων ἐνθάδε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν ἄνδρα; εὖ ἵστε ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῷ νομίζειν δίκαιον ποιεῖν, ἑπειτα δὲ τῷ ύμᾶς ὀρθῶς γνώσεσθαι ήδειν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ύμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ 'Τπάτην, οὓς ἔλαβετε ὦμοια Εὐφρονι πεποιηκότας, οὐ ψήφου ἀνεμείνατε, ἀλλὰ ὅποτε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐτιμωρήσασθε, νομίζοντες τῶν τε περιφανῶς ἀνοσίων καὶ τῶν φανερῶς προδοτῶν καὶ τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρούντων ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων θάνατον κατεγνώσθαι.

8 οὕκον καὶ Εὐφρον πάσι τούτοις ἐνοχὸς ᾦ; παραλαβὼν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἱερὰ μεστὰ καὶ ἄργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἀναθημάτων κενὰ πάντων τοῦτων ἀπέδειξε. προδότης γε μὴν τίς ἃν περιφανεστερος Εὐφρονος εἶ, ὃς φίλαίτατος μὲν ὄν Δακεδαιμονίου ύμᾶς ἀντ' ἑκεῖνων εἰλέτο· πιστὰ δὲ δοὺς καὶ λαβῶν παρ' ύμῶν πάλιν προδόκωκεν ύμᾶς καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸν λιμένα; καὶ μὴν πῶς οὐκ ἀπροφασίστως τύραννος ᾦ, ὃς δού-

1 μὲν MSS. : Kel. brackets.
as utterly unrighteous, unjust, and lawless, and as having shown the utmost contempt for our city. It is for you, after you have heard, to inflict upon them such penalty as they seem to you to deserve."

Such were the words of the officials; as for those who had slain Euphran, all except one denied that they had been the perpetrators of the deed; but one had admitted it, and began his defence in some such words as these: "Surely, Thebans, to feel contempt for you is not possible for a man if he knows that you have authority to do with him as you will; in what, then, did I trust when I here slew the man? Be well assured that it was first of all in the belief that I was doing a just deed, and secondly in the thought that you would decide rightly; for I knew that you likewise, in dealing with the party of Archias and Hypates, whom you found to have performed acts like those of Euphran, did not wait for a vote, but punished them as soon as you found yourselves able to do so, believing that those who are manifestly unrighteous and those who are plainly traitors and attempting to be tyrants are already condemned to death by all mankind. Was not Euphran also, I ask, guilty under all these heads? In the first place, he found the shrines full of offerings both of silver and of gold, and left them empty of all these treasures. Again, who could be more manifestly a traitor than Euphran, who was the closest of friends to the Lacedaemonians and then chose you in their stead, and after he had given you pledges and received pledges from you, betrayed you again and handed over the port to your adversaries? Once again, was he not beyond question

1 See v. iv. 2-12.
λοὺς μὲν οὔ μόνον ἔλευθέρους ἄλλα καὶ πολίτας ἐποίει, ἀπεκτίνυμε δὲ καὶ ἐφυγάδευε καὶ χρήματα ἀφηρεῖτο οὐ τοὺς ἄδικούντας, ἀλλ' οὗς αὐτῷ 9 ἔδοκεν; οὕτωι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βέλτιστοι. αὐθίς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων ὑμῶν Ἀθηναίων κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐναντία μὲν ἔθετο τὰ ὀπλα τῷ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρμοστῇ ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἔδυνάσθη ἐκ τῆς ἀκροτόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, συσκευασάμειο; χρήματα δὲν ἄφορο ἀφίκετο. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὀπλα ἥθροικῶς ἐφάνη ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ χάριν ἃν μοι εἴχετε, εἰ ἀπέκτεινα αὐτῶν· δὲ δὲ χρήματα ἦλθε παρασκευασάμενος, ὡς τούτους ὑμᾶς διαφθερῶν καὶ πείσων πάλιν κύριον αὐτὸν ποιήσαι τῆς πόλεως, τούτω ἐγὼ τὴν δίκην ἐπιθείς πῶς ἀν δικαίως ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀποθάνοιμι; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὄπλοι βιασθέντες βλάπτονται μὲν, οὐ μέντοι ἄδικοι γε ἀναφαίνονται· οἱ δὲ χρήμασι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διαφάρεντες ἁμα μὲν βλάπτονται, ἁμα δὲ αἰσχύνη περιπίπτοντι. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιος ἦν, ὑμῖν δὲ φίλος, κἀγὼ ὀμολογῶ μὴ καλῶς ἃν μοι ἔχειν παρ' ὑμῖν τούτων ἀποκτείναν· ὁ δὲ ὑμᾶς προδίδος τι ἐμοὶ πολεμιώτερος ἦν ἡ ὑμῖν; Ἄλλα νὴ Δία, εἴποι ἃν τις, ἐκὼν ἠλθε. κατὰ εἰ μὲν ἀπεχόμενον τῆς ὑμετέρας 1 πόλεως ἀπέκτεινε τις αὐτῶν, ἐπαίνον ἃν ἐτύγχανε· νῦν δὲ ὅτε πάλιν ἠλθεν ἄλλα πρὸς τοῖς πρόσθεν κακὰ ποιήσων, οὐ

1 ὑμετέρας CV: ὑμετέρας FMD, followed by Kel.
a tyrant, when he made slaves not only free men but even citizens, and put to death and banished and robbed of property, not the people who were guilty of wrong-doing, but those whom it suited him to treat thus? And these were the better classes. Then after he had returned again to the city in company with your bitter adversaries, the Athenians, he set himself in arms against your governor; but since he found himself unable to expel him from the Acropolis, he got together money and came hither. Now if he had been shown to have gathered armed forces with which to attack you, you would even feel grateful to me for slaying him; but when he provided himself with money instead, and came with the purpose of corrupting you by means of this money and persuading you to make him lord of the city again, how can I justly be put to death by you for inflicting upon the man his due punishment? For whereas those who are constrained by arms suffer damage, yet they are not thereby shown to be wicked at any rate; but those who are corrupted by money in violation of the right not only suffer damage, but at the same time incur shame. To be sure, if he had been an enemy of mine but a friend of yours, I admit myself that it would not have been seemly for me to slay this man in your city; but wherein was he, who was a traitor to you, more of an enemy to me than to you? 'But, by Zeus,' someone might say, 'he came of his own free will.' So, then, if anyone had slain him while he was keeping away from your city, he would have obtained praise; but as it is, when he came again to do you more wrong in addition to what he had done before, does one say that he has not been slain
dikaios φησί τις αὐτοῦ τεθύνας; ποῦ ἔχων Ἐνλησι σπουδαῖς ἀποδείξαι ἡ προδόταις ἡ παλιν- 
αυτομόλοις ἡ τυράννοις; ¹ πρὸς δὲ τούτως ἀνα-
mnē̂shte ὅτι καὶ ἐγκυρίσασθε δῆτον τοὺς φυγά-
δας ἀγωγόμους εἶναι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμμαχίων. 
οὕτως δὲ ἀνέβη κοινὸν τῶν συμμάχων δόγματος 
kateχεται φυγάς, τούτων ἔχοι τις ἀν εἰπέν ὅπως 
Pοὺ δίκαιον ἔστω ἀποθνῄσκειν; ἔγω φημὶ, ὦ ἀνδρεὶς, ἀποκτείναντας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ 
tetimwkh- 
kótais ἔστω βασιλέα ἄνδρι τῷ πάντων ὑμῶν 
polémw-
tátω, γνώτας δὲ δίκαια πεποιηκέναι αὐτοῦ 
tetimwkhkótais 

12 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι ταύτα ἀκούσαντες ἐγνωσαν 
dikaiā tōn Εὐφρονα 
petovnēnai ois mēntoi polit-
tai autōu ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν κοιμάμενοι ἑθαφνὲ 
τε ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ ὡς ἀρχηγήτην τῆς πόλεως 

sēbontai. οὐτως, ὡς ἐοικεν, οἱ πλείστοι ὀρί-

1. τοῦ . . . τυράννοις as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts the clause 
after ἅλθε above. 
2. οὔτως . . . εἶναι MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Nauck. 
3. κατελήφθη: Kel. marks a lacuna after this word.
HELLENICA, VII. iii. 10–iv. 1

justly? Where can such a one show that a truce exists between Greeks and traitors, or double-deserters, or tyrants? Besides all this, remember also that you voted, and properly, that exiles should be subject to extradition from all the cities of the alliance. But as for an exile who returns without a general resolution of the allies, can anyone explain why it is unjust for such a one to be put to death? I maintain, gentlemen, that if you put me to death, you will have avenged a man who was the worst of all your enemies, but if you decide that I have done what was right, you will be found to have taken vengeance both for your own selves and for all the allies."

The Thebans, after hearing these words, decided that Euphron had met his deserts; his own citizens, however, esteeming him a good man, brought him home, buried him in their market-place, and pay him pious honours as the founder of their city. So true it is, as it seems, that most people define as good men their own benefactors.

IV. The story of Euphron has been told, and I return to the point from which I digressed to this subject. While, namely, the Phliasians were still fortifying Thyamia and Chares was still with them, Oropus was seized by those who had been exiled therefrom. When, however, the Athenians had set out in full force against the city and had summoned Chares from Thyamia, the port of the Sicyonians in its turn was recaptured by the citizens of Sicyon.

1 ii. 23.

177

VOL. II.
XENOPHON

tῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀλίσκεται τοῖς δ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοις οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμάχων ἔβοηθησεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεχώρησαν Θηβαίοις παρακαταθέμενοι τὸν Ὀρωπὸν μέχρι δίκης.

2 Καταμαθὼν δὲ ὁ Δυκομίδης μεμφομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ πράγματα εἶχον δὲ ἐκείνους, ἀντεβοήθησε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς, πείθει τοὺς μυρίους πράττειν περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτούς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐδυσχέραινον τινες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Δακεδαίμονιος ὄντας φίλους γεενόθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν συμμάχοις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ λογιζόμενοι ηὐρίσκον οὐδὲν μεῖον Δακεδαίμονιος ἢ σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν τὸ Ἀρκάδας μὴ προσδείσθαι Θηβαίων, οὕτω δὴ

3 προσεδέχοντο τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμμαχίαν. καὶ Δυκομίδης ταύτα πράττων, ἀπιῶν Ἀθηνηθεὶς δαιμονιώτατα ἀποθυμῆσκει. ὅτους γὰρ παμπόλλων πλοίων, ἐκλεξάμενος τούτων ὁ ἐβούλετο, καὶ συνθέμενοι τοῖς ναύταις ἀποβιβάσαται ὅποι αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εἶλετο ἐνταῦθα ἐκβῆναι ἐνθα οἱ φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. κάκεινος μὲν οὕτως ἀποθυμῆσκει, ἢ μέντοι συμμαχία ὄντως ἐπεραίνετο.

4 Ἐιπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἢ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φιλία καλῶς αὐτῷ δοκοῦ ἐπράττεσθαι, τοῖς μέντοι στρατηγοῖς προστάξαι ἐφη χρήναι ὅπως καὶ Κόρινθος σφα ἦ

178
themselves and the Arcadians; as for the Athenians, none of their allies came to their assistance, and they retired and left Oropus in the possession of the Thebans pending a judicial decision.

And now Lycomedes, upon learning that the Athenians were finding fault with their allies because, while they were themselves suffering many troubles on their account, none gave them any assistance in return, persuaded the Ten Thousand\(^1\) to negotiate for an alliance with the Athenians. At first, indeed, some of the Athenians took it ill that, when they were friends of the Lacedaemonians, they should become allies of their adversaries; but when upon consideration they found that it was no less advantageous to the Lacedaemonians than to themselves that the Arcadians should not require the support of the Thebans, under these circumstances they accepted the alliance with the Arcadians. While Lycomedes was engaged in these negotiations, upon his departure from Athens he met his death by what was quite manifestly a divine interposition. For there were very many ships available and he selected from them the one he wanted and made an agreement with the sailors to land him wherever he should himself direct; and he chose to land at the very spot where the Arcadian exiles chanced to be. He, then, met his death in this way, but the alliance was really accomplished.

Meantime Demotion said in the Assembly of the Athenians that while it seemed to him a good thing to be negotiating this friendship with the Arcadians, they ought, he said, to give instructions to their generals to see to it that Corinth also should be kept

\(^1\) cp. i. 38.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

tὸ δὴμο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ταχὺ πέμψαντες ἱκανοὺς φρουροὺς ἑαυτῶν πάντοσε ὅπου Ἀθηναίοι ἐφρούρουν εἶπαν αὐτοῖς ἀπίναι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεόμενοι φρουρῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπείδουντο. ὡς δὲ συνῆλθον οἱ ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων Ἀθηναίοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκήρυξαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, εἰ τις ἀδικοῖ Ἀθηναίων, ἀπογράφεσθαι, ὅ ως ληψομένους τὰ δίκαια. οὕτω δὲ τούτων ἑχόντων Χάρης ἀφικνεῖται μετὰ ναυτικοῦ πρὸς Κεγχρείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγνώ τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἐλέξειν ὅτι ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι τῇ πόλει βοηθῶν παρεῖ. οἱ δὲ ἑπανέσαντες αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐδέχοντο τὰς ναύς εἰς τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεῖν ἐκέλευον καὶ τοὺς ὅπλας δὲ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσαντες ἀπεπεμψαν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κορίνθου οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὁ οὕτως ἀπηλλάγησαν. τοῖς μὲν τοῖς Ἀρκάσι πέμπτει ἡγαγκάζοντο τοὺς ἵππεας ἐπικούρους διὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν, εἰ τις στρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τῆς δὲ Λακωνικῆς οὐκ ἐπέβαινον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ.

Τοῖς δὲ Κορινθίοις ἐνθυμουμένοις ὡς χαλεπῶς ἔχοι αὐτοὺς σωθήναι, κρατομένους μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν κατὰ γῆν, προσγεγενημένων δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἀνεπιτηδείων, ἐδοξεῖν ἄθροιζεν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας μισθοφόρους. ἤγουμενοι δὲ τούτων, ἀμα μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλαττον, ἀμα δὲ πολλὰ τοὺς πλησίον πολεμίους κακῶς ἐποίουν εἰς μέντοι
safe for the Athenian people; and on hearing of this the Corinthians speedily sent adequate garrisons of their own to every place where Athenians were on guard and told the latter to depart, saying that they no longer had any need of garrisons. The men accordingly obeyed. And as soon as the Athenians had come together from their guard-stations to the city of Corinth, the Corinthians made proclamation that if any of the Athenians had been wronged, they were to register their names, in the assurance that they would receive their just dues. While these matters were in this state, Chares arrived at Cenchreae with a fleet. And when he learned what had been done, he said that he had heard there was plotting against the state and had come to give aid. The Corinthians, however, while they thanked him, were none the more disposed to admit his ships into their harbour, but bade him sail away; and they likewise sent away the hoplites after rendering them their just dues. It was in this way, then, that the Athenians departed from Corinth. On the other hand, they were bound by the terms of their alliance to send their cavalry to the aid of the Arcadians in case anyone took the field against Arcadia; but they did not set foot upon Laconia for the purpose of war.

And now the Corinthians, in the thought that it would be difficult for them to come off safe, since even before this time they had been overmastered by land and now the Athenians had been added to the number of those who were unfriendly to them, resolved to collect mercenaries, both infantry and cavalry. Once in command of these troops, they not only guarded their city but likewise inflicted much harm upon their enemies near home; but to
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ Θήβας ἐπεμψαν ἐπερησομένους εἰ τύχοιεν ἄν 7. ἐλθόντες εἰρήνης. ἔπει δὲ οἱ Θήβαιοι ἴναι ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ἐσομένης, ἐδείχθησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶσαι σφᾶς ἔλθείν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ὡς μετὰ μὲν τῶν βουλομένων ποιησόμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην, τοὺς δὲ πόλεμον αἱρουμένους ἐάσοντες πολεμεῖν. ἐφέντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πράττειν τῶν Θήβαιων, ἐλθόντες εἰς Δακεδαίμονα οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. 8. Ἡμεῖς, δὲ ἄνδρες Δακεδαίμονιοι, πρὸς ύμᾶς πάρεσμεν ύμέτεροι φίλοι, καὶ ἄξιούμεν, εἰ μὲν τινὰ ὀρᾶτε σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν, ἕαν διακαρτηρώμεν πολεμοῦντες, διδάξαι καὶ ἡμᾶς· εἰ δὲ ἀπόροςς γνωστεύσετε ἐχοντα τὰ ἡμέτερα, εἰ μὲν καὶ ύμῖν συμφέρει, ποιήσασθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν τῇ εἰρήνῃ· ὡς οὕτως μετ' ὑμῶν τοῖς ἱμίοις καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν σωθεῖμεν· εἰ μέντοι ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε συμφέρειν ύμῖν πολεμεῖν, δεόμεθα ύμῶν ἑάσαι ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. σωθεῖτε μὲν γὰρ ἵσως ἀν αὕτης ἐτὶ ποτε ἐν καρφῳ ὑμῖν γενοίμεθα· εάν δὲ νῦν ἀπολώμεθα, δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ποιήσαμεν κρήσιμοι ἐτί ἐσόμεθα. 9. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δακεδαίμονιοι τοῖς τε Κορίνθιοις συνεβούλευον τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐπέτρεψαν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις σὺν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἀναπαύσασθαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐφασαν πολεμοῦντες πράξειν ὃ τι ἂν τῷ θεῷ φίλον ἢ· υφήςεσθαι δὲ οὕτως ποιήσατε, ἢν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον 10. Μεσσήνην, ταῦτας στερηθῆναι. οἱ οὖν Κορίνθιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας 182
HELENICA, VII. iv. 6–10

366 B.C.

Thebes sent messengers to ask whether they could obtain peace if they came for it. And when the Thebans bade them come, saying that peace would be granted, the Corinthians requested that they should allow them to go to their allies also, to the end that they might conclude the peace in company with those who desired peace, and leave those who preferred war to continue war. The Thebans having permitted them to do this likewise, the Corinthians went to Lacedaemon and said: "Men of Lacedaemon, we have come to you as your friends, and we ask that in case you see any safety for us if we persist in the war, you make it known to us; but in case you judge our situation to be hopeless, that you join with us in concluding peace if it is to your advantage also; for there is no one in the world along with whom we should more gladly gain safety than with you; if, however, you consider that it is to your advantage to continue the war, we beg you to allow us to conclude peace. For if we are saved, we might perhaps make ourselves useful to you again at some future time; whereas if we are now destroyed, it is plain that we shall never be of service in the future."

Upon hearing these words the Lacedaemonians not only advised the Corinthians to conclude the peace, but gave permission to such of their other allies as preferred not to continue the war in company with them, to cease; as for themselves, however, they said that they would fight on and accept whatever fortune it pleased the deity to send, and that they would never submit to be deprived of what they had received from their fathers—Messene. So the Corinthians, upon hearing these words, proceeded to
ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ μέντοι Ὁθβαῖοι ἥξιον αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν ὁμνύναι· οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἡ μὲν συμμαχία οὐκ εἰρήνη, ἀλλὰ πολέμου μεταλλαγὴ εἶν· εἰ δὲ βούλωντο, παρεῖναι ἐφασαν τὴν δικαίαν εἰρήνην ποιησόμενοι. ἀγαθέντες δὲ αὐτούς οἱ Ὁθβαῖοι, ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κινδύνῳ ὠντες οὐκ ἤθελον τοῖς εὐεργέταις εἰς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι, συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ Φλειασίοις καὶ τοῖς ἔλθοντι μετὰ αὐτῶν εἰς Θήβας τὴν εἰρήνην ἐφ᾽ χρείᾳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμόσθησαν οἱ ὅρκοι. οἱ μὲν δὲ Φλειασίοι, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἡ ἐξύμβασις ἑγένετο, εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Θαμαίας· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις εἰρήνη ποιῆσασθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καταπρᾶξαι ὡστε τοὺς τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδας μένειν ἐν τῷ Τρικαράνῳ ὡς ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν πόλει ἔχονται, παραλαβόντες ἐφρούρουν, φάσκοντες σφετέρας τὴν γῆν ταῦτην εἶναι, ἣν ὀλίγῳ πρῶτον ὡς πολεμίαν οὕσαν ἐδήμου· καὶ δίκαιος τῶν Φλειασίων προκαλομένων οὐκ ἔδίδοσαν.

12 Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τούτων τῶν χρόνων τετελευτηκότος ἦδη τοῦ πρόσθεν Διονυσίου ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πέμπτε βοήθειαιν τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις δώδεκα τριήρεις καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Τιμοκράτην. οὕτως δ᾽ οὗν ἀφικόμενος συνεξαίρει αὐτοῖς Σελλασίαν· καὶ τούτῳ πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν οὔκαδε.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτων οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον καταλαμβάνουσιν οἱ 'Ηλείοι Δωσιώνα, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἑαυτῶν ὑπάρχοντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι συντελοῦσα εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδίκον. οἱ μὲν τοῖς Ἀρκάδες οὐ παραλιγώ-

---

1 ποιήσασθαι MSS.: ποιήσασθαί Kel.
Thebes to make the peace. The Thebans, however, wanted them to bind themselves to an alliance as well; but they replied that an alliance was not peace but an exchange of war, and they said that they had come to conclude a real peace, if the Thebans so pleased. And the Thebans, seized with admiration for them because, even though they were in peril, they refused to be involved in war with their benefactors, granted peace to them, to the Phliasians, and to those who had come with them to Thebes, with the condition that each party should keep its own territory. And on these terms the oaths were taken. Then the Phliasians, inasmuch as the compact had been concluded on this basis, at once withdrew from Thyamia; but the Argives, who had sworn to make peace on these same terms, when they found themselves unable to bring it about that the Phliasian exiles should remain at Tricaranum on the ground that they would be within their own state, took over the place and kept it garrisoned, claiming now that this territory, which a little while before they had been laying waste as though it were an enemy’s, was theirs; and although the Phliasians proposed a judicial decision, they refused to grant the request.

At about this time, the first Dionysius being now dead, his son sent to the aid of the Lacedaemonians twelve triremes and Timocrates as their commander. And upon his arrival he helped them to capture Sellasia; and after accomplishing this deed he sailed back home.

Not long after this the Eleans seized Lasion, which in ancient times had been theirs, but at present belonged to the Arcadian League. The Arcadians, however, did not let the matter pass, but at once
ρησαν, ἀλλ’ εὗθὺς παραγγείλαντες ἐβοήθουν. ἀντεβοήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων οἱ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἔτι τετρακόσιοι. ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἐπιπεδεστέρῳ χωρίῳ τῶν Ἡλείων τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑπέρ τῶν Ἡλείων ὀροὺς κορυφήν· ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἄμα μὲν εὖ ὑπερδεξίου προσίσταντας, ἀμα δὲ πολλαπλασίους, ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπελθεῖν ἡσχύνθησαν, ὦμοσε δ’ ἥλθον καὶ εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενοι ἔφυγον καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, πολλὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἀπώλεσαν, κατὰ δυσχωρίας ἀποχωροῦντες.

14 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀκρωρείων πόλεις. λαβόντες δὲ ταύτας πλῆν Θραύστου ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, καὶ περισταυρώσαντες τὸ Κρόνιον ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν καὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ὄρους· ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ Μαργανέας ἐνδόντων τινῶν. οὔτω δὲ προκεχωρηκότων οἱ μὲν Ἡλείοι αὐτοὺς παντάπασιν ἡθύμησαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἠλθοῦν· ἔκει μέντοι ὑποστάντες οἱ τε ἵππεις καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλοντο τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τινὰς καὶ τροπαίον ἐστήσαντο. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶτον διαφορὰ ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Χάροπον

15
186
called out their troops and went to the rescue. And on the side of the Eleans the Three Hundred and likewise the Four Hundred \(^1\) came out to meet them. Now after the Eleans had lain encamped on a somewhat level spot opposite the enemy throughout the day, the Arcadians climbed up by night to the summit of the mountain which was above the Eleans; and at daybreak they proceeded to descend upon the Eleans. Then the latter, seeing that the Arcadians were not only approaching from higher ground but were also many times their number, were yet ashamed to retreat while still at a distance, but advanced to meet the enemy, and took to flight only after letting them come to close quarters; and they lost many men and many arms, since they retreated over difficult ground.

When the Arcadians had accomplished these things, they proceeded against the cities of the Acrorians. And having captured them, with the exception of Thraustus, they arrived at Olympia, and after building a stockade around the hill of Cronus, kept guard there and were masters of the Olympian mountain; they likewise gained possession of Margana, which was betrayed to them by some of its citizens. When matters had progressed to this point, the Eleans fell back into complete despondency, while the Arcadians proceeded against their capital. And they advanced as far as the marketplace; there, however, the horsemen and the rest of the Eleans made a stand, and they drove the Arcadians out, killed some of them, and set up a trophy. Now there had been dissension in Elis even before this time. For the party of Charopus, Thrasonidas,

\(^1\) Apparently two bodies of picked troops.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΗ

te kai Θρασονίδαν kai Ἀργείον eis δημοκρατίαν ἤγου τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐυάλκαν τε καὶ Ἰππίαν καὶ Στρατόλαν εἰς ὀλυγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Ἀρ-
kάδες μεγάλην δύναμιν ἐχουσες σύμμαχοι ἐδόκουν εἰναι τοῖς δημοκρατεῖσθαι βουλομένους, ἐκ τούτου δὴ θρασύτεροι οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάρπον ἦσαν, καὶ συνθέμενοι τοῖς Ἀρκάσιων ἐπιβοηθεῖν καταλαμ-
βάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. οἱ δ' ἔπεισι καὶ οἱ τρια-
kόσιοι οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἄνω, καὶ ἐκκρούουσιν αὐτοὺς. ὡστ' ἐφυγον σὺν τῷ Ἀργείῳ καὶ Χαρόπῳ τῶν πολιτῶν περὶ τετρα-
kοσίους.

Οὐ πολὺ δ' ὑστερον οὕτωι παραλαβόντες τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινάς καταλαμβάνουσι Πύλον.
καὶ πολλοὶ μέντοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆσαν τοῦ δήμου, ἀτε χωρίων τε καλὸν καὶ μεγάλην ῥώμην τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων σύμμαχον ἔχοντας. ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ υστερον εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν τῶν Ἡλείων οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἀναπειθόμενοι ὡς ἡ πόλις προσχρήσοιτο. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φίλοι γεγενημένοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διεφύλαξαν, ὡστε οἱ Ἀρκάδες οὔδὲν ἄλλο πράξαντες ἢ ἱσώταντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπῆλθον. εὐθὺς μέντοι ἐκ τῆς Ἡλείας ἔξιοντες, αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Πελληνέας ἐν Ἡλιδι
όντας, νυκτὸς μακροτάτην ὄδον ἐλθόντες κατα-
lαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν Ὀλυμπόν ἤδη γὰρ πάλιν προσεκεχωρήκεσαν οἱ Πελληνεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἧσθοντο τὰ

188

Digitized by Google
HELENICA, VII. iv. 15-18

and Argeius were trying to convert the state into a democracy, and the party of Eualcas, Hippias, and Stratolas into an oligarchy. But when the Arcadians with a large force seemed to be allies of those who wished to have a democracy, thereupon the party of Charopus were bolder, and after making arrangements with the Arcadians to aid them, seized the Acropolis. The horsemen, however, and the Three Hundred made no delay, but at once marched up and ejected them, so that about four hundred of the citizens, with Argeius and Charopus, were banished.

Not long afterwards these exiles enlisted the aid of some of the Arcadians and seized Pylus. And many of the democrats withdrew from the capital and joined them, insomuch as they were in possession of a good stronghold and had a large force—that of the Arcadians—to support them. Afterwards the Arcadians invaded the territory of the Eleans again, being persuaded by the exiles that the city would come over to them. But on that occasion the Achaeans, who had become friends of the Eleans, defended their city successfully, so that the Arcadians retired without accomplishing anything more than the laying waste of the land of the Eleans. At the moment, however, when they were departing from the Elean territory, they learned that the Pelleneans were in Elis, and after making an exceedingly long march by night seized their town of Olurus; for by this time the Pelleneans had come back again to their alliance with the Lacedaemonians.¹ Now when the Pelleneans learned the news in regard to

¹ See ii. 11 and note on ii. 18.
XENOPHON

περὶ Ὄλούρου, περιελθόντες αὐτὸ καὶ οὖτοι ὑπὲρ ἐδύναντο εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν Πελλήνην εἰς ἱλθοῦν. καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ ἐπολέμουν τοῖς ἐν Ὄλούρῳ Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν παντὶ δὴ μᾶλα ὀλιγοὶ ὄντες· ὁμοίως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἐξεπολιόρκησαν τὸν Ὄλουρον.

19 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῦνται ἄλλην στρατεύμαν εἰς τὴν Ἡλίνην. μεταξὺ δὲ Κυλλήνης καὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδευμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθενται οἱ Ἡλείοι, ὑποστάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος μὲν οἱ Ἡλείοι ἵππαρχος, δισπερ αὐτίκως ἔδοκε εἶναι τὴν μάχην συνάψαι, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διέφθειρε· οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ παραγενόμενοι καὶ Σωκλείδης ὁ Σπαρτιάτης· ἦδη γὰρ τὸτε οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι σύμμαχοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἤσαν. πιεζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἡλείοι ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν, ἤξιοι καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαίμονους πέμποντες πρέσβεις ἐπιστρατεύειν τοὺς Ἀρκάς, νομίζοντες οὖτος ἄν μᾶλιστα ἀποκαμεῖν τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, εἰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν πολεμοῦντο. καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ Ἄρχιδαμος στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κρώμνου. καταλιπὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ φουράν τῶν δώδεκα λόχων τρεῖς, οὖτως ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀνεχώρησεν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες, ὡσπερ ἐπεύχον ἐκ τῆς εἰς Ἡλίνοι στρατεύματι συνειλημένοι, βοηθήσαντες περισταύρωσαν τὸν Κρώμνου διπλῷ σταυρώματι, καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεί
Olurus, they in their turn made a roundabout march and as best they could got into their own city, Pellene. And after this they carried on war not only with the Arcadians at Olurus, but also with the entire body of the democrats of their own state, although they were themselves very few in number; but nevertheless they did not cease until they had captured Olurus by siege.

The Arcadians on their side made yet another expedition into Elis. And while they were encamped between Cyllene and the capital, the Eleans made an attack upon them, but the Arcadians stood their ground and defeated them. Then Andromachus, the Elean commander of horse, the man who was thought to be responsible for having joined battle, killed himself; but the rest retired to the city. Among those who perished in this battle was also Socleides the Spartiate, who had meanwhile arrived; for by this time the Lacedaemonians were allies of the Eleans. And now the Eleans, being hard pressed in their own land, sent ambassadors and asked the Lacedaemonians also to take the field against the Arcadians, believing that the Arcadians would be most likely to give up the struggle in this event, that is, if they were beset by war from both sides. As a result of this request Archidamus took the field with the citizen troops and seized Cromnus. And after leaving in the town as a garrison three of the twelve battalions, he then returned homewards. But the Arcadians, gathered together as they were in consequence of their expedition into Elis, came to the rescue and surrounded Cromnus with a double stockade, and, being thus

1 The λόχος was half a μύρα (regiment).
XENOPHON

όντες ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῷ Κρῶμυς. χαλεπῶς
de ἡ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων πόλει φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ
πολιορκίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐκπέμπει στρατιάν.
ηγεῖτο δὲ καὶ τότε Ἀρχίδαμος. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἔδησον
καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὅσα ἐδύνατο καὶ τῆς Σκιρί-
tιδος, καὶ πάντα ἐποίει ὅπως, εἰ δύνατο, ἀπ-
αγώγοι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες οὐδὲν
τι μᾶλλον ἐκινοῦντο, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα παρεώ-
ρον. κατιδῶν δὲ τινα λόφον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, δι’
οὗ τὸ ἔξω σταύρωμα περιβέβλημα οἱ Ἀρκάδες,
ἐνόμισαν ἐλείν ἄν τοῦτον, καὶ εἰ τούτου κρατή-
σειν, οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι μένειν τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦτον
πολιορκοῦντας. κύκλῳ δὲ περιάγωντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
tοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὡς εἶδον οἱ προδέοντες τοῦ
Ἀρχίδαμον πελτασταὶ τοὺς ἑπαρίτους ἔξω τοῦ
σταυρώματος, ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἱ ἰπτεῖς
συνεμβάλλειν ἐπειρώντο. οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἐνέκλιναν,
ἀλλὰ συντεταγμένοι ἱσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δ’ αὖ
πάλιν ἐνέβαλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐνέκλιναν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπήσαν, ἥδη οὔσης πολλῆς κραυγῆς,
ἐβοήθει δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, ἐκτραπό-
μενος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κρῶμυνον φέρουσαν ἀμαξίτον,
eis δύο ἄγων, ὠσπερ ἑτύχανεν ἑχων. ὡς δ’
ἐπηρσίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Ἀρχιδάμῳ
catā kēras, ἀτε καθ’ ὁδὸν πορεύομενοι, οἱ δ’ Ἀρ-
κάδες ὑθρόοι συνασπιδοῦντες, ἐν τούτῳ οὐκέτι

192
in a safe position, besieged the people in Cromnus. Then the city of Lacedaemon, distress'd at the besieging of its citizens, sent out an army. And on this occasion also Archidamus was in command. When he had come, he laid waste as much as he could both of Arcadia and of Sciritis, and did everything in order, if possible, to draw off the besiegers. The Arcadians, however, were not any more disposed to stir than before, but disregarded all these doings. Then Archidamus, espying a hill over which the Arcadians had carried their outer stockade, came to the conclusion that he could capture it, and that if he became master of this hill, the besiegers at its foot would not be able to hold their position. Now while he was leading the way to this place by a roundabout route, as soon as the peltasts who were running on ahead of Archidamus caught sight of the Epariti outside the stockade, they attacked them, and the cavalry endeavoured to join in the attack. The enemy, however, did not give way, but forming themselves into a compact body, remained quiet. Then the Lacedaemonians attacked again. The enemy did not give way even then, but on the contrary proceeded to advance, and by this time there was a deal of shouting; Archidamus himself thereupon came to the rescue, turning off along the wagon road which runs to Cromnus and leading his men in double file, just as he chanced to have them formed. Now as soon as the two forces had come near to one another, the troops of Archidamus in column, since they were marching along a road, and the Arcadians massed together in close

1 The name given to the regular troops of the Arcadian League.
ёдώναντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέχειν τῷ τῶν Ἄρ-
κάδων πλήθει, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτέρωτο τὸν μηρὸν διαμπάξει, ταχὺ δὲ οἱ μαχό-
μενοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθυσαν, Πολυαινίδας τε καὶ Χίλων ὦ τῇ ἀδελφῇ τοῦ Ἀρχίδαμου ἔχων, καὶ οἱ πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν τότε ἀπέθανον οὐκ ἔλαττον
24 τῶν τριάκοντα. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὄδον ἀναχω-
ροῦντες εἰς τὴν εύρυχωρίαν ἐξῆλθον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντιπαρετῆξαντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἄρκαδες, ὧσπερ εἶχον, συντεταγμένοι ἔστασαν,
καὶ πλήθει μὲν ἐλεύθερον, εὐθυμότερον δὲ πολὺ
eἶχον, ἐπεληφθότες ἀποχωροῦσι καὶ ἀνδραὶ 1 ἀπεκτονότες. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα ἄθυμως
eἶχον, τετρωμένοι μὲν ὄρωντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον,
ἀκηκότες δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τεθηκότων, ἀνδρῶν
25 τε ἁγαθῶν καὶ σχεδὸν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ὄντων ἀναβοῆσας τις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε. Τὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς, ὃ ἄνδρες, μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ σπεισαμένους διαλυθῆναι; ἁσμενοὶ δὴ ἄμφοτεροι ἀκούσαντες ἐσπείσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαι-
mόνιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνελόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ' Ἄρκαδες ἐπαναχωρήσαντες ἐνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἰρ-
ξαντο ἐπίεινα τροπαίων ἐστῆσαντο.
26 Ὡς δὲ οἱ Ἄρκαδες περὶ τὸν Κρώμμον ἔσαν, οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἡλεῖοι πρῶτον μὲν ἱόντες ἐπὶ τῇ
Πύλῃ περιτυχάνουσι τοὺς Πυλίοις ἀποκεκρο-
mένοις ἐκ τῶν Θαλαμῶν. καὶ προσελαιύνοντες οἱ

1 Kel., following Hartman, supposes that τοσοῦτος or τοιοῦτος has dropped out after ἀνδρας.
order, at this juncture the Lacedaemonians were no longer able to hold out against the superior weight of the Arcadians, but Archidamus speedily received a wound straight through his thigh and speedily those who fought in front of him kept falling, among them Polyadenidas and Chilon, who was married to the sister of Archidamus; and the whole number of them who fell at that time was not less than thirty. But when the Lacedaemonians as they retired along the road came out into open ground, they immediately formed themselves in line of battle against the enemy. The Arcadians on their side stood in close order, just as they were, and while inferior in numbers, they were in better spirits by far, since they had attacked a foe who retreated and had killed men. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, were exceedingly despondent, for they saw that Archidamus was wounded and they had heard the names of the dead, who were not only brave men but well nigh their most distinguished. But when, the Arcadians being now close at hand, one of the older men shouted out and said: "Why, sirs, should we fight, and not rather make a truce and become reconciled?" both sides heard him gladly and made a truce. Accordingly the Lacedaemonians took up their dead and departed, while the Arcadians returned to the place where they had originally begun to advance, and there set up a trophy.

While the Arcadians were occupied about Cromnus, the Eleans in the capital proceeded in the first place against Pylus, and fell in with the Pylians after the latter had been driven out of Thalamae. And when the horsemen of the Eleans, as they rode

---

1 cp. § 16.
ιππείς τῶν Ἡλείων ὡς εἶδον αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάλλουσιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτινωσιν, οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν καταφεύγονσιν ἐπὶ γῆλοφον. ἔπει μέντοι ἦλθον οἱ πεζοί, ἐκκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ξύντας ἔλαβον ἐγγὺς διακοσίων. καὶ ὁσι μὲν ἔξιοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέδοτο, ὁσι δὲ φυγάδες, ἀπέσφατον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς τε Πυλίους, ὡς ούδεις αὐτοῖς ἔσοθησι, σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ χωρίῳ αἱροῦσι, καὶ τοὺς Μαργανέας ἀναλαμβάνουσι. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι ὑστερον αὐ ἔλθοντες νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Κρῶμνου ἐπικρατοῦσι τοῦ σταυρώματος τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς 'Αργείους καὶ τοὺς πολιορκούμενους τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων εὐθὺς ἐξεκάλουν. ὁσι μὲν οὐν ἐγγυτάτα τε ετυγχανον ὄντες καὶ ἅξινάβησαν, ἦσθαν οπόσους δὲ ἐφθασαν πολλοὶ τῶν 'Αρκάδων συμβοηθήσαντες, ἀπεκλείσθησαν ἐνδον καὶ ληφθέντες διενεμήθησαν. καὶ ἐν μὲν μέρος ἔλαβον 'Αργείου, ἐν δὲ Θηβαίων, ἐν δὲ Ἀρκάδω, ἐν δὲ Μεσσηνίων. οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες ληφθέντες Σπαρτιατῶν τε καὶ περιοίκων πλείους τῶν ἐκατόν ἐγένοτο. 28 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐσχόλασαν ἀπὸ τῶν Κρῶμνου, πάλιν δὴ περί τοὺς Ηλείους εἰχον, καὶ τῆν τε Ὀλυμπίαν ἔρρωμενέστερον ἐφρούρουν, καὶ ἐπίοντος Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους παρεσκευάζοντο ποιεῖν τὰ Ὀλυμπία σὺν Πισάταις τοῖς πρώτοις φάσκουσι προστήναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἔπει δὲ δὴ το μὴν ἦκεν ό φῦ τὰ Ὀλυμπία γίγνεται αὗ τε ἡμέραι 1 

1 τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Breitenbach.

196
HELLENICA, VII. iv. 26-28

along, caught sight of the Pylians, they did not delay, but attacked at once, and they killed some of them, while others fled for refuge to a hill; but as soon as the infantry came up they dislodged those upon the hill also, and killed some of them on the spot and took captive others, nearly two hundred in number. Thereupon they sold all among the prisoners who were foreigners and put to the sword all who were Elean exiles. After this the Eleans not only captured the Pylians, along with their stronghold, inasmuch as no one came to their aid, but also recovered Margana. As for the Lacedaemonians, they afterwards went against Cromnus again by night, made themselves masters of the stockade which was opposite the Argives, and immediately proceeded to call forth the Lacedaemonians who were besieged there. Now all who chanced to be nearest at hand and seized the opportunity promptly, came forth; but such as were forestalled by a large body of the Arcadians which came to the rescue, were shut off inside the stockade, captured, and distributed. And the Argives received one portion, the Thebans one, the Arcadians one, and the Messenians one. And the whole number who were captured of the Spartiates and the Perioeci came to more than one hundred.

When the Arcadians were no longer occupied with Cromnus, they occupied themselves again with the Eleans, and they not only kept Olympia more strongly garrisoned, but also, since an Olympic year was coming on, prepared to celebrate the Olympic games in company with the Pisatans, who say that they were the first to have charge of the sanctuary. But when the month came in which the Olympic

197
XENOPHON

ἐν αἷς ἡ πανήγυρις ἀθροίζεται, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συσκευασάμενοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες Ἀχαίοις ἐπορεύοντο τὴν Ὀλυμ-πιακὴν ὁδὸν. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐκ ἀν ποτὲ φοντὸ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, αὐτοὶ δὲ σὺν Πισάταις διετίθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἱπποδρομίαν ἢδη ἐπετοιχίσασαν καὶ τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου. οἱ δὲ εἰς πάλην ἀφικόμενοι οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ὅρμου καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐπάλαιον. οἱ γὰρ Ἡλεῖοι σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις παρῆσαν ἢδη εἰς τὸ τέμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἀρ-
κάδες πορρωτέρω μὲν οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλαδάου ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, διὰ παρὰ τὴν Ἀλτιν καταρρέων εἰς τὸν Ἀλφείων ἐμβάλλει. καὶ σύμμαχοι δὲ παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς, ὑπῆρται μὲν Ἀργείων εἰς δισχίλιους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱππεῖς περὶ τετρακοσίους. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τάπιθάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, σφαγιασάμενοι δὲ εὐ-
θυς ἐχώρουν. καὶ τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ καταφρονοῦμενοι μὲν ὑπ’ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀργείων, καταφρονοῦμενοι δὲ ὑπ’ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὃμως ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μὲν συμ-
μάχων ὡς ἀλκιμώτατοι ὄντες ἠγοῦντο, τοὺς δ’

1 The pentathlon, which immediately followed the horse-
race, consisted—as its name implies—of five events, viz.
running, jumping, discus-throwing, javelin-hurling, and
wrestling. The order of these events is uncertain, except
that the wrestling contest was the last, while the foot-race
was in all probability the first. The first four events (τὰ

198
games take place and the days on which the festal assembly gathers, at this time the Eleans, after making their preparations openly and summoning the Achaeans to their aid, proceeded to march along the road leading to Olympia. Now the Arcadians had never imagined that the Eleans would come against them, and were themselves directing the festal meeting in company with the Pisatans. They had already finished the horse-race, and the events of the pentathlon held in the race-course. And the competitors who had reached the wrestling were no longer in the race-course, but were wrestling in the space between the race-course and the altar. For the Eleans, under arms, had by this time reached the sacred precinct. Then the Arcadians, without advancing to meet them, formed in line of battle on the river Cladaüs, which flows past the Altis and empties into the Alpheus. They had allies also to support them, about two thousand hoplites of the Argives and about four hundred horsemen of the Athenians. And the Eleans formed in line on the opposite side of the river, and, after offering sacrifice, immediately advanced. And although in former time they had been despised in matters of war by the Arcadians and Argives, and despised by the Achaeans and Athenians, nevertheless on that day they led their allies forward, as men who were unexcelled in valour, and they not only routed the Arcadians at δρομίκα) were held in the δρόμος, or race-course, the wrestling usually in the open space in front of the treasury steps.

2 i.e. had survived the first four events.

3 The great altar of Zeus, whose sacredness was expected to protect them from any attack by the Eleans.

4 The inner portion of the sacred precinct bore this name.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

Αρκάδας, τούτους γὰρ πρῶτους συνέβαλον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ ἐπιβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς

31 Ἀργείους δεξάμενοι καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. ἔπει 

μέντοι κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ βουλευτη-

ρίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς 

tαῦτα προσήκοντος θεάτρου, ἐμάχοντο μὲν οὐδὲν 

ηττον καὶ ἐώθουν πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν, ἀπὸ μέντοι 

tῶν στοῶν τε καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ 

μεγάλου ναοῦ βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ 

μαχόμενοι, ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἄλλοι τε τῶν Ἡλείων 

καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν τριακοσίων ἅρχων Στρατόπεδος. 

tούτων δὲ πραξάθεντων ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ αὐτῶν 

32 στρατόπεδον. οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' 

αὐτῶν οὕτως ἑπεφάσχηντο τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν 

ὡςτε οὐδ' ἀνεπαύσαντο τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐκκόπτοντες 

tὰ διαπεπονθένα σκηνώματα καὶ ἀποσταυ-

ροῦντες. οἱ δ' αὐτῷ Ἡλείου ἔπει τῇ ἵστερᾳ προσ-

ιόντες εἶδον καρτερὸν τὸ τείχος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ναῶν 

πολλοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας, ἀπέκλειον εἰς τὸ ἀστυ, 

τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι οὕτως τὴν ἁρετὴν θεὸς μὲν ἄν 

ἐμπνεύσας δύνατο καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποδεῖξαι, ἀν-

θρώπων δὲ οὐδ' ἄν ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς μὴ οὕτας 

ἀλκίμους ποιῆσειαν.

33 Χρωμένων δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι τῶν ἐν τοῖς 

Ἀρκάσιν ἄρχοντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τοὺς ἑπαρ-

τους τρεφόντων, πρῶτοι Μαντινεῖς ἀπεψηφίσαντο 

μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι. καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ 

200
once—for it was these whom they encountered first—but withstood the attack of the Argives when they came to the rescue, and won the victory over them also. When, however, they had pursued the enemy to the space between the senate house and the temple of Hestia and the theatre which adjoins these buildings, although they fought no less stoutly and kept pushing the enemy towards the altar, still, since they were pelted from the roofs of the porticoes, the senate house, and the great temple,¹ and were themselves fighting on the ground-level, some of the Eleans were killed, among them Stratolás himself, the leader of the Three Hundred. When this happened, they retired to their own camp. But the Arcadians and those with them were so fearful for the coming day that they did not so much as go to rest during the night, being engaged in cutting down the carefully constructed booths² and building a stockade. As for the Eleans, when they returned on the next day and saw that the stockade was a strong one and that many men had climbed up on the temples, they withdrew to their city, having shown themselves such men in point of valour as a god no doubt could produce by his inspiration even in a day, but human creatures could not make even in a long time out of those who were not valiant.

Now while the leaders of the Arcadians were using the sacred treasures,³ and therefrom maintaining the Epariti, the Mantineans were the first to pass a vote not to make use of the sacred treasures. For themselves, they collected in their city the

¹ Of Zeus.
² Built by merchants or for the shelter and convenience of visitors.
³ i.e. of Olympia.
XENOPHON

gιγνόμενον μέρος εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπορίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοῖς ἀρχούσιν. οἱ δὲ ἀρχούτες φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λυμαίνεσθαι τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ἀνεκαλούντο εἰς τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς προστάτας αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπει οὐχ ὕπηκουν, κατεδίκασαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἐπέμεινον ὡς ἄξονας τοὺς κατακεκριμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαντινεῖς κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὖν ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὺς 34. εἰσω. ἐκ δὲ τούτον τάχα ἤ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ὃς οὐ χρὴ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήματι χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ καταλιπέσαι εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τοῖς παισίν ἔγκλημα τούτο πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀπέδοξε μηκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι, ταχὺ δὴ οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄν δυνάμενοι ἀνέν μισθοῦ τῶν ἑπαρίτων εἶναι διεχέστο, οἱ δὲ δυνάμενοι παρακελευσάμενοι αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο εἰς τοὺς ἑπαρίτους, ὡς μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ᾿ ἐκεῖνοις, ἄλλ᾿ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἶχεν. γνώντες δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ διακεχειρίκοτες τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ὅτι εἰ δώσοιεν εὐθύνασιν, κινδυνεύσοιεν ἀπολέσθαι, πέμπουσιν εἰς Θῆβας, καὶ διδάσκουσι τοὺς Θηβαίους ὡς εἰ μὴ στρατεύσειαν, κινδυνεύσοιεν 35 οἱ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν λακωνίσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς στρατευσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ βουλευόμενοι ἔπεισαν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων πέμψαντας πρέσβεις εἰπεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις μὴ ιέναι σὺν ὀπλοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰ μὴ τι καλοῖεν. καὶ ἢμα μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς
amount which fell to their share towards the pay-
ment of the Epariti and sent it off to the leaders. The leaders, however, said that they were doing harm to the Arcadian League, and summoned their rulers before the Ten Thousand; and when they refused to heed the summons, they passed sentence upon them and sent the Epariti to bring those who had been thus condemned. Then the Mantineans shut their gates and would not admit the Epariti within their walls. As a result of this some others likewise were soon saying in the meeting of the Ten Thousand that they ought not to use the sacred treasures, or to leave to their children for all time such an offence in the eyes of the gods. When, accordingly, a vote had been passed in the Arcadian assembly not to make use of the sacred treasures any longer, those who could not belong to the Epariti without pay speedily began to melt away, while those who could, spurred on one another and began to enroll themselves in the Epariti, in order that they might not be in the power of that body, but rather that it might be in their power. Then such of the Arcadian leaders as had handled the sacred treasures, realizing that, if they had to render an account, they would be in danger of being put to death, sent to Thebes and explained to the Thebans that if they did not take the field, the Arcadians would be likely to go over to the Lacedaemonians again. The Thebans accordingly prepared to take the field; but those who sought the best interests of Peloponnesus persuaded the general assembly of the Arcadians to send ambassadors and tell the Thebans not to come under arms to Arcadia unless they sent them a summons. And while they
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΗ

Θηβαίους ἔλεγον, ἀμα δὲ ἐλογίζοντο ότι πολέμου οὐδὲν δέοιντο. τοῦ τε γὰρ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς προ-
estánai οὐδὲν προσδείσθαι εὖμιξον, ἀλλ’ ἀπο-
didónites ἀν καὶ δικαιότερα καὶ ὁσιώτερα ποιεῖν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ οἴεσθαι μᾶλλον ἀν οὐτω χαρίζεσθαι. βουλομένων δὲ τάτα καὶ τῶν Ὡλείων, ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέρους εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐγένοντο σπονδαί.

36 Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὄρκων, καὶ ὁμοσάντων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἄπαντων καὶ Τεγεατῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου, δε ἐτύγχανεν εὐν Τεγέα ἐχων τριακοσί-
nous ὁπλίτας τῶν Βοιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες
ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ ἰαυτοῦ ἐπικαταμείναντες ἐδειπνο-
ποιοῦντο τε καὶ ἡθυμοῦντο καὶ σπονδάς καὶ
παίδας ὡς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης ἐποιοῦντο, δὲ
Θηβαίος καὶ τῶν ἀρχών των φοβούμενοι τὰς
eυθύνας σὺν τε τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμογνώμοσι
tῶν ἐπαρίτων κλείσαντες τὰς πυλὰς τοῦ τῶν
Τεγεατῶν τείχους, πέμποντες ἐπὶ τοὺς σκηνοῦ-
tας συνελάμβανον τοὺς βελτίστους. ἀτε δὲ ἐκ
πασῶν τῶν πόλεων παρόντων τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ
πάντων εἰρήνην βουλομένων ἔχειν, πολλοὶς ἔδει
tοὺς συλλαμβανομένους εἶναι ὡστε ταχὺ μὲ
ἀυτοῖς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεστὸν ἦν, ταχὺ δὲ ἡ
37 δημοσία οἰκία. ὅσ δὲ πολλοὶ οἱ εἰργμένοι ἦσαν,
πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκπεπηδηκότες, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἀφευντο. οὐδεὶς
γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁργηθεῖτο, ὅστις μὴ φέτο ἀπολείπῃ
ἀπορήσει δὴ μάλιστα ἐποίησε τὸν τοῦ Θηβαίου
καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ τάτα πράττοντας ὀτι Μαν.

1 ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Cobet.
HELENICA, VII. iv. 35–37

said this to the Thebans, at the same time they reasoned that they had no desire for war. For they held that they had no desire for the presidency of the shrine of Zeus, but that they would be acting more justly as well as more righteously if they gave it back, and that in this way, as they supposed, they would please the god better. Now since the Eleans also were desirous of this course, both parties resolved to make peace; and a truce was concluded.

After the oaths had been taken and, besides all the rest, the Tegeans had sworn and the Theban governor himself, who chanced to be in Tegea with three hundred hoplites of the Boeotians, then, while the bulk of the Arcadians, still remaining there in Tegea, feasted and made merry, poured libations and sang paeans over the conclusion of peace, the Theban and such of the Arcadian leaders as were fearful about their accounts, after closing the gates in the wall of Tegea with the help of the Boeotians and their partisans among the Epari, sent to the feasters and proceeded to seize the aristocrats. But inasmuch as the Arcadians of all the cities were present and all of them were desirous of having peace, those who were seized were necessarily many, so that their prison was speedily full, and the city hall likewise. Since, however, there were many who had been imprisoned, and many who had leaped down outside the wall, and some also who had been let out through the gates (for no one, unless he expected to be put to death,¹ felt resentment against anyone else), it was a cause of the greatest embarrassment to the Theban governor and those who were acting with him in this matter that of the Mantineans, whom

¹ cp. § 34.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

tinēas, oûs mālistata ἐβούλοντο λαβεῖν, ὁλίγους
τινὰς πάνυ εἶχον· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐγχύσ τὴν πόλιν
εἶναι σχεδὸν πάντες ὕχοντο οἶκαδε.

38 Ἐσεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐπύ-
θοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς, εὖθὺς πέμποντες εἰς τε τὰς
ἀλλὰς Ἀρκαδικὰς πόλεις προηγόρευον ἐν τοῖς
ὄπλοις εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν τὰς παρώνας. καὶ
αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐποίουν, καὶ ἀμα πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν
Τεγέαν ἀπήτουν ὅσους ἔχοιεν ἀνδρὰς Μαντινεῶν,
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἀρκάδων οὐδένα ἄξιον ἔφασαν
οὔτε δεδέσθαι οὔτε ἀποθυμήσκειν πρὸ δίκης. εἰ
δὲ καὶ τινὲς ἐπαιτίφυτο, ἔλεγον ἐπαγγέλλοντες
ὅτι ἡ τῶν Μαντινεῶν πόλις ἐγγυφτὸ ἡ μὴν παρ-
έξειν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὅποσον τις
προσκαλοῖτο. ἀκούων οὖν ὁ Θηβαῖος, ἦπορει
τε ὁ τι χρήσαιτο τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἄφθιει πάν-
τας τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραῖ τυγκαλέσας
τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπόσοι γε δὴ συνελθεῖν ἥθελον,
ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς ἐξαπατηθεὶς. ἀκούσαι γὰρ ἔφη
ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε εἰς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς
ὀρίοις προδιδόναι τε μέλλονεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Τεγέαν
τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὲς. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες, ἐκεῖνον
μέν, καίπερ γιγνώσκουστε ὅτι ἔγειρεν περὶ
σφῶν, ἄφθεον πέμψαντες δ' εἰς Θῆβας πρέσβεις
κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ ὡς δεῖν ἀποθανεῖν. τὸν δ' Ἐπαμε
μενόνδραν ἔφασαν, καὶ γὰρ στρατηγῶν τὸτε
ἐτύχανε, λέγειν ὡς πολὺ ὁρθότερον ποιήσειν,
ὅτε συνελάμβανε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ ὅτε ἀφῆκε. Τὸ
206
they most wanted to capture, they had but a very few; for because their city was near by, almost all of them had gone home.

Now when day came and the Mantineans learned what had been done, they straightway sent to the other Arcadian cities and gave them word to hold themselves under arms and to guard the passes. The Mantineans likewise followed this course themselves, and at the same time, sending to Tegea, demanded back all the men of Mantinea whom they were holding there; and they said that they demanded in the case of the other Arcadians also that no one of them should be kept in prison or put to death without a trial. And if anyone had any charges to bring against these men, they gave assurances that the city of Mantinea pledged itself in very truth to produce before the general assembly of the Arcadians all whom anyone might summon to trial. The Theban accordingly, on hearing this, was at a loss to know how he should deal with the matter, and released all the men. Then on the following day he called together as many of the Arcadians as chose to gather and said in his defence that he had been deceived. For he had heard, he said, that the Lacedaemonians were on the borders under arms and that some of the Arcadians were going to betray Tegea to them. Upon hearing this they acquitted him, although they knew that he was speaking falsely about them, but they sent ambassadors to Thebes and brought charges against him, saying that he ought to be put to death. It was said, however, that Epaminondas (for he chanced to be general at that time) urged that he had acted far more rightly when he seized the men than when
XENOPHON

γὰρ ἡμῶν δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντων ὑμᾶς ἀνευ τῆς ἡμέτερας γνώμης εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι πῶς ὥς ἂν δικαίως προδοσίαν τις ὑμῶν τούτο κατηγοροίη; εὖ δ’ ἵστε, ἔφη, ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ στρατευόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι πολεμήσομεν.

V. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλθη πρός τε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἀνελογίζοντο Μαντινεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὡσάντως δὲ καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Ἀχαιοί, ὅτι Θηβαίοι δὴλοι εἰεν βουλόμενοι ὡς ἀσθενεστάτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἶναι, ὅπως ὡς ῥάστα αὐτὴν καταδουλώσαιτο.

2 Τι γὰρ δὴ πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς βούλονται ἢ ἣν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀλλήλους κακῶς ποιώμεν, ἐκείνων δ’ ἀμφότεροι δεώμεθα; ἢ τὶ λεγόντων ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐ δεόμεθα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρασκευάζονται ως εξίσοντες; οὐ δὴλοι ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶν τι ἐργάζεσθαι

3 ἡμᾶς στρατεύειν παρασκευάζονται; ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ Ἀθήναζε βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ καὶ εἰς Δακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρίτων, παρακαλοῦντες Δακεδαίμονις, εἰ βούλιοι κοινῇ διακωλύειν, ἂν τινες ἱωσὶ καταδουλωσόμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον. περὶ μέντοι ἡγεμονίας αὐτόθεν διεπράττοντο ὅπως ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστοὶ ἡγήσοντο.

4 Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἔξην, Βοιωτοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοᾶς καὶ

208
he released them. "For," he said to the ambassadors, "it was on your account that we entered upon war, and you concluded peace without our approval; should we not, therefore, be justified in charging you with treason for this act? But be well assured," said he, "that we shall make an expedition to Arcadia and shall wage war in company with those who hold to our side."

V. When these things were reported back to the general assembly of the Arcadians and to the several cities, the Mantineans and such of the other Arcadians as were concerned for Peloponneseus inferred therefrom, as did likewise the Eleans and the Achaeans, that the Thebans manifestly wanted Peloponnesus to be as weak as possible so that they might as easily as possible reduce it to slavery. "For why in the world," they said, "do they wish us to make war unless it is in order that we may do harm to one another and consequently may both feel the need of them? Or why, when we say that we do not at present need them, are they preparing to march forth? Is it not clear that it is for the purpose of working some harm upon us that they are preparing to take the field?" And they sent to Athens also, bidding the Athenians come to their aid, while ambassadors from the Epariti proceeded to Lacedaemon as well, to invite the help of the Lacedaemonians in case they wanted to join in checking any who might come to enslave Peloponnesus. As for the matter of the leadership, they arranged at once that each people should hold it while within its own territory.

While these things were being done, Epaminondas was on his outward march at the head of all the
Θετταλῶν πολλοὺς παρά τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ
tῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ. Φωκείς μέντοι οὐκ ἡκολούθον,
λέγουτες ὅτι συνθῆκαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἰεν,
eἰ τις ἐπὶ Θῆβαις ἦν εὐθείων, ἐπ᾽ ἄλλους δὲ
5 στρατεύειν οὐ εἰσίν εἶν ταῖς συνθῆκαις. ὁ μέντοι
Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετό καὶ ἐν Πελοποννῆσῳ
σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους
καὶ Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τά σφέτερα φρονοῦντας. ἦσαν
δ᾽ οὕτως Τεγέαται καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ Ἀσσαῖα
καὶ Παλλαντιεῖς, καὶ εἰ τινὲς δὴ πόλεις διὰ
τὸ μικρά τε εἰσὶν καὶ ἐν μέσαις ταὐταῖς οἰκεῖν
6 ἡγαγκάζοντο. ἔξηλθε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας
dιὰ ταχέων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Νεμέα, ἐνταῦθα
dιέτριβεν, ἐπλίζον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παριῶντας
λήψεθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἄν τοῦτο γενέσθαι
tois μὲν σφετέροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ ἐπιρρώσαι
αὐτοὺς, τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίως εἰς τὸ εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἔμ-
πεσεῖν, ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἴπετε, πάν ἄγαθον εἰναι
7 Θῆβαιοις ὁ τι ἐλαττοῦντο Ἀθηναίοι. ἐν δὲ τῇ
dιατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συνήσαν πάντες οἱ ὤμο-
φρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ
Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἦκουσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν
κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέναι, κατὰ θάλατ-
tαν δὲ παρασκευάσθαι ὡς διὰ Δακεδαίμονος
βοηθήσοντας τοῖς Ἀρκάσιοι, οὕτω δὴ ἀφορμῆσας
8 ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. εὐτυχὴ
μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε φήσαιμι τὴν στρατηγίαν
αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· ὅσα μέντοι προνοίας ἔργα καὶ

1 αὐτοῖς MSS.: Kel. brackets.
Boeotians, the Euboeans, and many of the Thessali-ans, who came both from Alexander\(^1\) and from his opponents. The Phocians, however, declined to join the expedition, saying that their agreement was to lend aid in case anyone went against Thebes, but that to take the field against others was not in the agreement. Epaminondas reflected, however, that his people had supporters in Peloponnesus also—the Argives, the Messenians, and such of the Arcadians as held to their side. These were the Tegeans, the Megalopolitans, the Aseans, the Pallantians, and whatever cities were constrained to adopt this course for the reason that they were small and surrounded by these others. Epaminondas accordingly pushed forth with speed; but when he arrived at Nemea he delayed there, hoping to catch the Athenians as they passed by, and estimating that this would be a great achievement, not only in the view of his people’s allies, so as to encourage them, but also in that of their opponents, so that they would fall into despondency—in a word, that every loss the Athenians suffered was a gain for the Thebans. And during this delay on his part all those who held the same views\(^2\) were gathering together at Mantinea. But when Epaminondas heard that the Athenians had given up the plan of proceeding by land and were preparing to go by sea, with the intention of marching through Lacedaemon to the aid of the Arcadians, under these circumstances he set forth from Nemea and arrived at Tegea. Now I for my part could not say that his campaign proved fortunate; yet of all possible deeds of forethought and

\(^1\) cp. vi. iv. 34 f.
\(^2\) i.e. of hostility to Thebes.
τόλμης ἦστιν, οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐλλιπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἠγογεῖ ἐπαίνῳ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῷ τείχει τῶν Σεγεατῶν ἐποίησατο, ἐνθ' ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ τε ἦν ἂν ἐξ ἐστρατόπεδεύετο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν ἄθηλοτέρῳ ὦ τι πράττοιτο. καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δὲ, εἴ του ἔδειτο, ἐν τῇ πόλει οὔτι εὐπορότερον ἦν. τῶν δ' ἔτερων ἐξώ στρατόπεδευμένων ἐξῆν ὅραν, εἴτε τι ὀρθῶς ἐπράττετο εἴτε τῷ ἡμάρτανον. καὶ μὴν οἰόμενος κρείττων τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἶναι, ὅποτε ὁρφῇ χωρίῳ πλεονεκτοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐξήγετο ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ὦτων δὲ οὔτε πόλιν αὐτῷ προσχωροῦσαν οὐδεμίαν τὸν τε χρόνον προβαίνοντα, ἐνόμισε πρακτῇ τι εἶναι. εἴ δὲ μή, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν εὐκλείας πολλὴν ἠδοξίαν προσεδέχετο. ἐπεὶ οὖν κατεμάνθηνε περὶ μὲν τὴν Μαντίνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους πεφυλαγμένους, μεταπεμπόμενους δὲ Ἀγησίλαον τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἄσθετο ἐξεστρατευμένων τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ ὄντα ἤδη ἐν τῇ Πελλήνῃ, δευτεροποίησάσθαι παραγγειλάς ἤγειτο τῷ στρατεύματι εὑρίσκει ἔπει Ἡπάρτην. καὶ εἴ μὴ Κρῆς θείᾳ τοιλ-μοίρᾳ προσελθῶν ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ προσίων τὸ στράτευμα, ἔλαβεν ἀν τὴν πόλιν ὄσπερ νεοτιάν παντάπασιν ἔρημων τῶν ἀμυνομένων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι προπυθόμενοι ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐφθαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπελθῶν, διαταξάμενοι οἱ Σπαρτιάται ἐφύλαττον, καὶ μάλα ὀλγού ὄντες. οἳ τε γὰρ ἶππεῖς αὐτοῖς πάντες ἐν Ἁρκαδίᾳ ἀπήγαγαν καὶ
daring the man seems to me to have left not one undone. For, in the first place, I commend his pitching his camp within the wall of Tegea, where he was in greater safety than if he had been encamped outside, and where whatever was being done was more entirely concealed from the enemy. Furthermore, it was easier for him, being in the city, to provide himself with whatever he needed. Since the enemy, on the other hand, was encamped outside, it was possible to see whether they were doing things rightly or were making mistakes. Again, while he believed that he was stronger than his adversaries, he could never be induced to attack them when he saw that they held the advantage in position. However, when he perceived that no city was coming over to him and that time was passing on, he decided that some action must be taken; otherwise, in place of his former fame, he must expect deep disgrace. When he became aware, therefore, that his adversaries had taken up a strong position in the neighbourhood of Mantinea and were sending after Agesilaus and all the Lacedaemonians, and learned, further, that Agesilaus had marched forth and was already at Pellene, he gave orders to his men to get their dinner and led his army straight upon Sparta. And had not a Cretan by a kind of providential chance come and reported to Agesilaus that the army was advancing, he would have captured the city, like a nest entirely empty of its defenders. But when Agesilaus, having received word of this in time, had got back to the city ahead of the enemy, the Spartiates posted themselves at various points and kept guard, although they were extremely few. For all their horsemen were away in Arcadia and likewise
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ Ν

τὸ ξενικὸν καὶ τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς.

11 'Επεὶ δ' ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὁποῦ μὲν ἐμελλόν ἐν τε ἦσοπέδῳ μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων βληθῆσεθαι, οὐκ εἰσήγη ταῦτη, οὐδ' ὅποι γε μηδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες μαχεῖσθαι τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες. ἔνθεν δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀν ἐνόμιζε, τούτῳ λαβῶν τὸ χώριον κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ ἄνεβαινεν1 εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ γε μὴν ἐντεύθεν γενόμενον ἔξεστι μὲν τὸ θείον αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἔξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὡς τοῖς ἀπονευσμένοις οὔδεὶς ἀν ὑποσταίνῃ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤγείτο Ἀρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἔκατον ἔχων ἀνδρας, καὶ διαβᾶς ὅπερ ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κάλυμα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὁρθίον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείους καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξα τῷ χωρίῳ ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαυτο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγκλίνονσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀποθυμῆσκουσιν ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἐνδοθεὶ πορρωτέρῳ τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗτοι αὐτὸ ἀποθυμῆσκουσιν περιεγέρθησαν γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὕπο τοῦ θείου μέχρι ὅσον νίκη ἐδέσθαι αὐτοῖς. καὶ ο μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος τροπαῖον τε θέσΧε τὸ ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους

1 καὶ οὐκ ἄνεβαινεν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
the mercenary force and three of the battalions,\textsuperscript{1} 362 B.C.,
which numbered twelve.

Now when Epaminondas had arrived within the city\textsuperscript{2}
of the Spartiatae, he did not attempt to enter at the point where his troops would be likely
to have to fight on the ground-level and be pelted
from the house-tops, nor where they would fight
with no advantage over the few, although they
were many; but after gaining the precise position
from which he believed that he would enjoy an advan-
tage, he undertook to descend (instead of ascend-
ing) into the city. As for what happened thereupon,
one may either hold the deity responsible, or one
may say that nobody could withstand desperate men.
For when Archidamus led the advance with not so
much as a hundred men and, after crossing the very
thing\textsuperscript{3} which seemed to present an obstacle, marched
uphill against the adversary, at that moment the
fire-breathers, the men who had defeated the Laced-
demonians, the men who were altogether superior
in numbers and were occupying higher ground
besides, did not withstand the attack of the troops
under Archidamus, but gave way. And those in the
van of Epaminondas' army were slain, but when the
troops from within the city, exulting in their victory,
pursued farther than was fitting, they in their turn
were slain; for, as it seems, the line had been drawn by
the deity indicating how far victory had been granted
them. Archidamus accordingly set up a trophy at
the spot where he had won the victory, and gave back
under a truce those of the enemy who had fallen

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{cp.} iv. 20.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{i.e.} the outlying portion of the city. Sparta had no walls.
\textsuperscript{3} Difficult ground, apparently.
14 ἀπεδίδου. ὁ δὲ Ἐπιμελώνδας λογιζόμενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες εἰς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐκ ἔβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι Δακεδαίμονι-οῖς ὁμοὶ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἡπτυχήκοσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκότων πάλιν δὲ πορευθεῖς ὡς εὕνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἀνέπαυσε, τοὺς δὲ ἰππεῖς ἐπεμέ-ψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, δειοθεὶς αὐτῶν προσ-καρτερήσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὡς πάντα μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινεῶν βοσκήματα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ σίτου συγκο-μιδῆς ὀὔσης.

15 Καὶ οἱ μὲν φῶχοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἰππεῖς ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσίνοις ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, διελθόντες δὲ καὶ τὰς Κλεωνᾶς ἐτύγχανε σωσίσητες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τεῖχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δήλου ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἰππέων βοηθήσαι, εἰ τι δύναιτο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, ἐτί όντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἰπποὶ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοὺς ἀνὴρ τὴν ἀρε-τὴν τῆς οὐκ ἀν ἀγαθείας; οἱ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὄρθωτες τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ δυστυ-χήματος γεγενημένου τοῖς ἰππεύσιν οὔδεν τούτων ὑπελογίσαντο, οὔτ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαῖοις καὶ Θεταλοῖς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἰππεύσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἐμελλὼν μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αἰσχυνόμενοι, εἰ παρ-
HELLENICA, VII. v. 13–16

there. Epaminondas, on the other hand, reflecting that the Arcadians would be coming to Lacedaemon to bring aid, had no desire to fight against them and against all the Lacedaemonians after they had come together, especially since they had met with success and his men with disaster; so he marched back as rapidly as he could to Tegea, and allowed his hoplites to rest there, but sent his horsemen on to Mantinea, begging them to endure this additional effort and explaining to them that probably all the cattle of the Mantineans were outside the city and likewise all the people, particularly as it was harvest time.

They then set forth; but the Athenian horsemen, setting out from Eleusis, had taken dinner at the Isthmus and, after having passed through Cleonae also, chanced to be approaching Mantinea or to be already quartered within the wall in the houses. And when the enemy were seen riding toward the city, the Mantineans begged the Athenian horsemen to help them, if in any way they could; for outside the wall were all their cattle and the labourers, and likewise many children and older men of the freee citizens. When the Athenians heard this they sallied forth to the rescue, although they were still without breakfast, they and their horses as well. Here, again, who would not admire the valour of these men also? For although they saw that the enemy were far more numerous, and although a misfortune had befallen the horsemen at Corinth, they took no account of this, nor of the fact that they were about to fight with the Thebans and the Thessalians, who were thought to be the best of horsemen, but rather, being ashamed to be at hand and yet render no

1 cp. § 10.
ΧΕΝΟΡΡΩΝ

όντες μηδέν ὅφελήσειαν τούς συμμάχους, ὡς εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συνέρραξαν, ἐρώτες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρῴαν δόξαν. καὶ μαχόμενοι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα σωθῆναι τοῖς Μαντινεῶσι, αὐτῶν δὲ ἀπέθανοι ἀνδρεῖς ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν δὲ δὴλον ὅτι τοιούτους. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὖν βραχὺ ὄπλον ἐκάτεροι εἶχον ὃ οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς μείον φιλίους νεκροὺς οὐ προῆκαντο, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἦν οὓς ὑποστόνδους ἀπέδοσαν.

18 Ὁ δὲ αὐ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι ὀλίγων μὲν ἠμερῶν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπείναι διὰ τὸ ἐξῆκεν τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλεύψοι ἐρήμους οἶς ἴλθε σύμμαχος, ἐκείνου πολυρρησίοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ λευμασμένος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντάπασιν ἔσοιτο, ἤττημένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι σὺν πολλῷ ὀπλιτικῷ ὑπὸ ὀλίγων, ἤττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ἱππομαχίᾳ, αὐτίος δὲ γεγενημένος διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατεύαν τὸν συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὦστε οὓς ἐδόκει αὐτῷ δυνατὸν εἶναι ἁμαχεῖ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὦτι εἰ μὲν νικῆ, πάντα ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο: εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνου, καλὴν τὴν τελευτήν ἡγήσατο ἐσεσθαι πειρωμένω τῇ πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοπόννησον καταλιπεῖν. τὸ

218
service to their allies, just as soon as they saw the enemy they crashed upon them, eagerly desiring to win back their ancestral repute. And by engaging in the battle they did indeed prove the means of saving for the Mantineans everything that was outside the wall, but there fell brave men among them; and those also whom they slew were manifestly of a like sort; for neither side had any weapon so short that they did not reach one another therewith. And the Athenians did not abandon their own dead, and they gave back some of the enemy's under a truce.

As for Epaminondas, on the other hand, when he considered that within a few days it would be necessary for him to depart, because the time fixed\(^1\) for the campaign had expired, and that if he should leave behind him unprotected the people to whom he had come as an ally, they would be besieged by their adversaries, while he himself would have completely tarnished his own reputation,—for with a large force of hoplites he had been defeated at Lacedaemon by a few, and defeated likewise in a cavalry battle at Mantinea, and through his expedition to Peloponnesus had made himself the cause of the union of the Lacedaemonians, the Arcadians, the Achaeans, the Eleans, and the Athenians,—he thought for these reasons that it was not possible for him to pass by the enemy without a battle, since he reasoned that if he were victorious, he would make up for all these things, while if he were slain, he deemed that such an end would be honourable for one who was striving to leave to his fatherland dominion over Peloponnesus. Now the fact that

\(^1\) Apparently either by the Theban government or by agreement with the allies.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΘ

μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαύτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάνυ μοι
dοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι. φιλοτήμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν
tὰ τοιαύτα διανοήματα: τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα
παρασκευακέναι ὣς πόνον τε μηδένα ὑποκάμψειν
μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς
ἀφίστασθαι, σπανία τε τὰ πετυχθὲς ἑκόντας ὅμως
πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, τάντα μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστότερα
20 εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρῆγγειλεν
αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης,
προθύμως μὲν ἑλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη
κελεύοντο ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπεγράφουν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν
Ἀρκάδων ὀπλῖται ῥόπαλα, ὡς Ὁμήρου ὄντες,
πάντες δὲ ἠκολούθωντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ
21 ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἔπει μέντοι οὕτω
παρασκευασμένους ἔξηγαγεν, ἄξιον αὐτὸ κατανοῆσαι
眶 ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὡσπερ εἰκός, συνε-
tάττετο. τούτο δὲ πράττων σαφὴν ζει ἐδόκει
ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρασκευάζετο. ἔπει γε μὴν ἐτέ-
tακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν
συντομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγε, πρὸς
dὲ τὰ πρὸς ἔστεραν ὅρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας
ἡγεῖτο· ὡστε δόξαν παρεἶχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ
22 ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ
ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἔπει ἐξετάζῃ αὐτῷ ἡ
φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὀπλα, ὡστε
eἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευμένῳ. τούτῳ δὲ ποιήσας
ἐλυσε μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς
ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευήν, ἐλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν
220
Epaminondas himself entertained such thoughts, for such thoughts are natural to ambitious men; but that he had brought his army to such a point that the troops flinched from no toil, whether by night or by day, and shrank from no peril, and although the provisions they had were scanty, were nevertheless willing to be obedient, this seems to me to be more remarkable. For at the time when he gave them the last order to make ready, saying that there would be a battle, the horsemen eagerly whitened their helmets at his command, the hoplites of the Arcadians painted clubs upon their shields, as though they were Thebans, and all alike sharpened their spears and daggers and burnished their shields. But when he had led them forth, thus made ready, it is worth while again to note what he did. In the first place, as was natural, he formed them in line of battle. And by doing this he seemed to make it clear that he was preparing for an engagement; but when his army had been drawn up as he wished it to be, he did not advance by the shortest route towards the enemy, but led the way towards the mountains which lie to the westward and over against Tegea, so that he gave the enemy the impression that he would not join battle on that day. For as soon as he had arrived at the mountain, and when his battle line had been extended to its full length, he grounded arms at the foot of the heights, so that he seemed like one who was encamping. And by so doing he caused among most of the enemy a relaxation of their mental readiness for fighting, and likewise a relaxation of their readiness as regards their

1 The Theban device.
ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγών τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμβολον, τότε δὴ ἀναλαβείν παραγγείλας τὰ ὀπλὰ ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἥκολούθων. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιόντας, οὐδὲις αὐτῶν ἰσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ δὲ παρετάτουτο, οἱ δὲ ἱπποὺς ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας ἐνευδόντω, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μάλλον ἦ ποιήσουσιν ἐφίκεσαν. οὗ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντιπροφορ ὡσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅποι ἐμβαλὼν διακόψει, διαφθείρειν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἑναντίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἄσθενέστατον πόρρω ἀπέστησαν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἦττηθεν ἀθυμίαν ἄν παράσχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἱππέας οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὡσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα βάθος ἐφ' ἐξ καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· οὗ δ' Ἔπαμεινών- δας αὐτοὺς ἵππος ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νεικηκός ἐσεθαί· μᾶλα γὰρ χαλεπῶν εὑρείν τοὺς ἐθελήσουσας μένειν, ἐπειδὸν τινὰς φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὀρῶσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπι-

1 The entire army, marching in a long column of even width, with Epaminondas at the head, "right-faced" upon reaching the desired position, thus forming a long battle-line,
array for battle. It was not until he had moved along successive companies to the wing where he was stationed, and had wheeled them into line, thus strengthening the mass formation of this wing,\(^1\) that he gave the order to take up arms and led the advance; and his troops followed. Now as soon as the enemy saw them unexpectedly approaching, no one among them was able to keep quiet, but some began running to their posts, others forming into line, others bridling horses, and others putting on breast-plates, while all were like men who were about to suffer, rather than to inflict, harm. Meanwhile Epaminondas led forward his army prow on, like a trireme, believing that if he could strike and cut through anywhere, he would destroy the entire army of his adversaries. For he was preparing to make the contest with the strongest part of his force, and the weakest part he had stationed far back, knowing that if defeated it would cause discouragement to the troops who were with him and give courage to the enemy. Again, while the enemy had formed their horsemen like a phalanx of hoplites,—six deep and without intermingled foot soldiers,—Epaminondas on the other hand had made a strong column of his cavalry, also, and had mingled foot soldiers among them, believing that when he cut through the enemy’s cavalry, he would have defeated the entire opposing army; for it is very hard to find men who will stand firm when they see any of their own side in flight. And in order to prevent of even, but slight, depth, with Epaminondas on the left wing. He wished, however, to increase the depth of this wing. He accordingly caused successive companies, from the centre and the right wing, to “left face” again and march along behind the line to the left wing, thus gradually increasing its depth.
XENOPHON

βοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐνυμοῦ κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἔχομενον, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ὀπλίτας, φόβου βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὡς, εἶ βοηθῆσαιεν, ὅπισθεν οὕτως ἐπικείσοντο αὐτοῖς.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος κράτησας γὰρ ἦ προσέβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἑναντίων.

25 ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐκείνος ἐπέσευ, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἐτί ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγοῦσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τής ἑναντίας φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὀπλίται οὐδὲ προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἦ συμβολή ἐγένετο. φυγόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ᾽ οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες οὕτε ἱππέας οὐθ᾽ ὀπλίτας, ὡσπερ δὲ ἥττημένοι πεφοβημένοι διὰ τῶν φυγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἀμιπποὶ καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ συννενικήκοτες τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐνυμοῦ, ὡς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

26 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τούναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὗ ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνεληλυθώσας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάνδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, οὐδέσι ἦν ὀστῖς οὐκ ἔστο, εἰ μάχῃ ἐσούτο, τοὺς μὲν κράτησαντας ἀρξεῖν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὡςτε ἀμφότεροι μὲν τροπαῖον ὡς
the Athenians on the left wing from coming to the aid of those who were posted next to them, he stationed both horsemen and hoplites upon some hills over against them, desiring to create in them the fear that if they proceeded to give aid, these troops would fall upon them from behind.

Thus, then, he made his attack, and he was not disappointed of his hope; for by gaining the mastery at the point where he struck, he caused the entire army of his adversaries to flee. When, however, he had himself fallen, those who were left proved unable to take full advantage thereafter even of the victory; but although the opposing phalanx had fled before them, their hoplites did not kill a single man or advance beyond the spot where the collision had taken place; and although the cavalry also had fled before them, their cavalry in like manner did not pursue and kill either horsemen or hoplites, but slipped back timorously, like beaten men, through the lines of the flying enemy. Furthermore, while the intermingled footmen and the peltasts, who had shared in the victory of the cavalry, did make their way like victors to the region of the enemy’s left wing, most of them were there slain by the Athenians.

When these things had taken place, the opposite of what all men believed would happen was brought to pass. For since well-nigh all the people of Greece had come together and formed themselves in opposing lines, there was no one who did not suppose that if a battle were fought, those who proved victorious would be the rulers and those who were defeated would be their subjects; but the deity so ordered it that both parties set up a trophy as though
XENOPHON

νεικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἱσταμένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυνον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφότεροι μὲν ὡς νεικηκότες ὑποστόνδους ἀπέδοσαν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ ὡς ἢττημένοι ὑποστόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, νεικηκέναι δὲ φάσκοντες ἔκατεροι οὔτε χώρα οὔτε πόλει οὔτε ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἐτὶ πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἡ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

'Εμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἵσως ἄλλῳ μελήσει.
victorious and neither tried to hinder those who set them up, that both gave back the dead under a truce as though victorious, and both received back their dead under a truce as though defeated, and that while each party claimed to be victorious, neither was found to be any better off, as regards either additional territory, or city, or sway, than before the battle took place; but there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after the battle than before.

Thus far be it written by me; the events after these will perhaps be the concern of another.
XENOPHON

THE ANABASIS OF CYRUS
INTRODUCTION

Xenophon's _Anabasis_ is the story of the expedition which Cyrus the Younger led against his brother Artaxerxes II., king of Persia, in the hope of gaining for himself the Persian throne; of the retreat to the Euxine Sea, after the death of Cyrus, of the "Ten Thousand" Greeks who had made part of his army; and of their ultimate return to western Asia Minor.

Cyrus undertook his ill-fated expedition in 401 B.C. Before that time he had played a somewhat prominent part in Greek history. Toward the close of the great struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta, which lasted from 431 to 404 B.C. and is known as the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans had concluded an alliance with Tissa-phenes, Persian satrap of Lydia and Ionia and

1 The verb ἀναβαίνειν, lit. "to go up," was used of any journey from the sea coast to the higher lands of the interior, but more especially of the famous route from the Greek coast of Asia Minor to the Persian capital, Susa. Hence the noun ἀναβάσις—"Anabasis." It will be seen that the title properly belongs only to the first part of Xenophon's story.

2 Usually so called to distinguish him from Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire.
INTRODUCTION

commander-in-chief of all the Persian forces of western Asia Minor. Tissaphernes hoped that with the help of the Spartans he might regain control of the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast which had formerly been under Persian rule, but were now included in the Athenian Empire; the Spartans, on their side, were to receive subsidies from him for the support of their fleet. Tissaphernes, however, was a double-dealer by nature; furthermore, he was persuaded by the Athenian Alcibiades that it was to the interest of Persia that neither Greek belligerent should triumph, but that both should exhaust themselves by continued warfare. Accordingly he soon reduced and finally cut off altogether the stipulated grants of money to the Spartans. When the latter protested to the then reigning king of Persia, Darius II., against this breach of faith, the king commissioned Cyrus, the younger of his two sons, as satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and military commander of all western Asia Minor.\(^1\) Thus Cyrus practically superseded Tissaphernes, who was divested of his military authority and retained only the lesser part—Ionia—of his former satrapy.

Cyrus entered upon his important offices in 407 B.C., when he was but seventeen years of age. He had been instructed by Darius to give whole-hearted support to the Spartans, whose fortunes seemed to be then at their lowest ebb. In the performance of

\(^1\) Anabasis, i. i. 2.
INTRODUCTION

this task he showed himself able, zealous, and straightforward. The aid which he rendered to the Spartans was certainly a most important, perhaps an essential, factor in bringing about their final triumph over the Athenians.

Shortly before the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, i.e. in 405 B.C., Cyrus was called away from his post in Asia Minor to be present at the death-bed of his father.¹ But his participation in the war had given him opportunity to learn the immense superiority of the Greek soldier and Greek methods of warfare over the Persian soldier and Persian warfare, and to establish relations of friendship with many officers of the Peloponnesian forces; furthermore, the termination of the war in 404 B.C., after it had lasted more than a quarter of a century, released from military service thousands of men who knew no other calling and had no desire to turn to peaceful pursuits. These circumstances explain not only why Cyrus wished, but how he was able, to enlist Greeks for the great enterprise upon which he soon afterwards embarked, viz. his attempt to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes.

The only reason for this attempt which Xenophon offers in the Anabasis² was the resentment and humiliation which Cyrus felt in consequence of his arrest by Artaxerxes at the time when the latter, assuming the royal power upon the death of Darius

¹ Anabasis, i. i. 2. ² i. i. 4.
(405 B.C.), was led by the false\(^1\) accusation of Tissa-
phernes to believe that Cyrus was plotting against
him. We learn from other sources that Cyrus had
expected to be designated by Darius as heir to the
throne, partly because he was the favourite son of
the queen,\(^2\) and still more because he was "born in
the purple," i.e. after the accession of Darius, while
Artaxerxes was not. In fact, it was for precisely
these reasons that Xerxes, eighty years before, had
been chosen king of Persia to the exclusion of an
older brother.

Xenophon was an eye-witness of the events which
he describes in the *Anabasis*. He had joined the
expedition, "not as general or captain or private,"\(^3\)
but upon the solicitation of his friend Proxenus, who
was one of the Greek generals in Cyrus' service. At
this time Xenophon was probably somewhat less than
thirty years of age. Despite his comparative youth,
and despite the fact that he was an Athenian in an
army of Peloponnesians,\(^4\) he was destined to play the
leading part in the famous retreat of the Ten
Thousand, a part which he describes with simple
directness and unaffected modesty.

The time of the composition of the *Anabasis* has
been a subject for dispute. It can hardly be doubted

\(^1\) That Xenophon so regarded it is made clear by his use of
the verb διαβάλει (i. i. 3, see translation).
\(^2\) *Anabasis*, i. i. 4.
\(^3\) *Anabasis*, iii. i. 4.
\(^4\) *cp*. i. i. 6 and the roll of the Greek generals, i. i. 9–ii. 3.
Cyrus' previous associations, it will be remembered, had been
with Peloponnesians only.
INTRODUCTION

that the narrative was based upon full notes which Xenophon must have taken during the progress of the events which it covers; and the natural assumption that it would have been reduced to final form while these events were still fresh in the thoughts of the writer and his countrymen is supported by internal evidence, viz. characteristics of style which appear to mark the Anabasis as one of Xenophon's earlier works. On the other hand, an autobiographical digression in the fifth book ¹ was probably composed as late as 370 B.C.; and secondly, when Xenophon alludes to the expedition of Cyrus in a passage ² of his Hellenica which was written c. 380 B.C., he refers his reader for fuller information to a history of the expedition by "Themistogenes the Syracusan," thus implying, apparently, that his own Anabasis was not at that time in existence. A reasonable way of reconciling these conflicting indications has been found in the view that Xenophon's Anabasis was written, in very nearly its present form, soon after the author returned to Greece from Asia in 394 B.C., but was not published until c. 370 B.C. It is held that Xenophon may well have wished to delay until his later years the publication of a work in which he himself figured so prominently.

The march of the Ten Thousand Greeks from Sardis to the gates of Babylon, and thence back to the Greek coast of the Euxine Sea, was an historical

¹ v. iii. 7-13. ² iii. i. 2.
INTRODUCTION

event of the first importance. Defeating with scarcely an effort Persian forces many times their number, and accomplishing a safe return despite all the efforts of Artaxerxes to hinder them, they revealed to all men the utter weakness of the immense, much vaunted, and much dreaded Persian Empire. Greek statesmen and commanders were not slow to read the lesson. In the words of Francis Bacon¹: “This young scholar or philosopher [Xenophon], after all the captains were murdered in parley by treason, conducted these ten thousand foot through the heart of all the king’s high countries, from Babylon to Graecia, in safety, to the astonishment of the world and the encouragement of the Grecians in time succeeding to make invasion upon the kings of Persia, as was afterwards purposed by Jason the Thessalian, attempted by Agesilaus the Spartan, and achieved by Alexander the Macedonian, all upon the ground of the act of that young scholar.”

While the march of the Ten Thousand revealed to the Greeks the weakness of the Persians, Xenophon’s account of it reveals to us most clearly the fine qualities of these Greek soldiers of fortune—their courage and endurance, piety and humanity, independence and reasonableness. True soldiers in their readiness to meet danger and hardship, they were still free Greeks, who could be governed only with their own consent and who insisted upon being heard

¹ The Advancement of Learning, i. vii. 30.
INTRODUCTION

and consulted in matters of common interest. They have been truly called "a marching democracy," "a roving commonwealth," "deliberating and acting, fighting and voting; an epitome of Athens set adrift in the centre of Asia." One hardly needs other evidence of the strength, the character, and the temper of a people whose "mercenary" troops were men like these.

The *Anabasis* is valuable, furthermore, for the information it yields regarding the art of war among the Greeks, and as a real contribution to military science. Xenophon was, or became in the course of the retreat, an exceedingly able strategist and tactician, approaching each problem in the spirit of a scholar and thinker and then translating his reasoned solution into terms of military method, always resourceful in meeting new situations with new tactics, and never fettered by the lore of accepted practice. The influence of his original and inventive genius upon later Greek warfare was profound. That influence has lasted down to our own time. A modern student\(^1\) of military science writes: "The soldier of greatest use to us preceding Alexander was unquestionably Xenophon. . . . It is he who has shown the world what should be the tactics of retreat, how to command a rear-guard. More tactical originality has come from the *Anabasis* than from any dozen other books. . . . After the lapse

INTRODUCTION

of twenty-three centuries, there is no better military text-book than the *Anabasis.*"

Finally, the simplicity and grace, the charm and vividness with which Xenophon's story is told give it a high place among narratives of travel and adventure. Taine has even said of the *Anabasis* that "the beauty of the style transcends the interest of the story." Certainly, Xenophon's reputation as a man of letters depends in no small degree upon the *Anabasis.*
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

1.—MANUSCRIPTS

The extant MSS. of the Anabasis fall into two groups. The first, or superior, group includes:—

C. Parisinus 1640, written in the year 1320, but from an original of the latter part of the ninth century. Many additions and changes, by a later hand and usually for the worse, are found in this MS. In the present edition C₁ designates the earlier hand and C₂ the later.

B. Parisinus 1641, of the fifteenth century.
A. Vaticanus 987, later than B.
E. Etonensis, of the fifteenth century.

C is far the best of all the MSS. It was clearly the source from which B, A, and E were copied.

The best MSS. of the second, or inferior, group are

D. Bodleianus (lib. Canon. 39), of the fifteenth century.
V. Vindobonensis 95, of the fifteenth century.

2.—EDITIONS OF THE ANABASIS ¹

The Anabasis has been so long and so universally employed as a text-book for beginners in Greek that almost numberless editions of the work have been published. It must suffice to mention a very few:

(a) Annotated Editions.

Rehdantz-Carnuth: Berlin (Weidmann).
Goodwin and White: Boston (Ginn).
Mather and Hewitt: New York (American Book Co.).

¹ For important editions of the complete works of Xenophon see Hellenica, Vol. I., of this series, p. xiii.

239
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

(b) Critical Editions.

COBET, C. G. : Leyden.
GEMOLL, W. : Leipzig (editio major).

The text of the present edition is selective, the critical
notes calling attention to important variations from the
texts of Marchant and Gemoll.
BOOK I
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ

A

1. Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίγνονται παίδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κύρος. ἔπει δὲ ἠσθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτευεν τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἔβουλετο τῷ παιδε ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε. Κύρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἂς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἔτηδειξε πάντων ὡς τὸν Καστώλου πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κύρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίων, ἀρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Λενίαν Παρράσιον.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κύρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖ λευκὸν αὐτῷ. ο δὲ πείθεται καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κύρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἑξαίτησαμένη

1 Before τριακοσίους the MSS. have ἀνίβη: Gemoll brackets, following Bisschop.
2 συλλαμβάνει MSS. except C1, Marchant: λαμβάνει C1, Gemoll.

1 In regard to the persons mentioned and the events sketched in §§ 1–4, see Introduction, pp. 231 sqq.

242
XENOPHON
THE ANABASIS OF CYRUS

BOOK I

I. Darius and Parysatis had two sons born to them, of whom the elder was Artaxerxes and the younger Cyrus.\textsuperscript{1} Now when Darius lay sick and suspected that the end of his life was near, he wished to have both his sons with him. The elder, as it chanced, was with him already; but Cyrus he summoned from the province over which he had made him satrap, and he had also appointed him commander of all the forces that muster in the plain of Castolus.\textsuperscript{2} Cyrus accordingly went up\textsuperscript{3} to his father, taking with him Tissaphernes as a friend and accompanied by three hundred Greek hoplites,\textsuperscript{4} under the command of Xenias of Parrhasia.

When Darius had died and Artaxerxes had become established as king, Tissaphernes falsely accused Cyrus to his brother of plotting against him. And Artaxerxes, believing the accusation, arrested Cyrus, with the intention of putting him to death; his mother, however, made intercession for him, and sent him back

\textsuperscript{2} Castolus was the mustering place for all the Persian forces of western Asia Minor. See Introd. p. 232.

\textsuperscript{3} See Introd. p. 231, note 1.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{i.e.} heavy-armed infantrymen, the regular "troops of the line" in Greek warfare. In this instance, of course, they are serving Cyrus as a bodyguard.
4 αὐτὸν ἀποτείμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν. ὥς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτίμασθείς, βουλεύτατι ὅπως μὴ ποτὲ ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ᾠδέλῳ, ἄλλα, ἂν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἂν τῇ ἐκείνῳ. Παρόντας μὲν δὴ ἡ μὴ τῷ Ἐλληνικῷ τῷ Κῦρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν βασιλεύσας Ἀρτα-5 ξέρην. ὡστὶς δ’ ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας οὕτω διατιθέω ἀπετέμπετο ὡςτε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἡ βασιλεία. καὶ τῶν περ’ ἐαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμέλειτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἰκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ ευνοικῶς ἔχουν 6 αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ Ἐλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἦθροιξεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλεά.

7 Όδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογήν. ὡστὶς εἰχὲ φυλακᾶς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι παρῆγγειλε τῶν φρουράρχων ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίων ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τίσσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τίσσαφέρνους τὸ ἄρχαῖον ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομένα, τὸτε δὲ ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τίσσαφέρνης προαιθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστῆμαι πρὸς Κῦρον, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ’ ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας συλλέξας στρατεύμα ἐπολιορκεῖ Μιλήτον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ἐπειράτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτω-
ANABASIS, I. i. 3-7

again to his province. Now when Cyrus had thus returned, after his danger and disgrace, he set about planning that he might never again be in the power of his brother, but, if possible, might be king in his stead. He had, in the first place, the support of Parysatis, his mother, for she loved him better than the son who was king, Artaxerxes. Again, when any of the King's court came to visit him, he treated them all in such a way that when he sent them back they were more devoted to him than to the King. He also took care that the barbarians of his own province should be capable soldiers and should feel kindly toward him. Lastly, as regards his Greek force, he proceeded to collect it with the utmost secrecy, so that he might take the King as completely unprepared as possible.

It was in the following way, then, that he gathered this force: In the first place, he sent orders to the commanders of all the garrisons he had in the cities to enlist as many Peloponnesian soldiers of the best sort as they severally could, on the plea that Tissaphernes had designs upon their cities. For, in fact, the Ionian cities had originally belonged to Tissaphernes, by gift of the King, but at that time all of them except Miletus had revolted and gone over to Cyrus. The people of Miletus also were planning to do the very same thing, namely, to go over to Cyrus, but Tissaphernes, finding out about it in time, put some of them to death and banished others. Cyrus thereupon took the exiles under his protection, collected an army, and laid siege to Miletus both by land and by sea, and endeavoured to restore the exiles to their

were not Greeks. In general, then, it meant "foreigners"; in most cases in the Anabasis (as here) it could be translated "Persians." 2 See Introd. p. 232.
κότας. καὶ αὐτὴ αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἢν αὐτῶ
τοῦ ἀθρόειν στράτευμα. πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα
πέμπτων ἡξίων ἀδελφὸς ὅν αὐτοῦ δοθήναι οἱ
tαύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἡ Τισσαφέρνην ἄρ-
χειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῶ
ταύτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν
ἐπιβουλήν οὐκ ἤσθανετο, Τισσαφέρνηι δὲ ενόμιζε
πολεμοῦντα αὐτῶν ἄμφι τὰ στρατεύματα δα-
πανάν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχετο αὐτῶν πολεμοῦντων.
καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γυναικείους
δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢν Τισσα-
φέρνους ¹ ἔτυγχανεν ἔχων.

9 Ἀλλο δὲ στρατεύμα αὐτῶ συνελέγετο ἐν
Χερρονήσῳ τῇ κατ’ ἀντιπέρας Αβύδου τούδε τῶν
τρόπων. Κλέαρχος Δακεδαιμόνιος φυγᾶς ἦν τοῦτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κύρος ἡγάσθη τε αὐτῶν
καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῶ μυρίους δαρεικούς. ὁ δὲ
λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ὑπὸ
tούτων τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐπολέμει εἰς Χερρο-
νήσου ὀρμώμενοι τοῖς Θραξί τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλη-
σίουν οἰκούσι καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἑλλήνας· οὕτω καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῶ εἰς τὴν τροφήν
tῶν στρατιῶτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακῆ πόλεις ἐκούσαι·
tούτῳ δ’ αὐτὸ εὐνοῦσαν ἐλάν-
θανεν αὐτῶ τὸ στράτευμα.

10 Ἀρίστιτπος δε ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένοις ὃν ἔτυγχανεν
αὐτῶ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οίκων ἀντιστα-

1 Τισσαφέρνους Mar., following Krüger: Τισσαφέρνης MSS.: Τισσαφέρνης ἦτε Gem.

¹ For the reason for his banishment see ii. vi. 2–4.
² The daric was a Persian gold coin, equivalent in weight
city; and this, again, made him another pretext for
gathering an army. Meanwhile he sent to the King
and urged, on the ground that he was his brother,
that these Ionian cities should be given to him instead
of remaining under the rule of Tissaphernes, and his
mother co-operated with him in this. The result was
that the King failed to perceive the plot against him-
self, but believed that Cyrus was spending money on
his troops because he was at war with Tissaphernes.
Consequently he was not at all displeased at their
being at war, the less so because Cyrus regularly
remitted to the King the tribute which came in
from the cities he chanced to have that belonged to
Tissaphernes.

Still another army was being collected for him in
the Chersonese which is opposite Abydus, in the follow-
ing manner: Clearchus was a Lacedaemonian exile;
Cyrus, making his acquaintance, came to admire him,
and gave him ten thousand darics. And Clearchus,
taking the gold, collected an army by means of this
money, and using the Chersonese as a base of opera-
tions, proceeded to make war upon the Thracians who
dwell beyond the Hellespont, thereby aiding the
Greeks. Consequently, the Hellespontine cities of
their own free will sent Clearchus contributions of
money for the support of his troops. So it was that
this army also was being secretly maintained for
Cyrus.

Again, Aristippus the Thessalian chanced to be a
friend of Cyrus, and since he was hard pressed by his
of gold to £1 2s. 2½d. or $5.40, but in purchasing power to a
much larger sum.

3 i.e. the Greeks on the European side of the Hellespont,
who suffered from the incursions of their Thracian neigh-
bours.
XENOPHON

σιωτῶν ἐρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κύρον καὶ αὐτεὶ αὐτῶν εἰς δισχίλιους ἔννοις καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθῶν, ὡς οὕτως περιγυμνευμένος ἀν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχίλιους καὶ ἐξ μηνῶν μισθῶν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἀν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσῃται. οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα.

11 Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιώτιον ἔννοι ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἁνδρὰς ὦτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς ἐς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόμενοι τῶν. Πισίδων τῇ ἐαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετο δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαίον, ἔννοις ἐντας καὶ τοῦτο, ἐκέλευσεν ἁνδρὰς λαβόντας ἐλθείν ὦτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρως σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τοῖς Μιλησίων καὶ ἄποιοις οὕτως οὕτοι.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει ἢδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἑπὶ τούτους τὸ τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλέαρχῳ λαβόντι ἤκειν ὧσιν ἢν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππω συναλλαγμένῳ πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δ ἐϊχε στράτευμα, καὶ Ἐνία τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὡς αὐτῷ προειστήκηε τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεις ἔννοι κυνικῶν, ἤκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν ὅποιοι ἤκαν 2 τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς

1 καὶ MSS.: Gem. brackets.
2 τοὺς ἄλλους MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Dindorf.
political opponents at home, he came to Cyrus and asked him for three months' pay for two thousand mercenaries, urging that in this way he should get the better of his opponents. And Cyrus gave him six months' pay for four thousand, and requested him not to come to terms with his opponents until he had consulted with him. Thus the army in Thessaly, again, was being secretly maintained for him.

Furthermore, Cyrus directed Proxenus the Boeotian, who was a friend of his, to come to him with as many men as he could get, saying that he wished to undertake a campaign against the Pisidians, because, as he said, they were causing trouble to his province. He also directed Sophanetus the Stymphalian and Socrates the Achaean, who were likewise friends of his, to come with as many men as they could get, saying that he intended to make war upon Tissaphernes with the aid of the Milesian exiles; and they proceeded to carry out his directions.

II. When he thought the time had come to begin his upward march, the pretext he offered was that he wished to drive the Pisidians out of his land entirely, and it was avowedly against them that he set about collecting both his barbarian and his Greek troops. At that time he also sent word to Clearchus to come to him with the entire army which he had, and to Aristippus to effect a reconciliation with his adversaries at home and send him the army which he had; and he sent word to Xenias the Arcadian, who commanded for him the mercenary force in the cities, to come with his troops, leaving behind only so many as were necessary to garrison the citadels. He likewise summoned the troops which were besieging

1 See Introd. p. 231, note 1.  2 See i. 6.
XENOPHON

Μίλητον πολιορκούντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκεῖ-λευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειν ἐφ’ ἀ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι ἡ πρὸν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οὖκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἠδέως ἐπείθοντο: ἐπίστευν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις.

3 Ἐνίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις ὑπλίτας εἰς τετρακις-χιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν ἐχων ὑπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, χιλίους δὲ πεντα-κοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλλος ὑπλίτας ἐχων χιλίους, ἡ σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαῖος ὑπλίτας ἐχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεύς τριακοσίους μὲν ὑπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελ-ταστὰς ἐχων παρεγένετο: ἢν δὲ καὶ οὕτος καὶ ὁ Ὁσκράτης τῶν ἀμφί Μίλητον στρατευομένων. οὕτω μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο.

4 Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανύσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἕγησάμενος εἶναι ἡ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρα-σκευήν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ή ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἢππέας ἐχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. καὶ βασιλεύς μὲν δὴ ἐπεὶ ἦκουσε Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλου, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

5 Κύρος δὲ ἐχων ός εἰρηκα ὅρματο ὑπὸ Σάρ-δεων καὶ ἐξελάτει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοῦς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἰκοσί καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίαν-

1 παύσασθαι MSS. except VZ, Gem.: παύσασθαι VZ, Mar.
2 Σοφαίνετος . . χιλίους MSS.; Gem. brackets, following Dindorf.

250
Miletus, and urged the Milesian exiles to take the field with him, promising them that, if he should successfully accomplish the object for which he was taking the field, he would not stop until he had restored them to their homes. And they gladly obeyed—for they trusted him—and presented themselves, under arms, at Sardis.

Xenias, then, arrived at Sardis with the troops from the cities, who were hoplites to the number of four thousand; Proxenus was there with hoplites to the number of fifteen hundred, and five hundred light-armed troops; Sophaienetus the Stymphalian with a thousand hoplites; Socrates the Achaean with about five hundred hoplites; and Pasion the Megarian arrived with three hundred hoplites and three hundred peltasts. The last-named, and Socrates also, belonged to the force that had been engaged in besieging Miletus. All these came to Cyrus at Sardis.

Meanwhile Tissaphernes had taken note of these proceedings and come to the conclusion that Cyrus' preparations were too extensive to be against the Pisidians; he accordingly made his way to the King as quickly as he could, with about five hundred horsemen. And when the King heard from Tissaphernes about Cyrus' array, he set about making counter-preparations.

Cyrus was now setting forth from Sardis with the troops I have mentioned; and he marched through Lydia three stages, a distance of twenty-two

1 Peltasts differed from ordinary light-armed troops (cp. γυμνήτας above) only in the fact that they carried a small, light shield, the πέλτη—whence their name.

2 σταθμός = lit. a stopping-place, hence a day's journey.
XENOPHON

δρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὔρος δύο πλέθρα.
6 γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὶ ἕπτὰ
ἐξενεγμένη πλοίωισ. τούτου διαβᾶσι ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας ὅκτω εἰς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἕπτὰ: καὶ ἦκε Μένων ὁ Θεταλὸς ὀπλίταις ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστάς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Λινάνας καὶ Ὀλυμπίους.
7 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσι εἰς Κελανών, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἂν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἢ ἐκείνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἱπποῦ, ὅποτε γεμάται βουλοῦτο εαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ἔμεθο ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός: αἳ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων: ἔμεθο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελανων πόλεως. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασίλεως βασίλειας εἰς Κελανών ἐρυμνᾶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει: ἔμεθο δὲ καὶ οὕτως διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον: τοῦ δὲ Μαρσύου τὸ εὔρος ἐστὶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λειταὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐκδείραι Μαρσύαν νυκτας ἐρίζουτα ὁι περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἀντρῳ οὐδεν αἱ πηγαί: διὰ δὲ τούτο ὁ ποταμός καλεῖται Μαρσύας. ἐνταῦθα Ἑρέξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ

1 ἐπτὰ ἐξενεγμένη Gem., following Hug: ἐπεζενεγμένη MSS.

1 A Persian measure of distance, equivalent to 30 Greek stadia, or about 3.3 English miles.
2 The plethrum = about 97 English feet.
3 Many of the cities of Asia were then, as now, deserted.
parasangs,\textsuperscript{1} to the Maeander river. The width of this river was two plethra,\textsuperscript{2} and there was a bridge over it made of seven boats. After crossing the Maeander he marched through Phrygia one stage, a distance of eight parasangs, to Colossae, an inhabited\textsuperscript{3} city, prosperous and large. There he remained seven days; and Menon\textsuperscript{4} the Thessalian arrived, with a thousand hoplites and five hundred peltasts, consisting of Dolopians, Aenianians, and Olynthians. Thence he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, to Celaenae, an inhabited city of Phrygia, large and prosperous. There Cyrus had a palace and a large park full of wild animals, which he used to hunt on horseback whenever he wished to give himself and his horses exercise. Through the middle of this park flows the Maeander river; its sources are beneath the palace, and it flows through the city of Celaenae also. There is likewise a palace of the Great King\textsuperscript{5} in Celaenae, strongly fortified and situated at the foot of the Acropolis over the sources of the Marsyas river; the Marsyas also flows through the city, and empties into the Maeander, and its width is twenty-five feet. It was here, according to the story, that Apollo flayed Marsyas,\textsuperscript{6} after having defeated him in a contest of musical skill; he hung up his skin in the cave from which the sources issue, and it is for this reason that the river is called Marsyas. It was here also, report has it, that Xerxes, when he was on

\textsuperscript{1} Who had been sent by Aristippus (see § 1 above).

\textsuperscript{2} A title often given by the Greeks to the king of Persia.

\textsuperscript{3} Marsyas, a Phrygian satyr, was so proud of his skill with the flute that he presumed to challenge Apollo, god of music and master of the lyre. The myth appears to be a record of the supersession of the flute by the lyre in Greek favour.

253
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομήσαι ταύτα τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἴκε Κλέ- αρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἔχων ὁπλῖτας χελίους καὶ πελταστὰς Ὑφακᾶς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοξότας Κρῆτας διακοσίους· ἀμα δὲ καὶ Σώσις παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὁπλῖτας τριακόντους, καὶ Ἀγίας ὁ Ἀρκάς ἔχων ὁπλῖτας χίλιους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ἐζητᾷ καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὁπλῖται μὲν μῦροι χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχίλιους.

10 Ἐντεύθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκάς τά Δύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγώνα ἔθηκε· τά δὲ ἅθλα ἤσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαί· ἔθεῴρει δὲ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ Κῦρος. Ἐντεύθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρα- σάγγας δώδεκα ἐς Κεράμων ἀγοράν, πόλιν οἰκου- μένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσία χώρας. Ἐντεύθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς Καῦστρον πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθ' ἐμείνεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑφείλετο μισθὸς πλέον ἡ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολ- λάκις ἱώντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπέτυχον. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διήγη καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὗ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κῦρου τρόπον ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδίδοναι.

1 Ἀγίας ὁ Ἀρκάς Κόχλη: Σοφάντετος Ἀρκάδας MSS., Gem., Mar.

1 viz. of Salamis, in 480 B.C.
2 Here used in the general sense, i.e. to include all kinds of light-armed troops; cp. note on § 3 above. Xenophon

254
his retreat from Greece after losing the famous battle,\(^1\) built the palace just mentioned and likewise the citadel of Celaenae. Here Cyrus remained thirty days; and Clearchus, the Lacedaemonian exile, arrived, with a thousand hoplites, eight hundred Thracian peltasts, and two hundred Cretan bowmen. At the same time came also Sosis the Syracusan with three hundred hoplites and Agias the Arcadian with a thousand hoplites. And here Cyrus held a review and made an enumeration of the Greeks in the park, and they amounted all told to eleven thousand hoplites and about two thousand peltasts.\(^2\)

Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to Peltae, an inhabited city. There he remained three days, during which time Xenias the Arcadian celebrated the Lycaean\(^3\) festival with sacrifice and held games; the prizes were golden strigils, and Cyrus himself was one of those who watched the games. Thence he marched two stages, twelve parasangs, to the inhabited city of Ceramon-agora,\(^4\) the last Phrygian city as one goes toward Mysia. Thence he marched three stages, thirty parasangs, to Câystru-pedion,\(^5\) an inhabited city. There he remained five days. At this time he was owing the soldiers more than three months' pay, and they went again and again to his headquarters and demanded what was due them. He all the while expressed hopes, and was manifestly troubled; for it was not Cyrus' way to withhold payment when he had

here uses round numbers. The exact totals, according to the figures previously given, are 10,600 hoplites and 2,300 lightarmed troops.

\(^1\) In honour of Ilycaean Zeus, i.e. Zeus of Mt. Lycaeus, in Arcadia.
\(^2\) Or Tilemarket.
\(^3\) Or Caýsterfield.
XENOPHON

12 ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἠπύαξ ἡ Συνενέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως παρὰ Κύρου· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κύρῳ δούναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἴχε δὲ ἡ Κιλίσσα φυλακὴν περὶ αὐτὴν Κιλίκας καὶ Ἀστενίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κύρου τῇ Κιλίσσῃ.

13 Ἐντεύθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλούμενη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ἣ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν.

14 Σάτυρον θηρεύσαι οὖν κεράσας αὐτήν. Ἐντεύθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Τυριάεων, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἐμείνεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθήναι ἡ Κιλίσσα Κύρου ἐπιδείξαι τὸ στρατεύμα αὐτῆς· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδείξαι ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν.

15 Ἐλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ὡς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην οὔτως ταχθῶν καὶ στῆναι, συντάξαι δ' ἐκαστὸν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων. εἰχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι.

16 στρατηγοί. ἔθεωρε οὖν ὁ Κύρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρῆλθαν τεταγμένοι κατὰ ἑλάς καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἀρματος καὶ ἡ Κιλίσσα

1 "King" in name, but in fact a dependent of the king of Persia. Syenneas was seeking, as the narrative indicates, to keep on good terms with both Cyrus and Artaxerxes, secretly aiding the former, while still making a show of resistance (see § 21 below) to his march. 256
money. At this juncture arrived Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, the king\(^1\) of the Cilicians, coming to visit Cyrus, and the story was that she gave him a large sum of money; at any rate, Cyrus paid the troops at that time four months' wages. The Cilician queen was attended by a body-guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; and people said that Cyrus had intimate relations with the queen.

Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to the inhabited city of Thymbrium. There, alongside the road, was the so-called spring of Midas, the king of the Phrygians, at which Midas, according to the story, caught the satyr by mixing wine with the water of the spring.\(^2\) Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to Tyriaeum, an inhabited city. There he remained three days. And the Cilician queen, as the report ran, asked Cyrus to exhibit his army to her; such an exhibition was what he desired to make, and accordingly he held a review of the Greeks and the barbarians on the plain. He ordered the Greeks to form their lines and take their positions just as they were accustomed to do for battle, each general marshalling his own men. So they formed the line four deep, Menon and his troops occupying the right wing, Clearchus and his troops the left, and the other generals the centre. Cyrus inspected the barbarians first, and they marched past with their cavalry formed in troops and their infantry in companies; then he inspected the Greeks, driving past them in

\(^2\) This story is less familiar than its sequel, viz. that for his kindly treatment of the satyr (Silenus) Midas was granted by Dionysus the fulfilment of any request he might make; he requested that all he touched should turn to gold, and so died of hunger.
XENOPHON

έφ' ἀρμαμάξης. ἐίχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ καὶ χιτώνας φοινικοὺς καὶ κυνηγίδας καὶ τὰς 17 ἀσπίδας ἐκεκαλυμμένας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρῆλασε, στῆσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἔρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὀπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρήσας ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλόμενοι τὰ ὀπλα ἐπῆσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θάττων προϊόντων συν κραυγῆ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ 18 τὰς σκηνὰς, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβοι πολὺς, καὶ ἡ τε Κύλισσα ἐφυγεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ έκ τῆς ἠγορᾶς καταλήπτως τὰ ὄνα σφυγγον. οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἡλθον. ἡ δὲ Κύλισσα ἱδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξειν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθαύμασε. Κῦρος δὲ ἦσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδὼν. 19 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἰκοσιν εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ημέρας. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Δυκαιονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταῦτα τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρρήσασι τοῖς Ἐλληνοις ὡς πολε- 20 μίαν ὀύσαν. Ἐντεῦθεν Κῦρος τὴν Κύλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κυλικίαν ἀποτείμεπε τὴν ταχύτητα ὁδὸν καὶ συνεπέμψεν αὐτὴν στρατιώτας 1 οὖς Μένων εἶχε

1 στρατιώτας MSS.: Gem. brackets.

1 Greek troops were not supplied with rations in the modern way, but bought their provisions from day to day

258
a chariot, the Cilician queen in a carriage. And the Greeks all had helmets of bronze, crimson tunics, and greaves, and carried their shields uncovered. When he had driven past them all, he halted his chariot in front of the centre of the phalanx, and sending his interpreter Pigres to the generals of the Greeks, gave orders that the troops should advance arms and the phalanx move forward in a body. The generals transmitted these orders to the soldiers, and when the trumpet sounded, they advanced arms and charged. And then, as they went on faster and faster, at length with a shout the troops broke into a run of their own accord, in the direction of the camp. As for the barbarians, they were terribly frightened; the Cilician queen took to flight in her carriage, and the people in the market left their wares behind and took to their heels; while the Greeks with a roar of laughter came up to their camp. Now the Cilician queen was filled with admiration at beholding the brilliant appearance and the order of the Greek army; and Cyrus was delighted to see the terror with which the Greeks inspired the barbarians.

Thence he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia. There he remained three days. Thence he marched through Lycaonia five stages, thirty parasangs. This country he gave over to the Greeks to plunder, on the ground that it was hostile territory. From there Cyrus sent the Cilician queen back to Cilicia by the shortest route, and he sent some of Menon’s troops to from sutlers who accompanied the army. The commander’s duty ended with “providing a market” (ἀγορᾶν παρέχειν).

2 In leaving Phrygia Cyrus was passing beyond the limits of his own satrapy. Introd. p. 232.
καὶ αὐτὸν. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμὸς τέτταρας παρασάγγας έκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν τῷ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄλλοι Πέρσην Μεγαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασιλέαν, καὶ ἔτερον τίνα τῶν ὑπάρχων ¹ δύνασθην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπι- 

βουλεύειν αὐτῷ.

21 Ἐπειδήθεν ἐπειρώντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κηλι- 

κίαν· ἢ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἢν ὃδοι ἀμαξίτος ὁθία ἱσχυρὸς καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι, εἰ 

tis ἑκώλυνεν. ἔλεγετο δὲ καὶ Συνένεσις εἴναι ἐπὶ 

τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμεινεν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δὲ ύστερᾳ ἤκουεν ἄγγελος 

λέγων ὅτι λεοντῶς εἰς Συνένεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἔπει 

ἡσθετο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἦδη ἐν Κηλικί 

ἡν εἰς ὅν τῶν ὅρεων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἦκονε περι- 

πλεοῦσας ἀτ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κηλικίαν Τάμων ἐχοῦντα 

22 τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. Κύρος δ' 

οὗν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὁρῷ οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε 

tὰς σκήνας ὡς οἱ Κῆλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἔπειθε 

dὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλὸν, ἐπίρ- 

ρυτον, καὶ ἐνδρων παντοδαπῶν σύμπλεων καὶ 

ἀμφέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήμαινον καὶ μελίνην καὶ 

κέγχρον καὶ πυροῦς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. ὅρος δ' 

αὐτὸ περιέχειν ὄχυρον καὶ υψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ

¹ τῶν ὑπάρχων MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Schenck1.

¹ A title of honour at the Persian court.

² Cyrus had asked the Lacedaemonians “to show themselves as good friends to him as he had been to them in their war against Athens” (Xen. Hellenica, II. i. 1). The aid
escort her, Menon himself commanding them. With
the rest of the army Cyrus marched through Cappa-
docia four stages, twenty-five parasangs, to Dana, an
inhabited city, large and prosperous. There they
remained three days; and during that time Cyrus √
put to death a Persian named Megaphernes, who
was a wearer of the royal purple,¹ and another
dignitary among his subordinates, on the charge that
they were plotting against him.

From there they made ready to try to enter
Cilicia. Now the entrance was by a wagon-road,
exceedingly steep and impracticable for an army to
pass if there was anybody to oppose it; and in fact,
as report ran, Syennessis was upon the heights,
guarding the entrance; therefore Cyrus remained
for a day in the plain. On the following day,
however, a messenger came with word that Syen-
nesis had abandoned the heights, because he had
learned that Menon's army was already in Cilicia,
on his own side of the mountains, and because,
further, he was getting reports that triremes
belonging to the Lacedaemonians ² and to Cyrus
himself were sailing around from Ionia to Cilicia
under the command of Tamos. At any rate ³ Cyrus
climbed the mountains without meeting any oppo-
sition, and saw the camp where the Cilicians had been
keeping guard. Thence he descended to a large
and beautiful plain, well-watered and full of trees of
all sorts and vines; it produces an abundance of
sesame, millet, panic, wheat, and barley, and it is
surrounded on every side, from sea to sea, by a lofty
they now rendered (see also iv. 2–3) was in response to that
request.

¹ i.e. whether or not the reasons just given were the true
ones.
23 θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν. καταβάς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου ἡλασε σταθμοὺς τέταρτας παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιν εἰς Ταρσούς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐθαίρειαν, οὐ ἦν τὰ Συνενέσιος βασίλεια τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως. διὰ μέσον δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔδει ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὑρος δύο 24 πλέθρων. ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικώντες μετὰ Συνενέσιος εἰς χωρίον ὁχυρὸν ἔπι τὰ ὀργ πλήν οἱ τὰ καταλείποντες ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θαλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοισ καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοίς.

25 Ἐπίδαξα δὲ ἡ Συνενέσιος γυνὴ προτέρα Κύρου πέντε ήμέρας εἰς Ταρσούς ἄφικεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ υπερβολῇ τῶν ὄρων τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο. οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν ἀρτάξοντας τι κατακοπῆναι ὕπο τῶν Κιλίκων, οἱ δὲ υπολειφθέντας καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰς πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι. ἦσαν δ' οὖν οὕτωι 26 ἐκατὸν ὁπλίται. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπεί ἦκον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσούς διηρπασάν, διὰ τὸν ὀλθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δ' ἐπεί εἰςήλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπτο τὸν Συνενεσίων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. ο δ' οὐτε πρὸτερον οὐδὲν πω κρείττου ἑαυτὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἐφθ ὀυτὲ τὸτε Κύρῳ ἱέναι ἥθελε, πρὶν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβε. 27 μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐπεί συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συνενεσίων μὲν ἑδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν

---

1 The birth-place of the apostle Paul.
2 Famous as the scene of one of the most important victories of Alexander the Great (333 B.C.).

262
and formidable range of mountains. After descending he marched through this plain four stages, twenty-five parasangs, to Tarsus, a large and prosperous city of Cilicia, where the palace of Syennesis, the king of the Cilicians, was situated; and through the middle of the city flows a river named the Cydnus, two plethra in width. The inhabitants of this city had abandoned it and fled, with Syennesis, to a stronghold upon the mountains—all of them, at least, except the tavern-keepers; and there remained also those who dwelt on the sea-coast, in Soli and Issus. 

Now Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, had reached Tarsus five days ahead of Cyrus, but in the course of her passage over the mountains to the plain two companies of Menon's army had been lost. Some said that they had been cut to pieces by the Cilicians while engaged in a bit of plundering; another story was that they had been left behind, and, unable to find the rest of the army or the roads, had thus wandered about and perished; at any rate, they numbered a hundred hoplites. And when the rest of Menon's troops reached Tarsus, in their anger over the loss of their comrades they plundered thoroughly, not only the city, but also the palace that was in it. As for Cyrus, after he had marched into the city he more than once summoned Syennesis to his presence; but Syennesis said that he had never yet put himself in the hands of anyone who was more powerful than he was, and he would not now put himself in the hands of Cyrus until his wife had won him over and he had received pledges. When the two men finally met one another, Syennesis gave Cyrus a large sum of money for his army, while

* cp. § 20, above.
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

στρατιάν, Κύρος δὲ ἐκεῖνος δῶρα ἀ νομίζεται
παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ
στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυ-
σοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικήν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι
dιαρράξεσθαι: τὰ δὲ ἡπτασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἦν
που ἐντυγχάνοσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

III. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ὁ Κύρος καὶ ἡ στρατιά
ἥμερας εἰκοσιν' οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν
ίναι τοῦ πρόσωπου ὑπώπτευον γὰρ ἦδη ἐπὶ
βασιλέα ἴναι· μισθωθηναι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ
ἔφασαν. πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρα-
τιῶτας ἐβιάζετο ἴναι· οἱ δ' αὐτὸν τε ἐβαλλον
καὶ τὰ ὑποκάμια τὰ ἐκεῖνον, ἐπεὶ ἄρξαντο προϊ-
2 ἐναί. Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἔξεφυγε μὴ
kαταπετρωθῆναι, ὑστερον δ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ
δυνήσεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν
αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε
πολὺν χρόνουν ἑστώς· οἱ δὲ ὀρῶντες ἐθαύμαζον
καὶ ἐσιώπων· εἶτα δὲ ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

3 Ἀνδρεὶς στρατιῶται, μὴ θαυμάξετε ὅτι χαλεπῶς
φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. ἔμοι γὰρ ξένος
Κύρος ἐγένετο καὶ με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος
τὰ τέ ἀλλα ἑτίμησε καὶ μυρίων ἐδωκε δαρεικοῦς·
οὑς ἐγῶ λαβῶν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἱδίον κατεθέμην ἔμοι
οὐδὲ καθηδυνάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνοιν.
4 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ᾖρακας ἐπολέμησα,
καὶ υπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐτιμωροῦμην μεθ' ὑμῶν,
ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων βουλο-
μένους ἀφαίρεσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἐλληνας
264
Cyrus gave him gifts which are regarded at court\textsuperscript{1} as
tokens of honour—a horse with a gold-mounted bridle,
a gold necklace and bracelets, a gold dagger and a
Persian robe—promising him, further, that his land
should not be plundered any more and that they might
take back the slaves that had been seized in case they
should chance upon them anywhere.

III. Cyrus and his army remained here at Tarsus
twenty days, for the soldiers refused to go any farther;
for they suspected by this time that they were going
against the King, and they said they had not been
hired for that. Clearchus was the first to try to force
his men to go on, but they pelted him and his pack-
animals with stones as often as they began to go for-
ward. At that time Clearchus narrowly escaped
being stoned to death; but afterwards, when he
realized that he could not accomplish anything by
force, he called a meeting of his own troops. And
first he stood and wept for a long time, while his men
watched him in wonder and were silent; then he
spoke as follows:

"Fellow-soldiers, do not wonder that I am dis-
tressed at the present situation. For Cyrus became
my friend and not only honoured me, an exile from
my fatherland, in various ways, but gave me ten
thousand darics. And I, receiving this money, did
not lay it up for my own personal use or squander
it in pleasure, but I proceeded to expend it on you.
First I went to war with the Thracians, and for the
sake of Greece I inflicted punishment upon them
with your aid, driving them out of the Chersonese
when they wanted to deprive the Greeks who dwelt

\textsuperscript{1} i.e. such gifts as could be bestowed only by the Persian
king. Cyrus is already assuming royal prerogatives.
XENOPHON

tην γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κύρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορεύομην, ἦνα εἰ τι δέοιτο ὡφελοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ὃν εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι ἡ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φιλία χρῆσθαι ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνουν ἴσωσάμενον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰσαι. εἰ μὲν δὴ δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα, αἱρῆσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ὃ τι ἀν δέῃ πείσομαι. καὶ οὕτω πέρι οὖν ὡς ἔγω Ἔλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, προδοὺς τοὺς Ἔλληνας τὴν τῶν βαρ-

6 βάρων φιλίαν εἰλόμην, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐ θέλετε πείσεσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔψομαι καὶ ὃ τι ἀν δέῃ πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ εἰναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν οἴμαι εἶναι τίμιος ὅπου ἄν ὦ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἔρημος ὦν οὐκ ἂν ἰκανὸς οἴμαι εἶναι οὔτ' ἂν φίλου ὁφελῆσαι οὔτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. ὡς ἐμοὶ οὖν ἰδοὺς ὅπῃ ἄν καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω, τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε.

7 — Ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἳ τε αὐτὸν ἐκείνου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι ἐπήμεραν· παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἡ δισχίλιοι λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατο-

8 πεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχων. Κύρος δὲ τούτως ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυποῦμενος μετεπέμπτε τὸν Κλεάρχων· ὁ δὲ ἴέναι μὲν οὐκ ἦθελε, λάθρα δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἀγγελοῦ ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον. μεταπέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν· αὐτὸς δ' οὖκ ἔφη ἴέναι.

266
there of their land. Then when Cyrus' summons came, I took you with me and set out, in order that, if he had need of me, I might give him aid in return for the benefits I had received from him. But you now do not wish to continue the march with me; so it seems that I must either desert you and continue to enjoy Cyrus' friendship, or prove false to him and remain with you. Whether I shall be doing what is right, I know not, but at any rate I shall choose you and with you shall suffer whatever I must. And never shall any man say that I, after leading Greeks into the land of the barbarians, betrayed the Greeks and chose the friendship of the barbarians; nay, since you do not care to obey me, I shall follow with you and suffer whatever I must. For I consider that you are to me both fatherland and friends and allies; with you I think I shall be honoured wherever I may be, bereft of you I do not think I shall be able either to aid a friend or to ward off a foe. Be sure, therefore, that wherever you go, I shall go also."

Such were his words. And the soldiers—not only his own men, but the rest also—when they heard that he said he would not go on to the King's capital, commended him; and more than two thousand of the troops under Xenias and Pasion took their arms and their baggage train and encamped with Clearchus. But Cyrus, perplexed and distressed by this situation, sent repeatedly for Clearchus. Clearchus refused to go to him, but without the knowledge of the soldiers he sent a messenger and told him not to be discouraged, because, he said, this matter would be settled in the right way. He directed Cyrus, however, to keep on sending for him, though he himself, he said, would refuse to go.
XENOPHON

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν τούς θ’ έαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. Ἀνδρεὶς στρατιώται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δήλου ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνους ὑπεπέμβαι άυτῷ, οὕτε ἐκείνος ἐπεὶ ἡμῖν μισθοδότης. ὅτι μέντοι ἅδικεῖσθαι νομίζει υφ’ ἡμῶν

10 οἶδα. ὦστε καὶ μεταπεμπόμενον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτοῦ, ἔπειτα καὶ δεδώκαν ἡ λαβών με δίκην ἐπιθῇ ὑν νομίζει

11 ὅτι ἐμοῦ ἡδικήσθαι. ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν οὐδὲ ἀμέλειν ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ βουλεύσεθαι ὁ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων. καὶ ἔως ὅτι μένομεν αὐτοῦ σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅπως ἁσφαλέστατα μένωμεν, εἰ τε ἡ ἁθανατος δοκεῖ ἀπίστευεν, ὅπως ἁσφαλέστατα ἁπίστευεν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξερεύνηκεν ἄνευ χρῆ τούτων οὕτε

12 στρατηγοῦ οὕτε ἱδιώτων ὀφελός οὐδέν. ὃ δέ ἀνήρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος ὥς ὁ θεῖος ὃς γὰρ ἐκκαθαιστασίς ἐχθρός ὃς ἀν πολέμιος ἂν, ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἑπιτικὴ καὶ ναυτικήν ἡν πάντες ὀμοίως ὀρῶμεν τε καὶ ἔπιστάμηθα. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμεν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι. ὥστε ὃρα λέγειν ὃ τι τις γεγονόςκει ἁριστον εἶναι. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἑπαύσατο.

13 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνώσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέξοντες ὅ ἐγέγραψεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἀνάγκηται αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι. μενούμεν ΜSS., Gem.: μενούμεν Mar., following Buttmann.

1 After ὅπως, in this line and the next, Gem. inserts ὃς, following Cobet.

2 ἅσφαλεστατα μένωμεν, ΜSS., Gem.: μενούμεν Μar., following Buttmann.
ANABASIS, I. iii. 9-13

After this Clearchus gathered together his own soldiers, those who had come over to him, and any others who wanted to be present, and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, it is clear that the relation of Cyrus to us is precisely the same as ours to him; that is, we are no longer his soldiers, since we decline to follow him, and likewise he is no longer our paymaster. I know, however, that he considers himself wronged by us. Therefore, although he keeps sending for me, I decline to go, chiefly, it is true, from a feeling of shame, because I am conscious that I have proved utterly false to him, but, besides that, from fear that he may seize me and inflict punishment upon me for the wrongs he thinks he has suffered at my hands. In my opinion, therefore, it is no time for us to be sleeping or unconcerned about ourselves; we should rather be considering what course we ought to follow under the present circumstances. And so long as we remain here we must consider, I think, how we can remain most safely; or, again, if we count it best to depart at once, how we are to depart most safely and how we shall secure provisions—for without provisions neither general nor private is of any use. And remember that while this Cyrus is a valuable friend when he is your friend, he is a most dangerous foe when he is your enemy; furthermore, he has an armament—infantry and cavalry and fleet—which we all alike see and know about; for I take it that our camp is not very far away from him. It is time, then, to propose whatever plan any one of you deems best." With these words he ceased speaking.

Thereupon various speakers arose, some of their own accord to express the opinions they held, but
ΧΕΝΟΡΩΝ

ἐκείνου ἐγκέλεσματος, ἐπιδεικνύσες οία εἰς ἡ ἀπορία ἀνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμη καὶ μένει καὶ ἀπείναι. εἰς δὲ δὴ εἶπε προσποιουμένος σπεύ-


dειν ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ μή βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδει


ἀγοράζεσθαι—ἡ δὲ ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι—καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι ἐλθόντας δὲ Κύρον αἴτειν πλοία, ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδᾷ ταύτα, ἥγεμόνα αἴτειν Κύρον ὀστίς διὰ


φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ ἥγεμόνα διδᾷ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχύτητ, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψάμενος τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ


φθάσως μήτε Κύρος μήτε οἱ Κιλίκες καταλα-


βόντες, ὃν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες. οὔτος μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε.


15 Μετὰ δὲ τούτου Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον· Ὑδὲ


μὲν στρατηγήσωμα ἐμὲ ταύτῃ τὴν στρατηγίαν


μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ δι’ ἀ ἐμοὶ


tούτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὃς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἄν ἔλησθε


πείσομαι ή δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ὑπὸ εἰδήτε ὦται καὶ


ἀρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὅσ τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα


16 ἀνθρώπων. μετὰ τούτου ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπι-


dεικνύς μὲν τὴν εὕρθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοία αἴτειν


kελεύσοντος, ὃσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου


πολυμένου, ἐπιδεικνύς δὲ ὃς εὐθὺς εἰς ἥγεμόνα


αἴτειν παρὰ τούτου ὁ λαμανόμεθα τὴν πράξειν.


eἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἥγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν ὅτι ἂν Κύρος
others at the instigation of Clearchus to make clear the difficulty of either remaining or departing without the consent of Cyrus. One man in particular, prettending to be in a hurry to proceed back to Greece with all speed, proposed that they should choose other generals as quickly as possible, in case Clearchus did not wish to lead them back; secondly, that they should buy provisions—the market was in the barbarian army!—and pack up their baggage; then, to go to Cyrus and ask for vessels to sail away in; and if he would not give them vessels, to ask him for a guide to lead them homeward through a country that was friendly; and if he would not give them a guide, either, to form in line of battle with all speed and likewise to send a force to occupy the mountain heights in advance, in order that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians should forestall them—"and we have in our possession," he said, "many of these Cilicians and much of their property that we have seized as plunder." Such were the words of this speaker.

After him Clearchus said merely this: "Let no one among you speak of me as the man who is to hold this command, for I see many reasons why I should not do so; say rather that I shall obey to the best of my ability the man whom you choose, in order that you may know that I understand as well as any other person in the world how to be a subordinate also." After he had spoken another man arose to point out the foolishness of the speaker who had urged them to ask for vessels, just as if Cyrus were going home again, and to point out also how foolish it was to ask for a guide "from this man whose enterprise we are ruining. Indeed, if we propose to trust the guide that Cyrus gives us, what is to hinder us from
XENOPHON

διδῶ, τί κολύει καὶ τὰ ἀκρὰ ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κῦρον
17 προκαταλαβεῖν; ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁκνοῖν μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἄ ἡμῖν δοῖῃ, μὴ ἡμᾶς ταῖς τριήρεσι κατάδυση, φοβοῦμην δ’ ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ὃν δοῖῃ ἐπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ οὐκ ἑσται ἐξελθεῖν: βουλοῖμην δ’ ἂν ἀκοντος ἀπὶ ὁν πῦρ Κῦρον λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθῶν· δ’ οὐ δυνατόν ἑστιν.

18 ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κῦρον οὕτως ἐπιτήδειοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἑρωτῶν ἐκεῖνον τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἡ πραξὶς ἡ παραπλησία οὖσπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἔχρητο τοῖς ξένοις ἐπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι

19 τῶν πρὸσθεν τούτων συναναβάντων· ἔὰν δὲ μείζων ἡ πραξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνηται καὶ ἐπιπονωτέρα καὶ ἐπικινδυνωτέρα, ἀξιοῦν ἡ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἂγειν ἡ πεισθέντα πρὸς φίλας ἄφιειν· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίστευεν· ὃ τι δ’ ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγη ἀπαγγείλαι δεύτερον ἡμᾶς δ’ ἀκοῦσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθαι.

20 Ἑδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν οὐ ήρωτῶν Κῦρον τὰ δόξανα τῇ στρατιᾷ. ὃ δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ἀκοῦει Ἀβρωκόμαν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμοὺς πρὸς τοῦτον

1 As described in i. 2.
2 i.e. in the form of extra pay.
directing Cyrus also to occupy the heights for us in advance? For my part, I should hesitate to embark on the vessels that he might give us, for fear of his sinking us with his war-ships, and I should be afraid to follow the guide that he might give, for fear of his leading us to a place from which it will not be possible to escape; my choice would be, in going off without Cyrus' consent, to go off without his knowledge—and that is not possible. Now in my own opinion the plans just proposed are nonsense; rather, I think we should send to Cyrus men of the proper sort, along with Clearchus, to ask him what use he wishes to make of us; and if his enterprise is like the sort of one in which he employed mercenaries before, I think that we also should follow him and not be more cowardly than those who went up with him on the former occasion; if, however, his enterprise is found to be greater and more laborious and more dangerous than the former one, we ought to demand that he should either offer sufficient persuasion and lead us on with him, or yield to our persuasion and let us go home in friendship; for in this way, if we should follow him, we should follow as friends and zealous supporters, and if we should go back, we should go back in safety. I propose, further, that our representatives should report back to us whatever reply he may make, and that we after hearing it should deliberate about the matter.”

This plan was adopted, and they chose representatives and sent them with Clearchus; and they proceeded to put to Cyrus the questions resolved upon by the army. He replied that he had heard that Abrocomas, a foe of his, was at the Euphrates river, twelve stages distant. It was against him, therefore, he
οὖν ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν κἀν μὲν ἢ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρῆσειν ἐπιθέειν αὐτῷ, ἢν δὲ φύγῃ, 21 ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἴρετοι ἀγγέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψίᾳ μὲν ἢν ὅτι ἅγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὃμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἔπεσθαι. προσαίτουσι δὲ μισθόν· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμόλιον. πᾶσι δόσειν οὐ πρότερον ἐφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρεικὰ τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγων οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἢκουσεν οὐδεὶς εἰν τῷ γε φανερῷ.

IV. Ἐνετεύθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμὸν, οὐ ἢν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. ἔνετεύθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμὸν, οὐ ἢν τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. ἔνετεύθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἰσσοῦς, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ

2 οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἔνταῦθα ἔμειναι ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρῆσαν αἱ ἑκεῖ Πελοποννήσου νῆς τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπὶ αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἧγετό δ' αὐταῖς Ταμώς Αἰγυπτίος ἐξ Ἑφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἔτερας Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιν, αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἢν, 3 καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτῶν.1 παρῆν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετά-

1 ὁτε... αὐτῶν: condemned by Cobet, whom many edd. follow.
ANABASIS, I. III. 20–IV. 3

said, that he desired to march. And if he were there, he wished to inflict due punishment upon him; "but if he has fled," he continued, "we will deliberate about the matter then and there." Upon hearing this reply the deputies reported it to the soldiers, and they, while suspecting that Cyrus was leading them against the King, nevertheless thought it best to follow him. They asked, however, for more pay, and Cyrus promised to give them all half as much again as they had been receiving before, namely, a daric and a half a month to each man instead of a daric; but as regards the suspicion that he was leading them against the King, no one heard it expressed even then—at any rate, not openly.

IV. Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to the Psarus river, the width of which was three plethra. From there he marched one stage, five parasangs, to the Pyramus river, the width of which was a stadium.¹ From there he marched two stages, fifteen parasangs, to Issus, the last city in Cilicia, a place situated on the sea, and large and prosperous. There they remained three days; and the ships from Peloponnesus² arrived to meet Cyrus, thirty-five in number, with Pythagoras the Lacedaemonian as admiral in command of them. They had been guided from Ephesus to Issus by Tamos the Egyptian, who was at the head of another fleet of twenty-five ships belonging to Cyrus—these latter being the ships with which Tamos had besieged Miletus, at the time when it was friendly to Tissaphernes,³ and had supported Cyrus in his war upon Tissaphernes. Cheirisosphus the Lacedaemonian also arrived with this fleet, coming in response to Cyrus'¹

¹ The stadium = 582½ English feet.
² See ii. 21.
³ See i. 7.
πεμπτος υπὸ Κύρου, ἐπτακοσίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ὃν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρφ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὠρμοὺν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀβροκόμῳ μισθοφόροι Ἑλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κύρου τετρακόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ συν- ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα.

4. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάνυει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἔτι πύλας τῆς Κιλκίς καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἦσαν δὲ ταύτα δύο τείχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν πρὸ τῆς Κιλκίς Συνέννεσις εἰχε καὶ Κιλκίων φυλακή, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ρεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὐρός πλέθρου. ἀπαν, δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βία: ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τείχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκουν, ύπερθεν δ’ ἦσαν πέτραι ἱλιβατοί: ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τείχεσιν ἅμφωτέρους ἐφειστήκεσαν πῦργοι.¹ ταύτης ἐνεκά τῆς παρόδου Κύρος τὰς ναύς μετεπέμψετο, ὡς ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειν εἰσο καὶ² ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν καὶ βιασάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους εἰ φυλάττοιν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις, ὅπερ φέτο ποιήσειν ὁ Κύρος τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τούτ’ ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἥκουσε Κύρον ἐν Κιλκίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας εκ

¹ πῦργοι Gem., following Hartman: πύλαι MSS.
² εἰσο καὶ MSS.: Gem. brackets.
³ καὶ βιασάμενος Mar.: Βιασάμενους Gem., following Schenklin: καὶ βιασάμενος (or βιασάμενοι) MSS.: Βιασάμενος Dindorf.

276
summons, together with seven hundred hoplites, over whom he continued to hold command in the army of Cyrus. And the ships lay at anchor alongside Cyrus' tent. It was at Issus also that the Greek mercenaries who had been in the service of Abrocomas—four hundred hoplites—joined Cyrus, after deserting Abrocomas, and so bore a share in his expedition against the King.

Thence he marched one stage, five parasangs, to the Gates between Cilicia and Syria. These Gates consisted of two walls; the one on the hither, or Cilician, side was held by Syennessis and a garrison of Cilicians, while the one on the farther, the Syrian, side was reported to be guarded by a garrison of the King's troops. And in the space between these walls flows a river named the Carsus, a plethrum in width. The entire distance from one wall to the other was three stadia; and it was not possible to effect a passage by force, for the pass was narrow, the walls reached down to the sea, and above the pass were precipitous rocks, while, besides, there were towers upon both the walls. It was because of this pass that Cyrus had sent for the fleet, in order that he might disembark hoplites between and beyond the walls and thus overpower the enemy if they should be keeping guard at the Syrian Gates—and that was precisely what Cyrus supposed Abrocomas would do, for he had a large army. Abrocomas, however, did not do so, but as soon as he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, he turned about in his journey from

1 See note on ii. 21. These seven hundred hoplites under Cheirisophus had been sent by the Lacedaemonian authorities to aid Cyrus, and were the only troops in his army which stood in any official connection with any Greek state.
XENOPHON

Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλεὰ ἀπῆλαυνεν, ἔχων, ὡς ἐλεγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιῶς.

6 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἐνα παρασάγγας πόντο εἰς Μυριάνδου, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τὴν θαλάττῃ ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμον αὐτῶθι ὀλκάδες πολλαί. ἐνταῦθα ἐμείνεν ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ καὶ Ἑνίας ὁ Ἀρκάς καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεύς ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον καὶ τὰ πλείστον ἅξια ἐνθέμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν, ὡς µὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδοκοῦν φιλοτιμήθεντες ὅτι τοὺς στρατιῶτας αὐτῶν τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας ὡς ἀπίοντας εἰς τήν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὗ πρὸς βασιλεὰ (ἐν Κύρος τῶν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν) ἔπει δ' ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διήλθε λόγος ὅτι διῶκοι αὐτῶς Κύρος τριήρεις καὶ οἱ µὲν ἔχουσον ὡς δειλοῦν ὄντας αὐτῶς ληφθῆναι, οἱ δ' φίκτηρον εἰ ἀλώσιοντο.

8 Κύρος δὲ συγκάλεσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰπεν· Ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ἑνίας καὶ Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ ὑγε µέντοι εἰπεστάσθων ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οἴχουται. οὔτε ἀποπεφυγασιν ἕχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὦςτε ἐλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον ἀλλὰ µᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἐγὼνε αὐτῶς διώξω, οὐδ' ἔρει οὐδεὶς ὡς ἕγω ἔως µὲν ἀν παρῇ τις χρῶμαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπείναι βούληται, συλλαβῶν καὶ αὐτῶς κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυλλ. ἀλλὰ ἔτωσαν,1 εἰδότες ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς

1 ἔτωσαν Mar., following Bornemann: ἔτωσαν MSS.: ἔτωσαν

278
Phoenicia\(^1\) and marched off to join the King, with an army, so the report ran, of three hundred thousand men.

Thence Cyrus marched one stage, five parasangs, to Myriandus, a city on the sea-coast, inhabited by Phoenicians; it was a trading place, and many merchant ships were lying at anchor there. There he remained seven days; and Xenias the Arcadian and Pasion the Megarian embarked upon a ship, put on board their most valuable effects, and sailed away; they were moved to do this, as most people thought, by a feeling of jealous pride, because their soldiers had gone over to Clearchus\(^2\) with the intention of going back to Greece again instead of proceeding against the King, and Cyrus had allowed Clearchus to keep them. After they had disappeared, a report went round that Cyrus was pursuing them with warships; and while some people prayed that they might be captured, because, as they said, they were cowards, yet others felt pity for them if they should be caught.

Cyrus, however, called the generals together and said: "Xenias and Pasion have deserted us. But let them, nevertheless, know full well that they have not escaped from me—either by stealth, for I know in what direction they have gone, or by speed, for I have men-of-war with which I can overtake their craft. But for my part, I swear by the gods that I shall not pursue them, nor shall anyone say about me that I use a man so long as he is with me and then, when he wants to leave me, seize him and maltreat him and despoil him of his possessions. Nay, let them go, with the knowledge that their behaviour toward

---

\(^1\) Of which Abrocomes was satrap.  
\(^2\) See iii. 7.
XENOPHON

...ἡ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ
tέκνα καὶ γυναίκας ἐν Τράλλησι φρουροῦμενα·
allas' οὐδὲ τούτων στερησοῦται, ἀλλ' ἀπολήψουν
9 ταί τῆς πρόσθεν ἕνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. καὶ ὁ
μὲν ταῦτα εἴπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες, εἰ τις καὶ ἄθυ-
μότερος ἤν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν
Κύρου ἀρετῆν ἤδιον καὶ προθυμότερον συνε-
poreunoto.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Κύρος ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τέττα-
ρας παρασάγγας εἰκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμοῦ,
ὅντα τὸ εὔρος πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων
καὶ πραέων, οὐδὲ οἱ Σύριοι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ
ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶναι, οὐδὲ τὰς περιστερὰς.1 αἱ δὲ
κώμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδοι ἦσαν εἰς
10 ξώνην δεδομέναι. ἐντεύθεν ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς
πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ
Δάρδατος ποταμοῦ, οὐ τὸ εὔρος πλέθρου. ἐν-
tαῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσνοις βασίλεια τοῦ Συρίας
ἀρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνω μέγας καὶ καλός,
ἐχων πάντα ὅσα ὑδραί φύουσι. Κύρος δ' αὐτῶν
11 ἔξεκοψε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατεκαυσεν. ἐντεύθεν
ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντε-
καίδεκα ἐπί τοῦ Εὐφράτην ποταμοῦ, ὅντα τὸ
εὔρος τεττάρων σταδίων· καὶ πόλες αὐτοθεί
φυεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων Θάψακος ὄνομα.
ἐνταῦθα ἑμείνεν ἡμέρας πέντε. καὶ Κύρος μετα-
πεμψάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ ὄδος ἐσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν εἰς
Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς

1 οὐδὲ...περιστερὰς MSS.: Gem. brackets, following
Bisschop.

280
us is worse than ours toward them. To be sure, I have their wives and children under guard in Tralles, but I shall not deprive them of these, either, for they shall receive them back because of their former excellence in my service.” Such were his words; as for the Greeks, even those who had been somewhat despondent in regard to the upward march, when they heard of the magnanimity of Cyrus they continued on their way with greater satisfaction and eagerness.

After this Cyrus marched four stages, twenty parasangs, to the Chalus river, which is a plethrum in width and full of large, tame fish; these fish the Syrians regarded as gods, and they would not allow anyone to harm them, or the doves, either. And the villages in which the troops encamped belonged to Parysatis, for they had been given her for girdle-money. From there Cyrus marched five stages, thirty parasangs, to the sources of the Dardas river, the width of which is a plethrum. There was the palace of Belesys, the late ruler of Syria, and a very large and beautiful park containing all the products of the seasons. But Cyrus cut down the park and burned the palace. Thence he marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, to the Euphrates river, the width of which was four stadia; and on the river was situated a large and prosperous city named Thapsacus. There he remained five days. And Cyrus summoned the generals of the Greeks and told them that the march was to be to Babylon, against the Great King; he directed them, accordingly, to explain this to the

---

1 A city in Caria.
2 According to the legend, the Syrian goddess Derceto had been transformed into a fish, and her daughter, Semiramis, into a dove. cp. the English “pin-money.”
XENOPHON

12 στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπείθειν ἐπέστησαί. οἱ δὲ πολιτείαν ἔκκλησάν ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιώται ἔχαλέπαυσιν τοίς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἐφασαν αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ οὐκ ἐφασαν ἑναί, ἐὰν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῷ, ὥσπερ τοῖς προτέρους μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσιν παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύρου,1 καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κύρου.

13 ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλον· ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δῶσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου μνᾶς, ἐπάν εἰς Βαβυλώνα ἤκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ μέχρι ἀν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπείσθη.

Μένων δὲ πρὶν δῆλον εἰναι τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιώται, πότερον ἐψωνται Κύρῳ ἢ οὐ, συνελέξε τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα χωρίς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐλέξε τάδε. "Ἄνδρες, εάν μοι πεισθήτε, οὔτε κιβυνεύσαντες οὔτε ποιήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιώτῶν ὕπον Κύρου. τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; νῦν δεῖται Κύρος ἐπέστησαί τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημὶ υμᾶς χρήναι διαβήναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πρὶν δῆλον εἰναι τι τοί ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται 15 Κύρῳ. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσωνται ἐπέστησαί, ὡμεῖς

1 parὰ . . . Κύρου MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Cobet.

1 The troops are not now asking for additional pay, as at Tarsus (iii. 21), but for a special donation. See below.
2 See i. 2.
3 The Attic mina was equivalent (but see note on i. 9) to 282
ANABASIS, I. iv. 11-15

soldiers and try to persuade them to follow. So the generals called an assembly and made this announcement; and the soldiers were angry with the generals, and said that they had known about this for a long time, but had been keeping it from the troops; furthermore, they refused to go on unless they were given money,¹ as were the men who made the journey with Cyrus before,² when he went to visit his father; they had received the donation, even though they marched, not to battle, but merely because Cyrus' father summoned him. All these things the generals reported back to Cyrus, and he promised that he would give every man five minas³ in silver when they reached Babylon and their pay in full until he brought the Greeks back to Ionia again.⁴ By these promises the greater part of the Greek army was persuaded.

But as for Menon, before it was clear what the rest of the soldiers would do, that is, whether they would follow Cyrus or not, he gathered together his own troops apart from the others and spoke as follows: "Soldiers, if you will obey me, you will, without either danger or toil, be honoured by Cyrus above and beyond the rest of the troops. What, then, do I direct you to do? At this moment Cyrus is begging the Greeks to follow him against the King; my own plan, then, is that you should cross the Euphrates river before it is clear what answer the rest of the Greeks will make to Cyrus. For if they vote to follow him, it is you who

about £3 15s. or $18.00; Cyrus probably means here the Persian mina, which was worth about one-fourth more than the Attic.

¹ Mercenaries were usually expected to make their own way home after a campaign had ended and did not receive pay for the time consumed by the homeward journey.
XENOPHON

dόξετε αὐτοὶ εἰναι ἁρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτους οὖσιν υμῖν χάριν εἰσεται Κύρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· ἐπίσταται δὲ εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος· ἦν δὲ ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἅπιμεν μὲν ἁπαντες τοῦμπαλιν, υμῖν δὲ ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις χρησται καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας, καὶ ἄλλος οὖσις ἃν δὲνθησθε οἶδα ὅτι ὃς φίλοι

16 τεύξεθε Κύρου. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπείθοντο καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κύρος δὲ ἔπει ἢσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἢσθη τε καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν ἐίπεν: ἞性 μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἢδη υμᾶς ἑπαινώ· ὡπως δὲ καὶ υμεῖς ἐμὲ ἑπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἡ μηκέτι με Κύρον

17 νομίζετε. οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατεύται ἐν ἐλπίσαι μεγαλαίς ὄντες ἥχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι, Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψα μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἀπαν. καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὔθεις ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν

18 ύπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐπάποθ' αὐτὸς ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατός γένοιτο πεζῇ εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοῖοις, ἀ τότε Ἀβροκόμας προϊόν κατέκαυσαν, ἵνα μὴ Κύρος διαβή. εὔδοκει δὴ θεῖον εἶναι καὶ σαφῶς ὑποχωρήσαι τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς βασιλεύσοντι.

19 Ἐγεῖθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα· καὶ ἄφικνούνται

1 After peithomenois the MSS. have pistoratois: Gem. brackets.
2 frouria MSS, Mar.: frouphria Gem., following Böhme.
3 filoi MSS: filou Gem, following Bisschop.
4 kai saphos MSS: saphos kai Gem., following Hartman.
ANABASIS, I. iv. 15–19

will get the credit for that decision because you began the crossing, and Cyrus will not only feel grateful to you, regarding you as the most zealous in his cause, but he will return the favour—and he knows how to do that if any man does; on the other hand, if the rest vote not to follow him, we shall all go back together, but you, as the only ones who were obedient, are the men he will employ, not only for garrison duty, but for captaincies; and whatever else you may desire, I know that you, as friends of Cyrus, will secure from him." Upon hearing these words the soldiers were persuaded, and made the crossing before the rest gave their answer. When Cyrus learned that they had crossed, he was delighted and sent Glus to the troops with this message: "Soldiers, to-day I commend you; but I shall see to it that you also shall have cause to commend me, else count me no longer Cyrus." So Menon's troops cherished high hopes and prayed that he might be successful, while to Menon himself Cyrus was said to have sent magnificent gifts besides. After so doing Cyrus proceeded to cross the river, and the rest of the army followed him, to the last man. And in the crossing no one was wetted above the breast by the water. The people of Thapsacus said that this river had never been passable on foot except at this time, but only by boats; and these Abrocomas had now burned, as he marched on ahead of Cyrus, in order to prevent him from crossing. It seemed, accordingly, that here was a divine inter- vention, and that the river had plainly retired before Cyrus because he was destined to be king.

Thence he marched through Syria nine stages, fifty parasangs, and they arrived at the Araxes river.

¹ i.e. easy service.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

πρὸς τὸν Ἄραξην ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαὶ μεσταὶ σῖτον καὶ οἶνον. ἐνταῦθα ἐμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

V. Ἕντευθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῶν Ἐυφράτην ποταμῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχον σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον ἀπαν ὀμαλὲς ὁσπερ βαλαττα, ἀψωθίου δὲ πλήρες· εἰ δὲ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνήν ὅλης ἡ καλάμου, ἀπαντά

2 ἦσαν εὐώδη ὁσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρων δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνήν, θηρία δὲ παντοῖα, πλείστοι ὄνοι ἅγιοι, πολλαὶ δὲ στροφοῦσι μεγάλαι· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες. ταύτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἰππεῖς εὐίτη ἐδίωκον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἔπει τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἐστασαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἰππῶν ἐτρεχον θάττων· καὶ πάλιν, ἔπει πλησιάζοιεν οἱ ἰπποί, ταύτω ἐποίουν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἰππεῖς θηρίαν διαδεχόμενοι. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἦν παραπλῆσια τοῖς

3 ἔλαβεῖοι, ἀπαλώτερα δὲ. στρουθὸν δὲ οὔδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οὶ δὲ διόξαντες τῶν ἰππῶν ταχὺ ἐπαύνοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέστα φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν αἴρουσα, ὁσπερ ἵστι χρωμένη. τὰς δὲ ὀπίδας ἀν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ ἐστὶ λαμβάνειν· πέτουνται γὰρ βραχὺ ὁσπερ πέρδικες καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύονι. τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἠδίστα ἦν.

4· Πορεύόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμόν, τὸ εὐρὸς πλεθριαῦν. ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ Κορωστῆ· περιερρέειτο δ' αὐτῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα πύκνῳ. ἐνταῦθ' ἐμειναν ἡμέρας
There they found many villages full of grain and wine, and there they remained for three days and provisioned the army.

V. Thence he marched through Arabia, keeping the Euphrates on the right, five stages through desert country, thirty-five parasangs. In this region the ground was an unbroken plain, as level as the sea, and full of wormwood; and whatever else there was on the plain by way of shrub or reed, was always fragrant, like spices; trees there were none, but wild animals of all sorts, vast numbers of wild asses and many ostriches, besides bustards and gazelles. These animals were sometimes chased by the horsemen. As for the asses, whenever one chased them, they would run on ahead and stop—for they ran much faster than the horses—and then, when the horses came near, they would do the same thing again, and it was impossible to catch them unless the horsemen posted themselves at intervals and hunted them in relays. The flesh of those that were captured was like venison, but more tender. But no ostrich was captured by anyone, and any horseman who chased one speedily desisted; for it would distance him at once in its flight, not merely plying its feet, but hoisting its wings and using them like a sail. The bustards, on the other hand, can be caught if one is quick in starting them up, for they fly only a short distance, like partridges, and soon tire; and their flesh was delicious.

Marching on through this region they arrived at the Mascar river, which is a plethrum in width. There, in the desert, was a large city named Corsote, completely surrounded by the Mascar. There they
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

5 τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεστίσαντο. ἐνετεθεῖν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς καὶ δέκα παρασώγγας ἐνενηκοῦντα τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. ἐν τούτωι τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑποξυγίων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ ψυλὴ ἦν ἀπασα ἡ χώρα: οἱ δὲ ἑνοίκοις ὄνοις ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὄρυττοντες καὶ συνόντες εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἤγον καὶ ἐπῶλον καὶ ἀνταγωνίζοντες σίτον ἔξων. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὅ σῖτος ἐπέλυτε, καὶ πρίσσαθαι οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ Κύρου βαρβαρικῷ, τὴν καπιθήναν ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σήγους. ὃ δὲ σύγγος δύναται ἐπὶ ὀβόλους καὶ ἡμιοἰκίαν Ἀττικοῦ ἢ τῇ καπιθήνῃ δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικάς ἐχόμενοι. κρέα οὐν ἔσθιοντες οἱ στρατιώται διεγέρνυντο. ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πάνω μακρῶς ἤλαυνεν, ὅπως ἦ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο διατελέσαι ἡ πρὸς χιλὸν.

Καὶ δὴ ποτὲ στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσσπορεύτων ἐπέστη ὁ Κύρος σὸν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστος καὶ εὐδαίμονεστάτοις καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγρητα λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεκβιβάζειν ταῖς ἀμάξαις. 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὡσπερ ὀργὴ ἔκελευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπιστεύσει ταῖς ἀμάξαις. ἐνθα δὴ

1 The Lydians were notorious as hucksters.
2 See ii. 18 and the note thereon, and iii. 14.
3 The obol = about 1½d. or 3 cents. The chonix = about 1 quart. The prices stated were, roughly, about fifty times normal prices at Athens.

288
remained three days and provisioned the army. Thence Cyrus marched thirteen stages through desert country, ninety parasangs, keeping the Euphrates river on the right, and arrived at Pylae. In the course of these stages many of the baggage animals died of hunger, for there was no fodder and, in fact, no growing thing of any kind, but the land was absolutely bare; and the people who dwelt here made a living by quarrying mill-stones along the river banks, then fashioning them and taking them to Babylon, where they sold them and bought grain in exchange. As for the troops, their supply of grain gave out, and it was not possible to buy any except in the Lydian market attached to the barbarian army of Cyrus, at the price of four sigli for a capithé of wheat flour or barley meal. The siglus is worth seven and one-half Attic obols, and the capithé had the capacity of two Attic choenices. The soldiers therefore managed to subsist by eating meat. And Cyrus sometimes made these stages through the desert very long, whenever he wanted to reach water or fresh fodder.

Once in particular, when they came upon a narrow, muddy place which was hard for the wagons to get through, Cyrus halted with his train of nobles and dignitaries and ordered Glus and Pigres to take some of the barbarian troops and help to pull the wagons out. But it seemed to him that they took their time with the work; accordingly, as if in anger, he directed the Persian nobles who accompanied him to take a hand in hurrying on the wagons. And

4 The Greeks of Xenophon’s time ate comparatively little meat under any circumstances, but in the Arabian desert a diet of meat constituted a real hardship.
XENOPHON

μέρος τι τής εὐταξίας ἢν θεάσασθαι. ῥήφαντες
gὰρ τοὺς πορφυροὺς κάνδυγῳ ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἐκαστὸς
ἐστηκώς, ἵνατο ὠφελή καὶ δράμοι τις ἐπὶ νίκη καὶ
μάλα κατὰ πραγματείας γηλόθοι. ἔχοντες τοὺς τε
πολυτελεῖς χιτώνας καὶ τάς ποικίλας ἀναβυρίδας,
ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὶ περὶ τῶν τραχήλων καὶ
ψέλα περὶ ταῖς χερσίν. εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις
εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θάττων ἢ ὡς τις ἂν

9 φτετο μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. τὸ δὲ
σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κύρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν
όδον καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐτισιτισμοῦ ἐνεκα
ἡ τινὸς ἄλλου ἀναγκαῖον ἐκαθέξετο, νομίζων, ὡς
θάττων ἐλθοῦν, τοσοῦτω ἀπαρασκευαστότερῳ
βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὡς δὲ σχολαίτερον, τοσοῦτῳ
πλέον συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στράτευμα. καὶ
συνιδεῖν ὃ ἢν τῷ προσέχοντι τῶν νοῦν τῇ
βασιλείᾳ ἄρχῃ πληθεὶ μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων
ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκει τῶν ὀδῶν καὶ τῷ
dιεσπάσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενή, εἴ τις διὰ
ταχέων τῶν πόλεμον ποιῶτο.

10 Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς
ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλεις εὑδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη,
ὅνων δὲ Χαρμάνδης ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιωταὶ
ἡγοῦσαν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίας διαβαίνοντες
ὁδὲ. διφθέρας ἃς εἰχον στεγάσματα ἐπιμπλασμα
χόρτων κούφου, εἰτὰ συνήγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὡς
μὴ ἀπέστωθι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὑδωρ. ἐπὶ τούτων
dιέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἰνὸν τε
ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος

290
then one might have beheld a sample of good discipline: they each threw off their purple cloaks where they chanced to be standing, and rushed, as a man would run to win a victory, down a most exceedingly steep hill, wearing their costly tunics and coloured trousers, some of them, indeed, with necklaces around their necks and bracelets on their arms; and leaping at once, with all this finery, into the mud, they lifted the wagons high and dry and brought them out more quickly than one would have thought possible. In general, it was clear that Cyrus was in haste throughout the whole journey and was making no delays, except where he halted to procure provisions or for some other necessary purpose; his thought was that the faster he went, the more unprepared the King would be to fight with him, while, on the other hand, the slower he went, the greater would be the army that was gathering for the King. Furthermore, one who observed closely could see at a glance that while the King's empire was strong in its extent of territory and number of inhabitants, it was weak by reason of the greatness of the distances and the scattered condition of its forces, in case one should be swift in making his attack upon it.

Across the Euphrates river in the course of these desert marches was a large and prosperous city named Charmande, and here the soldiers made purchases of provisions, crossing the river on rafts in the following way: they took skins which they had for tent covers, filled them with hay, and then brought the edges together and sewed them up, so that the water could not touch the hay; on these they would cross and get provisions—wine made from the date of the palm
XENOPHON

καὶ σῖτον μελίνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλείστων.

11 Ἀμφιλεξάντων δὲ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τέ του Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν του Κλεάρχου ὁ Κλέαρχος κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ ἔλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματα ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιώται ἐχαλέπαινον

12 καὶ ὁργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἠλθὼν ἔπι τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκεψάμενος τὴν ἁγορὰν ἀφιππεύει ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκήνην διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος σὺν ὅλῳ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Κύρος δὲ οὕτω ἦκεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι προσήλαινε· τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σχίζων τις ὡς εἶδε Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ὦσι τῇ ἄξινῃ καὶ οὕτως μὲν αὐτὸν ἦμαρτεν· ἀλλ' δὲ λίθῳ καὶ ἀλλως

13 εἶτα πολλοὶ, κραυγῆς γενομένης. ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὀπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε μεῖναι τὰς ἄσπιδας πρὸς τὰ ἁγίατα θέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Ὀράκας καὶ τοὺς ἴππεας οἱ ἑκατον αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἡ τετταράκοντα, τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείστοι Ὀράκες, ἠλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὡστ' ἐκείνους ἀκέπτειμαθαὶ καὶ αὐτῶν Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπλα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι. ὁ δὲ Πρὸ-ξένος—ἐτυχε γὰρ ὑστερος προσιών καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομενὴ τῶν ὀπλίτων—εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων ἔθετο τὰ ὀπλα καὶ ἐδείτο

1 τῇ τοῦ Gem., following Madvig: τῇ τοῦ MSS.

292
tree and bread made of millet, for this grain was very abundant in the country.

There one of Menon's soldiers and one of Clearchus' men had some dispute, and Clearchus, deciding that Menon's man was in the wrong, gave him a flogging. The man then went to his own army and told about it, and when his comrades heard of the matter, they took it hard and were exceedingly angry with Clearchus. On the same day Clearchus, after going to the place where they crossed the river and there inspecting the market, was riding back to his own tent through Menon's army, having only a few men with him; and Cyrus had not yet arrived, but was still on the march toward the place; and one of Menon's soldiers who was splitting wood threw his axe at Clearchus when he saw him riding through the camp. Now this man missed him, but another threw a stone at him, and still another, and then, after an outcry had been raised, many. Clearchus escaped to his own army and at once called his troops to arms; he ordered his hoplites to remain where they were, resting their shields against their knees,\(^1\) while he himself with the Thracians\(^2\) and the horsemen, of which he had in his army more than forty, most of them Thracians, advanced upon Menon's troops; the result was that these and Menon himself were thoroughly frightened and ran to their arms, though there were some who stood stock-still, nonplussed by the situation. But Proxenus—for he chanced to be now coming up, later than the others, with a battalion of hoplites following him—straightway led his troops into the space between the two parties, halted them under arms, and

\(^1\) i.e. in readiness to support him in case of need.
\(^2\) See ii. 9.
XENOPHON

tou Κλεάρχου μη ποιεῖν ταύτα. ὁ δὲ ἐχαλέπαινεν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγον δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πρῶς λέγοι τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστασθαι. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἔπηκε καὶ Κύρος καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πράγμα· εὐθὺς δὲ ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παρούσι τῶν πιστῶν ἦκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε.

16 Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἑλληνες, οὐκ ἵστε ὅ τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γὰρ τίνα ἄλληλοις μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμὲ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι καὶ ύμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἐμὸν ύστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων πάντες οὕτως ὀρᾶτε βάρβαροι πολεμώτεροι.

17 ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὀντῶν. ἀκόύσας ταύτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο καὶ παυσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὀπλα.

VI. Ἐντεύθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἵκνια ἱππῶν καὶ κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δὲ εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχλίων ἱππῶν. οὕτως προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἰ τὰ ἄλλα χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὁρῶντας δὲ Πέρσης ἀνήρ γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστους Περσῶν ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας, καταλαγείς δὲ.

2 οὕτως Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίη ἱππέας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἱππέας ἢ κατακαίοντι ἄν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ξόντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἄν έλοι καὶ κωλύσει τοῦ καίειν ἐπίοντας, καὶ ποιήσειν

294
began to beg Clearchus not to proceed with his attack. Clearchus, however, was angry, because, when he had barely escaped being stoned to death, Proxenus was talking lightly of his grievance, and he ordered him to remove himself from between them. At this moment Cyrus also came up and learned about the situation, and he immediately took his spears in his hands and, attended by such of his counsellors as were present, came riding into the intervening space and spoke as follows: "Clearchus, and Proxenus, and all you other Greeks who are here, you know not what you are doing. For as certainly as you come to fighting with one another, you may be sure that on this very day I shall be instantly cut to pieces and yourselves not long after me; for once let ill fortune overtake us, and all these barbarians whom you see will be more hostile to us than are those who stand with the King." On hearing these words Clearchus came to his senses, and both parties ceased from their quarrel and returned to their quarters.

VI. As they went on from there, they kept seeing tracks of horses and horses' dung. To all appearances it was the trail of about two thousand horses, and the horsemen as they proceeded were burning up fodder and everything else that was of any use. At this time Orontas, a Persian, who was related to the King by birth and was reckoned among the best of the Persians in matters of war, devised a plot against Cyrus—in fact, he had made war upon him before this, but had become his friend again. He now said to Cyrus that if he would give him a thousand horsemen, he would either ambush and kill these horsemen who were burning ahead of him, or he would capture many of them alive and put a stop to their burning as they
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

όστε μήπωτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἴδοντας τὸ Κύρον στράτευμα βασιλεῖ διαγγείλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἔδοκει ὑφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ’ ἐκάστοτο τῶν ἡγεμόνων. ὁ δέ Ὄροντας νομίσας ἑτοίμους εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱππέας γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὅτι ἦξοι ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους. ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἱππεύσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. ἐφὴ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῇ πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. ταῦτη τῇ ἐπιστολῇ δίδωσι πιστῷ ἄνδρι, ὡς ἔστε. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρον δίδωσιν.

ἀναγνοῦς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κύρος συλλαμβάνει Ὅρονταν, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἐαυτὸν σκηνήν Πέρσας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτά, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ὁπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχίλιου ὁπλίτας.

Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἶσο παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅσι γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆσαι μάλιστα τῶν Ἐλλήνων. ἔπει δ’ ἐξῆλθεν, ὑπήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τῆς κρίσιν τοῦ Ὅροντα ὡς ἐγένετο: οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. ἐφι δὲ Κύρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὅδε. Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος ὧ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὅροντα τούτου. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί. ἐπει δὲ ταχθεῖς, ὡς ἐφὶ αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὦτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοὶ ἔχων τῇ ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

296
advanced; and he would see to it that they should never be able to behold Cyrus' army and get to the King with their report. When Cyrus heard this plan, it seemed to him to be an expedient one, and he directed Orontas to get a detachment from each one of the cavalry commanders. Then Orontas, thinking that his horsemen were assured him, wrote a letter to the King saying that he would come to him with as many horsemen as he could get; and he urged the King to direct his own cavalry to receive him as a friend. The letter also contained reminders of his former friendship and fidelity. This letter he gave to a man whom he supposed to be faithful to him; but this man took it and gave it to Cyrus. When Cyrus had read it, he had Orontas arrested, and summoned to his tent seven of the noblest Persians among his attendants, while he ordered the Greek generals to bring up hoplites and bid them station themselves under arms around his tent. And the generals obeyed the order, bringing with them about three thousand hoplites.

Clearchus was also invited into the tent as a counsellor, for both Cyrus and the other Persians regarded him as the man who was honoured above the rest of the Greeks. And when he came out, he reported to his friends how Orontas' trial was conducted—for it was no secret. He said that Cyrus began the conference in this way: "My friends, I have invited you here in order that I may consult with you and then take such action in the case of Orontas here as is right in the sight of gods and men. This man was given me at first by my father, to be my subject; then, at the bidding, as he himself said, of my brother, this man levied war upon me, holding the citadel of Sardis,
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

άκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δὸξαι τούτῳ τοῦ προς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσα-7 σθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα, μετὰ ταύτα, ἐφη, ὁ Ὄροντα, ἔστιν ὁ τι σε ἡδίκησα; ἀπεκρίνατο ὁτὶ σὺ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἡρώτα. Οὐκοῦν ὑστερον, ὡς αὐτός σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος ἀποστάσει εἰς Μυσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὁ τι ἐδύνω; ἐφη Ὅροντας. Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ὅπως ἂν ἔγνως τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμελεῖς τέ σου ἐφησθαν καὶ πεῖσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι καὶ ἔλαβες παρ’ ἐμοῦ; καὶ ταῦθ’ ὁμολόγει Ὅροντας. Τί οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀδικηθεῖς ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἔπεμπολεύσων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας; εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὅροντα ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς, ἡρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος αὐτὸν Ὅμο- λογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἀδίκος γεγενησθαι; Ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἐφη Ὅροντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἡρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος Ὅμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἀδίκος γεγενησθαι; Ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἐφη Ὅροντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἡρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος. Ἐτι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός, ὁ δὲ ἀπε- κρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ’ εἰ γενοίμην, ὁ Κῦρε, σοὶ γ’ ἂν 9 ποτε ἔτι δοξαίμεν. πρὸς ταύτα Κύρος ἔπει τοῖς παροῦσιν Ὁ μὲν ἂν ὁρη τοιαύτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαύτα δὲ λέγει: ὡμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἀπόφημαι γνώμην ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ τάδε. Συμβουλεύσω ἐγὼ τοῖς ἄλλοις τούτων ἐκποιήσω ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέν τούτων φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ἢ ἡμῶν, τοι τούτων εἶναι, τοὺς ἐθελοῦντας τούτοις εὑ 10 ποιεῖν. ταύτη δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφη καὶ τούς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι.
ANABASIS, I. vi. 6–10

and I, by the war I waged against him, made him count it best to cease from warring upon me, and I received and gave the hand-clasp of friendship. Since that,” he said, “Orontas, have I done you any wrong?” “No,” Orontas answered. Cyrus went on questioning him: “Did you not afterwards, although, as you yourself admit, you had suffered no wrong at my hands, desert me for the Mysians, and do all the harm you could to my territory?” “Yes,” said Orontas. “Did you not,” Cyrus said, “when once more you had learned the slightness of your own power, go to the altar of Artemis and say you were sorry, and did you not, after prevailing upon me to pardon you, again give me pledges and receive pledges from me?” This also Orontas admitted. “What wrong, then,” said Cyrus, “have you suffered at my hands, that you now for the third time have been found plotting against me?” When Orontas replied, “None,” Cyrus asked him: “Do you admit; then, that you have proved yourself a doer of wrong toward me?” “I cannot choose but do so,” said Orontas. Thereupon Cyrus asked again: “Then could you henceforth prove yourself a foe to my brother and a faithful friend to me?” “Even if I should do so, Cyrus,” he replied, “you could never after this believe it of me.” Then Cyrus said to those who were present: “Such have been this man’s deeds, such are now his words; and now, Clearchus, do you be the first of my counsellors to express the opinion you hold.” And Clearchus said: “My advice is to put this man out of the way as speedily as possible, so that we may no longer have to be on our guard against the fellow, but may be left free, so far as concerns him, to requite with benefits these willing servants.” In this opinion Clearchus said that the others also concurred.
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝΟΝ

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφη, κελεύοντος Κύρου ἐλαβον τῆς ξώνης τὸν Ὄρονταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπαντε ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συνηγενεῖς: εἶτα δ' ἐξῆγον αὐτὸν οἶς προσετάχθη. ἔπει δὲ εἴδον αὐτὸν οὐπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, καὶ περει εἰδότες ὅτι ἔπλη θάνατον ἅγιοτο. ἔπει δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνήν εἰσῆλθη τοῦ πιστο-

VII. Ἐντεύθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμὸς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κύρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ελ-

Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλεύετο τε πῶς ἀν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς παρῆνει θαρρύνων

1 ἔφη MSS., Mar.: Gem. omits, following inferior MSS.
2 After δὲ the MSS. have τῶν θεταλῶν: Gem. brackets, following Hug.
3 ἐπιούς ΜSS.: ἐπιοῦ Gem.
4 ήκοντας ΜSS.: Ἦκον Gem.
5 ἄπηγγελλον... βασιλέως in margin of MS. C: Gem. omits.
ANABASIS, I. vi. 10–vii. 2

After this, he said, at the bidding of Cyrus, every man of them arose, even Orontas' kinsmen, and took him by the girdle, as a sign that he was condemned to death; and then those to whom the duty was assigned led him out. And when the men who in former days were wont to do him homage saw him, they made their obeisance even then, although they knew that he was being led forth to death. Now after he had been conducted into the tent of Artapates, the most faithful of Cyrus' chamberlains, from that moment no man ever saw Orontas living or dead, nor could anyone say from actual knowledge how he was put to death,—it was all conjectures, of one sort and another; and no grave of his was ever seen.

VII. From there Cyrus marched through Babylonia three stages, twelve parasangs. On the third stage he held a review of the Greeks and the barbarians on the plain at about midnight; for he thought that at the next dawn the King would come with his army to do battle; and he ordered Clearchus to act as commander of the right wing and Menon of the left, while he himself marshalled his own troops. On the morning following the review, at daybreak, there came deserters from the great King and brought reports to Cyrus about his army.

At this time Cyrus called together the generals and captains of the Greeks, and not only took counsel with them as to how he should fight the battle, but, for his own part, exhorted and encouraged them as
XENOPHON

3 τοιάδε. 'Ω ἀνδρὲς Ἐλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων ἐνυποκνόμενοι υμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων υμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὡς οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἑλευθερίας ἢς κέκτησε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. εὐ γὰρ ἰστε ὅτι τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀντὶ ὄν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίων. ὡς δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε εἰς οἶνον ἔρχεσθε ἁγώνα, υμᾶς εἰδὼς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλήθος πολὺ καὶ κραυγὴ πολλή ἐπίσισθε· ἢν δὲ ταύτα ἀνάσχησθε, τὰ ἄλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ οὕτω, ὑμῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὑμῶν δὲ ἄνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ ἐν τῶν ἐμῶν γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τῶν μὲν οἰκαδὲ βουλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἶκοι ξηλωτῶν ποιήσω ἀπελθείν, πολλοὺς δὲ οἱμα ποιήσω εἰς παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἑλέσθαι ἄντι τῶν οἰκοῦν.

5 Ἑνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρὼν φυγάς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἴπεν. Καὶ μήν, ὦ Κύρε, λέγοντι τινες ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπείσχυν νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσίων, ἂν δὲ εὐ γένηται τι, οὐ μεμνήσεσθαι σὲ φασιν’ ἐν οὐδ’ εἰ μεμνήσετε καὶ βούλοιο δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὡς ὑπείσχυν. ἀκούσας ταύτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρος. 'Ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρία πρὸς μὲν μεσθημβριάν μέχρι οὐ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύναται οἰκεῖν ἀνθρώπου, πρὸς δὲ ἀρκτον μέχρι οὐ διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ’ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατρα-

1 βαρβάρων MSS : Gem. brackets, following Bisschop.
2 αἰσχύνεσθαι MSS : αἰσχυνείσθαι Gem., following Dindorf.
3 τοῦ...προσίων MSS : Gem. brackets, following Cobet.

302
ANABASIS, I. vii. 2–6

follows: “Men of Greece, it is not because I have not barbarians enough that I have brought you hither to fight for me; but because I believe that you are braver and stronger than many barbarians, for this reason I took you also. Be sure, therefore, to be men worthy of the freedom you possess, upon the possession of which I congratulate you. For you may be certain that freedom is the thing I should choose in preference to all that I have and many times more. And now, in order that you may know what sort of a contest it is into which you are going, I who do know will tell you. Our enemies have great numbers and they will come on with a great outcry; for the rest, however, if you can hold out against these things, I am ashamed, I assure you, to think what sorry fellows you will find the people of our country to be. But if you be men and if my undertaking turn out well, I shall make anyone among you who wishes to return home an object of envy to his friends at home upon his return, while I shall cause many of you, I imagine, to choose life with me in preference to life at home.”

Hereupon Gaulites, a Samian exile who was there and was in the confidence of Cyrus, said: “And yet, Cyrus, there are those who say that your promises are big now because you are in such a critical situation—for the danger is upon you—but that if any good fortune befall, you will fail to remember them; and some say that even if you should remember and have the will, you would not have the means to make good all your promises.” Upon hearing these words Cyrus said: “Well, gentlemen, my father’s realm extends toward the south to a region where men cannot dwell by reason of the heat, and to the north to a region where they cannot dwell by reason of the cold; and
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

7 πεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. ἡν δ’ ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. ὥστε οὐ τούτῳ δέ-δοικα, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν φίλων, ἀν εὐ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἰκανοὺς οἶς δῶ. ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν 'Ελλήνων καὶ στέφανον ἐκάστῳ

8 χρυσοῖς δῶσο. οἳ δὲ ταύτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῖς τε ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγη-γελλον. εἰσῆγαν δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων τινὲς ἄξιούντες εἰδέναι τι σφίσιν ἔσται, ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐμπιπλασ ἀπάντησεν τὴν

9 γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε. παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ὁσοιπερ διελέγοντο μη μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅπισ-θεν ἑαυτῶν τὰ τάττεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καὶ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ὡδὲ πῶς ἤρετο τὸν Κύρον. Ὅτι γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὁ Κῦρος, τὸν ἀδελφὸν; Ἡ Δί’, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰτερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρμενίδος έστι πᾶσι, ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀμαχεῖ ταῦτ’ ἐγὼ λήψομαι.

10 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισία ἄριθμός ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων ἀσπίς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ δισθίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες καὶ ἀρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἰκοσί. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἰναί ἐκατόν καὶ εἰκοσὶ μυριάδες καὶ ἀρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἀλλοι δὲ ἦσαν

1 Before καὶ the MSS. have οἴ τε στρατηγοῖ: Gem. brackets, following Weiske.

1 i.e. in the review mentioned in § 1.
2 There is a discrepancy, as yet unexplained, between these numbers and those previously given. cp. ii. 9 and note; also ii. 25 and iv. 3.

304
all that lies between these limits my brother's friends rule as satraps. Now if we win the victory, we must put our friends in control of these provinces. I fear, therefore, not that I shall not have enough to give to each of my friends, if success attends us, but that I shall not have enough friends to give to. And as for you men of Greece, I shall give each one of you a wreath of gold besides." When they heard these words, the officers were far more eager themselves and carried the news away with them to the other Greeks. Then some of the others also sought Cyrus' presence, demanding to know what they should have, in case of victory; and he satisfied the expectations of every one of them before dismissing them. Now all alike who conversed with him urged him not to take part in the fighting, but to station himself in their rear. Taking this opportunity Clearchus asked Cyrus a question like this: "But do you think, Cyrus, that your brother will fight with you?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "if he is really a son of Darius and Parysatis and a brother of mine, I shall not win this realm without fighting for it."

At this time, when the troops were marshalled under arms, the number of the Greeks was found to be ten thousand four hundred hoplites, and two thousand five hundred peltasts, while the number of the barbarians under Cyrus was one hundred thousand and there were about twenty scythe-bearing chariots. The enemy, it was reported, numbered one million two hundred thousand and had two hundred scythe-bearing chariots; besides, there was a troop of six

---

3 The number is probably overstated. Ctesias, the King's Greek physician (see viii. 26), is said by Plutarch (Artax. 13) to have given it as 400,000.
XENOPHON

έξακισχίλιοι ἵππεῖς, ὁν 'Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν
οὕτω δ' αὖ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν.
12 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες 1
tέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἐκαστος, Ἀβρο-
κόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων
δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες
καὶ ἀρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἐκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα·
'Αβροκόμας δὲ ὑπάρχοντες τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις πέντε,
13 ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγελλον πρὸς
Κύρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες παρὰ μεγάλον βασι-
λέως 2 πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ
ὑποτεουν ἑλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων ταῦτα ἡγ-
γελλον.

14 Ἐνετέθεν δὲ Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα
παρασάγγας τρεῖς συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι
πάντι καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ψέτο
γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα· κατὰ
γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τούτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτή
βαθεία, τὸ μὲν εὔρος ὀργυαλ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος
15 ὀργυαλ τρεῖς. παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἀνω διὰ
tοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας μέχρι τοῦ
Μηδίας τεῖχους·3 ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἐυφράτην πάρο-

1 After ἄρχοντες the MSS. have καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες: Gem. brackets, following Weiske.
2 παρὰ . . . βασιλέως MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Bis-
schop. Immediately before this phrase the MSS. have ἐκ τῶν
πολεμίων: Mar. brackets, following Kiehl.
3 After Μηδίας τεῖχους the MSS. proceed as follows: ἐνθα
da διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ἰέουσαι· εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες,
tὸ μὲν εὔρος πλεθρίων, βαθείαι δὲ ἱσχυρὰς, καὶ πλοὺτα πλεῖον
αὐτῶν συναγωγα· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἐυφράτην, διαλείπουσι
δ' ἐκάστη παρασάγγας, γέφυραι δ' ἔπεισιν. [Here also are the
canals, which flow from the Tigris river; they are four in
number, each a plethrum wide and exceedingly deep, and
grain-carrying ships ply in them; they empty into the
306
thousand horsemen, under the command of Artagerses, which was stationed in front of the King himself. And the King's army had four commanders, each at the head of three hundred thousand men, namely, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. But of the forces just enumerated only nine hundred thousand, with one hundred and fifty scythe-bearing chariots, were present at the battle; for Abrocomas, marching from Phoenicia, arrived five days too late for the engagement. Such were the reports brought to Cyrus by those who deserted from the Great King before the battle, and after the battle identical reports were made by the prisoners taken thereafter.

From there Cyrus marched one stage, three parasangs, with his whole army, Greek and barbarian alike, drawn up in line of battle; for he supposed that on that day the King would come to an engagement; for about midway of this day's march there was a deep trench, five fathoms in width and three fathoms in depth. This trench extended up through the plain for a distance of twelve parasangs, reaching to the wall of Media, and alongside the Euphrates

1 ὅργυν = the reach of the outstretched arms (cp. ὥργυν), or, as an exact unit of measurement, 6 Greek feet = 5 ft. 10 in. English measure.
2 Described by Xenophon in II. iv. 12. It extended from the Euphrates north-east to the Tigris, and was built by the Babylonians, apparently in the sixth century B.C., as a defence against the Medes. It is supposed that the southern part of the wall was now in ruins. Such a supposition serves to explain (1) the need of the King's trench, and (2) the fact that Xenophon does not describe the wall here, but only in II. iv. 12.

Euphrates and are a parasang apart, and there are bridges over them.] This passage is regarded by edd. generally as an interpolation.
XENOPHON

δος στενή μεταξύ τού ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου ὡς
16 εἶκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὔρος. ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον
βασιλεὺς ποιεῖ μέγας ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ πυν-
θάνεται Κύρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτην 1 δὴ τὴν
πάροδον Κύρος τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρῆλθε καὶ
17 ἔγενοντο εἰς τῇ τῶν τάφρον. ταύτη μὲν οὖν τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχείσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωροῦν-
των φανερὰ ἦσαν καὶ ἔπτων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰχνῆ
18 πολλά. ἐνταῦθα Κύρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν
'Ἀμπρακίωτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς
τρισχίλιους, ὥστε τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ
πρότερον θυώμενος εἰπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὦ
μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κύρος δ' εἶπεν. Οὐκ ἀρα
ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέ-
ραις· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσῃς, ὑποχωροῦμαί σοι δέκα
tάλαντα. τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τὸτε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ
19 παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. ἔπει δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ
οὐκ ἐκώλυνε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρον στράτευμα
diabainein, ἐδοξε καὶ Κύρω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὡστε τῇ ὑστεραῖα
20 Κύρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένως μᾶλλον. τῇ δὲ
tρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἀρμάτου καθήμενος τὴν πορέιαν
ἔποιεῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἐξών πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸ
dὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῶν
ὄπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν ἠγοντο
καὶ ὑποξυγίων.

VIII. Καὶ ἦδη τε ἦν ἁμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν

1 ταύτην MSS.: ταύτη Gem., following Hartman.

1 It would seem that the rapid approach of Cyrus had prevented the King from completing the trench.
2 Hence 10 (Attic) talents = 3,000 (Persian) darics. A talent was 60 minas, and therefore a mina was counted
there was a narrow passage, not more than about twenty feet in width, between the river and the trench; and the trench had been constructed by the Great King as a means of defence when he learned that Cyrus was marching against him. Accordingly Cyrus and his army went through by the passage just mentioned, and so found themselves on the inner side of the trench. Now on that day the King did not offer battle, but tracks of both horses and men in retreat were to be seen in great numbers. Then Cyrus summoned Silanus, his Ambracian soothsayer, and gave him three thousand darics; for on the eleventh day before this, while sacrificing, he had told Cyrus that the King would not fight within ten days, and Cyrus had said: "Then he will not fight at all, if he will not fight within ten days; however, if your prediction proves true, I promise you ten talents." So it was this money that he then paid over, the ten days having passed. But since the King did not appear at the trench and try to prevent the passage of Cyrus' army, both Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had given up the idea of fighting. Hence on the following day Cyrus proceeded more carelessly; and on the third day he was making the march seated in his chariot and with only a small body of troops drawn up in line in front of him, while the greater part of the army was proceeding in disorder and many of the soldiers' arms and accoutrements were being carried in wagons and on pack-animals.

VIII. It was now about full-market time and the equivalent to 5 darics. The discrepancy between this result and the values stated previously (see notes on i. 9 and iv. 13) is explained by the fact that silver was worth much more at this time, relatively to gold, than at present.  

\(^3\) i.e. the middle of the forenoon.
καὶ πλησίου ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἐνθά ἐμελλε καταλύειν, ἦνικα Πατηγύας, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἄμφὶ Κύρῳν χρηστός, προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἰδροῦντι τῷ ἱππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πάσιν οἷς ἐνετύχανεν ἐβοᾶ καὶ βαρβαρίκως καὶ ἐλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεύς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς τάραχος ἐγένετο. 

2 αὐτίκα γὰρ ἔδοκον οἱ Ἑλληνες καὶ πάντες δὲ 

3 ἀτίκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. Κύρος τε κατα- 


πιθήκας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁρμάτου τὸν θώρακα ἐνεδύετο 

καὶ ἀνάβας ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόν τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας 

ἐλαβε, τοῖς τὲ ἀλλοῖς πάσιν παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλί- 

ζεσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν 

4 ἐκαστον. ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, 

Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ 

Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οὗ δὲ 

ἀλλοι μετὰ τούτων, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ 

5 εὐφόνυμον κέρας ἕσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. τοῦ δὲ 

βαρβαρικοῦ ἱππείς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους 

παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἐστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ 

Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐφόνυμῳ Ἀρι-. 


αῖν τὸ Κύρον ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἀλλὸ βαρβαρικόν, 

6 Κύρος δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς τοῦτον ὅσον ἔξακούσιοι κατὰ 

τὸ μέσον, ὁπλισμένοι θωράξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ 

παραμυρίδοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλῆν Κύρου. 

Κύρος δὲ ἴσην ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην 

1 καὶ . . . κέρας MSS.: τὸ στρατεύματος . . . κέρας Gem., 

following Fischer: Mar., after Bornemann, suspects καὶ τὸ 

στράτευμα. 

2 καὶ τὸ μέσον inserted by Leunclavius, whom Gem. and 

Mar. follow.
stopping-place where Cyrus was intending to halt had been almost reached, when Pategyas, a trusty Persian of Cyrus' staff, came into sight, riding at full speed, with his horse in a sweat, and at once shouted out to everyone he met, in the barbarian tongue and in Greek, that the King was approaching with a large army, all ready for battle. Then ensued great confusion; for the thought of the Greeks, and of all the rest in fact, was that he would fall upon them immediately, while they were in disorder; and Cyrus leaped down from his chariot, put on his breastplate, and then, mounting his horse, took his spears in his hands and passed the word to all the others to arm themselves and get into their places, every man of them. Thereupon they proceeded in great haste to take their places, Clearchus occupying the right end of the Greek wing, close to the Euphrates river, Proxenus next to him, and the others beyond Proxenus, while Menon and his army took the left end of the Greek wing. As for the barbarians, Paphlagonian horsemen to the number of a thousand took station beside Clearchus on the right wing, as did the Greek peltasts, on the left was Ariaeus, Cyrus' lieutenant, with the rest of the barbarian army, and in the centre Cyrus and his horsemen, about six hundred in number. These troopers were armed with breastplates and thigh-pieces and, all of them except Cyrus, with helmets—Cyrus, however, went into the battle with his

\[ i.e. \] the Greek army as a whole constituted the right wing of Cyrus' entire army, his Persian troops forming the centre and the left wing. Clearchus and Menon, then, occupy the right and left wings, respectively, of the Greek contingent.
XENOPHON

7 καθίστατο, ὁ δ' ἵπποι πάντες εἶχον καὶ προ-

μετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια: εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαῖ-

ρας οἱ ἵππεῖς Ἑλληνικᾶς.

8 Καὶ ἦδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὕτω καταφα-

νείς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι: ἥνικα δὲ δεῖλη ἐγίγνυτο,

ἐφάνη κονιορτός ὦσπερ νεφέλη λευκῆ, χρόνῳ δὲ

συχνῷ ὦστερον ὦσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ

ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνυτο, τάχα δὴ

καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε καὶ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ

9 τάξεις καταφανείς ἐγίγνυτο. καὶ ἦσαν ἵππεῖς

μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων.

Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν: ἐχόμενοι δὲ

γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλίται σὺν ποδὴρεῖ

ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν. Ἀγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο

εἶναι: ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξῶται. πάντες

δ' οὗτοι κατὰ ἐθνην ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων

10 ἔκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα

diaλείποντα συχνῶν ἀπ' ἄλληλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανη-

φόρα καλοῦμενα: εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν

ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς

dίφρους εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτω

ἐντυγχάνοιεν. ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὅσ εἰς τὰς τάξεις-

11 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλῶτα καὶ διακόψωτα. ὃ μέντοι

Κύρος εἶπεν ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς

1 After καθίστατο the MSS. have λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρας ψιλάς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. [In fact, it is said of the Persians in general that they venture all the perils of war with their heads unprotected.] This passage is bracketed by almost all edd., following Wyttenbach.
head unprotected—and all their horses had frontlets and breast-pieces; and the men carried, besides their other weapons, Greek sabres.

And now it was midday, and the enemy were not yet in sight; but when afternoon was coming on, there was seen a rising dust, which appeared at first like a white cloud, but some time later like a kind of blackness in the plain, extending over a great distance. As the enemy came nearer and nearer, there were presently flashes of bronze here and there, and spears and the hostile ranks began to come into sight. There were horsemen in white cuirasses on the left wing of the enemy, under the command, it was reported, of Tissaphernes; next to them were troops with wicker shields and, farther on, hoplites with wooden shields which reached to their feet, these latter being Egyptians, people said; and then more horsemen and more bowmen. All these troops were marching in national divisions, each nation in a solid square. In front of them were the so-called scythe-bearing chariots, at some distance from one another; and the scythes they carried reached out sideways from the axles and were also set under the chariot bodies, pointing towards the ground, so as to cut to pieces whatever they met; the intention, then, was that they should drive into the ranks of the Greeks and cut the troops to pieces. As for the statement, however, which Cyrus made when he called the Greeks together and urged them to hold out against the

2 After πάντες the MSS. have or μετὰ Κόρου: Gem. and Mar. bracket, following Schenkl.
3 ἐκαστόν...ἐπορεύετο MSS.: Gem., following Hartman, brackets ἐκαστόν τὸ ἔθνος and reads ἐπορεύοντο.
"Ελλησι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐφεύσθη τούτο: οὐ γὰρ κραυγὴ ἀλλὰ σιγὴ ὡς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἦσυχη ἐν ἱσῳ καὶ βραδεῷς προσήγαν.

12 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κὺρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πύργῳ τὸ ἐρμηνεῖ καὶ ἀλλοις τρισών ἡ τέτταρσι τῷ Κλέαρχῳ ἐβοᾷ ἀγείν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτ', ἐφη, νικῶμεν, πάνθρωπος ἡμῖν πεποίηται.

13 ὅρων δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ μέσον στὶφος καὶ ἀκοῦσιν Κὺρον ἐξοιοντα τοῦ εὐνωύμου βασιλέα—τοσοῦτον γὰρ πλήθει περὶ βασιλεὺς ὡστε μέσον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τοῦ Κὺρον εὐνωύμου ἐξος ἤν—ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἦθελεν ἀποσπᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβοῦμενος μὴ κυκλωθείν ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κὺρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι.

14 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὅμαλῶς προῆλθε, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐτήν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἐτὶ προσιόντων. καὶ ο Κὺρος παρελαύνων οὐ πάνω πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι κατεθάτε ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων εἰς τῆς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους.

15 ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ὡσιοφόρον Ἀθηναίος, πελάσας ὡς συναντήσαι ἤρετο εἰ τι παραγγέλλων: ὁ δὲ ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πάσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγμα καλὰ. ταύτα δὲ λέγων θορύβον ἦκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἱόντως, καὶ ἤρετο τὸς ἥρωβος εἰς. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σύνθεμα παρὲρχεται δεύ-

---
1 After τοῦ the MSS. have Ἑλληνικοῦ: Gem. brackets, following Hertlein.
2 Before εἶπεν the better MSS. have Κλέαρχος: Gem. and Mar. bracket, following Bornemann.
shouting of the barbarians, he proved to be mistaken in this point; for they came on, not with shouting, but in the utmost silence and quietness, with equal step and slowly.

At this moment Cyrus rode along the line, attended only by Pigres, his interpreter, and three or four others, and shouted to Clearchus to lead his army against the enemy’s centre, for the reason that the King was stationed there; “and if,” he said, “we are victorious there, our whole task is accomplished.” Clearchus, however, since he saw the compact body at the enemy’s centre and heard from Cyrus that the King was beyond his left wing (for the King was so superior in numbers that, although occupying the centre of his own line, he was beyond Cyrus’ left wing), was unwilling to draw the right wing away from the river, for fear that he might be turned on both flanks; and he told Cyrus, in reply, that he was taking care to make everything go well.

At this critical time the King’s army was advancing evenly, while the Greek force, still remaining in the same place, was forming its line from those who were still coming up. And Cyrus, riding along at some distance from his army, was taking a survey, looking in either direction, both at his enemies and his friends. Then Xenophon, an Athenian, seeing him from the Greek army, approached so as to meet him and asked if he had any orders to give; and Cyrus pulled up his horse and bade Xenophon tell everybody that the sacrificial victims and omens were all favourable. While saying this he heard a noise running through the ranks, and asked what the noise was. Xenophon replied that the watchword was now passing along

1 The author. He always speaks of himself in the third person.
XENOPHON

terov ἡδη. και ὃς ἐδαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει καὶ ἣρετο ὁ τι εἰη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ′ ἀπεκρίνατο. Ζεὺς
17 σωτήρ καὶ νίκη. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀκούσας Ἀλλὰ
dέχομαι τε, ἔφη, καὶ τούτο ἔστω. ταῦτα δ′ εἰπὼν
eἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν ἀπῆλαυνε.

Καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἡ τέτταρα στάδια διεισέκτην τῷ
φάλαγγε ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἡνίκα ἐπιανιζόν τε οἱ
"Ἐλλήνες καὶ ἤρχοντο αὐτοὶ ιέναι τοὺς πολεμίους.
18 ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινε τί τῆς φάλαγγος,
τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἤξιατο δρόμῳ θείω καὶ ἀμα
ἐφεύξαντο πάντες οἷον τῷ Ἐνυάλῳ ἐλείζουσιν,
καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δὲ ὃς τίνες 1 καὶ
ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν φόβον
19 ποιοῦντες τοὺς ὑποίοις. πρὶν δὲ τὸξεμὰ ἐξικνει-
σθαι ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ
ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ "Ἐλλήνες,
ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ θείων δρόμων, ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει
20 ἐπεσθαί. τὰ δ' ἁρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δὲ αὐτῶν
tῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων κενὰ
ἡμίχων. οἱ δ' ἔπει προϊδοιεν, διόσταντο. ἐστὶ δὲ
όστις καὶ κατελήφθη ὡσπερ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ ἑκπλα-
γείς καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἐφασαν,
οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ
ἐπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευ-
θήναι τίς ἔλεγετο.

21 Κύρος δ' ὡς τοὺς "Ἐλλήνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ'

1 δὲ ὃς τίνες Gem., following Becker: δὲ τίνες ὃς MSS.
ANABASIS, I. viii. 16–21

for the second time. And Cyrus wondered who had given it out, and asked what the watchword was. Xenophon replied "Zeus Saviour and Victory." And upon hearing this Cyrus said, "Well, I accept it, and so let it be." After he had said these words he rode back to his own position.

At length the opposing lines were not three or four stadia apart, and then the Greeks struck up the paean and began to advance against the enemy. And when, as they proceeded, a part of the phalanx billowed out, those who were thus left behind began to run; at the same moment they all set up the sort of war-cry which they raise to Enyalius, and all alike began running. It is also reported that some of them clashed their shields against their spears, thereby frightening the enemy's horses. And before an arrow reached them, the barbarians broke and fled. Thereupon the Greeks pursued with all their might, but shouted meanwhile to one another not to run at a headlong pace, but to keep their ranks in the pursuit. As for the enemy's chariots, some of them plunged through the lines of their own troops, others, however, through the Greek lines, but without charioteers. And whenever the Greeks saw them coming, they would open a gap for their passage; one fellow, to be sure, was caught, like a befuddled man on a race-course, yet it was said that even he was not hurt in the least, nor, for that matter, did any other single man among the Greeks get any hurt whatever in this battle, save that some one on the left wing was reported to have been hit by an arrow.

When Cyrus saw that the Greeks were victorious

1 i.e. back again, from the last man to the first.
2 i.e. Ares.
αὐτοῦς καὶ διώκοντας, ἢδομένος καὶ προσκυνοῦμενος ἤδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ, οὔτ' ὡς ἐξήκηθα διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἐαυτῷ ἐξακοσίων ἵππεων τάξιν ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅ τι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς. καὶ γὰρ ἦδει αὐτὸν 22 ὅτι μέσων ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγοῦνται, νομίζουν οὖτω καὶ εὖ ἀσφαλεστάτω εἶναι, ἣν ἢ ἡ ἴσχὺς αὐτῶν ἐκατερωθεί, καὶ εἰ τί παραγγεῖλαι χρῆσον, ἡμῖσει ἀν 23 χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στρατεύμα. καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιάς ὄμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐνύμου κέρατος. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχητο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὖν τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἐμπροσθεν, ἐπεκαμπτεν ὡς εἰς κύκλωσιν.

24 Ἂνθ' ἂν Κύρος δεῖσας μὴ ὁπίσθεν γενόμενος κατακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν τοῖς ἐξακοσίοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλεῶς τεταγμένους καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἐξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτείναι λέγεται αὕτω τῇ 25 ἐαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἡ τροπή ἐγένετο, διασπείρωται καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἐξακόσιοι εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὀρμήσαντες, πλὴν πάνω ὄλγοι ἀμφ' αὐτῶν κατελείφθησαν, σχέδου οἱ 26 ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὁ παθ. ορὰ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στίφος· καὶ εὔθυς οὖν ἥνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν Τὸν ἄνδρα ὁ ῥώ
over the division opposite them and were in pursuit, although he was pleased and was already being saluted with homage as King by his attendants, he nevertheless was not induced to join the pursuit, but, keeping in close formation the six hundred horsemen of his troop, he was watching to see what the King would do. For he knew that the King held the centre of the Persian army; in fact, all the generals of the barbarians hold their own centre when they are in command, for they think that this is the safest position, namely, with their forces on either side of them, and also that if they want to pass along an order, the army will get it in half the time; so in this instance the King held the centre of the army under his command, but still he found himself beyond the left wing of Cyrus. Since, then, there was no one in his front to give battle to him or to the troops drawn up before him, he proceeded to wheel round his line with the intention of encircling the enemy.

Thereupon Cyrus, seized with fear lest he might get in the rear of the Greek troops and cut them to pieces, charged to meet him; and attacking with his six hundred, he was victorious over the forces stationed in front of the King and put to flight the six thousand,\(^1\) slaying with his own hand, it is said, their commander Artagerses. But when they turned to flight, Cyrus' six hundred, setting out in pursuit, became scattered also, and only a very few were left about him, chiefly his so-called table companions. While attended by these only, he caught sight of the King and the compact body around him; and on the instant he lost control of himself and, with

\(^1\) See vii. 11.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

"Ευτο ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ παιεῖ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὃς φησὶ Κτησίας ὁ ἱατρός, καὶ ἵσασθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραύμα φησὶ.

27 Παῖοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύρος καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκατέρρου, ὀπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἄμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθυψενοι Κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὡκτῶ οἱ ἀριστοὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ ἐτ' αὐτῷ. Ἀρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα εἰς Κύρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν φασὶ βασιλεὰς κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δ' ἐαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην· ἐκεῖ γὰρ χρυσοῦν καὶ στρεπτὸν δ' ἐφορεῖ καὶ ψέλια καὶ τάλλα ὥστε οἱ ἀριστοὶ Περσῶν· ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δὴ εὐνοιάν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

IX. Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ δὲν Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κύρου τὸν ἀρχαιὸν γενομένων βασιλικώτατος τε καὶ ἀρχεῖν ἄξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὠμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκοῦντων ἐν 2 πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. πρὸτον μὲν γὰρ ἐτί παῖς δὲν ὁτ' ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἄδελφῳ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀλλοίς παισί, πάντων πάντα κράτιστοι ἐνομίζετο. 3 πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ

1 Before καὶ Gem. inserts δ's, following Buttmann.
the cry "I see the man," rushed upon him and struck him in the breast and wounded him through his breastplate—as Ctesias¹ the physician says, adding also that he himself healed the wound.

While Cyrus was delivering his stroke, however, some one hit him a hard blow under the eye with a javelin; and then followed a struggle between the King and Cyrus and the attendants who supported each of them. The number that fell on the King's side is stated by Ctesias, who was with him; on the other side, Cyrus himself was killed and eight of the noblest of his attendants lay dead upon him. Of Artapates, the one among Cyrus' chamberlains who was his most faithful follower, it is told that when he saw Cyrus fallen, he leaped down from his horse and threw his arms about him. And one report is that the King ordered someone to slay him upon the body of Cyrus, while others say that he drew his dagger and slew himself with his own hand; for he had a dagger of gold, and he also wore a necklace and bracelets and all the other ornaments that the noblest Persians wear; for he had been honoured by Cyrus because of his affection and fidelity.

IX. In this way, then, Cyrus came to his end, a man who was the most kingly and the most worthy to rule of all the Persians who have been born since Cyrus the Elder, as all agree who are reputed to have known Cyrus intimately. For firstly, while he was still a boy and was being educated with his brother and the other boys, he was regarded as the best of them all in all respects. For all the sons of the noblest Persians are educated at the King's

¹ See note on vii. 11.
ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ένθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἃν τις, αἴσχρον δὲ
4 οὐδέν οὔτ' ἀκούσαι οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. θεώνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ
ἀκούσαι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὔθυς παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἅρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.
5 ἐνθα Κύρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἔδοκεν εἰναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ
tῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, ἐπειτα δὲ φιλισπότατος καὶ τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἀριστα
χρῆσθαι· ἐκρινὼν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πό-
λεμον ἔργον, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἄκουσίσεως, φιλομα-
6 θέστατον εἰναί καὶ μελετηρότατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ
ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἢν καὶ πρὸς
τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκενδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον
ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσόν
κατεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπαθεῖν,
ὀν καὶ τὰς ὀφειλαὶ εἶχεν, τέλος δὲ κατέκαυν: καὶ
tὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακα-
ριστῶς ἐποιήσεν.
7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σα-
τράτης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ
Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπε-
deίχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἄθροι-
ξεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτῶν ὅτι περὶ
πλείστου ποιότο, εἰ τῷ σπείσαιτο καὶ εἰ τῷ
συνθότο καὶ εἰ τῷ ύπόσχοιτο τι, μηδαμῶς.

1 After τιμωμένουs Gem. inserts ἐνίους.
2 μηδαμῶς Gem., following Hug: μηδὲν MSS.
ANABASIS, I. ix. 3–7

court. There one may learn discretion and self-control in full measure, and nothing that is base can be either heard or seen. The boys have before their eyes the spectacle of men honoured by the King and of others dishonoured; they likewise hear of them; and so from earliest boyhood they are learning how to rule and how to submit to rule. Here, then, Cyrus was reputed to be, in the first place, the most modest of his fellows, and even more obedient to his elders than were his inferiors in rank; secondly, the most devoted to horses and the most skilful in managing horses; he was also adjudged the most eager to learn, and the most diligent in practising, military accomplishments, alike the use of the bow and of the javelin. Then, when he was of suitable age, he was the fondest of hunting and, more than that, the fondest of incurring danger in his pursuit of wild animals. On one occasion, when a bear charged upon him, he did not take to flight, but grappled with her and was dragged from his horse; he received some injuries, the scars of which he retained, but in the end he killed the bear; and, furthermore, the man who was the first to come to his assistance he made an object of envy to many.

Again, when he was sent down\(^1\) by his father to be satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia and was also appointed commander of all the troops whose duty it is to muster in the plain of Castolus, he showed, in the first place, that he counted it of the utmost importance, when he concluded a treaty or compact with anyone or made anyone any promise, under no circumstances to prove false to his

\(^1\) See Introd., p. 231, note 1; also i. 2.
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΩΝ

8 ψεύδεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευν μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἰ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπεισαμένου Κύρου ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἀν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς παθεῖν.

9 τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκούσαι Κύρου εἶλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὕτω δὲ ὦκ ήθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ ἐλεγεν ὦκ ᾧν ποτε προϊότο, ἐπεὶ ἄπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὔδ᾽ εἰ ἐτι μὲν μείονς γένοιτο, ἐτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν.

10 Φανέρὸς δ᾽ ἦν καὶ εἰ τίς τι ἄγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτῶν, νικᾶν πειρόμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δὲ τινες αὐτοῦ ἔξεφερον ὡς εὐχοίτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ξῆν ἐστε νικώῃ καὶ τοὺς εὗ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦντας ἀλεξόμενος. καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλεῖστοι δὴ αὐτῷ ἐνι γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι. οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾿ ἀν τις εἰποὺ ὡς τους κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἰς καταγελᾶν, ἀλλὰ ἀφειδεστὰ πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο· πολλάκις δ᾽ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στείβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὡστ᾽ ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἠλληνι καὶ

1 Before καὶ Gem. inserts ὁ.
It was for this reason, then, that the cities trusted him and put themselves under his protection, and that individuals also trusted him; and if anyone had been an enemy, when Cyrus made a treaty with him he trusted that he would suffer no harm in violation of that treaty. Consequently, when he came to hostilities with Tissaphernes, all the cities of their own accord chose Cyrus rather than Tissaphernes, with the exception of Miletus; and the reason why the Milesians feared him was, that he would not prove false to the exiles from their city. For he showed repeatedly, by deed as well as by word, that he would never abandon them when once he had come to be their friend, not even if they should become still fewer in number and should meet with still worse misfortune.

It was manifest also that whenever a man conferred any benefit upon Cyrus or did him any harm, he always strove to outdo him; in fact, some people used to report it as a prayer of his that he might live long enough to outdo both those who benefited and those who injured him, returning like for like. Hence it was that he had a greater following than any other one man of our time of friends who eagerly desired to entrust to him both treasure and cities and their very bodies. Yet, on the other hand, none could say that he permitted malefactors and wicked men to laugh at him; on the contrary, he was merciless to the last degree in punishing them, and one might often see along the travelled roads people who had lost feet or hands or eyes; thus in Cyrus' province it became possible for either Greek or barbarian, provided he were guilty of no

---

1 See i. 6 fn. 2 See i. 7 and ii. 2.
XENOPHON

βαρβάρω μηδὲν ἄδικοντι ἄδεως πορεύεσθαι ὅπῃ τις ἠθελεν, ἔχοντι ὁ τι προχωροῖ.

14 Τοὺς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὁμολογητο διαφέροντως τιμῶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἢν αὐτῷ πόλεμος πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσσοὺς στρατεύο-μενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταῦτας τὰς χώρας, οὖς ἔωρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἡς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἑτίμα: ὡστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δοῦλους τούτων ἄξιοισθαί 1 εἰναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλῆ ἢν ἄφθονια αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπων τις οἴοιτο Κύρων αἰσθήσεται. εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἰ τις φαινορ γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλου- σιωτέρους ζῇν ποιεῖν 2 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αἴδους φιλοκερ-

17 δοῦντων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαιῶς αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρῆστο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, οἱ χρημάτων ἐνεκα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπλέυσαν, ἐγνωσαν κερδαλέωτερον εἶναι Κύρω καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν 3. 

18 ἡ το κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. ἄλλα μὴν εἰ γε τίς τι αὐτῷ προστάζουν καλῶς υπηρετήσειν, οὐδὲν πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶας τὴν προθυμίαν. τοι-

γαροῦν δὴ κράτιστοι υπηρέται παντὸς ἔργον Κύρω ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι.

19 Εἰ δὲ τινα ὀργὴν δεινὸν οὐτα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατασκευάζοντα τε ἡς ἀρχοι χώρας

1 The text is uncertain: Mar. follows, though doubtfully, the MSS. reading άξιούσθαι: Gem., following Schenkl, has άξιος.

2 πλουσιωτέρους ζῇν ποιεῖν (καί., following Hug: πλουσιω-

326
wrongdoing, to travel fearlessly wherever he wished, carrying with him whatever it was to his interest to have.

But it was the brave in war, as all agree, whom he honoured especially. For example, he was once at war with the Pisidians and Mysians and commanded in person an expedition into their territories; and whomsoever in his army he found willing to meet dangers, these men he would not only appoint as rulers of the territory he was subduing, but would honour thereafter with other gifts also. Thus the brave were seen to be most prosperous, while cowards were deemed fit to be their slaves. Consequently Cyrus had men in great abundance who were willing to meet danger wherever they thought that he would observe them. As for uprightness, if a man showed that he desired to distinguish himself in that quality, Cyrus considered it all important to enable such an one to live in greater opulence than those who were greedy of unjust gain. Hence he not only had many and various functions performed for him with fidelity, but, in particular, he secured the services of an army worthy of the name. For generals and captains who came overseas to serve him for the sake of money judged that loyal obedience to Cyrus was worth more to them than their mere monthly pay. Again, so surely as a man performed with credit any service that he assigned him, Cyrus never let his zeal go unrewarded. In consequence, he was said to have gained the very best supporters for every undertaking.

Furthermore, whenever he saw that a man was a skilful and just administrator, not only organizing

\[ \text{πειθαρχεῖν MSS.: ὑπάρχειν Gem., following Hug.} \]
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἀν πώποτε ἀφεῖλετο, ἀλλ’ ἦεὶ πλεῖω προσεδίδον· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως ἐκτώντο καὶ ὁ ἐπέπατο αὐτὶς ἰκιστα Ὀκοὺν ἐκρυπτεῖν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερῶς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρῆμασι.

20) Φίλους γε μήν, ὅσους ποιήσαιτο καὶ εὑνοὺς γνοῖον ὁντάς καὶ ἰκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὅ τι τυγχάνοι βουλόμενοι κατεργάζονται, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν.

21) καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐνέκα φίλων ὅτε δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοὺς ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου ὅτου αἰσθάνοιτο ἐκαστὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα. δῶρα δὲ πλείστα μὲν οἴμαι εἰς ἄνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλά· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μᾶλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἐκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου μᾶλιστα ὀρφή ἐκαστὸν δεόμενον. καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ πέμποι τὶς ἡ ώς εἰς πόλεμον ἡ ὃς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐφασαν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐαυτοῦ σῶμα ὅπειρο ἀν ὑπάρχει τούτοις πάσι κοσμηθήναι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμου ἀνδρὶ νομίζωι. καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικῶν τοὺς φίλους εὑ ποιοῦντα νοῦν θαυμάσιον, ἐπειδῆ γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι

328
ANABASIS, I. ix. 19–24

well the country over which he ruled, but producing revenues, he would never deprive such a man of territory, but would always give him more besides. The result was that they toiled with pleasure and accumulated with confidence, and, more than that, no one would conceal from Cyrus the store which he had acquired; for it was clear that he did not envy those who were frankly and openly rich, but strove to make use of the possessions of such as tried to conceal their wealth.

As to friends, all agree that he showed himself pre-eminent in his attentions to all the friends that he made and found devoted to him and adjudged to be competent co-workers in whatever he might be wishing to accomplish. For, just as the precise object for which he thought he needed friends himself was that he might have co-workers, so he tried on his own part to be a most vigorous co-worker with his friends to secure that which he found each one of them desired. Again, he received more gifts, I presume, than any other one man, and for many reasons; and surely he of all men distributed gifts most generously among his friends, with an eye to the tastes of each one and to whatever particular need he noted in each case. As for all the gifts which people sent him to wear upon his person, whether intended for war or merely for show, it is reported that he said of them that his own person could not be adorned with all these things, but that in his opinion friends nobly adorned were a man's greatest ornament. To be sure, the fact that he outdid his friends in the greatness of the benefits he conferred is nothing surprising, for the manifest reason that he had greater means than they; but that he surpassed

329
XENOPHON

tων φίλων καὶ τῷ προθυμείσθαι χαρίζεσθαι, ταύτα ἐμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστά εἶναι. Κύρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἶνον ἠμιδεῖς πολλάκις ὡστε πάνω ἱδών λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὔπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῦτον ἱδίον οὖν ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοι ἔπεμψε καὶ δεῖται σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπειρεῖν σὺν οἷς μᾶλιστα φιλεῖς. πολλάκις δὲ χήνας ἠμβρῶτους ἔπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαύτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα· Τούτοις ἦσθι Κύρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τοῦτον γεύσασθαι. ὅπου δὲ χίλδος σπάνιος πάνω εἶ, αὐτὸς δὲ δύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἁγουσιν ἵππους ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλόν, ὅσα μὴ πεινώντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἁγωσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαίολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖ ὅσος τιμᾶ. ὡστε ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω, οὔδενα κρῖνον ὑπὸ πλείονων πεφιλήσθαι οὔτε Ἐλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δεῖ· παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὅντος οὐδεὶς ἀπήει πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν 'Ορόντας ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὕτος δὴ ὃν ψεῖ τοιοῦτον οἱ εἰναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν ἡρέμη Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον ἡ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κύρον ἀπήλθουν, ἐπειδὴ πολέμουι
them in solicitude and in eagerness to do favours, this in my opinion is more admirable. For example, when Cyrus got some particularly good wine, he would often send the half-emptied jar to a friend with the message: "Cyrus says that he has not chanced upon better wine than this for a long time; so he sends it to you, and asks you to drink it up today in company with the friends you love best." So he would often send halves of geese and of loaves and so forth, instructing the bearer to add the message: "Cyrus enjoyed this, and therefore wants you also to take a taste of it." And wherever fodder was exceedingly scarce and he was able to get it for his own use because of the large number of his servants and because of his good planning, he would distribute this fodder among his friends and tell them to give it to the horses that carried their own bodies, that they might not be hungry while carrying his friends. And whenever he was on the march and was likely to be seen by very many people, he would call his friends to him and engage them in earnest conversation, in order to show whom he honoured. Hence, as I at least conclude from what comes to my ears, no man, Greek or barbarian, has ever been loved by a greater number of people. Here is a fact to confirm that conclusion: although Cyrus was a slave,¹ no one deserted him to join the King, save that Orontas attempted to do so (and he, mark you, speedily found out that the man he imagined was faithful to him, was more devoted to Cyrus than to him); on the other hand, many went over from the King to Cyrus after the two had become enemies

¹ A term habitually applied by the Greeks to the subjects of an absolute monarch, especially those of the Persian king.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

αλλήλους ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἄγαπῶμενοι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κῦρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιωτέρας ἃν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῶν γενόμενον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὅρθως ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὗνοις καὶ βεβαιοὺς. ἀποθυσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ φίλοι καὶ συντραπεζοὶ ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ύπὲρ Κῦρου πλὴν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων· ὡς δὲ ἠσθετο Κῦρον πεπτωκότα, ἐφυγεν ἡχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οὔ ἤγετο.

X. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κῦρον ἀποτέμενται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ἡ χείρ ἡ δεξιά. βασιλεὺς δὲ διώκων εἰσπέπτει εἰς τὸ Κῦρειον στρατόπεδον καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἱστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατόπεδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἐκθέν ἐσθεν 2 ὧρμῶντος τέταρτας δὲ ἐλέγοντο παρασώγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὀδοῦ. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι καὶ τὴν Φωκάδα τὴν Κῦρον παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγο-μένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἡ νεώτερα 3 ληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἐλλήνων οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ὡπλα ἔχουσεν καὶ ἀντιπαχέντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρπαξόντων ὑπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον οὐ μὴν ἐφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην

1 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἄγαπῶμενοι MSS.: ἐν τοῖς ἄγαμοι Gem., following Dindorf. 2 ἐσθεν inserted by Gem. 3 ἡ νεώτερα Mar. with the inferior MSS.: the better MSS. read ἡ νεώτερα ἡ, which words, with Μιλήσια, Gem. brackets, following Lincke.
ANABASIS, I. ix. 29–x. 3

(these being, moreover, the men who were most highly regarded by the King), because they thought that if they were deserving, they would gain a worthier reward with Cyrus than with the King. Furthermore, what happened to Cyrus at the end of his life is a strong indication that he was a true man himself and that he knew how to judge those who were faithful, devoted, and constant. When he died, namely, all his bodyguard of friends and table companions died fighting in his defence, with the exception of Ariaeus; he, it chanced, was stationed on the left wing at the head of the cavalry, and when he learned that Cyrus had fallen, he took to flight with the whole army that he commanded.

X. Then the head of Cyrus and his right hand were cut off. But the King, pursuing Ariaeus, burst into the camp of Cyrus; and Ariaeus and his men no longer stood their ground, but fled through their own camp to the stopping-place from which they had set out that morning, a distance, it was said, of four parasangs. So the King and his troops proceeded to secure plunder of various sorts in abundance, while in particular he captured the Phocaean woman, Cyrus' concubine, who, by all accounts, was clever and beautiful. The Milesian woman, however, the younger one, after being seized by the King's men made her escape, lightly clad, to some Greeks who had chanced to be standing guard amid the baggage train and, forming themselves in line against the enemy, had killed many of the plunderers, although some of their own number had been killed also; nevertheless, they did not take to flight, but they saved this woman and, furthermore, whatever
XENOPHON

ἔσωσαν καὶ τάλλα, ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο, πάντα ἔσωσαν.

4 Ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἄλληλων βασιλεύς τε καὶ οἱ Ἑλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς πάντας 1 νικῶντες, οἱ δ' ἀρ-5 πάξιντες ὡς ἣδη πάντες 2 νικῶντες. ἔπει δ' ἧσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες ὡς τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἰὴ, βασιλεὺς δ' αὐ ἦκουσε Τισσαφέρνους ὡς τοῖς Ἑλληνες νικῷν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἰ-χονται διώκοντες, ἔνθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τῷ τοῦ ἐντὸ καὶ συντάττεται, ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας, πλησιάτατος γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιεν τινας ἡ πάντες ᾽οιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρα-6 τόπεδον ἀρήξιντες. 3 ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δήλος ἦν προσιών πάλιν, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὀπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτης προσιώντο καὶ δεξόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτη μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἢ δὲ παρῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐω-νύμου κέρατος ταύτη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς 4 τοὺς Ἑλληνας αὐτομολή-

1 πάντας MSS. except C 1, Mar.: Gem. brackets ὡς . . . νικῶντες, following Dobree.
2 πάντες MSS. except C 1, Mar.: πάνται C 1, Gem.
3 ἡ πάντες ᾽οιεν . . . ἀρήξιντες MSS. except C 1, Mar.: ὡς παντὶ σθένει . . . ἀρήξιντες Gem., following Hug.
4 πρὸς the inferior MSS., Mar.: κατὰ the better MSS., Gem.: Gem., however, following Schenkl, brackets κατὰ . . . Ἑλληνας.

334
else came within their lines, whether persons or property, they saved all alike.

At this time the King and the Greeks were distant from one another about thirty stadia, the Greeks pursuing the troops in their front, in the belief that they were victorious over all the enemy, the King and his followers plundering, in the belief that they were all victorious already. When, however, the Greeks learned that the King and his forces were in their baggage train, and the King, on the other hand, heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks were victorious over the division opposite them and had gone on ahead in pursuit, then the King proceeded to gather his troops together and form them in line of battle, and Clearchus called Proxenus (for he was nearest him in the line) and took counsel with him as to whether they should send a detachment or go in full force to the camp, for the purpose of lending aid. Meanwhile the Greeks saw the King advancing again, as it seemed, from their rear, and they accordingly countermarched and made ready to meet his attack in case he should advance in that direction; the King, however, did not do so, but returned by the same route he had followed before, when he passed outside of Cyrus' left wing, and in his return picked up not only those who had deserted to the Greeks during the battle,

1 The Greeks had advanced straight forward from their position on the right wing and the King straight forward from his centre (which was beyond the left wing of Cyrus' entire, i.e. Greek and barbarian, army); hence the two had passed by one another at a considerable distance. The question now was, whether the King on his return march would move obliquely, so as to meet the Greeks, or would follow the same route by which he advanced, thus keeping clear of them again.
σαντας και Τισσαφέρνη και τους συν αυτῷ.
7 ὃ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τούς Ἐλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύων δὲ κατεκανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δὲ οἱ Ἐλληνες ἔπαινον καὶ Ἥκοντιζον αὐτούς. Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἤρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. ὃ δ᾽ οὐν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐκεῖ συντυχάναι βασίλεις, καὶ ὁμοῖ ὅπ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο.
8 Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἐλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἐλληνες μὴ προσώγουειν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειν καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὁπίσθεν τῶν ποταμῶν. ἐν δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ ὅ βασιλεὺς παραμενεψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα ὡσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχούμενος συνῆε. ὃς δὲ εἰδὼν οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐγνώς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθίς παιανίσαντες ἐπήγαγαν

---

1 See viii. 4–5.
2 At this point the fronts of the two armies—which were facing in opposite directions, and, further, each in the direction opposite to that which it took in the first encounter—were in approximately the same straight line. It should be noted that Xenophon means by “the left wing” of the Greeks that which had been the left wing in the original formation, but had now become the right.

336
but also Tissaphernes and his troops. For Tissaphernes had not taken to flight in the first encounter, but had charged along the river through the Greek peltasts; he did not kill anyone in his passage, but the Greeks, after opening a gap for his men, proceeded to deal blows and throw javelins upon them as they went through. The commander of the Greek peltasts was Episthenes of Amphipolis, and it was said that he proved himself a sagacious man. At any rate, after Tissaphernes had thus come off with the worst of it, he did not wheel round again, but went on to the camp of the Greeks and there fell in with the King; so it was that, after forming their lines once more, they were proceeding together.

When they were over against the left wing of the Greeks, the latter conceived the fear that they might advance against that wing and, by outflanking them on both sides, cut them to pieces; they thought it best, therefore, to draw the wing back and get the river in their rear. But while they were taking counsel about this matter, the King had already changed his line of battle to the same form as theirs and brought it into position opposite them, just as when he had met them for battle the first time. And when the Greeks saw that the enemy were near them and in battle-order, they again struck up the paean and advanced to the attack much more eagerly.

The Greek line was now, as in the beginning, at right angles to the Euphrates. The movement here described would (if executed) have made it parallel to the river, the latter serving as a defence in the rear.

Xenophon seems to mean that the King now moved to the right until his flank (like that of the Greeks—see the preceding notes) rested upon the Euphrates. The two armies, therefore, were again squarely facing one another, though with positions relatively reversed (see note 2 above).
XENOPHON

11 πολὺ προθυμοτερον ἡ πρόσθεν. οἱ δὲ αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλὰ ἐκ πλέονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἐφευγον. οἱ δὲ ἔπεδιώκων μέχρι κώμης τυόσ.

12 ἔνταυθα δὲ ἔστησαν οἱ "Ελληνες. ύπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κώμης γῆλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὐ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλεὰ, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἰππέων ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὡστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γιγνώσκειν. καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν ἀιτεῖν τίνα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτη ἐπὶ ξύλου ¹ ἀνατεταμένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταυθ' ἔχωρον οἱ "Ελληνες, λείπονσι δὴ καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἵππεῖς· οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἄθροοι ἀλλ' ἀλλοι ἀλλοθεν· ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἰππέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. ὃ οὐν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στήσας τὸ στρατεύμα πέμπει Δύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει καταδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου τί ἐστιν ἀπαγγείλαι. καὶ ὁ Δύκιος ἡλασέ τε καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. σχέδον δ' ὅτε ταύτα ἦν καὶ ἠλίος ἐδύτο. Ἐνταυθ' δὲ ἔστησαν. οἱ "Ελληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὀπλα ἄνεπαινοντο· καὶ ἀμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐδαμοὶ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο οὐδ' ἀλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲς παρήει· οὐ γὰρ ἤδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθυνκότα, ἀλλ' εἰκαζόν η διωκόντα οὐχεσθαι ἤ καταλήψω· μενὸν τι προεληλικέναι· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ αὐτοῦ μείναντες τὰ σκευόφρα ἐνταύθα ἤγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἀμφὶ δορπηστόν ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς. ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ

¹ ἐπὶ ξύλου MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Cobet: Mar. regards as corrupt.

338
than before; and the barbarians once again failed to await the attack, but took to flight when at a greater distance from the Greeks than they were the first time. The Greeks pursued as far as a certain village, and there they halted; for above the village was a hill, upon which the King and his followers rallied; and they were not now foot-soldiers, but the hill was covered with horsemen, so that the Greeks could not perceive what was going on. They did see, they said, the royal standard, a kind of golden eagle on a shield, raised aloft upon a pole. But when at this point also the Greeks resumed their forward movement, the horsemen at once proceeded to leave the hill; they did not keep together, however, as they went, but scattered in different directions; so the hill became gradually cleared of the horsemen, till at last they were all gone. Clearchus, accordingly, did not lead the army up the hill, but halted at its foot and sent Lycius the Syracusan and another man to the summit, directing them to observe what was beyond the hill and report back to him. And Lycius, after riding up and looking, brought back word that the enemy were in headlong flight. At about this time the sun set.

Then the Greeks halted, grounded arms, and proceeded to rest themselves. At the same time they wondered that Cyrus was nowhere to be seen and that no one else had come to them from him; for they did not know that he was dead, but conjectured that he had either gone off in pursuit or pushed on to occupy some point. So they took counsel for themselves as to whether they should remain where they were and bring the baggage train thither, or return to their camp. The decision was to return, and they reached their tents about supper-time. Such
τέλος ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνονσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα διηρπασμένα καὶ εἰ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἢν, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἶνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος, ἣν εἰ ποτε σφόδρα τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἐνδεια, διαδιδοῖ τοῖς "Ἑλλησίων—ὁσαν δὲ αὐται τετρακόσιαι, ὡς ἐλέγοντο, ἀμαξὶ—καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν 19 βασιλεῖ διηρπασαν. ὡστε ἀδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλύσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἀριστὸν βασιλεὺς ἔφανη. ταύτην μὲν οὐν τὴν νύκτα οὔτω διεγένοντο.
was the conclusion of this day. They found most of
their property pillaged, in particular whatever there
was to eat or drink, and as for the wagons loaded
with flour and wine which Cyrus had provided in
order that, if ever serious need should overtake the
army, he might have supplies to distribute among
the Greeks (and there were four hundred of these
wagons, it was said), these also the King and his
men had now pillaged. The result was that most of
the Greeks had no dinner; and they had had no
breakfast, either, for the King had appeared before
the time when the army was to halt for breakfast.
Thus it was, then, that they got through this
night.
BOOK II
2 Ι. "Αμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἔθαυμαζον ὅτι Κύρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμπει σημα-νοῦντα ὅ τι χρή ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἐδοξεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευασμένοις ὃ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισμένοις προϊέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔως Κύρῳ ςυμμείξειαν. ἦδη δὲ ἐν ὀρμῇ ὄντων ἀμα ἡλίῳ ἀνέχοντι ἠλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγονὼς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Δάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμώ. οὕτω εἶλεγον ὅτι Κύρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, 'Αριαῖος δὲ πεφυγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶνη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων οθέν τῇ προτεραιᾷ ὄρ-μόντο, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένοντι αὐτοὺς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπείραι φαίνῃ ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὃθενπερ ἠλθε. ταῦτα

1 The MSS. here prefix the following summary of the preceding narrative (see translation on opposite page): 'Ὤς μὲν οὖν ἡροίοις Κύρῳ τὸ 'Ελληνικὸν ὄτε ἡπὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀρτακέρης ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ οὕτω οὗ τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράξῃ καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς Κύρος ἐστηλεύησε καὶ ὡς ἡπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠλθόντες ὁ 'Ελληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἴομενοι τὰ πάντα νυκᾶν καὶ Κύρον ζῶν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδίδοταί. A like introduction is prefixed to each of the following books except the sixth. All these summaries must have been the work of a late editor.
BOOK II

I. 1 At daybreak the generals came together, and they wondered that Cyrus neither sent anyone else to tell them what to do nor appeared himself. They resolved, accordingly, to pack up what they had, arm themselves, and push forward until they should join forces with Cyrus. When they were on the point of setting out, and just as the sun was rising, came Procles, the ruler of Teuthrania, a descendant of Damaratus, 2 the Laconian, and with him Glus, the son of Tamos. They reported that Cyrus was dead, and that Ariaeus had fled and was now, along with the rest of the barbarians, at the stopping-place from which they had set out on the preceding day; further, he sent word that he and his troops were that day waiting for the Greeks, on the chance that they intended to join them, but on the next day, so Ariaeus said, he should set out on the return journey for Ionia, whence he had come. The generals upon

1 Summary (see opposite page): The preceding narrative has described how a Greek force was collected for Cyrus at the time when he was planning an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what events took place during the upward march, how the battle was fought, how Cyrus met his death, and how the Greeks returned to their camp and lay down to rest, supposing that they were victorious at all points and that Cyrus was alive.

2 A king of Sparta who was deposed in 491 B.C., fled to Persia, and afterwards accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. Teuthrania (in western Asia Minor) made part of the territory given him by Xerxes as a reward for this service.
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἐλληνες πυθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε εἰπεν. Ἄλλα ὠφελε μὲν Κύρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ὑπαγέλλετε Ἀριαῖοι ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν τε βασιλέα καὶ, ὥς ὀράτε, οὔδεις ἐτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἠλθετε, ἐπορεύομεθα ἀν ἑπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαῖοι, ἐὰν ἐνθάδε ἐλθῇ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασίλειον καθιεῖν αὐτῶν τῶν γὰρ μάχην νικώντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν 5 ἐστί. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θεταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου.

6 Οἱ μὲν ὥστε, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιεμένεσι τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῖτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν ὑποξυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δὲ ἐχρώντω μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαινας οὐ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὕς ἡνάγακζον οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολούντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίαις ταῖς Ἁγιπτίαις· 7 πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἀμαξὶς ἰσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρωμενοι κρέα ἔφουτες ἡσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.

Καὶ ἦδη τε ἦν ἡμῖν πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰς καὶ ἐρχοῦται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέριους κήρυκες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν Φαλίνοι εἰς Ἐλλην, ὃς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέριν ὑμῖν.
ANABASIS, II. i. 4-7

hearing this message, and the rest of the Greeks as they learned of it, were greatly distressed. Clearchus, however, said: "Well, would that Cyrus were alive! but since he is dead, carry back word to Ariaeus that, for our part, we have defeated the King, that we have no enemy left, as you see, to fight with, and that if you had not come, we should now be marching against the King. And we promise Ariaeus that, if he will come here, we will set him upon the royal throne; for to those who are victorious in battle belongs also the right to rule." With these words he sent back the messengers, sending with them Cheirisophus the Laconian and Menon the Thessalian; for this was Menon's own wish, inasmuch as he was an intimate and guest-friend of Ariaeus.

So they went off, and Clearchus awaited their return; meanwhile the troops provided themselves with food as best they could, by slaughtering oxen and asses of the baggage train. As for fuel, they went forward a short distance from their line to the place where the battle was fought and used for that purpose not only the arrows, many in number, which the Greeks had compelled all who deserted from the King to throw away, but also the wicker shields and the wooden Egyptian shields; there were likewise many light shields and wagons that they could carry off, all of them abandoned. These various things, then, they used for fuel, and so boiled meat and lived on it for that day.¹

And now it was about full-market time,² and heralds arrived from the King and Tissaphernes, all of them barbarians except one, a Greek named Phalinus, who, as it chanced, was with Tissaphernes

¹ See note on i. v. 6. ² See note on i. viii. 1.
καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφί τάξεως τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν.
8 οὕτω δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἅρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλέως κελεύει τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἐτεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτωνε, παραδόντας τὰ ὀπλα ἱόντας ἐπὶ βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἃν τι δύνωνται
9 ἁγαθὸν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνες βαρέως μὲν ἦκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἶν τὰ ὀπλα παραδιδόνας ἄλλ᾿ ἐφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς στρατηγοὶ, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὅ τι κάλλιστον τε καὶ ἁριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἦξω. ἐκάλεσε γὰρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἰδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυμενος.
10 Ἔνθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἀρκάς, πρεσβύτατος ὃν, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἄν ἀποθάγοιεν ἡ τὰ ὀπλα παραδόιησαν· Προξενὸς δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἀλλ᾿ ἐγώ, ἐφη, ὃς Φαλίνι, θαυμαῖς πότερα ὡς κρατῶν βασιλέως αἰτεῖ τὰ ὀπλα ἡ ὡς διὰ φιλίαν δόρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἔλθοντα; εἰ δὲ πεῖσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἐσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν
11 αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωσιν. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλίνος ἐπε· Βασιλέως νικῶν ἡγεῖται, ἐπεῖ Κύρον ἀπεκτείνε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστίν ὅστις τῆς ἁρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτῷ χώρᾳ καὶ ποταμῶν

1 These words recall the famous answer which Leonidas at Thermopylae made to the same demand: μολὼν λαβέ, "Come and take them."
and was held in honour by him; for this Phalinus professed to be an expert in tactics and the handling of heavy infantry. When these heralds came up, they called for the leaders of the Greeks and said that the King, since victory had fallen to him and he had slain Cyrus, directed the Greeks to give up their arms, go to the King's court, and seek for themselves whatever favour they might be able to get. Such was the message of the King's heralds. The Greeks received it with anger, but nevertheless Clearchus said as much as this, that it was not victors who gave up their arms; "However," he continued, "do you, my fellow generals, give these men whatever answer you can that is best and most honourable, and I will return immediately." For one of his servants had summoned him to see the vital organs that had been taken out of a sacrificial victim, for Clearchus chanced to be engaged in sacrificing.

Then Cleanor the Arcadian, being the eldest of the generals, made answer that they would die sooner than give up their arms. And Proxenus the Theban said: "For my part, Phalinus, I wonder whether the King is asking for our arms on the assumption that he is victorious, or simply as gifts, on the assumption that we are his friends. For if he asks for them as victor, why need he ask for them, instead of coming and taking them? But if he desires to get them by persuasion, let him set forth what the soldiers will receive in case they do him this favour." In reply to this Phalinus said: "The King believes that he is victor because he has slain Cyrus. For who is there now who is contending against him for his realm? Further, he believes that you also are his because he has you in the
ΧΕΝΟΡΗΦΟΝ

ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον οὐδ’ εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν δύνασθε ἃν ἀποκτεῖναι. μετὰ τούτων Θεόπομπος.

12 Ἀθηναίος εἶπεν. Ὅ Φαλὼν, μῦν, ὡς σὺ ὄρας, ἡμῖν οὖν ἔστιν ἄγαθον ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὀπλα καὶ ἀρετή. ὀπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχουντες οἰόμεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ’ ἃν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἰον τὰ μόνα ἄγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσεως, ἄλλα σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἄγαθῶν μαχοῦ-μεθα. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλὼν ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν. Ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὡς οἰανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα. ἵσθι μὲντοι ἄνοιτοι ὄν, εἰ οἰεὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἃν τῆς

13 βασιλέως δυνάμεως. άλλους δὲ τινας ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακίζομένους ὡς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένετο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἃν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γένοιτο, εἰ βούλοιτο φίλος γενέσθαι καὶ εἰπεί ἄλλοι τι θέλοι χρήσθαι εἰτ’ ἐπ’ Ἀγνυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκατα-στρέψαν” ἃν αὐτῷ.

14 Ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἤρωτησεν εἰ ἦδη ἀποκεκριμένοι εἰεν. Φαλὼν δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν. Οὔτοι μὲν, ὃ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἂλλα λέγει· σὺ δ’ ἡμῖν εἰπεί τι λέγεις. ὁ δ’ εἶπεν. Ἐγώ σε, ὃ Φαλὼν, ἀσμενος ἔορακα, οἷμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες· σὺ τε γὰρ Ἐλλην εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὀσοὺς σὺ ὄρας· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγ-
middle of his country, enclosed by impassable rivers, and because he can bring against you a multitude of men so great that you could not slay them even if he were to put them in your hands.” Then Theopompus, an Athenian, said: “Phalinus, at this moment, as you see for yourself, we have no other possession save arms and valour. Now if we keep our arms, we imagine that we can make use of our valour also, but if we give them up, that we shall likewise be deprived of our lives. Do not suppose, therefore, that we shall give up to you the only possessions that we have; rather, with these we shall do battle against you for your possessions as well.” When he heard this, Phalinus laughed and said: “Why, you talk like a philosopher, young man, and what you say is quite pretty; be sure, however, that you are a fool if you imagine that your valour could prove superior to the King’s might.” There were some others, so the story goes, who weakened a little, and said that, just as they had proved themselves faithful to Cyrus, so they might prove valuable to the King also if he should wish to become their friend; he might want to employ them for various purposes, perhaps for a campaign against Egypt, which they should be glad to assist him in subduing.

At this time Clearchus returned, and asked whether they had yet given an answer. And Phalinus broke in and said: “These people, Clearchus, all say different things; but tell us what your own opinion is.” Clearchus replied: “I myself, Phalinus, was glad to see you, and, I presume, all the rest were, too; for you are a Greek and so are we, whose numbers you can observe for yourself. Now since we are in such a situation, we ask you to
μασὶ συμβουλεύομεθά σοι τῇ χρή ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. σὺ οὖν πρὸς θεόν συμβουλεύσον ἡμῖν ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀριστον εἴναι, καὶ ὁ σοι τιμήν οἰσεί εἰς τὸν ἐπειτα χρόνον λεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλίνος ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς "Ἐλλήνας τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι ἐξυμβουλευόμενοι ἐξυνεβουλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. οἴσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι ἂν ἐξυμβουλεύσης. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγει πολῖντο βουλόμενοι καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως πρεσβεύοντα ἐξυμβουλεύσαι μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως εὐελπίδεις μᾶλλον εἰεν οἱ Ἐλλήνες. Φαλίνος δὲ ὑποστρέφας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν. Ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἔστι σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα· εἰ δὲ τοιμασμένα σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐπὶς ἀκούτως βασιλέως, εὐμβουλεύω σώζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ δυνατόν. Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις; παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἰναι, πλείονος ἀν ἄξιοι εἰναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ὑπαραδόντες ἄλλως, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολέμουν, ἁμεῖνον ἀν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἡ ἄλλα παραδόντες.

ο δὲ Φαλίνος εἶπε. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελούμενον ἄλλα καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἶπεῖν ἐκείνες βασιλεύς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ σπουδαῖ εἶςησαν, προϊόνσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιστοῦ πόλεμος. εἶπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦτον πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπουδαί εἰςιν ἡ ὃς

1 λεγόμενον Mar., edd.: ἀναλεγόμενον MSS.: ἀναγγελλό-

meνον Geni.

352
advise us as to what we ought to do about the matter you mention. Do you, then, in the sight of the gods, give us whatever advice you think is best and most honourable, advice which will bring you honour in future time when it is reported in this way: 'Once on a time Phalinus, when he was sent by the King to order the Greeks to surrender their arms, gave them, when they sought his counsel, the following advice.' And you know that any advice you may give will certainly be reported in Greece.' Now Clearchus was making this crafty suggestion in the hope that the very man who was acting as the King's ambassador might advise them not to give up their arms, and that thus the Greeks might be made more hopeful. But, contrary to his expectation, Phalinus also made a crafty turn, and said: "For my part, if you have one chance in ten thousand of saving yourselves by carrying on war against the King, I advise you not to give up your arms; but if you have no hope of deliverance without the King's consent, I advise you to save yourselves in what way you can." In reply to this Clearchus said: "Well, that is what you say; but as our answer carry back this word, that in our view if we are to be friends of the King, we should be more valuable friends if we keep our arms than if we give them up to someone else, and if we are to wage war with him, we should wage war better if we keep our arms than if we give them up to someone else." And Phalinus said: "That answer, then, we will carry back; but the King bade us tell you this also, that if you remain where you are, you have a truce, if you advance or retire, war. Inform us, therefore, on this point as well: shall you remain
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

πολέμου οντος παρ' ύμων ἀπαγγελῶ. Ἐλέξειν. Ἀπάγγελλε τοῖς καὶ περὶ τούτου ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταύτα δοκεῖ ἄπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τι οὖν ταύτα ἔστιν; ἐφη ὁ Φαλίνος. ἀπεκρίνατο Ἐλέξειν. Ἅν μὲν μὲνωμεν, σπονδαί, ἀπισναθα δὲ καὶ προϊούσι πολέμος, ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε. Σπονδαὶς ἡ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταύτα πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο. Σπονδαί μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ἡ προϊοῦσι πόλεμος. ὁ τι δὲ ποιῆσοι οὐ διεσήμανε.


3 Μετὰ ταύτα ἢ ὑδέ ἢ λίουσ δύνοντος συγκαθαίρατο στρατηγοῦς καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε. Ἐμοῖ, ὦ άνδρες, θυμοῦμεν ἰέναι ἐπὶ βασιλεία, οὐκ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱέρα. καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίνετο; ὡς γὰρ ἐγώ νῦν πυνθάνομαι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ο Τίγρης ποταμὸς ἔστι ναυσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν

1 ἀπαγγελῶ MSS., Mar.: ἀπαγγελῶ Gem., following Bischop.
2 ἀπεκρίνατο the inferior MSS., Mar.: ἀπεκρίθη ὁ the better MSS., Gem.

354
and is there a truce, or shall I report from you that there is war?" Clearchus replied: "Report, then, on this point that our view is precisely the same as the King's." "What, then, is that?" said Phalinus. Clearchus replied, "If we remain, a truce, if we retire or advance, war." And Phalinus asked again, "Shall I report truce or war?" And Clearchus again made the same reply, "Truce if we remain, if we retire or advance, war." What he meant to do, however, he did not indicate.

II. So Phalinus and his companions departed. But the messengers from Ariaeus arrived—Procles and Cheirisophus only, for Menon stayed behind with Ariaeus; they reported that Ariaeus said there were many Persians of higher rank than himself and they would not tolerate his being king. "But," the messengers continued, "if you wish to make the return journey with him, he bids you come at once, during the night; otherwise, he says he will set out to-morrow morning." And Clearchus said: "Well, let it be this way: if we come, even as you propose; if we do not, follow whatever course you may think most advantageous to yourselves." But what he meant to do, he did not tell them, either.

After this, when the sun was already setting, he called together the generals and captains and spoke as follows: "When I sacrificed, gentlemen, the omens did not result favourably for proceeding against the King. And with good reason, it proves, they were not favourable; for, as I now ascertain, between us and the King is the Tigris, a navigable
XENOPHON

dynaimetha anev ploioin diabetaiav ploia de hemis ouk echei. ou mev de aytou ge menein oion te
ta gar epitideia ouk estin echei. lenav de para
tous Kyprou filous pani kala hemi tae iera hen.
4 onde ouv khrh poiein apiontas deipnein o ti tis
echei epeidai de semei th tê kerauti ws anapauesthai, sukevenxein epeidai de to deuterou,
anathesethi epi tê upozignia. epi de tê tritou
epese to hgeumenv, tâ mev upozignia ekontes
5 pro tov potamov, tâ de opla ezw. taun'
akousantes oi stratagoi kai loyagoi apilhdon
6 kai epiouin outw. kai to loipon de mev hrxein, oii
de epeidhontos ouv elomenoi, alla orwtes oti
mono eфрonei oia de twn arxontai, ois de allloi
apeiroi hsaiv.1

7 'Evteidein epei skotos egenveto Miltokouthis mev
o Thraxeiouch ouz te ippeas touz mete' eautou eis
tetparakonta kai ton pezon Thromo wos triako-
8 sionous hutoimolose pro basilea. Klearchos de
توis allois hgeito katata ta parahgelmena, ois de
epionto kai afiknoyntau eis ton proton stath-
mou par 'Ariaion kai tin ekeinou stratian amphi
megas nuktas kai eyn tazei themenoi tâ opla
zynhlon ois stratagoi kai loyagoi twv 'Ellhnwn

1 § 6 in the MSS. is as follows (see translation on opposite
page): 'ariwos tis ohou hyn hlohou eis 'Efesou tis 'Ionias mekri
tis maxhia stathmi trei kai enekhkonta, paraasagai penthe kai
trikonta kai pentakosioi, stadiai penthekonta kai xakiokhlioi
kai myrion. apo de tis maxhias elenonto einai eis Baibuliona stadiai
exhkonta kai triakosioi. This passage is regarded by edd.
generally as an interpolation.

356
river, which we could not cross without boats—and boats we have none. On the other hand, it is not possible for us to stay where we are, for we cannot get provisions; but the omens were extremely favourable for our going to join the friends of Cyrus. This, then, is what you are to do: go away and dine on whatever you severally have; when the horn gives the signal for going to rest, pack up; when the second signal is given, load your baggage upon the beasts of burden; and at the third signal follow the van, keeping the beasts of burden on the side next to the river and the hoplites outside.” Upon hearing these words the generals and captains went away and proceeded to do as Clearchus had directed. And thenceforth he commanded and they obeyed, not that they had chosen him, but because they saw that he alone possessed the wisdom which a commander should have, while the rest were without experience.¹

Afterwards, when darkness had come on, Miltocythe the Thracian, with the horsemen under his command, forty in number, and about three hundred Thracian foot-soldiers, deserted to the King. But Clearchus put himself at the head of the rest of the troops, following out the plan of his previous orders, and they followed; and they reached the first stopping-place,² and there joined Ariæus and his army, at about midnight. Then, while they halted under arms in line of battle, the generals and

¹ § 6 (see opposite page): The length of the journey they had made from Ephesus, in Ionia, to the battlefield was ninety-three stages, five hundred and thirty-five parasangs, or sixteen thousand and fifty stadia; and the distance from the battlefield to Babylon was said to be three hundred and sixty stadia. ² See i. 3.
XENOPHON

παρ' Ἀριαῖον καὶ ὡμοσαν οὐ τε Ἔλληνες καὶ οἱ Ἀριάιοι καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προ-δώσειν ἄλληλους σύμμαχοι τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἤγγισθαι ἀδόλως.
9 ταῦτα δὲ ὡμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταύρον καὶ κάπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἔλληνες βάπτουντες
10 ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, ἐῖπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος· Ἀγε δή, ὁ Ἀριάιε, ἐπείπερ οὐ καὶ ἰδίως ὃς ὅλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἰδίως, εἰπὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἀρίστημεν ἢ ἑλθομεν ἢ ἄλλην τινά ἐννεοπηκέναι
11 δοκεῖς ὅδιν κρεῖττω. οὐδὲ εἰπεν· Ὡν μὲν ἠλθομεν ἀπίόντες παντελῶς ἃν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολογιμεθα-υπάρχει γὰρ ὑνὶ ήμιν οὔδεν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἐπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθοῦν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ δεύο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἰχομεν λαμ-βάνειν· ἐνθα δὲ τι ήν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατε-

dαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορευέσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορή-
12 σομεν. πορευτέον δ' ἠμιν τοὺς πρώτους σταθ-μοὺς ως ἕν δυνόμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλεί-στοι κατοπιστώμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος ἢν γὰρ ἀπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχυμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλευς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. διόλῳ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπε-θαι: τολύντω δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ δυνήσεται ταχεῖς πορεύςεσθαι. ἐσώς δ' καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ.
ταῦτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε.
13 Ὡν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη
captains had a meeting with Ariaeus; and the two parties—the Greek officers, and Ariaeus together with the highest in rank of his followers—made oath that they would not betray each other and that they would be allies, while the barbarians took an additional pledge to lead the way without treachery. These oaths they sealed by sacrificing a bull, a boar, and a ram over a shield, the Greeks dipping a sword in the blood and the barbarians a lance. After the pledges had been given, Clearchus said: "And now, Ariaeus, since you and we are to make the same journey, tell us what view you hold in regard to the route—shall we return by the same way we came, or do you think you have discovered another way that is better?" Ariaeus replied: "If we should return by the way we came, we should perish utterly from starvation, for we now have no provisions whatever. For even on our way hither we were not able to get anything from the country during the last seventeen stages; and where there was anything, we consumed it entirely on our march through. Now, accordingly, we intend to take a route that is longer, to be sure, but one where we shall not lack provisions. And we must make our first marches as long as we can, in order to separate ourselves as far as possible from the King's army; for if we once get a two or three days' journey away from the King, he will not then be able to overtake us. For he will not dare to pursue us with a small army, and with a large array he will not find it possible to march rapidly; and perhaps, furthermore, he will lack provisions. This," said he, "is the view which I hold, for my part."

This plan of campaign meant nothing else than
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

η ἀποδράναι ἡ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατηγήσε κάλλιον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἦσειν ἄμα ἥλιος δύναντι εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· 14 καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὁὐκ ἐψευσθήσαν. ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δεῖλην ἐδοξαῖ πολεμίους ὅραν ἵππεας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἔλληνων οἱ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθεουν, καὶ Ἄριαίος, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ’ ἀμάξης πορευόμενος διότι ἐτέρωτο, καταβὰς ἔθωρα.

κίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐν δὲ ὀπλίζοντο ἦκον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἵππεῖς εἰσν, ἀλλ’ ὑποζύγια νέμοντο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐγνώσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγνύσ ποὺ ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασίλευς· καὶ γὰρ κατὰς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμαις οὐ πρόσω.

16 Κλέαρχος δὲ ἔπι μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγεν· ἤδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἁσίτους ὄντας· ἢδη δὲ καὶ ὅψε ἢν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος μὴ δοκοὶ μὲν φεύγειν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ὄντων ἅγων ἀμα τῷ ἧλιῳ δυναμεν εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμαις τοὺς πρῶτους ἤχουν κατεσκῆ- σεν, ἐξ δὲν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρα-

17 τεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄπο τῶν οἰκίων ξύλα. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι ὄμως τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύ- σαντο, οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταίοι προσιόντες ὡς ἐτύγχανον ἐκαστοι ηὐλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν πολλὴν ἐποίουν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκοῦειν· ὡστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. δήλον 18 δὲ τούτῳ τῇ ὑστεραιῇ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον 360
effecting an escape, either by stealth or by speed; but fortune planned better. For when day came, they set out on the march, keeping the sun on their right and calculating that at sunset they would reach villages in Babylonia—and in this they were not disappointed. But while it was still afternoon they thought that they saw horsemen of the enemy; and such of the Greeks as chanced not to be in the lines proceeded to run to the lines, while Ariaeus, who was making the journey in a wagon because he was wounded, got down and put on his breastplate, and his attendants followed his example. While they were arming themselves, however, the scouts who had been sent ahead returned with the report that it was not horsemen, but pack animals grazing. Straightway everybody realized that the King was encamping somewhere in the neighbourhood—in fact, smoke was seen in villages not far away.

Clearchus, however, would not advance against the enemy, for he knew that his troops were not only tired out, but without food, and, besides, it was already late; still, he would not turn aside, either, for he was taking care to avoid the appearance of flight, but leading the army straight ahead he encamped with the van at sunset in the nearest villages, from which the King's army had plundered even the very timbers of the houses. The van nevertheless encamped after a fashion, but the men who were further back, coming up in the dark, had to bivouac each as best they could, and they made a great uproar with calling one another, so that the enemy also heard it; the result was that the nearest of the enemy actually took to flight from their quarters. This became clear on the
XENOPHON

ἐτ' οὖν ἐφάνη οὕτε στρατόπεδον οὕτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἔξεπλάγη δέ, ως έως, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδήλωσε 19 δὲ τούτῳ οἷς τῇ ύστερᾳ ἔπραττε. προϊόντις μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοὶ φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δούπος ἤν οἷον εἰκός 20 φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίγνεσθαι. Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἥλειον, δὲν ἔτυγχανεν ἔχων παρ' ἐαυτῷ κήρυκα ἀριστον τῶν τότε, ἀνείπειν ἐκέλευσε συγνή κηρύξατα ὅτι προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, διὰ τὸν ἄφεντα τὸν ὄνομα εἰς τὰ ὅπλα μηνύσῃ, ὧτι λήψε- 21 ταί μεσόθιν τάλαντον. ἔπει δὲ ταύτα ἐκηρύχθη, ἐγνώσαν οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἰς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σῶοι. ἅμα δὲ ὅρθρα παρῆγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ὑπὲρ εἰχον οὗτῃ ήμίνῃ μάχῃ.

III. Ὅ δὲ ὅθεν ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἔξεπλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ, τῶς δὴ δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρα πέμπτων τὰ ὅπλα παραδίδοναι ἐκέλευσε, τότε δὲ ἀμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι κήρυκας ἐπεμψε περὶ 2 σπουδῶν. οἱ δὲ ἔπει ἥλθον πρὸς τοὺς προφύλακας, ἔζητον τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἔπει δὲ ἀπῆγγελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχών τότε τὰς τάξιν ἐπισκοπῶν ἐπεν τοῖς προφυλάξει κελεύνειν τοὺς 3 κήρυκας περιμένειν ἄχρι ἀν σχολάσῃ. ἔπει δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στρατεύμα ὡς καλῶς ἔσχειν ὁρᾶ- σθαι πάντῃ φάλαγγα πυκνήν, ἐκτὸς τῶν ὅπλων 2 δὲ μηδένα καταφανὴ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους,

1 καλῶς ἔςχειν MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Cobet.
2 ἐκτὸς τῶν ὅπλων Gem., following Hug: ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων the better MSS.: τῶν ὅπλων the inferior MSS.
following day, for not a pack animal was any more to be seen nor camp nor smoke anywhere near. Even the King, so it seems, was terrified by the approach of the army. He made this evident by what he did the next day. However, as the night went on a panic fell upon the Greeks also, and there was confusion and din of the sort that may be expected when panic has seized an army. Clearchus, however, directed Tolmides the Elean, who chanced to be with him as herald and was the best herald of his time, to make this proclamation, after he had ordered silence: "The commanders give public notice that whoever informs on the man who let the ass loose among the arms shall receive a reward of a talent of silver." When this proclamation had been made, the soldiers realized that their fears were groundless and their commanders safe. And at dawn Clearchus ordered the Greeks to get under arms in line of battle just as they were when the battle took place.

III. The fact which I just stated, that the King was terrified by the approach of the Greeks, was made clear by the following circumstance: although on the day before he had sent and ordered them to give up their arms, he now, at sunrise, sent heralds to negotiate a truce. When these heralds reached the outposts, they asked for the commanders. And when the outposts reported, Clearchus, who chanced at the time to be inspecting the ranks, told the outposts to direct the heralds to wait till he should be at leisure. Then after he had arranged the army so that it should present a fine appearance from every side as a compact phalanx, with no one to be seen outside the lines of the hoplites, he summoned
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝ

καὶ αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε τοὺς τε εὐσπολοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς
4 ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταύτα ἔφρασεν. ἔπει δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ἀνηρώτα τί βούλοιτο. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἦκοιεν ἄνδρες οἷτινες ἰκανοὶ ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλεῖοι τοῖς Ἐλληνίσιν ἀπαγγέλλαι καὶ τά παρὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων
5 βασιλεῖ. οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο: Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖςν αὐτῷ ὅτι μάχης δεὶ πρῶτον ἀριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ’ ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς
6 Ἐλλησι μὴ πορίσας ἀριστον. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀγγέλοι ἀπῆλαυνον, καὶ ἦκον ταχύ: ϕ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγύς ποι βασιλεύσῃ ἦν ἡ ἄλλος τις ὁ ἐπετέκτως ταύτα πράττειν: ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοίεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἦκοιεν ἤγε-
7 μόνας ἔχουντες οἱ αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξοσιν ἐνθεν ἔξουσι τά ἐπιτήδεια. οἱ δὲ ἡρώτα
8 εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο τοῖς ἵναι καὶ ἂπιστοι, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσοντο σπονδαί. οἱ
9 δὲ, Ἀπασιν, ἐφασαν, μέχρι ἄν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν διαγγελθή. ἔπει δὲ ταῦτα εἴπον, μεταστη-
σάμενοι αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο: καὶ έδοκεί τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι ταχύ καὶ καθ’ ἴσον
χίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τά ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ
Κλέαρχος εἴπε: Δοκεῖ μὲν κάμοι ταῦτα: οὐ μέντοι
tαχύ γε ἀπαγγελώ, ἄλλα διατρίψω ἔστ’ ἄν ὁκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξη ἢμῖν τὰς σπον-
364
the messengers; and he himself came forward with the best armed and best looking of his own troops and told the other generals to do likewise. Once face to face with the messengers, he inquired what they wanted. They replied that they had come to negotiate for a truce, and were empowered to report the King's proposals to the Greeks and the Greeks' proposals to the King. And Clearchus answered: "Report to him, then, that we must have a battle first; for we have had no breakfast, and there is no man alive who will dare to talk to Greeks about a truce unless he provides them with a breakfast." Upon hearing these words the messengers rode away, but were speedily back again, which made it evident that the King, or someone else who had been charged with carrying on these negotiations, was somewhere near. They stated that what the Greeks said seemed to the King reasonable, and that they had now brought guides with them who would lead the Greeks, in case a truce should be concluded, to a place where they could get provisions. Thereupon Clearchus asked whether he was making a truce merely with the men who were coming and going, or whether the truce would bind the others also. "Every man of them," they replied, "until your message is carried to the King." When they had said this, Clearchus had them retire and took counsel about the matter; and it was thought best to conclude the truce speedily, so that they could go and get the provisions without being molested. And Clearchus said: "I, too, agree with this view; nevertheless, I shall not so report at once, but I shall delay until the messengers get fearful of our deciding not to conclude the truce;
Δὰς ποιήσασθαι· οίμαί γε μέντοι, ἡφι, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καὶ ῆρος εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι στένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἤγείσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τάπιτηδεια.

10 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μὲντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπουδὰς ποιησάμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐχὼν ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πυροθοφυλάκης. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ αὐλώσιν ὦδατος πλήρεσιν, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἀνευ γεφυρῶν ἀλλὰ ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἱ ἤσαν
11 ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχος καταμαθείς ὡς ἐπεστάτει, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐχὼν, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν καὶ εἰ τες αὐτῷ δοκοῖ τῶν πρός τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἀν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτός προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνοντων ὡστε πᾶσιν
12 αἰσχύνην εἶναι μῆς ὑποσπονδάξειν. καὶ ἐτάχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸ οἱ εἰς τριάκοντα ἡγενοῦτες. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐὼρων σπουδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ προσβύτεροι. πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔστευδεν, ὑποπτεύον μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὦδατος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ ᾨραὶν ὁίᾳ τὸ πεδίον ἄρδειν ἀλλὰ ἤνα ἡθη πολλὰ προφαίνοντο τοῖς Ἐλλησι δεινά εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι.

1 ἤσαν MSS.: ἔφροσκοντο Gem.
to be sure," he said, "I suppose that our own soldiers will also feel the same fear." When, accordingly, it seemed that the proper time had come, he reported that he accepted the truce, and directed them to lead the way immediately to the provisions.

They proceeded, then, to lead the way, but Clearchus, although he had made the truce, kept his army in line of battle on the march, and commanded the rearguard himself. And they kept coming upon trenches and canals, full of water, which could not be crossed without bridges. They made bridges of a kind, however, out of the palm trees which had fallen and others which they cut down themselves. And here one could well observe how Clearchus commanded; he had his spear in his left hand and in his right a stick, and whenever he thought that anyone of the men assigned to this task was shirking, he would pick out the right man and deal him a blow, while at the same time he would get into the mud and lend a hand himself; the result was that everyone was ashamed not to match him in energy. The men detailed to the work were all those up to thirty years of age, but the older men also took hold when they saw Clearchus in such energetic haste. Now Clearchus was in a far greater hurry because he suspected that the trenches were not always full of water in this way, for it was not a proper time to be irrigating the plain; his suspicion was, then, that the King had let the water into the plain just in order that the Greeks might have before their eyes at the very start many things to make them fearful about their journey.
Πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας θεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἠγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνὴν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἐψητῶν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. αὐταῖ δὲ αἱ βαλάνοι τῶν φοινίκων οἶας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοὺς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιαι τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἡ δὲ οἶνος ἥλεκτρον οὐδὲν διέφερεν τὰς δὲ τινὰς ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἴδω μέν, κεφαλαλγεῖς δὲ. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιώται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν τὸ τε εἴδος καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τούτο κεφαλαλγείς. ὁ δὲ φοίνιξ θεὸν ἐξαιρεθεὶς ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὅλος ἡναϊέντο.

Ἐνταῦθα ἐμείναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἄδελφος καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς δούλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἴποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατηγοὶ, ἔλεγεν πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι᾽ ἐρμηνεύον τοιάδε. Ἔγώ, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἔλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἐλλάδι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδον εἰς πολλὰ καὶ ἀμήχανα πεπτωκότας, εὐρήμα ἐποιησάμην εἰ πῶς δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσώβαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἄν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν οὐτε πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἐλλάδος, ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς ἦτούμην.
ANABASIS, II. III. 14-19

The march at length brought them to villages where the guides directed them to get provisions. In these villages was grain in abundance and palm wine and a sour drink made from the same by boiling. As for the dates themselves of the palm, the sort that one can see in Greece were set apart for the servants, while those laid away for the masters were selected ones, remarkable for their beauty and size and with a colour altogether resembling that of amber; others, again, they would dry and store away for sweetmeats. These made a pleasant morsel also at a symposium, but were apt to cause headache. Here also the soldiers ate for the first time the crown of the palm, and most of them were surprised not alone at its appearance, but at the peculiar nature of its flavour. This, too, however, was exceedingly apt to cause headache. And when the crown was removed from a palm, the whole tree would wither.

In these villages they remained three days; and there came to them, as messengers from the Great King, Tissaphernes and the brother of the King's wife and three other Persians; and many slaves followed in their train. When the Greek generals met them, Tissaphernes, through an interpreter, began the speaking with the following words: "Men of Greece, in my own home I am a neighbour of yours, and when I saw you plunged into many difficulties, I thought it would be a piece of good fortune if I could in any way gain permission from the King to take you back safe to Greece. For I fancy I should not go without thanks, both from you and from all Greece. After reaching this conclusion
XENOPHON

βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοι, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κύρον τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἤγγειλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἀμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας τεταγμένων ὦκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ συνέμειξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἐνθα βασιλεύσω ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἔδιωξε σὺν τοῖς τόις παροῦσι νῦν μετ’ ἔμοι, οὕτε αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι.

καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετο μοι βουλεύσεσθαι ἐρεῖσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἐνεκεν ἐπιστρατεύσατε ἐπ’ αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύσω ὑμῶν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ᾧ μοι εὐπρακτότερον ἢ εάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθῶν ὑμῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι.

Πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντος οἱ Ἐλλήνες ἐβουλεύοντο καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ’ ἐλεγεν ὡς ἡμεῖς οὗτε συνήλθομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες οὗτε ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κύρος ἦρμησκεν, ὡς καὶ σὺ εὐ ὅσιθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκεύουσιν λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀγάγοι. ἐπεὶ μεντοί ἦδη αὐτὸν ἐφωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ ὅντα, ἡσχύνθησεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτὸν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὐ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κύρος τεθνηκεν, οὕτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιούμεθα τής ἀρχῆς οὕτ’ ἐστιν ὅτου ἐνεκα βουλομέθα ἃν τὴν βασιλεῖσως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐδ’ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναι ἃν
I presented my request to the King, saying to him that it would be fair for him to do me a favour, because I was the first to report to him that Cyrus was marching against him, because along with my report I brought him aid also, and because I was the only man among those posted opposite the Greeks who did not take to flight, but, on the contrary, I charged through and joined forces with the King in your camp, where the King had arrived after slaying Cyrus and pursuing the barbarians of Cyrus' army with the help of these men now present with me, men who are most faithful to the King. And he promised me that he would consider this request of mine, but, meanwhile, he bade me come and ask you for what reason you took the field against him. Now I advise you to answer with moderation, that so it may be easier for me to obtain for you at his hands whatever good thing I may be able to obtain.

Hereupon the Greeks withdrew and proceeded to take counsel; then they gave their answer, Clearchus acting as spokesman: "We neither gathered together with the intention of making war upon the King nor were we marching against the King, but Cyrus kept finding many pretexts, as you also are well aware, in order that he might take you unprepared and bring us hither. When, however, the time came when we saw that he was in danger, we felt ashamed in the sight of gods and men to desert him, seeing that in former days we had been putting ourselves in the way of being benefited by him. But since Cyrus is dead, we are neither contending with the King for his realm nor is there any reason why we should desire to do harm to the King's territory or wish to slay the King himself, but rather
Θέλομεν, πορευόμεθα δ' ἂν οἰκαδε, εἰ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίη· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· εὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὗ ποιῶν ὑπάρχῃ, καὶ τούτον εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὗ ποιοῦντες. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἰπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης Ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἕγω ἀπαγγελὼ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκοι αἱ σπουδαὶ μενοντων· ἀγόραν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν.

25 Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ύστεραλαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὡσθ' οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐφροντίζον τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκον ἔλεγεν ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθήναι αὐτῷ σφέζειν τοὺς Ἐλληνας, καίπερ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιοι εἰς βασιλεῖ αφεῖναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ στρατευσαμένους. τέλος δὲ εἶπε· Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἄδολως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἄγοραν παρέχοντας· ὅποι δ' ἂν μὴ ἦ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπίτηδεα. ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτὴ ἡμῶν δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἡ μὴν πορεύσεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας ὅποταν μὴ ἄγοραν παρέχωμεν· ἂν δὲ παρέχομεν ἄγοραν, ὄνυμεν τοὺς ἔξειν τὰ ἐπίτηδεα. ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ ὁμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν
we should return to our homes, if no one should molest us. If, however, anyone seeks to injure us, we shall try with the help of the gods to retaliate. On the other hand, if anyone is kind enough to do us a service, we shall not, so far as we have the power, be outdone in doing a service to him." So he spoke, and upon hearing his words Tissaphernes said: "This message I shall carry to the King, and bring back his to you; and until I return, let the truce continue, and we will provide a market."

The next day he did not return, and the Greeks, consequently, were anxious; but on the third day he came and said that he had secured permission from the King to save the Greeks, although many opposed the plan, urging that it was not fitting for the King to allow those who had undertaken a campaign against him to escape. In conclusion he said: "And now you may receive pledges from us that in very truth the territory you pass through shall be friendly and that we will lead you back to Greece without treachery, providing you with a market; and wherever it is impossible to buy provisions, we will allow you to take them from the country. And you, on your side, will have to swear to us that in very truth you will proceed as you would through a friendly country, doing no damage and taking food and drink from the country only when we do not provide a market, but that, if we do provide a market, you will obtain provisions by purchase." This was resolved upon, and Tissaphernes and the brother of the King's wife made oath and gave their right hands in pledge to the generals and captains of the Greeks, receiving the same also from the Greeks.

1 See note on i. ii. 18.
XENOPHON

29 Ἐλλήνων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἔπε. 

Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἀπειμέ ὡς βασιλέα. ἐπειδὰν δὲ δια- 

πράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἦξω συσκευασάμενος ὡς 

ἀπάξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ αὐτῶς ἀπιὼν 

ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν.

IV. Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οbasePath="" 

ἐπε "Ἐλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἄριαδος ἐγγύς ἀλλήλων 

ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἐν 

dὲ ταῦταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαδοῦν καὶ οἱ 

ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 

σὺν ἔκεινῳ Περσῶν τινος, παρεθάρρυνον1 τε καὶ 

dεξιὰς ἑνίους παρὰ βασιλέως ἐφερον μὴ μην- 

σικακῆσειν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπὶ-

στρατεύας μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων.

2 τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐνδήλου ἦσαν οἱ περὶ 

Ἄριαδον ἢττον προσέχουντες τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ τὸν 

νοῦν ὅστε καὶ διὰ τούτο τοὺς μὲν πόλλοις τῶν 

Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἦρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τὸν

3 Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς. Τι 

μένομεν; ἡ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς 

ἀπολέσαι ἀν περὶ παντὸς ποίησαιτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς 

ἀλλοις Ἑλλησὶ φόβος εἰθ ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν 

στρατεύειν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν 

dιὰ τὸ διεστάρθαι αὐτῶ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὶ δὲ 

πάλιν ἀλισθῇ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιά, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως 

4 οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. ἵσως δὲ ποὺ ἢ ὑποσκά- 

πτει τι ἢ ἀποτείχἴεσι, ως ἄπορος ἢ ἡ ὠδός. 

οὐ γὰρ ποτὲ ἐκών γε βουλησται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόν- 

τας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγελαι ὡς ἡμεῖς 

τοσοίδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τῶν βασιλείᾳ ἐπὶ ταῖς 

θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπῆλθομεν.

1 Before παρεθάρρυνον Mar., following Rehdantz, inserts ὁτ.
ANABASIS, II. iii. 28–iv. 4

After this Tissaphernes said: "Now I am going back to the King; but when I have accomplished what I desire, I shall return, fully equipped to conduct you back to Greece and to go home myself to my own province."

IV. After this the Greeks and Ariaeus, encamped close by one another, waited for Tissaphernes more than twenty days. During this time Ariaeus' brothers and other relatives came to him and certain Persians came to his followers, and they kept encouraging them and bringing pledges to some of them from the King that the King would bear them no ill-will because of their campaign with Cyrus against him or because of anything else in the past. While these things were going on, it was evident that Ariaeus and his followers paid less regard to the Greeks; this, accordingly, was another reason why the greater part of the Greeks were not pleased with them, and they would go to Clearchus and the other generals and say: "Why are we lingering? Do we not understand that the King would like above everything else to destroy us, in order that the rest of the Greeks also may be afraid to march against the Great King? For the moment he is scheming to keep us here because his army is scattered, but when he has collected his forces again, there is no question but that he will attack us. Or perhaps he is digging a trench or building a wall somewhere to cut us off and make our road impassable. For never, if he can help it, will he choose to let us go back to Greece and report that we, few as we are, were victorious over the King at his very gates, and then laughed in his face and came home again." To those
5 Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι εἰ νῦν ἁπίμεν, δῶξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορᾶν οüδεὶς παρέξει ἥμιν οüδὲ ὅθεν ἑπιστικοῦμεθα· αὐθίς δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οüδεὶς ἑσται· καὶ ἀμα ταῦτα ποιοῦντων ἥμων εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει. 1 ὅστε φίλος ἥμιν οüδεὶς λειείμεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολέμου ἥμιν ἐσονται. ποταμὸς δ' εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀρα ἥμιν ἑστὶ διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Ἐνυφράτην οἴδαμεν 2 ὅτι ἄδυνατον διαβήναι κω- λυόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἂν μάχεσθαι γε ἐν, ἵπτεις εἰσιν ἥμιν εὐμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἵπτεις εἰσὶ πλείστοι 3 καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὅστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττομένων δὲ οὐδένα οἶον τε σωθῆναι· ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, φ' οὖτω πολλά ἑστὶ τὰ σύμμαχα, εἴπερ προβυ- μεῖται ἥμας ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὃ τι δεὶ αὐτὸν ὀμόσαι καὶ δεξιῶν δούναι καὶ θεοὺς ἑπιορκήσαι καὶ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ πιστά ἀπιστὰ ποῦησαι Ἐλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάρους. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.

8 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκε Τισσαφέρης ἐχὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὡς εἰς οἰκον ἁπίων καὶ Ὁρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἤγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν

9 βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἂν Τισσα-

1 ἀφεστήξει: the inferior MSS., Mar.: the better MSS. have ἀποσταλη, which Gem. adopts, inserting ἀν after ἂν, with Rehdantz.
2 οἴδαμεν the better MSS., Gem.: ἐσμὲν the inferior MSS., Mar.
3 Before πλείστοι: the MSS. have οὶ: Gem. brackets, following Carnuth.

376
who talked in this way Clearchus replied: "I too have in mind all these things; but I reflect that if we go away now, it will seem that we are going away with hostile intent and are acting in violation of the truce. And then, in the first place, no one will provide us a market or a place from which we can get provisions; secondly, we shall have no one to guide us; again, the moment we take this course Ariaeus will instantly desert us; consequently we shall have not a friend left, for even those who were friends before will be our enemies. Then remember the rivers—there may be others, for aught I know, that we must cross, but we know about the Euphrates at any rate, that it cannot possibly be crossed in the face of an enemy. Furthermore, in case fighting becomes necessary, we have no cavalry to help us, whereas the enemy's cavalry are exceedingly numerous and exceedingly efficient; hence if we are victorious, whom could we kill? And if we are defeated, not one of us can be saved. For my part, therefore, I cannot see why the King, who has so many advantages on his side, should need, in case he is really eager to destroy us, to make oath and give pledge and forswear himself by the gods and make his good faith unfaithful in the eyes of Greeks and barbarians." Such arguments Clearchus would present in abundance.

Meanwhile Tissaphernes returned with his own forces as if intending to go back home, and likewise Orontas with his forces; the latter was also taking home the King's daughter as his wife. Then they

---

1 Hoplites, because of their heavy equipment, were ineffective in a pursuit, especially when an enemy fled, as in "the battle" of I. viii., long before they were within striking distance. Horsemen, of course, were at their best in following up a routed enemy.  
2 Satrap of Armenia.
XENOPHON

φέρνους ἱγουμένου καὶ ἀγοράν παρέχοντος ἐπο-
ρεύνοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἄριαῖος τὸ Κύρον
βαρβαρικὸν ἅχων στρατεύμα ἀμα Τισσαφέρνει
καὶ Ὄροντα καὶ ξυνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις.

10 οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες ύφορώντες τούτους αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἔχοντες ἠγεμόνας ἔχοντες· ἐστρατο-
πεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀνέχοντες ἄλληλον
παρασάγγην καὶ πλείον· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφό-
tεροι ὥσπερ πολεμίους ἄλληλοις, καὶ εὐθὺς
τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρείχεν. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἐξιλεξο-
μένοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα
12 ἔξυλλεγοντες πληγάς ἐνέτεινον ἄλληλοις· ὥστε
καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρείχε.

Διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς
τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τείχος, καὶ παρῆλθον εἰσοὶ
αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ φύκοιομενὸν πλίνθους ὅπταῖς ἐν
ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις, εὕρος εἰκοσι ποδῶν, ὑψος δὲ
ἐκατόν· μῆκος δὲ ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἰκοσι παρα-
σάγγας· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαμβιλὼν οὐ πολύ. ἐντεῦθεν
δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοῦς δύο παρασάγγας ὅκτω·
cαὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας,
tὴν δὲ ἐξωγεμένην πλοίους ἑπτά· αὐτὰ δ' ἦσαν
ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέμησε δὲ ἐξ
αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρώται
μεγάλαι, ἐπειτὰ δὲ ἐλάττους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικρὸς
ὄχετο, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἕλλαδί ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας.

Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν·
πρὸς δὲ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἡ
ὄνομα Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους
14 πεντεκαίδεκα. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἔλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν

1 εἶσω MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Rehdantz.
finally began the march, Tissaphernes taking the lead and providing a market; and Ariaeus with Cyrus' barbarian army kept with Tissaphernes and Orontas on the march and encamped with them. The Greeks, however, viewing them all with suspicion, proceeded by themselves, with their own guides. And the two parties encamped in every case a parasang or more from one another, and kept guard each against the other, as though against enemies—a fact which at once occasioned suspicion. Sometimes, moreover, when Greeks and barbarians were getting firewood from the same place or collecting fodder or other such things, they would come to blows with one another, and this also occasioned ill-will.

After travelling three stages they reached the so-called wall of Media,¹ and passed within it. It was built of baked bricks, laid in asphalt, and was twenty feet wide and a hundred feet high; its length was said to be twenty parasangs, and it is not far distant from Babylon. From there they proceeded two stages, eight parasangs, crossing on their way two canals, one by a stationary bridge and the other by a bridge made of seven boats. These canals issued from the Tigris river, and from them, again, ditches had been cut that ran into the country, at first large, then smaller, and finally little channels, such as run to the millet fields in Greece.

Then they reached the Tigris river, near which was a large and populous city named Sittace, fifteen stadia from the river. The Greeks accordingly

¹ See note on i. vii. 15. The Greeks had twice already, once on the advance and again on the retreat, crossed the original line of this wall. Now, turning to the eastward (see the map), they reach it at a point where it is still standing, and pass "within it," i.e. to the south-eastern, or Babylonian, side of it.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἐσκήνησαν ἐγώς παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασεῖς παντοῖων δέντρων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τήγρητα· οὐ μέντοι καταφανείς ἦσαν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφών· καὶ προσελθὼν ἀνθρωπός τις ἤρωτησε τοὺς προφύλακας ποῦ ἂν Ἰδοὶ Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον. Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἔξητε, καὶ ταύτα παρ᾽ Ἀριαῖον ἀν τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι ὃν ξητεῖς, ἐδέξατο ὁ ἀνθρωπός τάδε. Ἐπεμψε μὲ Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτάξος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρρω καὶ ὑμῖν εὐνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθωνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ.

καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τήγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψας κελεύουσι φυλακῆς, ὡς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λῦσαι Τισσαφέρης τῆς νυκτός, ἕαν δύνηται, ὡς μὴ διαβῇ ἄλλῃ ἐν μέσῳ ἀπολῆθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγονωσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον καὶ φράξουσιν ἃ λέγει. ὥ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο.

Νεανίσκος δὲ τοῖς τῶν παρόντων ἐννοῆσάς εἶπεν ὡς οὖν ἀκόλουθα εἴη τὸ ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ τὸ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιθημένους ἢ νικῶν δεῖσει ἢ ἡττάσθαι. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δὲ λύσει αὐτοὺς τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὃσιν ἔχομεν ἀν ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν. ἐὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λευμένης
encamped beside this city, near a large and beautiful park, thickly covered with all sorts of trees, while the barbarians had crossed the Tigris before encamping, and were not within sight of the Greeks. After the evening meal Proxenus and Xenophon chanced to be walking in front of the place where the arms were stacked, when a man came up and asked the outposts where he could see Proxenus or Clearchus—he did not ask for Menon, despite the fact that he came from Ariaeus, Menon’s friend. And when Proxenus said “I am the one you are looking for,” the man made this statement: “I was sent here by Ariaeus and Artaozus, who were faithful to Cyrus and are friendly to you; they bid you be on your guard lest the barbarians attack you during the night, for there is a large army in the neighbouring park. They also bid you send a guard to the bridge over the Tigris river, because Tissaphernes intends to destroy it during the night, if he can, so that you may not cross, but may be cut off between the river and the canal.” Upon hearing these words they took him to Clearchus and repeated his message. And when Clearchus heard it, he was exceedingly agitated and full of fear.

A young man who was present, however, fell to thinking, and then said that the two stories, that they intended to attack and intended to destroy the bridge, were not consistent. “For it is clear,” he went on, “that if they attack, they must either be victorious or be defeated. Now if they are victorious, why should they need to destroy the bridge? For even if there were many bridges, we should have no place to which we could flee and save ourselves. But if it is we who are victorious, with the bridge destroyed
XENOPHON

tῆς γεφύρας οὖχ ἔξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποι φύγωσιν. οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθήσαι πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν οὔδεις αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας.

21 Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ἦρετο τὸν ἄγγελον πόση τις εἰπή κόρα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ότι πολλὴ καὶ κῶμα ἐνεισὶ καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι.

22 τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ότι οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν ἄνθρωπων ὑποτεύμψαειν, ὁκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἑλληνες διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν μείναινε ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἐνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα, ἐνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς ύδατος καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνότων. εἰτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφῆ γένοιτο εἰ τις βούλοιτο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν.

23 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύνοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὅμως φυλακὴν ἔπεμψαν καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἡλθε τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. ἔπειδὴ δὲ ἔως ἐγένετο, διέβαζον τὴν γέφυραν ἐξενυγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπτα ὡς ὁδὸν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἔξηγ-γέλλον γὰρ τινὲς τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλ-λῆνων ὡς διαβαίνοντων μέλλοις ἐπιθήσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῆ ἦν· διαβαίνοντων μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς ἐπεφάνη μετ’ ἄλλων σκοπῶν εἰ δια-βαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμὸν· ἔπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, φῶτο ἀπελαύνειν.

25 Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς
they will have no place to which they can flee. And, furthermore, though there are troops in abundance on the other side, no one will be able to come to their aid with the bridge destroyed."

After hearing these words Clearchus asked the messenger about how extensive the territory between the Tigris and the canal was. He replied that it was a large tract, and that there were villages and many large towns in it. Then it was perceived that the barbarians had sent the man with a false message out of fear that the Greeks might destroy the bridge and establish themselves permanently on the island, with the Tigris for a defence on one side and the canal on the other; in that case, they thought, the Greeks might get provisions from the territory between the river and the canal, since it was extensive and fertile and there were men in it to cultivate it; and furthermore, the spot might also become a place of refuge for anyone who might desire to do harm to the King.

After this the Greeks went to rest, yet they did, nevertheless, send a guard to the bridge; and no one attacked the army from any quarter, nor did anyone of the enemy, so the men on guard reported, come to the bridge. When dawn came, they proceeded to cross the bridge, which was made of thirty-seven boats, as guardedly as possible; for they had reports from some of the Greeks who were with Tissaphernes that the enemy would attack them while they were crossing. But these reports were false. To be sure, in the course of their passage Glus did appear, with some others, watching to see if they were crossing the river, but once he had seen, he went riding off.

From the Tigris they marched four stages, twenty
τέτταρας παρασάγγας είκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκου ποταμὸν, τὸ εὐρός πλέθρον· ἐπὶν δὲ γέφυρα. καὶ ἐνταῦθα φικεῖτο πόλις μεγάλη ὄνομα Ὄπις· πρὸς ἦν ἀπήντησε τοις Ἐλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρτα-ξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ Σοῦσων καὶ Ἐκβατα-νῶν στρατιάν πολλὴν ἄγων ὡς βοηθῆσων βασιλείς· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα παρερχο-μένους τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐθεώρει. ὃ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἤγείτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος· ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἥγουμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσει, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνου δὲ ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γί-γνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὅπετε τὸ στρατεύμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἐλλησι δῶξαι πάμπολον εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἐκπεπλήχθαι θεωροῦντα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους ἐξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτειδος κώμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. ταῦτας Τίσσαφερνης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελὼν διαρπάζει τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. ἐνὶ δὲ σίτιοι πολὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τέτ-ταρας παρασάγγας εἰκοσὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερὸ ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλιν φικεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καϊναί, ἐξ ὧν βαρβαροί διήγον ἐπὶ σχεδίας διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυροῦς, ὀλιν. 

V. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἄφικνονται ἐπὶ τῶν Ζαπάταν ποταμοῦ, τὸ εὐρός τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαι μὲν ἦσαν, φανερὰ δὲ οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή.
parasangs, to the Physcus river, which was a plethrum in width and had a bridge over it. There was situated a large city named Opis, near which the Greeks met the bastard brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was leading a large army from Susa and Ecbatana to the support, as he said, of the King; and he halted his own army and watched the Greeks as they passed by. Clearchus led them two abreast, and halted now and then in his march; and whatever the length of time for which he halted the van of the army, just so long a time the halt would necessarily last through the entire army; the result was that even to the Greeks themselves their army seemed to be very large, and the Persian was astounded as he watched them. From there they marched through Media, six desert stages, thirty parasangs, to the villages of Parysatis,¹ the mother of Cyrus and the King. And Tissaphernes, by way of insulting Cyrus,² gave over these villages—save only the slaves they contained—to the Greeks to plunder. In them there was grain in abundance and cattle and other property. From there they marched four desert stages, twenty parasangs, keeping the Tigris river on the left. Across the river on the first stage was situated a large and prosperous city named Caenae, from which the barbarians brought over loaves, cheeses and wine, crossing upon rafts made of skins.

V. After this they reached the Zapatas river, which was four plethra in width. There they remained three days. During this time suspicions were rife, it is true, but no plot came openly to light.

¹ cp. i. iv. 9.
² i.e. through the mother who "loved him better than her reigning son Artaxerxes" (i. i. 4).
2 ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ξυγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ εἰ πως δύνατο παύσαι τὰς υποψίας πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἐπεμψὲ τινὰ ἐροῦντα ὅτι ξυγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζει. ὃ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἤκειν.

3 Ἑπεεὶ δὲ ξυνήλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλεάρχος τάδε. Ἔγω, ὁ Τισσαφέρνη, οἴδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὅρκους γεγενημένους καὶ δεξιάς δεδομένας μὴ ἁδικήσειν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σὲ τῷ ὄρῳ ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρῶντες ταῦτα ἀντιφυλαττό· μεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ αἰσθέσθαι πειρόμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγώ τε σαφῶς οἴδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὔδε ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἐδοξὲ μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἐλθεῖν, ὅτι ὅσοι εἰ δυναίμεθα ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν.

4 καὶ γὰρ οἴδα ἀνθρώπους ἦδη τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ υποψίας ὅτι ¹ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ' αὐτ.

5 βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίας μάλιστα παύεσθαι ἥκω καὶ διδάσκεις σε βούλομαι ὡς σὺ ἡμῖν ὁκ ὅρθως ἀπιστεῖς. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μεγίστων οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὅρκοι κωλύοντο πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλως· ὅτις δὲ τούτων σύνοδευ αὐτῶ παρημελήκως, τούτων ἐγὼ οὐποτ' ἀν εὑδαίμονισαμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον ὁκ οἴδα οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποίον ἀν τάχος οὔτε ὅποι ἀν τὶς φεύγων ἀπο-

¹ ὅτι Gem., following Schenkl: οἴ MSS.
² οἴκ οἴδα οὔτ' the inferior MSS., Mar.: οἴκ οἴδα the better MSS.: οὔτ' οἴδα Gem.

386
ANABASIS, II. v. 2–7

Clearchus resolved, therefore, to have a meeting with Tissaphernes and put a stop to these suspicions, if he possibly could, before hostilities resulted from them; so he sent a messenger to say that he desired to meet him. And Tissaphernes readily bade him come.

When they had met, Clearchus spoke as follows: "I know, to be sure, Tissaphernes, that both of us have taken oaths and given pledges not to injure one another; yet I see that you are on your guard against us as though we were enemies, and we, observing this, are keeping guard on our side. But since, upon inquiry, I am unable to ascertain that you are trying to do us harm, and am perfectly sure that we, for our part, are not even thinking of any such thing against you, I resolved to have an interview with you, so that, if possible, we might dispel this mutual distrust. For I know that there have been cases before now—some of them the result of slander, others of mere suspicion—where men who have become fearful of one another and wished to strike before they were struck, have done irreparable harm to people who were neither intending nor, for that matter, desiring to do anything of the sort to them. In the belief, then, that such misunderstandings are best settled by conference, I have come here, and I wish to point out to you that you are mistaken in distrusting us. For, first and chiefly, our oaths, sworn by the gods, stand in the way of our being enemies of one another; and the man who is conscious that he has disregarded such oaths, I for my part should never account happy. For in war with the gods I know not either by what swiftness of foot or to what place of refuge one could make his escape, or into what darkness
XENOPHON

φύγοι οὖτ' εἰς τοῖς ποῖον ἀν σκότος ἀποδραίη οὖθ' ὅπως ἀν εἰς ἔχυρον χωρίον ἀποσταίη. πάντη γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα καὶ πάντων ἵσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι.

8 Ἐπεὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὁρκών οὕτω γιγνώσκω, παρ' οὗς ἦμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἄνθρωπινων σὲ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἦμῖν ἁγαθόν. σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πάσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατός, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἀνευ δὲ σοῦ πάσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ἡ ὁδὸς· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δὲ ἀχλος φοβερὸς, φοβερωτάτου δ' ἐρημία·

9 μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐρηγέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον ἐφεδρον ἀγαυίζοιμεθα; ὅσον δὲ δὴ καὶ οὕων ἀν ἐπίδων ἐμαυτὸν στερήσαμε, εἰ σὲ τὶ κακῶν ἐπιχειρήσαμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανότατον εἶναι εὐ ποιεῖν δὴν βούλομαι. σὲ δὲ νῦν ὅρω τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ σφόντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείας δύναμιν, ᾧ Κύρος πολεμία ἐξήτο, σοι ταύτην ἔμμαχον οὖσαν. τοῦτων δὲ τοιούτων ὅντων τὰς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοι φίλος εἶναι;

11 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἔξω ἔν χω ἐλπίδας καὶ σὲ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἦμῖν εἶναι.

388

1 τε καὶ τῶν MSS.: Gem. brackets.
2 ἀγωνικοῖμεν. the inferior MSS., Mar. : πολεμήσομεν the better MSS., which Gem. follows, bracketing ἀν above.
he could steal away, or how he could withdraw himself to a secure fortress. For all things in all places are subject to the gods, and all alike the gods hold in their control.

"Touching the gods, then, and our oaths I am thus minded, and to the keeping of the gods we consigned the friendship which we covenanted; but as for things human, I believe that at this time you are to us the greatest good we possess. For, with you, every road is easy for us to traverse, every river is passable, supplies are not lacking; without you, all our road is through darkness—for none of it do we know—every river is hard to pass, every crowd excites our fears, and most fearful of all is solitude—for it is crowded full of want. And if we should, in fact, be seized with madness and slay you, should we not certainly, after slaying our benefactor, be engaged in contest with the King, a fresh and most powerful opponent? ¹ Again, how great and bright are the hopes of which I should rob myself if I attempted to do you any harm, I will relate to you. I set my heart upon having Cyrus for my friend because I thought that he was the best able of all the men of his time to benefit whom he pleased; but now I see that it is you who possess Cyrus’ power and territory, while retaining your own besides, and that the power of the King, which Cyrus found hostile, is for you a support. Since this is so, who is so mad as not to desire to be your friend?

"And now for the other side,—for I will go on to tell you the grounds upon which I base the hope that you will likewise desire to be our

¹ The ἕσσαρος, in the language of Greek athletics, was the man who had "drawn a bye," and so waited for the result of a contest in order to engage the victor.
XENOPHON

13 οίδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὑοντας, οὐς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οίδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα ἃεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δὲ, οίς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς γιγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποίᾳ δυνάμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαις τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὖσας. ἂλλὰ μὴν ἐν γε τοῖς πέριξ σφυροῦ σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοι τὸ γίλος ὡς μεγιστὸς ἂν εἴης, εἰ δὲ τίς σε λυποῖ, ὡς δεσπότης ἂν ἀναστρέφοις ἐχον ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἳ σοι οὐκ ἂν μισθοῦ ἑνεκα ὑπηρετοῖμεν ἄλλα καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἂν σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοι ἂν ἔχομεν δικαίως. ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμομένως οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπίστειν ὡστε καὶ ἢδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τὸ ὄνομα τῆς οὕτως ἐστὶ δειοῦς λέγειν ὡστε σε πεῖσαι λέγων ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιθυμοῦμεν. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσάῦτα εἴπε· Τις σαφέρνῃς δὲ ὃδε ἀπημείφθη.

16 Ἄλλῳ ἢδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σοι φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων εἰ τι ἐμοὶ κακοῦ βουλεύοις, ἀμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σαυτῷ κακοὺς εἶναι. ὡς δ' ἂν μάθῃς ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἡμεῖς δικαίως οὕτε βασίλει ὡτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπίστοι ητε, ἀντάκουσον. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἵππεων πλήθους

1 τὸ ὄνομα MSS.: Gem, brackets, following Bisschop.
friend. I know that the Mysians are troublesome to you, and I believe that with the force I have I could make them your submissive servants; I know that the Pisidians also trouble you, and I hear that there are likewise many other tribes of the same sort; I could put a stop, I think, to their being a continual annoyance to your prosperity. As for the Egyptians, with whom I learn that you are especially angry, I do not see what force you could better employ to aid you in chastising them than the force which I now have. Again, take those who dwell around you: if you chose to be a friend to any, you could be the greatest possible friend, while if any were to annoy you, you could play the part of master over them in case you had us for supporters, for we should serve you, not merely for the sake of pay, but also out of the gratitude that we should feel, and rightly feel, toward you, the man who had saved us. For my part, as I consider all these things the idea of your distrusting us seems to me so astonishing that I should be very glad indeed to hear the name of the man who is so clever a talker that his talk could persuade you that we were cherishing designs against you.” Thus much Clearchus said, and Tissaphernes replied as follows:

“It is a pleasure to me, Clearchus, to hear your sensible words; for if, holding these views, you should devise any ill against me, you would at the same time, I think, be showing ill-will toward yourself also. And now, in order that you may learn that you likewise are mistaken in distrusting either the King or myself, take your turn in listening. If we were, in fact, desirous of destroying you, does it seem to you that we have not cavalry in abundance
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἀπορεῖν ἢ πεξῶν ἢ ὀπλίσεως ἐν ἢ ύμᾶς μὲν βλά-
πτειν ἰκανοὶ εἴημεν ἂν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς
κύδυνος; ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ὑμῖν ἐπιτί-
θεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἂν σοι δοκούμεν; οὐ τοσαύτα μὲν
πεδία ἃ ύμείς φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ δια-
πορεύεσθε, τοσαύτα δὲ ὅρη ὅρατε ύμῖν ὄντα πορευ-
τέα, ἃ ύμῖν ἐξεστὶ προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἀπορά ὑμῖν
παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ’ εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ’ ὃν ἐξεστὶ
หวย σαμελεύοι ταμειεύσθαι ὑπόσοις ἀν ύμῶν ἄνθυμωμεθα
μάχεσθαι; εἰσὶ δ’ αὐτῶν οὐς οὐδὲ ἂν παντάπασι
διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ύμείς ύμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν. εἰ δ’
ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡπτφόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ
κρείττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστίν. ὃν ύμείς δυναίμεθ’ ἂν
κατακτάσαντες λιμην ύμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ὃ ύμείς
οὐδ’ εἰ πάνω ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε μάχεσθαι ἂν δύναισθε.

πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσοῦτοι πόρους πρὸς τὸ
ὑμῶν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ὑμῖν ἐπικιν-
δυνοῦ, ἐπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν
τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα δ’ μόνοις μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσε-

βής, μόνοις δὲ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον αἰσχρός; παντά-
πασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχανῶν καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ
ἐχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἷτινες ἐθέλουσι
δ’ ἐπιορκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς
ἀνθρώπους πράττειν τι. οὐχ οὗτος ύμεῖς, ὁ
Κλέαρχε, οὗτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε ἦλθοι οὖμεν.

Ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ύμᾶς ἐξέδω απολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ
ἡλθομεν; εὗ ἵσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἐρως τούτῳ αἴτιος τὸ
τούς. „Ελλησίων ἔμε πιστῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὁ Κύρος
ἀνέβη ἥμικὼ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων τούτῳ

392
and infantry and military equipment, whereby we should be able to harm you without being in any danger of suffering harm ourselves? Or do you think that we should not have places suitable for attacking you? Do you not behold these vast plains, which even now, although they are friendly, it is costing you a deal of labour to traverse? and these great mountains you have to pass, which we can occupy in advance and render impassable for you? and have we not these great rivers, at which we can parcel out whatever number of you we may choose to fight with—some, in fact, which you could not cross at all unless we carried you over? And if we were worsted at all these points, nevertheless it is certain that fire can worst crops; by burning them up we could bring famine into the field against you, and you could not fight against that, however brave you might be. Since, then, we have so many ways of making war upon you, no one of them dangerous to us, why, in such a case, should we choose out of them all that one way which alone is impious in the sight of the gods and shameful in the sight of men? For it is those who are utterly without ways and means, who are bound by necessity, and who are rascals in any case, that are willing to accomplish an object by perjury to the gods and unfaithfulness to men. As for us, Clearchus, we are not so unreasoning or foolish.

"But why, one might ask, when it was possible for us to destroy you, did we not proceed to do so? The reason for this, be well assured, was my eager desire to prove myself trustworthy to the Greeks, so that with the same mercenary force which Cyrus led up from the coast in the faith of wages paid, I might
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

23 ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δὴ εὐεργεσίαν ἵσχυρόν. ὡσα δὲ ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι ύμεῖς ἐστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἰπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἐξεστὶν ὀρθὴν ἕχειν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἵσως ἄν ύμων παρόντων καὶ ἔτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.

24 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἰτίνες τοιούτων ἥμιν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες ποιήσαι πολεμίους ἥμᾶς ἄξοι εἰσὶ τὰ ἐσχατὰ παθεῖν; Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔγγυς ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθε μοι οὐ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐλθεῖν, ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεὶ λέξῳ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὡς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιῶ. Ἑγὼ δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἂξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὐδὴ λῶσω ἢθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἄκοιω.

25 Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μὲνειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε καὶ σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραλίᾳ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δῆλος τ’ ἦν πάνυ φιλικῶς οἴμενος διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ καὶ ἄ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπηγγέλλειν, ἔφη τε χρῆναι ιέναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνην οὗ ἐκέλευεν, καὶ οὐ δὲν ἔλεγε διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ὡς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς

1 οἱ ἐν MSS.: ἐν Gem., following Dindorf. Gem. also brackets τῶν Ἐλλήνων, following Dobree.
go back to the coast in the security of benefits con-
ferred. And as for all the ways in which you are of
use to me, you also have mentioned some of them,
but it is I who know the most important: the King
alone may wear upright the tiara that is upon the
head, but another, too, with your help, might easily
so wear the one that is upon the heart.¹

In these things that he said Tissaphernes seemed
to Clearchus to be speaking the truth; and Clearchus
said: "Then do not those who are endeavouring by
false charges to make us enemies, when we have
such grounds for friendship, deserve to suffer the
uttermost penalty?" "Yes," said Tissaphernes,
"and for my part, if you generals and captains care
to come to me, I will give you, publicly, the names
of those who tell me that you are plotting against
me and the army under my command." "And I,"
said Clearchus, "will bring them all, and in my turn
will make known to you whence come the reports
that I hear about you."

After this conversation Tissaphernes showed all
kindness, inviting Clearchus at that time to stay with
him and making him his guest at dinner. On the
following day, when Clearchus returned to the Greek
camp, he not only made it clear that he imagined he
was on very friendly terms with Tissaphernes and
reported the words which he had used, but he said
that those whom Tissaphernes had invited must go
to him, and that whoever among the Greeks should
be convicted of making false charges ought to be

¹ The first clause states a fact of Persian court etiquette;
the second is apparently intended to give Clearchus the
impression that Tissaphernes aspires to the Persian throne,
and for that reason really desires the friendship and help of
the Greeks.
"Ελλησιν δυνας τιμωρθήναι. ύπώπτευε δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἴδως αὐτὸν καὶ συγγεγενημένον Τισσαφέρει μετ' Ἀριαίον καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἑπιθυμεύοντα, ὡς τὸ στράτευμα ἄπαν πρὸς αὐτὸν λαβόν φίλος ἦς Τισσαφέρει. ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἄπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γυνῆν καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδῶν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγον τινες αὐτῷ μὴ ἴεναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγοὺς μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἰν τις στραφέρει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατετεινεν, ἔστε διεπράξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἴεναι, εἰκοσὶ δὲ λοχαγοὺς. συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὦς εἰς ἄγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὡς διακόσιον.

"Επεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἰςώ, Πρόξενος Βοιώτιος, Μένων Θετταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαίος· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐμενον. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὑστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἱ τ' ἐυδο εὐνελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἵππεων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες διτυ ς ἐντυγχάνοιεν "Ελληνις ἢ δούλῳ ἢ ἔλευθέρῳ πάντας ἐκτείνον. οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες τὴν τε ἱππασίαν ἑθαύμαξον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρῶντες καὶ οἱ το ἐποίουν ημιφεγόνουν, πρὸς Νίκαρχος Ἀρκάς ἦκε φεύγων τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ἐντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχον, καὶ εἴπε πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα. ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ "Ελληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ
punished, as traitors and foes to the Greeks. Now Clearchus suspected that the author of these slan-
ders was Menon, for he was aware that Menon had not only had meetings with Tissaphernes, in company with Ariaeus, but was also organizing opposition to his own leadership and plotting against him, with the intention of winning over to himself the entire army and thereby securing the friendship of Tissa-
phernes. Clearchus desired, however, to have the entire army devoted to him and to put the refractory out of the way. As for the soldiers, some of them made objections to Clearchus' proposal, urging that the captains and generals should not all go and that they should not trust Tissaphernes. But Clearchus vehemently insisted, until he secured an agreement that five generals should go and twenty captains; and about two hundred of the soldiers also followed along, with the intention of going to market.

When they reached Tissaphernes' doors, the generals were invited in—Proxenus the Boeotian, Menon the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian, Clearchus the Laconian, and Socrates the Achaean—while the captains waited at the doors. Not long afterward, at the same signal, those within were seized and those outside were cut down. After this some of the barbarian horsemen rode about over the plain and killed every Greek they met, whether slave or freeman. And the Greeks wondered at this riding about, as they saw it from their camp, and were puzzled to know what the horsemen were doing, until Nicarchus the Arcadian reached the camp in flight, wounded in his belly and holding his bowels in his hands, and told all that had happened. Thereupon the Greeks, one and all, ran to their arms,
XENOPHON

νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἦξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατὸ-πεδον.

35 Ὁὶ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἦριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἦριαῖος καὶ Μιθραδάτης, οὐ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πισ-τότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐρμηνεύσει ἕφη καὶ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὀρᾶν καὶ 

γιγνώσκειν. Ξυνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Περσῶν 

tειθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίουσ. οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς 

ἡσαν, προσέλθειν ἐκέλευον εἰ τις εἰκῇ τῶν Ἐλλήνων 

στρατηγοῦ ἢ λοχαγός, ὑπαγγείλοσι τὰ παρὰ 

37 βασιλέως. μετὰ ταῦτα εἶχεῖλθον φυλαττόμενοι 

τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατηγοῦ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὁρχο-

μένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμφάλιος, ἐξ ἀυτοῖς δὲ 

ἲνοφῳν Ἄθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθω τὰ περὶ Προ-

ξένους Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἐπτύγχανεν ἀπὸ ἐν κόμη 

38 τὴν ἐξ ἄλλους ἐπιστηιχομένους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔστη-

σαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν Ἦριαῖος τάδε. Κλεάρχος 

μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἐλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιορκῶν τε ἐφάνη 

καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύον, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέθυρηκε, 

Πρόξενους δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατηγγειλαν αὐτοῦ 

τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσίν. ὑμᾶς δὲ 

βασιλεὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἶναι 

φησιν, ἐπείπερ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου. 

39 πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἐλληνες, ἔλεγε δὲ 

Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὁρχομένιος· Ὁ κάκιστε ἄνθρωπον 

Αρίατε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ 

αἰσχύνεσθε οὕτε θεοὺς οὕτως ἀνθρώποις, οὕτως 

ὁμόσαντες ἦμιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς 

νομείν, προδότες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει τῷ
panic-stricken and believing that the enemy would come at once against the camp.

Not all of them came, however, but Ariaeus, Artaozus, and Mithradates, who had been most faithful friends of Cyrus, did come; and the interpreter of the Greeks said that with them he also saw and recognized Tissaphernes' brother; furthermore, they were followed by other Persians, armed with breastplates, to the number of three hundred. As soon as this party had come near, they directed whatever Greek general or captain there might be to come forward, in order that they might deliver a message from the King. After this two generals went forth from the Greek lines under guard, Cleanor the Orchomenian and Sophaenetus the Stymphalian, and with them Xenophon the Athenian, who wished to learn the fate of Proxenus; Cheirisophus, however, chanced to be away in a village in company with others who were getting provisions. And when the Greeks got within hearing distance, Ariaeus said: "Clearchus, men of Greece, inasmuch as he was shown to be perjuring himself and violating the truce, has received his deserts and is dead, but Proxenus and Menon, because they gave information about his plotting, are held in high honour. For yourselves, the King demands your arms; for he says that they belong to him, since they belonged to Cyrus, his slave." To this the Greeks replied as follows, Cleanor the Orchomenian acting as spokesman: "Ariaeus, you basest of men, and all you others who were friends of Cyrus, are you not ashamed, either before gods or men, that, after giving us your oaths to count the same people friends and foes as we did, you have betrayed us, joining hands
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τούς τε ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς οἷς ὤμυντε ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἥμᾶς προδεδωκότες ξυν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ’ ἥμᾶς ἔρχεσθε; ὁ δὲ Ἁριαῖος ἔπει. Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὁρόντα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἥμιν τοῖς ξῦν τούτοις. ἔπει τοῦτῳ Ἐνοφὼν τάδε ἔπει. Κλέαρχος μὲν τοῖνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὥρκους ἔλυε τὰς σπουδὰς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει· δίκαιων γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιορκοῦντας. Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων ἐπείπερ εἰςίν ἕμετεροι μὲν ἐνεργέται, ἥμετεροι δὲ στρατηγοί, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεύρο. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι γε οὕτε ἀμφοτέροις πειράσονται καὶ ὅμως καὶ ἥμιν τὰ βέλτιστα ἔμμυβουλεύσαι. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλους ἀπῆλθον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.

VI. Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληθέντες ἀνὴρ ἤθησαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτυμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὀμολογομένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπείρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ 2 φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔως μὲν πόλεμος ἂν τοῖς Δακεδαμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Ὁράκες ἄδικούσι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξέπελε ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ 3 Χερρονήσου καὶ Περίνθου Θρακίν. ἔπει δὲ 400
with Tissaphernes, that most godless and villainous man, and that you have not only destroyed the very men to whom you were then making oath, but have betrayed the rest of us and are come with our enemies against us?" And Ariaeus said: "But it was shown that long ago Clearchus was plotting against Tissaphernes and Orontas and all of us who are with them." Upon this Xenophon spoke as follows: "Well, then, if Clearchus was really transgressing the truce in violation of his oaths, he has his deserts, for it is right that perjurers should perish; but as for Proxenus and Menon, since they are your benefactors and our generals, send them hither, for it is clear that, being friends of both parties, they will endeavour to give both you and ourselves the best advice." To this the barbarians made no answer, but, after talking for a long time with one another, they departed.

VI. The generals, then, after being thus seized, were taken to the King and put to death by being beheaded. One of them, Clearchus, by common consent of all who were personally acquainted with him, seemed to have shown himself a man who was both fitted for war and fond of war to the last degree. For, in the first place, as long as the Lacedaemonians were at war with the Athenians, he bore his part with them; then, as soon as peace had come, he persuaded his state that the Thracians were injuring the Greeks, and, after gaining his point as best he could from the ephors, set sail with the intention of making war upon the Thracians who dwelt beyond the Chersonese and Perinthus. When, however, the

1 i.e. the Greek colonists in the Thracian Chersonese.
2 The ephors, five in number, were the ruling officials at Sparta.
XENOPHON

μεταγνώντες πως οἱ ἔφοροι ἦδη ἔξω ὄντος ἀπο-
στρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρώντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα
οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ἥχετο πλέων εἰς Ἐλλήσ-
ποντον. ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὕπο τῶν ἐν
Σπάρτη τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. ἦδη δὲ φυγὰς ὅπν
ἔρχεται πρὸς Κύρων, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε
Κύρων ἄλλη γέγραπται, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρως
μυρίους δαρεικούς· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἔπι βαθυμία
ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλ-
λέξας στράτευμα ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξί, καὶ μάχη
te ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἐφερε καὶ ἤγε τού-
tους καὶ πολέμων διεγένετο μέχρι Κύρως ἐδείχθη
tοῦ στρατεύματος· τοτε δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὡς ξὺν
ἐκείνῳ αὐ πολεμίσων.

6 Ταύτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα
eίναι, ὡστε ἔξω μὲν εἰρήνην ἀγειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης
καὶ βλάβης αἱρεῖται πολέμειν, ἔξω δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν
βούλεται πονεῖν ὡστε πολέμειν, ἔξω δὲ χρήματα
ἐχειν ἀκινδύνως αἱρεῖται πολέμων μείνα ταῦτα
πονεῖν· ἐκείνος δὲ ὅσπερ 1 εἰς παιδίκα ἡ εἰς ἄλλην
7 τινὰ ἥδουν ήθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον. οὕτω
μὲν φιλοπόλεμοι ἦν πολεμικοὶ δὲ αὐ ταύτῃ
ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι φιλοκινδύνως τε ἦν καὶ ἡμέρας
καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς
δεινοῖς φρόνιμοι, ὡς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάν-
tes ὠμολόγουν. καὶ ἄρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἰναι ὡς

1 ὡστε πολεμεῖν MSS.: Gem. brackets.
2 After ὅσπερ Gem. inserts τις.
ANABASIS, II. vi. 3–8

ephors changed their minds for some reason or other and, after he had already gone, tried to turn him back from the Isthmus of Corinth, at that point he declined to render further obedience, but went sailing off to the Hellespont. As a result he was condemned to death by the authorities at Sparta on the ground of disobedience to orders. Being now an exile he came to Cyrus, and the arguments whereby he persuadéd Cyrus are recorded elsewhere;¹ at any rate, Cyrus gave him ten thousand darics, and he, upon receiving this money, did not turn his thoughts to comfortable idleness, but used it to collect an army and proceeded to make war upon the Thracians. He defeated them in battle and from that time on plundered them in every way, and he kept up the war until Cyrus wanted his army; then he returned, still for the purpose of making war, this time in company with Cyrus.

Now such conduct as this, in my opinion, reveals a man fond of war. When he may enjoy peace without dishonour or harm, he chooses war; when he may live in idleness, he prefers toil, provided it be the toil of war; when he may keep his money without risk, he elects to diminish it by carrying on war. As for Clearchus, just as one spends upon a loved one or upon any other pleasure, so he wanted to spend upon war—such a lover he was of war. On the other hand, he seemed to be fitted for war in that he was fond of danger, ready by day or night to lead his troops against the enemy, and self-possessed amid terrors, as all who were with him on all occasions agreed. He was likewise said to be fitted for command, so far

¹ But not in the Anabasis or in any of Xenophon's other works. Perhaps the author was writing under the impression that he had stated these arguments in r. i. 9.
XENOPHON


dυνατον ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οἶνον κάκεινος εἶχεν. ἰκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὃς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἑπιτήξεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἰκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμπούσαι τοῖς παρούσις ὦς πειστέον εἰη Κλεάρχῳ. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεποῦς εἶναί· καὶ γὰρ ὅραν στυγνὸν ἦν καὶ τὴ φωνὴ τραχύς, ἐκολαζέ τε ἵσχυρῶς, καὶ ὅργῃ ἐνίοτε, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν.

9 ἐσθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμης δ' ἐκβάλαζεν ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἤγειτο ὄφελος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐφασαν ὡς δὲοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἡ φυλακᾶς φυλάξειν ἡ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἴηναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἦθελον αὐτῷ ἀκουστὶ σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἥροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαίδρον ἐφασαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὡστε σωτηρίων, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν.

10 εφαίνετο· ὅτε δ' ἐξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένους οὗ καὶ εξείη πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρχομένους ἀπίειν, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίγαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἄει χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ωμός· ὡστε διέκειτο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὀσπερ παιδεῖ πρὸς διδάσκαλον.

11 καὶ γὰρ οὖν φίλα ἡμὲν καὶ εὐνολα ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οὕτως δὲ ἡ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἡ ἀλλη τινὶ ἀνάγκη κατε-  

1 After faidron the MSS. have auton en tois allois prosorrow tois: rejected by Gem. and Mar., following Cobet.
as that was possible for a man of such a disposition as his was. For example, he was competent, if ever a man was, in devising ways by which his army might get provisions and in procuring them, and he was competent also to impress it upon those who were with him that Clearchus must be obeyed. This result he accomplished by being severe; for he was gloomy in appearance and harsh in voice, and he used to punish severely, sometimes in anger, so that on occasion he would be sorry afterwards. Yet he also punished on principle, for he believed there was no good in an army that went without punishment; in fact, he used to say, it was reported, that a soldier must fear his commander more than the enemy if he were to perform guard duty or keep his hands from friends or without making excuses advance against the enemy. In the midst of dangers, therefore, the troops were ready to obey him implicitly and would choose no other to command them; for they said that at such times his gloominess appeared to be brightness, and his severity seemed to be resolution against the enemy, so that it appeared to betoken safety and to be no longer severity. But when they had got past the danger and could go off to serve under another commander, many would desert him; for there was no attractiveness about him, but he was always severe and rough, so that the soldiers had the same feeling toward him that boys have toward a schoolmaster. For this reason, also, he never had men following him out of friendship and good-will, but such as were under him because they had been put in his hands by a government or by their own need or were under the compulsion of any other
χόμενοι παρείσησαν αύτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις
14 ἐχρήτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξαίντο νικάν ξύν αὐτῷ τοὺς
πολέμους, ἦδη μεγάλα ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα
εἶναι τοὺς ξύν αὐτῷ σтратιῶτας· τὸ τε γὰρ πρὸς
τοὺς πολέμους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν
παρ’ ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβείσθαι εὐτάκτους ἐποίει.
15 τοιούτος μὲν δὴ ἀρχῶν ἦν· ἀρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων
οὐ μάλα ἔθελεν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελεύτα ἄμφι
τὰ πεντήκοντα ἑτη.
16 Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος εὐθὺς μὲν μειράκιον ὅπω
ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν
ἰκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε
17 Γοργία ἀργύριον τῷ Δευτίνῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο
ἐκεῖνῳ, ἱκανὸς νομίσας ἦδη εἶναι καὶ ἀρχειν καὶ φί-
λος ὃν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἠττᾶσθαι εὐρεγετῶν, ἤλθεν
εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ φέτοι κτή-
σεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην
18 καὶ χρήματα πολλά· τοσούτων δὲ ἐπιθυμῶν
σφόδρα ἐνδῆλον αὐτ καὶ τούτο εἴχεν, ὅτι τοῦτων
οὐδὲν ἀν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἄδικιας, ἀλλὰ σὺν
τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ φέτο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν,
19 ἄνευ δὲ τοῦτων μὴ· ἀρχεῖν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ
ἀγαθῶν δυνατός ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὔτ᾿ αἰδῶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις εαυτοῦ ὑπὲ φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποίησαί,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠχούνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἢ οἱ
ἀρχάμενοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ φοβούμενοι μᾶλλον ἦν
φανερὸς τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιῶταις ἢ οἱ
20 στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκεῖνῳ. φέτο δὲ ἀρκεῖν
406
necessity, yielded him implicit obedience. And as soon as they began in his service to overcome the enemy, from that moment there were weighty reasons which made his soldiers efficient; for they had the feeling of confidence in the face of the enemy, and their fear of punishment at his hands kept them in a fine state of discipline. Such he was as a commander, but being commanded by others was not especially to his liking, so people said. He was about fifty years old at the time of his death.

Proxenus the Boeotian cherished from his earliest youth an eager desire to become a man capable of dealing with great affairs, and because of this desire he paid money to Gorgias of Leontini. After having studied under him and reaching the conclusion that he had now become competent to rule and, through friendship with the foremost men of his day, to hold his own in conferring benefits, he embarked upon this enterprise with Cyrus, expecting to gain therefrom a famous name, great power, and abundant wealth; but while vehemently desiring these great ends, he nevertheless made it evident also that he would not care to gain any one of them unjustly; rather, he thought that he must secure them justly and honourably, or not at all. As a leader, he was qualified to command gentlemen, but he was not capable of inspiring his soldiers with either respect for himself or fear; on the contrary, he really stood in greater awe of his men than they, whom he commanded, did of him, and it was manifest that he was more afraid of incurring the hatred of his soldiers than they were of disobeying him. His idea was that, for a man to be

1 A celebrated orator, whose enormous fee of 100 minae (£375 or $1,800) was almost as famous as himself.
XENOPHON

πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλὸς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἄδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαίνειν. τοιαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὐθυί ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι ἐπεβουλευοῦν ως εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. Ὑτὲ δὲ ἀπέθυσκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

21 Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλούτειν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἀρχεῖν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἦν πλείω κερδαινοὶ. φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἦν ἄδικων μὴ διδοῖ δίκην.

22 ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὃς ἐπιθυμοῖ συντομωτάτην φῶτο ὄδων εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, τὸ δ’ ἀπλοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίνῃ φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἐνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν ἄεὶ διελε-γετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβουλευε. χαλεπῶν γὰρ φῶτο εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν. τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνως φῶτο εἰδέναι ραστον δ ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιορκοὺς καὶ ἄδικος ως εὑ ὠπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ ὡσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. Ὡσπερ δὲ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ
and to be thought fit to command, it was enough that he should praise the one who did right and withhold praise from the one who did wrong. Consequently all among his associates who were gentlemen were attached to him, but the unprincipled would plot against him in the thought that he was easy to deal with. At the time of his death he was about thirty years old.

Menon the Thessalian was manifestly eager for enormous wealth—eager for command in order to get more wealth and eager for honour in order to increase his gains; and he desired to be a friend to the men who possessed greatest power in order that he might commit unjust deeds without suffering the penalty. Again, for the accomplishment of the objects upon which his heart was set, he imagined that the shortest route was by way of perjury and falsehood and deception, while he counted straightforwardness and truth the same thing as folly. Affection he clearly felt for nobody, and if he said that he was a friend to anyone, it would become plain that this man was the one he was plotting against. He would never ridicule an enemy, but he always gave the impression in conversation of ridiculing all his associates. Neither would he devise schemes against his enemies' property, for he saw difficulty in getting hold of the possessions of people who were on their guard; but he thought he was the only one who knew that it was easiest to get hold of the property of friends—just because it was unguarded. Again, all whom he found to be perjurers and wrongdoers he would fear, regarding them as well armed, while those who were pious and practised truth he would try to make use of, regarding them as weaklings. And just as a man

409
XENOPHON

θεοσεβεία καὶ ἀληθεία καὶ δικαιότητι, οὕτω
Μένων ἡγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ
πλάσασθαι ψευδὴ, τῷ φίλους διαγελᾶν· τὸν δὲ
μὴ πανούργον τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων ἦε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι.
καὶ παρ’ οίς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλία,
διαβάλλων τοὺς πρῶτους τούτο φησί δεῖν κτή-
σασθαι. τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας
παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τού συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμηχανᾶτο.
τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύσθαι ἥξιον ἐπιδεικνύ-
μενος ὅτι πλείστα δύνατο καὶ ἑθέλοι ἂν ἄδικων
εὐργεσίαιν ὃ ὑπὸ τις αὐτοῦ ἄφι-
σταιτο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἂπώλεσεν
αὐτὸν.

28 Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἡφαῖνη ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψευ-
δεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες ἱσασὶ τάδ’ ἐστὶ. παρὰ
Ἄριστιππον μὲν ἔτι ἡραῖος ὑν στρατηγεῖν διε-
πράξατο τῶν ἕνων, Ἄριστιππον μὲν ἔτι ἡραῖος ὑν, ὅτι
μειρακίως καλοίς ἦδητο, οἰκειότατος ἐγένετο,
αὐτὸς δὲ παρακατὰ ἐναρκτάν ἀγένεῖος ὑν γενεῖ-

29 ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατήγων ὅτι
ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἐξω Κύρω, ταύτα
πεποιηκὼς οὐκ ἀπέθανε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων
θάνατον στρατηγῶν τιμωρθεῖς ὑπὸ βασιλέως
ἀπέθανεν, οὐ χασπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες. τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὁσπερ
τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεῖς

410
prides himself upon piety, truthfulness, and justice, so Menon prided himself upon ability to deceive, the fabrication of lies, and the mocking of friends; but the man who was not a rascal he always thought of as belonging to the uneducated. Again, if he were attempting to be first in the friendship of anybody, he thought that slandering those who were already first was the proper way of gaining this end. As for making his soldiers obedient, he managed that by bearing a share in their wrongdoing. He expected, indeed, to gain honour and attention by showing that he had the ability and would have the readiness to do the most wrongs; and he set it down as a kindness, whenever anyone broke off with him, that he had not, while still on terms with such a one, destroyed him.

To be sure, in matters that are doubtful one may be mistaken about him, but the facts which everybody knows are the following. From Aristippus he secured, while still in the bloom of youth, an appointment as general of his mercenaries; with Ariaeus, who was a barbarian, he became extremely intimate for the reason that Ariaeus was fond of beautiful youths; and, lastly, he himself, while still beardless, had a bearded favourite named Tharypas. Now when his fellow-generals were put to death for joining Cyrus in his expedition against the King, he, who had done the same thing, was not so treated, but it was after the execution of the other generals that the King visited the punishment of death upon him; and he was not, like Clearchus and the rest of the generals, beheaded—a manner of death which is counted speediest—but, report says, was tortured.

1 See i. i. 10, ii. 1, and note on i. ii. 6.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

30 Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκάς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τούτων ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὖθ’ ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατεγέλα ὡτ’ εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἦσσην δὲ ἀμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.
ALABASIS, II. vi. 29-30

alive for a year and so met the death of a scoundrel.

Agias the Arcadian and Socrates the Achaean were the two others who were put to death. No one ever laughed at these men as weaklings in war or found fault with them in the matter of friendship. They were both about thirty-five years of age.
BOOK III
2 Επεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπιστόμηνοι ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἐννοοὺμενοι ὅτι ἔπει ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμια ἦσαν, ἀγορᾶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτί παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἡ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμών δὲ οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διεῖργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκᾶς ὁδοῦ, προωδεῖσκεσαυ δὲ αὐτοὺς καί οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλείμμενοι ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἱππεά οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες, ὡστε εὐθηλλον ἦν ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἀν κατακάνοντες, ήττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἀν λειψθείη ταῦτ' ἐννοοὺμενοι καὶ ἀδύμως ἔχοντες ὅλγων μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὅλγων δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυναν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅτι πολλοὶ οὐκ ἦλθον ταῦτῃ τῆς νύκτας, ἀνεπαύνοντο δὲ ὅποι έτύγχανον ἕκαστος, οὐ δυναμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων,

1 The summary prefixed to Book III. (see note on π. i. 1) is as follows: "Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀναβάσει οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπράξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπίστων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρὸσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

416
BOOK III

I. After the generals had been seized and such of the captains and soldiers as accompanied them had been killed, the Greeks were naturally in great perplexity, reflecting that they were at the King's gates, that round about them on every side were many hostile tribes and cities, that no one would provide them a market any longer, that they were distant from Greece not less than ten thousand stadia, that they had no guide to show them the way, that they were cut off by impassable rivers which flowed across the homeward route, that the barbarians who had made the upward march with Cyrus had also betrayed them, and that they were left alone, without even a single horseman to support them, so that it was quite clear that if they should be victorious, they could not kill anyone, while if they should be defeated, not one of them would be left alive. Full of these reflections and despondent as they were, but few of them tasted food at evening, few kindled a fire, and many did not come that night to their quarters, but lay down wherever they each chanced to be, unable to sleep for grief and longing for their native

1 Summary (see opposite page): The preceding narrative has described all that the Greeks did in the course of the upward march with Cyrus until the time of the battle, and all that took place after the death of Cyrus while the Greeks were on the way back with Tissaphernes during the period of the truce. 2 See II. iv. 6 and the note.

417
XENOPHON

gονέων, γυναικῶν, παιδῶν, οὕς οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὡφεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύσοντο.

4 Ἡν δὲ τις ἐν τῇ στρατῷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅς οὗτε στρατηγὸς οὗτε λοχαγὸς οὗτε στρατιώτης ὄν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἰκοθεν ξένος ὄν ἁρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθων, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσειν, ὅν αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἐρείτω ἐαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος.

5 ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνώρισε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινώτατοι Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὕποπτεύομαι μή τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ὑπαίτιον εἰς Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, δοτὶ ἐδόκει οὐ Κύρος προβήμως τοῖς Δακεδαίμονίοις ἔτι ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινώσασι τῷ

6 θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. ἔλθων δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλων τίνι ἃν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἀριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἢν ἐπινοεῖ καὶ καλῶς πράξαι σωθεί. καὶ ἀνείλεν 7 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεῶς οἷς ἐδεὶ θύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ δ' ἄκούσας ἦτιατο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ ἡρωτα πότερον λάθον εἰς αὐτῷ πορεύσεθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ιτέον εἰναι τούτ' ἅπανθάνετο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθείη. ἐπεὶ μέντοι

1 The philosopher, whose follower and friend Xenophon had been from his youth.

418
states and parents, their wives and children, whom they thought they should never see again. Such was the state of mind in which they all lay down to rest.

There was a man in the army named Xenophon, an Athenian, who was neither general nor captain nor private, but had accompanied the expedition because Proxenus, an old friend of his, had sent him at his home an invitation to go with him; Proxenus had also promised him that, if he would go, he would make him a friend of Cyrus, whom he himself regarded, so he said, as worth more to him than was his native state. After reading Proxenus’ letter Xenophon conferred with Socrates,¹ the Athenian, about the proposed journey; and Socrates, suspecting that his becoming a friend of Cyrus might be a cause for accusation against Xenophon on the part of the Athenian government, for the reason that Cyrus was thought to have given the Lacedaemonians zealous aid in their war against Athens,² advised Xenophon to go to Delphi and consult the god in regard to this journey. So Xenophon went and asked Apollo to what one of the gods he should sacrifice and pray in order best and most successfully to perform the journey which he had in mind and, after meeting with good fortune, to return home in safety; and Apollo in his response told him to what gods he must sacrifice. When Xenophon came back from Delphi, he reported the oracle to Socrates; and upon hearing about it Socrates found fault with him because he did not first put the question whether it were better for him to go or stay, but decided for himself that he was to go and then asked the god as to the best way of going. “However,” he added, “since

¹ See Introd., pp. 231–233.
XENOPHON

οὕτως ἦροι, ταῦτ', ἐφη, χρή ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν.

8 'Ο μὲν δὴ Ἑνοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οῖς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς ἔξεπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Προξένου καὶ Κύρου μέλλοντας ἡδη ὀρμᾶν τὴν ἀνω ὁδὸν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρφ. προθυμομένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου καὶ ὁ Κύρος συμπροσθυμεῖτο μεῖναι αὐτοῦ, εἰπε δὲ ὅτι ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπεμψει αὐτοῦ. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἰναι εἰς Πισίδας. ἔστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔξαπατηθείς—οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ἦδε τὴν ἔπι βασιλέα ὀρμὴν οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἠλθοῦν, σαφὲς πάσιν ἡδη ἔδοκει εἰναι ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἰς ἔπι βασιλέα. φοβοῦμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἀκοντες ὀμος οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὁν εἰς καὶ Ἑνοφῶν ἦν.

11 'Επεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἔλυσετο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δ' ὑπὸνο λαχῶν εἶδεν ὁναρ. ἐδοξεὶν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσα. περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὁναρ τῇ μὲν ἐκρίνει ἀγαθὸν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις δὲν καὶ κινδύνους φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διῶς ἴδειν ἐδοξεί· τῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διῶς μὲν

420
you did put the question in that way, you must do all that the god directed."

Xenophon, accordingly, after offering the sacrifices to the gods that Apollo's oracle prescribed, set sail, overtook Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardis as they were on the point of beginning the upward march, and was introduced to Cyrus. And not only did Proxenus urge him to stay with them, but Cyrus also joined in this request, adding that as soon as the campaign came to an end, he would send Xenophon home at once; and the report was that the campaign was against the Pisidians. It was in this way, then, that Xenophon came to go on the expedition, quite deceived about its purpose—not, however, by Proxenus, for he did not know that the attack was directed against the King, nor did anyone else among the Greeks with the exception of Clearchus; but by the time they reached Cilicia, it seemed clear to everybody that the expedition was really against the King. Then, although the Greeks were fearful of the journey and unwilling to go on, most of them did, nevertheless, out of shame before one another and before Cyrus, continue the march. And Xenophon was one of this number.

Now when the time of perplexity came, he was distressed as well as everybody else and was unable to sleep; but, getting at length a little sleep, he had a dream. It seemed to him that there was a clap of thunder and a bolt fell on his father's house, setting the whole house ablaze. He awoke at once in great fear, and judged the dream in one way an auspicious one, because in the midst of hardships and perils he had seemed to behold a great light from Zeus; but looking at it in another way he was fearful, since the
XENOPHON

βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὔ δύνατο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξέλθειν τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλ' εἰργοίτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τιων ἀπορίων. ὁποίον τι μὲν δὴ ἔστι τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄνομα ἰδεῖν ἐξέστη σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄνομα. γίγνεται γὰρ τάδε. εὖθυς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει τί κατάκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νῦς προβαίνειν ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἦσειν. εἰ δὲ γεννησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεί, τί ἐμποδῶν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας ὑβριδομένους ἀποθανεῖν;

14 ὅπως δ' ἀμυνούμεθα οὔδεις παρασκευάζεσθαι οὔδ' ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὅσπερ ἔξον ἡσυχίαν ἀγείν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκᾷ ταύτα πράξειν; ποιαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθείν ἀναμείνω; οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐτί πρεσβύτερος ἐσομαι, εὰν τήμερον προδὸ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

15 Ἦκ τούτων ἀνίσταται καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγοὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἔλεξεν. Ἔγώ, ὃς ἄνδρας λοχαγοί, οὗτε καθεύδεις δύναμαι, ὅσπερ σήμαι οὐδ' ὑμεῖς, οὗτε κατακεῖσθαι ἐτί, ὅρων ἐν οίοις ἔσμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμοι δήλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῶν πόλεμον ἐξέφημον πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἐαυτῶν παρασκευάσασθαι, ἡμῶν δ' οὔδες οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖται ὑπὸ ὅπως ὦς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. καὶ μὴν εἰ
dream came, as he thought, from Zeus the King and the fire appeared to blaze all about, lest he might not be able to escape out of the King's country, but might be shut in on all sides by various difficulties. Now what it really means to have such a dream one may learn from the events which followed the dream—and they were these: Firstly, on the moment of his awakening the thought occurred to him: "Why do I lie here? The night is wearing on, and at daybreak it is likely that the enemy will be upon us. And if we fall into the King's hands, what is there to prevent our living to behold all the most grievous sights and to experience all the most dreadful sufferings, and then being put to death with insult? As for defending ourselves, however, no one is making preparations or taking thought for that, but we lie here just as if it were possible for us to enjoy our ease. What about myself, then? From what state am I expecting the general to come who is to perform these duties? And what age must I myself wait to attain? For surely I shall never be any older, if this day I give myself up to the enemy."

Then he arose and, as a first step, called together the captains of Proxenus. When they had gathered, he said: "Gentlemen, I am unable either to sleep, as I presume you are also, or to lie still any longer, when I see in what straits we now are. For the enemy manifestly did not begin open war upon us until the moment when they believed that their own preparations had been adequately made; but on our side no one is planning any counter-measures at all to ensure our making the best possible fight. And

1 King Zeus in the dream is the Persian King in the interpretation.
υφησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἴο-
μεθα πείσεσθαι; δέ καὶ τοῦ ὄμομητρίου ἠδελφοῦ
καὶ τεθνηκότος ἢδη ἀποτεμών τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ
τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν ἡμᾶς δέ, οἷς κηδεμῶν
μὲν οὐδεῖς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ′ αὐτὸν
ὡς δούλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντες καὶ ἀποκτε-
νοῦντες εἶ δυναίμεθα, τί ἄν οἴομεθα παθεῖν; ἀρ′
οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκεισά-
μενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβου παράσχοι τοῖς
στρατεύσαι ποτὲ ἐπ′ αὐτὸν; ἀλλ′ ὅπως τοις μὴ ἐπ′
ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιήτεον.

Ἑγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔστε μὲν οἶς στοῦνα ἦσαν οὐποτε
ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτίρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς
σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζους, διαθέωμεν αὐτῶν ὡσὶν
μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσοις δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήμα
χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθήτα δὲ· τὰ δ′ αὐ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ὀπότε ἐνθυμομην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἁγαθῶν τούτων
οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετείχη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ὅτοι δὲ
ὡνησόμεθα ἠδείν ἐτί ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰς δὲ
πὼς πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἡ ὁνομένους ὀρκοὺς
ἡδὴ 1 κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ’ οὖν λογιζόμενος
ἐνίοτε τὰς σπουδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἡ νῦν τῶν
πόλεμον. ἔπει μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπου-
δὰς, λελύθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ η ἐκεῖνων ὑβρίς καὶ
ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀπορία. 2 ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἡδὴ κεῖται
ταῦτα τὰ ἁγαθὰ θάλα ὀπότεροι ἄν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες

1 ἡδη Gem., following Rehdantz: ἡδη MSS.

424
yet if we submit and fall into the King's hands, what do we imagine our fate is to be? Even in the case of his own brother, and, yet more, when he was already dead, this man cut off his head and his hand and impaled them; as for ourselves, then, who have no one to intercede for us,¹ and who took the field against him with the intention of making him a slave rather than a king and of killing him if we could, what fate may we expect to suffer? Will he not do his utmost to inflict upon us the most outrageous tortures, and thus make all mankind afraid ever to undertake an expedition against him? We, then, must make every effort not to fall into his power.

"For my part, so long as the truce lasted I never ceased commiserating ourselves and congratulating the King and his followers; for I saw plainly what a great amount of fine land they possessed, what an abundance of provisions, what quantities of servants, cattle, gold, and apparel; but whenever I took thought of the situation of our own soldiers, I saw that we had no share in these good things, except we bought them, I knew there were but few of us who still had money wherewith to buy, and I knew that our oaths restrained us from getting provisions in any other way than by purchase. Hence, with these considerations in mind, I used sometimes to fear the truce more than I now fear war. But seeing that their own act has put an end to the truce, the end has likewise come, in my opinion, both of their arrogance and of our embarrassment. For now all these good things are offered as prizes for whichever of the two parties shall prove to be

¹ cp. i. i. 3 f.
XENOPHON

ἀμείνονες ὡσιν, ἀγανοθέται δ' οἱ θεοί εἰσιν, οἳ
22 σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔσονται. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ
αὐτοὺς ἐπιφυλάκασιν ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ ὅρωντες
ἀγαθὰ στερρῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τούτων
θεῶν ὄρκους. ὥστε ἐξείναι μοι δοκεῖ ἵναι ἐπὶ τὸν
23 ἀγώνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζων ἡ τοῦτοι. ἔτι
δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἰκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψύχη.
καὶ θάλπη καὶ πόνον φέρειν ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ
ψυχᾶς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ
τρωτοί καὶ θητοί μᾶλλον ἦμοι, ἤν οἱ θεοὶ ὀσπερ
τὸ πρόσθεν νίκην ἡμῖν διδώσων.

24 Ἀλλ' ἵσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἐνθυμοῦνται,
πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀναμένομεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα,
ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς ἁρξαμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τούς ἄλ-
λους ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρετήν φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἄρι-
στοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι.

25 καγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα,
ἐπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἴ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετ' ἐμὲ
ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἥλικιαν, ἄλλα
καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ
kaká.

26 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' ἐλεξεν, οἳ δὲ ἀρχηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες
ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης
τις ἤν βοωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ οὕτος δ' εἶπεν οὕτω
φλυαροί οὕσις λέγει ἄλλως πῶς σωτηρίας ἂν
τυχεῖν ἡ βασιλεία πείσας, εἰ δύνατο, καὶ ἄμα
27 ἥρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν
426
the braver men; and the judges of the contest are the gods, who, in all likelihood, will be on our side. For our enemies have sworn falsely by them, while we, with abundant possessions before our eyes, have steadfastly kept our hands therefrom because of our oaths by the gods; hence we, I think, can go into the contest with far greater confidence than can our enemies. Besides, we have bodies more capable than theirs of bearing cold and heat and toil, and we likewise, by the blessing of the gods, have better souls; and these men are more liable than we to be wounded and killed, if the gods again, as on that former day, grant us victory.

"And now, since it may be that others also have these same thoughts in mind, let us not, in the name of the gods, wait for others to come to us and summon us to the noblest deeds, but let us take the lead ourselves and arouse the rest to valour. Show yourselves the best of the captains, and more worthy to be generals than the generals themselves. As for me, if you choose to set out upon this course, I am ready to follow you; but if you assign me the leadership, I do not plead my youth as an excuse; rather, I believe I am in the very prime of my power to ward off dangers from my own head."

Such were Xenophon's words; and upon hearing what he said the officers bade him take the lead, all of them except a man named Apollonides, who spoke in the Boeotian dialect. This man maintained that anyone who said he could gain safety in any other way than by winning the King's consent through persuasion, if possible, was talking nonsense; and at the same time he began to recite the difficulties of their situation. Xenophon, however, interrupted
XENOPHON

μεταξύ υπολαβὼν ἐλέειν ὁδε. Ὑ παυμασιώτατε ἀνθρωπε, σύνε οὐδὲ ὅρων γυνώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι ἥσθα τούτοις ὑπὲ ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ πέμπτων ἐκέλευν παραδίδοναι τὰ ὁπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ παραδόντες, ἀλλ᾽ εἴσυπλωσάμενοι ἔλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπτων καὶ σπονδᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπόνδων ἔτυχεν; ἐπεὶ δ᾽ αὐτὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ λοχαγὸς ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων ἡλθον πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται, καὶ μάλλ᾽ οίματι ἔρωντες τούτου; ἀ σὺ πάντα εἴδως τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνασθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φής, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ιόντας; ἐμοὶ, δὲ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν τούτον μήτε προσίσθαι εἰς ταυτὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκεῦη ἀναθέντας ὡς τοιοῦτῳ χρῆσθαι. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλλην ὄν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν.

Ἐντεῦθεν υπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἰπεν. Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βουωτίας προσήκει οὐδέν οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἔγω αὐτὸν εἴδον ὥσπερ Λυδῶν ἀμφότερα τὰ ὁτα τετρυπημένον. καὶ εἴχεν οὔτως. τούτον μὲν οὖν

---

1 The Greeks considered it effeminate for a man to wear ear-rings. His bored ears, therefore, marked Apollonides as a barbarian.

428
him in the midst of his talk, and said: "You amazing fellow, you have eyes but still do not perceive, and you have ears but still do not remember. You were present, surely, with the rest of these officers at the time when the King, after the death of Cyrus and in his elation over that event, sent and ordered us to give up our arms. But when, instead of giving them up, we equipped ourselves with them, and went and encamped beside him, what means did he leave untried—sending ambassadors, begging for a truce, offering us provisions—until in the end he obtained a truce? When, however, our generals and captains, following precisely the plan that you are now urging, went unarmed to a conference with them, relying upon the truce; what happened in that case? are they not at this moment being beaten, tortured, insulted, unable even to die, hapless men that they are, even though they earnestly long, I imagine, for death? And do you, knowing all these things, say that they are talking nonsense who urge self-defence, and do you propose that we should again go and try persuasion? In my opinion, gentlemen, we should not simply refuse to admit this fellow to companionship with us, but should deprive him of his captaincy, lay packs on his back, and treat him as that sort of a creature. For the fellow is a disgrace both to his native state and to the whole of Greece, since, being a Greek, he is still a man of this kind."

Then Agasias, a Stymphalian, broke in and said: "For that matter, this fellow has nothing to do either with Boeotia or with any part of Greece at all, for I have noticed that he has both his ears bored, like a Lydian's." In fact, it was so. He, therefore,

1 The Lydians were proverbially effeminate.
ΞΕΝΟΦΟΝ

ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἴόντες ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶσε εἰς τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὅποθεν δὲ οἶχοι τῶν ὑποστράτηγον, ὅπου δ’ αὐ λοχαγὸς σῶσε εἰς τὸν λοχαγὸν.

33 ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνήλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὁπλών ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. ἐνταῦθα Ἱερώνυμος Ὅλειος πρεσβύτατος ὁν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν ὁδε. Ἡμῖν, ὡς ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὀρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἐδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακάλεσαι, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα εἰ τι δυναμέθα ἄγαθόν. λέξον δ’, ἐφη, καὶ νῦν, ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἀπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

35 Ἐκ τούτοιν λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης οὐς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν συνελήφασιν ἡμῶν, τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὡς ἦν δύνανται ἀπολέσσωσιν. ἡμῖν δὲ γε οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα ὃς μήποτε ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενάμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ’ ἡμῖν. εὗ τοῖνυν ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτον ὄντες ὃσοι νῦν συνελήλυθατε μέγιστον ἐχετε καιρόν. ὁ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὕτω πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, καὶ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὀρῶσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἐσονται, ἀν δὲ

1 νῦν Gem., following Carnuth: σὸ MSS.

430
was driven away, but the others proceeded to visit the various divisions\textsuperscript{1} of the army. Wherever a general was left alive, they would invite him to join them; where the general was gone, they invited the lieutenant-general; or, again, where only a captain was left, the captain. When all had come together, they seated themselves at the front of the encampment, and the generals and captains thus assembled amounted in number to about one hundred. By this time it was nearly midnight. Then Hieronymus the Elean, who was the eldest of Proxenus' captains, began to speak as follows: "Generals and captains, we have deemed it best, in view of the present situation, both to come together ourselves and to invite you to join us, in order that we may devise whatever good counsel we can. Repeat now, Xenophon," he added, "just what you said to us."

Thereupon Xenophon spoke as follows: "We all understand thus much, that the King and Tissaphernes have seized as many as they could of our number, and that they are manifestly plotting against the rest of us, to destroy us if they can. It is for us, then, in my opinion, to make every effort that we may never fall into the power of the barbarians, but that they may rather fall into our power. Be sure, therefore, that you, who have now come together in such numbers, have the grandest of opportunities. For all our soldiers here are looking to you; if they see that you are faint-hearted, all of them will be cowards; but if you not

\textsuperscript{1} The division (τάξις) was not a body of any specified size, but comprised the troops under the command of a single general (στρατηγός). See below.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ἦτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὐ ἑστὲ ὅτι ἐξονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσονται μμείσθαι.

37 ἵσως δὲ τοὶ καὶ δικαιὸν ἐστὶ ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξιαρχοί καὶ λοχαγοί καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπελευκτείτε καὶ νῦν τοίνυν ἐπεὶ πόλεμος ἐστιν, ἄξιον δὲ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι καὶ προβουλεῦειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἢν ποι δέη.

38 Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἴομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὑφελήσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθῇ πῶς ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὡς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικαταστάθωσιν. ἃνευ γὰρ ἄρχοντων οὐδὲν ἄν σοῦτε καλὸν οὕτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο ὡς μὲν συνελόντει εἰπεῖν οὖδαμον, εὖ δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σφέξεις δοκεῖ, δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἥδη ἀπολόλεκεν.

39 ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταστήσησθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους δὲ, ἡν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρρύνητε, οἴμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάνυ ἐν 40 καρφῷ ποιῆσαι. νῦν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε ὡς ἄθυμως μὲν ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἄθυμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς. ὁστε οὕτω γ' ἔχοντων οὐκ οἴδα δ' τι ἂν τις χρήσατο αὐτοῖς, εἶτε νυκτὸς. δέοι εἰτε καὶ ἡμέρας. ἢν δὲ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς ἵμνωμας, ῥως μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοοῦντα τί πείσονται 432
ANABASIS, III. i. 36-41

only show that you are making preparations yourselves against the enemy, but call upon the rest to do likewise, be well assured that they will follow you and will try to imitate you. But perhaps it is really proper that you should somewhat excel them. For you are generals, you are lieutenant-generals and captains; while peace lasted, you had the advantage of them alike in pay and in standing; now, therefore, when a state of war exists, it is right to expect that you should be superior to the common soldiers, and that you should plan for them and toil for them whenever there be need.

"And now, firstly, I think you would do the army a great service if you should see to it that generals and captains are appointed as speedily as possible to take the places of those who are lost. For without leaders nothing fine or useful can be accomplished in any field, to put it broadly, and certainly not in warfare. For discipline, it seems, keeps men in safety, while the lack of it has brought many ere now to destruction. Secondly, when you have appointed all the leaders that are necessary, I think you would perform a very opportune act if you should gather together the rest of the soldiers also and try to encourage them. For, as matters stand now, perhaps you have observed for yourselves in what dejection they came to their quarters and in what dejection they proceeded to their picket duty; and so long as they are in this state, I know not what use one could make of them, if there should be need of them either by night or by day. If, however, we can turn the current of their minds, so that they shall be thinking, not merely of what they are to suffer, but likewise of what they are
ΞΕΝΟΦΟΝΤΟΣ

άλλα καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται.

42 ἐπίστασασθε γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὔτε πλῆθος ἐστὶν οὔτε ἵσχὺς ἢ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τάς νίκας ποιοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ὁπότεροι ἢν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέ- στεροί ἱστίν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτοις ὃς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται. ἔντεθυμημαι δ’ ἐγὼ γε, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὅποιοι μὲν μασ- τεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὕτωι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχρῶς ὃς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνῄσκουσιν, ὅποιοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώ- κασι πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώπων, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνῄσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτοις ὅρω μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνο- μένους καὶ ἕως ἃν ἴσων εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγον- ται. ὃ καὶ ἡμᾶς 1 δεῖ νῦν καταμαθῶντας, ἐν τοιούτῳ γὰρ καθὼς ἐσμεν, αὐτούς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν. ὁ μὲν τύποι εἴπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτων εἶπε Χειρίσοφος. Ἀλλὰ πρό- σθεν μὲν, ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τοσούτων μόνων σε ἐγνώ- σκον ὅσον ἢκουν Ἁθηναίων εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαίνῳ σε ἐφ’ ὅς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις καὶ βουλόμην ἀν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτως.

46 κοινὸν γὰρ ἄν εἰδὸ τὸ ἀγαθόν. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ’ ἀπελθόντες ἢδη αἱρέσθη οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλομενοὶ ἠκέτε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ἁγετε. ἐπεὶ’ ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν 2 τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώ-

1 ἡμᾶς the inferior MSS., Gem.: όμᾶs the better MSS., Mar.
2 συγκαλοῦμεν MSS., Mar.: συγκαλάμεν Gem., following Nitsche.

434
going to do, they will be far more cheerful. For you understand, I am sure, that it is neither numbers nor strength which wins victories in war; but whichever of the two sides it be whose troops, by the blessing of the gods, advance to the attack with stouter hearts, against those troops their adversaries generally refuse to stand. And in my own experience, gentlemen, I have observed this other fact, that those who are anxious in war to save their lives in any way they can, are the very men who usually meet with a base and shameful death; while those who have recognized that death is the common and inevitable portion of all mankind and therefore strive to meet death nobly, are precisely those who are somehow more likely to reach old age and who enjoy a happier existence while they do live. We, then, taking to heart this lesson, so suited to the crisis which now confronts us, must be brave men ourselves and call forth bravery in our fellows.” With these words Xenophon ceased speaking.

After him Cheirisophus said: “Hitherto, Xenophon, I have known you only to the extent of having heard that you were an Athenian, but now I commend you both for your words and your deeds, and I should be glad if we had very many of your sort; for it would be a blessing to the entire army. And now, gentlemen,” he went on, “let us not delay; withdraw and choose your commanders at once, you who need them, and after making your choices come to the middle of the camp and bring with you the men you have selected; then we will call a meeting there of all the troops. And let
47 τας. παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ο κήρυξ. καὶ ἀμα ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὡς μὴ μελλοίτο ἀλλά περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα. ἔκ τούτου ἦρεθησαν ἄρχουτες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίων Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικής Ἀχαίος, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκάς, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαίος, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ἐνοφῶν Ἀθηναίος.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦρμιτο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδοῦ ὅπεραν καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχουτες, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφυλακάς καταστήσαντας συνεκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιώται συνήλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτος μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ 2 Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ἐλεξεν ὅδε. Ἄνδρες στρατιώται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅποτε ἄνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν, πρὸς δ' ἐτή καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖοι οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς. 3 ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τελέσθαι καὶ μὴ ύφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειράσθαι ὅπως ἢν μὴ δυνάμεθα καλῶς νικῶντες σωζόμεθα: εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθυνόμουμεν ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε γενώμεθα ξώντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἷοι γὰρ ἢ ἡμᾶς τοιαύτα παθεῖν οὐ τούς ἔχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν.

4 Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἐλεξεν ὅδε. Ἔλλ' ὀράτε μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιορκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὀράτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνου ἀπιστίαν, ὡστε λέγων ὡς γείτων τε

1 Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκάς the inferior MSS., Mar.: Ἀρκάδος Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος the better MSS., which Gem. follows, bracketing Ἀρκάδος.
us make sure,” he added, “that Tolmides, the herald, is present.” With these words he got up at once, that there might be no delay in carrying out the needful measures. Thereupon the commanders were chosen, Timasion the Dardanian in place of Clearchus, Xanthicles the Achaean in place of Socrates, Cleanor the Arcadian in place of Agias, Philesius the Achaean in place of Menon, and Xenophon the Athenian in place of Proxenus.

II. When these elections had been completed, and as day was just about beginning to break, the commanders met in the middle of the camp; and they resolved to station outposts and then call an assembly of the soldiers. As soon as they had come together, Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian arose first and spoke as follows: “Fellow-soldiers, painful indeed is our present situation, seeing that we are robbed of such generals and captains and soldiers, and, besides, that Ariaeus and his men, who were formerly our allies, have betrayed us; nevertheless, we must quit ourselves like brave men as well as may be in these circumstances, and must not yield, but rather try to save ourselves by glorious victory if we can; otherwise, let us at least die a glorious death, and never fall into the hands of our enemies alive. For in that case I think we should meet the sort of sufferings that I pray the gods may visit upon our foes.”

Then Cleanor the Orchomenian arose and spoke as follows: “Come, fellow-soldiers, you see the perjury and impiety of the King; you see likewise the faithlessness of Tissaphernes. It was Tissaphernes who said \(^1\) that he was a neighbour of Greece and that

\(^1\) II. iii. 18.
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

eιθ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιησιστὸ
σώσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν,
αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δοῦς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε
τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένων ἢδεσθή,
ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχης καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοις γενόμενοι αὐτοῖς
τούτους ἐξαπατῆσας τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς ἀπολὼλεκεν.

5 Ἀριαῖος δὲ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθι-
στάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἔλαβομεν πιστὰ μὴ
προδώσειν ἄλλης, καὶ σύντος ρύτε τοὺς θεοὺς
deίσας οὐτε Κύρου τεθυρκότα αἰδεθεῖς, τιμώμενος
μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς
ἐκείνου εὐθίστους ἀποστάσ ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου

6 φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειράται. ἀλλὰ τούτους
μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτείσαντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεὶ ταῦτα
ὄρῳντας μῆποτε ἐξαπατήθηναι ἐτι ὑπὸ τούτων,
ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνόμεθα κράτιστα τούτο
ὁ τι ἄν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσχειν.

7 Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ
πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἶτε νίκην
didοις οἱ θεοὶ, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικῶν
πρέπειν, εἶτε τελευτῶν δεοί, ὡρᾶς ἔχειν τῶν
καλλίστων ἣντον ἄξιωσαντα ἐν τούτως τῆς
tελευτῆς τυγχάνειν τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἦρχετο ὁδε.

8 Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν
λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπιστάσθε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἴμαι.
εἰ μὲν ὁυν βουλόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας
lénav, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὡρῶντασ
he would do his utmost to save us; it was none other than he who gave us his oaths to confirm these words; and then he, Tissaphernes, the very man who had given such pledges, was the very man who deceived and seized our generals. More than that, he did not even reverence Zeus, the god of hospitality; instead, he entertained Clearchus at his own table and then made that very act the means of deceiving and destroying the generals. Ariaeus, too, whom we were ready to make king, with whom we exchanged pledges not to betray one another, even he, showing neither fear of the gods nor honour for the memory of Cyrus dead, although he was most highly honoured by Cyrus living, has now gone over to the bitterest foes of that same Cyrus, and is trying to work harm to us, the friends of Cyrus. Well, may these men be duly punished by the gods; we, however, seeing their deeds, must never again be deceived by them, but must fight as stoutly as we can and meet whatever fortune the gods may please to send."

Hereupon Xenophon arose, arrayed for war in his finest dress. For he thought that if the gods should grant victory, the finest raiment was suited to victory; and if it should be his fate to die, it was proper, he thought, that inasmuch as he had accounted his office worthy of the most beautiful attire, in this attire he should meet his death. He began his speech as follows: "The perjury and faithlessness of the barbarians has been spoken of by Cleanor and is understood, I imagine, by the rest of you. If, then, it is our desire to be again on terms of friendship with them, we must needs feel great despondency

1 II. v. 27.  2 II. i. 4.  3 II. ii. 8.
XENOPHON

καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, οἱ δὲ πίστεωσι αὐτοῖς ἐαυ-
τοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οὐλα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι δια-
νοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὡν τε πεποίηκασι· δίκην
ἐπιθείναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέ-
μου αὐτοῖς ἴναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλαὶ ἤμιν καὶ
καλαὶ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας.

9. Τὸύτῳ δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυται τις ἀκού-
σαντες δ’ οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μιὰ ὅμηρη προσ-
eκύνηγαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν: Δοκεῖ
μοι, δ’ ἀνδρές, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἤμων λεγόντων
οἰων ὁ Δίστοις τού σωτήρος ἑφανη, εὐξασθαί τῷ
θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτηρία, ὅπον ἂν πρῶτον εἰς
φίλιαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαί δὲ καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσεων κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτω
δοκεῖ τάντ’, ἐφη, ἀνατεύνατω τῷ χείρα. καὶ
ἀνέτειναν ἄπαντες. ἐκ τούτου ηὔξαντο καὶ ἐπαι-
άσαυαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἥρχετο
πάλιν ὡδὲ.

10. Ἐτύγχανον λέγον ὅτι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ
ἐλπίδες ἤμιν εἰεν σωτηρίας. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ
ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους, οἱ δὲ
πολέμοι ἐπιωρκήκασι τε καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς παρὰ
toûs ὅρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δ’ ἐχόντων εἰκός
τοῖς μὲν πολεμίωις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς,
ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οὕτε ἰκανοὶ εἰσὶ καὶ τοὺς
μεγάλους ταχὺς μικροὶς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς
καὶ ἐν δεινοῖς ὡςι σῷζειν εὔπετῶς, ὅταν βούλω-
tαι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν
προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς

1 The sneeze was a lucky sign, and particularly lucky
because it came at just the time when Xenophon was utter-
ing the word σωτηρίας, "deliverance."

440
when we see the fate of our generals, who trustingly put themselves in their hands; but if our intention is to rely upon our arms, and not only to inflict punishment upon them for their past deeds, but henceforth to wage implacable war with them, we have—the gods willing—many fair hopes of deliverance."

As he was saying this a man sneezed, and when the soldiers heard it, they all with one impulse made obeisance to the god; and Xenophon said, "I move, gentlemen, since at the moment when we were talking about deliverance an omen from Zeus the Saviour was revealed to us, that we make a vow to sacrifice to that god thank-offerings for deliverance as soon as we reach a friendly land; and that we add a further vow to make sacrifices, to the extent of our ability, to the other gods also. All who are in favour of this motion," he said, "will raise their hands." And every man in the assembly raised his hand. Thereupon they made their vows and struck up the paean. These ceremonies duly performed, Xenophon began again with these words:

"I was saying that we have many fair hopes of deliverance. For, in the first place, we are standing true to the oaths we took in the name of the gods, while our enemies have perjured themselves and, in violation of their oaths, have broken the truce. This being so, it is fair to assume that the gods are their foes and our allies—and the gods are able speedily to make the strong weak and, when they so will, easily to deliver the weak, even though they be in dire perils. Secondly, I would remind you of the perils of our own forefathers, to show you not only

2 Zeus Soter, who was presumed (see below) to have sent the omen.
ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι σφύσατα, τὸ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάντων δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ. ἐλθοῦν μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοίς παμ-πληθεῖ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφαιρόμενων τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστήναι αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν
12 αὐτούς. καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὀπόσους κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαίρας καταθύσει τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ικανὰς εὐρείων, ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θυέων,
13 καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἀποθύνουσιν. ἔπειτα ὅτε Ἐξερήξης ὑστερον ἄγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τους τούτων προγόνων καὶ κατὰ γήν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. δὲν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὅταν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύρων ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς υμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην ἄλλα τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. τοιούτων μὲν ἔστε προγόνων.
14 Οὐ μὲν δὴ τούτῳ γε ἐρῶ ὃς υμεῖς κατασκύ-
νετε αὐτοὺς· ἀλλ’ οὐ πολλαὶ ήμέραι (αἵ’ οὔ) ἀντι-
tαξάμενοι τούτως τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγονοῖς πολλα-
πλασίους ύμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικάτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς.
15 καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοὶ· νῦν δ’ ὅποτε περὶ τῆς ὑπερβασάς ὑπο-
ρίας οἱ ἀγῶν ἔστι πολὺ δήπου υμᾶς προσήκει· καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμοτέρους εἶναι· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς

1 In the battle of Marathon, 490 b.c.
2 According to Herodotus (vi. 117) the Persian dead num-
bered 6,400.
3 Herodotus (vii. 185) puts the whole number of fighting
men in Xerxes’ armament at 2,641,610.
that it is your right to be brave men, but that brave men are delivered, with the help of the gods, even out of most dreadful dangers. For when the Persians and their followers came with a vast array to blot Athens out of existence, the Athenians dared, unaided, to withstand them, and won the victory.  

And while they had vowed to Artemis that for every man they might slay of the enemy they would sacrifice a goat to the goddess, they were unable to find goats enough; so they resolved to offer five hundred every year, and this sacrifice they are paying even to this day. Again, when Xerxes at a later time gathered together that countless host and came against Greece, then too our forefathers were victorious, both by land and by sea, over the forefathers of our enemies. As tokens of these victories we may, indeed, still behold the trophies, but the strongest witness to them is the freedom of the states in which you were born and bred; for to no human creature do you pay homage as master, but to the gods alone. It is from such ancestors, then, that you are sprung.

"Now I am far from intending to say that you disgrace them; in fact, not many days ago you set yourselves in array against these descendants of those ancient Persians and were victorious, with the aid of the gods, over many times your own numbers. And then, mark you, it was in Cyrus' contest for the throne that you proved yourselves brave men; but now, when the struggle is for your own safety, it is surely fitting that you should be far braver and more zealous. Furthermore, you ought now to be more

---

4 By sea at Salamis (480 B.C.) and by land at Plataea (479 B.C.).
πολεμίως. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἀπειροὶ ὄντες αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλήθος ἀμέτρου ὄρωντες, ὡμοὶ ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἴηναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ ὅπως καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιον ὄντες δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι;

17 Ὁμώς μέντοι τούτοι μείναι δόξητε ἔχειν ὅτι οἱ Ἀριαῖοςὁ πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. έτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονες εἰσὶ τῶν ύφιστάμενῶν ἠπνων ἤπειροι καταλαμπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δὲ θέλοντας φυγῆς ἀρχεῖν πολὺ κρείττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττόμενοι ἦν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει ὑμῶν.

18 Εἰ δὲ τις ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ· ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσών ἵππεϊς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεισιν, ἐνθυμήσοτε ὅτι οἱ μῦροι ἵππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ή μῦροι εἰσών ἀνθρώποι. ὅπως μὲν γὰρ ἵππον εὖ μαχητέοι πώποτε οὕτω δηχθήσετε οὕτε λακτισθήσετε ἀπεθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρεῖς εἰσών οἱ ποιοῦντες ὃ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνονται. οὐκοῦν τῶν ἵππων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπί ἀσφαλεστέρον ὁχήματος ἐσμεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ’ ἵππων κρέμανται φοβούμενοι οὗ ἡμᾶς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐβεβηκότες πολὺ μὲν ἵσχυρότερον παῖσομεν, ἡν τις προσήκη, πολὺ δὲ μάλλον ὅτιν ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα. ἐνι δὲ μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς.

19 ἐνι δὲ μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς.

20 Φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερον ἐστιν ἡ ἡμῖν. εἰ δὲ

---
1 Ἀριαίου Gem., following Hug: Κύρειοi MSS.
2 After γοὺν the MSS. have πρὸς : del. Hertlein.
confident in facing the enemy. For then you were unacquainted with them, you saw that their numbers were beyond counting, and you nevertheless dared, with all the spirit of your fathers, to charge upon them; but now, when you have already made actual trial of them and find that they have no desire, even though they are many times your number, to await your attack, what reason can remain for your being afraid of them?

"Again, do not suppose that you are the worse off because the followers of Ariaeus, who were formerly marshalled with us, have now deserted us. For they are even greater cowards than the men we defeated; at any rate they took to flight before them, leaving us to shift for ourselves. And when we find men who are ready to set the example of flight, it is far better to see them drawn up with the enemy than on our own side.

"But if anyone of you is despondent because we are without horsemen while the enemy have plenty at hand, let him reflect that your ten thousand horsemen are nothing more than ten thousand men; for nobody ever lost his life in battle from the bite or kick of a horse, but it is the men who do whatever is done in battles. Moreover, we are on a far surer foundation than your horsemen: they are hanging on their horses' backs, afraid not only of us, but also of falling off; while we, standing upon the ground, shall strike with far greater force if anyone comes upon us and shall be far more likely to hit whomsoever we aim at. In one point alone your horsemen have the advantage—flight is safer for them than it is for us. Suppose, however, that you

1 *cp. i. ix. 31–x. 1.*
XENOPHON

dὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας, θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ὑμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἤγησεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τούτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρείττον Τισσαφέρνης ἤγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὅσε ἐπιβουλεύων ἦμῖν φανερὸς ἔστιν, ἢ οὔς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἠγεῖσθαι κελεύσμεν, οἱ εἰσονταί ὅτι ἡν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀμαρτήσονται. τὰ δὲ ἑπτήδεια πότερον ὄνεισθαι κρείττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἢς οὐτοὶ παρεῖχον μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τούτο ἐτὶ ἔχοντας, ἡ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν, ἦπερ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένου ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἐκαστὸς βούληται;

21 Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γυγνώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι καὶ μεγάλως ἠγείσθη ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τούτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. πάντες γὰρ ποταμοὶ, ἡν καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προσιόυσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατῶν γίγνονται οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες.

22 Εἰ δὲ μὴν οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν ἢγεμόνα τε μηδεῖς ἦμῖν φανεῖται, οὐδ' ὅς ἦμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον.

1 e.g. the Tigris (II. iv. 13-24).
2 viz. in leading the Greeks across (i.e. to the eastern bank of) the Tigris. For, Xenophon argues (see below), the

446
do not lack confidence about the fighting, but are troubled because you are no longer to have Tissaphernes to guide you or the King to provide a market. If this be the case, I ask you to consider whether it is better to have Tissaphernes for a guide, the man who is manifestly plotting against us, or such people as we may ourselves capture and may order to serve as guides, men who will know that if they make any mistake in aught that concerns us, they will be making a mistake in that which concerns their own lives and limbs. And as for provisions, is it the better plan to buy from the market which these barbarians have provided—small measures for large prices, when we have no money left, either—or to appropriate for ourselves, in case we are victorious, and to use as large a measure as each one of us pleases?

"But in these points, let us say, you realize that our present situation is better; you believe, however, that the rivers are a difficulty, and you think you were immensely deceived when you crossed them;\(^1\) then consider whether this is not really a surpassingly foolish thing that the barbarians have done.\(^2\) For all rivers, even though they be impassable at a distance from their sources, become passable, without even wetting your knees, as you approach toward the sources.

"But assume that the rivers will not afford us a crossing and that we shall find no one to guide us; even in that case we ought not to be despondent.

Greeks will now be compelled to march to the source of the river in order to cross, and hence will be living on the country so much the longer a time.
XENOPHON

ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσούς, οὖς οὐκ ἂν ἦμον φαίνειν βελτίως εἰναι, ὅτι ἐν βασιλέως χώρᾳ πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὁσαύτως, Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἴδομεν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἔρμων καταλαβόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται. 'καὶ ἡμᾶς δὲ ἄν ἔφην ἔγνυε χρῆναι μήτως φανερῶς εἶναι οἰκίας ὤρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ οἰκήσοντας. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλείας πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἄν δοίη, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄν ὀμήρους τοῦ ἄδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὀδόποιήσειέ γ' ἄν αὐτοῖς κα. εἰ σὺν τεθρίππως βούλοιντο ἀπίέναι. καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἄν οἴδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἔωρα ἡμᾶς μένειν κατασκευαζομένους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μη, ἄν ἀπαξ μάθωμεν ἄργοι ξην καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὀμιλεῖν, μη ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαξάμεθα τῆς οἰκιάδε

26 ὀδοῦ. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειράζθαι ἄφικνεσθαι καὶ ἐπιδείξας τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ὅτι ἐκόντες πένυνται, ἔξον αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν σκληρῶς ἐκεί πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισμένους πλουσίους ὀρᾶν.

'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὡς ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τάγαθα

1 After ὅτι, Mar. and some other edd. insert the words βασιλέως ἅκοντος, which appear in the margin of MS. C1.
ANABASIS, III. ii. 23-26

For we know that the Mysians,¹ whom we should not admit to be better men than ourselves, inhabit many large and prosperous cities in the King's territory, we know that the same is true of the Pisidians,¹ and as for the Lycaonians¹ we even saw with our own eyes that they had seized the strongholds in the plains and were reaping for themselves the lands of these Persians; so, in our case, my own view would be that we ought not yet to let it be seen that we have set out for home; we ought, rather, to be making our arrangements as if we intended to settle here. For I know that to the Mysians the King would not only give plenty of guides, but plenty of hostages, to guarantee a safe conduct for them out of his country; in fact, he would build a road for them, even if they wanted to take their departure in four-horse chariots. And I know that he would be thrice glad to do the same for us, if he saw that we were preparing to stay here. I really fear, however, that if we once learn to live in idleness and luxury, and to consort with the tall and beautiful women and maidens of these Medes and Persians, we may, like the lotus-eaters,² forget our homeward way. Therefore, I think it is right and proper that our first endeavour should be to return to our kindred and friends in Greece, and to point out to the Greeks that it is by their own choice that they are poor; for they could bring here the people who are now living a hard life at home, and could see them in the enjoyment of riches.

"It is really a plain fact, gentlemen, that all these

¹ Peoples of Asia Minor who were in almost constant rebellion against Persian authority; cp. esp. i. ii. 19, ii. v. 13.
² An allusion to Odyssey, ix. 94 ff.
XENOPHON

27 δήλον ὅτι τῶν κρατοῦντων ἐστὶν τοῦτο δὴ διέ λέγειν, ὅπως ἂν πορευοίμεθα τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δέοι ὃς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τούππιν, ἐφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαύσαι τὰς ἀμάξας ἃς ἐχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ θεογια ἡμῶν στρατηγῆς, ἀλλὰ πορευόμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ ἐπείτα καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς συγκατακαύσαι. αὔται γὰρ αὐν όχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνοφ- φελοῦσι δ' οὐδέν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὔτε εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἐνεκεν ἢ σῖτων ἢ ποτῶν ἐχομεν, ἵνα ως πλείστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ὅσις, ὡς ἐξα- χίστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. κρατούμενων μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια· ἰὴν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τότε πολεμίους δεὶ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν.

29 Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. ὅρατε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεὶ ὑπόλυμπαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομί- ξουτες ὅτων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡμῶν πειθο- μένων ἰκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ, λαβῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἀναρχία ἁν καὶ ἀταξία ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. δεὶ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐπροκτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀρχοντι νῦν ἦ

1 ἀπὸ MSS., Mar.: ἤ Gam., following Castalio.
good things belong to those who have the strength to possess them; but I must go on to another point, how we can march most safely and, if we have to fight, can fight to the best advantage. In the first place, then,” Xenophon proceeded, “I think we should burn up the wagons which we have, so that our cattle may not be our captains, but we can take whatever route may be best for the army. Secondly, we should burn up our tents also; for these, again, are a bother to carry, and no help at all either for fighting or for obtaining provisions. Furthermore, let us abandon all our other superfluous baggage, keeping only such articles as we use for war, or in eating and drinking, in order that we may have the largest possible number of men under arms and the least number carrying baggage. For when men are conquered, you are aware that all their possessions become the property of others; but if we are victorious, we may regard the enemy as our packbearers.

“It remains for me to mention the one matter which I believe is really of the greatest importance. You observe that our enemies did not muster up courage to begin hostilities against us until they had seized our generals; for they believed that so long as we had our commanders and were obedient to them, we were able to worst them in war, but when they had got possession of our commanders, they believed that the want of leadership and of discipline would be the ruin of us. Therefore our present commanders must show themselves far more vigilant than their predecessors, and the men in the ranks must be far more orderly and more obedient to their
XENOPHON

31 πρόσθεν ἦν δὲ τις ἀπειθῆ ψηφίσασθαι τὸν ἀεὶ ύμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἀρχοντὶ κολάζειν: οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλείστουν ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇ δὲ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὕφονται ἀνθ' ἐνὸς Κλεάρχους τοὺς οὔδεν εἰπτρέψοντας κακῷ εἶναι.

32 ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαινεῖν ἦδη ὑπά. ἵσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὡς οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἢν ἔργῳ περαινεῖται. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη, τολμᾶτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν πάντες γὰρ κοινὴς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.

33 Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν: Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τίνος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τοῦτοις οἳς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν· ἀ δὲ νῦν εἰρήκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἀριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτι δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατείνατο τὴν χείρα. ἀνέτειναν πάντες.

34 Ἀναστάς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν. Ὡς ἀνδρεῖς, ἀκούσατε ὡν προσδοκεῖ μοι. δήλου ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἔξομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἀκοῦω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς οὗ πλέον εἰκοσι σταδίων

35 ἀπεχούσας· οὐκ ἀν οὖν θαυμάζοιμεν εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὅσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκουσί τε καὶ δάκρυσιν, ἵνα δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἀπισυσίν

1 σκοπεῖν Gem., following Schwartz: ποιεῖν MSS.
2 διώκουσι τε MSS. except C₁, Mar.: διώκοντες C₁, Gem.
ANABASIS, III. ii. 30–35

commanders now than they used to be. We must pass a vote that, in case anyone is disobedient, whoever of you may be at hand at the time shall join with the officer in punishing him; in this way the enemy will find themselves mightily deceived; for to-day they will behold, not one Clearchus,¹ but ten thousand, who will not suffer anybody to be a bad soldier. But it is time now to be acting instead of talking; for perhaps the enemy will soon be at hand. Whoever, then, thinks that these proposals are good should ratify them with all speed, that they may be carried out in action. But if any other plan is thought better than mine, let anyone, even though he be a private soldier, feel free to present it; for the safety of all is the need of all.”

After this Cheirisophus said: “We shall be able to consider presently whether we need to do anything else besides what Xenophon proposes, but on the proposals which he has already made I think it is best for us to vote as speedily as possible. Whoever is in favour of these measures, let him raise his hand.” They all raised their hands.

Then Xenophon arose once more and said: “Give ear, gentlemen, to the further proposals I have to present. It is clear that we must make our way to a place where we can get provisions; and I hear that there are fine villages at a distance of not more than twenty stadia. We should not be surprised, then, if the enemy—after the fashion of cowardly dogs that chase passers-by and bite them, if they can, but run away from anyone who chases them—if the enemy in the same way should follow at our

¹ Clearchus was notoriously a stern disciplinarian; cp. ii. vi. 8 ff.
36 ἐπακολουθοῦνεν. ἦσις οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμᾶς πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον πουησαμένους τῶν ὀπλῶν, ἵνα τὰ σκενοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολύς ὀχλός ἐν ἄσφαλεστέρῳ εἰη. εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθεῖν τίνας χρή ἤγείσθαι τοῦ πλαίσιον καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δὲ ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἀν ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξθοιεῖς θυεῖς τοῖς ἑργοῖς δὲ νεότατοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τιμασίων τὸ νῦν εἰναι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρόμενοι ταῦτα τῆς τάξεως βουλευσόμεθα δὲ τὴν ἦγοιτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔστι τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τὸ προσβυτάτω στρατηγῷ ἐπιμελοῦσθην ὀπισθοφυλακοῦμεν δὴ ἥμεις οἱ νεώτατοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τιμασίων τὸ νῦν εἰναι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὀρᾶ, ἀλλὰς ἔχετω εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγοῖτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔστι τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τὸ προσβυτάτῳ στρατηγῷ ἐπιμελοῦσθην ὀπισθοφυλακοῦμεν δὴ ἥμεις οἱ νεώτατοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τιμασίων τὸ νῦν εἰναι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρόμενοι ταῦτα τῆς τάξεως βουλευσόμεθα δὲ τὴν ἦγοιτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔστι τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τὸ προσβυτάτῳ στρατηγῷ ἐπιμελοῦσθην ὀπισθοφυλακοῦμεν δὴ ἥμεις οἱ νεώτατοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τιμασίων τὸ νῦν εἰναι. εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλῳ ὀρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω. ἐπεὶ δὲ οúdeis ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν ὁ Νεώτατος ταῦτα ἀνατείνατο τὴν χείρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. Νῦν τοίνυν ἐφη, ἀπίοντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδομένα. καὶ ὁστὶς τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἰναι οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἄλλως τοῦτο τυχεῖν ἄστις τε ζην ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω νικᾶν τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικώντων τὸ καίνειν, τῶν δὲ ἦττωμένων τὸ ἀποθυσκέειν ἐστὶ καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω τῶν γὰρ νικώντων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν σόζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἦττωμένων λαμβάνειν. 454
heels as we retire. Hence it will be safer, perhaps, for us to march with the hoplites formed into a hollow square, so that the baggage train and the great crowd of camp followers may be in a safer place. If, then, it should be settled at once who are to lead the square and marshal the van, who are to be on either flank, and who to guard the rear, we should not need to be taking counsel at the time when the enemy comes upon us, but we should find our men at once in their places ready for action. Now if anyone sees another plan which is better, let us follow that plan; but if not, I propose that Cheirisophus take the lead, especially since he is a Lacedaemonian, that the two oldest generals have charge of the two flanks, and that, for the present, we who are the youngest, Timasion and I, command the rear. And for the future, as we make trial of this formation we can adopt whatever course may seem from time to time to be best. If anyone sees a better plan, let him present it.” No one having any opposing view to express, Xenophon said: “Whoever is in favour of these measures, let him raise his hand.” The motion was carried. “And now,” he continued, “we must go back and put into execution what has been resolved upon. And whoever among you desires to see his friends again, let him remember to show himself a brave man; for in no other way can he accomplish this desire. Again, whoever is desirous of saving his life, let him strive for victory; for it is the victors that slay and the defeated that are slain. Or if anyone longs for wealth, let him also strive to conquer; for conquerors not only keep their own possessions, but gain the possessions of the conquered.”
XENOPHON

III. Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ὅτου μὲν δέοιτο τις μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἥριστοποιοῦντο. ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθραδάτης σὺν ἵππευσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς 2 εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὅτε. Ἐγώ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑμῖν εὐνοὺς· καὶ ἐνθάδε δ' εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ σου ὀρφήν ὑμᾶς σωτηρίων τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρὸς με τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὐνοῦν καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν 3 ύμιν τῶν στόλων ποιεῖσθαι. βουλευομένων τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος. Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἐὰν ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἶκας, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἀν δυνόμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δὲ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύῃ,1 διαπολεμεῖν τοῦτω ὡς ἀν δυνόμεθα 4 κράτιστα. ἐκ τούτων ἑπειρᾶτο Μιθραδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἀποροῦν εἰς βασιλέως ἀκούων σωθῆναι. ἐνθὰ δὲ ἐγνωρίσκετο ὅτι ὑπότεμπος εἰς· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολουθήκει 5 πίστεως ἐνεκα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βελτιων ἐναι δόγμα ποιησάσθαι τὸν

1 ἀποκωλύῃ MSS. except C1, Mar.: ἐπικωλύῃ C1, Gem.

456
ANABASIS, III. iii. 1-5

III. After these words of Xenophon's the assembly arose, and all went back to camp and proceeded to burn the wagons and the tents. As for the superfluous articles of baggage, whatever anybody needed they shared with one another, but the rest they threw into the fire. When they had done all this, they set about preparing breakfast; and while they were so engaged, Mithradates¹ approached with about thirty horsemen, summoned the Greek generals within earshot, and spoke as follows: "Men of Greece, I was faithful to Cyrus, as you know for yourselves, and I am now friendly to you; indeed, I am tarrying here in great fear. Therefore if I should see that you were taking salutary measures, I should join you and bring all my retainers with me. Tell me, then, what you have in mind, in the assurance that I am your friend and well-wisher, and am desirous of making the journey in company with you." The generals held council and voted to return the following answer, Cheirisophus acting as spokesman: "It is our resolve, in case no one hinders our homeward march, to proceed through the country doing the least possible damage, but if anyone tries to prevent us from making the journey, to fight it out with him to the best of our power." Thereupon Mithradates undertook to show that there was no possibility of their effecting a safe return unless the King so pleased. Then it became clear to the Greeks that his mission was a treacherous one; indeed, one of Tissaphernes' relatives had followed along, to see that he kept faith. The generals consequently decided that it was best to pass a decree that there should be no negotiations with the enemy in this war.

¹ cp. ii. v. 35.
XENOPHON

πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστ' ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ εἰςεν·
διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ
ἐνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα,
καὶ ὡσιοτέρον ἵππων νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

6 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν
Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι τὰ
ὕποξύγια καὶ τὸν ὅχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ
πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπιφαίνεται
πάλιν ὁ Μιθραδάτης, ἱππεάς ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους
καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακοσίους

7 μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐξύνους. καὶ προσήκει μὲν
ὡς φίλος ὃν πρὸς τοὺς "Ελλήνας· ἔπει δ' ἐγγὺς
ἐγένοντο, ἐξαπίνησι οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ
ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἐτί-
τρωσκον. οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφυλακὲς τῶν 'Ελλήνων
ἐπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποίουν δ' οὐδέν οὐ
τε γαρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ
ἀμα ψιλοὶ οὐντες εἰσώ τῶν ὀπλών κατεκέκλευτο,
οἱ δὲ ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἡκοντιζοῦν ἢ ὡς

8 ἔξικνεισθαί τῶν σφενδονήτων. ἐκ τούτου Ξενο-
φώντι ἐδοκεῖ διωκτένοι εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν
ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οὐ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῶ
ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διὼκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατε-

9 λάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων. οὔτε γαρ ἱππεῖς ἤσαν
toῖς "Ελλησιν οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ
πολλῷ1 φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν

1 ἐκ πολλῷ MSS. except C₄, Mar.: Gem. omits, follow-
ing C₄.
so long as they should be in the enemy's country. For the barbarians kept coming and trying to corrupt the soldiers; in the case of one captain, Nicarchus the Arcadian, they actually succeeded, and he decamped during the night, taking with him about twenty men.

After this they took breakfast, crossed the Zapatas river, and set out on the march in the formation decided upon, with the baggage animals and the camp followers in the middle of the square. They had not proceeded far when Mithradates appeared again, accompanied by about two hundred horsemen and by bowmen and slingers—exceedingly active and nimble troops—to the number of four hundred. He approached the Greeks as if he were a friend, but when his party had got close at hand, on a sudden some of them, horse and foot alike, began shooting with their bows and others with slings, and they inflicted wounds. And the Greek rearguard, while suffering severely, could not retaliate at all; for the Cretan bowmen not only had a shorter range than the Persians, but besides, since they had no armour, they were shut in within the lines of the hoplites; and the Greek javelin-men could not throw far enough to reach the enemy's slingers. Xenophon consequently decided that they must pursue the Persians, and this they did, with such of the hoplites and peltasts as were guarding the rear with him; but in their pursuit they failed to catch a single man of the enemy. For the Greeks had no horsemen, and their foot-soldiers were not able to overtake the enemy's foot-soldiers—since the latter had a long start in their flight—within a short

1 cp. ii. v. 1.  
2 See ii. 36.  
3 See i. ii. 9. The Cretans were the most famous archers of antiquity.
XENOPHON

ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ ὁμός ὁ ὅν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἤπτεσί καὶ φεύγοντες ἀμα ἐπίτρωσκον εἰς τοὺς πισθὲν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅπόσον δὲ διώξειαν οἱ Ἐλληνες· τοσοῦτον πάλιν ἔπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. ὃς τε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης ἄργλθων οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δείλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς τᾶς κώμας.

Ἐνθα δὴ πάλιν ἄθυμια ἦν· καὶ Χειρίσσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ἦτίωντο ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐκινησὺνε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς αἰτιῶντο καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροῦν. ἀλλὰ ἐγώ, ἐφή, ἡναγκάζον τὸ δίωκεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἐφή, ύμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνεχοροῦμεν δὲ παγχαλέτως. τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλὴ ῥώμη ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα,

dηλώσαι δὲ ὅν δεόμεθα. νῦν γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι τοξεύονσι καὶ σφενδονώσειν ὅσον οὐτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται οὕτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν

1 δὰδι MSS. except C1, Mar.: Gem. omits, following C1.
distance; and a long pursuit, far away from the main Greek army, was not possible. Again, the barbarian horsemen even while they were in flight would inflict wounds by shooting behind them from their horses; and whatever distance the Greeks might at any time cover in their pursuit, all that distance they were obliged to fall back fighting. The result was that during the whole day they travelled not more than twenty-five stadia. They did arrive, however, towards evening at the villages.¹

* Here again there was despondency. And Cheirisophus and the eldest of the generals found fault with Xenophon for leaving the main body of the army to undertake a pursuit, and thus endangering himself without being able, for all that, to do the enemy any harm. When Xenophon heard their words, he replied that they were right in finding fault with him, and that the outcome bore witness of itself for their view. “But,” he continued, “I was compelled to pursue when I saw that by keeping our places we were suffering severely and were still unable to strike a blow ourselves. As to what happened, however, when we did pursue, you are quite right: we were no better able to inflict harm upon the enemy, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that we effected our own withdrawal. Let us thank the gods, therefore, that they came, not with a large force, but with a handful, so that without doing us any great damage they have revealed our needs. For at present the enemy can shoot arrows and sling stones so far that neither our Cretan bowmen nor our javelin-men can reach them in reply; and when we pursue them, a long chase,

¹ i.e. those mentioned in ii. 34.
XENOPHON

οὐχ οἶνον τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ οὖδ’ εἰ ταχὺς εἰη πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλαμβάνοι ἐκ τόξου ρύματος. ἦμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἰργεῖν ὡστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τὴν ταχίστην δεὶ καὶ ἰππέων. ἦκοιν δ’ εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥωδίου, ὡς τοὺς πολλούς φασίν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονάν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφεν-

δονῶν. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονῶν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξυκνοῦνται, οἰ δὲ Ῥώδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσων ἐπίστανται χρήσθαι.

18 ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψόμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτοις 1 μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύ-

ριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονῶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινα ἀτέλειαν εὐρύσκομεν, ἵσως

19 τινὲς φασοῦνται ἵκανοι ἡμᾶς ὡφελεῖν. ὥρω δὲ ἱπποὺς ὑντάς ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ’ ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κλεάρχου κατάλελειμ-

μένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. ἄν οὖν τοὺτοὺς πάντας ἐκλέ-

ξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἱπποὺς εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάζομεν, ἵσως καὶ οὕτοι τι

20 τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. ἐδοξὲ καὶ ταῦτα.

1 τούτοις Cobet: τούτω MSS., followed doubtfully by Mar.: τῷ Gem.

462
away from our main body, is out of the question, and in a short chase no foot-soldier, even if he is swift, can overtake another foot-soldier who has a bow-shot the start of him. Hence, if we should propose to put an end to the possibility of their harming us on our march, we need slingers ourselves at once, and horsemen also. Now I am told that there are Rhodians¹ in our army, that most of them understand the use of the sling, and that their missile carries no less than twice as far as those from the Persian slings. For the latter have only a short range because the stones that are used in them are as large as the hand can hold; the Rhodians, however, are versed also in the art of slinging leaden bullets. If, therefore, we should ascertain who among them possess slings, and should not only pay these people for their slings, but likewise pay anyone who is willing to plait new ones, and if, furthermore, we should devise some sort of exemption for the man who will volunteer to serve as a slinger at his appointed post, it may be that men will come forward who will be capable of helping us. Again, I observe that there are horses in the army—a few at my own quarters, others that made part of Clearchus’ troop and were left behind,² and many others that have been taken from the enemy and are used as pack-animals. If, then, we should pick out all these horses, replacing them with mules, and should equip them for cavalry, it may be that this cavalry also will cause some annoyance to the enemy when they are in flight.” These proposals also were

¹ Rhodian slingers were hardly less famous than Cretan bowmen.
² i.e. when Clearchus’ troopers deserted to the King (II. ii. 7).
καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονὴται μὲν εἰς διακοσιόν ἕγενοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἵππεις ἔδωκε· μάνθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἱππαρχος ἐπεστάθη Δύκιος ο Ἡλυστράτον Ἀθηναίος.

IV. Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύνοντο προαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ ἔδει αὐτοὺς διαβῆναι ἐφ' ἂν ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθυώντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. 2 διαβεβήκοσί δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται Μιθραδάτης, ἔχων ἵππεας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους τσούτοσ patience γὰρ ἠτησε Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἔλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδὲν, πολλὰ δὲ κακά 3 ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. ἔπει δὲ οἱ Ἔλληνες διαβεβήκοτες ἀπείχον τῇς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτώ στάδιοις, διέβαίνει καὶ ὁ Μιθραδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρῆγγελτο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπεύθυνεν εἰρήτο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφευμένης ικανῆς 4 δυνάμεως. ἔπει δὲ ὁ Μιθραδάτης κατειλήφη, καὶ ἦδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεῦματα ἐξικνοῦντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἔλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς

464
adopted, and in the course of that night a company of two hundred slingers was organized, while on the following day horses and horsemen to the number of fifty were examined and accepted, and jerkins and cuirasses were provided for them; and Lycius, the son of Polystratus, an Athenian, was put in command of the troop.

IV. That day they remained quiet, but the next morning they set forth, after rising earlier than usual; for there was a gorge they had to cross, and they were afraid that the enemy might attack them as they were crossing. It was only after they had crossed it, however, that Mithradates appeared again, accompanied by a thousand horsemen and about four thousand bowmen and slingers. For these were the numbers he had requested from Tissaphernes, and these numbers he had obtained upon his promise that, if such a force were given him, he would deliver the Greeks into Tissaphernes' hands; for he had come to despise them, seeing that in his earlier attack with a small force he had done a great deal of harm, as he thought, without suffering any loss himself. When, accordingly, the Greeks were across the gorge and about eight stadia beyond it, Mithradates also proceeded to make the crossing with his troops. Now orders had already been given to such of the Greek peltasts and hoplites as were to pursue the enemy, and the horsemen had been directed to be bold in urging the pursuit, in the assurance that an adequate force would follow at their heels. As soon, then, as Mithradates had caught up, so that his sling-stones and arrows were just beginning to reach their marks, the trumpet gave its signal to the Greeks, and on
XENOPHON

ἐθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἴρητο καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἤλαννον·
οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ’ ἐφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν
5 χαράδραν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοὺς βαρβάρους
τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθαναν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἵππων
ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτώκαιδεκα.
τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἐλληνες
ηὔσαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερῶτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις
eὐθ όρᾶν.
6 Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὔτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον,
οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν
τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν.
7 ἑνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἑρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ’ αὐτῇ
ἡν Λάρισα· ὄκουν δ’ αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μήδοι.
τοῦ δὲ τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὕρος πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι
πόδες, ὑψὸς δ’ ἐκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος
δύο παρασάγγαι· ψιλοδόμητο δὲ πλήθους κερα-
μεαῖς· κρηπίς δ’ ὑπὴν λιθίνη τὸ ύψος εἰκοσι
8 ποδῶν. ταύτην βασιλεὺς Περσῶν ὅτε παρὰ
Μήδων τὴν ἀρχήν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι πολιορκῶν
οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἔλειν. ἦλιον δὲ νεφέλη
προκαλύψασα ἤφαντε μέχρι ἐξέλισσον οἱ ἀν-
9 θρωποί, καὶ οὗτος εἶλω. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν
πόλιν ἦν πυραμίδ λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὗρος ἐνὸς
πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ υψὸς δύο πλέθρων. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ
πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν πλησίον
κωμῶν ἀποπεφυγότες.
10 'Εντεῦθεν δ’ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἕνα παρα-

1 ἦλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα Mar., following Brodæus: ἦλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκαλύψας MSS., Gem.

466
the instant the foot-soldiers who were under orders rushed upon the enemy and the horsemen charged; and the enemy did not await their attack, but fled towards the gorge. In this pursuit the barbarians had many of their infantry killed, while of their cavalry no less than eighteen were taken alive in the gorge. And the Greek troops, unbidden save by their own impulse, disfigured the bodies of the dead, in order that the sight of them might inspire the utmost terror in the enemy.

After faring thus badly the enemy departed, while the Greeks continued their march unmolested through the remainder of the day and arrived at the Tigris river. Here was a large deserted city; its name was Larisa, and it was inhabited in ancient times by the Medes. Its wall was twenty-five feet in breadth and a hundred in height, and the whole circuit of the wall was two parasangs. It was built of clay bricks, and rested upon a stone foundation twenty feet high. This city was besieged by the king of the Persians at the time when the Persians were seeking to wrest from the Medes their empire, but he could in no way capture it. A cloud, however, overspread the sun and hid it from sight until the inhabitants abandoned their city; and thus it was taken. Near by this city was a pyramid of stone, a plethrum in breadth and two plethra in height; and upon this pyramid were many barbarians who had fled away from the neighbouring villages.

From this place they marched one stage, six

1 This city, called by Xenophon "Larisa," was the great Assyrian city of Calah, mentioned in Genesis, x. 11, 12.
2 Cyrus the Great (558–529 B.C.).

467
XENOPHON

σάγγας ἐξ πρὸς τείχος ἐρημοῦ μεγά κείμενων ὅνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα. Μῆδοι δ’ αὐτὴν ποτε ψύκουν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρητῆς λίθον ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὐρὸς πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ ὤψος πεντήκοντα. ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπφοκοδόμητο πλήθων τείχος, τὸ μὲν εὐρὸς πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὤψος ἐκατόν τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἡ περίοδος ἐξ παρασάγγακ. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μῆδεα γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν ὅτε ἀπώλυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολυορ-κῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεύθερον οὔτε βίᾳ. Ζεὺς δὲ βροντή κατέπληξε τοὺς εὐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐλάβον.

'Εντεύθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθοῦν ἕνα παρα-σάγγας τέτταρας. εἰς τὸ τοὺς ἐν τὸ σταθοῦν Τισσαφέρης ἐπεφάνη, οὗς τε αὐτὸς ἱππεὰς ἠλθεν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ Ἰρώνῃ δύναμιν τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἑχοντος καὶ οὔς Κύρων ἑχον ἀνέβη βαρβάρους καὶ οὔς ὁ βασιλέως ἄδελφος ἑχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτους ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἑδώκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμ-πολυ ἐφάνη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν

1 ήλθεν MSS., Mar.: ἤγαγεν Gem.

1 The ruins which Xenophon saw here were those of Nineveh, the famous capital of the Assyrian Empire. It is curious to find him dismissing this great Assyrian city (as well as Calah above) with the casual and misleading statement that “it was once inhabited by the Medes.” In fact, the capture of Nineveh by the Medes (c. 600 B.C.) was the precise event which closed the important period of its history, and it remained under the control of the Medes only 468
parasangs, to a great stronghold, deserted and lying in ruins. The name of this city was Mespila, and it was once inhabited by the Medes. The foundation of its wall was made of polished stone full of shells, and was fifty feet in breadth and fifty in height. Upon this foundation was built a wall of brick, fifty feet in breadth and a hundred in height; and the circuit of the wall was six parasangs. Here, as the story goes, Médea, the king's wife, took refuge at the time when the Medes were deprived of their empire by the Persians. To this city also the king of the Persians laid siege, but he was unable to capture it either by length of siege or by storm; Zeus, however, terrified the inhabitants with thunder, and thus the city was taken.

From this place they marched one stage, four parasangs. In the course of this stage Tissaphernes made his appearance, having under his command the cavalry which he had himself brought with him, the troops of Orontas, who was married to the King's daughter, the barbarians whom Cyrus had brought with him on his upward march, and those with whom the King's brother had come to the aid of the King; besides these contingents Tissaphernes had all the troops that the King had given him; the result was, that his army appeared exceedingly large. When he got near the Greeks, he during the succeeding half-century, i.e. until the Median Empire was in its turn overthrown by the Persians (549 B.C.). Xenophon, then, goes but one unimportant step backward in his historical note—perhaps because he did not care to go farther, perhaps because he was unable to do so.

3 Astyages, the last king of Media.
4 i.e. from his province in Asia Minor, when he came to inform Artaxerxes of Cyrus' designs against him. See i. ii. 4.
5 cp. ii. iv. 8.
6 cp. ii. iv. 25.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΗ

tάξεων ὃπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἔτολμησεν ὦνδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονάν δὲ παρ-15 ἤγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν καὶ οἱ τοξόται ἐτοξεύσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἄνδρός (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνω προνυμεῖτο ράδιον ἦν), καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν.

16 Καὶ τὸ λουτὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἴποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοιντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οὐ γε Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν.1
17 μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστιν· ὡστε χρήσιμα ἵν ὁπόσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων2 τοῖς Κρησί, καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἴενες μακράν. ἡγήσκετο δὲ καὶ νεύρα πολλά ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μόλυβδος, ὡστε χρήσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας. καὶ ταύτη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες κώμαις ἔπιτυ-

1 Mar. follows Madvig in regarding the text here as corrupt.
2 τῶν τοξευμάτων MSS.: Gem. brackets.

1 i.e. on account of the dense throng of the enemy.
2 ἐπ. iii. 7–10.
3 Xenophon remarks in iii. 17 upon the large size of the stones employed in the Persian slings. The word "also" (καὶ) can hardly refer back to that remark, but it may be

470
stationed some of his battalions in their rear and moved others into position on their flanks; then, although he could not muster up the courage to close with them and had no desire to risk a decisive battle, he ordered his men to discharge their slings and let fly their arrows. But when the Rhodian slingers and the bowmen, posted at intervals here and there, sent back an answering volley, and not a man among them missed his mark (for even if he had been very eager to do so, it would not have been easy),

\(^1\)

then Tissaphernes withdrew out of range with all speed, and the other battalions followed his example.

For the rest of the day the one army continued its march and the other its pursuit. And the barbarians were no longer \(^2\) able to do any harm by their skirmishing at long range; for the Rhodian slingers carried farther with their missiles than the Persians, farther even than the Persian bowmen. The Persian bows are also \(^3\) large, and consequently the Cretans could make good use of all the arrows that fell into their hands; in fact, they were continually using the enemy’s arrows, and practised themselves in long-range work by shooting them into the air. \(^4\)

In the villages, furthermore, the Greeks found gut in abundance and lead for the use of their slingers. As for that day’s doings, when the Greeks came upon some villages and proceeded to encamp,

that some further observation of the same sort in the original text (see critical note) of the present passage served to introduce what Xenophon now goes on to say about the Persian bows. It is implied in “consequently” \(^5\) (δοτέ) that the Cretan bows were of approximately the same size as those of the Persians.

\(^4\) So that the arrows could be easily recovered.

471
χόντεσ, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι μείον ἔχοντες τῇ ἀκροβολίσει: τὴν δ' ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἐλληνες καὶ ἐπεστίσαντο. ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραιᾷ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπε το ἀκροβολι-ξόμενος.

19 Ἔνθα δὲ οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐγνωσαν πλαίσιον ἰσό-πλευρον ὅτι πονηρὰ τὰξις εἰς πολεμίων ἐπομένων. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἔστιν, ἣν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου ἢ ὁδὸν στενοτέρας οὕσης ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἀμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἀμα δὲ ταραττομένους, ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι

20 ἀτάκτους ὁντας. ὅταν δ' αὖ διάσχηκα τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διαστάσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυ-μεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πᾶσχοντας πολεμίων ἐπομένων. καὶ ὅπτοτε δέοι γέφυραν διαβάειν ἢ ἁλλήν τινὰ διάβασιν, ἐσπευδεν ἐκαστὸς βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἢν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολε-μίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐποίησαν ἐξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ἄλ-λους ἐνωμοτάρχους. οὕτωι δὲ πορεύομενοι, ὅπτε μὲν συγκύπτοι τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενοι ύστεροι,

1 i.e. commanders of fifties and twenty-fives, or of half and quarter companies.

2 The formation is a hollow square. Xenophon means by "wings" (κέρατα, here and above) the right and left ends of the division which formed the front of the square, and by
ANABASIS, III. iv. 18–21

the barbarians withdrew, having had the worst of it in the skirmishing. The following day the Greeks remained quiet and collected supplies, for there was an abundance of corn in the villages. On the day thereafter they continued their march through the plain, and Tissaphernes hung upon their rear and kept up the skirmishing.

Then it was that the Greeks found out that a square is a poor formation when an enemy is following. For if the wings draw together, either because a road is unusually narrow or because mountains or a bridge make it necessary, it is inevitable that the hoplites should be squeezed out of line and should march with difficulty, inasmuch as they are crowded together and are likewise in confusion; the result is that, being in disorder, they are of little service. Furthermore, when the wings draw apart again, those who were lately squeezed out are inevitably scattered, the space between the wings is left unoccupied, and the men affected are out of spirits when an enemy is close behind them. Again, as often as the army had to pass over a bridge or make any other crossing, every man would hurry, in the desire to be the first one across, and that gave the enemy a fine chance to make an attack. When the generals came to realize these difficulties, they formed six companies of a hundred men each and put a captain at the head of each company, adding also platoon and squad commanders.¹ Then in case the wings drew together on the march,² these

“flanks” (πλευραῖ) the divisions which formed the sides of the square. Apparently three of the special companies were stationed at the middle of the front side of the square (cp. § 43 below) and the other three in the corresponding position at the rear.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

όστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοὺς κέρασι, τότε ἔποτε δὲ παρῆγγον ἡμι βεγγιον τῶν κερατών. ὅποτε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαυσίου, τὸ μέσον ἄν ἐξεπίμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἰς τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστύς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατύ, κατ' ἐνωμοστίας όστε ἀεὶ ἐκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον. εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνεσ τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λόχοι διεβαίνουν καὶ εἰ ποὺ δέοι τῷ τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρῆσαν οὕτω. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἔπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέταρας.

Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασιλεῖαν τι καὶ πέρι αὐτὸ κῶμας πολλάς, τὴν δὲ ὅδου πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τούτο διὰ γηλόφων ψηλῆς γιγνομένην, οἵ καθήκουν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ύψ’ ϕ ἤσαν αἱ κώμαι. καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς λόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἑλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἰππέων ἐπετεί δὲ πορεύομενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τῶν πρῶτοι γηλόφων καὶ κατέβαινον, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐτερο ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρανές ἐβαλ.

1 τότε the inferior MSS., Mar.: τοὺς the better MSS. Gem., reading τοὺς, inserts οἱ μὲν before ὅστες, following Mangelsdorf. After ὅστες the MSS. have οἱ λοχαγοὶ, which Mar. and Gem. bracket.
2 οἱ λόχοι Gem., following Valckenaer: οἱ λοχαγοὶ MSS.
3 ἤσαν αἱ κώμαι Gem., following Schenkl: ἤν ἡ κώμη MSS.

1 The squad, or quarter company, consisting of 25 men (i.e. 24 + the leader), normally marched three abreast, i.e. with a front of three and a depth of eight. The company

474
companies would drop back, so as not to interfere with the wings, and for the time being would move along behind the wings; and when the flanks of the square drew apart again, they would fill up the space between the wings, by companies in case this space was rather narrow, by platoons in case it was broader, or, if it was very broad, by squads\(^1\)—the idea being, to have the gap filled up in any event. Again, if the army had to make some crossing or to pass over a bridge, there was no confusion, but each company crossed over in its turn; and if any help was needed in any part of the army, these troops would make their way to the spot. In this fashion the Greeks proceeded four stages.

In the course of the fifth stage they caught sight of a palace of some sort, with many villages round about it, and they observed that the road to this place passed over high hills, which stretched down from the mountain at whose foot the villages were situated. And the Greeks were well pleased to see the hills, as was natural considering that the enemy's force was cavalry;\(^2\) when, however, in their march out of the plain they had mounted to the top of the first hill, and were descending it, so as to ascend the next, at this moment the barbarians came upon them and down from the hilltop discharged their missiles might be formed in any one of three ways: (a) one squad front and four deep, (b) two squads front and two deep, or (c) four squads front and one deep. Three companies ranged alongside one another in formation (a) would thus have a front of three squads or nine men, in formation (b) a front of eighteen men, and in formation (c) a front of thirty-six men. It is these three dispositions of the three special companies at the front of the square which Xenophon terms, respectively, "by companies," "by platoons," and "by squads."

\(^2\) Which is most effective in a level country.
XENOPHON

26 ου, ἐσφευδόνων, ἐτόξευον ύπ’ο μαστίγων, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνῶτων καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τῶν ὀπλῶν ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀχρηστοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες καὶ οἱ σφενδο- 27 νῳταὶ καὶ οἱ τοξόται. ἔπει δὲ πιεζόμενοι οὶ Ἐλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διόκειν, σχολῆ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται ὅπληται ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι 28 ταχὺ ἀπεπῆδων. πάλιν δὲ ὅποτε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ταύτα ἐπασχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταύτα ἑγύγνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 29 ἔπει δ’ οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμῶν, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθεῖσαν καὶ ἀμ- 30 φοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμοι. οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαρι- ὄντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας· καὶ ἰατροὺς κατ- ἐστησάν ὁκτὼ πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.

31 Ἐνταῦθα ἐμείναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ τῶν τετρω- μένων ἐνεκα καὶ ἀμμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἔχον, ἀλευρα, οἶνον, κριθᾶς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας

1 Like Xerxes’ troops at Thermopylae (Herod. vii. 223).

476
and sling-stones and arrows, fighting under the lash.\(^1\) They not only inflicted many wounds, but they got the better of the Greek light troops and shut them up within the lines of the hoplites, so that these troops, being mingled with the non-combatants, were entirely useless throughout that day, slingers and bowmen alike. And when the Greeks, hard-pressed as they were, undertook to pursue the attacking force, they reached the hilltop but slowly, being heavy troops, while the enemy sprang quickly out of reach; and every time they returned from a pursuit to join the main army, they suffered again in the same way.\(^2\) On the second hill the same experiences were repeated, and hence after ascending the third hill they decided not to stir the troops from its crest until they had led up a force of peltasts from the right flank of the square to a position on the mountain.\(^3\) As soon as this force had got above the hostile troops that were hanging upon the Greek rear, the latter desisted from attacking the Greek army in its descent, for fear that they might be cut off and find themselves enclosed on both sides by their foes. In this way the Greeks continued their march for the remainder of the day, the one division by the road leading over the hills while the other followed a parallel course along the mountain slope, and so arrived at the villages. There they appointed eight surgeons, for the wounded were many.

In these villages they remained for three days, not only for the sake of the wounded, but likewise because they had provisions in abundance—flour, wine, and great stores of barley that had been

\(^2\) *i.e.* as described in §§25–26.  \(^3\) cp. §24.
πολλάς. ταύτα δὲ συνενηγηγέμενα ἦν τῷ σατρα-
πεύοντι τῆς χώρας. τετάρτη δ’ ἡμέρα καταβαί-
νοσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἔπει δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς
Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ
ἀνάγκη κατασκηνώσαι οὖ πρῶτον εἰδον κόμην
καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἢ τι μαχομένους: πολλοὶ γὰρ
ήσαν οἱ ἀπόμαχοι, οἱ τε τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἑκεί-
νους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὅπλα δεξώ-
μενοι. ἔπει δὲ κατεσκήνησαν καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν
αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν
κόμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιήσαν οἱ "Ἑλληνες:
πολὺ γὰρ διέφερεν ἐκ χώρας ὀρμώντας ἀλέξασθαι
ἡ πορευομένους ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι.

'Ηνίκα δ’ ἢν ἢδη δείλη, ὥρα ἢν ἀπίεναι τοῖς
πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο
οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων,
φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ "Ἑλληνες ἐπιθῳνται
αὐτοῖς. πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐστὶ στράτευμα
Περσικῶν: οἱ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται καὶ
ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰς τὸν μὴ φεύγειν
ἐνεκά εἰ λυθείσαν, ἕως τέ τις θόρυβος γίγνεται,
δεὶ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρση ἀνδρὶ καὶ χαλι-
νῶσαι, δεὶ καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβήσαι ἐπὶ τὸν
ἵππον. ταύτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ
θορύβου ὅντος. τούτου ἐνεκά πόρρῳ ἀπεσκη-
νοῦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

'Επεὶ δὲ ἐγύγνωσκοι αὐτοὺς οἱ "Ἑλληνες βουλο-
μένους ἀπίεναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς
478
ANABASIS, III. iv. 31–36

collected for horses, all these supplies having been
gathered together by the acting satrap of the district.
On the fourth day they proceeded to descend into
the plain. But when Tissaphernes and his command
overtook them, necessity taught them to encamp in
the first village they caught sight of, and not to con-
tinue the plan of marching and fighting at the same
time; for a large number of the Greeks were hors de
combat, not only the wounded, but also those who
were carrying them and the men who took in charge
the arms of these carriers. When they had en-
camped, and the barbarians, approaching toward the
village, essayed to attack them at long range, the
Greeks had much the better of it; for to occupy a
position and therefrom ward off an attack was a very
different thing from being on the march and fight-
ing with the enemy as they followed after.

As soon as it came to be late in the afternoon, it
was time for the enemy to withdraw. For in no
instance did the barbarians encamp at a distance of
less than sixty stadia from the Greek camp, out of
fear that the Greeks might attack them during the
night. For a Persian army at night is a sorry thing.

Their horses are tethered, and usually hobbled also
to prevent their running away if they get loose from
the tether, and hence in case of any alarm a Persian
has to put saddle-cloth and bridle on his horse, and
then has also to put on his own breastplate and mount
his horse—and all these things are difficult at night
and in the midst of confusion. It was for this reason
that the Persians encamped at a considerable dis-
tance from the Greeks.

When the Greeks became aware that they were
desirous of withdrawing and were passing the word
"Ελλησι συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκούοντων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας ὁι βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅψε εἰγύνετο, ἀπῆσαι οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἦδη ἑώρων οἱ "Ελληνες, ἔπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζωέχαντες καὶ διήλθον ὅσον ἐξήκουντα στάδιους. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μετάξι τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥστε τῇ ύστεραις οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι ουδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἦ ἐμελλόν οἱ "Ελληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὡς ἤν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.

38 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατειλημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφανώμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσελάσας ἥρωτα Τί καλεῖς; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· "Ἐξεστιν ὅρᾶν· κατείληται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὕπερ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μη τούτοις ἀποκόψομεν. ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες τοὺς πελταστὰς; ὁ δὲ λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπτεῖν τὰ ὁπισθεν πολεμίων ἐπιφανωμένων. 'Αλλὰ μὴν ὥρα γ', ἐφη, θυμάσθηται πῶς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελά ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὅρᾶ 480
ANABASIS, III. iv. 36–41

along, the order to pack up luggage was proclaimed to the Greek troops within hearing of the enemy. For a time the barbarians delayed their setting out, but when it began to grow late, they went off; for they thought it did not pay to be on the march and arriving at their camp in the night. When the Greeks saw at length that they were manifestly departing, they broke camp and took the road themselves, and accomplished a march of no less than sixty stadia. Thus the two armies got so far apart that on the next day the enemy did not appear, nor yet on the third; on the fourth day, however, after pushing forward by night the barbarians occupied a high position on the right of the road by which the Greeks were to pass, a spur of the mountain, namely, along the base of which ran the route leading down into the plain.

As soon as Cheirisophus observed that the spur was already occupied, he summoned Xenophon from the rear, directing him to come to the front and bring the peltasts with him. Xenophon, however, would not bring the peltasts, for he could see Tissaphernes and his whole army coming into view;¹ but he rode forward himself and asked, “Why are you summoning me?” Cheirisophus replied, “It is perfectly evident; the hill overhanging our downward road has been occupied, and there is no getting by unless we dislodge these people. Why did you not bring the peltasts?” Xenophon answered that he had not thought it best to leave the rear unprotected when hostile troops were coming into sight. “Well, at any rate,” said Cheirisophus, “it is high time to be thinking how we are to drive these fellows from the height.” Then Xenophon observed that the

¹ i.e. from the rear.
XENOPHON

tου ορους την κορυφήν ύπερ αυτοῦ του ἐαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὗσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τον λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λέγει· "Κράτιστον, ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἦμων ἔσθαι ως τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἢ γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ύπερ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μὲνε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρῆσθαι, πορεύον ἐπὶ τὸ ὀρὸς, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ δίδωμι σοι, ἐφῇ ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὅπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι. εἰπὼν ὁ Ἐνοφῶν ὅτι νεωτέρος ἔστιν αἱρεῖται πορεύεσθαι, κελεύει δὲ ὁ συμπέμψῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν. καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστῶν, ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον πλαισίου. συνέπεσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῶ 1 καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους οὗς αὐτὸς εἴχε τῶν ἐπιλεκτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου. "Εντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ως ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι ως ἔνοικαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄρμησαν ἁμιλλάσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλή μὲν κρανηὴ ἦν τοῦ 'Ελληνικοῦ στρατεύματος διακελευομένων τοῖς ἐαυτῶν, πολλὴ δὲ κρανηὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην τοῖς ἐαυτῶν διακελευομένων. Ἐνοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑποῦ παρεκέλευσεν· Ὅμοις, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα νομίζετε ἁμιλλάσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλγὸν πονήσαντες ἄμαχει

1 αὐτῷ the inferior MSS., Mar.: αὐτοῖς the better MSS. Gem. brackets αὐτοῖσ, following Rehdantz.
summit of the mountain was close above their own army and that from this summit there was a way of approach to the hill where the enemy were; and he said, "Our best plan, Cheirisophus, is to drive with all speed for the mountain top; for if we once get possession of that, those men above our road will not be able to hold their position. If you choose, then, stay in command of the army, and I will go; or, if you prefer, you make for the mountain top, and I will stay here." Well," said Cheirisophus, "I leave it to you to choose whichever part you wish." Then Xenophon, with the remark that he was the younger, elected to go, but he urged Cheirisophus to send with him some troops from the front; for it would have been too long a journey to bring up men from the rear. Cheirisophus accordingly sent with him the peltasts at the front, replacing them with those that were inside the square; he also ordered the three hundred picked men¹ under his own command at the front of the square to join Xenophon's force.

Then they set out with all possible speed. But no sooner had the enemy upon the hill observed their dash for the summit of the mountain than they also set off, to race with the Greeks for this summit. Then there was a deal of shouting from the Greek army as they urged on their friends, and just as much shouting from Tissaphernes' troops to urge on their men. And Xenophon, riding along the lines upon his horse, cheered his troops forward: "My good men," he said, "believe that now you are racing for Greece, racing this very hour back to your wives and children, a little toil for this one moment and no more fighting for the rest of our

¹ See § 21 above and note 2 thereon.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

47 τὴν λοιπὴν πορευόμεθα. Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος εἶπεν. Οὐκ ἔξ ἱσοῦ, ὃ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν
σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχή, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς
48 κάμνω τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων. καὶ δὲ ἀκούσας
tαῦτα καταπηδῆσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱππου ὀθεῖται
αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος
ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἐξων ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγχανε
δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἐξων τὸν ἱππικὸν· ὡστ' ἐπιέζετο.
καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐμπροσθέν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο,
49 τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεὶν παριέναι μόλις ἐπομένος. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι καὶ βᾶλλουσι καὶ
λοιποῦ ὁ τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἔστε ἡνάγκασαν
ἀναλαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δ' ἀναβάς, ἐως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱππου ἤγεν,
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλυπῶν τὸν ἱππον ἔσπευδε
πεζῇ. καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρῷ γενόμενοι
τοὺς πολεμίους.

V. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες
ἐφευγοῦν ἢ ἐκαστὸς ἐδύνατο, οἱ δ' Ἐλλήνες εἶχον
tὸ ἀκρόν. οἱ δὲ ἄμφι Τισσαφέρην καὶ Ἀριαιὸν
ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὀδὸν φῶντο. οἱ δὲ ἄμφι
Χειρίσοφου καταβάντες ἐστρατοπεδέυοντο ἐν
κόμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι
κῶμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τούτῳ
2 τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν. ἦνικα
δ' ἦν δείλη ἐξαπίνῃς οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιφαίνουνται ἐν
tῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων κατέκοψαν τινὰs
tῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἀρταγήν·

1 ἀναλαβόντα Gem., following Bisschop: λαβόντα MSS.

484
journey.” But Soteridas the Sicyonian said: “We are not on an equality, Xenophon; you are riding on horseback, while I am desperately tired with carrying my shield.” When Xenophon heard that, he leaped down from his horse and pushed Soteridas out of his place in the line, then took his shield away from him and marched on with it as fast as he could; he had on also, as it happened, his cavalry breastplate, and the result was that he was heavily burdened. And he urged the men in front of him to keep going, while he told those who were behind to pass along by him, for he found it hard to keep up. The rest of the soldiers, however, struck and pelted and abused Soteridas until they forced him to take back his shield and march on. Then Xenophon remounted, and as long as riding was possible, led the way on horseback, but when the ground became too difficult, he left his horse behind and hurried forward on foot. And they reached the summit before the enemy.

V. Then it was that the barbarians turned about and fled, every man for himself, while the Greeks held possession of the summit. As for the troops under Tissaphernes and Ariaeus, they turned off by another road and were gone; and the army under Cheirisophus descended into the plain 1 and proceeded to encamp in a village stored with abundant supplies. There were likewise many other villages richly stored with supplies in this plain on the banks of the Tigris. When it came to be late in the day, all of a sudden the enemy appeared in the plain and cut to pieces some of the Greeks who were scattered about there in quest of plunder; in fact, many herds

1 See iv. 37 fn.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν.

3 ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν ἐπέχειρησαν τὰς κόμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἡθύμησάν τινες, ἑννοούμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτηδεία, εἰ καίοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὅποθέν λαμβάνοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς βοσθείας· οὐ δὲ Ἑσοφών ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τάξεις ἡμίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοσθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἔλεγεν. Ὁρᾶτε, ὁ ἄνδρες "Ἐλληνες, ύφιέντας τὴν χώραν ἠδὴ ἠμετέραν εἶναι; ὁ γὰρ ὅτε ἐσπένδουσα διεπράττοντο, μὴ καίειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν. ἀλλ' εάν που καταλείπωσι γε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια, ὣψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευόμενοι. ἀλλ', ὁ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς καίοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. οὐ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν. Οὕκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, καϊμεν, καὶ οὔτω θάττον παύσονται.

6 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆσαν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλή ἄπορία ἦν. ἐνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὅρη ὑπερύψηλα, ἐνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος βάθος ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. ἀποροῦμεν δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθὼς τις ἀνὴρ Ὀδίος εἶπεν. Ἑγὼ θέλω, ὁ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς.
of cattle had been captured while they were being taken across to the other side of the river. Then Tissaphernes and his followers attempted to burn the villages; and some of the Greeks got exceedingly despondent, out of apprehension that they would not have a place from which to get provisions in case the enemy should succeed in this attempt. Meanwhile Cheirisophus and his men, who had gone to the rescue of the plunderers, were returning; and when Xenophon had come down from the mountain, he rode along the lines upon falling in with the Greeks of the rescuing party and said: "Do you observe, men of Greece, that they admit the country is now ours? For while they stipulated when they made the treaty that there should be no burning of the King's territory, now they are doing that very thing themselves, as though the land were another's. At any rate, if they leave supplies anywhere for their own use, they shall behold us also proceeding to that spot. But, Cheirisophus," he went on, "it seems to me that we ought to sally forth against these incendiaries, like men defending their own country." "Well, it doesn't seem so to me," said Cheirisophus; "rather, let us set about burning ourselves, and then they will stop the sooner."

When they had come to their quarters, the troops were busy about provisions, but the generals and captains gathered in council. And here there was great despondency. For on one side of them were exceedingly high mountains and on the other side a river so deep that not even their spears reached above water when they tried its depth. In the midst of their perplexity a Rhodian came to them and said: "I stand ready, gentlemen, to set you across
κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους ὑπλίτας, ἀν ἔμοι ὁν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσατε καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσατε.

9 ἔρωτόμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο, Ἀσκών, ἔφη, δισκι-λίων δεήσομαι πολλὰ δ’ ὀρῷ πρόβατα καὶ αἴγας καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσικέντα

10 ράδιως ἄν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς χρῆσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια τούτοις ξεύξας τοὺς ἀσκοὺς πρὸς ἄλληλους, ὀρμίσας ἐκαστὸν ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφεῖς ὀσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὤδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δῆσας ἐπιβαλὼ ὑλὴν καὶ γῆν

11 ἐπιφορῆσω. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα μάλα εἰσεθεὶ τὰς γὰρ ἀσκοὺς δ’ ἄνδρας ἐξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι. ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὁλισθάνειν ἡ ὕλη

12 καὶ ἡ γῆ σχῆσαι ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοῖς στρατη-γοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίει ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δ’ ἔργον ἀδύνατον. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες πέραν πολλοῖ ἱππεῖς, οἱ εὖθὺς τοῖς πρῶτοι οὐδὲν ἀν ἐπέτρεπτον τούτων ποιεῖν.

13 Ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν υστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν εἰς τὰς ἀκαῦστους κώμας, κατακαύσας εὖθεν ἐξῆλθαν ὡστε οἱ πολέμοι οὐ προσήλαυν, ἀλλὰ ἔθεωντο καὶ ὄμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζουσιν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέφονται ὦ Ἑλληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῷ ἔχοιεν. ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται

1 ἐπανεχώρουν the inferior MSS., Gem.: ὑπανεχώρουν the better MSS., Mar.
the river, four thousand hoplites at a time, if you will provide me with the means that I require and give me a talent for pay.” Upon being asked what his requirements were, he replied: “I shall need two thousand skins. I see plenty of sheep and goats and cattle and asses; take off their skins and blow them up, and they would easily provide the means of crossing. I shall want also the girths which you use on the beasts of burden; with these I shall tie the skins to one another and also moor each skin by fastening stones to the girths and letting them down into the water like anchors; then I shall carry the line of skins across the river, make it fast at both ends, and pile on brushwood and earth. As for your not sinking, then, you may be sure in an instant on that point, for every skin will keep two men from sinking; and as regards slipping, the brushwood and the earth will prevent that.” After hearing these words the generals thought that while the idea was a clever one, the execution of it was impossible. For there were people on the other side of the river to thwart it, a large force of horsemen, namely, who at the very outset would prevent the first comers from carrying out any part of the plan.

Under these circumstances they marched all the next day in the reverse direction, going back to the unburned villages, after burning the one from which they withdrew. The result was that, instead of making an attack, the enemy merely gazed at the Greeks, and appeared to be wondering where in the world they would turn and what they had in mind. At the close of the day, while the rest of the army

1 cp. i. v. 10, ii. iv. 28.
2 See §§ 1 and 3 above.
<XENOPHON>

επὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πάλιν συνήλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἑαλωκότας ἢλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν τις ἐκάστη εἰς.

15 οἱ δὲ ἢλεγχον ὅτι τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἶναι καὶ Μηδίαν, διὸ ἦσπερ ἠκούειν, ἢ δὲ πρὸς ἐω ἐπὶ Σοῦσα τε καὶ Ἑκβάτανα φέροι, ἐνθα θερίζειν λέγεται βασιλεύς, ἢ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι, ἢ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὅρεων καὶ πρὸς ἀρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι.

16 τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἴκειν αὐτὰ τὰ ὅρη καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτέ εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν δῶδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δ' οὔδεν ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν. ὅποτε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στείσαντο, καὶ ἐπιμεληγόντων σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἑαυτούς·

17 Ἀκοῦσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν χωρίς τοὺς ἐκαστοχῶσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἐμέλλον. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὅρεων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν· τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν, ἢς Ὀρόντας ἢρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἐντεῦθεν δ' εὐπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι ὅποι τις ἑθέλοι πορεύ- 18 εσθαι. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως ἦνικα καὶ 490
went after provisions, the generals held another meeting, at which they brought together the prisoners that had been taken and enquired of them about each district of all the surrounding country. The prisoners said that the region to the south lay on the road towards Babylon and Media, the identical province they had just passed through; that the road to the eastward led to Susa and Ecbatana, where the King is said to spend his summers; across the river and on to the west was the way to Lydia and Ionia; while the route through the mountains and northward led to the country of the Carduchians. These Carduchians, they said, dwelt up among the mountains, were a warlike people, and were not subjects of the King; in fact, a royal army of one hundred and twenty thousand men had once invaded them, and, by reason of the ruggedness of the country, not a man of all that number came back. Still, whenever they made a treaty with the satrap in the plain, some of the people of the plain did have dealings with the Carduchians and some of the Carduchians with them.

After listening to these statements from the men who claimed to know the way in every direction, the generals caused them to withdraw, without giving them the least clue as to the direction in which they proposed to march. The opinion of the generals, however, was that they must make their way through the mountains into the country of the Carduchians; for the prisoners said that after passing through this country they would come to Armenia, the large and prosperous province of which Orontas was ruler; and from there, they said, it was easy to go in any direction one chose. Thereupon the generals offered
XENOPHON

dókoí̇̂ τής ὀρας τήν πορείαν ποιοίντο· τήν γὰρ ύπερβυλήν τῶν ὀρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθεί̣̂ν καὶ παρῆγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσαν, συσκευασμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπεσθαί ἤνίκ' ἀν τις παραγγέλλῃ.
sacrifice, so that they could begin the march at the moment they thought best— for they feared that the pass over the mountains might be occupied in advance; and they issued orders that when the troops had dined, every man should pack up his belongings and go to rest, and then fall into line as soon as the word of command was given.

1 As a rule it was immediately before an army set out that sacrifice was offered.
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Abarnis, promontory near Lampsacon, II. i. 29
Abydus, city on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, battle of, i. i. 5-7; ii. i. 11, ii. 16; iii. i. 18; iv. i. 9; remains true to the Lacedaemonians, iv. viii. 3-6; iv. viii. 32, 33; v. i. 6, 7, 25, 26. Abydenes, the, ii. i. 18; iv. viii. 3-39; v. i. 6; vi. i. 27
Academy, the, gymnasion near Athens, II. ii. 8; vi. v. 49
Acanthus, city in Chalcidice, v. ii. 11, iii. 6. Acanthians, the, v. ii. 12, 23
Acarnania, district in central Greece, vi. ii. 37. Acarnanians, the, iv. ii. 17; vi. v. 23. Acarnanion War, iv. vi. 1-7; v. 1
Achaean, district in northern Peloponnesus, III. ii. 23; iv. viii. 10, 23; vi. ii. 3; vii. i. 41-43. Achaeanas, the, III. ii. 26; v. 12; allies of the Lacedaemonians at the Nemea, IV. ii. 18; against Acarnania, IV. vi. 1-7; i. 1; after Laeucta, vi. iv. 18; become allies of the Thebans, VII. i. 41-42; of the Eleans, VII. iv. 17; enemies of the Thesbans, VII. v. 1. 18. Achaean mountains of Phthis, iv. iii. 9
Achilleum, city in Ionia, III. ii. 17; iv. viii. 17
Acrasg (Agrigentum), Greek city in Sicily, i. v. 21; ii. ii. 24
Acritius, Lyconian, VII. i. 46
Acercorinthus, the citadel of Corinth, iv. iv. 4
Acheron, the, inhabitants of Acherusia, district in Elis, III. ii. 39; IV. ii. 16; VIII. iv. 14
Aegae, Scy whole son of Euphrasion, VIII. i. 5
Aegean, Athenian general, I. i. 21, vii. 1; II. i. 30, 32
Aegaea, town in Aegina, IV. viii. 5
Aegina, island in the Saronic Gulf, II. ii. 9; vi. i. 1-29, vi. vi. ii. 1. Aeginetans, the, II. iii. 9; v. i. 1-12. Aeginetan obola, v. ii. 21
Aegospotami, stream in the Thracian Chersonese, II. i. 21, 23
Aegosthenes, town in Megara, v. iv. 18; vi. iv. 26
Aeneas, Stymphalian, VII. iii. 1
Aenesias, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iii. 9
Aenianians, the, people in southern Thessaly, III. v. 6; IV. iii. 15
Aeolias, district in western Asia Minor, III. i. 10, 17, II. i. 13. Aeolians, the, III. i. 16, IV. ii. 11; IV. iv. 17, VIII. 33
Aeschines, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2, 13
Aetolian, district in central Greece, IV. iii. 1, 14. Aetolians, the, IV. vi. 14
Aexoneas, the, inh. of the Attic deme Aexone, II. iv. 26
Agamemnon, commander of the Greeks in the Trojan War, III. iv. 3; VII. i. 34
Agathinus, Corinthian admiral, IV. viii. 10, 11
Agesandridas, Lacedaemonian naval commander, I. i. 1, III. 17
Agesillas, Lacedaemonian king, son of Archdamus, V. iii. 13; brother of Agis, III. iii. 1; accession of, III. iii. 1-4; commander in the war against Persia, III. iv. 2-29, and IV. i. 1-41; his return from Asia, IV. ii. 2-8, III. i. 9; at the battle

XENOPHON II.
INDEX TO HELLENICA

of Coronea, iv. iii. 15–21; his campaign against the Argives and Corinthians, iv. iv. 19; second campaign against Corinth, iv. v. 1–18; against Arcadia, iv. vi. 3–14; compels acceptance of the Peace of Antalcidas, v. i. 32–34; declines to accept command against Mantinea, v. ii. 3; campaign against Philus, v. iii. 18–25; declines command against Thebes, v. iv. 13; campaign against Thebes, v. iv. 35–41; second campaign against Thebes, v. iv. 47–55; his illness, v. iv. 58; excludes the Thebans from the Peace of 371 B.C., vi. iii. 19; tries to prevent restoration of Mantinea, vi. v. 4–5; campaign against Mantinea, vi. v. 10–21; marches against Epaminondas, vii. v. 9–10

Agestropolis, Lacedaemonian king, son of Pausanias, iv. ii. 9; his campaign against Argos, iv. vii. 2–7; against Mantinea, v. ii. 3–7; against Olynthus, v. iii. 8–18; his death, v. iii. 19

Agis, Lacedaemonian king, at Decælea, i. l. 33–35 and ii. li. 7, 11, 13; returns home, ii. iii. 8; his campaign against Elis, iii. ii. 22–23; his death, iii. iii. 1

Agrotera, see Artemis

Agyrtus, Athenian admiral, iv. viii. 31

Alcetas, Lacedaemonian, v. iv. 56

Alcetas, ruler in Epirus, vi. l. 7, li. 10

Alciböades, Athenian general, successes in the Hellespontine region, i. i. 5–22, ii. 13–17, iii. 3–12; captures Byzantium, i. iii. 14–21; his return to Athens, i. iv. 8–21; campaign against Andros, i. iv. 21–23; his fleet defeated at Notium, i. v. 9–15; deposed from command, i. v. 16; i. v. 17; ii. i. 25, ii. 1, iii. 42

Alciböades, cousin of the preceding, i. li. 13

Alcimenes, Corinthian, iv. iv. 7

Alea, see Athena

Alexander, tyrant of Pherae and tagus of Thessaly, vi. iv. 34–37; vii. v. 4

Alexias, Athenian archon, i. i. 10

Alexippus, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10

Alpheus, river of Elis, iii. ii. 29; vii. ii. 31; vii. iv. 29

Altis, the sacred precinct at Olympia, vii. iv. 29

Alpetus, Lacedaemonian, v. iv. 52

Alzœia, town in Arcadia, v. iv. 65, 66

Ambracia, city in Arcadia, vi. ii. 3; Ambraciot, vi. iv. 65, 68

Amedous, king of the Odrysians, iv. viii. 28

Amphæus, the sanctuary of Amphiion at Thebes, v. iv. 8

Amphidollis, the, inh. of Amphidoll, town in Elis, iii. ii. 25, 30; iv. ii. 18

Amphilopolis, Greek city in Macedonia, iv. iii. 1

Amycleis, city in Laconia, vi. v. 30; vii. ii. 3; Amyclæans, the, iv. v. 11, 12

Amyntas, king of Macedonia, v. ii. 12, 13, 33, iii. 9

Anabasis, the, of Themistogenes, III. i. 2

Anaxiltos, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2

Anaxibius, Lacedaemonian general, iv. viii. 32–38

Anaxicrates, Byzantine, i. i. 18

Anaxilas, Byzantine, i. i. 18

Androcles, Theban party leader, III. v. 1, 4; ii. li. 31, 35

Andromachus, Elean, vii. iv. 19

Andros, island south-east of Euboea, I. iv. 21, v. 18; v. iv. 61. Andrians, the, I. iv. 22; ii. i. 31, 32

Agenidas, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10

Antalcidas, Lacedaemonian admiral and statesman, iv. viii. 12–16; v. i. 6; Peace of, v. i. 25–36; vii. ii. 12

Antandrus, town in north-western Asia Minor, i. i. 25, 26, iii. 17
INDEX TO HELLENICA

II. i. 10; iv. viii. 35. Antandrians, the, i. i. 26.

Antigenes, Athenian archon, i. iii. 1

Antiochus, Arcadian, vii. i. 33, 38

Antiochus, Athenian, Alcibiades' pilot, i. v. 11-13

Antiphan, Athenian, ii. iii. 40

Antisthenes, Lacedaemonian, iii. ii. 6

Anytus, Athenian, ii. iii. 42, 44

Apaturia, Athenian festival, i. vii. 8

Aphrodisa, v. iv. 4. See trans. Aphrodisis, temple of Aphrodite in Megara, iv. v. 58

Aphytis, town on the peninsula of Pallen, v. iii. 19

Apollo, iii. iii. 3, v. 5; iv. vii. 2; vi. iv. 2, v. 27

Apollonia, city in Chalcidice, v. ii. 11, iii. 1, 6. Apollonians, the, v. ii. 13

Apollonophanes, Cyzicene, iv. i. 29

Aracus, Lacedaemonian admiral and statesman, ii. i. 7, iii. 10; iii. ii. 6, 8; vi. v. 33

Arcadia, district in Peloponnesus, iv. iv. 16; vi. v. 12-51; vii. i. 28, 39, ii. 21, iv. 6-40, v. 10. Arcadians, the, iii. ii. 28, 30, v. 12; iv. iv. 16; v. ii. 19; form the Arcadian League, vi. v. 6-12; at war with the Lacedaemonians, vi. v. 10-21; unite with the Thebans and invade Laconia, vi. v. 22-50; defeated by the Lacedaemonians, vii. i. 29-32; ally themselves with the Athenians, vii. iv. 2, 3; at war with the Eleans, vii. iv. 12-32; their internal dissensions, vii. iv. 33-5; in the Mantinean campaign, vii. v. 7-20

Archedemus, Athenian demagogue, i. vii. 2

Archestratus, Athenian general, i. v. 16. Another, ii. ii. 15

Archias, Theban polemarch, v. iv. 2, 6; vii. iii. 7

Archidamus, father of Agesilau, v. iii. 13

Archidamus, son of Agesilau, v. iv. 25-33; marches against the Thebans, vi. iv. 18-26, v. 1; against the Arcadians, vii. i. 28-32, iv. 20-25; defends Sparta against Epaminondas, vii. v. 12, 13

Archidamus, Elean, vii. i. 33, 38

Archytas, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. i. 10, iii. 10

Aresias, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2

Argos, chief city of Argolis, in Peloponnesus, iii. v. 1; iv. iv. 6, v. 1, vi. 2, 5, vili. 13, 15, 34; vii. i. 41. Argives, the, i. iii. 13; ii. ii. 7; iii. ii. 21, v. 11; in the Corinthian War, iv. iv. 17-22, ill. 15-17, iv. 1-19; take possession of Corinth, iv. iv. 2-6, v. 1, 2; their country invaded by the Lacedaemonians, iv. vii. 2-7; forced to withdraw from Corinth, v. i. 34, 36; unite with the Thebans and Arcadians and invade Laconia, vi. v. 16-50; defeated by the Lacedaemonians, vii. iii. 29-32; allied with the Arcadians against the Eleans, vii. iv. 29-30; allied with the Thebans against the Lacedaemonians, vii. v. 5

Ariæus, Persian lieutenant of Cyrus the Younger, iv. i. 27

Ariobarzanes, Persian satrap, i. iv. 7; v. i. 28; vii. i. 27

Aristarchus, Athenian, one of the Four Hundred, i. vii. 28; iii. 46

Aristocles, Athenian, vii. iii. 2

Aristocrates, Athenian general, i. iv. 21, v. 16, vi. 29, viii. 2

Aristodemus, Lacedaemonian, guardian of Agesipolis, iv. ii. 9

Aristogenes, Athenian general, i. v. 16, vi. 30, vii. 1

Aristogenes, Syracusan, ii. ii. 8

Aristolochus, Lacedaemonian, iv. iv. 22

Ariston, Byzantine, i. iii. 18

Aristophon, Athenian, vii. iii. 2

Aristoteles, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. ii. 18, iii. 2, 13, 46

XENOPHON II.
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Arnapes, Persian, i. iii. 12
Artaxerxes, Persian king, dictates the Peace of Antalcidas, v. i. 31
Artemis, Agrotera, iv. ii. 20; of Astyra, iv. i. 41; of Ephesus, i. ii. 6; iii. iv. 18; of Leucophry, iii. ii. 19; of Munichia, ii. iv. 11; of Tegae, vi. v. 9; of Aulis, vii. i. 34
Asea, town in Arcadia, vi. v. 11, 15.
Aseans, the, vii. v. 5
Asia (i.e. Asia Minor), ii. i. 18;
iii. i. 3, 5, ii. 6-21, iv. 2-29, v. 1-13; iv. ii. 4-6, iii. i. 16, vii. v. 5-27; v. i. 31, iii. v. vii. i. 34
Asine, town in Laconia, vii. i. 25.
Asinians, the, vii. i. 25
Aspendus, city in Pamphylia, iv. viii. 30. Aspendians, the, iv. viii. 30
Astyochus, Lacedaemonian admiral, i. i. 31
Astyra, city in Mysia, Artemis of, iv. i. 41
Atarneus, town in Aeolis, iii. ii. 11
Athena, i. i. 4, iii. i. 1, iv. 12, vi. 1; ii. iv. 39; iii. i. 21-23; Aelea, vi. v. 27
Athenodas, Siclyonian, iii. i. 18
Athens, i. i. 1-ii. iv. 38 frequently; iii. i. 1, 5, 7; iv. vii. 9, 24, 34; v. i. 10-35, ii. 31, iv. 2, 22, 34, 66; vi. ii. 9, ill. 3, iv. 19, 20, v. 33, 35; vii. i. 1, 23, iii. i. 4, iv. 3, v. 3. Athenians, the, in the battles of Abydus and Cyzicus, i. i. 2-18; send an expedition to Asia, i. ii. 1-13; capture Byzantium, i. iii. 14-21; choose Alcibiades general-in-chief, i. iv. 8-20; defeated at Notium, i. v. 11-14; depose Alcibiades, i. v. 16-17; defeated at Mytilene, i. vi. 16-17; victorious at Arginusae, i. vi. 24-38; their treatment of the Arginiusae generals, i. vii. 1-35; their fleet captured at Aegeopotami, ii. i. 20-29; starved into submission, ii. ii. 2-23; terms of their surrender, ii. ii. 20; under the rule of the Thirty, ii. iii. 11-iv. 24; their demo-

498
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Athens, II. iv. 30; or against the Eleans, III. ii. 25; take part in the Corinthian War, iv. ii. 17, 18, III. 3, 15, iv. i, 2, 9, 12, vi. 1, vii. 6; assist in rebuilding the walls of Athens, IV. viii. 10; their relation to the Peace of Antalcidas, v. i. 32, 33, 36; aided by the Athenians, v. iv. 34; in the Peace of 371 B.C., VI. ii. 19; in the battle of Leuctra, VI. iv. 4, 9; invade Laconia, VI. v. 25, 51; in the campaign of Mantinea, VII. v. 4.

Boeotius, Lacedaemonian, I. iv. 2.

Braidas, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iii. 10.

Byzantium, city on the Bosporus, now Constantinople, I. i. 35, 36; captured by the Athenians, I. iii. 2-21; I. iv. 1; II. ii. 1, 2; IV. viii. 27, 31. Byzantines, the, I. i. 35, iii. 18-19; IV. viii. 27.

Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes, seized by the Lacedaemonians, v. ii. 29, 31; recovered by the Thebans, v. iv. 11; VI. iii. 9, 11, v. 46.

Cadusians, the, people on the western coast of the Caspian Sea, II. i. 13.

Calchedon, city on the Asiatic coast of the Bosporus, I. i. 28, 35, iii. 2-12; II. ii. 1, 2; IV. viii. 31. Calchedonians, the, I. iii. 2-9; IV. viii. 28; V. i. 25.

Calchedoniana, I. i. 22

Callias, Athenian archon, I. vi. 1.

Callias, Athenian general and statesman, IV. v. 13, 14; V. iv. 22; VI. iii. 2, 8.

Callias, Lacedaemonian, IV. i. 15.

Callibius, Lacedaemonian, II. iii. 14.

Callibius, Tegean, VI. v. 6-8.

Callicratidas, Lacedaemonian admiral, I. vi. 1-36.

Callimedon, Athenian, IV. viii. 13.

Callisthenes, Athenian, IV. viii. 13.

Callistratus, Athenian, II. iv. 27.

Callistratus, Athenian statesman, VI. ii. 39, III. 3, 10.

Callixenus, Athenian senator, I. vii. 8-35.

Calydon, city in Aetolia, IV. vi. 1, 14. Calydonians, the, IV. vi. 1.

Camarina, Greek city in Sicily, II. iii. 5.

Cannonus, Athenian statesman, I. vii. 20, 34.

Cardia, city on northern coast of the Thracian Chersonese, I. i. 11.

Caria, province in south-western Asia Minor, I. i. 10, iv. 8; II. i. 15; III. i. 7, 8, ii. 12-19, IV. ii. 11-21. Carians, the, III. ii. 15.

Carthaginians, the, I. i. 37, V. 21; II. ii. 24, illi. 5.

Caryae, town in northern Laconia, VI. v. 25, 27; VII. i. 28.

Castolus, town and plain in Lydia, I. iv. 8.

Catana, Greek city in Sicily, II. iii. 5.

Cauë, village in Phrygia, IV. i. 20.

Cebren, city in the Troad, III. i. 17.

Cebreni, the, III. i. 13.

Cedreia, city in Caria, II. i. 15.

Celts, VII. i. 20, 31.

Celusa, mountain near Philus, IV. vii. 7.

Cenchreae, eastern port of Corinth, IV. v. 1; VI. v. 51; VII. i. 17, 41, iv. 5.

Ceos, one of the Cyclades, V. iv. 61.

Cephalonia, island west of Greece, VI. ii. 31-38.

Cephisodotus, Athenian general, II. i. 16.

Cephisodotus, Athenian orator, VI. iii. 2; VII. i. 12, 14.

Cephalis, Athenian, II. iv. 36.

Cephalis, river of Attica, IV. ii. 19; river of Boeotia, IV. iii. 16.

Ceramicus, quarter of Athens, IV. iv. 33.

Ceramic Gulf, in Caria, I. iv. 8; II. i. 15.

Chabrias, Athenian general, V. i. 10, 12, IV. 14, 54, 61; VI. ii. 39; VII. i. 25.

Chaeerebos, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2.

Chairedas, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iii. 10.

Chaerone, Lacedaemonian polemarch, II. iv. 33.

Chalcidians, the, inh. of Chalcis, city in Euboea, IV. ii. 17.

499
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Chares, Athenian general, vii. ii. 18-21, iv. i. 5
Charicles, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Charmides, Athenian, ii. iv. 19
Charon, Theban, v. iv. 3
Charopus, Elean, vii. iv. 15, 16
Chersonese, the Thracian, peninsula north of the Hellespont, i. iii. 8, v. 17; ii. i. 20, 27; iii. ii. 8, 9; iv. ii. 6, viii. 5, 35, 39; v. i. 7. Chersonesians, the, i. iii. 10; iii. ii. 8
Chilon, Lacedaemonian, vii. iv. 23
Chlos, island off the Ionian coast, i. i. 32, vi. 3-38; ii. i. 1-17; Chians, the, ii. i. 5, 6; iii. ii. 11
Chremion, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Chryssopolis, town on the Bosporus, i. i. 22, iii. 12
Cilicia, province in southern Asia Minor, iii. i. 1
Cinadon, Lacedaemonian, conspiracy of, iii. iii. 4-11
Cissidas, Syracusan, viii. i. 28
Cithaeron, mountain range separating Boeotia from Attica and Megaris, v. iv. 36-59; vi. iv. 5, 25
Cius, town in Mysia, on the Propontis, i. iv. 7
Clad-dans, river of ElUs, vii. iv. 29
Clazomenae, city on the Ionian coast, i. i. 10, 11; vi. i. 31
Cleander, Sicyonian, vii. i. 45
Clearchus, Lacedaemonian governor of Byzantium, i. i. 35, iii. 18-19
Cleas, Lacedaemonian, v. iv. 39
Cleogenes, Acanthian, v. ii. 12
Cleomachus, Lacedaemonian, ii. iii. 10
Cleisthenes, Corinthian, vi. iv. 37
Cleocratus, Athenian, ii. iv. 20
Cleombrotus, Lacedaemonian king, in command against the Thebans, v. iv. 14-18; ath. and v. iv. 59; sent to aid the Phocians, vi. i. 1; defeated and slain at Leuctra, vi. iv. 2-15
Cleomenes, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Cleone, city in Argolis, vii. v. 15
Cleonymus, Lacedaemonian, v. iv. 28-32; vi. iv. 14

500

Cleophon, Athenian demagogue, i. v. 35
Cleosthenes, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10
Cleobulus, Argive, i. iii. 13
Cleitorians, the, in. of Cleitor, town in Arcadia, v. iv. 36, 37
Cnidus, city in Caria, battle of, iv. iii. 10-12; iv. viii. 22-24
Cocylans, the, in. of Cocyllum, town in Aeolis, iii. i. 16
Coerestades, Boeotian, i. iii. 15, 22
Collytus, Attic deme, v. i. 26
Colonae, city in the Troad, iii. i. 13, 16

Cleophon, city in Ionia, i. ii. 4
Colophonians, the, i. ii. 4
Conon, Athenian general, i. iv. 10, v. 16-20; defeated and blockaded at Mytilene, i. vi. 15-38; ii. vii. 1; his fleet captured at Aegospotami, ii. i. 23, 29; victorious at Cnidus, iv. iii. 10-12; expels the Lacedaemonian governors, iv. viii. 1-6; his expedition against Laconia, iv. viii. 6-8; rebuilds the walls of Athens, iv. viii. 9-12; ambassador to Tiribazus, iv. viii. 13; arrested by him, iv. viii. 16
Corcyra, island west of Epirus, v. iv. 64, 66; vi. ii. 4-38
Corcyraeans, the, vii. ii. 7-37
Core (Persephone), daughter of Demeter, vii. iii. 6
Coressus, mountain near Ephesus, i. i. 7, 9, 10

Corinth, iii. v. 1; iv. iii. 15; united with Argos, iv. vi. 6, v. 1; again independent, v. i. 34, 36; headquarters of the allies in the Corinthian War, iv. iv. 1, 14, 15, v. 1, 12; vi. i. 29, iv. 19; vi. ii. 8, iv. 24, v. 49, 51; vii. v. 15, 40, iv. 4, v. 16, Corinthians, the, ii. i. 31, 32; urge the destruction of Athens, ii. ii. 19; refuse to take part in campaign against Athens, ii. iv. 30; or against the Eleaans, iii. ii. 25; or against the Thebans, iii. v. 17, 23; take part in the Corinthian War, iv. ii. 11, 14, 17, 22, 23, iii. 15, iv. 1-19, v. 1, 19, viii. 10, 11; internal strife
INDEX TO HELLENICA

among, iv. iv. 1–17; their relation to the Peace of Antalcidas, v. i. 34, 36; on the side of the Lacedaemonians, vi. ii. 3, iv. 18, v. 29, 37, 52; defeat the Thebans, vii. i. 18, 19; make peace with the Thebans, vii. iv. 6–10; Corinthian Gulf, vi. i. 9. Corinthian War, see above

Coronea, town in Boeotia, battle of, iv. iii. 15–20

Corinth (Pylos), promontory in Messenla, i. i. 18

Cos, island off the coast of Caria, i. v. 1

Crenaeum, gymnasium near Corinth, iv. iv. 4

Cronionians, the, inh. of Crannon, city in Thessaly, iv. iii. 3

Cretans, Lacedaemonian admiral, i. i. 32, v. 1

Crete, town near Abydus, iv. viii. 37

Cretans, the, inh. of the island of Crete, iv. ii. 16, vii. 6; vii. v. 10

Creusis, Boeotian port on the Corinthian Gulf, iv. v. 10; v. iv. 16, 17, 60; vi. iv. 3, 25

Crinipus, Syracusan, vi. ii. 36

Critias, leader of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2–56, iv. 8, 9, 19

Crocinna, Thessalian, Olympic victor, ii. iii. 1

 Crommyon, town on the Isthmus of Corinth, iv. iv. 13, v. 19

Cromnus, city in Arcadia, vii. iv. 20–28

Cronus, hill of, at Olympia, vii. iv. 14

Ctesicles, Athenian general, vi. ii. 10

Cydon, Byzantine, i. iii. 18

Cyllene, the port of Elis, iii. ii. 27, 30; vii. iv. 19

Cylon, Argive, iii. v. 1

Cyme, town in Aeolis, iii. iv. 27

Cynoscephalae, village in Boeotia, v. iv. 15; vi. iv. 5

Cyprus, island south of Asia Minor, ii. i. 29; iv. viii. 24; v. i. 10, 31

Cyrene, the, inh. of Cyrene, Greek city in northern Africa, i. ii. 1

Cyrus, the Younger, Persian prince, aids the Lacedaemonians in the Peloponnesian War, i. iv. 3–7, v. i. 1–8, vi. 6–18; ii. i. 1–15, ill. 8; his expedition against Artaxerxes, iii. i. 1–6, iv. 2; vi. i. 12. Cyreans, the, Cyrus' Greek troops, iii. ii. 7, 18, iv. 20

Cythera, island (and city) south of Laconia, iv. viii. 8. Cytherians, the, iv. viii. 8. Cytheria, iv. viii. 7

Cyzicus, city on the Propontis, battle of, i. i. 11–18; i. iii. 13; iii. iv. 10. Cyziceans, the, i. i. 19, 20; iv. i. 29

Dardaniens, the, inh. of Dardanus, city in the Troad, iii. i. 10

Darius (or Darieus), Persian king, i. ii. 19; ii. i. 8, 9

Dascyleium, city in Phrygia, near the Propontis, iii. iv. 13; iv. i. 15

Decelea, town in Attica, Lacedaemonian headquarters in the latter part of the Peloponnesian War, i. i. 33, 35, ii. 14, iii. 22; ii. ii. 7, iii. 3; iii. v. 5

Delma, quay in Piraeus, v. i. 21

Delnon, Lacedaemonian polemarch, v. iv. 33; vi. iv. 14

Delphi, town in Phocis, site of famous temple and oracle of Apollo, iii. iii. 1; iv. iii. 21, vii. 2; vii. i. 27. Delphians, the, vi. iv. 30

Delphium, fortress on the island of Chios, i. v. 15

Delphium, Phylisian, v. iii. 22, 24

Demaeonoth, Athenian general, v. i. 10, 26

Demaratus, Lacedaemonian king, iii. i. 6

Demarchus, Syracusan general, i. i. 29

Demeter, vi. iii. 6

Demonstrepus, Athenian, vi. iii. 2

Demoteles, Lacedaemonian, vii. i. 32

Demotion, Athenian, vii. iv. 4

Deras, fortress near Sicyon, vii. i. 22

Dercyllides, Lacedaemonian general,
INDEX TO HELLENICA

commander in the war with Persia, III. i. 8-28; II. 1-20; III. iv. 6; IV. III. 1-3, VIII. 3, 5, 32
Derdas, ruler of Elimia, v. ii. 38-43, iii. i. 9
Diagoras, Rhodian, I. i. 2
Dioecles, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2
Diomedon, Athenian general, I. v. 16, vi. 22-29, VII. 2-29
Dion, Athenian, IV. viii. 13
Dionysus, Athenian general, v. i. 26
Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, II. ii. 24, III. 5; VI. iv. 33; VII. i. 20-28, iv. 12
Dionysus, v. ii. 19
Diopolithes, Lacedaemonian, III. iii. 3
Diocles, "sons of Zeus," Castor and Polydeuces, vi. iii. 6. See also Tyndaridae
Diotimus, Athenian, I. iii. 12; v. i. 25
Diplhardas, Lacedaemonian, IV. viii. 21
Dolopians, the, people in Epirus, VI. i. 7
Dorius, Rhodian, I. i. 2. 4, v. 19
Dorotheus, Athenian, I. iii. 13
Draco, Pellenean, III. ii. 11
Dracontides, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2

Ecdicus, Lacedaemonian admiral, IV. viii. 20-23
Egyptian Larisa, see Larisa
Elon, port of Amphipolis, I. v. 15
Elaeus, city at southern extremity of the Thracian Chersonese, II. i. 20
Eleusis, city in Attica, II. iv. 8, 24-43; VII. v. 15. Eleusinians, the, II. iv. 9
Eleutherae, town in Boeotia, near the Attic border, V. iv. 14
Elimia, district in Macedonia, v. ii. 38
Elis, city and district in western Peloponnesus, III. ii. 23-29; IV. vii. 4; VI. ii. 3; VII. i. 38, iv. 15-19. Eleans, the, I. ii. 1; at war with the Lacedaemonians, III. ii. 21-31; allied with them, IV. ii. 16; VI. ii. 3; refuse to accept the Peace of 371 B.C., V. v. 2, 3; aid the Mantineans, VI. iv. 5, 19; unite with the Thebans and invade Laconia, VI. v. 23-50; VII. i. 18; become hostile to the Arcadians, VII. i. 26, 32; at war with them, VII. iv. 12-35; unite with other Peloponnesians against the Thebans, VII. v. 1, 18
Elyma, town in Arcadia, VI. v. 13
Endius, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iii. 1, 10
Enyalus, god of war, IV. iv. 17
Epaminondas, Theban general, wins over the Achaeans, VII. i. 41, 42; VII. iv. 40; in the campaign of Mantinea, VII. v. 4-22; his victory and death, VII. v. 23-25
Eperatus, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iii. 10
Epheum, town in Ellis, III. ii. 30
Ephesus, city in Ionia, I. ii. 6-12, v. i. 14, vi. 2; II. i. 6-16; III. i. 8, ii. 9, 11, iv. 4-16; IV. viii. 3, 17; V. i. 6, 7. Ephesians, the, I. ii. 8, 10, V. 12, 15; III. ii. 14
Epitaxies, Athenian, IV. viii. 24
Epicydes, Syracusan, I. i. 29
Epicydidas, Lacedaemonian, IV. ii. 2; v. iv. 39
Epidauros, city in Argolis, VI. ii. 3; VII. i. 18, 25. Epidaurians the, IV. ii. 16; VI. v. 29; VII. i. 2
Epiceia, town between Sicyon and Corinth, IV. ii. 14, iv. 13
Epirus, district in northern Greece, VI. i. 7, ii. 9
Epitalium, city in Elis, III. ii. 30. Epitalians, the, III. ii. 25
Erasinides, Athenian general, I. v. 16, VI. 16, 29, VII. 2, 29
Erasistratus, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2
Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2
Eretrians, the, Inh. of Eretria, city in Euboea, III. i. 6
Erythrae, city in Boeotia, V. iv. 49
Eteonidas, Lacedaemonian governor and vice-admiral, I. i. 32, vi. 28-38; II. i. 10-1, 5; v. i. 1, 13
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Etymoecles, Lacedaemonian, v. iv. 22, 32; vi. v. 33
Eugoras, Cyprian prince, ii. i. 29; iv. viii. 24; v. i. 10
Eugoras, Elean, Olympic victor, i. ii. 1
Eualcas, Elean, vii. iv. 15
Eualces, Athenian, iv. i. 40
Eurarchippus, Lacedaemonian ephor, i. ii. 1; ii. iii. 10
Euboea, island east of central Greece, ii. iii. 9; iv. ii. 17.
Euboeans, the, allies of the Thebans, iv. iii. 15; vi. v. 23; vii. v. 4
Eubotas, Cyrenaean, Olympic victor, i. ii. 1
Eucle, Corinthian festival, iv. iv. 8
Eucleides, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Eucles, Syracusan, i. ii. 8
Euctemon, Athenian archon, i. ii. 1
Eudamidas, Lacedaemonian general, v. ii. 24, 25
Eudicus, Lacedaemonian, v. iv. 39
Eumachus, Athenian general, i. i. 22
Eumathes, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Eunomus, Athenian admiral, v. i. 5–9
Euphoron, tyrant of Sicyon, vii. i. 44–46, ii. 11–15, iii. 2–12, iv. 1
Euri, iii. ii. 9; iv. ii. 6, iii. 15, viii. 5
Eurotas, river of Laconia, v. iv. 28; vi. v. 27, 30
Euryomedon, river of Pamphylia, iv. viii. 30
Euryptolemus, Athenian, i. iii. 12, 13. Another, i. iv. 19, vii. 12, 16, 34
Eurysthenes, descendant of King Demaratus, iii. i. 6
Eurythres, legendary king of Mycenae, vi. v. 47
Eutene, city in Arcadia, vi. v. 12, 20, 21
Euthycles, Lacedaemonian, vii. i. 33
Eutresians, the, inh. of a district in Arcadia, vii. i. 29

Euxenus, Lacedaemonian, iv. ii. 5
Exarchus, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10

Four Hundred, the, at Athens, ii. iii. 30, 45, 46

Gaesocchus, see Poseldon
Galaxidorus, Theban, iii. v. 1
Gambrium, town in Ionia, iii. i. 6
Gaurium, port in Andros, i. iv. 22
Gela, Greek city in Sicily, ii. iii. 5
Geranor, Lacedaemonian polemarch, vii. i. 25
Gerastus, promontory and city at the southern extremity of Euboea, iii. iv. 4; iv. v. 61
Gergis, city in the Troad, iii. i. 15–21. Gergithians, the, iii. i. 22
Glaucos, Athenian, i. iv. 19
Gnosis, Syracusan, i. i. 29
Gongylus, Eretrian, iii. i. 6
Gongylus, descendant of the preceding, iii. i. 6
Gordium, city in greater Phrygia, i. iv. 1
Gorgion, descendant of Gongylus, iii. i. 6
Gorgopas, Lacedaemonian vice-admiral, v. i. 5–20
Graos Stethos (‘Old Woman’s Breast’), hill near Thebes, v. iv. 50
Greece, Greeks, see Helles, Hel- nes
Gryinium, town in Aeolis, iii. i. 6
Gylls, Lacedaemonian polemarch, iv. iii. 21, 23
Gythetum, chief port of Laconia, i. iv. 11; vi. v. 32

Hagenon, Athenian, ii. iii. 30
Halae, Attic deme, ii. iv. 34
Hallans, the, inh. of Hallae, town in Argolis, iv. ii. 16; vi. ii. 3; vii. ii. 2
Hallartus, town in Boeotia, iii. v. 3: battle of, iii. v. 17–25. Hallartians, the, iii. v. 18, 19
Halipedon, plain near Pireus, ii. iv. 30
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Halisarna, town in Aeolis, III. i. 6
Hamaxitus, city in the Troad, III. i. 13, 16
Hannibal, Carthaginian general, I. i. 37
Hellen, mountain in Boeotia, IV. iii. 16-19
Helixus, Megarian, I. iii. 15, 17, 21
Hellas, II. ii. 6, and frequently. Hellenes, the, I. v. 9, etc. Hellenic, I. i. 37, etc.
Hellaspon, strait between Europe and Asia, now the Dardanelles, I. i. 2-36, ii. 11, iii. 8, 17, v. 11, vi. 20, 22, vii. 2; II. i. 17, 21, ii. 5; III. ii. 9, iv. 10; IV. ii. 8, iii. 3, viii. 6-34; v. i. 1. Hellespontines, the, III. iv. 11; iv. iii. 17, vii. 31
Helos, town in Laconia, VI. v. 32
Helots, the, serfs of the Spartans, I. ii. 18; III. iii. 6, 8, v. 12; VI. v. 28; VII. i. 12, ii. 2
Heraclea, the Trachinian, city in Malis, I. ii. 18; VI. iv. 27. Heracleots, the, III. v. 6; VI. iv. 9, 27, v. 23
Heracleides, Syracusean, I. ii. 8
Heracleum, sanctuary of Heracles, in Aegina, v. i. 10; near Calchedon, I. ill. 7; in Thebes, VI. iv. 7
Heracles, Greek national hero, III. iii. 3; VI. iii. 6, iv. 7, v. 47; VII. i. 31
Heraca, town in Arcadia, III. ii. 30, iii. 1; VI. v. 22. Heraeans, the, vi. i. 11, 22
Heraeum, sanctuary of Hera, on the Isthmus of Corinth, IV. v. 5-8; near Phlius, VII. ii. 1-12
Herippidas, Lacedaemonian commander, III. iv. 6, 20; IV. i. 11-26, II. 8, ill. 15, 17, viii. 11
Hermion, city in Argolis, IV. ii. 3. Hermionians, the, IV. ii. 16; VII. ii. 2
Hermocrates, Syracusean general, I. i. 27, 30, 31, III. i. 13
Hermocrates, Syracusean, father of Dionysius, II. ii. 24
Hermogenes, Athenian, IV. viii. 13
Hermion, Megarian, I. vi. 32
Herodas, Syracusean, III. iv. 1
Hestia, VII. iv. 31

Hieron, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2
Hieron, Lacedaemonian, VI. iv. 9
Himera, Greek city in Sicily, I. i. 37
Hippasus, Samian commander, I. vi. 29
Hippia, Elean, VII. iv. 15
Hippocrates, Lacedaemonian vice-admiral and governor, I. i. 23, iii. 5-7
Hippodamus, market-place of, in Piraeus, I. iv. 11
Hippodamus, Sicilian, VII. i. 45
Hippolochus, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2
Hippomachus, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2, iv. 19
Hippon, Syracusean, I. ii. 8
Hipponicus, Athenian, IV. v. 13; VI. iii. 2
Hipponicus, Phliasian, v. iii. 13
Histiaeans, the, inh. of Histiaea, city in northern Euboea, II. ii. 3
Hyacinthia, Lacedaemonian festival, IV. v. 11
Hyampolites, the, inh. of Hyampolis, city in Phocis, VI. iv. 27
Hypat, Theban, VII. iii. 7
Hypatodorus, Tanagraean, v. iv. 49
Hypermenes, Lacedaemonian vice-admiral, VI. ii. 25

Iberians, VII. i. 20
Ichthys, promontory in Elis, VI. ii. 31
Ida, mountain in north-western Asia Minor, I. i. 25
Idaeus, Lacedaemonian, IV. i. 39
Ilarchus, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iii. 10
Ilum, Troy, ancient city near the Hellespont, I. i. 4. Illans, the, III. i. 16
Imbros, island in northern Aegean, IV. viii. 15; V. i. 31
Ionia, district in western Asia Minor, II. i. 17; III. ii. 11, 14; v. i. 28. Ioniants, the, III. iv. 11; IV. iii. 17. Ionic, III. i. 3, ii. 12, 17
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Iphicrates, Athenian general, iv. iv. 9; invades the territory of Phlius and Arcadia, iv. iv. 15, 16; defeats a Lacedaemonian regiment, iv. v. 3-17; his other successes, IV. v. 19; victorious at Cremaste, iv. viii. 34-39; besieges Abydus, v. i. 25; his expedition to Corcyra, vi. ii. 13-39; recalled, vi. iv. 1; his expedition to Peloponnesus, vi. v. 49-52

Isanor, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10

Ischolaus, Lacedaemonian commander, vi. v. 24, 26

Isias, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10

Isimenias, Theban party leader, III. v. 1; v. ii. 25-35

Isthmia, the Isthmian games, iv. v. 1, 2

Isthmus, of Corinth, iv. v. 1, vii. 8; viii. v. 15

Italy, v. i. 26

Jason, tyrant of Pherae and tagus of Thessaly, vi. i. 4-19, iv. 20-37, v. 1

Labotsas, Lacedaemonian governor, I. ii. 18

Lacedaemon, referring to either Laconia or Sparta, I. i. 23-vi. v. 18, frequently. Lacedaemonians, the, victorious in the Hellespont, I. i. 1; defeated in the battles of Abydus and Cyzicus, I. i. 2-18; build a new fleet, i. i. 24-26; aided by the Persians, I. iv. 2, 3, v. 2-7; victorious at Notium, i. v. 11-14; victorious at Mytilene, i. vi. 15-17; defeated at Arginusae, I. vi. 26-34; capture the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, II. i. 22-32; capture Athens, but refuse to destroy the city, II. ii. 1-23; settle the internal dissensions of the Athenians, II. iv. 28-38; send aid to Cyrus, III. i. 1; at war with Persia, III. i. 3-II. 20, iv. 1-29; iv. i. 1-41; with Elis, III. ii. 21-31; choose Agesilaus king, III. iii. 1-4; at war with Thebes, III. v. 3-7; defeated at Halitarsus, III. v. 17-24; recall Agesilaus from Asia, IV. ii. 2; engage in the Corinthian War, IV. ii. 9; victorious at the Nemea, IV. ii. 16-23; defeated at Cnidos, IV. iii. 10-12; victorious at Coronea, iv. iv. 15-21; at Corinth, IV. iv. 9-13, 19; invade Argos, iv. iv. 19; defeated at Corinth, IV. v. 11-17; at war with the Acarnanians, IV. vi. 1-vii. 1; invade Argos, IV. vii. 2-7; loss of their maritime empire, IV. viii. 1-11; naval war with the Athenians, iv. i. 1-28; their relation to the Peace of Antalcidas, v. i. 32-36; at war with Mantinea, v. ii. 1-7; with Olynthus, v. iii. 20-24, 37-43, iii. 1-9, 18, 19, 26; seize the citadel of Thebes, v. ii. 25-36; at war with Phlius, v. iii. 10-17, 21-25; surrender the Theban citadel, v. iv. 10-12; at war with Thebes, v. iv. 13-62; vi. i. 1, ii. 1; with Athens, v. iv. 34, 60-66; vii. ii. 3-38; conclude peace with Athens, vii. iii. 18-20; defeated by the Thebans at Leuctra, vii. iv. 1-15; at war with the Mantineans, vi. v. 10-21; their country invaded by the Thebans, Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, vi. v. 25-52; conclude an alliance with the Athenians, VII. i. 1-14; at war with the Arcadians, VII. ii. 25-32, iv. 19-27; their country invaded again, VII. v. 9-14; defeated at Mantinea, VII. v. 18-25

Laconia, ii. ii. 13; iv. vii. 6, viii. 8; vi. ii. 9, 31, v. 21, 23, 24; viii. i. 25, 28, 29, iv. 6. Laconians, the, i. i. 32, ii. 22, vi. 34; ii. ii. 2, iii. 8, iv. 4, 10; iv. iv. 10, viii. 1, 35, 37; v. ii. 40, 41

Lacrates, Lacedaemonian, Olympic victor, ii. iv. 33

Lampsacus, city on Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, I. ii. 13, 15; II. i. 18-30, ii. 1, 2

505
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Larisa, the Egyptian, city in Aeolis, III. i. 7. Larisaenas, the, III. i. 7
Larisa, city in Thessaly, vi. iv. 33, 34. Larisaenas, the, II. iii. 4; iv. iii. 3
Larisa, city in the Troad, III. i. 13, 16
Larissus, river of Ellis, III. ii. 23
Lesion, town in Ellis, III. ii. 30; vii. iv. 12. Lesionians, the, IV. ii. 16
Lechaenum, western port of Corinth, iv. iv. 7, 17, v. 7–19, viii. 10, 23; v. i. 29
Lemnos, island in northern Aegean, IV. viii. 15; v. i. 31
Leon, Athenian general, I. v. 16, VI. iii. 39. Another, VII. i. 33–38
Leon, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iii. 10
Leontades, Theban party leader, v. ii. 25–36, iv. 7, 19
Leonichus, Athenian general, v. i. 26
Leontines, the, in. of Leontini, Greek city in Sicily, II. iii. 5
Leontis, Athenian tribe, II. iv. 27
Loctychides, putative son of King Agis, III. iii. 1–3
Lepreans, the, in. of Lepreum, city in Ellis, III. ii. 25; vi. v. 11
Lesbos, island off the Aeolian coast, I. ii. 11, 12, v. 12–27; II. ii. 5, iii. 32, 35; IV. viii. 28
Letiniains, the, in. of Letini, town in Ellis, III. ii. 25, 30; IV. ii. 16
Leucas, island west of Acarnania, VI. ii. 3, 26
Leucolophides, Athenian, I. iv. 21
Leucophrys, city in Ionia, III. ii. 19; iv. viii. 17
Leuctra, town in Boeotia, battle of, v. iv. 33; VI. iv. 4–15, v. 1, 23; VII. i. 35, ii. 2
Leuctrum, town in southern Arcadia, VI. v. 24
Libys, Lacedaemonian admiral, II. iv. 28
Lichas, Lacedaemonian, III. ii. 21
Locris, the Opuntian, district in central Greece on the Euboic strait, III. v. 3, 4; the Ozolian, district on northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, IV. iii. 21
Locrians, the Opuntian, III. v. 3, 4; IV. ii. 17; the Ozolian, IV. ii. 17, iii. 22; both, IV. iii. 15; VI. v. 17
Lycaethus, Athenian, VI. iii. 2
Lycurgus, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iii. 10
Lyceum, the, gymnasium near Athens, I. i. 33; II. iv. 27
Lycurgus, Athenian, I. vii. 13
Lycomedes, Mantinean, VII. i. 23, 24, 39, iv. 2, 3
Lycephon, Pherean, II. iii. 4
Lycurgus, Byzantine, I. iii. 18
Lydia, province in western Asia Minor, I. ii. 4
Lyssander, Lacedaemonian admiral and general, his relations with Cyrus, I. v. 1–9, VI. i. 7, 11–15, III. iii. 8; victorious at Notium, I. v. 10–15; intrigues against Callicratidas, I. vi. 1–10; in command again, II. ii. 6–19; captures the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, II. i. 22–32. His part in the siege of Athens, II. ii. 1–23; in the ensuing civil strife, II. iv. 25–36; supports the claims of Agesilaus, III. iii. 3; with Agesilaus in Asia, III. iv. 2–10; defeated and slain at Hallartus, III. v. 6, 17–19
Lyssander, Sicyonian, VII. i. 45
Lysias, Athenian general, I. vi. 30, VII. 2
Lysimachus, Athenian hipparch, II. iv. 8, 26
Lysimenes, Sicyonian, VII. i. 45
Lysippus, Lacedaemonian governor, III. ii. 29, 30
Macedonia, country north of Greece, I. i. 12; IV. iii. 3; V. ii. 12, 13, 35, III. iii. 18; VI. i. 11. Macedonians, the, v. ii. 12, 40, 43
Macestus, town in Ellis, III. ii. 30
Macedonians, the, III. ii. 25
Madytus, city in the Thracian Chersonese, I. i. 3
Maecander, river in western Asia Minor, III. ii. 14, 17, IV. ii. 12, 21; IV. viii. 17
INDEX TO Hellenica

Malea, southern promontory of Laconia, i. ii. 18
Malea, southern promontory of Lesbos, i. vi. 26, 27
Malea, district in southern Arcadia, vi. v. 24
Mallians, the, inh. of Malls, district in northern Greece, on the Mullan Gulf, III. v. 6; iv. ii. 17; vi. v. 23
Mania, Dardanian woman, III. i. 10-27,
Mantinea, city in Arcadia, iv. v. 18; vi. ii. 2-7; vi. v. 3-22; battle of, vii. v. 7-25. Mantineans, the, III. ii. 21; allies of the Lacedaemonians, iv. ii. 13, iv. 17, v. 18; their city captured by the Lacedaemonians, v. ii. 1-7; aid the Lacedaemonians after Leuctra, vi. iv. 18; fortify their city, vi. v. 3-5; at war with the Lacedaemonians, vi. v. 6-52; leaders of anti-Theban faction in Arcadia, vii. iv. 33-40; aid the Lacedaemonians against the Thebans, vii. v. 1-25
Mantitheus, Athenian, i. i. 10, ill. 13
Maracand, the, people in Aetolia, vi. i. 7
Marganians, the, inh. of Margana, town in Elis, III. ii. 25, 30; iv. ii. 16; vi. v. 2; vii. iv. 14, 26
Media, country in Asia, II. i. 13. Medes, the, i. ii. 19
Megabates, Persian, iv. i. 28
Megapolitans, the, inh. of Megapolis, city in Arcadia, VII. v. 5
Megara, city on the Isthmus of Corinth, I. i. 36, ii. 14; II. iv. 1; IV. iv. 13; V. iv. 41-58. Megarians, the, III. i. 15, vi. 32. Megarides, the district, v. iv. 18; VI. iv. 26
Megillus, Lacedaemonian, III. iv. 6
Melpodion, the, people in Aetolia, III. i. 14-23
Melanthus, Athenian, one of the Four Hundred, II. iii. 46
Meleagris, city in Arcadia, VII. i. 28, 29
Meletus, Athenian, II. iv. 36
Melobulus, one of the Thirty at Athens, II. iii. 2
Melon, Theban, v. iv. 2-7, 19
Melos, island east of Laconia, IV. vili. 7. Melians, the, II. ii. 3, 9
Menander, Athenian general, I. ii. 16; II. i. 16, 26
Menasceus, Lacedaemonian, IV. ii. 8
Menecles, Athenian, I. v. 34
Menocrates, Syracusan, I. i. 20
Menon, Theban, v. iv. 55
Messene, capital of Messenia, district in Peloponnesus, v. ii. 3; VII. ii. 27, 36, iv. 9. Messenians, the, VI. v. 33; VII. i. 29, iv. 27, v. 5
Methymna, city in northern Lesbos, I. ii. 12, vi. 12, 38; IV. vili. 28. Methymnaeans, the, I. v. 13-18; IV. vili. 29
Miletus, city in southern Ionia, I. i. 31, II. 2, 3, v. i. 2, 7. Milesians, the, I. i. 8; II. ii. 30
Mindarus, Lacedaemonian admiral, I. i. 4-23, ill. 17
Misgaloidas, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iii. 10
Mitraeus, Persian prince, III. i. 8
Mitrobatres, Persian, III. i. 12
Mnasippos, Lacedaemonian admiral, VI. ii. 4-31
Mnesilocthus, one of the Thirty of Athens, II. iii. 2
Mnestheides, one of the Thirty of Athens, II. iii. 2
Munichia, hill on the Piraeus peninsula, IV. iv. 11, 37. Artemis of Munichia, II. iv. 11
Mygdon, Lacedaemonian, III. iv. 20
Myrurus, town in Aeolis, III. i. 6
Myssia, province in north-western Asia Minor, I. iv. 7. Myssians, the, III. i. 13; IV. i. 24
Myskon, Syracusan general, I. i. 29
Mytilene, chief city of Lesbos, I. vi. 16-38, VII. ii. 29; II. ii. 5; IV. vili. 28. Mytileneans, the, I. v. 22; IV. vili. 28, 29

Narthacium, mountain and town in southern Thessaly, IV. iii. 8, 9
Naubates, Lacedaemonian, II. ii. 6
Naucleides, Lacedaemonian ephor, II. iv. 36
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Naucles, Lacedaemonian, vii. i. 41
Naupactus, city in Aetolia, iv. vi. 14
Nauplia, town in Argolis, iv. vii. 6
Neandrians, the, inh. of Neandria, town in Aiolis, iii. i. 16
Nemea, city in Argolis, iv. ii. 14, vii. 3; vii. ii. 5, v. 6, 7
Niceratus, Athenian, ii. iii. 39
Nicias, Athenian general and statesman, ii. iii. 39
Niccolochus, Lacedaemonian admiral, v. i. 6, 7, 25, iv. 65
Nicophemus, Athenian, iv. viii. 8
Nicosthenes, Athenian, ii. iv. 6
Notium, port of Colophon, i. ii. 4, 11; battle of, i. v. 12-14; ii. i. 6

Ocyllus, Lacedaemonian, v. iv. 22; vi. v. 33
Odeum, music hall at Athens, ii. iv. 9, 10, 24
Odrysians, see Thracians
Oeniadae, city in Acarnania, iv. vi. 14
Oenoe, Athenian fortress, on the Boeotian border, i. vii. 28
Oenoe, Corinthian fortress, iv. v. 5, 19
Oetaeans, the, people in northern Greece, about Mt. Oeta, i. ii. 18; iii. v. 6
Oeum, town in northern Laconia, vi. v. 24, 25. Oeans, the, vi. v. 26
Oliontheus, Lacedaemonian, vi. v. 33
Olurus, fortress in Achaea, vii. iv. 17, 18
Olympia, sanctuary in Elis, seat of the Olympic games, iii. ii. 26; iv. iv. 40, vii. 2; vii. iv. 14, 28. Olympian, iii. ii. 26, 31; vii. iv. 14, 28. Olympic games, vii. iv. 28. Olympic year (Olympiad), i. ii. 1; ii. iii. 1; vii. iv. 28
Olynthus, city in Chalcidice, vi. v. 11-37, iii. 9, 20. Olynthians, the, v. ii. 18-43, iii. 1-6, 18, 26, iv. 54
Oneum, mountain range near Corinth, vi. v. 51, 52; vii. i. 15-42, ii. 5

Onomacles, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Onomacles, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10
Onomantius, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10
Opuntian Locris, see Locris
Orchomenus, city in Arcadia, iv. v. 18; vi. v. 15, 17, 29. Orchomenians, the, v. iv. 36, 37; vi. v. 11, 13
Orchomenus, city in Boeotia, iii. v. 17; iv. iii. 15; v. i. 29. Orchomenians, the, iii. v. 6; iv. ii. 17, iii. 15, 16, 18; vi. iv. 10
Oreus, city in Euboea, v. iv. 56. Oreans, the, vi. iv. 57
Oropus, town on the borders of Attica and Boeotia, vii. iv. 1
Orosippus, Lacedaemonian, iv. ii. 8
Oty, king of Paphlagonia, iv. i. 3-15
Ozolian Locris, see Locris

Pactolus, stream in Lydia, iii. iv. 22
Pagasae, town in Thessaly, v. iv. 56
Palaegambrium, town in Aolos, iii. i. 6
Pallantium, town in Arcadia, vi. v. 9. Pallantians, the, vii. v. 5
Paliene, western peninsula of Chalcidice, vi. ii. 15
Pamphilus, Athenian general, v. i. 2
Pangeum, mountain in western Thrace, v. ii. 17
Pantacles, Lacedaemonian ephor, i. iii. 1; ii. iii. 10
Paphlagonia, province in northern Asia Minor, iv. i. 2, 3. Paphlagonians, the, iv. i. 2-28
Paralus, Athenian state trireme ii. i. 28, 29, ii. i. 14
Paraptia, wife of Pharnazus, iv. i. 39, 40
Parium, city on the Propontis, i. i. 13
Paros, one of the Cyclades, i. iv. 11
Parrhasians, the, inh. of Parrhasia, city in Arcadia, vii. i. 28
Pasmuschus, Lacedaemonian, iv. iv. 10

508
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Pasimelus, Corinthian, iv. iv. 4, 7; vii. iii. 2
Pasippidas, Lacedaemonian admiral, i. i. 32, iii. 13, 17
Patesidas, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10
Pausanias, Lacedaemonian king, ii. ii. 7; leader in Athenian campaign, ii. iv. 29-39; against the Thebans, iii. v. 6-24; condemned and an exile, iii. v. 25; v. ii. 3
Pelsander, Lacedaemonian admiral, iii. iv. 29; iv. iii. 10-13
Pelsanax, Athenian, i. iv. 19, vii. 12
Pelsias, Argive general, vii. i. 41
Peison, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. ii. 3
Pella, capital of Macedonia, v. ii. 13
Pellene, city in Achaia, vii. i. 18, ii. 18, 20, iv. 18. Pelleneans, the, iv. ii. 20; vi. v. 29; vii. i. 15, 16, ii. 2-16, iv. 17
Pellene, city in Laconia, vii. v. 9. Pelleneans, iii. ii. 11
Pelles, Lacedaemonian, iv. iii. 23
Peloponnesus, southern peninsula of Greece, iii. ii. 17, 28, v. 17; iv. vi. 2, 14; v. ii. 20, iv. 62, 63; vi. ii. 9, iii. 6; vii. i. 23, ii. 2, iv. 35, v. 1-18. Peloponnesians, the, i. i. 6-24, vi. 33, 34; ii. ii. 7, iv. 21, 29, 41; iii. i. 4, v. 6, 14; vi. v. 1. Peloponnesian War, the, i. i. 1-ii. iii. 10; terms of peace, ii. ii. 20
Percote, town on Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, v. i. 25
Pergamus, city in Aeolis, iii. i. 6
Pericles, Athenian general, i. v. 16, vi. 29, viii. 2, 16, 21
Perinthus, city on the Propontis, i. i. 20. Perinthians, the, i. i. 21
Perioeci, the, inh. of the Laconian towns who were free, but not Spartan citizens, i. iii. 15; iii. iii. 6; v. i. 33, ii. 24, iii. 9, iv. 39; vi. i. 19, v. 21-32; vii. ii. 2, iv. 27
Persians, the, i. ii. 5, 19; iii. ii. 15, iv. 10-25; iv. iv. 6, 30; v. ii. 35; vi. i. 12; vii. i. 33-39
Phaedrias, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Phanias, Athenian general, v. i. 26
Phanosthenes, Athenian general, i. v. 18
Pharax, Lacedaemonian admiral, iii. ii. 12, 14; iv. v. 6; vi. v. 33
Pharnabazus, Persian satrap, aids the Lacedaemonians in the Peloponnesian War, i. i. 6-31, ii. 16, iii. 5-7, 17; his negotiations with the Athenians, i. iii. 8-14, iv. 1-7; at war with the Lacedaemonians, iii. i. 9-28, ii. 1-20, iv. 10-29; iv. i. 1-38; victorious in the battle of Cnidus, iv. iii. 10-12; his later successes, iv. viii. 1-10; at the Persian court, v. i. 28
Pharsalus, city in Thessaly, vi. i. 5, 8, iv. 34. Pharsalians, the, iv. iii. 3, 8; vi. i. 2-18
Phea, town in Elis, iii. ii. 30
Phedon, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Phereas, town in southern Messenia, iv. viii. 7
Phereas, the, inh. of Phereas, city in Thessaly, ii. iii. 4; vi. iv. 31
Phillippus, Theban polemarch, v. iv. 2
Philiscus, Abydene, vii. i. 27
Phillas, Theban, v. iv. 2-8
Philocles, Athenian general, i. vi. i; ii. i. 30-32
Philocrates, Athenian, iv. viii. 24
Philocydès, Athenian, i. iii. 13
Phlius, city in Argolis, iv. iv. 15, viii. 3; v. ii. 8, iii. 21-25; vii. i. 18, ii. 1-23. Philistians, the, rv. ii. 16, iv. 15; coerced by the Lacedaemonians, v. ii. 8-10; reduced by them, v. iii. 10-17, 21-25; allies of the Lacedaemonians, iv. iv. 9, 18, v. 14, 17, 29; their fidelity and bravery, vii. ii. 1-23; conclude peace with the Thebans, iv. iv. 10, 11
Phocaea, city in Ionia, i. iii. 1, v. 11, vi. 33
Phocians, district in central Greece, III. v. 4; vi. i. 1, iv. 27. Phocians, the, at war with the Thebans,
INDEX TO HELLENICA

III. v. 3–21; allies of the Lacedaemonians, IV. iii. 15, 21; v. ii. 33, iv. 60; vi. i. 1, ii. 1, iv. 2–9; allies of the Thebans, vi. v. 25, 30; vii. v. 4
Phoebidas, Lacedaemonian commander, v. ii. 24–32, iv. 41–46
Phoenicia, country on eastern coast of the Mediterranean, III. iv. 1
Phoenician, III. iv. 1; iv. iii. 11
Phoenicus, town in Cythera, iv. viii. 7
Phrixia, town in Elis, III. ii. 30
Phrygia, the greater, province in central Asia Minor, i. iv. 1; the lesser, province in northwestern Asia Minor, III. ii. 1, iv. 12, 26, 29; iv. i. 1
Phthia, district in southern Thessaly, IV. iv. iii. 9
Phyle, Athenian fortress, near the Boeotian border, ii. iv. 2–12
Piraeum, peninsula on northwestern side of the Isthmus of Corinth, IV. v. 1–19
Piraeus, port of Athens, i. i. 35, ii. 14, iii. 22, iv. 12, 13, vii. 35; ii. ii. 2–23, iii. 8, 11, iv. 1–39; iii. v. 5–25; iv. viii. 9; v. i. 9, 22, ii. 33, iv. 20–34
Pisatans, the, inh. of Pisa, town in Elis, vii. iv. 28, 29
Pisidians, the, inh. of Pisidia, province in southern Asia Minor, iii. i. 13
Pityas, Lacedaemonian ephor, i. vi. 1; ii. iii. 10
Plataea, city in Boeotia, v. iv. 10, 14, 48; vi. iii. 5; vii. i. 34.
Plataeans, the, v. iv. 10; vi. iii. 1
Pleistolas, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10
Plynteria, Athenian festival, i. iv. 12
Podanemus, Lacedaemonian admiral, iv. viii. 10
Podanemus, Philisan, v. iii. 13
Pollis, Lacedaemonian admiral, iv. viii. 11; v. iv. 61
Polyaenidas, Lacedaemonian, VII. iv. 23
Polyanthes, Corinthian, III. v. 1
Polyblades, Lacedaemonian commander, v. iii. 20, 26
Polychares, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Polycharmus, Lacedaemonian, v. ii. 41
Polycharmus, Pharsalian, IV. iii. 8
Polydamas, Pharsalian, VI. i. 2–8, iv. 34
Polydorus, Pherean, tagus of Thessaly, VI. iv. 33, 34
Polyphon, Pherean, tagus of Thessaly, VI. iv. 33, 34
Polytropus, commander of mercenaries, vi. v. 11–14
Polyxenus, Syracusan admiral, v. i. 26
Pontus, the Black Sea, I. i. 22; ii. ii. 1; iv. viii. 27, 31; v. i. 28
Poseidon, III. iii. 2; IV. v. 1, 2, 4, vii. 4, 5. Gaeacous, vi. v. 30
Potamia, Syracusan general, I. i. 29
Potidae, city in Chalcidice, v. ii. 15–39, iii. 6
Potinai, city in Boeotia, v. iv. 51
Pras, town in southern Thessaly, IV. iv. 9
Prasie, town in Laconia, VII. ii. 2, 3
Praxitas, Lacedaemonian polemarch, IV. iv. 7–18, v. 19
Priene, city in Ionia, III. ii. 17; iv. vii. 17
Proaeus, Corinthian admiral, IV. viii. 11
Proclus, descendant of King Deumarus, III. i. 6
Procles, Philisan, v. iii. 13; vi. v. 38; viii. i. 1
Proconnesus, island in the Propontis, I. i. 13–20, iii. i. 4; viii. 36; v. i. 26
Prometheus, Thessalian, II. iii. 36
Prothous, Lacedaemonian, IV. vii. 2
Protocophus, Athenian general, I. v. 16, vi. 30, 33, vii. 1
Proxenus, Pellenean, vii. ii. 16
Proxenus, Syracusan, I. iii. 13
Proxenus, Tegean, VI. v. 6, 7, 36
Pygela, town in Ionia, I. ii. 2
Pygelia, the, II. i. 2
Pylus, town in Elis, VII. iv. 16, 26
Pylions, the, VII. iv. 26
Pyrrholochus, Argive, I. iii. 13
Pythian games, VI. iv. 29, 30
Pythodorus, Athenian archon, II. i. 1
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Rhamphias, Lacedaemonian, i. l. 35
Rhathines, Persian commander, iii. i. 13
Rhium, promontory in Aetolia, at the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, iv. vi. 14, viii. 11
Rhodes, island south-west of Asia Minor, i. l. 2, v. 1, 19, vi. 3; ii. i. 15, 17; iv. viii. 20-30; v. i. 5, 6. Rhodians, the, i. v. 19; iii. v. 1; iv. viii. 20; vi. iii. 35
Rhoeteum, town on Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, i. l. 2

Salaminia, Athenian state trireme, vi. ii. 14
Salamis, island off western coast of Attica, ii. ii. 9. Salaminian, ii. iii. 39
Samius, Lacedaemonian admiral, iii. i. 1
Samos, island off the Ionian coast, i. l. 1, iv. 8-23, v. 14-20, vi. 2-38; ii. i. 12, 16, iii. 3; iv. viii. 23. Samians, the, i. vi. 25, 29, vii. 30; ii. ii. 6, iii. 6
Samothrace, island on the Thracian coast, v. i. 7
Sardis, capital of Lydia, i. l. 9, 10, v. i; iii. ii. 11, iv. 25; iv. i. 27, viii. 21. Sardians, iii. iv. 21
Satyrus, one of the Eleven at Athens, ii. iii. 54-56
Scepsis, city in the Troad, iii. i. 15-28. Scepsians, the, iii. i. 21, 25
Scylluntians, the, inh. of Scyllus, town in Elis, vi. v. 2
Scioneaeans, the, inh. of Scione, city in Chalcidice, ii. il. 3
Sciritis, district in northern Laconia, vi. vi. 24, 25; vii. iv. 21. Sciritans, the, v. vi. 24, iv. 52, 53
Scolus, town in Boeotia, v. iv. 49
Scopas, Thessalian, vi. i. 19
Scotussaeans, the, inh. of Scotussa, city in Thessaly, iv. iii. 3
Scyros, island north-east of Euboea, iv. viii. 15; v. i. 31
Scythes, Lacedaemonian, iii. iv. 20
Sellinus, Greek city in Sicily, i. l. 37. Sellinuntines, the, i. ii. 8, 10
Sellasia, city in Laconia, ii. ii. 13, 19; vi. v. 27; vii. iv. 12
Selymbria, city on the Propontis, i. i. 20, iii. 10. Selymbrians, the, i. i. 21
Sestus, city in the Thracian Chersonese, i. l. 7, 11, 36, ii. 13; ii. i. 20, 25; iv. viii. 3-6
Seuthes, king of the Odrysians, iii. ii. 2, 9; iv. viii. 26
Sicily, i. l. 37, v. 21; vi. ii. 9. Sicilians, the, ii. il. 24
Sicyon, city in northern Peloponnesus, near Corinth, iv. ii. 14, iv. 1-18, v. 12, 19; vii. i. 17-44, ii. 11, 15, iii. 1, 4. Sicyonians, the, iii. i. 18; iv. ii. 16, iv. 8-11; vi. iv. 18; vii. i. 22, ii. 1-20, iii. 1, 2, iv. 1
Sidus, town on the Isthmus of Corinth, iv. iv. 13, v. 19
Sisyphus, nickname of Dercyllidas, iii. i. 8
Socleides, Lacedaemonian, vii. iv. 19
Socrates, Athenian philosopher, i. vii. 15
Sophocles, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. iii. 2
Sophoniscus, Athenian, i. vil. 15
Sostratidas, Lacedaemonian ephor, ii. iii. 10
Sparta, i. i. 32, ii. i. 32; ii. iii. 2; v. iii. 10, iv. 32, 33; vii. i. 28, 32, ii. 3, v. 9. See also Lacedaemon. Spartaianae, the, iii. i. 5, 6, iv. 2; iv. iii. 23; v. i. 11, iii. 8, 9, iv. 39; vi. iv. 15, v. 21-28; vii. i. 25, iv. 19, 27, v. 10, 11. See also Lacedaemonians
Spartolus, city in Chalcidice, v. iii. 6
Sphagiæ, islands on the coast of Messenia, vi. il. 31
Sphodrias, Lacedaemonian governor at Thespie, v. iv. 15-34, 63; vi. iv. 14
Spithridates, Persian, iii. iv. 10; iv. i. 2-28
Stages, Persian, i. ii. 5
Stasippus, Tegean, vi. iv. 18, v. 6-10, 36
Stelria, Attic deme, iv. viii. 25
Sthenelaus, Lacedaemonian governor, ii. ii. 2
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Stratolas, Elean, vii. iv. 15, 31
Stratus, capital of Acarnania, iv. vi. 4
Strombichides, Athenian, vi. iii. 2
Struthas, Persian satrap, iv. viii. 17–21
Stymphallus, the, inh. of Stymphalus, town in Arcadia, vii. iii. 1
Sunium, southern promontory of Attica, v. i. 23
Syennessis, ruler of Cilicia, iii. i. 1
Syracuse, Greek city in Sicily, i. i. 29, 31, iii. 13; v. i. 26, 28; vi. ii. 35; vii. i. 22. Syracusans, the, i. i. 18–31, ii. 8–14; ii. ii. 24, iii. 5; iii. i. 2, iv. 1, v. 14; v. iv. 58
Tanagra, city in Boeotia, v. iv. 49.
Tanagraeans, the, v. iv. 49
Tegea, city in Arcadia, iii. v. 25; vi. v. 9, 15, 16; vii. iv. 38, 38, 39, v. 7, 14, 21; mustering place of Lacedaemonian armies, iii. v. 7; v. i. 33; iv. 37. Tegeans, the, allies of the Lacedaemonians, iv. ii. 13, 19, 21; vi. iv. 18; active in forming the Arcadian League, vi. v. 6–9; at war with the Lacedaemonians, vi. v. 10–21; vi. v. 24, 36; allies of the Thebans against the Lacedaemonians, vii. v. 5, 8
Teleutias, Lacedaemonian admiral and general, iv. iv. 19, vii. 11, 23–25; v. i. 2–13, ii. 37–43, iii. 3–6
Temnus, town in Aeolis, iv. viii. 5
Tenea, town near Corinth, iv. iv. 19
Tenedos, island off the Aeolian coast, v. i. 6. Tenedians, the, v. i. 7
Teuthrania, town in Aeolis, iii. i. 6
Thalamae, fortress in Ellis, vii. iv. 26
Thamna, town in Media, ii. i. 13
Theas, island in northern Aegean, i. i. 12, 32, iv. 9; v. i. 7
Thebe, town in the Troad, iv. i. 41
Thebes, chief city of Boeotia, ii. iv. 1, 2; iii. v. 1, 3; v. ii. 25–27, iv. 1–63; vii. iii. 2, 11, iv. 37; vii. ii. 39, 40, iii. 6 iv. 6–39
v. 4. Thebans, the, i. vii. 28; urge the destruction of Athens, ii. 19; incite war against the Lacedaemonians, iii. v. 3–16; victorious at Halartus, iii. v. 17–24; take part in the battle of the Nemea, iv. ii. 22; of Coronea, iv. iii. 15–21; compelled to accept the Peace of Antalcidas, v. i. 32–36; their citadel seized by the Lacedaemonians, v. ii. 25–36; recovered, v. iv. 1–12; at war with the Lacedaemonians, v. v. 13–59; assisted by the Athenians, v. v. 34, 54, 59, 63; subjugate the Boeotian cities, v. iv. 46, 63; make war upon the Phocians, vi. i. 1, iii. 1; excluded from the Peace of 371 B.C.; vi. iii. 18–20; defeat the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, vi. iv. 1–15; aid the Arcadians and invade Laconia, vi. v. 22–52; their second invasion of Peloponnesus, vii. v. 15–22; their negotiations with the Persian king, vii. i. 38–40; third invasion of Peloponnesus, vii. i. 41, 42; acquit the slayers of Euphorus, vii. iii. 4–12; grant peace to the Corinthians, vii. iv. 6–10; fourth invasion of Peloponnesus, vii. iv. 34–v. 6; their allies, vii. v. 4, 5; invade Laconia and are victorious in the battle of Mantinea, vii. v. 6–25
Themistogenes, Syracusans, iii. i. 2
Theogene, one of the Thirty at Athens, i. iii. 13; ii. ii. 2
Theognis, one of the Thirty at Athens, ii. ii. 2
Theopompus, Milesian, ii. i. 30
Theramenes, Athenian general, later one of the Thirty, i. i. 12, 22, vi. 35, vi. 4–31; ii. ii. 16–22, iii. 2–55, iv. 1
Therimachus, Lacedaemonian governor of Methymna, iv. viii. 29
Thermopylae, pass at the head of the Malian Gulf, vi. v. 43
Thersander, Spartan flute-player, iv. viii. 18, 19
Thesmophoria, Theban festival, v. ii. 29
INDEX TO Hellenica

Thespeia, city in Boeotia, v. iv. 10-55; vi. iii. 6. Thespian, the, iv. ii. 20; v. iv. 42-45; vi. iii. 1, iv. 4, 10

Thessaly, district in northern Greece, ii. iii. 1, 4; iv. iii. 3; vi. i. 2-12; iv. 23; vii. i. 17. Thessalian, the, ii. iii. 1, 4; iv. iii. 3-8; v. iii. 9; vi. 3-18; iv. 28-35, v. i. 30; vii. v. 4, 16

Thibraeaus, Lacedaemonian pole-march, ii. iv. 33

Thibron, Lacedaemonian commander, iii. i. 4-10, ii. 1; iv. viii. 17-22

Thirty, the, at Athens ("the Thirty Tyrants"), established, ii. iii. 1, 2-11; their rule, ii. iii. 11-iv. 10; dissension among, ii. iii. 15-56; their forces defeated by Thrasybulus, ii. iv. 2-22; deposed, ii. iv. 23; outlawed, ii. iv. 38

Thisbae, town in Boeotia, vi. iv. 3

Thorax, Lacedaemonian commander, ii. 1. 18, 23

Thoricus, town in southern Attica, i. ii. 1

Thrace, country north of the Aegean and Propontis, i. iii. 10, 17, iv. 9; ii. ii. 5; iii. ii. 9; iv. viii. 28; v. i. 26; ii. 12, 24. Thraxians, the, iii. ii. 8, 10; v. ii. 17. Bithynian Thrace (Thraxians), see Bithynia (Bithynians). Odrysian Thraxians, the, iii. ii. 2, 5; iv. viii. 26

Thracum, Thracian Square, in Byzantium, i. iii. 20

Thrasydamus, Eleusin, vii. iv. 15

Thrasybulus, of Collytus, Athenian general, v. i. 26

Thrasybulus, of Stelira, Athenian general and statesman, i. i. 12, iv. 9; chosen general, i. iv. 10; at Phocaea, i. v. 11: ship-captain at Arginusae, i. vi. 35, vii. 5, 17, 31; banished by the Thirty, ii. iii. 42, 44; liberates Athens from the Thirty, ii. iv. 2-42; iii. v. 16; in command of an Athenian fleet, iv. viii. 25-31

Thrasydæus, Eleusin, iii. ii. 27-30

Thrasybulus, Athenian general, i. i. 8; repulses Agis, i. i. 33, 34; in command in Asia Minor, i. ii. 1-17, iii. 6; returns to Athens, i. iv. 10; chosen general, i. v. 16; at Arginusae, i. vi. 30, viii. 2, 29

Thraustus, town in Elis, vii. iv. 14

Thria, Attic deme, near Eleusis, v. iv. 21

Thurian, of Thurii, Greek city in Italy, i. v. 19

Thymia, fortress between Sicyon and Phlius, vii. ii. 1, 23, iv. i. 11

Thymochares, Athenian general, i. 1. 1

Thyrians, the, inh. of Thyrium, town in Acarnania, vii. ii. 37

Tigranes, Persian, vii. viii. 21

Timagoras, Athenian, vii. iii. 33, 35, 38

Timocrates, Athenian, i. vii. 3

Timocrates, Lacedaemonian, vii. i. 13

Timocrates, Rhodian, iii. v. 1

Timocrates, Syracusan commander, vii. iv. 12

Timolaus, Corinthian, iii. v. 1

Timomachus, Athenian commander, vii. i. 41

Timotimus, Athenian general, v. iv. 66-66; vi. ii. 2, 3, 11

Tiribazus, Persian satrap, iv. viii. 12-17; v. i. 6, 25-30

Tissamenus, Lacedaemonian, iii. iii. 11

Tissaphernes, tagus of Thessaly, vi. iv. 37, v. 1

Tissaphernes, Persian satrap, takes part in the Peloponnesian War, i. i. 9, 31, 32, ii. 6, 8, v. 2, 8, 9; seeks possession of the Ionian cities, iii. i. 3; at war with the Lacedaemonians, iii. i. 6, 9, ii. 12-20, iv. 1-24; put to death, iii. iv. 25

Tithraustes, Persian satrap, iii. iv. 25, 26, v. 1

Tizonidias, Lacedaemonian, v. iii. 3, 4

Terror, city in Chalcedice, v. iii. 18

Troanaeans, the, ii. ii. 3

Trachinian Heracleia, the, see Heracleia

Tralles, city in Caria, iii. ii. 19
INDEX TO HELLENICA

Tricarumum, mountain and fortress near Philus, vii. ii. 1–13, lv. 11
Triphylians, the, inh. of Triphylia, district in Elis, iii. ii. 30; iv. ii. 16; vi. v. 2; vii. i. 26
Triptolemus, Attic hero, vi. iii. 6
Tripyrgia, locality in Aegina, v. i. 10
Troezon, city in Argolis, vi. ii. 3. Troezenians, the, iv. ii. 16; vii. ii. 2
Troy, ancient city near the Hellespont, iii. iv. 3; vii. i. 34
Tydeus, Athenian general, ii. i. 16, 26
Tyndaridae, Castor and Polydeuces, putative sons of Tydareus, vi. v. 31. See A Dioscuri

Xenias, Elean, iii. ii. 27
Xenocles, Lacedaemonian, iii. iv.
Xerxes, Persian king, ii. i. 8
Zacynthus, island west of Peloponnese, vi. ii. 3. Zacynthians, vi. ii. 2, 3
Zenis, Dardanian, iii. i. 10
Zeus, iii. ii. 22, 26, 31; vii. iv.
Zeuxippus, Lacedaemonian eph, ii. iii. 10
Zoster, promontory on west coast of Attica, v. i. 9
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,
BRUNSWICK STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E. 1.
AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY.

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

Latin Authors.

APULEIUS. The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses.) Trans. by W. Adlington (1666). Revised by S. Gaselee. (2nd Impression.)


CAESAR: CIVIL WARS. Trans. by A. G. Peskett.

CAESAR: GALlic War. Trans. by H. J. Edwards. (and Impression.)

CATULLUS. Trans. by F. W. Cornish; TIBULLUS. Trans. by J. P. Postgate; and PERVERGILIIUM VENERIS. Trans. by J. W. Mackail. (3rd Impression.)

CICERO: DE FINIBUS. Trans. by H. Rackham.

CICERO: DE OFFICIIS. Trans. by W. E. Miller.


CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. Trans. by W. Watts (1631). 2 Vols. (2nd Impression.)

FRONTO: CORRESPONDENCE. Trans. by C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.

HORACE: ODES AND EPODES. Trans. by C. E. Bennett. (3rd Impression.)

JUVENAL AND PERSIUS. Trans. by G. G. Ramsay. (and Impression.)


MARTIAL. Trans. by W. C. Ker. 2 Vols.

OVID: HEROIDES AND AMORES. Trans. by Grant Showerman.

OVID: METAMORPHOSES. Trans. by F. J. Miller. 2 Vols.

PETRONIUS. Trans. by M. Heseltine; SENECA: APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. Trans. by W. H. D. Rouse. (3rd Impression.)

PLAUTUS. Trans. by Paul Nixon. 5 Vols. Vols. I and II.

PLINY: LETTERS. Melmoth's Translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols.

PROPERTIUS. Trans. by H. E. Butler. (and Impression.)

QUINTILIAN. Trans. by H. E. Butler. 4 Vols. Vol. I.

SALLUST. Trans. by J. C. Rolfe.

TACITUS: DIALOGUS. Trans. by Sir Wm. Peterson; and AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA. Trans. by Maurice Hutton. (and Impression.)

TERENCE. Trans. by John Sargeant. 2 Vols. (3rd Impression.)

VIRGIL. Trans. by H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols. (Vol. I and Impression.)
Greek Authors.

ACHILLES TATIUS. Trans. by S. Gaselee.

AESCHINES. Trans. by C. D. Adams.

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. Trans. by R. C. Seaton. (2nd Impression.


APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY. Trans. by Horace White. 4 Vols.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. Trans. by Rev. G. W. Butterworth.

DAPHNIS AND CHLOE. Thornley's Translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and PARTHENIUS. Trans. by S. Gaselee.

DIO CASSIUS: ROMAN HISTORY. Trans. by E. Cary. 9 Vols. Vols. I to VI.


GAIEN: ON THE NATURAL FACULTIES. Trans. by A. J. Brock.

THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY. Trans. by W. R. Paton. 5 Vols. (Vols. I and II 2nd Impression.)

THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS). Trans. by J. M. Edmonds. (3rd Impression.)


HESIOD AND THE HOMERIC HYMNS. Trans. by H. G. Evelyn White. (2nd Impression.)


JULIAN. Trans. by Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols. Vols. I and II.

LUCIAN. Trans. by A. M. Harmon. 8 Vols. Vols. I and II. (2nd Impression.)

MARCUS AURELIUS. Trans. by C. R. Haines.


PHILOSTRATUS: THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. Trans. by F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols. (2nd Impression.)

PINDAR. Trans. by Sir J. E. Sandys. (2nd Edition.)

PLATO: EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS. Trans. by H. N. Fowler. (3rd Impression.)


QUINTUS SMYRNÆUS. Trans. by A. S. Way.


THEOPHRASTUS: ENQUIRY INTO PLANTS. Trans. by Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 Vols.

THUCYDIDES. Trans. by C. F. Smith. 4 Vols. Vols. I and II.

XENOPHON: CYROPAEDIA. Trans. by Walter Miller. 2 Vols.

Greek Authors.

AENEAS TACTICUS, ASCLEPIODOTUS AND ONESANDER, The Illinois Club.
AESCHYLUS, H. W. Smyth.
APOLLODORUS, Sir J. G. Frazer.
ARISTOTLE, ORGANON, St. George Stock.
ARISTOTLE, POLITICS AND ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, Edward Capps.
ATHENAEUS, C. B. Gulick.
CALLIMACHUS, A. W. Mair; ARATUS, G. R. Mair.
DIO CHRYSTOM, W. E. Waters.
DIODORUS, W. S. Fox.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS, W. L. Hicks.
EPICTETUS, W. A. Oldfather.
EUSEBIUS, Kirsoff Lake.
GREEK IAMBI AND ELEGiac POETS, E. D. Perry.
GREEK LYRIC POETS, J. M. Edmonds.
HIPPOCRATES, W. H. S. Jones.
HOMER, Iliad, A. T. Murray.
ISOCRATES, G. Norlin.
LIBANIUS, Wilmer Cave Wright.
LONGINUS, W. Hamilton Fyle.
MANETHO, S. de Ricci.
MENANDER, F. G. Allinson.
PAPYRI, A. S. Hunt.
PHILOSTRATUS, Imagines, Arthur Fairbanks.
PHILOSTRATUS AND EUNAPIUS, LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS, Wilmer Cave Wright.
PLATO, LAWS, R. G. Bury.
PLATO, PARMENIDES, PHILEBUS AND CRATYLUS, H. N. Fowler.
PLATO, PROTAGORAS, GORGIAS, MENO, W. R. M. Lamb.
PLATO, REPUBLIC, Paul Shorey.
PLATO, SYMPOSIUM, W. R. M. Lamb.
PLATO, THEAETETUS, SOPHISTES, POLITICUS, H. N. Fowler.
PLUTARCH, MORALIA, F. C. Babbitt.
POLYBIUS, W. R. Paton.
ST. BASIL, LETTERS, Prof. Van Den Ven.
XENOPHON, MEMORABILIA AND OECOUMENICUS, E. C. Marchant.
XENOPHON, SCRIPTA MINORA, E. C. Marchant.
Latin Authors.

AMMIANUS, C. U. Clark.
AULUS GELLIUS, S. B. Platner.
BEDE, ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, Rev. H. F. Stewart.
CICERO, AD FAMILIARES, E. O. Winstedt.
CICERO, DE NATURA DEORUM, H. Rackham.
CICERO, DE ORATORE, ORATOR, BRUTUS, Charles Stuttaford.
CICERO, DE SENECTUTE, DE AMICITIA, DE DIVINATIONE,
   W. A. Falconer.
CLAUDIAN, M. Platnauer.
FRONTINUS, DE AQUIS AND STRATEGEMATA, C. E. Bennett.
LUCAN, S. Reinach.
LUCRETIUS, W. H. D. Rouse.
OVID, TRISTIA AND EX PONTO, A. L. Wheeler.
PLINY, NATURAL HISTORY, F. G. Moore.
ST. AUGUSTINE, MINOR WORKS, Rev. P. Wicksteed.
SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE, D. Magie.
SENeca, MORAL ESSAYS, J. W. Basore.
STATIUS. H. G. Evelyn White.
TACITUS, ANNALS, John Jackson.
TACITUS, HISTORIES, C. H. Moore.
VALERIUS FLACCUS, A. F. Scholfield.
VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, F. W. Shipley.

DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION.

London  -  -  WILLIAM HEINEMANN.
New York  -  -  G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS.