XENOPHON

SCRIPTA MINORA
First Printed . 1925
Reprinted . 1946

Printed in Great Britain
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INTRODUCTION

"Well, Xenophon, I had been told that you are an Athenian; and that was all I knew about you: but now I praise you for your words and deeds, and I should wish as many as possible to be like you. That would be good for everybody."—Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian, in Anabasis, iii. i. 45.

Various modern writers have challenged the ascription to Xenophon of every one of the works included in this volume. The Agesilaus and the Ways and Means have suffered much from the onslaughts of the critics, the Agesilaus on account of its style, the Ways and Means for its subject matter. It must suffice here to say that no case has been made out against any one of them, with the exception of the Hunting; and, even in that case, it is impossible to state with confidence that the main portion of the treatise was not written by Xenophon.1 The rest may be accepted with confidence as the work of the man whose name they bear.

Undoubtedly there is something unusual about the miscellany, when regarded as the product of one author. Most authors write only in one manner; and when we have read some of their works, we easily recognise their hand in the rest. With Xenophon it is not so; for there is an obvious difference of manner in different parts of the

1 See below, vii (p. xxxvi).
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*Hellenica.* Xenophon tried his hand at several kinds of prose literature—history, dialogue, the encomium, the technical treatise, the essay—and he had his ideas, gleaned from his reading, of the style appropriate to each kind. In the early part of the *Hellenica* we find him trying to write in the manner of Thucydides; in the rhetorical parts of the *Agesilaus* he clearly has the model of Gorgias before him. But of course for us it is not always possible to understand just why he regarded this or that manner as appropriate. Thus in the historical portion of the *Agesilaus*, he repeats passages of the *Hellenica* almost but not quite exactly; here he changes, there adds a word or two; but no modern reader can appreciate his reason for these minute alterations. But even in a translation, however inadequate, a reader must detect a difference in style between his rhetoric and his history.

More interesting for us is the variety of subjects that Xenophon knows and can expound. Of course he is better at some things than at others; but even about matters of which he is not a master he can tell us a good deal that is worth knowing. He flounders in the high finance; but even at that he is far from being such a duffer as some moderns have declared him to be. His speculations on forms of government and the secrets of national greatness are not profound, but they come from a singularly lucid, well-ordered mind. Of the theory of war he is a master. About horses, riding, the organisation and command of cavalry he knew everything that could be known in his day. His treatise on *Horsemanship*, especially, is in its way a masterpiece. Like Socrates himself, he is continually trying to

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make himself useful. Perhaps for us there is rather too much of the don about him: his books are too full of instruction, admonition and reproof; nor is it surprising that some think that he intended them to form a series of educational manuals for the use of his sons. What is abundantly clear to anyone who reads all his works is that his real purpose was to do good to everybody; and, generous man that he was, everybody meant to him the people of Athens—those by whom he had been driven into banishment. Exiles do not, as a rule, spend their time in heaping coals of fire on their fellow-countrymen. Happily his fellow-countrymen showed themselves not ungrateful; they annulled the decree of banishment, though too late to entice him back to Athens. He died at Corinth. In these lesser productions of a virtuous and versatile Athenian gentleman there is, even in our age, not a little that is worth reading, apart from the information about ancient Greek life and manners that we owe to them. Their brevity too is a merit; for owing to his pedantry, Xenophon in his longer works is apt to be tedious.

In style Xenophon is simple and natural; he avails himself, indeed, of the resources of rhetoric, but he uses them moderately, and, except occasionally in the Agesilaus, he uses them soberly and sensibly. By the Atticists and the later Sophists he was taken as a model of simplicity.

Few traces of these opuscula, with the exception of the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians, occur in literature anterior to the Christian era; but the Atticist Demetrius of Magnesia, friend of Cicero’s friend Atticus, included all of them in his list of
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Xenophon's works. They are not cited by name by any extant Greek or Latin author earlier than Cicero, who refers in laudatory terms to the Agesilaus, and has made use of its design in his Pro Lege Manilia. But echoes may be heard here and there by an attentive listener. The Constitution quickly attained an importance disproportionate to its merit. Isocrates in his Panathenaicus makes some combative remarks that certainly apply, though not perhaps exclusively, to Xenophon's Constitution. All those who wrote on the Spartan institutions, including Aristotle, and especially the early Stoics, Zeno and his followers, used it as an authority. Nor was its influence exerted solely on the compilers of such works. Thinkers who speculated on the balanced or mixed form of Constitution also found it serviceable. Plato, indeed, as we should expect, ignores it in his Laws; but Aristotle in his Politics does not; and Polybius, in his sixth book, is clearly indebted to it. From the Hiero Isocrates has borrowed the matter and even some of the language in his address On the Peace (§ iii f.), and this is interesting, because Xenophon in the same year returned the compliment by borrowing from this address of Isocrates in his Ways and Means. We may safely hazard a guess that the Hiero was a favourite work with the Cynics, amongst whom the unhappiness of the despot was a common theme. In the age of Polybius, the traveller Polemon of Ilium wrote a book with the curious title, About the

1 It is inconceivable that Demetrius, as the text of Diogenes Laertius says, challenged the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians. Most of what follows, and much more, may be found in R. Müncher's Xenophon in der griechisch-römischen Literatur (Philologus, Sup. xiii. 1920).

2 The writer of [Diogenes] ep. 29, which is an onslaught on Dionysius II., drew from a Cynic source.
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Car in Xenophon (Agesilaus, c. viii. 7), in which he gave an account of Spartan customs that is not to be found in Xenophon’s Constitution. Nepos used the Agesilaus in his life of the king. The Ways and Means does not turn up once; but this is not surprising, since the brochure was written for a special occasion, and contains very little of general application. We may anticipate here by mentioning the adaptation of the passage (c. i. 2–8) on the nature of Attica by Aristides, the Sophist of the second century A.D., in his Panathenaicus. About the earlier history of the Cavalry Commander and the Horsemanship there is a strange circumstance worthy of mention. Cato the Censor, as we know from Cicero, read, and highly esteemed Xenophon. The method of the opening of Cato’s de Re Rustica has given rise to a suspicion that he had included these two treatises in his studies. Considering the age at which Cato began Greek, he must have found the Horsemanship “a tough proposition,” if he really tackled it. The Horsemanship did not oust Simon’s work on the same subject from its position as an authority; but it is often impossible to be sure on which of the two treatises later writers draw. Pollux came across a commentary on the Horsemanship; we cannot tell whether it was written before the Christian era. Probably Theophrastus already culled something from the

1 Athenaeus iv. p. 138 e.
2 It is now said that he did not use it directly; but I cannot believe this.
3 A. Brinkmann, Rhenisches Museum, lxxvi, 1912, p. 135. Among the Xenophontine works cited by Aristides are the Agesilaus and the Hunting (Persson, p. 74).
4 Leo started this.
5 Oder in his Anecdota Cantabrigiensia, credits to Simon all the repetitions of matter that is common to Simon and Xenophon.
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Hunting. It is not clear that Grattius, who wrote his poem between 30 B.C. and 8 A.D., owes anything to the Hunting; nor is it likely, since he did not go to Simon or to Xenophon for his treatment of the horse.

Into the complicated history of Xenophon’s shorter works in the Christian era we cannot enter.

To speak generally, the Hiero and Agesilaus seem to have been most read by the Atticists and Sophists; while the Romans, for the most part, neglected all of them. But mention of one Greek author cannot be omitted, owing to the unique position that he occupies in the history of Xenophontine literature. Dio of Prusa (fl. 90 A.D.) not only, like Arrian, took Xenophon as his model of style, but his mind is saturated with Xenophon’s thoughts and words. There is much of the Hiero and Agesilaus in Dio’s discourses on kingship and despotism (I, II, III, VI, LXII). There is also, I think, a clear echo of the Hunting in Dio III. 135–6. The Agesilaus is cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as the type of the encomium. To Roman encomiasts it furnished a model. Its influence is felt in the design of Nepos’ Atticus, in the Agricola of Tacitus, in the Panegyric of the younger Pliny, and, according to Leo, in the balanced estimate of the Emperor Valentinian in Ammianus Marcellinus (fl. 370 A.D.), book xxx.

1 περὶ φυτῶν αλητῶν vi. 19–20 compared with Hunting v. and viii.

2 Only the Cyropaedia and Memorabilia of Xenophon’s works gained a strong footing among the Romans.

3 I am not myself conscious of this. Resemblances are rather readily detected by keen investigators. Thus Rademacher says that Oppian used the Hunting in his Cynegetica, but I have waded through Oppian without detecting any reminiscence of it.
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Finally, we may refer to an amusing passage in the Apollonius of the Athenian Philostratus (age of Caracalla), which appears to be a "dig" at the Hunting, as the scholiast says it is. "They (Apollonius and his companion in India) came in," writes Philostratus, "for a dragon hunt which I must tell about, for it is highly absurd that the devotees of hunting should have found so much to say about the hare, and how she is, or shall be, caught, and we should pass over the record of this noble and marvellous sport."  

I. Hiero

"Government of unwilling subjects and not controlled by laws, but imposed by the will of the ruler, is despotism." — Memorabilia, iv. vi. 12.

"Despotic rule over unwilling subjects the gods give, I fancy, to those whom they judge worthy to live the life of Tantalus, of whom it is said that in hell he spends eternity, dreading a second death." — Oeconomicus, the end.

The Hiero is an imaginary conversation between King Hiero, who ruled Syracuse from 478 to 467 B.C., and the poet Simonides of Ceos, one of the many famous strangers whom the hospitable despot entertained at his court. Its purpose is twofold—first to show that a despot, ruling without regard to the interests of his subjects, is less happy than the private citizen; and secondly, to show by what means a despot may succeed in winning the affection of his subjects, and, by so doing, may gain happiness for himself. This subject was a common topic of Apollonius III. 6, Phillimore’s translation.
speculation among the Socratics\(^1\): it had been discussed by Socrates himself; and we are told that Plato during his first visit to the court of Syracuse had spoken his mind upon it to Dionysius the Elder. Had it been possible for Xenophon to bring Socrates and a great despot together, we might have found just such a conversation in the *Memorabilia*.\(^2\) Isocrates, in his oration addressed to Nicocles (374 B.C.), says that many doubt whether the life of men who live virtuously or the life of a despot is preferable, and in the letter which he wrote to the children of Jason, the “tagus” of Thessaly (359 or 358 B.C.), he declares that the private citizen is the happier.\(^3\)

Modern writers, anxious to discover the date at which the *Hiero* was written, have ransacked the records of the despots contemporary with Xenophon to find some special event or events that may have prompted him to compose it. Grote, for example, refers to an incident that occurred at the Olympic Festival of 388 or 384 B.C. In one of those years the orator Lysias delivered his *Olympic* oration, in which he stirred up hatred of despots,\(^4\) and incited the Greeks to unite in ridding Syracuse of Dionysius. The despot on that occasion was represented at the festival by a magnificent mission. The date of composition has therefore been placed at about 383 B.C. Another view is that Xenophon wrote his

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\(^1\) Dio of Prusa, in his third discourse, puts into the mouth of Socrates a discussion on the question of the happiness of the despot.

\(^2\) Just as Dio (VI) brings Diogenes and the Persian king together.


\(^4\) The tone of Antisthenes’ *Archelaus* was similar (Dümmler, *Akademika*, p. 13).
dialogue as a warning to Dionysius the Younger soon after his accession to the throne of Syracuse in 367 B.C. A third opinion is that the career of Jason of Pherae, who was assassinated in 370 B.C., was specially in Xenophon's mind; and a modification of this view is that our author had lately read the letter of Isocrates already referred to, and that his dialogue, like Isocrates' epistle, is a warning to Jason's children who now shared the power in Thessaly. This last opinion is supported by reference to the passage in which Hiero remarks that many despots have been destroyed by their own wives (iii. 8); for Jason's nephew, Alexander, joint "tagus" of Thessaly, was murdered by his brothers-in-law at the instigation of his wife Thebé in 359 B.C.

But it is surely unnecessary to suppose that Xenophon had any special purpose or event in mind when he wrote the Hiero. The thing is merely a "Socratic" dialogue on a theme that interested him. He thought of despots in general, as the Socrates supposed them to be; and of course, like Plato in the ninth book of his Republic, when he writes of despotism he has an eye on the career of Dionysius I. All that can be said about the date of composition is that, to judge from the language and the rhetoric of the Hiero, it appears to have been written in the author's later years.

There is no attempt at characterisation in the

1 There is a close resemblance between Republic, ix. p. 579 b and Hiero, c. i. 11. Were the Hiero the later work it would be impossible to resist the impression that Xenophon had lately read the Republic. This may be so, since the Republic was written between 380 and 370 B.C.
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persons of the dialogue. Hiero is not in the least the historical Hiero whom we know from the Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides. He is not the great warrior nor the enlightened ruler; and of course there is no indication of the true basis of his power and of his constitutional position. He is just a despot of the better type. As for Simonides, Xenophon, in drawing his favourite analogy from the Choruses, once faintly alludes to his craft (c. ix. 4); but he makes no attempt anywhere to represent the courtier poet; had he done so he must have made Simonides bring in the subject of verse panegyrics on princes at c. i. 14. The remark of the poet at c. i. 22 is singularly inappropriate to a man who had a liking for good living. At c. viii. Xenophon discards the thin disguise, and Simonides stands clearly revealed as Xenophon himself. To some of the recommendations offered to rulers that he makes in these concluding chapters we have parallels in the Cavalry Commander and the Ways and Means.

The Hiero is a naïve little work, not unattractive: in this case, as in that of the Banquet, it is unfortunate for our amiable author that Plato has written on the same subject with incomparably greater brilliancy.

The gist of Xenophon’s counsel to despots is that a despot should endeavour to rule like a good king. The same counsel is given by Isocrates in his Helen, which was written about 370 B.C.¹ No man, in Xenophon’s opinion, is fit to rule who is not better than his subjects.²

¹ Aristotle in the Politics (p. 1313 A) agrees.
² Cyropaedia, viii. i. 37.
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II. Agesilaus

“What is government, and what is a governor?”—Memorabilia, 1. i. 16.

“Government of men with their consent and in accordance with the laws of the State is kingship.”—Memorabilia, iv. vi. 12.

Agesilaus became one of the two joint kings of Sparta in 398 B.C. Though over forty at the time of his accession, he reigned for nearly forty years, and died on active service, probably in the winter of 361–60 B.C. His long career as a commander in the field began with his expedition to Asia Minor in 396 B.C. We do not know for certain when Xenophon joined Agesilaus in Asia, and it is impossible to say with confidence whether or not he was an eye-witness of the campaign of Agesilaus against Tissaphernes, the satrap of Lydia, in 395 B.C. But he was certainly with Agesilaus in the following year, and returned with him from Asia to Greece. He fought under the king at the battle of Coronea in the summer of 394 B.C. against his fellow-citizens, and was banished in consequence. He spent some

1 Xenophon calls him “still young” at the time of his accession, no doubt having in mind the great age to which he lived in full activity, and using the pardonable exaggeration of an “encomiast.” Similarly Isocrates implies that Evagoras (who was really assassinated) died a happy death.

2 Xenophon’s account of the campaign is utterly different from that which may now be read in a fragment of another history. But even if Xenophon was in Greece in 395 B.C., he of course heard the facts from Agesilaus himself. Busolt has successfully defended the accuracy of his account. In one instance (c. i. 33) X. tacitly corrects the account he had given in the Hellenica (iii. iv. 24). At c. ii. 7 he defends what he had said in Hell. iv. iii. 15.
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...time at Sparta, and thence removed to Scillus, near Olympia, to an estate that had been presented to him by the Lacedaemonians, doubtless at the suggestion of Agesilaus.

Xenophon, always a hero-worshipper, and an admirer of the ideal Spartan character and the institutions of Lycurgus, saw in Agesilaus the embodiment of his conception of a good king. Doubtless, he, like Isocrates, regarded the Spartan kingship as the best form of monarchy. Shortly after the death of his hero he produced this tribute to his memory. In spite of its rhetorical embellishments, there are signs of hasty composition in the *Agesilaus*. Haste probably accounts for the extensive borrowing from the *Hellenica*. Now why should Xenophon be in a hurry? From some pretty strong hints that all did not consider the king to be above adverse criticism, we may conclude that there was adverse criticism; quite possibly something had been written about Agesilaus that was not entirely complimentary. The *Agesilaus*, in the main an encomium, is incidentally a defence.

A few years before, Isocrates had produced his encomium on Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus, who was assassinated in 374 B.C. Isocrates says that he is the first to "praise a man's virtues in prose." If he means to say that nobody had written a prose encomium of an historical personage before him, it is very doubtful whether his claim can be sustained. But perhaps he means only that he was the first to combine an account of a man's actions with praise of his character, pointing out the significance of

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1 Isocrates, *de Pace*, §§ 142-143.
2 c. ii. 21; iv. 3; v. 6; viii. 7.
the actions as indicating the virtues of his hero. That is just what he does in the *Evagoras*. Now in the first portion of the *Agesilaus* (c. i.–ii.), Xenophon has clearly taken the *Evagoras* for his model. The king’s exploits, judiciously selected, are narrated in chronological order, passages from certain portions of the *Hellenica* being repeated with trifling alterations of the language; and into the narrative are woven comments on the king’s character, as it is illustrated by his deeds.

Having finished with the king’s actions, Xenophon gives an account of his virtues (c. iii.–ix.). This portion of his work has no counterpart in the *Evagoras*. But even here Xenophon’s idea is not original. The great virtues—piety, justice, self-control, courage, wisdom—are treated elsewhere in the same order. In Plato’s *Banquet* the poet Agathon praises the justice, self-control, courage and wisdom of Love, and Socrates remarks that the encomium reminds him of Gorgias. Xenophon himself at the end of the *Memorabilia* writes of the piety, justice, self-control and wisdom of Socrates. The order of the categories no doubt goes back to Gorgias. To these great virtues Xenophon adds patriotism, and several minor excellences. He rounds off his encomium with a formal epilogue (c. x.).

To the epilogue is appended a summary (c. xi.) of the king’s virtues, and here again the categories are arranged in the same order. The summary

1 So Usener.
2 In *Cyropaedia*, viii. i. 23–33, Xenophon enumerates the piety, justice and self-control of Cyrus.
3 The indications of the order are fainter, but they can be discerned. But the disposition does not agree closely with that of the second part of the work.
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was a device introduced by the sophist Corax, and the use of it is alluded to as an established practice at the end of the *Palamedes*, an oration ascribed to Gorgias. The extant fragment of Gorgias' *Funeral Oration* appears to belong to a summary. There are examples of the summary also in Isocrates.¹ To the material of the eleventh chapter a passage of the *Evagoras* has contributed something.²

What is peculiar in the structure of the *Agesilaus* is the separate treatment of the actions and the virtues of the hero. Xenophon has followed Isocrates in one section of his encomium and Gorgias in the other.³ The result is, of course, a want of unity in the design. The work, however, was much admired by Cicero and by Nepos;⁴ and the latter's sketch of Cicero's friend Atticus is evidently modelled on it.

III. Constitution of the Lacedaemonians.

“Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian now—have you realised that he would not have made Sparta to differ from other cities in any respect, had he not established obedience to the laws most securely in her?”—*Memorabilia*, iv. iv. 15.

“When will Athenians show the Lacedaemonian reverence for age . . . when will they adopt the Lacedaemonian system of training . . . when will they reach that standard of obedience to their rulers

¹ e.g. *Antidosis*, §§ 127, 128, the character of Timotheus.
² *Evagoras*, §§ 43–46. The notion that the eleventh chapter of the *Agesilaus* is spurious is wrong. Compare the character sketches of Proxenus and Menon in *Anabasis* II.
³ All the little tricks of rhetoric that have been adversely criticised by modern writers come in this second part.
⁴ Nepos, *Agesilaus*, c. i.
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... or when will they attain that harmony?"—Memorabilia, iii. v. 16.

Xenophon's purpose in this work was to show that the greatness and fame of the Lacedaemonians were due to "the laws of Lycurgus." He had no intention of writing a treatise on the Lacedaemonian constitution; and though here and there he refers to details of that constitution as things familiar to his readers, it is only in the last chapter, about the position and privileges of the kings, that he even mentions the word "constitution." Even the remarks on the constitutional powers of the Ephors in c. viii. are merely illustrative. After the tenth chapter he gradually loses sight of his subject. For if the eleventh and the twelfth, on the excellence of the Spartan army, have a loose connexion with it, the thirteenth, on the powers of the kings, has none. The fourteenth is clearly an afterthought, an appendix; and the same is true of the fifteenth.

The title, then, is inaccurate; nevertheless there can be no doubt that it was chosen by the author himself. The first ten chapters are homogeneous, and they have the appearance of a complete essay. For evidently when he started Xenophon did not intend to trace the "power" of Sparta to the organisation of its army: he says clearly at the beginning that he attributes her power to her institutions or "principles"; and one of these principles turns out to be (c. ix.) that a glorious death is preferable to a base life—which is a good enough reason, in an essay, to account for the power of the state on the military side. Possibly, after writing the first ten chapters, Xenophon kept them by him, and added later on the appendices on the army and the functions
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of the kings in war, on the violation of the "laws of Lycurgus,"¹ and on the constitutional position of the kings. The thesis of the appendix on the army is not the thesis of the essay proper; for the thesis of this appendix is not that the Lacedaemonians owe their power and fame to their army, but that the Lacedaemonians are artists in warfare, and the rest of the Greeks, in comparison with them, are mere amateurs (c. xiii. 6). In the last chapter he supports no thesis; he is merely stating certain facts about the kings, is, indeed, writing a fragment of a "Constitution."

The fourteenth chapter is strange and bewildering, and many have maintained that it is spurious. It is written in a spirit of disillusion, and it contradicts some of the statements made in earlier chapters. Internal evidence shows that it was written certainly before the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.), and probably after 378 B.C. Observe, however, that Xenophon is not indicting the people: his wrath falls only on a small section of powerful Spartans, on the governors, "harmosts," whose conduct was a violation of the "laws of Lycurgus" and of the principles so strictly adhered to by his hero Agesilaus.

But the change of tone is manifest. It is tempting to seek the cause of the change in the impression made on Xenophon's mind by the scandalous seizure of the Theban citadel by the Spartan Phoebidas in 381 B.C. In the Hellenica Xenophon denounces that

¹ Some hold that the first thirteen chapters describe what had been the state of affairs at Sparta in better times. Though such great authorities as E. Meyer and Köhler agree that all the fifteen chapters were written at the same time, I cannot believe that they are right.
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crime as an outrage against heaven. Again, in 378 B.C., Sphodrias, a Spartan governor, was persuaded or bribed by the Thebans to make an attempt on the Peiraeus. The plan miscarried and Sphodrias was put on his trial for his gross act of treachery; but he was acquitted. There is probably a covert reference to Sphodrias in the second section of this fourteenth chapter. The part taken by King Agesilaus in the inquiries that followed both these crimes was highly discreditable, and naturally Xenophon makes no allusion to it in his Agesilaus.

As for the essay (c. i.-x.), one reads it with a feeling of regret that the author, who during his sojourn at Sparta had such excellent opportunities for observation, did not undertake the task of writing an account of the Lacedaemonian constitution. Even what he tells us of the primitive institutions of the Spartans in support of his thesis comes to very little; but the facts that he selects are sufficient for his purpose. He touches on the surprising marriage customs of the Lacedaemonians, but not with entire accuracy; and of course he disguises the extraordinary laxity of the relations between the sexes at Sparta. He gives no connected or detailed account of the class organisation of boys and youths. Thus in c. ix. 5 he refers incidentally to the “sides in a game of ball”; but does not trouble to explain that the term “ball-players” had a special meaning among the Spartans; the proper place for mentioning them, if he had been writing a treatise, would have been at c. iv. 6. In speaking of the common meals he uses, almost consistently, the Spartan

1 Those who were no longer Ephebi and were not quite men (Pausanias iii. xiv. 6).
technical term Syskania and its cognate words, without giving their explanation.¹ The reference in c. ii. 9 to the ceremonial rite of flagellation at the altar of Artemis Orthia² is so confused that it is quite impossible that Xenophon, who must have witnessed it, can have written what stands in the text.

Whatever we may think of the method of the essay it is characteristic of Xenophon that he borrowed it from a predecessor in the same field.³ Critias the politician, once a disciple of Socrates, had already produced a prose and a verse Constitution of the Lacedaemonians.⁴ In the prose work he compared the usages of different states with those of Sparta; and though, like Hellanicus and Thucydides, he ignored Lycurgus, the existing fragments of his work show that Xenophon is indebted to Critias, certainly for the method, and perhaps for some of the details of his essay.⁵ No doubt it is the Constitution of Critias that is used by Plato, to the exclusion of Xenophon’s, in the Laws.

The excellence of the Spartan institutions was of course a stock theme among the Socratics. Overemphasis led to the inevitable protest. Isocrates in his Panathenaicus makes some caustic remarks about those who are for ever harping on the subject.

¹ Also in c. xv.
² The rite is a substitute for human sacrifice.
³ Köhler in Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie 1896, p. 361.
⁴ The quotation from the verse Constitution in Athenaeus x. 432 d, about drinking, corresponds closely with what Xenophon says on the same subject (c. v. 6).
⁵ e.g. for the view he takes of the “Syssitia,” or common meals, as neither a military nor a political institution. At c. ii. 1 Xenophon echoes Plato, Protag. p. 325 d.
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Amongst other things he says that some talk of the Spartans as if the demi-gods had been Spartan statesmen, and that Lycurgus borrowed his best ideas from Athens! The date of the Panathenaicus is 342 B.C. or thereabouts.

IV. Ways and Means

"Now tell me, from what sources are the city's revenues at present derived and what is their total? No doubt you have gone into this matter, in order to raise the amount of any that are deficient and supply any that are lacking."—Memorabilia, iii. vi. 5.

The Ways and Means appears from internal evidence to have been written in 355 B.C. There are no convincing reasons for refusing to believe that Xenophon is the author. The diction and style are his, and there is nothing in the opinions expressed that renders his authorship impossible, or even unlikely. In the opening sentence he repeats a remark that he has made at the end of the Cyropaedia (viii. viii. 4); ¹ there are passages that have a parallel in the Hiero and the Cavalry Commander; and the epilogue both in language and sentiment is thoroughly Xenophontine. We might, no doubt, have expected more moralising than we find, and we miss evidence of his interest in agriculture. But if the brochure was intended to support the financial policy of the statesman Eubulus, the reason why these features are lacking becomes apparent. This, then, is Xenophon's last work. He probably died a few months after writing it.

Since 370 B.C., or thereabouts, Xenophon had

¹ A similar remark occurs in Isocrates On the Peace.
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lived at Corinth. Some years later his banishment from Athens was annulled on the proposal of Eubulus. He did not, however, return to his native city; but he sent his two sons home to serve in the Athenian cavalry.

In 355 B.C. Athens emerged in a state of serious financial exhaustion from a disastrous war with her most powerful allies. It was through Eubulus that the peace was concluded. In the following year Eubulus practically assumed control of the state finances, and he at once set to work to increase the revenue and to relieve the poverty of the citizens. The citizen body at this time, as we can see from the Ways and Means, was in a deplorable condition. Lazy and poverty-stricken, the people looked to the state for maintenance. Trade was in the hands of the resident aliens, among whom were many Asiatics (c. ii. 3). How precisely Eubulus dealt with the problems that faced him we do not know. But as Controller of the "theoric" fund he raised enough money from this tax upon the well-to-do to enable him to make distributions to the people on an unprecedented scale. From a passage in the orator Deinarchus we infer that Eubulus also introduced measures for the improvement of the cavalry. And when his administration came to an end, probably in 339 B.C., the mines at Laurium, which had been neglected, were once again being vigorously worked by men in partnership and by private companies.

The resemblance between these operations of Eubulus and some of the proposals contained in

1 See especially Beloch, Attische Politik seit Perikles, p. 177 f.
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Xenophon's brochure is obvious. The brochure is addressed, apparently, to the Council of Five Hundred. The author confines himself rigidly to proposals of a practical nature. It is not his business here to probe the causes of the prevalent distress. The author of the Memorabilia knew well enough what was wrong with the Athenians; but when the problem of the moment is how to raise cash, it is useless to demand a change of national habits: you must take the conditions as they are, and make the best of them. The recognition of the demoralising dole system was, of course, unavoidable. Then, according to Xenophon's plan, capital is to be raised by the imposition of an income tax—whether for one year or more is not stated—and expended on the erection of hotels, the provision of accommodation for merchants and visitors both in the Peiraeus and in the city, and on a fleet of state-owned merchant vessels. Much space is given to measures to be adopted for the improved working of the mines: amongst them are a measure of state socialism (c. iv. 30) and a proposal for the formation of a great Joint-Stock Company (c. iv. 32). To encourage internal trade, it is essential to encourage the resident aliens; their status must be improved. It is a shock to find Xenophon proposing to make these aliens—including Lydians, Phrygians and Syrians—eligible for the aristocratic cavalry.

The insistence on the necessity of maintaining peace as an essential condition of financial recovery is in accordance with the policy of Eubulus.

Earlier in this same year, 355 B.C., Isocrates, now an octogenarian, issued his pamphlet On the Peace,
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In which he exhorted the Athenians to endeavour to conciliate the Greek world. His pamphlet is ostensibly a harangue addressed to the Assembly, and its subject is political morality. There are clear indications that Xenophon had read it before writing the *Ways and Means.*

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V. The Cavalry Commander

"Perhaps you think you can do something for the good of the State as a cavalry leader, in case there is any occasion to employ that arm."—*Memorabilia*, iii. iii. 2.

The discourse on the duties of the cavalry commander was written at a time when there was some reason to anticipate the outbreak of war between Athens and Thebes (c. vii. 3), probably in 365 B.C. It is ostensibly addressed to an individual about to enter on that exalted office; but the convention is not consistently maintained, especially towards the end of the treatise. It is almost certain that Xenophon in his younger days had himself been a member of the Athenian cavalry corps, in 409 B.C. and the years following; and he had lately sent his two sons home to Athens to serve in the force. His profound interest in cavalry and his knowledge of its use are, of course, apparent in the *Cyropaedia*, the *Anabasis* and the *Memorabilia*. Our treatise may, indeed, be viewed as a commentary on the statement of a cavalry commander’s duties that is put into the mouth of Socrates in the last mentioned work (iii. iii. 1).

1 He has levied toll on §§21, 30, 42, 53 and 138.

2 Literally the Greek title means "A discourse on the command of cavalry."
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When Xenophon wrote the discourse Athens was at peace. But even in peace time the duties of the cavalry, though ornamental, were important, since the cavalry procession was a prominent feature of all the great state festivals. And of course training for war was always being carried on with more or less vigour. Things were at the moment in a pretty bad way with the corps. Owing to the prevailing poverty, and the slackness of the Council and their immediate agents, the two annually elected commanders of cavalry ("hipparchs"), the number of troopers had apparently fallen from the thousand required by law to about six hundred and fifty; and the quality of the horses and the efficiency of the riders left much to be desired. It is probable that in this case, as in others, Xenophon's exhortations were not without practical result, for at the time of the battle of Mantinea (361 B.C.) the Athenian cavalry was able to play a creditable part in the field.

Xenophon recommends the use of infantry among the cavalry (c. v. 13); and his words imply that at the time infantry were not regularly provided for this service. In the Constitution of Athens, written some forty years later, Aristotle mentions such a body of infantry as a normal appendage to the cavalry. In the Memorabilia, as in our treatise, the cavalry commander is urged to require that the horses incapable of going the pace should be rejected. Aristotle, repeating the very expression used by Xenophon, says that the Council marked and rejected such horses. Both reforms may be due to Xenophon, at least in part. For it is hardly likely that the advice of such an authority can have gone entirely unheeded.
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Each of the ten tribes was supposed to furnish a hundred cavalrymen. The roll was drawn up annually by ten officials elected for the purpose, who, acted apparently under the direction of the two commanders. At the head of each of these ten regiments was a colonel ("phylarch"), who was responsible for the details of control, for the instruction, condition and equipment of his regiment. Each of the two commanders had five of these regiments under him, because in the field the chief duty of the cavalry was to protect the flanks of the infantry. On ceremonial occasions each colonel rode at the head of his regiment in the procession, and each commander at the head of his five regiments.

Preparation for service in the cavalry began while a youth was still under the control of his guardian (c. i. 11), that is to say, before the age of eighteen. The service, at any rate at this time, was continuous. The object of the annual enrolment, therefore, was to fill the places of those who retired through old age or other causes. It also appears that not all the recruits were young men: no doubt the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of young men of means led to the inclusion of persons of maturer years, men who could not be trained to vault on to a horse, but had to be assisted to mount by means of a leg up, "in the Persian fashion."

Every recruit had to appear with his horse before a committee of the Council and to pass a test. On being approved the recruit had a legal right to receive a sum of money to defray the cost of his horse and equipment; but the colonels had sometimes to intervene to get the money paid over to

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1 At any rate this was so when Aristotle wrote.
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the men. The cavalryman received, in addition, a daily allowance of a *drachma* for the keep of his horse in peace as well as in war; and the annual cost to the state of this wage amounted, says Xenophon, to nearly forty talents. The cost of the initial sum paid to the recruits did not fall on the state, as each man who left the service had to pay the amount over to his successor.

Each man was attended by a mounted groom (c. v. 6), but the grooms did not ride in the ranks, and were not armed. There were also mounted aides-de-camp (c. iv. 4)¹ The commanders had about them a corps of couriers (c. i. 25), of whom we know only that they had to pass a test before the Council (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* c. 49).

The author's purpose is, of course, to make recommendations for the improvement of the cavalry. Incidentally the *Cavalry Commander* is our chief authority on the organisation and employment of the Athenian cavalry, and it contains many details about the ceremonial processions.

None of Xenophon's shorter writings is more entirely characteristic of the writer. Note especially the frequent exhortation to "work with God"; it is the first and the last duty that he insists on. "If," he says, "you are surprised that I say this so often, I assure you that you will cease to wonder if you find yourself often in danger." He speaks from experience.

¹ Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* assigns many functions to the aides in the army of Cyrus, including attention to the wounded.
VI. On the Art of Horsemanship

"Seeing you are forced to meddle with horses, don't you think that common sense requires you to see that you are not ignorant of the business?"—Oeconomicus, iii. 9.

The treatise on Horsemanship, the oldest complete treatise on the subject in existence, was written soon after the Cavalry Commander (c. xii. 14). It is a masterly production. The text has suffered considerably from corruption, and even with the aid of restoration it is not easy reading; nevertheless, it presents no serious problems that still await solution. Bearing in mind the cardinal differences between the Greek cavalry horse of which Xenophon writes, and the modern riding horse, we shall have no serious difficulty in following the author. The Greek cavalry horse, familiar to everybody from the Parthenon sculptures, was small and cob-like. He was a troublesome creature to ride, and given the conditions, although the cavalry was not always an efficient arm in the field, it is a mistake to suppose that the individual Greek rider was a poor horseman; nor is the supposition borne out by the Parthenon figures. The horses were ungelded and unshod; they were given to biting, and the rider had neither stirrups, nor saddle, nor curb to assist him. The well-to-do young Athenian rode, but did not often ride merely for pleasure: he rode commonly as a member or a prospective member of the cavalry—it is significant that the same word is used for a "horseman" and a "cavalryman"; occasionally he rode in order to compete in the horse-races at the Games; or if he were rich he hunted on horse-
back. Naturally, therefore, the only gaits in use were the walk, the trot and the gallop.

The practical horseman will no doubt notice certain details in which modern practice differs from the Greek usage. But he will assuredly be surprised to find that so much of Xenophon’s doctrine survives unchanged in the modern lore of the horse and his rider; and he will acknowledge that Xenophon was both an excellent judge of a horse and a highly accomplished horseman.

Xenophon recommends a “flexible” in preference to a “stiff” bit (c. x). Two “flexible” bits now in the Berlin Museum are figured and described by E. Pernice in his monograph entitled Griechisches Pferdegeschirr (Berlin, 1896). The bits, which are of bronze, and belong to the fourth century, B.C., were found along with a beautiful bronze muzzle and bronze ornaments of the headstall in a grave in Boeotia. They are complete in every detail, including the curved branches at the ends to which the straps of the headstall were fastened and the branches to which the reins were attached. Xenophon is concerned only with the bit itself. This, in the two examples referred to, consists of two axles joined in the middle by two links, one link within the other. Next to the links are discs; then on either side a cylinder covered with four rows of sharp teeth. Next to the cylinders come the branches to be attached to the headstall, and outside these the branches for the reins. Discs,

\[1\] Thus Ischomachus (Oeconomicus, xi. 17 f.), an excellent horseman (20), says that he has his horse led to and from his farm: he mounts at the farm, and goes through military exercises. Xenophon is, of course, describing his own practice.
cylinders and branches move on the axles. From each of the central links hangs a little chain, of three or four rings (see c. x. 9).

When the horse was led out to be groomed or to give him a roll, a muzzle was used. The muzzle is depicted on several vases. For example, a black-figured amphora in the Ashmolean Museum (No. 212) shows a led horse wearing the muzzle, and, in this case, bridled as well. The muzzles for ordinary use were made either of straps or of wicker. The Ashmolean horse's muzzle is attached by a strap passing under the ears. In another example figured in E. Walpole's Memoirs of European and Asiatic Turkey, we have two horses muzzled and tied together by the leading reins that hang from the muzzle. A groom is cleaning the back of the horse on the right with a strigil (cf. c. v. 5). Another groom is examining the uplifted forefoot of the horse on the left, crouching beneath the horse in a manner not approved by Xenophon. A halter was also attached to the bridle and used in mounting or in leading the horse when not muzzled (c. vii. 1). The halter is clearly seen on one of the horses depicted on an Attic cylix in the Berlin Museum, of which the subject is the examination of the cavalry recruits; and there are other extant examples.

In the twelfth chapter Xenophon recommends that the horse should be protected in war with a frontlet, breastplate and thigh-pieces. It is not unlikely that these came into use in Greece as the result of his recommendation. Their origin is

1 From this chapter it is clear that the rider's thighs were not protected by thigh-pieces.
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Asiatic, and of course Xenophon had seen them used during the expedition of the Ten Thousand.

The methodical construction of this treatise contrasts strongly with the want of arrangement that we find in the Discourse on Hunting. The author starts with a modest reference to his skill in horsemanship; and here let the translator, whose own acquaintance with horses has been brief and disastrous, offer an apology to any practical horseman into whose hands this version, or perversion, may fall, for any absurdities that he may—it is but too likely—detect in the English equivalents used in the translation to represent the technical terms of the original. After this brief and characteristic exordium the author falls at once to business. Here is a list of the contents: (1) Buying a colt—points and size of the young horse (c. i.). (2) Breaking a young horse (c. ii.). (3) Buying a horse already ridden (c. iii.). (4) Stable and yard (c. iv.). (5) The groom’s duties (c. v.—vi.). (6) Instructions to the rider—mounting, starting, exercises (c. vii.—viii.). (7) Management of a fiery horse (c. ix.). (8) How to make the best of a war-horse (c. x. 1–5). (9) Bits, their form and use (c. x. 6). (10) The horse for ceremonial occasions (c. xi.). (11) Armour of rider and horse (c. xii. 1–10). (12) Offensive weapons and their use (c. xii. 11). (13) Brief reference to the Cavalry Commander for further information.

The exposition is as clear as the arrangement.

In his opening words, and elsewhere, Xenophon refers to the treatise of Simon, of which an important fragment survives in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.¹ There is much matter common to both

¹ There are several modern editions.
treatises, but it is unfair to represent Xenophon as merely repeating Simon.¹ Both authors begin their description of the parts of the horse at the hoofs and work upwards to the head. All later writers on the horse, Greek and Roman, start at the head. Very likely Xenophon consciously followed Simon’s method: it would be like him to do that.

VII. Hunting

When an Englishman tells you that he is “going to hunt,” you understand him to mean that he intends to hunt the fox on horseback. Had you heard a young Greek of the fourth century B.C. make the same remark, the odds would have been that he was going to hunt the hare on foot. Two other branches of the sport in which the average young Greek then indulged were the hunting of the red deer and the boar. But if either of these creatures was to be the object of his pursuit, he would have said so; and in either case he would have been intending to go unmounted,² unless he had said definitely that he was going on horseback. These simple facts explain the absence of a statement early in this treatise (c. ii.), that its author intends to deal first with hare hunting, and also explain why there is nothing in the treatise about hunting on horseback, apart from an incidental reference in the appendix on hunting abroad (c. xi. 3). Sons of aristocratic houses often rode to hounds;

¹ Oder in his Anecdota Cantabrigiensiæ, a mine of information on the ancient horse-literature, is hardly just to Xenophon.
² The term κυνηγητείν, consistently used for hunting in the treatise, is normally confined in classical authors to hunting on foot.

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and no doubt Xenophon’s boys were mounted when they hunted boars, gazelles and red deer at Scillus.¹ But this treatise is addressed to the average young hunter, and is confined to those forms of the sport that were open to him.

The art of hunting, like other arts and crafts, was a gift of the gods to the centaur Chiron, who imparted it to many heroes, all of whom enjoyed the special favour of the gods. To this topic is devoted a lengthy rhetorical exordium, which differs entirely by its elaborate style from the rest of the treatise, in which the rules of formal composition are almost entirely disregarded. There is no parallel to this exordium in Greek literature anterior to the Christian era.² To Xenophon, indeed, a long exordium of any kind is alien.

The writer’s object is instruction of the novice. He undertakes to enumerate and to explain all the paraphernalia required in hunting (c. ii. 2). But his promise is but indifferently fulfilled in the sequel. He is excellent in description; but, like so many modern teachers, he unconsciously reckons on too much knowledge in his pupils. Especially confusing is his use of the same term for the track and the scent of the hare; and the directions for unravelling the tracks and for setting up the nets, the parts of which he does not explain, are anything but clear.

¹ Anabasis, v. iii. 10. We see that this treatise was not written, as is sometimes supposed, for the use of Xenophon’s sons.
² As for the date of the exordium see below. J. Mewaldt (Hermes, xlvi. p. 76), has pointed out a remarkable parallel in the exordium to the Physician falsely attributed to Galen, but contemporary with him.
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Nor is his arrangement of his matter in the section on the hare wholly satisfactory. For most of the seventh chapter and the whole of the eighth consist of remarks, in the nature of an appendix, on the subject of the third chapter.

It is surprising to find that nets were not used in Greece for hunting the red deer on foot, though the "net-keeper" accompanied the hunt (c. ix. 6). Their place was taken by the abominable traps or caltrops, which are carefully and clearly described. We wonder how an unmounted hunter was to get among the deer and to isolate a member of the herd (c. ix. 10).

To the survey of the three branches of hunting the author appends a few irrelevant remarks on the hunting of big game abroad, apparently just because the subject interested him and might be expected to interest his young readers. These remarks, it may be observed, do not include varieties of hunting that Xenophon had witnessed in Asia, and would be expected to describe if he had written the Hunting at Scillus.

Having finished with the technical side of the subject, our author launches out into an enumeration of the benefits to be derived from hunting on foot (c. xii. 1-9). It is good for the health, fits men for their military duties, and affords a fine moral training. Some, he says, meaning, probably, Aristippus and his followers, object to hunting on the ground that it leads men to waste the time that ought to be given to their business and to the service of the state. These objectors are utterly wrong, and many of them are even vicious. But hunters are a virtuous folk, because they love toil (c. xii. 10, end). The
argument here, and in the last chapter, is sloppy, but the writer disarms criticism by his zeal.

The task that the writer set himself at the beginning is now completed, and we should have expected him to end here. But he is in a fighting mood, and is determined to warn his young readers against all the enemies of his theories. Chief among these are the "sophists," that is, the professors of other systems of education than that in which he believes. They have never made a man virtuous, and their writings, for all the care lavished on their style, do nobody any good. Very likely one of them will attack this treatise for its slipshod style and want of "beauty." What does the author care? He seeks to do good, not to train the young in sophistry. Beware of the professors and cleave to the lovers of wisdom! Then there are the unscrupulous self-seekers and reckless politicians. Don't emulate them! The best of them incur envy,¹ and the bad ones are rogues. But hunters are genial and kindly, and they seek only to do good.

The technical portion of this treatise (c. ii.—xi.) and the curious epilogue (c. xii.—xiii.) are certainly contemporary with Xenophon; and—as all competent critics now agree—both were written by one man. The attack on the "sophists" in the last chapter must have been written in the fourth century b.c., when "philosophers" and "sophists" wrangled over the theory and practice of education, and flooded the world with books on the subject. The descriptive portions of the technical part are worthy of Xenophon; and the sentiments expressed in the

¹ This, I think, must have been the meaning of c. xiii. 10 before the text was corrupted.
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epilogue strongly remind us of his sentiments. The difficulty in accepting the treatise as his lies mainly in the jerkiness of the style and the looseness of the grammar. We miss the combination of short simple sentences with long periods that is characteristic of his manner; and the constant indulgence in "ellipse," "asyndeton," "chiasmus," "infinitive of command," and so on, is not at all like what we find in his acknowledged works. On the whole, when the pros and cons are weighed and re-weighed, it does not appear utterly impossible that he wrote it as a first experiment in authorship before leaving Athens for Asia. The work is full of his zest for hunting, his pietism, his insistence that before you try to do a thing, you must understand how to do it, and, above all, his belief in the efficacy of diligence and toil. The author of the treatise is clearly an Athenian; and though his opinions bear a strong resemblance to those of the older Cynics, and especially of Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school, I see no decisive reason for thinking it impossible—though it is certainly difficult to believe—that Xenophon wrote it in the last years of Socrates' life. He was then aged thirty,¹ and might employ a didactic tone towards the youth of eighteen. If he did, he must have adopted a manner of writing that he judged appropriate to a didactic treatise addressed to the young.² We must suppose that he deliberately

¹ Xenophon was born 430 B.C.; Apollodorus (fl. 150 B.C.) in his Chronica wrongly suggested 440 B.C. From Apollodorus the error passed into Diogenes Laertius and Suidas.

² There is a similar manner in one or two didactic sentences quoted from Antisthenes by Diogenes Laertius (vi. 12). Mewaldt detects a similarity in the style of Simon's treatise on Horsemanship. The manner is common enough in technical
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avoided formal rhetoric, of which there are only very few examples in the treatise. Xenophon in the Hellenica and the Agesilacus does experiment in different styles of writing, though within limits that he passes far beyond in the Hunting, if this work be really his. But a great difficulty confronts us. In the thirteenth chapter (3–7) the writer, in his most rhetorical passage, says in effect that he despises rhetoric as practised in his day, and has no belief in its value. Now the rhetoric of the fourth-century sophists is based on the teaching of Gorgias and Prodicus. Xenophon elsewhere always writes respectfully of these two great stylists, and he shows both by his statements and by his practice that he has a keen appreciation of rhetoric as an aid to persuasion.1 Already at the beginning of the Hellenica (i. i. 30–31) he attributes the reputation of Hermocrates the Syracusan "as speaker and adviser" to the attention that he paid to oratory; and Sicilian oratory without rhetoric is unthinkable. Can it be that between, say, 401 B.C. and 393 B.C. he so entirely changed his opinion? It is possible that he did so, in consequence of his experience in Asia, where the influence of oratory on the soldiers was continually made manifest.2

In at least two parts of the epilogue it is highly probable that Aristippus is attacked, first as object-

1 The results of his study of Gorgias can be traced in the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians and the Ways and Means as well as in the Agesilacus.

2 Note especially what he says about Proxenus (Anabasis, ii. vi. 16), that in his youth he had an ambition to become a man of affairs, and therefore put himself under Gorgias.

writings. A pretty specimen of it is to be found in Plato's description of the two horses (Phaedrus, p. 253 d).
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...ing to toil, and further on as a self-seeker (xii. 10; xiii. 10); Aristippus was, in fact, the first of the Socratics to take fees from his pupils.\(^1\) Now we know that Xenophon had an aversion to Aristippus, whose opinions and conduct naturally jarred on him. What is more likely than that Xenophon should warn his young readers against such an alluring but dangerous teacher?

Here we may leave the problem. The style does not in the least suggest Xenophon: much of the matter, both in the technical part and in the epilogue, does suggest him. Absurdities have been pointed out\(^2\) in the reasoning of the epilogue; but some of these absurdities are probably due to the corrupt state in which the text of it has come down to us. For whereas in the technical part we have the powerful aid of Pollux in correcting the text, he cites nothing from the epilogue.

The laborious exordium is not contemporary with the rest of the work. Certain rhythms are persistently used in it that were not in vogue earlier than the first half of the third century B.C.\(^3\) But the "sophistic" list of Chiron's pupils and, still more, the highly artificial order of the words show that the date is much later than the third century. Norden, the highest authority in these matters, states confidently that the exordium belongs to the period of the "second sophistic."\(^4\) We may con-

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\(^1\) Diogenes Laertius, ii. 65.
\(^2\) Especially by Hartman in his *Analecta Xenophontea*.
\(^3\) Especially the *dichoreus* (〜〜) at the end of the sentence, which is characteristic of the *Asianic* style. (Radermacher in *Rheinisches Museum*, lli.).
\(^4\) In *Die Antike Prosakunst* (p. 433) he cites some striking parallels from the Lemnian Philostratus' *Imagines* and from Aelian.
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clude without hesitation that it was composed in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), when also the reference to it in c. xiii. 18 was added. Some-where about A.D. 150 Arrian must have come across a copy of the Hunting in Athens, with the exordium already prefixed. He took the exordium at its face value, and assumed that it too was written by Xenophon. In the Heroicus (p. 308), written between A.D. 213 and 219, the Lemnian Philostratus includes Telamon, Theseus and Palamedes among the disciples of Chiron. These heroes are mentioned nowhere else as pupils of the Centaur except in our epilogue.

The earliest author who alludes to the Hunting as Xenophon’s work is Plutarch; but Demetrius of Magnesia, a contemporary of Cicero, already recognised it as his.

The principal manuscripts are the following:—

1. For the Hiero, Agesilaus, Constitution of the Lacedaemonians and Ways and Means:

A. (Vaticanus, 1335), tenth or eleventh century. Of the Ways and Means only a part (c. i. 5 to c. iii. 5) has survived.

1 This passage furnished, as it were, a text to the writer of the exordium.

2 Arrian, Cynegeticus i. It is odd that Arrian, no mean judge of style, accepted the whole work, including the exordium, as certainly genuine.

3 The coincidence at least shows that these names were introduced into the list by the late sophists. K. Münsscher (Philologus, Supplementband, x., p. 503) doubts whether Philostratus consciously repeats the author of the exordium; nor do I think it certain that he does so.

4 Diogenes Laertius, ii. 57.
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B. (Vaticanum, 1950), fifteenth century. Probably copied from A.

C. (Mutinensis, 145), fifteenth century. This MS. does not include the Agesilaus. It contains many peculiar readings, of which many are conjectures.

M. (Marcianus, 511), probably thirteenth century.

A papyrus fragment of the Ways and Means, c. i. 5–6, belonging to the second century A.D., is edited by Wilcken in the Archiv für Papyrologie, vol. i.

The copious extracts contained in the Florilegium of Stobaeus are specially important for checking the text of the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians.

2. For the Cavalry Commander, Horsemanship and Hunting.

A. (Vindobonensis, IV. 37), sixteenth century. This MS. does not include the Cavalry Commander. It is derived from an archetype of the twelfth century, and is the best MS. of the Horsemanship and Hunting. Its version of c. i. of Hunting is peculiar, evidently because the MS. from which it was copied was blurred and partly illegible.

B. (Vaticanum, 989), thirteenth century. The best MS. of the Hipparchicus, and the next best to A. of the other two. The first chapter of Hunting, and the opening words of the second are missing.

M. (Marcianus, 511).

The lexicon of Pollux is of the utmost value in checking and restoring the corrupted text of the
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treatise on Horsemanship and the technical parts of that on Hunting.

An excellent critical edition of the text of the first four treatises by A. Thalheim and of the last three by E. Ruehl is included in the Teubner Series.

There is also a recent text of the whole in Vol. V. of Xenophontis Opera Omnia (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).

A translation of the Horsemanship with notes by R. Berenger is included in his History of the Art of Horsemanship (1671). Paul Louis Courier's translation of the Cavalry Commander and Horsemanship (1st ed. 1807) contains many valuable notes, and his contribution to the purification and elucidation of the text is of the first importance. The MS. that he followed was Vaticanus 989.

The Art of Horsemanship translated, with chapters on the Greek Riding-Horse, and with notes, by Morris H. Morgan (1894) is excellent.

The German translation of the last-mentioned work by E. Pollack (1912) includes a commentary and a full bibliography and is indispensable to students.

O. Manns, Uber die Jagd bei den Griechen (1888–1890), has given a complete exposition of the technical portions of the treatise on Hunting.


All recent textual criticism of the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians and of the last three treatises included in this volume is based on the exhaustive work of three Italian scholars. The results arrived
INTRODUCTION

at by them are contained in the following Berlin editions:

G. Pierleoni: Xenophontis Respublica Lacedaemoniorum, 1905.

" " Cynegeticus, 1902.
P. Cerocchi: " Hipparckicus, 1901.
V. Tommasini: " de Re Equestri, 1902.

The Greek text of this volume follows that of Sauppe (= S. in the footnotes) except where stated.

The earliest printed edition of the collected works is that of Filippo Giunta (Florence, 1516); but it does not include the Agesilaus and Ways and Means. The Agesilaus was first printed by J. Reuchlin in 1520 (with the Apology and Hiero), and the Ways and Means in the Aldine ed. (1525).
ΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝ

I. Σιμωνίδης ο ποιητής ἀφίκετο ποτὲ πρὸς Ἰέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης: Ἀρ' ἂν μοι ἐθελήσαις, ὃ Ἰέρων, διηγήσασθαι ἃ εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον ἔμοι;

Καὶ ποιὰ ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἐφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ὅποια δὴ ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σοῦ οὕτως οὐντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός;

2 Οἴδά σε, ἐφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ νῦν τύραννον ὄντα; εἰκὸς οὐν ἀμφοτέρων πε- πειραμένον καὶ εἰδέναι σε μάλλον ἔμοι, τῇ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς τε καὶ ὁ ἰδιωτικὸς βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώπως.

3 Τί οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Ἰέρων, οὐχὶ καὶ σύ, ἐπεί νῦν γε ἐτὶ ἰδιώτης εἰ, ὑπέμνησας με τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ βίῳ; οὕτως γὰρ ἂν σοι οἶμαι μάλιστα ἐγὼ δύνασθαι δηλοῦν τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἐκατέρω.

4 Οὐτώ δὴ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε. Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτας ἐγωγε, ὁ Ἰέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὀρώμασιν ἱδομένους τε καὶ ἀχθομένους, διὰ δὲ τῶν οὕτων ἀκούσματι, διὰ δὲ τῶν μινῶν ὁσμαίς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σῖτοις τε καὶ πιτοῖς, τὰ δ’ ἀφροδίσια δ’ ὄν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα: τὰ δὲ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ κούφα καὶ βαρέα ὅλῳ τῷ σῶματι μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἐφη, κρίνοντες ἣδεσθαί τε
I. Simonides, the poet, once paid a visit to Hiero, the despot. When both found time to spare, Simonides said: "Hiero, will you please explain something to me that you probably know better than I?"

"And pray what is it," said Hiero, "that I can know better than one so wise as yourself?"

"I know you were born a private citizen," he answered, "and are now a despot. Therefore, as you have experienced both fortunes, you probably know better than I how the lives of the despot and the citizen differ as regards the joys and sorrows that fall to man's lot."

"Surely," said Hiero, "seeing that you are still a private citizen, it is for you to remind me of what happens in a citizen's life; and then, I think, I could best show you the differences between the two."

"Well," said Simonides, taking the suggestion, "I think I have observed that sights affect private citizens with pleasure and pain through the eyes, sounds through the ears, smells through the nostrils, meat and drink through the mouth, carnal appetites —of course we all know how. In the case of cold and heat, things hard and soft, light and heavy, our sensations of pleasure and pain depend on the

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1 § A. Sauppe omits with the other MSS.
καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· ἀγαθοὶς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δ' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν ἠδεσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι, ἐστι δ' ὅτε κοινῇ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος. τῶν ὅν ὑπνὸν ὅτι μὲν ἠδομέθα, δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὄντιν καὶ ὑπότε, ταῦτα μᾶλλον πως, ἐφ' ὅτι ὁ ἄγνοίον. καὶ οὐδὲν ὑσώς τούτῳ θαυμαστῷ, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγχοροσφεν σαφεστέρας ἦμιν τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχεται ἡ τὰ ἐν τῶ ὑπνώ.—

7 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἰέρων ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἔγω μὲν τοῖνυν, ἐφ' ὃ, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ἔξω τοῦτον ὅν εἰρήκας σύγε οὐδ', ὅπως ἀν αἰσθοῖτό τινος ἄλλου ὁ τύραννος ἔχοι' ἀν εἴπειν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τοῦτον οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ τινὶ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς βίος τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ βίου.

8 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἴπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐν τοίσδε, ἐφ', διαφέρει πολλαπλάσια μὲν δ' ἐκάστου τοῦτον εὐφραίνεται, πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει.

Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἴπεν: Οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ ἵσθ', ὅτι μείω πολὺ εὐφραίνονται οἱ· τύραννοι τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων ἰδιωτῶν, πολὺ δὲ πλείω καὶ μείζω λυποῦνται.

9 Ἀπιστὰ λέγεις, ἐφ' ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ οὕτω ταῦτ' εἴχε, πῶς ἀν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν τυραννεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δοκοῦντων ἰκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι; πῶς δὲ πάντες ἔξηλοιν ἀν τοὺς τυραννουσ;

10 Ὁτι ναὶ ἀν τὸν Δρ', ἐφ' ὁ Ἰέρων, ἀπειροῦ οὕτε ἀμφότερον τῶν ἑργῶν σκοποῦνται περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πειράσομαι σε διδάσκειν, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὅψεως· ἐπιτεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σὲ δοκῶ μεμνήσθαι ἀρξάμενον λέγειν.

4
whole body, I think. In good and evil we seem to feel pleasure or pain, as the case may be—sometimes through the instrumentality of the moral being only, at other times through that of the moral and the physical being together. Sleep, it seems clear to me, affects us with pleasure; but how and by what means and when are puzzles that I feel less able to solve. And perhaps it is no matter for surprise if our sensations are clearer when we are awake than when we are asleep."

"For my part, Simonides," said Hiero in answer to this, "I cannot say how a despot could have any sensations apart from those you have mentioned. So far, therefore, I fail to see that the despot's life differs in any respect from the citizen's."

"In this respect it does differ," said Simonides: "the pleasures it experiences by means of these various organs are infinitely greater in number, and the pains it undergoes are far fewer."

"It is not so, Simonides," retorted Hiero; "I assure you far fewer pleasures fall to despots than to citizens of modest means, and many more and much greater pains."

"Incredible!" exclaimed Simonides. "Were it so, how should a despot's throne be an object of desire to many, even of those who are reputed to be men of ample means? And how should all the world envy despots?"

"For this reason of course," said Hiero, "that they speculate on the subject without experience of both estates. But I will try to show you that I am speaking the truth, beginning with the sense of sight. That was your first point, if I am not mistaken."
11 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὀψεως θεάμασι λογιζόμενος εὐρίσκω μειονεκτοῦντας τοὺς τυράννους. ἄλλα μὲν γε ἐν ἀλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέατα: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἑκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς πόλεις ὡς ἂν βούλωνται καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις, ἔνθα ἂν ἀξιοθεάτοτα 12 δοκεῖ ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται. οἱ δὲ τυράννοι οὐ μᾶλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὗτε γὰρ ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἁσφαλές ὅτιν μὴ κρείττους τῶν παρόντων μελλούσιν ἐσεσθαι, οὗτε τὰ οίκοι κέκτημεν ἐχυραί, ὡστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδημεῖν. φοβηρὸν γὰρ, μὴ ἀμα στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι γένονται τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς

13 ἀδικήσαντας. εἰποῖς οὖν ἀν Ἰσως σὺ, 'Ἀλλ' ἄρα ἔρχεται ἀυτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οίκοι μένουσιν. ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅλγα γε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ὡντα οὕτω τίμια πωλεῖται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὡστε οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ οὕτων ἁξιοῦσι πολλαπλᾶσια λαβόντες ἐν ὀλίγο χρόνῳ ἀπεναι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἢ ὅσα ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων κτῶνται.

14 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν 'Ἀλλ' εἰ τοῖς θεάμασι μειονεκτεῖτε, διὰ γε τοῦ τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε. ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡδίστου ἀκροαμάτος, ἐπαίνου, οὐποτε σπανίζετε πάντες γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ύμῖν πάντα καὶ ὅσα ἂν λέγητε καὶ ὅσα ἂν ποιήτε ἐπαινοῦσι. τοῦ δ' αὐ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροαμάτος, λοιδορίας, ἀνήκουε ἐστε. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλει τύραννον κατ' ἀφθαλμοὺς κακηγορεῖν. 3

15 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπε, Καὶ τί οἴει, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ

1 & Lenklau: τὰ Sauppe with the MSS. and Stobaeus.
"In the first place, then, taking the objects that we perceive by means of vision, I find by calculation that in regard to sight-seeing, despots are worse off. In every land there are things worth seeing: and in search of these private citizens visit any city they choose, and attend the national festivals, where all things reputed to be most worth seeing are assembled. But despots are not at all concerned with missions to shows. For it is risky for them to go where they will be no stronger than the crowd, and their property at home is too insecure to be left in charge of others while they are abroad. For they fear to lose their throne, and at the same time to be unable to take vengeance on the authors of the wrong. Perhaps you may say: 'But, after all, such spectacles come to them even if they stay at home.' No, no, Simonides, only one in a hundred such; and what there are of them are offered to despots at a price so exorbitant that showmen who exhibit some trifle expect to leave the court in an hour with far more money than they get from all the rest of the world in a lifetime."

"Ah," said Simonides, "but if you are worse off in the matter of sight-seeing, the sense of hearing, you know, gives you the advantage. Praise, the sweetest of all sounds, is never lacking, for all your courtiers praise everything you do and every word you utter. Abuse, on the contrary, that most offensive of sounds, is never in your ears, for no one likes to speak evil of a despot in his presence."

"And what pleasure," asked Hiero, "comes, do you think, with the MSS. and Stobaeus.
XENOPHON

λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδὴ τις σαφῶς, ὅτι οἱ σιωπῶντες οὕτως πάντα κακὰ νοοῦσι τῷ τυράννῳ; ἡ τοὺς ἐπανούντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραί

νεῖν, ὅταν ὑποττοὶ ὄσιν ἔνεκα τοῦ κολακεύειν τοὺς ἐπαίνους πονεῖσθαί;

16 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε: Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία ἐγωγέ σοι, Ἰέρων, πάνυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς ἐπαίνους παρὰ τῶν ἑλευθερωτάτων ἡδίστους εἶναι, ἀλλ', ὅπλα, ἐκεῖνό γε οὐκ ἂν ἦτο πείσαις ἀνθρώπων οὐδεία, ὥς οὐχὶ δὲ ἐν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἀνθρωποί, πολὺ πλεῖον ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε.

17 Καὶ οἴδα γε, ἔφη, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅτι τούτῳ κρίνουσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἡδίον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν ἱδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡδίον ἂν δειπνῆσαι τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ ἕαυτοῖς: τὸ γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερ-

18 βάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς ἡδονὰς. διὸ καὶ πάντες ἀνθρωποί ἡδέως προσδέχονται τὰς ἐορτὰς πλὴν οἱ τύραννοι ἐκπλεφ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ ἀπε-

σκευασμέναι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ τράπεζαι αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν: ὅστε ταύτη πρὸ τοῦ τῆς εὐφροσύνη τῆς ἐλπίδος μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἱδιωτῶν. ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἐμπείροις εἰ, ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλεῖον τις παραθήκαι τὰ περτὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν, τοσοῦτος θάττον κόρος ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἑδωδῆς: ὅστε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρατιθέμενος πολλὰ τῶν μετοίων διατιμώμενων.

19 Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἂν χρόνων ἡ ψυχὴ προσέχῃ, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡδοναὶ οἱ ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων.
Hiero, 1. 15–20

you suppose, of this shrinking from evil words, when one knows well that all harbour evil thoughts against the despot, in spite of their silence? Or what pleasure comes of this praise, do you think, when the praises sound suspiciously like flattery?"

"Well yes," replied Simonides, "in this of course I agree with you entirely, Hiero, that praise from the freest is sweetest. But this, now, you will not persuade anyone to believe, that the things which support human life do not yield you a far greater number of pleasures."

"Yes, Simonides, and I know that the reason why most men judge that we have more enjoyment in eating and drinking than private citizens is this; they think that they themselves would find the dinner served at our table better eating than what they get. Anything, in fact, that is better than what they are accustomed to gives them pleasure. This is why all men look forward to the festivals, except the despots. For their table is always laden with plenty, and admits of no extras on feast days. Here then is one pleasure in respect of which they are worse off than the private citizen, the pleasure of anticipation. But further, your own experience tells you, I am sure, that the greater the number of superfluous dishes set before a man, the sooner a feeling of repletion comes over him; and so, as regards the duration of his pleasure too, the man who has many courses put before him is worse off than the moderate liver."

"But surely," said Simonides, "so long as the appetite holds out, the man who dines at the costlier banquet has far more pleasure than he who is served with the cheaper meal."
21 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, τὸν ἐκάστῳ ἡδόμενον μάλιστα, τοῦτον οἶει καὶ ἐρωτικῶτατα ἔχειν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.
'Ἡ οὖν ὁρᾶς τι τοὺς τυράννους ἢδιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν παρασκευὴν ιόντας ἢ τοὺς ἱδιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν;
Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δλ', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγλευκέστερον, ὡς πολλοῖς ἄν δοξεῖε.
22 Τι γὰρ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανήματα κατανεόηκας, ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὄξεαι καὶ δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἄδελφα;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις.
23 Ἀλλὰ τι οὖν οἰεὶ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσματα εἶναι ἢ μαλακὴς καὶ ἄσθενούσης τρυφῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα; ἐπεὶ εὐ οἶδ᾽ ἐγώγε, ὅτι οἱ ἤδεως ἐσθίοντες, καὶ σὺ πον οἴσθα, ὅτι οὔδεν προσδέονται τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων.
24 Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, τῶν γε πολυτελῶν ὁσμῶν τούτων, αἱς χρίσση, τοὺς πλησιάζοντας οἱ μᾶλλον ἀπολαύειν ἢ αὐτοὺς υμᾶς, ὡστερ γε καὶ τῶν ἄχαρίτων ὁσμῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ βεβρωκὼς αἰσθάνεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ πλησιάζοντες.
25 Οὕτω μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, καὶ τῶν σίτων ὁ μὲν ἔχων παντοδαπὰ ἀεὶ οὔδὲν μετὰ πόθου αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν ὁ δὲ σπανίσσας τινὸς οὔτός ἐστιν ὁ μετὰ χαρᾶς πιπλάμενος, ὅταν αὐτῷ προφανῇ τι.
26 Κινδυνεύουσιν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, αἱ τῶν ἄφρο-
“Don’t you think, Simonides, that the greater a man’s pleasure in any occupation the stronger is his devotion to it?”

“Certainly.”

“Then do you notice that despots fall to their meal with any more zest than private persons to theirs?”

“No, no, of course not; I should rather say with more disgust, according to the common opinion.”

“Well now,” said Hiero, “have you observed all those pickles and sauces that are put before despots—acid, bitter, astringent and so forth?”

“Yes, certainly; and very unnatural cates I think them for human beings.”

“Don’t you look on these condiments, then, as mere fads of a jaded and pampered appetite? I know well enough, and I expect you know too, that hearty eaters have no need of these concoctions.”

“Well, I certainly think that those costly ungents with which you anoint your bodies afford more satisfaction to those who are near you than to yourselves, just as the man who has eaten rank food is less conscious of the disagreeable smell than those who come near him.”

“Quite so, and we may add that he who has all sorts of food at all times has no stomach for any sort. Offer a man a dish that he seldom tastes, and he eats a bellyful with gusto.”

“It seems,” remarked Simonides, “as if the
Δισύων μόνον ὑμῖν ἀπολαύσεις τοῦ τυραννεῖν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας παρέχειν· ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ἔξεστιν υμῖν ὅ τι ἂν κάλλιστον ἔδητε τούτῳ συνείναι.

27 Νῦν δή, ἐφη ὁ Ἰέρων, εἴρηκας ἐν ὅ γε, σάφεισθι, μειονεκτοῦμεν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ γάμος ὁ μὲν ἐκ μειζόνων δῆτον καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει κάλλιστος δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ παρέχειν τινὰ τῷ γῆμαντὶ φιλοτιμῶν μεθ' ἧδονῆς. δεύτερος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων· ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν φαυλοτέρων πάνυ ἀτιμόσ τε καὶ ἄχρηστος νομίζεται. τῷ τούτῳ τυράννῳ, ἀν μὴ ἔξενη γήμη, ἀνάγκη ἐκ μειζόνων γαμεῖν, ὡστε τὸ ἀγαπητὸν οὐ πάνυ αὐτῷ παραγίγνεται. πολὺ δὲ καὶ αἱ θεραπεῖαι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μέγιστον φρονοῦσών γυναικῶν εὐφραίνουσι μάλιστα, αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δουλῶν παροῦσαι μὲν οὐδὲν τι ἀγαπῶνται, ἐὰν δὲ τι ἐλλείπωσι, δεινὰς ὀργὰς καὶ λύπας ἐμποιοῦσιν.

29 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἀφροδισίοις ἔτι αὖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἦ ἐν τοῖς τεκνοποιοῖς μειονεκτεῖ τῶν εὐφροσύνων ὁ τυράννος. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια πολὺ διαφερόντως εὐφράνει,

30 πάντες δῆτον ἐπιστάμεθα. ὁ δὲ ἔρως πολὺ αὐτὸ ἑθέλει ἥκιστα τῷ τυράννῳ ἐγγύγνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἔτοιμων ἢδεταί ὁ ἔρως ἐφείμενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων. ὥσπερ oun σπεῖ αὖν τις ἀπειροσ ὁν δίψους τοῦ πιεῖν ἀπολαύοι, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀπειρος ὁν ἔρωτος ἀπειρος ἐστὶ τῶν ἠδίστων ἀφροδισίων.

31 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰέρων οὕτως εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἐπιγελάσας, Πῶς λέγεις, ἐφη, ὁ Ἰέρων; τυράννῳ οὐ φῆς παιδικῶν ἔρωτας ἐμφύεσθαι; πῶς μὴν

1 οὖκ ἂν Stephanus: et S. with the MSS, and Stobaeus.
satisfaction of the carnal appetites were the only motive that produces in you the craving for despotism. For in this matter you are free to enjoy the fairest that meets your eye."

"I assure you that we are worse off than private citizens in the matter to which you now refer. First take marriage. It is commonly held that a marriage into a family of greater wealth and influence is most honourable, and is a source of pride and pleasure to the bridegroom. Next to that comes a marriage with equals. A marriage with inferiors is considered positively degrading and useless. Now unless a despot marries a foreign girl, he is bound to marry beneath him; and so the thing to be desired does not come his way. And whereas it is exceedingly pleasant to receive the attentions of the proudest of ladies, the attentions of slaves are quite unappreciated when shown, and any little shortcomings produce grievous outbursts of anger and annoyance.

"In his relations with favourites, again, even much more than in his relations with women, the despot is at a disadvantage. We all know, I suppose, that passion increases the sweets of love beyond measure. Passion, however, is very shy of entering the heart of a despot, for passion is fain to desire not the easy prize, but the hoped-for joy. Therefore, just as a man who is a stranger to thirst can get no satisfaction out of drinking, so he who is a stranger to passion is a stranger to love's sweetest pleasures."

To this speech of Hiero's Simonides replied, laughing:

"How say you, Hiero? You deny that passion springs up in a despot's heart? Then how about
συ, ἑφη, ἔρας Δαίλόχου τοῦ καλλίστου ἐπικαλουμένου;

"Ὅτι μὰ τὸν Δ', ἑφη, ὥ Σιμωνίδη, οὗ τοῦ ἐτοίμου παρ' αυτοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι τυχεῖν τοῦτον μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἥκιστα τυράννῳ προσήκοντος κατεργάσασθαι. ἓγῳ γαρ δὴ ἔρως δὲν Δαίλόχου ἄντερ ἵσως ἀναγκάζει ἡ φύσις ἄνθρωπον δεῖσθαι παρ' τῶν καλῶν, τούτων δὲ ὅν ἔρως τυχεῖν, μετὰ μὲν φιλίας καὶ παρὰ βουλομένου πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμῶ τυγχάνειν, βίᾳ δὲ λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἠττον ἄν μοι δοκῶ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ ἐμαυτὸν κακῶν τι ποιεῖν. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων ἀκόντων λαμβάνειν πάντων ἥδιστον ἐγγύς νομίζω εἶναι, παρὰ δὲ παιδικῶν βουλομένων ἥδισται οἴμαι αἰ χάριτές εἰσίν. εὖθυς γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ ἀντιφιλούντος ἥδειαν μὲν αἰ ἀντιβλέψεις, ἥδειαν δὲ αἰ ἐρωτήσεις, ἥδειαν δὲ αἰ ἀποκρίσεις, ἥδισται δὲ καὶ ἐπαφροδιτόταται αἰ μάχαι τε καὶ ἔριδες· τὸ δὲ ἀκόντων παιδικῶν ἀπολαύειν λεγασία, ἑφη, ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ ἐσκέναι μᾶλλον ἡ ἀφροδισίας. καίτοι τῷ μὲν λῃστῇ παρέχει τινάς ὁμοῖας ἡδονὰς τὸ τε κέρδος καὶ τὸ ἀνιᾶν τὸν ἕχθρον· τὸ δὲ ὅν ἄν ἔρα τις τοῦτῳ ἥδεσθαι ἀνωμένῳ καὶ φιλοῦντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπτεσθαι ἀχθομένου πῶς οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἡδὴ δυσχερὲς τὸ πάθημα καὶ οἴκτρον; καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰδιώτῃ εὐθὺς τεκμηρίον ἐστίν, ὅταν ὁ ἐρώμενος τι υποπτῇ, ὦτι ὁς φιλῶν χαρίζεται, διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι, ὅτι συνεργῶς ἀνάγκης ὁμός ὑπηρετεῖ, τῷ δὲ τυράννῳ οὐποτ' ἐστι πιστεύσαι, ὡς φιλεῖται. ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ τοὺς¹ διὰ φόβον ὑπηρετοῦντας ως ἢ μάλιστ' ἄν δύναμιν ἐξεικάζουσιν αὐτοὺς
your passion for Daílochus, whom they call most fair?"

"Why, Simonides, the explanation, of course, is this: I desire to get from him not what I may have, apparently, for the asking, but that which a despot should be the last to take. The fact is, I desire of Daílochus just that which human nature, maybe, drives us to ask of the fair. But what I long to get, I very strongly desire to obtain by his goodwill, and with his consent; but I think I could sooner desire to do myself an injury than to take it from him by force. For to take from an enemy against his will is, I think, the greatest of all pleasures, but favours from a loved one are very pleasant, I fancy, only when he consents. For instance, if he is in sympathy with you, how pleasant are his looks, how pleasant his questions and his answers; how very pleasant and ravishing are the struggles and bickerings. But to take advantage of a favourite against his will seems to me more like brigandage than love. Nay, your brigand finds some pleasure in his gain and in hurting his foe; but to feel pleasure in hurting one whom you love, to be hated for your affection, to disgust him by your touch, surely that is a mortifying experience and pitiful! The fact is, a private citizen has instant proof that any act of compliance on the part of his beloved is prompted by affection, since he knows that the service rendered is due to no compulsion; but the despot can never feel sure that he is loved. For we know that acts of service prompted by fear copy as closely as

\[1 \text{ τοῦς Dindorf: αὐτοὺς τοὺς S.: αὐτοὺς MSS.}\]
ταίς τῶν φιλούντων ὑποργίαις. καὶ τοῖναν αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ ἐξ οὐδένων πλέονες τοῖς τυράννοις εἰσίν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν μάλιστα φιλεῖν αὐτοὺς προσποιησαμένων.

II. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ εἴπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης: Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πάνω ἔμοιγε μικρὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἢ σὺ λέγεις. πολλοὺς γὰρ, ἐφὶ, ἐγὼγε ὑπὸ τῶν δοκοῦντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἐκόντας μειονεκτοῦντας καὶ σῖτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ὑψῶν καὶ ἀφροδισίων 2 γε ἀπεχομένους. ἀλλ' ἐν ἑκείνοις γε πολὺ διαφέρετε τῶν ὀδιωτῶν, ὅτι μεγάλα μὲν ἐπινοεῖτε, ταχὺ δὲ κατεργάζεσθε, πλείστα δὲ τὰ περιττὰ ἔχετε, κέκτησθε δὲ διαφέροντας μὲν ἀρετὴ ὑπίπους, διαφέροντα δὲ κάλλει ὁπλα, ὑπερέχουτα δὲ κόσμου γνωαίξι, μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας δ' οἰκίας καὶ ταύτας κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστοις ἀξίοισ, ἐτὶ δὲ πλῆθει καὶ ἐπιστήμαις θεράπουτας ἀρίστους κέκτησθε, ἱκανώτατοι δ' ἐστὶ κακῶσαι μὲν ἐχθροὺς, ὑνήσαι δὲ φίλους.

3 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν: Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλήθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ἔξαιρατάσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οὐδέν τι θαυμάζω· μάλα γὰρ ὁ οἶχος μοι δοκεῖ δοξάζειν ὅρῶν καὶ εὐδαιμονίας τινας εἶναι καὶ ἀθλίους· ἢ δὲ τυραννὶς τὰ μὲν δοκοῦντα πολλοὶ ἄξια κτήματα εἶναι ἀνεπτυγμένα θεᾶσθαι πάσι παρέχεται, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τυράννων κέκτηται ἀποκεκρυμένα, ἐνθαπερ καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ τὸ κακο- 4 δαιμονεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόκειται. τὸ μὲν σοὶ τὸ πλήθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι, ὡσπερ εἴπον, οὐθαυμάζω· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν, οὐ διὰ τῆς γνώμης θεᾶσθαι δοκεῖτε κάλλιον ἢ διὰ τῶν 5 δαιμονεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόκειται.
possible the ministrations of affection. Indeed, even plots against despots as often as not are the work of those who profess the deepest affection for them."

II. To this Simonides replied: "Well, the points that you raise seem to me mere trifles. For I notice that many respected men willingly go short in the matter of meat and drink and delicacies, and deliberately abstain from sexual indulgence. But I will show you where you have a great advantage over private citizens. Your objects are vast, your attainment swift: you have luxuries in abundance: you own horses unequalled in excellence, arms unmatched in beauty, superb jewelry for women, stately houses full of costly furniture: moreover you have servants many in number and excellent in accomplishments and you are rich in power to harm enemies and reward friends."

To this Hiero answered: "Well, Simonides, that the multitude should be deceived by despotic power surprises me not at all, since the mob seems to guess wholly by appearances that one man is happy, another miserable. Despotism flaunts its seeming precious treasures outspread before the gaze of the world: but its troubles it keeps concealed in the heart of the despot, in the place where human happiness and unhappiness are stored away. That this escapes the observation of the multitude I say, I am not surprised. But what does seem surprising to me is that men like you, whose intelligence is supposed to give you a clearer view of
XENOPHON

ὅφθαλμῷν τὰ πλείστα τῶν πραγμάτων, τούτο
6 μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστόν εἶναι. ἐγώ δὲ πεπειραμένος
σαφῶς οἶδα, ὁ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ λέγω σοι, ὅτι οἱ
tὸν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐλάχιστα μετέ-
χουσι, τῶν δὲ μεγίστων κακῶν πλείστα κέκτην-
tαι. ἀυτίκα γὰρ εἰ μὲν εἰρήνη δοκεῖ μέγα
ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ταύτης ἐλάχιστον
τοῖς τυράννοις μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα
κακῶν, τούτου πλείστον μέρος οἱ τυράννοι μετέ-
χουσιν. εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἴδιώταις, ἂν μὴ ἡ
πόλις αὐτῶν κοινὸν πόλεμον πολεμῇ, ἔξεστιν
ὅποι ἂν βούλωσαί τινα πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν φοβο-
μένους, μή τις αὐτοῦς ἀποκτείνῃ, οἱ δὲ τυράννοι
πάντες πανταχύ ὡς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύονται.
ἀυτοὶ τε γοῦν ὁπλισμένοι οὐνται ἀνάγκην εἶναι
dιάγειν καὶ ἄλλους ὀπλοφόρους ἀεὶ συμπεριάγε-
9 σθαί.

Ἐπείτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἴδιώται, ἔαν καὶ στρα-
teύσαντάι ποι εἰς πολεμίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδὰν
γε ἔλθωσιν οἰκαδε, ἀσφαλειὰν ἐφίσων ἡγοῦνται
eἶναι, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν
πόλιν ἀφίκωνται, τὸτε εἰ πλείστοις πολεμίοις
10 ἵσασιν οὔντες. ἔαν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι στρατεύσοντες
εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρεῖττοντες, ἔαν ἐξω τοῦ τείχους
ὀντες οἱ ἢ τοιοῦτος ἐν κινδύνῳ δοκῶσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὰν γε εἰσώ τοῦ ἑρματος ἔλθωσιν, ἐν
ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζοντες καθεστάναι, οἱ δὲ
tύραννος οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν εἰσώ τῆς οἰκίας παρέλθῃ
eν ἱκανίνῳ ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ἐναίθα δὴ καὶ μᾶλιστα
11 φυλακτέον οἴεται εἶναι. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἴδιώταις
καὶ διὰ σπουδῶν καὶ δὴ εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου
ἀνάπαυσις, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὔτε εἰρήνη ποτὲ
18
HIERO, II. 5-11

most things than your eyes, should be equally blind to it. But I know well enough by experience, Simonides, and I tell you that despots get the smallest share of the greatest blessings, and have most of the greatest evils. Thus, for instance, if peace is held to be a great blessing to mankind, very little of it falls to the share of despots; if war is a great evil, of that despots receive the largest share. To begin with, so long as their state is not engaged in a war in which all take part, private citizens are free to go wherever they choose without fear of being killed. But all despots move everywhere as in an enemy’s country; at any rate they think they are bound to wear arms continually themselves, and to take an armed escort about with them at all times.

“Secondly, in the event of an expedition against an enemy’s country, private citizens at least think themselves safe as soon as they have come home. But when despots reach their own city, they know that they are now among more enemies than ever. Again, suppose that strangers invade their city in superior force; true, the weaker are conscious of danger while they are outside the walls; yet once they are inside the fortress, all feel themselves bestowed in safety. But the despot is not out of danger even when he passes within the palace gates; nay, it is just there that he thinks he must walk most warily. Once again, to private citizens a truce or peace brings rest from war; but despots are never at peace with the people subject to their
in the wars that he wages against his subjects. The whole of this paragraph is obscurely expressed and highly
despotism, and no truce can ever make a despot confident.

"There are, of course, wars that are waged by 12 states against one another, and wars waged by the despot against his oppressed subjects. Now the hardships incidental to these wars that fall on the citizen fall also on the despot. For both must 13 wear arms, be watchful, run risks; and the sting of a defeat is felt by both alike. So far, then, 14 both are equally affected by wars. But the joys that fall to the citizens of states at war are not experienced by despots. For, you know, when states 15 defeat their foes in a battle, words fail one to describe the joy they feel in the rout of the enemy, in the pursuit, in the slaughter of the enemy. What transports of triumphant pride! What a halo of glory about them! What comfort to think that they have exalted their city! Everyone is crying: 16 'I had a share in the plan, I killed most'; and it's hard to find where they don't revel in falsehood, claiming to have killed more than all that were really slain. So glorious it seems to them to have won a great victory! But when a despot harbours sus- 17 picion, and, well aware that opposition is on foot, puts the conspirators to death, he knows that he does not exalt the city as a whole; he understands that the number of his subjects will be less; he cannot look cheerful; nor does he boast himself of his achievement; nay, he belittles the occurrence as much as possible, and explains, while he is at the work, that there is nothing artificial; and it has been variously interpreted. The text also is uncertain.
άμα πράττων, ώς οὐκ ἄδικῶν πεποίηκεν. οὗτος
οὐδ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι. καὶ
ὅταν ἀποθάνωσιν οὖς ἐφοβήθη, οὔδὲν τι μᾶλλον
τούτων θαρρεῖ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ
πρόσθεν. καὶ πόλεμον μὲν δὴ τοιούτων ἐχων
dιατελεῖ ὁ τύραννος, ὃν ἐγὼ δηλώ.

III. Φιλίας δ' αὖ καταθέασαι ὡς κοινωνοῦσιν
οἱ τύραννοι. πρῶτον μὲν εἰ μέγα ἄγαθὸν ἀνθρώ-
ποις ἡ φιλία, τούτο ἐπισκεψόμεθα. δὴ γὰρ ἀν
φιλήται δήποτε ὑπὸ τινῶν, ἥδεως μὲν τούτων οἱ
φιλούντες παρόντα ὀρῶσιν, ἥδεως δ' εὐ ποιοῦσι,
pοδοῦσι δὲ, ἂν ποι ἢ, ἥδιστα δὲ πάλιν
προσιόντα δέχονται, συνήδονται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ
ἄγαθοῖς, συνεπικουροῦσι δὲ, εὰν τι σφαλλόμενον

3 ὀρῶσιν. οὐ μὲν δὴ λέληθεν οὔδὲ τὰς πόλεις, οτι
ἡ φιλία μέγιστον ἄγαθον καὶ ἥδιστον ἀνθρώπων
ἔστι μόνον γοῦν τοὺς μοιχοὺς νομίζουσι πολ-
lαι τῶν πόλεων νηπιών ἀποκτείνειν, δῆλον ὅτι
diὰ ταῦτα ὅτι λυμαντήρας αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τῆς
τῶν γνωαίκων φιλιάς πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι.

4 ἐπεὶ ὅταν γε ἀφροδισιασθῇ κατὰ συμφοράν τινα
γυνῆ, οὔδὲν ἤττου τούτου ἐνεκεν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς οἱ
ἀνδρεῖς, εἶναι πρὸς τῇ φιλίᾳ δοκῇ αὐταῖς ἀκήρατος
διαμένειν. τοσοῦτον δὲ τι ἄγαθον κρίνω ἐγὼ
τὸ φιλεῖσθαι εἶναι, ὡστε νομίζω τῷ ὅτι αὐτοῦ
τίγαθα τῷ φιλομένῳ γίγνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν
καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων.

6 Καὶ τοῦτον τοῖνυν τῶν κτήματος τοιούτου ὄντως
μειονεκτοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι πάντων μάλιστα. εἰ

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1 Cyrop. i. vi. 24.
2 ἐπεὶ should be rendered “though,” not “since” here.
wrong in what he has done, so far are his deeds from seeming honourable even to himself. Even the death of those whom he feared does not restore him to confidence; he is yet more on his guard afterwards than before. And now I have shown you the kind of war that a despot wages continually.

III. “Turn next to friendship, and behold how despots share in it. First let us consider whether friendship is a great blessing to mankind. When a man is loved by friends, I take it, they rejoice at his presence, delight to do him good, miss him when he is absent, greet him most joyfully on his return, rejoice with him in his good fortune, unite in aiding him when they see him tripping.1 Even states are not blind to the fact that friendship is a very great blessing, and very delightful to men. At any rate, many states have a law that adulterers only may be put to death with impunity, obviously for this reason, because they believe them to be destroyers of the wife’s friendship with her husband; although,2 when a woman’s lapse is the result of some accident, husbands do not honour their wives any less on that account, provided that wives seem to reserve their affection unblemished. In my judgment, to be loved is a blessing so precious that I believe good things fall literally of themselves on him who is loved from gods and men alike.

“Such, then, is the nature of this possession—a possession wherein despots above all other men are for it introduces a reason why one might suppose that there would be some restriction on the right to kill an adulterer, and not the reason why all adulterers may be killed with impunity. Compare, for instance, Plato, Protagoras, 335 c. The “accident” is, of course, rape.
XENOPHON

dè boûlei, o Ἱσιωνίδη, εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἀληθὴ λέγω,
7 ὥδε ἐπίσκεψαι. βεβαιότατα μὲν γὰρ δήπου
dοκοῦσι φιλία εἶναι γονεύσι πρὸς παῖδας καὶ
παισὶ πρὸς γονέας καὶ ἄδελφοῖς πρὸς ἄδελφοὺς
καὶ γυναῖξι πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἑταῖροὺς πρὸς
8 ἑταῖρους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοεῖν, εὐρίσκεις
μὲν τοὺς ἱδίωτας ὑπὸ τοὺς μάλιστα φιλο-
μένους, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους πολλοὺς μὲν παῖδας
ἐαυτῶν ἀπεκτοῦτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ παῖδων
αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄδελφοὺς ἐν
tυραννίσαι ἀλληλοφόνους γεγενημένους, πολλοὺς
δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἐαυτῶν τυράννους
dιεφθαρμένους καὶ ὑπὸ ἑταῖρων γε τῶν μάλιστα
9 δοκοῦντων φίλων εἶναι. οὕτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν
φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φιλεῖν καὶ νόμῳ
συνηναγκασμένοιν οὕτω μισοῦνται, πῶς ὑπ’ ἄλλου
γέ τινος οἴσεθαί χρὴ αὐτοὺς φιλεῖσθαι;

IV. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πίστεως ὁστὶς ἐλάχιστον
μετέχει, πῶς οὐκ ἐμπόλου ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ;
ποία μὲν γὰρ συνουσία ἦδεια ἄνευ πίστεως τῆς
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ποία δ’ ἄνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τερπνὴ
ἄνευ πίστεως ὀμιλία, ποῖος δὲ θεράτων ὦδὸς
2 ἀπιστούμενος; καὶ τοῦτον τοίνυν τοῦ πιστῶς
πρὸς τινας ἔχειν ἐλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράννων·
ὅποτε γε οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ πιστοῖς πιστεύων διάγει,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων, πρὶν ἀπαρχῆσαι τοῖς θεοῖς,
tοὺς διακόνους πρῶτων κελεύουσιν ἀπογεύσασθαι
dιὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν, μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακῶν τι
3 φῶνουσιν ἢ πίσωσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ πατρίδες
tοῖς μὲν ἄλλους ἀνθρώποις πλείστον ἄξιαι.
πολίται γὰρ δορυφοροῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους ἄνευ
μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους, δορυφοροῦσι δ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς
24
stinted. If you want to know that I am speaking the truth, Simonides, consider the question in this way. The firmest friendships, I take it, are supposed to be those that unite parents to children, children to parents, wives to husbands, comrades to comrades. Now you will find, if you will but observe, that private citizens are, in fact, loved most deeply by these. But what of despots? Many have slain their own children; many have themselves been murdered by their children; many brothers, partners in despotism, have perished by each other's hand; many have been destroyed even by their own wives, and by comrades whom they accounted their closest friends. Seeing, then, that they are so hated by those who are bound by natural ties and constrained by custom to love them most, how are we to suppose that they are loved by any other being?

IV. "Next take confidence. Surely he who has very little of that is stinted in a great blessing? What companionship is pleasant without mutual trust? What intercourse between husband and wife is delightful without confidence? What squire is pleasant if he is not trusted? Now of this confidence in others despots enjoy the smallest share. They go in constant suspicion even of their meat and drink; they bid their servitors taste them first, before the libation is offered to the gods, because of their misgiving that they may sup poison in the dish or the bowl. Again, to all other men their fatherland is very precious. For citizens ward one another without pay from their slaves and from

1 See Introduction.
κακούργησε υπέρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν βιαίω

4 θανάτῳ ἀποθνῄσκειν. οὕτω δὲ πόρρω προελθὼ-
θασί φυλακῆς, ὡστε πεποίησαται πολλοὶ νόμοι τῷ
μαιφόνῳ μηδὲ τὸν συνόντα καθαρεύειν ὡστε διὰ
τὰς πατρίδας ἁσφαλῶς ἐκαστὸς βιοσεύει τῶν

5 ποιητῶν. τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τούτο ἐμπαλιν
ἀνέστραπται. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αὐτοῖς αἱ
πόλεις μεγάλως τιμῶσι τῶν ἀποκτείνατα τῶν
τύραννος, καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ εἴργειν ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν,
ὡσπερ τοὺς τῶν ἱδιωτῶν φυνέας, ἀντὶ τοῦτο καὶ
eἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἱστάσιν αἱ πόλεις τῶν τοῦτο
ποιησάντων.

6 Ἐι δὲ σὺ οἶξε, ὡς πλειώ ἔχων τῶν ἱδιωτῶν κτή-

ματα ὁ τύραννος δία τοῦτο καὶ πλειώ ἂπτ᾽ αὐτῶν
εὐφραίνεται, οὔδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς Σιμωνίδης,
ἀλλ᾽ ὡσπερ οἱ ἁθληταὶ αὐχ ὅταν ἱδιωτῶν γένων-
tαι κρεύττους, τοῦτο αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνει, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν
tῶν ἁνταγωνιστῶν ἦττους, τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἁνιᾶ,
οὕτω καὶ ὁ τύραννος σὺχ ὅταν τῶν ἱδιωτῶν πλειώ
φαινται ἔχων, τοῦτο εὐφραίνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἐτέ-
ρων τυράννων ἐλάττω ἔχῃ, τοῦτο λυπεῖται τοῦ-
tους γὰρ ἁνταγωνιστὰς ἥγειται αὐτῷ τοῦ πλούτου

7 εἶναι. οὔδὲ γε θὰττόν τι γίγνεται τῷ τυράννῳ ἢ
tῷ ἱδιότητ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱδιώτης οἰκίας ἢ
ἀγροῦ ἢ οἰκέτου ἐπιθυμεῖ, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἢ πόλεως ἢ
χώρας πολλῆς ἢ λιμένων ἢ ἀκροπόλεως ἵσχυ-
ρῶν, ἀ ἔστι πολὺ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικενδυσότερα
κατεργάσασθαι τῶν ἱδιωτικῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων.

8 ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ πένητας ὅψει 1 οὕτως οἷον

τῶν ἱδιωτῶν ὡς πολλοὺς τῶν τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ
τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ
evildoers, to the end that none of the citizens may perish by a violent death. They have gone so far in measures of precaution that many have made a law whereby even the companion of the bloodguilty is deemed impure; and so—thanks to the fatherland—every citizen lives in security. But for despots the position is the reverse in this case too. Instead of avenging them, the cities heap honours on the slayer of the despot; and, whereas they exclude the murderers of private persons from the temples, the cities, so far from treating assassins in the same manner, actually put up statues of them in the holy places.

"If you suppose that just because he has more possessions than the private citizen, the despot gets more enjoyment out of them, this is not so either, Simonides. Trained athletes feel no pleasure when they prove superior to amateurs, but they are cut to the quick when they are beaten by a rival athlete; in like manner the despot feels no pleasure when he is seen to possess more than private citizens, but is vexed when he has less than other despots; for he regards them as his rivals in wealth. Nor even does the despot gain the object of his desire any quicker than the private citizen. For the private citizen desires a house or a farm or a servant; but the despot covets cities or wide territory or harbours or strong citadels, and these are far more difficult and perilous to acquire than the objects that attract the citizen. And, moreover, you will find that even poverty is rarer among private citizens than among despots. For much and little are to be measured not

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1 ὅτι ὅπσει ὅπως S. with the MSS. and Stobaeus: ὅπως was removed by Bremi.
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όλιγα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις: ὡστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἱκανὰ πολλά ἔστι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱκανῶν ἔλλειποντα ὀλίγα. τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια ἦττον ἱκανά ἔστιν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα ἢ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις ἐξεστὶ τὰς δαπάνας συντέμνειν εἰς τὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν, ὅτι ἔχουν τοὺς, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. αἱ γὰρ μέγισται αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ ἀναγκαίοταται εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς φυλακὰς εἰσὶν τὸ δὲ τούτων συντέμνειν ὀλεθρὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι.

9 ἔπειτα δὲ ὁσοὶ μὲν ὤναντα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσων δέονται, τί ἄν τούτους οἰκτείροι τις ὡς πένητας; ὁσοὶ δ’ ἀναγκάζονται δὲ ἐνδειαν κακὸν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν μηχανώμενον ζην, πῶς οὐ τούτους ἀθλίους ἄν τις καὶ πένητας δικαίως καλοῖ; οἱ τύραννοι τοῖν πάντων ἀναγκάζονται πλείστα συλάν ἀδίκως καὶ ιερά καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας ἀεὶ προσδείσθαι χρημάτων. ὡσπερ γὰρ πολέμου ὄντος ἀεὶ ἀναγκάζονται στρατευμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολολέναι.

10 πρὸς ὁ μὲν τῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων θυσίας ξένων· οἱ τυράννοι οὕτως ἀναγκαζόμενοι πλεῖστα συλάν ἀδίκως καὶ ἱερά καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας ἀεὶ προσδείσθαι χρημάτων. ὡσπερ γὰρ πολέμου ὄντος ἀεὶ ἀναγκάζονται στρατεύμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολολέναι.

V. Χαλεπὸν δ’ ἔρων σοι καὶ ἀλλο πάθημα, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, τῶν τυράννων. γιγνώσκοντι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἀλκίμους τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ δικαίους. τούτους δ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγαθῶν φοβοῦνται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείσσους, μὴ τι τολμήσωσι τῆς ἔλευθερίας ἔνεκεν, τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς, μὴ τι μηχανῆσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους, μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃ τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν προστατεύσθαι. ὃ τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις διὰ τῶν φόβων ὑπεξαίρονται, τινὲς ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρῆσθαι ἀλλ’ ἢ οἱ ἀδικοὶ τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνδραποδῶδεις; οἱ μὲν ἀδικοὶ πιστεύομενοι, διότι φοβοῦνται ὡσπερ
by number, but in relation to the owner's needs: so that what is more than enough is much, and what is less than enough is little. Therefore, the despots with his abundance of wealth has less to meet his necessary expenses than the private citizens. For while private citizens can cut down the daily expenditure as they please, despots cannot, since the largest items in their expenses and the most essential are the sums they spend on the life-guards, and to curtail any of these means ruin. Besides, when men can have all they need by honest means, why pity them as though they were poor? May not those who through want of money are driven to evil and unseemly expedients in order to live, more justly be accounted wretched and poverty-stricken? Now, despots are not seldom forced into the crime of robbing temples and their fellow men through chronic want of cash to meet their necessary expenses. Living, as it were, in a perpetual state of war, they are forced to maintain an army, or they perish.

V. "Despots are oppressed by yet another trouble, Simonides, which I will tell you of. They recognize a stout-hearted, a wise or an upright man as easily as private citizens do. But instead of admiring such men, they fear them,—the brave lest they strike a bold stroke for freedom, the wise lest they hatch a plot, the upright lest the people desire them for leaders. When they get rid of such men through fear, who are left for their use, save only the unrighteous, the vicious and the servile,—the unrighteous being trusted because, like the

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1 ἀλίγα Coppello: ἰκανά S. with the MSS. and Stobaeus.
2 ἀλκίμως Stobaeus: κοσμίους S. with the MSS.
οι τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις μὴποτε ἑλεύθεραι γενόμεναι ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν γένωνται, οἱ δὲ ἄκρατεῖς τῆς εἰς τὸ παρόν ἐξουσίας ἐνεκα, οἱ δὲ ἀνδραπόδωδεἰς διότι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἄξιοῦσιν ἑλεύθεροι εἶναι. χαλεπὸν οὖν καὶ τούτο τὸ πάθημα ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἄλλους μὲν ἥγεϊσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλους δὲ χρῆσθαι ἀναγκαίζεσθαι.

3 Ἔτι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον εἶναι· ἀνεί γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὔτ' ἀν σώζεσθαι δύνατο οὔτ' ἀν εὐδαίμονεῖν· οὔτ' δὲ τυρανῆς ἀναγκαζεῖ καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλκίμοιοι οὔτ' εὐόπλοις χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους δεινοτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιοῦντες ἤδονται μᾶλλον καὶ 4 τούτοις χρωταί δορυφόροις. ἀλλὰ μῆν οὐδ' ἀν εὐετηρίων γενομένων ἀφθονία τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνεται, οὔτε τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραννος. ἐνδεεστέροις γὰρ οὔσι ταπεινοτέροις αὐτοῖς οἴονται χρῆσθαι.

VI. Βούλομαι δὲ σοι, ἐφι, ὁ Σιμωνίδη, κακείνας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλώσαι, δόσαι ἐγὼ χρῶμενος, δτ' ἢν ἰδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος ἐγὼ χρῶμενος, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ συνῆν μὲν ἡλικιώτατος ἡδόμενος ἡδομένοις ἐμοι, συνῆν δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, ὀπότε ἡσυχίας ἐπίθυμήσαιμ, διήγον δ' ἐν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εἰ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἢν, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ὡδαίς τε καὶ θαλάτας καὶ χοροὶς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιμητήν, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι κοίτης ἐπιθυμίας ἐμὴς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων. νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι μὲν τῶν ἡδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ δουλοὺς ἀντὶ φίλῶν.
despots, they fear that the cities may some day shake off the yoke and prove their masters, the vicious on account of the licence they enjoy as things are, the servile because even they themselves have no desire for freedom? This too, then, is a heavy trouble, in my opinion, to see the good in some men, and yet perforce to employ others.

"Furthermore, even a despot must needs love his city, for without the city he can enjoy neither safety nor happiness. But despotism forces him to find fault even with his fatherland. For he has no pleasure in seeing that the citizens are stout-hearted and well armed; rather he delights to make the foreigners more formidable than the citizens, and these he employs as a body-guard. Again, even when favourable seasons yield abundance of good things, the despot is a stranger to the general joy; for the needier the people, the humbler he thinks to find them.

VI. "But now, Simonides," he continued, "I want to show you all those delights that were mine when I was a private citizen, but which I now find are withheld from me since the day I became a despot. I communed with my fellows then: they pleased me and I pleased them. I communed with myself whenever I desired rest. I passed the time in carousing, often till I forgot all the troubles of mortal life, often till my soul was absorbed in songs and revels and dances, often till the desire of sleep fell on me and all the company. But now I am cut off from those who had pleasure in me, since slaves

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1 κόλπης Hermann: κοιπῆς S. with the MSS.
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ἐχειν τοὺς ἑταῖρους, ἀπεστέρημαι δ' αὐτὸς τοῦ ἡδέως ἐκείνοις ὠμλεῖν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐνορῶν εὐνοιαν ἐμοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν μέθην δὲ καὶ ὑπνον

4 ὦμοίως ἐνέδρα φυλάττομαι. τὸ δὲ φοβείσθαι μὲν ὄχλον, φοβείσθαι δ' ἐρημίαν, φοβείσθαι δὲ ἀφυλάξιαν, φοβείσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυλάττομας καὶ μήτ' ἀόπλους ἐχειν ἥθελεν περὶ αὐτὸν μήθ' ὀπλισμένους ἡδέως θεάσθαι πῶς οὐκ ἄργα.

5 λέον ἐστὶ πράγμα; ἔτι δὲ ἤχεινοι μὲν μᾶλλον ἡ πολίταις πιστεύειν, βαρβάροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ Ἑλλησσιν, ἐπιθυμεῖν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀλευθέρους δούλους ἐχειν, τοὺς δὲ δούλους ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν ἀλευθέρους, οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ κυρίης ὑπὸ φόβων καταπεπληγμένης τεκμήρια εἶναι; ὦ γε τοῖς φόβοις οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς λυπηρός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡδέων συμπαρακολουθῶν λύμεδω γίγνεται.

7 Εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρος εἰ, ὁ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ἦδη ποτὲ πολεμία φάλαγγι πλησίον αντετέλξω, ἀναμνήσθητι, ποίον μὲν τινα σιτον ἤρος ἐν ἐκείνω τὸ χρόνῳ, ποίον δὲ τίνα ὑπνον ἐκοιμῶ. οία μέντοι σοι τότε ἢ τὰ λυπηρά, τουκατά ἐστι τὰ τῶν τυράννων καὶ ἔτι δεινότερα; οὐ γὰρ εξ ἐναντίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοεθεν πολεμίους ὀρᾶν νομίζουσιν οἱ τύραννοι.

8 Ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν ὧ Τπέρευ μοι δοκεῖς ἐναι λέγειν. ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος φοβερὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὄμως, ὃ Ἰέρων, ἡμεῖς γε ὑπὸν ὄμεν ἐν στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστᾶμεν θαρραλέως δεῖπνοι τε καὶ ὑπνοι λαγχάρωμεν.

9 Ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν ὧ Τπέρευ μοι δοκεῖς ἐναι λέγειν. ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος φοβερὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὄμως, ὃ Ἰέρων, ἡμεῖς γε ὑπὸν ὄμεν ἐν στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστᾶμεν θαρραλέως δεῖπνοι τε καὶ ὑπνοι λαγχάρωμεν.

10 Καὶ ὃ Ἰέρων ἐφη: Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὁ Σιμωνίδης.
instead of friends are my comrades; I am cut off from my pleasant intercourse with them, since I see in them no sign of good-will towards me. Drink and sleep I avoid as a snare. To fear a crowd, and yet fear solitude, to fear to go unguarded, and yet fear the very men who guard you, to recoil from attendants unarmed and yet dislike to see them armed—surely that is a cruel predicament! And then, to trust foreigners more than citizens, strangers more than Greeks, to long to keep free men slaves, and yet be forced to make slaves free—do you not think that all these are sure tokens of a soul that is crushed with fear? Fear, you know, is not only painful in itself by reason of its presence in the soul, but by haunting us even in our pleasures it spoils them utterly.

“If, like me, you are acquainted with war, Simonides, and ever had the enemy’s battle-line close in front of you, call to mind what sort of food you ate at that time, and what sort of sleep you slept. I tell you, the pains that despots suffer are such as you suffered then. Nay, they are still more terrible; for despots believe that they see enemies not in front alone, but all around them.”

To this Simonides made answer: “Excellent words in part, I grant! War is indeed a fearsome thing: nevertheless, Hiero, our way, when we are on active service, is this: we post sentries to guard us, and sup and sleep with a good courage.”

Then Hiero answered: “No doubt you do,
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αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ προφυλάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ἃςτε 11 περὶ ἑαυτῶν φοβοῦνται καὶ ύπὲρ ύμῶν· οἱ δὲ τύραννοι μισθοῦ φύλακας ἔχουσιν ἀσπερ θερμ- 
τάς. καὶ δὲ ἐὰν δῆπον τοὺς φύλακας μηδὲν 12 οὕτω ποιεῖν δύνασθαι ὡς πιστοὺς· εἰναι· πιστὸν 
δὲ ἐνα πολὺ χαλεπώτερον εὑρεῖν ἢ πάνιν πολλοὺς ἐργιτᾶς ὁποίου βούλει ἔργον, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὁπόταν χρημάτων μὲν ἑνεκα παράσιν οἱ φυλά- 
toutes, εξῆ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολὺ 
πλείω λαβέιν ἀποκτείνασι τῶν τύραννον ἢ ὅσα 
πολὺν χρόνον φυλάττοντες παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου 
λαμβάνουσιν.

12 Ὅ δ' ἐξήλισας ἡμᾶς, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους 
μᾶλλον εὐ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς 
pάντων μᾶλλον χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦτ' οὕτως 
ἔχει. φίλους μὲν γὰρ πῶς ἀν νομίσαις ποτὲ 
εὐ ποιεῖν, ὅταν εὐ εἰδῆς, ὅτι ὁ τὰ πλεῖστα λαμβά-
νων παρὰ σοῦ ἱδιστ' ἀν ὡς τάχιστα εξ' ὀφθαλ-
μῶν σοι γένοιτο; ὃ τι γὰρ ἀν τις λάβῃ παρὰ 
tυράννου, οὐδεις οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ νομίζει, πρὶν ἀν 
ἐξω τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατεῖας γένηται. ἐχθροὺς 
δ' αὐτὸ πῶς ἀν φαίνης μᾶλλον τοῖς τυράννοις 
ἐξείναι χειρούσθαι, ὅταν εὐ εἰδῶσιν, ὅτι ἐχθροὶ 
αὐτῶν εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ τυραννοῦμενοι, τούτως δὲ 
μήτε κατακαίνειν ἀπαιντὰς μήτε δεσμεύειν οὕτων 
τε ἤ τίνων ἂρ ἔτι ἄρξῃ; ἀλλ' εἰδότας, 1 ὃτι 
ἐχθροὶ εἰσὶ, τούτως ἅμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δὲ 
καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαίεσθαι; εὖ δ' ἰσθι 
καὶ τούτο, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι καὶ οὐς τῶν πολιτῶν 
dedias, χαλεπῶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ξαντὰς ὁρὰς, 
χαλεπῶς δ' ἀποκτείνουσιν. ὃσπερ γε καὶ ἱππος 
εἰ ἁγαθὸς μὲν εἰς, φοβερὸς δὲ μὴ ἀνήκεστον τι 1 
eidota S.
Simonides! For your sentries have sentries in front of them—the laws,—and so they fear for their own skins and relieve you of fear. But despots hire their guards like harvesters. Now the chief qualification required in the guards, I presume, is faithfulness. But it is far harder to find one faithful guard than hundreds of workmen for any kind of work, especially when money supplies the guards, and they have it in their power to get far more in a moment by assassinating the despot than they receive from him for years of service among his guards.

“You said that you envy us our unrivalled power to confer benefits on our friends, and our unrivalled success in crushing our enemies. But that is another delusion. For how can you possibly feel that you benefit friends when you know well that he who receives most from you would be delighted to get out of your sight as quickly as possible? For, no matter what a man has received from a despot, nobody regards it as his own, until he is outside the giver’s dominion. Or again, how can you say that despots more than others are able to crush enemies, when they know well that all who are subject to their despotism are their enemies and that it is impossible to put them all to death or imprison them—else who will be left for the despot to rule over?—and, knowing them to be their enemies, they must beware of them, and, nevertheless, must needs make use of them? And I can assure you of this, Simonides: when a despot fears any citizen, he is reluctant to see him alive, and yet reluctant to put him to death. To illustrate my point, suppose that a good horse makes his master afraid that he will do him some fatal mischief: the man will feel
ποιήση, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, χαλεπῶς δὲ ξώντι χράτο, εὐλαβούμενος, μή τι ἄνήκεστον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐργάσχεται. καὶ τάλλα γε κτῆματα, ὅσα χαλεπὰ μὲν χρῆσιμα δ’ ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ἄπαντα λυπεῖ μὲν τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἤκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, εἶπεν, Ἔοικεν, ἥφη, ὃ Ἰέρων, μέγα τί εἴναι ἡ τιμή, ἃς ὅργομενοι οἱ ἀνθρώποι πάντα μὲν πόνον ὑποδύονται, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομένουσι.

καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἔχουσις, ὅποσα λέγεις, τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅμως προπετῶς φέρεσθε εἰς αὐτὴν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶς μὲν ὑμῖν πάντες πάντα τὰ προστατέομενα ἀπὸ φασίστως, περιβλέποσι δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν βάκων ὅδων τε παραχωρῶσι, γεραῖρωσι δὲ καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες ὁι παρόντες ᾧ ὑμᾶς: τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὄντιν’ ἃν ἄει τιμῶντες τυγχάνωσι. καὶ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὃ Ἰέρων, τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἀνήρ τῶν ἄλλων ξύων, τῷ τιμῆς ὅργεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σιτίοις γε καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὑπνοῖς καὶ ἀφροδισίοις πάντα ὁμοίως ἦδεσθαι ἐςουκε τὰ ξόα· ἢ δὲ φιλοτιμία οὐτ’ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ξύοις ἐμφύειναι οὐτ’ ἐν ἀπασίν ἀνθρώποις’ οἰς δ’ ἂν ἐμφύη τιμῆς τε καὶ ἐπαίνου ἔρως, οὕτως εἰσὶν ἥδη οἱ πλεῖστον μὲν τῶν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνθρώποι μόνον νομίζομενων.

καὶ οὐσε ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα πάντα ὑπομένειν, ἢ φέρετε ἐν τῇ τυραννίδῃ, ἐπεὶ περ τιμᾶσθε διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ
reluctant to slaughter him on account of his good qualities, and yet his anxiety lest the animal may work some fatal mischief in a moment of danger will make him reluctant to keep him alive and use him. Yes, and this is equally true of all possessions that are troublesome as well as useful: it is painful to possess them, and painful to get rid of them."

VII. These statements drew from Simonides the following reply: "A great thing, surely, Hiero, is the honour for which men strive so earnestly that they undergo any toil and endure any danger to win it! And what if despotism brings all those troubles that you tell of, yet such men as you, it seems, rush headlong into it that you may have honour, that all men may carry out your behests in all things without question, that the eyes of all may wait on you, that all may rise from their seats and make way for you, that all in your presence may glorify you by deed and word alike. (Such, in fact, is the behaviour of subjects to despots and to anyone else who happens to be their hero at the moment.) For indeed it seems to me, Hiero, that in this man differs from other animals—I mean, in this craving for honour. In meat and drink and sleep and love all creatures alike seem to take pleasure; but love of honour is rooted neither in the brute beasts nor in every human being. But they in whom is implanted a passion for honour and praise, these are they who differ most from the beasts of the field, these are accounted men and not mere human beings. And so, in my opinion, you have good reason for bearing all those burdens that despotism lays on you, in that you are honoured above all other men. For no

1 Cyropaedia, 1. vi. 25.
oúdemía ἀνθρωπίνη ἱδονὴ τοῦ θείου ἐγγυτέρω
dokei einai ἡ ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμᾶς εὐφροσύνη.
5 Ἡρώων ᾿Αλλ’, ὁ Σι-
mowndh, kai ai timai tôn tυρμνων όμοιαι ἐμοi
dokousin einai οἰάπερ ἐγὼ σοι τὰ ἀφροδίσια ὑντα
6 αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξα. οὔτε γὰρ αἱ μη ἐξ ἀντιφιλούν-
tων ὑποργία αἱ χάριτες ἡμῶν ἑδόκουν εἰναι οὔτε
tὰ ἀφροδίσια τὰ βίαια ήδέα ἐφαίνετο. ὦσαύτωs
τοίνυν οὐδὲ αἱ ὑποργία αἱ παρὰ τῶν φοβοῦ-
7 μένων τιμαί εἰσι. πῶς γὰρ ἀν φαίημεν ἡ τοὺς
βία ἐξανιστάμενοις θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς
ἀδικοῦντας ἐξανιστάσθαι ἡ τοὺς ὄδων παρα-
χωροῦντας τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδι-
8 κούντας παραχωρεῖν; καὶ δωρά γε διδόασιν οἱ
πολλοὶ τούτοις, οὕς μισοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅταν
μάλιστα φοβῶνται, μή τι κακὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πά-
θωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἰμαὶ δουλείας ἔργα
eikóstos ἀν νομίζωτοι αἱ δὲ τιμαί ἐμοίγη δοκοῦσιν
9 ἐκ τῶν ἐναυτῶν τούτοις γίγνεσθαι. ὅταν γὰρ ἀν-
θρωποὶ ἄνδρα ἡγησάμενοι ἐνεργειεῖν ἱκανοῦ εἶναι
καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ νομίζαστε ἐπείτα
τούτων ἀνὰ στόμα τοῖς ἐξωσιν ἐπαυνώντες θεῶνται
τ’ αὐτῶν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐκαστὸς ἀγαθὸν ἐκόντες τοῖς
παραχωρῶσι τοῦτῳ ὀδῶν καὶ θάκων ὑπανίστουν-
tαι φιλούντες τε καὶ μὴ φοβούμενοι καὶ στεφανῶσι
κοινῆς ἄρετῆς καὶ ἐνεργεσίας ἐνεκα καὶ δωρεῖσθαι
ἐθέλωσιν, οἱ αὐτῶι οὕτοι ἐμοίγη δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν
τε τούτων ἄληθῶς, οἱ ἀν τοιαῦτα ὑπουργήσωσι,
10 καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιούμενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ οὐτὶ. καὶ
ἐγώγε τῶν μὲν οὕτω τιμώμενον μακαρίζω. αἰ-
σθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιβουλευόμενον, ἀλλὰ
φροντιζόμενον, μὴ τι πάθη, καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ
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human joy seems to be more nearly akin to that of heaven than the gladness which attends upon honours."

To this Hiero replied: "Ah, Simonides, I think even the honours enjoyed by despots bear a close resemblance to their courtships, as I have described them to you. The services of the indifferent seemed to us not acts of grace, and favours extorted appeared to give no pleasure. And so it is with the services proffered by men in fear: they are not honours. For how can we say that men who are forced to rise from their seats rise to honour their oppressors, or that men who make way for their superiors desire to honour their oppressors? And as for presents, most men offer them to one whom they hate, and that too at the moment when they have cause to fear some evil at his hands. These acts, I suppose, may not unfairly be taken for acts of servility; but honours, I should say, express the very opposite feelings. For whenever men feel that some person is competent to be their benefactor, and come to regard him as the fountain of blessings, so that henceforward his praise is ever on their lips, everyone of them looks on him as his peculiar blessing, they make way for him spontaneously and rise from their seats, through love and not through fear, crown him for his generosity and beneficence, and bring him freewill offerings, these same men in my opinion, honour that person truly by such services, and he who is accounted worthy of them is honoured in very deed. And, for myself, I count him a happy man who is honoured thus; for I perceive that, instead of being exposed to treason, he is an object of solicitude, lest harm befall him, and he lives his life unassailed
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άνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα· ὃ δὲ τύραννος ὃς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι’ ἄδικιαν ἀποθνή-
σκεῖν οὕτως, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, εῦ ήσθι καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διάγει.

11 Ἑπεὶ δὲ ταύτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης,
Καὶ πῶς, ἐφη, ὁ Ἰέρων, εἰ οὕτως πονηρὸν ἐστὶ
τὸ τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὺ ἐγγονίσας, οὐκ ἀπαλ-
λάττη οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος
μὲν δὴ οὕδεις πώποτε ἐκών εἶναι τυραννόδος
ἄφεῖτο, ὅσπερ ἀπαξ ἐκτήσατο;

12 Ὁτι, ἐφη, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθλιωτατῷ
ἐστὶν ἡ τυραννίς· οὓδε γὰρ ἀπαλλαγήναι δυνατόν
αὐτῆς ἐστὶ. πῶς γὰρ ἄν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειεν
τύραννος ἡ χρήματα ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφεῖλετο
ἡ δεσμοῦς ἀντιπάσχοι ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν ἢ
ὅσους κατέκανε πῶς ἔν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαρά-
σχοιτο ἀποθανομένας; ἀλλ’ εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ, ὁ
Σιμωνίδης, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἱσθι, ἐφη,
ὅτι τυράννῳ ἐγγονεῖ εὐρίσκοι μάλιστα τούτο λυσι-
τελοῦν ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἔχειν οὔτε
καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.

VIII. Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ
μὲν νῦν, ὁ Ἰέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς
τὴν τυραννίδα οὐ θαυμάζω, ἐπείπερ ἐπιθυμῶν
φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων ἐμποδῶν σοὶ τούτον
νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ
διδάξαι σε, ὡς τὸ ἄρχειν οὔτεν ἀποκωλύει τοῦ
φιλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ἰδιωτείας.

2 ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει μήπω ἐκεῖνο
σκοπῶμεν, εἰ διὰ τὸ μεῖζον δύνασθαι ὁ ἄρχων
καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πλεῖω δύναιτ’ ἂν, ἀλλ’ ἂν τὰ
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by fear and malice and danger, and enjoys unbroken happiness. But what is the despot's lot? I tell you, Simonides, he lives day and night like one condemned by the judgment of all men to die for his wickedness."

When Simonides had listened to all this he asked: "Pray, how comes it, Hiero, if despotism is a thing so vile, and this is your verdict, that you do not rid yourself of so great an evil, and that none other, for that matter, who has once acquired it, ever yet surrendered despotic power?"

"Simonides," said he, "this is the crowning misery of despotic power, that it cannot even be got rid of. For how could any despot ever find means to repay in full all whom he has robbed, or himself serve all the terms of imprisonment that he has inflicted? Or how could he forfeit a life for every man whom he has put to death? Ah, Simonides," he cried, "if it profits any man to hang himself, know what my finding is: a despot has most to gain by it, since he alone can neither keep nor lay down his troubles with profit."

VIII. "Well, Hiero," retorted Simonides, "I am not surprised that you are out of heart with despotism for the moment, since you hold that it cuts you off from gaining the affection of mankind, which you covet. Nevertheless, I think I can show you that rule so far from being a bar to popularity, actually has the advantage of a citizen's life. In trying to discover whether this is so, let us for the time being pass over the question whether the ruler, because of his greater power, is able to confer more favours. Assume that the citizen and
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όμοια ποιώσων ὁ τε ὁδιώτης καὶ ὁ τύραννος, ἐννόει, πότερος μείζω ὑπὸ τῶν ἵσων κτάται χάριν.

"Άρξομαι δὲ σοι ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων παρα-3 δειγμάτων. ἰδὼν γὰρ πρῶτον προσεπιτάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς ὁ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ὁδιώτης. ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ποτέρου πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τῶν ἀκούσαντα νομίζεις; ἠδὴ δὲ ἐπανεσάντων ἀμ-φοτέρων τὸν αὐτὸν τὸν ποτέρου δοκεῖς ἐπαινοῦ ἐξικνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἰς εὐφροσύνην; θύσας δὲ τιμησάτω ἐκάτερος τὴν παρὰ ποτέρου τιμὴν 4 μείζονος ἀν χάριτος δοκεῖς τυγχάνειν; κάμνοντα θεραπευσάτωσαν ὁμοίως: οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφές, ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπεῖαι καὶ χαράν ἐμποιοῦσι μεγίστην; δότωσαν δὴ τὰ ἱσα. οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σαφές, ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτά-των ἡμῖσεια χάριτες πλέον ἡ ὅλου τὸ παρὰ τοῦ 5 ὁδιώτου δώρημα δύνανται; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκ θεῶν τιμή τις καὶ χάρις συμπαρέπέπεσαι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καλλίονα ποιεῖ ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥδιον θεώμεθά τε ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἡ ὅταν ὁδιωτεύῃ διαλεγομένῳ τε ἀγαλ- λόμεθα τοῖς προτετιμημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ 6 τοῦ ἵσου ἡμῖν οὐσί. καὶ μὴν παιδικά γε, ἐν οἷς δὴ καὶ σὺ μάλιστα κατεμέμψω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἥκιστα μὲν γῆρας ἄρχουτος δυσχεραίνει, ἥκιστα δ' αἰσχρός, πρὸς ὅν ἂν τυγχάνῃ ὁμιλῶν, τούτου ὑπολογίζεται. αὕτω γὰρ τὸ τετιμήσθαι μάλιστα 42
the despot act alike, and consider which of the two wins the greater measure of gratitude from the same actions.

"You shall have the most trifling examples to begin with. First, suppose that two men greet someone with a friendly remark on seeing him. One is a ruler, the other a citizen. In this case which greeting, do you think, is the more delightful to the hearer? Or again, both commend the same man. Which commendation, do you think, is the more welcome? Suppose that each does the honours when he offers sacrifice. Which invitation, think you, will be accepted with the more sincere thanks? Suppose they are equally attentive to a sick man. Is it not obvious that the attentions of the mightiest bring most comfort to the patient? Suppose they give presents of equal value. Is it not clear in this case too that half the number of favours bestowed by the mightiest count for more than the whole of the plain citizen's gift? Nay, to my way of thinking, even the gods cause a peculiar honour and favour to dance attendance on a great ruler. For not only does rule add dignity of presence to a man, but we find more pleasure in the sight of that man when he is a ruler than when he is a mere citizen, and we take more pride in the conversation of those who rank above us than in that of our equals. And favourites, mark you, who were the subject of your bitterest complaint against despotism, are not offended by old age in a ruler, and take no account of ugliness in the patron with whom they happen to be associated. For high rank in itself is a most striking embellishment to the person: it casts a
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συνεπικοσμεῖ, ὡστε τὰ μὲν δυσχερὴ ἀφανίζειν,
7 τὰ δὲ καλὰ λαμπρότερα ἀναφαίνειν. ὅποτε γε
μὴν ἐκ τῶν ᾠσων ὑπουργημάτων μειξώνων
χαρίτων ὑμεῖς τυγχάνετε, πῶς οὐκ ἐπειδὰν γε
ὑμεῖς πολλαπλάσια μὲν διαπράττοντες ὑφελεῖν
dύνηςθε, πολλαπλάσια δὲ δωρείσθαι ἐξητε,
ὑμᾶς καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον φιλείσθαι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
προσήκει;
8 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εὐθὺς ὑπολαβὼν, "Ὅτι νὴ Δί, ἔφη, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ εἶ δὲν ἀπεχθάνονται ἀν-
θρωποί, ἡμᾶς πολὺ πλεῖο τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀνάγκη
9 ἔστι πραγματεύεσθαι. πρακτέον μὲν γε χρήματα,
εἰ μέλλομεν ἐξεῖν δαπανῶν εἰς τὰ δέοντα, ἀναγ-
καστέον δὲ φυλάττειν ὁσα δεῖται φυλακῆς, κο-
λαστέον δὲ τοὺς ἁδίκους, κωλυτέον δὲ τοὺς
ὕβριζειν βουλομένους, καὶ ὅταν γε τάχους καιρὸς
παραστῇ ἡ πεζῇ ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξορμάσθαι,
10 οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον τοῖς ραδιουργούσιν. ἔτι δὲ
μυσθοφόρων μὲν ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ δεῖ τούτοι 
βαρύτερον φόρημα οὐδὲν ἔστι τοῖς πολίταις. οὐ
γὰρ τυράννους ἱσοτιμίας,1 ἀλλὰ πλεονεξίας ἑνεκα
νομίζουσι τούτους τρέφεσθαι.
IX. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης,
'Αλλ' ὅπως μὲν οὐ πάντων τούτων ἐπιμελητέον,
ὁ Ἰέρων, οὐ λέγω. ἐπιμέλειαι μέντοι μοι δο-
κοίσιν αἱ μὲν πάνω πρὸς ἐξήραν ἄγειν, αἱ δὲ
2 πάνω διὰ χαρίτων εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκειν
ἀ ἐστὶ βέλτιστα καὶ τὸν κάλλιστα ταῦτα
ἐξεργαζόμενον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, αὕτη μὲν

1 ἱσοτιμίας of an inferior MS. is doubtless a conjecture. S. gives ἱσοτιμίως with B and a later hand in A. The
shade over anything repulsive in him and shows up his best features in a high light. Moreover, inasmuch as equal services rendered by you rulers are rewarded with deeper gratitude, surely, when you have the power of doing far more for others by your activities, and can lavish far more gifts on them, it is natural that you should be much more deeply loved than private citizens."

Hiero instantly rejoined: "Indeed it is not so, Simonides; for we are forced to engage far oftener than private citizens in transactions that make men hated. Thus, we must extort money in order to find the cash to pay for what we want: we must compel men to guard whatever needs protection; we must punish wrongdoers; we must check those who would fain wax insolent; and when a crisis arises that calls for the immediate despatch of forces by land and sea, we must see that there is no dilly-dallying. Further, a great despot must needs have mercenaries; and no burden presses more heavily on the citizens than that, since they believe that these troops are maintained not in the interests of equality, but for the despot's personal ends."

IX. In answer to this Simonides said: "Well, Hiero, I do not deny that all these matters must receive attention. But I should divide a ruler's activities into two classes, those that lead inevitably to unpopularity, and those that are greeted with thanks. The duty of teaching the people what things are best, and of dispensing praise and honour to those who accomplish the same most

original reading in Α was ἵσβερμος. The best conjecture is still τιμῆς.
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η ἐπιμέλεια διὰ χαρίτων γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντα λοιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν καὶ ζημιῶν καὶ κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη
3 δι’ ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ἀνδρὶ ἀρχοντὶ τὸν μὲν ἀνάγκης δεόμενον ἄλλοις προστατέων εἶναι κολάζειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ ἀθλα ἀποδιδόναι δ’ αὐτοῦ ποιητέον. ὡς δὲ
4 ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν χρονὸς ἦμιν βουλώμεθα ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀθλα μὲν ὁ ἄρχων προτίθησιν, ἀθροίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς προστετάκται χορηγοὶς καὶ ἄλλοις δι-δάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι τοῖς ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντι. οὐκοῦν εὐθὺς ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν ἐπί-χαρι διὰ τοῦ ἀρχοντὸς ἐγένετο, τὰ δ’ ἀντίτυπα
5 δι’ ἄλλων. τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ τάλλα τὰ πολιτικὰ οὕτως περαινεσθαι; διήρηται μὲν γὰρ ἁπάσαι αἱ πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ δὲ κατὰ λόχους, καὶ ἀρχοντες ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ μέρει
6 ἐφεστήκασιν. οὐκοῦν εἰ τις καὶ τούτοις ὀσπερ τοῖς χρονοῖς ἀθλα προτιθείη καὶ εὐσπλίας καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ ἰππικῆς καὶ ἀλκης τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις, εἰκὸς καὶ ταῦτα πάντα διὰ φιλονικίαν ἐντόνως ἀσκεῖσθαι.
7 καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ὀρμοῦτο γ’ ἄν θάττον ὅποι δέοι τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ χρήματα θάττον εἰσφέροιεν, ὅποτε τούτοις καίρος εἶη, καὶ τὸ πάντων γε χρη-σιμώτατον, ἡκίστα δὲ εἰδισμένου διὰ φιλονικίας πράττεσθαι, ἡ γεωργία αὐτή ἄν πολὺ ἐπιδοιῆ,

1τὸν μὲν Thalheim: τὸ μὲν MSS.: τὸ μὲν τὸν S., after Stephanus.

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efficiently, is a form of activity that is greeted with thanks. The duty of pronouncing censure, using coercion, inflicting pains and penalties on those who come short in any respect, is one that must of necessity give rise to a certain amount of unpopularity. Therefore my sentence is that a great ruler should delegate to others the task of punishing those who require to be coerced, and should reserve to himself the privilege of awarding the prizes. The excellence of this arrangement is established by daily experience. Thus, when we want to have a choral competition, the ruler offers prizes, but the task of assembling the choirs is delegated to choir-masters, and others have the task of training them and coercing those who come short in any respect. Obviously, then, in this case, the pleasant part falls to the ruler, the disagreeables fall to others. Why, then, should not all other public affairs be managed on this principle? For all communities are divided into parts—‘tribes,’ ‘wards,’ ‘unions,’ as the case may be—and every one of these parts is subject to its appointed ruler. If, then, the analogy of the choruses were followed and prizes were offered to these parts for excellence of equipment, good discipline, horsemanship, courage in the field and fair dealing in business, the natural outcome would be competition, and consequently an earnest endeavour to improve in all these respects too. And as a matter of course, with the prospect of reward there would be more despatch in starting for the appointed place, and greater promptitude in the payment of war taxes, whenever occasion required. Nay, agriculture itself, most useful of all occupations, but just the one in which the spirit of
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eι τις ἀθλα προτιθεῖν κατ' ἀγροὺς ἢ κατὰ κώμας τοῖς κάλλιστα τὴν γῆν ἔξεργαζομένους, καὶ τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πολιτῶν ἔρωμένως τρεπομένους
8 πολλὰ ἄν ἁγαθὰ περαιόντο. καὶ γὰρ αἱ πρόσοδοι αὐξοῦντ' ἄν, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη πολὺ μᾶλλον τῇ ἁσχολίᾳ συμπαραμαρτεί. καὶ μὴν κακοῦργίαι γε
9 ἕττον τοῖς ἐνεργοῖς ἐμφύονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμπορία ὥφελεῖ τι πόλιν, τιμώμενος ἄν ὁ πλείστα τοῦτο τοῖς καὶ ἐμπόρους ἄν πλείστους ἀγείροι. εἰ δὲ
φανερὸν γένοιτο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πρόσοδὸν τινα ἀλυπον ἐξευρίσκων τῇ πόλει τιμήσεται, οὐδὲ αὕτη ἄν ἢ
10 σκέψεις ἀργοῖτο. ως δὲ συνελόντει εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐμφανεῖς εἰη, ὅτι ὁ ἁγαθὸν τι εἰσηγούμενος οὐκ ἀτίμητος ἔσται, πολλοὺς ἄν καὶ
τοῦτο ἔξορμήσειν ἔργον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν τι ἁγαθὸν. καὶ ὅταν γε πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν ὦφελίμων μέλη, ἀνάγκη εὐρίσκεσθαι τε μᾶλλον καὶ
ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

11 Εἰ δὲ φοβεῖ, ὁ Ἰέρων, μὴ ἐν πολλοῖς ἅθλων προτιθεμένων² πολλαί δαπάναι γίγνονται, ἐν
νόησον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμπορεύματα λυσιτελέστερα ἢ ὅσα ἀνθρώποι ἅθλων ὕμνοῦνται. ὅρας ἐν
ἱππικοῖς καὶ γυμνικοῖς καὶ χορηγικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ός μικρὰ ἅθλα μεγάλας δαπάνας καὶ πολλοὺς πόνους
καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἐξάγεται ἀνθρώπων;

Χ. Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἰπεῖν Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν, ὁ
Σιμωνίδης, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν' περὶ δὲ τῶν
μισθοφόρων ἑχεις τι εἰπεῖν, ός μὴ μισεῖσθαι δι’

¹ προτιθεμένων Cobot: προτεθεμένων S. with the MSS.
competition is conspicuous by its absence, would make great progress if prizes were offered for the farm or the village that can show the best cultivation, and many good results would follow for those citizens who threw themselves vigorously into this occupation. For apart from the consequent increase in the revenues, sobriety far more commonly goes with industry; and remember, vices rarely flourish among the fully employed. If commerce also brings gain to a city, the award of honours for diligence in business would attract a larger number to a commercial career. And were it made clear that the discovery of some way of raising revenue without hurting anyone will also be rewarded, this field of research too would not be unoccupied. In a word, once it becomes clear in every department that any good suggestion will not go unrewarded, many will be encouraged by that knowledge to apply themselves to some promising form of investigation. And when there is a wide-spread interest in useful subjects, an increase of discovery and achievement is bound to come.

"In case you fear, Hiero, that the cost of offering prizes for many subjects may prove heavy, you should reflect that no commodities are cheaper than those that are bought for a prize. Think of the large sums that men are induced to spend on horse-races, gymnastic and choral competitions, and the long course of training and practice they undergo for the sake of a paltry prize."

X. "Well, Simonides," said Hiero, "I think you are right in saying that. But what about the mercenaries? Can you tell me how to employ them without incurring unpopularity? Or do you
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αὐτοὺς; ἥ λέγεις, ὡς φίλιαν κτησάμενος ἀρχῶν οὐδὲν ἐτὶ δεήσεται δορυφόρων;

2 Ναὶ μὰ Δία, εἴπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεήσεται μὲν οὖν ὁδόν. οἶδα γὰρ, ὅτι ὅσπερ ἐν ἕπτοις οὕτως καὶ ἐν ἄνθρω- ποις τισίν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσῳ ἄν ἔκπιεα τὰ δέουντα

3 ἔχοσι, τοσοῦτοι ὑβριστοτέροι εἶναι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιούτους μᾶλλον ἃν σωφρονέσθω ὁ ἄπο τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἃν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαύτα ὑφελήματα

4 παρασχεῖν δορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων. τρέφεις μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς σαυτῷ φύλακας; ἢδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δεσπόται βία ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων ἀπέθανον. εἰ οὖν ἐν πρὸτον τούτ' εἰη τῶν προστεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ὡς πάντων οὐτὰς δορυφόρους τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν πᾶσιν, ἂν τι τοιούτοι αἰσθάνωνται μιμητοῖς νόμον ἄπο ποιν, ὡς πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, κακοῦργοι ἐν πόλεις εἰ τὸν οὐν καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν εἰεν τεταγμένοι, καὶ τούτ' ἄν εἰδεῖεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑφελοῦμενοι.

5 πρὸς δὲ τούτους καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐργάταις καὶ κτήνεσιν οὕτως ἃν εἰκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ ἀσφάλειαν δύναντο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὡμοίως μὲν τοῖς σοῖς ἱδίοις, ὡμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν. ἰκανοὶ γε μὴν εἰσὶ καὶ σχολὴν παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταῖς τῶν ἱδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπὶ-

6 καίρα φυλάττοντες. πρὸς δὲ τούτους καὶ πο- λεμιῶν ἔφοδους κρυφαίας καὶ ἐξαιπναίας τίνες ἐτοιμότεροι ἤ προαιρεσθέσθαι ἤ κωλύσαι τῶν ἀεὶ ἐν ὁπλοῖς τε ὁντῶν καὶ συντεταγμένων; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν στρατείᾳ τί ἐστὶν ὑφελιμῶτερον πολι-
HIERO, x. 1-6

say that a ruler, once he becomes popular, will have no further need of a bodyguard?

"No, no, he will need them, of course," said Simonides. "For I know that some human beings are like horses—the more they get what they want, the more unruly they are apt to become. The way to manage men like that is to put the fear of the bodyguard into them. And as for the gentlemen, you can probably confer greater benefits on them by employing mercenaries than by any other means. For I presume that you maintain the force primarily to protect yourself. But masters have often been murdered by their slaves. If therefore the first duty enjoined on the mercenaries were to act as the bodyguard of the whole community and render help to all, in case they got wind of any such intention—there are black sheep in every fold, as we all know—I say, if they were under orders to guard the citizens as well as the depot, the citizens would know that this is one service rendered to them by the mercenaries. Nor is this all: for naturally the mercenaries would also be able to give fearlessness and security in the fullest measure to the labourers and cattle in the country, and the benefit would not be confined to your own estates, but would be felt up and down the countryside. Again, they are competent to afford the citizens leisure for attending to their private affairs by guarding the vital positions. Besides, should an enemy plan a secret and sudden attack, what handier agents can be found for detecting or preventing their design than a standing force, armed and organized? Or once more, when the citizens go campaigning, what is more useful to them than mer-
ταῖς μισθοφόρων; τούτους γὰρ προπονεῖν καὶ προκινδυνεῦειν καὶ προφυλάττειν εἰκὸς ἑτοιμ- 
7 τάτους εἶναι. τὰς δὲ ἀγχιτέρμονας πόλεις οὐκ ἀνάγκη διὰ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐν ὄπλοις ὑπαταὶ καὶ εἰρήνης 
μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οἱ γὰρ συντεταγμένοι καὶ σώζειν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα καὶ σφάλλειν τὰ 
8 τῶν πολεμίων δύναις τ’ ἀυ. ὅταν γε μὴν γνώσιν 
οἱ πολίται, ὅτι οὗτοι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι 
τὸν μηδὲν ἄδικοντα, τοὺς δὲ κακουργεῖν βουλομέ- 
nους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἄδικομένοις, 
προνοοῦσι δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν πολιτῶν, 
πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ δαπανῶν εἰς τούτους ἥδιστα; 
τρέφοντι γοῦν καὶ ἱδία ἐπὶ μείοντο ὑπότων φύλακας. 
XI. Χρή δὲ, ὁ Ἴερων, οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδίων 
κτημάτων ὁκνεῖν δαπανῶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. 
καὶ γὰρ ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνα- 
λούμενα μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ δέον τελείοθαι ἢ τὰ 
2 εἰς τὸ ἱδιόν ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ. καθ’ ἐν δὲ ἐκαστοῦ 
σκοπῶμεν. οἰκίαιν πρὸτον ὑπερβαλλοῦσῃ δα- 
pάνῃ κεκαλλωπισμένην μᾶλλον ἵππῃ κόσμον ἃν 
σοι παρέχειν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τείχεσί τε καὶ 
ναοὺς καὶ παστάσι 1 καὶ ἄγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι 
3 κατεσκευασμένην; ὅπλοις δὲ πότερον τοῖς ἐκπα- 
γλοτάτοις αὐτὸς κατακεκοσμημένος δεινότερος 
ἀν φαῦνοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης 
4 εὐόπλου σοι οὖσης; προσόδους δὲ ποτέρως ἃν 
δοκεῖς πλείονας γίγνεσθαι, εἰ τὰ σὰ ἱδία μόνον 
ἐνεργὰ ἔχοις ἢ εἰ τὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν 
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cenaries? For these are, as a matter of course, the readiest to bear the brunt of toil and danger and watching. And must not those who possess a standing force impose on border states a strong desire for peace? For nothing equals an organized body of men, whether for protecting the property of friends or for thwarting the plans of enemies. Further, when the citizens get it into their heads that these troops do no harm to the innocent and hold the would-be malefactor in check, come to the rescue of the wronged, care for the citizens and shield them from danger, surely they are bound to pay the cost of them with a right good-will. At all events they keep guards in their homes for less important objects than these.

XI. “Nor should you hesitate to draw on your private property, Hiero, for the common good. For in my opinion the sums that a great despot spends on the city are more truly necessary expenses than the money he spends on himself. But let us go into details. First, which do you suppose is likely to bring you more credit, to own a palace adorned with priceless objects of art, or to have the whole city garnished with walls and temples and verandahs and market-places and harbours? Which will make you look more terrible to the enemy, to dazzle all beholders with your own glittering panoply, or to present the whole of your people in goodly armour? Which plan, think you, will yield revenues more abounding, to keep only your own capital employed, or to contrive to bring the capital of all the citizens

\[1 \text{παστάς} \text{ rests on the authority of Pollux: παστάς with the MSS.}\]
5 μενηχανημένος εἶης ἐνεργὰ εἶναι; τὸ δὲ πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον νομιζόμενον εἶναι ἐπειτήδευμα ἀρματοτροφίαν ποτέρως ἄν δοκεῖς μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν, εἰ αὐτὸς πλείστα τῶν Ἕλληνων ἀρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμπτοις εἰς τὰς πανηγυρεῖς ἢ εἰ ἐκ τῆς σῆς πόλεως πλείστοι μὲν ἵπποτρόφοι εἴεν, πλείστοι δ᾿ ἀγωνίζοντο; νικῶν δὲ πότερα δοκεῖς κάλλιον εἶναι ἀρματος ἀρετῆ ἢ πόλεως, ἢς προστατεύεις, εὐδαίμονία;

6 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὖδὲ προσήκειν φημὶ ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι. νικῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιο, ἀλλὰ φθονοῖο, ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἴκων τὰς δαπάνας ποιοῦμενος, νικῶμενος δ᾿ ἄν

7 πάντων μάλιστα καταγελό. ἀλλ᾿ ἐγὼ σοὶ φημὶ, ὁ Ἰέρων, πρὸς ἄλλους προστάτας πόλεων τῶν ἀγώνα εἶναι, ὅν ἐὰν σὺ εὐδαιμονεστάτην τὴν πόλιν, ἢς προστατεύεις, παρέχης, εὗ ἵεθι νικῶν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατῳ ἐν

8 ἀνθρώποις ἀγωνίζεσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς κατεργασμένος ἄν εἶης τὸ φιλείσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιμένων, οὐ δὴ σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν τυγχάνεις ἐπειτα δὲ τὴν σὴν νίκην οὐκ ἄν εἰς εἰη ὁ ἀνακηρύττων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀνθρώποι ὑμνοῦει ἄν τὴν σὴν ἀρετῆν.

9 περίβλεπτος δὲ ἄν οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν πόλεων ἀγαπό ἄν καὶ θαυμαστός οὐκ ἰδία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσία παρὰ

10 πάσην ἄν εἶης, καὶ ἐξείη μὲν ἄν σοι ἔνεκεν ἀσφαλείας, εἵ ποι βούλοιο, θεωρήσοντι πορεύεσθαι, ἐξείη δ᾿ ἄν αὐτοῦ μένοντι τοῦτο πράττειν.
into employment? And what about the breeding of chariot horses, commonly considered the noblest and grandest business in the world? By which method do you think you will gain most credit for that, if you out-do all other Greeks in the number of teams you breed and send to the festivals, or if the greatest number of breeders and the greatest number of competitors are drawn from your city? And how is the nobler victory gained, by the excellence of your team, or by the prosperity of the city of which you are the head? Indeed my own opinion is that it is not even seemly for a great despot to compete with private citizens. For your victory would excite envy rather than admiration, on the ground that many estates supply the money that you spend, and no defeat would be greeted with so much ridicule as yours. I tell you, Hiero, you have to compete with other heads of states, and if you cause your state to surpass theirs in prosperity, be well assured that you are the victor in the noblest and grandest competition in the world. And in the first place you will forthwith have secured just what you really want, the affection of your subjects. Secondly, your victory will not be proclaimed by one herald's voice, but all the world will tell of your virtue. The observed of all observers' eyes, you will be a hero, not only to private citizens, but to many states: you will be admired not only in your home, but in public among all men. And you will be free to go wherever you choose, so far as safety is concerned, to see the sights, and equally free to enjoy them in your

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1 But εὖ ταῦτα is not right. All the MSS. have εὖ έσεί, which perhaps conceals εἰδαλμῶν έσεί, “you will be happy, being the victor.”
XENOPHON

(continuation)

"Ωστε ού μόνον φιλοί ἂν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔρφο ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς οὐ πειρᾶν, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι ἂν σὲ δέοι, φὸβον δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλ’ ἄλλοις παρέχοις, μή τι πάθης, ἐκόντας δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους ἔχοις ἂν καὶ ἑθελοῦσίς σου προνοοῦντας θεῷ ἂν, εἰ δὲ τις κίνδυνος εἴη, οὐ συμμάχους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχους καὶ προθύμους ὀρφής ἂν, πολλῶν μὲν δωρεῶν ἄξιούμενος, οὐκ ἄπορων δὲ, ὅτω τούτων εὑμενει ἰπαθώσεις, πάντας μὲν συγχαίροντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοὶς ἀγαθῶις, πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὀστερ πῶς τῶν ἰδίων μαχομένους. θεσαυροὺς γε μὴν ἔχοις ἂν πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους.

'Αλλὰ θαρρῶν, ὦ Ἰέρων, πλουτίζε μὲν τοὺς φίλους· σαντόν γὰρ πλούτιεις· αὐξε δὲ τὴν πόλιν· σαντῷ γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῶ δὲ αὐτῇ συμμάχους... νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οἴκον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἑταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὀτιπερ τὴν σῆν ψυχὴν, καὶ τούτους πάντας πειρῶ νικῶν εὐ 14 ποιῶν. εὰν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους κρατῆς εὐ ποιῶν οὐ μὴ σοι δύνωνται ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμουι.

Κἂν ταῦτα πάντα ποιῆς, εὐ ἱσθι πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον κτῆμα κεκτήσῃ. εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ οὐ φθονήσῃς.

1 Weiske indicates a lacuna here: S. does not.
home; for you will have a throng of aspirants before you, some eager to display something wise or beautiful or good, others longing to serve you. Everyone present will be an ally, everyone absent will long to see you.

"Thus you will be not only the loved, but the adored of mankind. You will need not to court the fair, but to listen patiently to their suit. Anxiety for your welfare will fall not on yourself, but on others. You will have the willing obedience of your subjects; you will mark their unsolicited care for you; and should any danger arise, you will find in them not merely allies, but champions and zealots.\(^1\) Accounted worthy of many gifts, and at no loss for some man of goodwill with whom to share them, you will find all rejoicing in your good fortune, all fighting for your interests, as though they were their own. And all the riches in the houses of your friends will be yours in fee.

"Take heart then, Hiero; enrich your friends, for so you will enrich yourself. Exalt the state, for so you will deck yourself with power. Get her allies [for so you will win supporters for yourself]. Account the fatherland your estate, the citizens your comrades, friends your own children, your sons possessions dear as life. And try to surpass all these in deeds of kindness. For if you out-do your friends in kindness, it is certain that your enemies will not be able to resist you.

"And if you do all these things, rest assured that you will be possessed of the fairest and most blessed possession in the world; for none will be jealous of your happiness."

\(^1\) Or 'champions full of zeal.' The *æai* is not free from suspicion.
ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ

1. Οίδα μεν, ὑπ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ
dόξης οὐράδιον ἄξιον ἑπανων γράψαι, ὡμος
ἄγγεληρητεών· οὐ γὰρ ἄν καλῶς ἔχει, εἰ ὦτι
tελέως ἀνήρ ἄγαθος ἐγένετο, διὰ τούτο οὐδὲ
μειῶνων τυγχάνοι ἑπαίνων.

2. Περὶ μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ τί ἀν τις μειζόν
καὶ κάλλιον εἶπεῖν ἔχει ἢ ὅτι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς
προγόνοις ὀνομαζόμενοι ἀπομνημονεύεται, ὁπόσ-
tος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο, καὶ τούτοις οὐκ

3 ἰδιώταις, ἀλλ' ἐκ βασιλέων βασιλεὺσιν; ἀλλὰ
μὴν οὐδὲ ταύτη γ' ἀν τις ἔχει καταμέμψασθαι
αὐτοὺς, ἡς βασιλεύουσι μὲν, πόλεως δὲ τῆς
ἐπιτυχούσης. ἀλλ' ὠσπέρ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς
πατρίδος ἐντιμῶσαν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ
Ἑλλάδι εὐδοξότατή· ὥστε οὐ δευτέρων πρώ-

τεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνων ἡγεμονεύουσι. τῇ δὲ
μὴν καὶ κοινῇ ἄξιον ἑπανέσαι τήν τε πατρίδα
καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ. ἢ τε γὰρ πόλις οὐδεπόπτε
θουνήσασα τοῦ προτετιμήσας αὐτοὺς ἐπεχεί-
ρησε καταλύσαι τὴν ἄρχην αὐτῶν οἳ τε βασιλεῖς
οὐδεπώπτε μειζόνων ὁρέχθησαν ἢ ἐφ' ὀσπέρ
ἐξ ἄρχης τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβον. τοιγαροῦν
ἀλλή μὲν οὐδεμία ἄρχη φανερὰ ἐστὶ διαγεγενη-
mένη ἀδιάσπαστος οὕτε δημοκρατία οὕτε ὀλι-
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AGESILAUS

I. I know how difficult it is to write an appreciation of Agesilaus that shall be worthy of his virtue and glory. Nevertheless the attempt must be made. For it would not be seemly that so good a man, just because of his perfection, should receive no tributes of praise, however inadequate.

Now concerning his high birth what greater and nobler could be said than this, that even to-day the line of his descent from Heracles is traced through the roll of his ancestors, and those no simple citizens, but kings and sons of kings? Nor are they open to the reproach that though they were kings, they ruled over a petty state. On the contrary, as their family is honoured above all in their fatherland, so is their state glorious above all in Greece; thus they are not first in the second rank, but leaders in a community of leaders. On one account his fatherland and his family are worthy to be praised together, for never at any time has the state been moved by jealousy of their pre-eminence to attempt the overthrow of their government, and never at any time have the kings striven to obtain greater powers than were conferred on them originally at their succession to the throne. For this reason, while no other government—democracy, oligarchy, despotism or kingdom—

1 Agesilaus was twenty-fifth in line of descent from Heracles (Herodotus, viii. 131; Plutarch, Lycurgus, c. i; Agesilaus, c. i).
XENOPHON

gαρχία οὕτε τυραννὶς οὕτε βασιλεία: αὐτή δὲ
μόνη διαμένει συνεχῆς βασιλεία.
5 'Ὅς γε μὴν καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι ἄξιος τῆς βασιλείας
ἐδόκει εἶναι Ἀγησίλαος, τάδε τὰ σημεῖα. ἐπεὶ
γὰρ Ἀγίς βασιλεὺς ὤν ἐπελεύθησεν, ἐρισάντων
περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Δεωτυχίδα μὲν ὡς 'Αγίδος ὄντος
ὑποῦ, Ἀγησιλάος δὲ ὡς 'Αρχιδάμου, κρίνασα ἡ
πόλις ἀνεπικλητότερον εἶναι Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τῷ
γένει καὶ τῇ ἁρετῇ τούτῳ ἐστήσατο βασιλεία.
καίτοι τὸ ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ πόλει ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρίστων
κρυθέντα τοῦ καλλίστου γέρως ἄξιωθῆναι πολὺν
ἐτι τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται τῆς γε πρὶν ἄρξαι
αὐτὸν ἁρετῆς;
6 'Οσα γε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεπράξατο, νῦν
ηδὴ διηγῆσομαι: ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν
τρόπων αὐτοῦ καλλιστα νομίζω καταδύλους
ἐξεσθαί.
'Αγησίλαος τοῖνυν ἔτι μὲν νέος ὃν ἔτυχε τῆς
βασιλείας· ἁρτί δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ,
ἐξηγγέλθη βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἁθροίζον καὶ
ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζὸν πολὺ στράτευμα ὡς ἐπὶ
7 Ἔλληνας: βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ τούτων Δακε-
δαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀγησίλαος
ὑπεστη, ἐὰν δῶσιν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρ-
τιατῶν, δισχίλιως δὲ νεοδαμώδεις, εἰς ἐξακισ-
χίλιον δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, διαβῆ-
σεσθαί εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πειράσσεσθαι εἰρήνην
ποιῆσαι, ἢ ἄν πολεμεῖν βοῦληται ὁ βάρβαρος,
ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ παρέξειν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
8 Ἔλληνας. εὐθὺς μὲν ὅπως τὸν πολλοὶ πάνω ἡγά-
σθησαν αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἐπειδῆ ὁ
Πέρσης πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα διέβη, ἀντι-
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AGESILAUS, i. 4-8

can lay claim to an unbroken existence, this kingdom alone stands fast continually.

However, there are not wanting signs that even 5 before his reign began Agesilaus was deemed worthy to be king. For on the death of King Agis there was a struggle for the throne between Leotychidas, as the son of Agis, and Agesilaus, as the son of Archidamus. The state decided in favour of Agesilaus, judging him to be the more eligible in point of birth and character alike. Surely to have been pronounced worthy of the highest privilege by the best men in the mightiest state is proof sufficient of his virtue, at least before he began to reign.

I will now give an account of the achievements 6 of his reign, for I believe that his deeds will throw the clearest light on his qualities.

Now Agesilaus was still a young man 1 when he gained the throne. He had been but a short time in power when the news leaked out that the king of the Persians was assembling a great navy and army for an attack on the Greeks. While the Lacedaemonians and their allies were considering the matter, Agesilaus declared, that if they would give him thirty Spartans, two thousand newly enrolled citizens, and a contingent of six thousand allies, he would cross to Asia and try to effect a peace, or, in case the barbarian wanted to fight, would keep him so busy that he would have no time for an attack on the Greeks. His eagerness to pay back the 8 Persian in his own coin for the former invasion of Greece, his determination to wage an offensive

1 He was over forty; but see the Introduction.
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diaβήναι ἐπ’ αυτὸν, τὸ τε αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπιόντα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπομένοντα μάχεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τάκεινον δαπανῶντα βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἐλληνῶν πολεμεῖν, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων ἐκρίνετο τὸ μὴ περὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν ἀγώνα καθιστάναι.

9 'Επεί γε μὴν λαβῶν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξεπλευσε, τῶς ἀν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειν, ὡς ἐστρατήγησεν, ἢ εἰ αὐτὰ διηγήσατο ἢ ἐπραξεν; ἐν τούτων τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἦδε πρώτῃ πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. Τισσαφέρης μὲν ὁμοσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, εἰ σπείρα σατο, ἐὼς ἐλθον ποὺς ἐπένειε πρὸς βασιλέα ἀγγέλους, διαπράξεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀφεθῆναι αὐτοῦ-μους τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἐλληνίδας, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ αὐτῶμοσε σπουδάς ἄξειν ἀδόλως, ὁρισάμενος τῆς πράξεως τρεῖς μῆνας. ὁ μὲν δὲ Τισσαφέρης ἃ ὁμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην πράττειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ὃ πρόσθεν εἰχε μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καῖπερ αἰσθόμενος ταῦτα ὁμως ἐνέμεινε ταῖς σπουδαῖς. ἐμοὶ οὖν τοῦτο πρῶτον καλὸν δοκεὶ διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι Τισσαφέρην μὲν ἐμφανίσας ἐπίροκον ἀπιστον πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν, ἐαυτὸν δὲ αντεπιδείξας πρῶτον μὲν ὄρκους ἐμπεδοῦντα, ἐπειτα συνθήκας μὴ ψευδόμενου, πάντας ἐποίησε καὶ Ἐλληνας καὶ Βαρβάρους θαρροῦντας συντίθεσθαι ἐαυτῷ, εἰ τι βούλοιτο.

12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρης ἐπὶ τῷ καταβάντι στρατεύματι προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἄπιοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μᾶλα ἀχθεσθέντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες μείονα 64
rather than a defensive war, and his wish to make the enemy pay for it rather than the Greeks, were enough to arouse an immediate and widespread enthusiasm for his project. But what appealed most to the imagination was the idea of entering on a struggle not to save Greece, but to subdue Asia.

And what of his strategy after he had received the army and had sailed out? A simple narrative of his actions will assuredly convey the clearest impression of it. This, then, was his first act in Asia. Tissaphernes had sworn the following oath to Agesilaus: “If you will arrange an armistice to last until the return of the messengers whom I will send to the King, I will do my utmost to obtain independence for the Greek cities in Asia”; and Agesilaus on his part had sworn to observe the armistice honestly, allowing three months for the transaction. What followed? Tissaphernes forthwith broke his oath, and instead of arranging a peace, applied to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. As for Agesilaus, though well aware of this, he none the less continued to keep the armistice. I think, therefore, that here we have his first noble achievement. By showing up Tissaphernes as a perjurer, he made him distrusted everywhere; and, contrariwise, by proving himself to be a man of his word and true to his agreements, he encouraged all, Greeks and barbarians alike, to enter into an agreement with him whenever he wished it.

The arrival of the new army emboldened Tissaphernes to send an ultimatum to Agesilaus, threatening war unless he withdrew from Asia; and the allies and the Lacedaemonians present made no concealment of their chagrin, believing that the
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tὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν Ἀγησιλάω τῆς βασιλέως
παρασκευὴς εἶναι: Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μᾶλα φαινόμενον
προσώπῳ ἀπαγγέλλας τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ τοὺς
πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῶ ἔχοι,
ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολέμιον τοὺς θεοὺς
ἐκτίσατο, τοῖς δ' "Ελλησὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησεν.

14 ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιῶταις παρ-
ήγαγε πυκνοῦσα συσκευάζωμαι ὡς εἰσὶ στρατεύειν ταῖς
dὲ πόλεσιν, εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρα-
τευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρα-
sκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ιωσι καὶ Αἰσολεύσι
καὶ Ἐλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς
"Εφεσὸν τοὺς συστρατευσόμενους.

15 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἵππικον οὐκ
ἐίχεν ο̄ Ἀγησίλαος, ἢ δὲ Καρία ἀφιππος ἦν,
καὶ ὅτι ἤγείτο αὐτὸν ὁργίζοπθαί αὐτώ διὰ τὴν
ἀπάτην, τῷ ὅντι νομίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν οἴκον εἰς
Καρίαν ὀρμήσειν αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἀπαν-
dειβίβασεν ἐκείσε, τὸ δὲ ἵππικον εἰς τὸ Μαι-
άνδρον πεδίον" περιήγαγε, νομίζων οἰκῶν εἶναι
καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἰππῳ τοὺς" Ἐλλήνας πρὶν εἰς τὰ

16 δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὃ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ
ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἵναι εὐθὺς ἀντιστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας
ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τὰς τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας
dυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἤγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατε-
stρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως παμπληθή
χρήματα ἐλαβε.}

17 Στρατηγικοὺς οὖν καὶ τούτῳ ἐδοκεὶ διαπρά-
ξασθαι, ὅτι ἐπεὶ πόλεμος προερρήθη καὶ τὸ
ἐξαπατῶν ὅσιόν τε καὶ δίκαιον εὖ ἐκείνου ἐγένετο,
παῦτα ἀπέδειξε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην τῇ ἀπάτῃ.
φρονίμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἐδοξεὶ πλου-

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strength of Agesilaus was weaker than the Persian king's armament. But Agesilaus with a beaming face bade the envoys of Tissaphernes inform their master that he was profoundly grateful to him for his perjury, by which he had gained the hostility of the gods for himself and had made them allies of the Greeks. Without a moment's delay he gave the word to his troops to pack up in preparation for a campaign, and warned the cities that lay on the lines of march to Caria to have their markets ready stocked. He advised by letter the Greeks of Ionia, the Aeolid and the Hellespont, to send their contingents for the campaign to his headquarters at Ephesus.

Now Tissaphernes reflected that Agesilaus was without cavalry, while Caria was a difficult country for mounted men, and he thought that Agesilaus was wroth with him on account of his deceit. Concluding, therefore, that his estate in Caria was the real object of the coming attack, he sent the whole of his infantry across to that district and took his cavalry round into the plain of the Maeander, confident that he could ride down the Greeks before they reached the country where cavalry could not operate. But instead of marching on Caria, Agesilaus forthwith turned round and made for Phrygia. Picking up the various forces that met him on the route, he proceeded to reduce the cities and captured a vast quantity of booty by sudden attacks.

This achievement also was thought to be a proof of sound generalship, that when war was declared and cozening in consequence became righteous and fair dealing, he showed Tissaphernes to be a child at deception. It was thought, too, that he made shrewd
18 τίσαι· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ χρήματα εἰλήφθαι ἀντίπροικα τὰ πάντα ἐπικόλειτο, τοῖς μὲν φίλοις προείπεν ὁνείσθαι, εἰπὼν ὅτι καταβῆσιντο ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐν τάχει τὸ στράτευμα κατάγων· τοὺς δὲ λαφυροπώλας ἐκέλευσε γραφομένους, ὅπόσου τι πράιωντο, προῖεσθαι τὰ χρήματα. ὡστε οὐδὲν προτελέσαντες οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τὸ δημόσιον βλάψαντες πάντες παμπληθῇ χρήματα ἐλαβον.

19 ἔτι δὲ ὅποτε αὐτόμολοι, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς βασιλέα ἱόντες χρήματα ἔθελοιν ύφηγεῖσθαι, καὶ ταύτα ἐπεμέλετο ὡς διὰ τῶν ἄλων ἀλίσκοιτο, ὅπως ἀμα μὲν χρηματίζοιντο, ἀμα δὲ ἐνδοξότεροι γίγνοιντο. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτα εὐθὺς πολλοὺς ἔραστάς τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλίας ἐποίησατο.

20 Γεγυώσκων δ' ὅτι ἡ μὲν πορθομένη καὶ ἐρημουμένη χώρα οὐκ ἂν δύνατο πολὺν χρόνον στράτευμα φέρειν, ἡ δ' οἰκουμένη μὲν σπειρομένη δὲ ἀέναον ἂν τὴν τροφὴν παρέχοι, ἐπεμέλετο αὐ μόνον τοῦ βία χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πραύτητι προσάγεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν προηγόρευεν τοῖς στρατιώταις τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους μὴ ὡς ἀδίκους τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνθρώπους ὄντας φυλάττειν, πολλάκις δὲ ὅποτε μεταστρατοπεδεύοιτο, εἰ αἰσθοῖτο καταλειμένα παιδάρια μικρὰ¹ ἐμπόρων, ἀ πολλοὶ ἐπώλουν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μὴ δύνασθαι ἂν φέρειν αὐτά καὶ τρέφειν, ἐπεμέλετο καὶ τούτων ὅπως συγκομίζοιντο ποι. τοῖς δ' ἂν διὰ γῆρας καταλει-

¹ μικρὰ MSS.: παρὰ S. with Reuchlin.
use of this occasion to enrich his friends. For the accumulation of plunder was so great that things were selling for next to nothing. So he gave his friends the word to buy, saying that he was shortly going down to the coast with his army. The auctioneers were ordered to have a schedule made of the prices obtained and to give delivery of the goods. Thus without capital outlay, and without any loss to the treasury, all his friends made a prodigious amount of money. Further, whenever deserters offered to give information where plunder might be taken, they naturally went to the king. In such a case he took care that the capture should be effected by his friends, so that they might at one and the same time make money and add to their laurels. The immediate result was that he had many ardent suitors for his friendship.

Recognizing that a country plundered and depopulated could not long support an army, whereas an inhabited and cultivated land would yield inexhaustible supplies, he took pains not only to crush his enemies by force, but also to win them over by gentleness. He would often warn his men not to punish their prisoners as criminals, but to guard them as human beings; and often when shifting camp, if he noticed little children, the property of merchants, left behind—many merchants offered children for sale because they thought they would not be able to carry and feed them—he looked after them too, and had them conveyed to some place of refuge. Again, he arranged that prisoners

1 Where the goods would be re-sold at a profit.
2 The dealers often failed to find a buyer and consequently abandoned these captured children.
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πομένοις αὐχμαλώτοις προσέταττεν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ κυνῶν μηθ' ὑπὸ λύκων διαφθείρουτο. ὅστε οὐ μόνον οἱ πυθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄλισκόμενοι εὐμενεῖς αὐτῷ ἔγινοντο. ὁπόσας δὲ πόλεις προσαγάγοιτο, ἀφαίρων αὐτῶν ὁσα δοῦλοι δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσι, προσέταττεν ὁσα ἐλεύθεροι ἀρχουσι πεῖθονται καὶ τῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀναλώτων τειχέων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἐποιεῖτο.

23 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἄνα τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἐδύνατο στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρμαβάζου ἰππείαν, ἐδοξέεν αὐτῷ ἰππικὸν κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι αὐτῶν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλουσιώτατους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ

24 πόλεων ἰπποπτροφεῖν κατέλεξε. προείπε δὲ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἰππὸν καὶ ὀπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὡς ἐξησοῖτο αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως ἐκαστὸν προθύμως ταῦτα πράττειν, ὡσπερ ἃν τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανοῦμενον προθύμως μαστείο. ἡτάξε ὅτε καὶ πόλεις, ἔξ ὁν δέοι τοὺς ἰππέας παρασκευάξειν, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν ἰπποτρόφων πόλεων εὐθὺς καὶ φρονηματίας μάλιστα ἃν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰππική γενέσθαι. καὶ τούτ' οὖν ἀγαςτῶς ἐδοξεῖ πράξαι, ὅτι κατεσκεύαστο τὸ ἰππικὸν αὐτῷ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένον ἦν καὶ ἑνεργόν.

25 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔστρεψεν, συνήγαγε πάν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἐφεσοὺ. ὁσκῆσαι δὲ 1 αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἄθλα προύθηκε καὶ ταῖς ἰππικαίς τάξεσιν, ἢτις κράτιστα ἰππεύοι, καὶ ταῖς ὀπλιτι-

1 The MSS. of the Hellenica have ἐ here: the MSS. have Καὶ here: ἐ δὲ καὶ S.
of war who were too old to accompany the army were to be looked after, that they might not fall a prey to dogs or wolves. It thus came about that he won the goodwill not only of those who heard of these facts, but even of the prisoners themselves. In his settlement with the cities that he won over, he invariably excused them from all servile duties and required only such obedience as freemen owe to their rulers; and by his clemency he made himself master of fortresses impregnable to assault.

However, since a campaign in the plains was impossible even in Phrygia, owing to Pharnabazus' cavalry, he decided that he must raise a mounted force, if he was to avoid continually running away from the enemy. He therefore enrolled the wealthiest men in all the cities thereabouts as breeders of horses, and issued a proclamation that anyone who supplied a horse and arms and an efficient man should be exempt from personal service. In this way he brought it about that every one of them carried out these requirements with the zeal of a man in quest of someone to die in his stead. He also specified cities that were to furnish contingents of cavalry, feeling sure that from the horse-breeding cities riders proud of their horsemanship would be forthcoming. This again was considered an admirable stroke on his part, that no sooner had he raised his cavalry than it became a powerful body ready for action.

At the first sign of spring he collected the whole of his forces at Ephesus. With a view to their training he offered prizes for the cavalry squadron that rode best, and for the company of heavy in-

1 395 B.C.
καὶς, ἦτις ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχου καὶ πελτασταῖς
dὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἀθλα προὐθηκεν, οὕτως κράτιστοι
tὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φαίνοιτο: ἐκ τούτου δὲ
παρῆν ὅραν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια μεστὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
γυμναζομένων, τὸν δὲ ἵπποδρομον ἱππεῶν ἱππα-
ζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας

26 ἐπὶ στόχον ἑντας. ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν,
ἐν ἣ ἦν, θέας ἐποίησεν. ἡ τε γὰρ ἄγορὰ μεστὴ
ἡν παντοδαπῶν καὶ ὄπλων καὶ ἱππῶν ὑμίων οἱ
τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς
καὶ οἱ σκυτεῖς καὶ οἱ γραφεῖς πάντες πολεμικὰ
ὁπλα κατεσκεύαζον· ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ὅντως ἄν

27 ἡγίσῳ πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι. ἐπέρρωσθη
d᾽ ἀν τις κάκεινο ἱδὼν, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον,
ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστε-
φανωμένους τε, ὅπου ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἱοιεν,
καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.
ὁποὺ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖς θεοὺς μὲν σέβοιε, πολεμικὰ
δὲ ἁσκοῖε, πειθαρχῶν δὲ μελετῶν, πῶς οὐκ
eἰκὸς ἑνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν

28 εἶναι; ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν
πολεμίων ῥωμῆν τινὰ ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι
προείπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἄλλο-
κομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν. ὀρῶντες
οὐν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέτερο
ἐκδύσθαι, πίονας δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἄει ἐπ'
ὀχυμάτων εἶναι ἐνόμισαν μηδὲν διοίσειν τὸν
πολέμου ἥ ἐγ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι.

Προείπε δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὡς

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AGESILAUS, 1. 25-28

fantry that reached the highest level of physical fitness. He also offered prizes to the targeteers and the archers who showed the greatest efficiency in their particular duties. Thereupon one might see every gymnasion crowded with the men exercising, the racecourse thronged with cavalrymen riding, and the javelin-men and archers shooting at the mark. Indeed he made the whole city in which he was quartered a sight to see. For the market was full of arms and horses of all sorts on sale, and the coppersmiths, carpenters, workers in iron, cobblers, and painters were all busy making weapons of war, so that you might have thought that the city was really a war factory. And an inspiring sight it would have been to watch Agesilaus and all his soldiers behind him returning garlanded from the gymnasion and dedicating their garlands to Artemis. For where men reverence the gods, train themselves in warfare and practise obedience, there you surely find high hopes abounding. Moreover, believing that contempt for the enemy would kindle the fighting spirit, he gave instructions to his heralds that the barbarians captured in the raids should be exposed for sale naked. So when his soldiers saw them white because they never stripped, and fat and lazy through constant riding in carriages, they believed that the war would be exactly like fighting with women.

He also gave notice to the troops that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route to the most fertile parts of the country, so that he might at once find them preparing themselves in body and
μενοι. ο ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμησε λέγειν αὐτῶν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπατῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τὸ ὁµτὶ ἐµβάλειν. τὸ τε οὖν πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον κατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐµφεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὀσπερ προείπεν, εὐθὺς εἰς τὰν Σαρδιανὸν τὸτεν ἐχώρησε, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡµέρας δὲ ἐρηµίας πολεµίων πορευόµενος πολλά τὰ ἐπιτηδεία τῇ στρατιᾷ παρείχε; τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡµέρᾳ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεµίων ἱππεῖς, καὶ τῷ µὲν ἀρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεµών διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταµὸν στρατοπεδεύσθαι αὐτοῖς δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἑσπαρµένους καὶ ἀρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόµενος δὲ ο Ἀγησίλαος θαυµαθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππέας. οἱ δ' αὐτὸς Ἡρακλῆι ἕως εἰδον τὴν θωρύθησαν καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο παµπληθέσι τῶν ἱππέων τάξειν. ἐνθα δὴ ο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιγνώσκων, ὅτι τοῖς µὲν πολεµίωσ οὐπω παρεῖν τὸ πεζὸν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπειν τῶν παρεσκευασµένων, καὶ ρόδον ἡγήσατο μάχῃ συναύσαι, εἶ δύνατον. σφαγιασµένος οὐν τὴν µὲν φάλαγγα εὐθὺς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγµένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἄφ' ἡβης θείων ὀµόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόµῳ υψηγεύσαται: παρῆγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἐµβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῖς τε καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύµατος ἐποµένου. τοὺς µὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν Περσῶν: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅµα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐνέκλιναν καὶ

1 eis is added from Hellenica iii. iv. 21: S. adds ἐπὶ.
AGESILAUS, i. 28-32

mind for the coming struggle. Tissaphernes, however, believed that in saying this he meant to deceive him again, and that now he would really invade Caria. Accordingly he sent his infantry across into Caria as before, and stationed his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. But Agesilaus did not play false: in accordance with his notice he marched straight to the neighbourhood of Sardis; and for three days his route lay through a country bare of enemies, so that he supplied his army with abundance of provisions. On the fourth day the enemy’s cavalry came up. Their leader told the officer in command of the baggage-train to cross the river Pactolus and encamp. The cavalry, meantime, catching sight of the Greek camp-followers plundering in scattered bands, killed a large number of them. On noticing this, Agesilaus ordered his cavalry to go to their help. The Persians in turn, seeing the supports coming, gathered in a mass and confronted them with the full strength of their horse. Then Agesilaus, realising that the enemy’s infantry was not yet up, while he had all his resources on the spot, thought the moment was come to join battle if he could. Therefore, after offering sacrifice, he led forward the battle line immediately against the opposing cavalry, the heavy infantrymen of ten years service having orders to run to close quarters with the enemy, while the targeteers were to lead the advance at the double. He also sent word to the cavalry to attack in the knowledge that he himself was following with the whole army. The charge of the cavalry was met by the flower of the Persians: but as soon as the full weight of the attack fell on them, they swayed, and
οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὑρὸς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ἀλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ἐπόμενοι αἱροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐφ’ ἀρπαγὴν ἐτρέποντο· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐχὼν κύκλω πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο.

33 Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε τοὺς πολεμίους ταράττεσθαι διὰ τὸ αὐτίσθαι ἠλλήλους τοῦ γεγενημένου, εὑρὸς ἤγεν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις. κάκει ἄμα μὲν ἔκαιε καὶ ἐπόρθει τὰ περὶ τὸ ἀστυ, ἄμα δὲ καὶ κηρύγματι ἐδῆλον τοὺς μὲν ἑλευθερίας δεσμόνες ὡς πρὸς σύμμαχον αὐτὸν παρεῖναι· εἰ δὲ τινὲς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, πρὸς τοὺς ἑλευθεροῦντας διακρινομένους ἑν ὀπλοῖς παρεῖναι.

34 ἐπεὶ μὲντοι οὐδὲς ἀντεχθηκαί, ἄδεως δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἐστρατεύετο, τοὺς μὲν πρὸςβεν προσκυνεῖν Ἐλληνας ἀναγκαζομένους ὁρῶν τιμωμένους ὑφ’ ὅν ὑβρίζοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἄξιοντας καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καρποῦσας, τούτους ποιήσας μηδὲ ἀντιβλέπειν τοῖς Ἐλλησι δύνασθαι καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν φίλων χώραν ἄδικον παρέχων, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οὕτω καρποῦμενος, ὡστε ἐν δυνόν ἐτοίν πλέον τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων τῷ θεῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς δεκάτην ἀποδύσαι.

35 Ὁ μὲντοι Περσῶν βασιλεὺς νομίζας Τισσαφέρην αὐτίναν εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτὸν Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀπέτεμεν αὐτόν τὴν κεφαλῆν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐτί ἄθυμότερα ἐγένετο, τὰ δὲ Ἀγησι—

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1 The text as corrected by Reiske and Schneider: τὸ ἑλευθεροῦν διακρινομένου S.; τῷ ἑλευθεροῦν τοὺς (οἱ τοὺς) διακρινομένους MSS.
some were cut down immediately in the river, while the rest fled. The Greeks followed up their success and captured their camp. The targetteers naturally fell to pillaging; but Agesilaus drew the lines of his camp round so as to enclose the property of all, friends and foes alike.\textsuperscript{1}

On hearing that there was confusion among the enemy, because everyone put the blame for what had happened on his neighbour, he advanced forthwith on Sardis. There he began burning and pillaging the suburbs, and meantime issued a proclamation calling on those who wanted freedom to join his standard, and challenging any who claimed a right to Asia to seek a decision between themselves and the liberators by an appeal to arms. As no one came out to oppose him, he prosecuted the campaign henceforward in complete confidence: he beheld the Greeks, compelled erstwhile to cringe, now honoured by their oppressors; caused those who arrogantly claimed for themselves the honours paid to the gods to shrink even from looking the Greeks in the face; rendered the country of his friends inviolate, and stripped the enemy's country so thoroughly that in two years he consecrated to the god at Delphi more than two hundred talents as tithe.

But the Persian king, believing that Tissaphernes was responsible for the bad turn in his affairs, sent down Tithraustes and beheaded Tissaphernes. After this the outlook became still more hopeless for the barbarians, while Agesilaus received large accessions

\textsuperscript{1} i.e. he intrenched.
λάον πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα. ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν ἔθνων ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ φιλίας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφίσταντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅρεγόμενοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὡστε οὐκέτι Ἐλλήνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Βαρβάρων πολλῶν ἥγεμων ἦν ὁ Ἀγασίλαος.

36 Ἀξίων γε μὴν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀγασθαί αὐτοῦ, ὅστις ἄρχων μὲν παμπόλλων ἐν τῇ ἤπειρῳ πόλεων, ἄρχοι δὲ καὶ νήσων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προσῆφεν αὐτῷ ἡ πόλις, αὐξανόμενος δὲ καὶ εὐκλεία καὶ δυναμεί, παρὸν δὲ αὐτῷ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς χρησθαί τι ἐβούλετο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπινοοῦν καὶ ἐλπίζουν καταλύσειν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα στρατεύσαντας πρότερον ἄρχην ὅμως ὑπὸ οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐκρατήθη, ἀλλὰ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκου τελῶν βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι, ἐπείθετο τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν διαφέροντος ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ ἐτυχεὶν ἑστηκὼς μόνος παρὰ τοὺς πέντε, μάλα ἐνδήλου ποιῶν, ὡς οὔτε ἄν πᾶσαι τὴν γῆν δεξαίτο ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε τοὺς ἐπικτήτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἄρχαίων φίλων οὔτε οἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀκίνδυνα κέρδη μᾶλλον ἡ μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια.

37 Ὁσον γε μὴν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῇ ἄρχῃ ἔμεινε, πῶς οὐκ ἀξιοπαίνου βασιλέως καὶ τοῦτ' ἔργων ἐπεδείκτο, ὅστις παράλαβὼν πᾶσας πόλεις, ἐφ' ἂς ἄρξων ἐξέπλευσεν, στασιαζούσας διὰ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κινηθῆναι, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναίου τῆς ἄρχης ἐληξαν, ἐποίησεν ὅστ' ἄνευ φυγῆς καὶ θανάτων, ἕως αὐτὸς παρῆν, ὅμονοις πολιτευομένας καὶ εὐδαιμονίας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι; τοιγαροῦν οἱ

1 In the market at Sparta. The Five Ephors sat there daily, and it was in their power to censure the kings.

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of strength. For all the nations of the empire sent embassies seeking his friendship, and the desire for freedom caused many to revolt to him, so that not Greeks alone, but many barbarians also now acknowledged the leadership of Agesilalus.

His conduct at this juncture also merits unstinted admiration. Though ruler of countless cities on the mainland, and master of islands—for the state had now added the fleet to his command—becoming daily more famous and more powerful; placed in a position to make what use he would of his many opportunities; and designing and expecting to crown his achievements by dissolving the empire that had attacked Greece in the past: he suppressed all thought of these things, and as soon as he received a request from the home government to come to the aid of his fatherland, he obeyed the call of the state, just as though he were standing in the Ephors' palace alone before the Five, thus showing clearly that he would not take the whole earth in exchange for his fatherland, nor new-found friends for old, and that he scorned to choose base and secure gains rather than that which was right and honourable, even though it was dangerous.

Throughout the time that he remained in his command, another achievement of his showed beyond question how admirable was his skill in kinglycraft. Having found all the cities that he had gone out to govern rent by faction in consequence of the political disturbances that followed on the collapse of the Athenian empire, he brought it about by the influence of his presence that the communities lived in unbroken harmony and prosperity without recourse to banishment or executions. Therefore the
ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ελληνες οὐχ ὡς ἄρχοντος μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς καὶ ἑταίρου ἀπίοντος αὐτοῦ
ἐλυποῦντο. καὶ τέλος ἐδήλωσαν, ὅτι οὐ πλαστὴν
τὴν φιλίαν παρείχοντο. ἐθελοῦσι γοῦν αὐτῷ
συνεβοήθησαν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ, καὶ ταῦτα εἶδότες,
ὅτι οὐ χείροςιν ἑαυτῶν δεῖσοι μάχεσθαι. τῶν
μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τούτῳ τέλος
ἔγενετο.
Π. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐπορεύετο
dιὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔθνων ὄντερ ὁ Πέρσης τῷ
παμπληθεὶς στόλῳ· καὶ ἦν ἐνιαυσίαν ὄδὸν ὁ
βάρβαρος ἐποίησατο, ταύτην μεῖον ἢ ἐν μηνὶ
cαθήμυσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑστερήσειε
2 τῆς πατρίδος προεδρύμενο. ἔτει δὲ ἕξαμενίας
Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο, Λαρισαίοι μὲν
καὶ Κραννώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι
σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βαυστοῖς καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοὶ
πλὴν ὃςοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες ἑτύγχανον,
ἐκακούργων οὕτως ἐφεπόμενοι. οὐ δὲ τέως μὲν
ἡγεν ἐν πλασίῳ τὸ στρατεύμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν
ἐμπροσθεῖν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δὲ ἐπὶ οὐρὰν ἔχον τῶν
ἰππέων ἔτει δ’ ἐκώλυν τῆς πορείας αὐτῶν οἱ
Θετταλοὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοὺς ὀπίσθεν, παραπέμπει
ἐπὶ οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀτό τοῦ προηγομένου στρα-
3 τεύματος ἐπιτικών πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν.
ὡς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἄλληλοι, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ, νομί-
σαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας
ἰππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν· οἱ δὲ
μάλα σωφρόνως ἐφείποντο. γινοῦσ’ ὁ Ἀγησί-
λαος ἃ ἐκάτεροι ἠμάρτανον παραπέμπει τοὺς
ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν μᾶλ’ εὐρύστους ἱππέας καὶ κελεύει
τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοῖς διώκειν
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Greeks in Asia mourned his departure as though they were bidding farewell not merely to a ruler, but to a father or a comrade. And at the end they showed that their affection was unfeigned. At any rate they went with him voluntarily to aid Sparta, knowing as they did that they must meet an enemy not inferior to themselves. This then was the end of his activities in Asia.

II. After crossing the Hellespont, he passed through the very same tribes as the Persian king with his mighty host; and the distance that had been traversed by the barbarian in a year was covered by Agesilaus in less than a month. For he had no intention of arriving too late to aid his fatherland. When he had passed through Macedonia and reached Thessaly, the people of Larisa, Crannon, Scotussa and Pharsalus, who were allies of the Boeotians, all the Thessalians, in fact, except those who happened to be in exile at the time, followed at his heels and kept molesting him. For a time he led the army in a hollow square, with one half of the cavalry in front and the other half in the rear; but finding his progress hampered by Thessalian attacks on his rearguard, he sent round all the cavalry from the vanguard to the rear, except his own escort. When the two forces faced one another in line of battle, the Thessalians, believing it inexpedient to engage heavy infantry with cavalry, wheeled round and slowly retired, their enemy following very cautiously. Agesilaus, noticing the errors into which both sides were falling, now sent round his own escort of stalwart horsemen, with orders to bid the others to charge at full speed, and to do the same themselves,
κατὰ κράτος καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν.
οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἴδον παρὰ δύσαν ἐλαύνοντας,
οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδ’ ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀνα-
στρέφειν πειρώμενοι πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἅπαντας
4 ἡλίσκοντο. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος
ιππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψε τε καὶ μαχόμενοι σὺν τοῖς
ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν ἀποθυμίσκει. ὡς δὲ τούτο ἐγένετο,
φυγῇ γίγνεται ἐξαισία· ὥσθ’ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθυμηκόν
αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ξούντες ἡλίσκοντο. ἐστησαν δ’
οὐν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ή ἐπὶ τῷ ὀρεί τῷ Ναρθακίῳ
5 ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαίων
τε ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου·
καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινε μάλα ἡδόμενος τῷ ἐργῷ, ὅτι
τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐφ’ ἱππικῇ ἐνενικήκει
σὺν ὃ αὐτὸς ἐμηχανήσατο ἵππικῷ.

Τῇ δ’ ύστεραίᾳ ύπερβάλλων τὰ Ἀχαΐκὰ τῆς
Φθίας ὤρη τὴν λοιπὴν ἕδη πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας
6 ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια. ἐνταῦθα δὴ
ἀντιτεταγμένους εὐρὼν Θηβαίους, Ἀθηναίους,
Ἀργείους, Κορινθίους, Αἰγιάνας, Εὐβοέας καὶ
Δοκροὺς ἀμφοτέρους οὐδὲν ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ
τοῦ φαινοῦν ἀντιπαρέτατο, Δακεδαιμονίων μὲν
ἐχων μόραν καὶ ἡμισυ, τῶν δ’ αὐτόθεν συμμάχων
Φωκέας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους. μόνους τὸ τ’ ἀλλο
7 στράτευμα, ὅπερ ἠγάγετο αὐτὸς. καὶ οὐ τούτῳ
λέξων ἔρχομαι, ὥς πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττουσ, πολὺ δὲ
χειρονος ἐχων ὀμοις συνέβαλεν· εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα
λέγομι, Ἀγησίλαον τ’ ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἀφρονα
ἀποφαίνειν καὶ ἐμαυτόν μῶρον, εἰ ἐπαινοῖν τὸν
περὶ τῶν μεγίστων εἰκή κινδυνεύοντα: ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον τάδ’ αὐτοῦ ἄγαμαι, ὅτι πλῆθος τε οὐδὲν
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and not to give the enemy a chance of rallying. As for the Thessalians, on seeing the unexpected charge they either did not rally at all, or were captured in the attempt to do so with their horses broadside to the enemy. Polycharmus the Pharsalian, commander of the cavalry, did indeed turn, and fell fighting along with those about him. Hereupon ensued a wild flight, so that some of the enemy were killed and some were taken prisoners; at any rate they never halted until they reached Mt. Narthacium. On that day Agesilaus set up a trophy between Pras and Narthacium, and here for the moment he paused, mightily pleased with his exploit, since he had defeated an enemy inordinately proud of his horsemanship with the cavalry that he had himself created.

On the morrow he crossed the Achaean mountains in Phthia, and now his route led him through friendly country till he reached the borders of Boeotia. Here he found arrayed against him the Thebans, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aenianians, Euboeans, and both the Locrian tribes. Without a moment's delay, in full view of the enemy, he drew up his army for battle. In addition to the army that he had brought with him he had a regiment and a half of Lacedaemonians, and of the local allies only the Phocians and Orchomenians. Now I am not going to say that his forces were far inferior in numbers and in quality, and that nevertheless he accepted battle. That statement, I think, would but show a want of common sense in Agesilaus and my own folly in praising a leader who wantonly jeopardised interests of vital moment. On the contrary—and this is what I do admire him for—he brought into
XENOPHON

μεῖον ἂ τῶν πολεμίων παρεσκευάσατο ὁπλισάτι τε οὕτως, ὡς ἀπαντᾶ μὲν χαλκὸν, ἀπαντᾷ δὲ

8 Φοινικᾶ φαίνεσθαι ἐπεμελήθη δ’, ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται τοὺς πόνους δυνήσοντο ὑποφέρειν· ἐνεπλήσε δὲ καὶ φρονήματος τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, ὡς ἴκανοι εἶνεν πρὸς οὐσίν, καὶ μάχεσθαι· ἐτί δὲ φιλονικᾶν ἐνέβαλε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἦκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀρίστοι φαῖνοντο. ἐξπίεδων γε μὴν πάντας ἐνέπλησεν, ὡς πάσι πολλὰ κάγαθα ἔσοτο, εἰ ἀνδρὲς ἀγαθοὶ γίγνοντο, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων προθυμότατα τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι, καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐφεύσθη.

9 Διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ γὰρ ἔγένετο οἵαπὲρ οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν. συνήσατε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησίλαόν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλκυδῶνος. ἐφ’ οὖν δὲ τὰς τε φάλαγγας ἀλλήλων μάλα ἰσομάχους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἦσαν ἐκατέρων ἰσοπληθείς. εἰχὲ δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαός μὲν τὸ δεξίον τοῦ μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, Ὁρχομένιοι δὲ ἐσχάτοι ἦσαν αὐτὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ’ αὐτὰ: οἱ αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξίου ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον. συνόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλή ἦν ἀπ’ ἀμφότερον ἴνικα δὲ ἀπείχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμοσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τρῶν ἐτί πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ οὕτω ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησίλαος φάλαγγος δόν Ὁριππίδας ἐξε-11 νάγη (ἡσαν δ’ οὕτω τῶν τε ἐξ οὐκοῦ αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινές) καὶ Ἰωνεῖς δὲ καὶ Αἴολεῖς καὶ Ἐλλησπόντιοι ἔχομενοι. 84
the field an army not a whit inferior to the enemy's; he so armed it that it looked one solid mass of bronze and scarlet; he took care to render his men capable of meeting all calls on their endurance; he filled their hearts with confidence that they were able to withstand any and every enemy; he inspired them all with an eager determination to out-do one another in valour; and lastly he filled all with anticipation that many good things would befall them, if only they proved good men. For he believed that men so prepared fight with all their might; nor in point of fact did he deceive himself.

I will describe the battle, for there has been none like it in our time. The two armies met in the plain of Coronea, Agesilaus advancing from the Cephisus, the Thebans and their allies from Helicon. Their eyes told them that the opposing lines of battle were exactly matched in strength, and the number of cavalry on both sides was about the same. Agesilaus was on the right wing of his army and had the Orchomenians on his extreme left. On the other side the Thebans themselves were on the right wing and the Argives held the left. As they approached both sides for a time maintained complete silence, but when they were about a furlong apart, the Thebans raised the battle-cry and rushed forward at the double. The distance between them was still about one hundred yards when the mercenary troops under Herippidas, consisting of the men who had gone with Agesilaus from home and some of the Cyreians, dashed out in turn from their main body, closely followed by Ionians, Aeolians and

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1 The parenthesis is due to Lippelt: S.; with the MSS., has a full stop after ξενάγει, and no break after τούς.
καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένετο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ’ ἕαυτος. Ἀργεῖοι μὲντοι οὐκ ἔδεξαντο τοὺς ἀμφ’ Ἄγησίλαον, ἀλλ’ ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἕλικώνα. κἀνταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνων ἦδη τῶν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δὲ τις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἰσί. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς: οἱ δ’ αὐ Θηβαίοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τῷ Ἕλικώνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἐφρωμένοι.

12 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφιλόγως, οὐ μέντοι εἶλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα: ἔξω γὰρ αὐτῶ παρέντε τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἐπομένω χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὅπισθεν οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ’ ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις. καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον. καὶ κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρὴν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ συγῆ, φωνὴ δὲ τις ἡν τοιαύτη, οἰάν ὅργη τε καὶ μάχη παράσχοιτ’ ἀν. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτονσι πρὸς τὸν Ἕλικώνα, πολλοὶ δ’ ἀποχωρούντες ἀπέθανον.

13 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν νίκη σὺν Ἀγησίλαῷ ἐγένετο, τετρωμένοις δ’ αὐτῶς προσηνέχθη πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντες τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγοντες αὐτῶ, ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὁμοίηκοντα σὺν τοῖς ὑπλοῖς ὑπὸ τῶ ναῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἡρῴτων, τὶ χρή ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ καίπερ πολλὰ τραίματα ἔχων πάντοσε καὶ παυτοῖς ὑπλοῖς ὅμως οὐκ ἐπε-
AGESILAUS, II. 11-13

Hellespontines. All these took part in the dash, and coming within spear-thrust put to flight the force in front of them. As for the Argives, they fled towards Helicon without awaiting the attack of Agesilaus. And now some of the mercenaries were in the act of crowning Agesilaus with a wreath, when a man reported to him that the Thebans had cut their way through the Orchomenians and were among the baggage train. So he immediately wheeled his main body and advanced against them; and the Thebans in their turn, seeing that their allies had sought refuge at the foot of Mt. Helicon, and wanting to break through and join their friends, made a strong move forward.

At this juncture one may say without fear of contradiction that Agesilaus showed courage; but the course that he adopted was not the safest. For he might have allowed the men who were trying to break through to pass, and then have followed them and annihilated those in the rear. Instead of doing that he made a furious frontal attack on the Thebans. Thrusting shield against shield, they shoved and fought and killed and fell. There was no shouting, nor was there silence, but the strange noise that wrath and battle together will produce. In the end some of the Thebans broke through and reached Helicon, but many fell during the retreat.

The victory lay with Agesilaus; but he himself had been carried wounded to his battle-line, when some horsemen rode up, and told him that eighty of the enemy retaining their arms had taken cover in the temple, and they asked what they should do. Though wounded in every part of his body with every sort of weapon, he did not
λάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τε ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλουντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἰά καὶ προ-
πέμψα ἐπέταξε τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτῶν ἵππεῖς, ἔστε ἐν
τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένοντο.

14 Ἐπεί γε μὴν ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη, παρῆν δὴ θεά-
sασθαι, ἐνθα συνέπεσον ἄλληλοις, τὴν µὲν γῆν
αἶµατι πεφυρμένην, νεκροὺς δὲ κειµένους φίλοις
καὶ πολεµίους µετ' ἄλληλον, ἀσπίδας δὲ διατε-
θρυµµένας, δόρατα συντεθραυσµένα, ἐγχειρίδια
γυµνὰ κολεών, τὰ µὲν χαµαί, τὰ δὲ ἐν σῶµατι, 1

15 τὰ δὲ ἔτι µετὰ χεῖρας. τότε µὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν
ἡδὴ ὄψε, συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεµίων
νεκροὺς εἰσῳ φάλαγγος ἐδειπνοῦσαντο καὶ
ἐκοιµήθησαν πρῶι δὲ Γύλιν τὸν πολέµαρχον
παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευσε τὸ στρατεύµα καὶ τρό-
παιον ἵστασθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τὸ
θεὸ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλείν.

16 Καὶ οἱ µὲν ταῦτ' ἔποιοι οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι
ἐπεµψάν κυρικα, ὑποστόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς
αἵτωντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτως δὴ αἱ τε σπουδαῖ
γίγνονται καὶ ὁ 'Αγησίλαος οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρει,
ἔλοµενος ἁντὶ τοῦ µέγιστος εἶναι ἐν τῇ 'Ᾱσιὰ
οἴκοι τὰ νόµιµα µὲν ἄρχειν, τὰ νόµιµα δὲ
ἀρχεῖν.

17 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατανοήσας τοὺς 'Αργείους τὰ
µὲν οἴκοι καρπούµενους, Κόρινθον δὲ προσελη-
φότας, ἡδοµένους δὲ τῷ πολέµῳ στρατεύει ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς· καὶ δηµόσια πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν

1 σάµατι MSS.; σάµασι S.
AGESILAUS, ii. 13-17

forget his duty towards the gods, but gave orders that these men should be suffered to go whithersoever they wished, and would not suffer them to be harmed, and charged his escort of cavalry to conduct them to a place of safety.

Now that the fighting was at an end, a weird spectacle met the eye, as one surveyed the scene of the conflict—the earth stained with blood, friend and foe lying dead side by side, shields smashed to pieces, spears snapped in two, daggers bared of their sheaths, some on the ground, some embedded in the bodies, some yet gripped by the hand. Then, as the day was far spent, having dragged the enemy’s dead within their battle line, they supped and slept.

Early next morning Agesilaus ordered Gylis, the polemarch, to draw up the army in battle order and to set up a trophy, and to command every man to wear a wreath in honour of the god and all the flute-players to play.

Now while they were carrying out these orders the Thebans sent a herald, asking leave to bury their dead under protection of a truce. And so a truce was made, and Agesilaus left for home, choosing, instead of supreme power in Asia, to rule and to be ruled at home according to the constitution.

Some time afterwards, finding that the Argives were enjoying the fruits of their land, that they had appropriated Corinth and were finding the war a pleasant occupation, he made an expedition against them. He first laid waste all their territory, then

1 In order that the Thebans might not recover them. But some think τῶν πολεμίων corrupt.
2 Apollo,
XENOPHON

eυθὺς ἐκείθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ τὰ στενὰ εἰς Κόρινθον αἱρεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον τείνοντα τείχη καὶ ἀναπετάσας τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς πύλας οὕτως οἴκαδε ἀπελθῶν εἰς τὰ 'Τακίνθια, ὅπου ἔταχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ, τὸν παιῶνα τῷ θεῷ συνεπετέλει.

18 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τοὺς Κορινθίους πάντα μὲν τὰ κτήνη ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ σωζομένους, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Πειραιῶν σπείροντας καὶ καρπούμενους, μέγιστον δὲ ἧγεσάμενος, ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ ταύτῃ ἐκ Κρεύσιος ὁρμώμενοι εὐπετῶς τοῖς Κορινθίοις παρεγίγνοντο, στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὸ Πειραιῶν. ἵδιν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ὡς ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, ἕξ ἄριστου μετέστρατοποδεύσατο πρὸς τὸ ἀστυν αἰσθανόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα βεβοηθηκότας ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν πασσυνία, ὑποστρέψας ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἱρεῖ τὸ Πειραιῶν ἔρημον εὐρὸν φυλακῆς καὶ τὰ τὰ ἅλα τὰ ἐνόντα λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ τείχη, ἄ ἐνετετείχιστο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησε.

19 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προθύμων ὄντων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ δεομένων συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἀκαρνάνιαν . . . ἓ καὶ ἐπιθεμένων ἐν στενοῖς τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καταλαβῶν τοῖς ψυλλοῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν μάχην συνάπτει καὶ

1 There is no indication of a gap in S.

1 The MSS. of Hellenica, iv. iv. 19 give κατὰ Τεγέαν in the corresponding passage; this is corrected to κατὰ Τενεάν "by way of Tenea," which is probably the right reading here.
AGESILAUS, ii. 17-20

crossed to Corinth by the pass 1 and captured the walls leading to Lechaeum. Having thus unbarred the gates of Peloponnese, he returned home for the festival of Hyacinthus 2 and joined in singing the paean in honour of the god, 3 taking the place assigned to him by the choirmaster.

After a time, discovering that the Corinthians were keeping all their cattle safe in Peiraeum, and sowing and reaping the crops throughout that district, and—what he thought most serious—that the Boeotians were finding this route convenient for sending support to the Corinthians, with Creusis as their base, he marched against Peiraeum. Seeing that it was strongly guarded, he moved his camp after the morning meal to a position before the capital, as though the city was about to surrender. But becoming aware that supports had been hurriedly poured into the city during the night from Peiraeum, he turned about at daybreak and captured Peiraeum, finding it undefended, and everything in it, along with the fortresses that stood there, fell into his hands. Having done this, he returned home.

After these events, the Achaeans, who were zealous advocates of the alliance, begged him to join them in an expedition against Acarnania. . . . 4 And when the Acarnanians attacked him in a mountain pass he seized the heights above their heads with his light infantry, 5 fought an engagement and, after inflicting

2 Celeb., od annually at Amyclae, early in the summer.
3 Apollo, who had accidentally killed Hyacinthus.
4 Something seems to be lost here, probably a passage that ended with the words συστρατεύει αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν.
5 The words τοῖς ψυλοῖς are probably a correction by X.; he says the heights were taken by the heavy infantry in Hellenica, iv. vi. 11.
XENOPHON

πολλούς ἀποκτείνας αὐτῶν τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο καὶ οὐ πρῶτον ἔληξε, πρὸν Ἀχαιοὶς μὲν φίλους ἐποίησεν Ἀκαρνάνας καὶ Λιτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀργείους, ἑαυτῷ δὲ καὶ συμμάχους.

21 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, Ἀγησίλαος ἀντείπε τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἔως τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγότας Κορινθίων καὶ Ἐθβαίων ἴμαγκασε τὰς πόλεις οἰκαδε καταδε-ξασθαι. ὕστερον δ' αὐ καὶ Φλειασίων τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγότας κατήγαγεν, αὐτὸς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα. εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλῃ τη τεύτα μέμφεται, ἀλλ' οὖν φιλεταίρια γε

22 πραχθέντα φανερά ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ ἔπει τοὺς ἐν Ἐθβαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέκαυν οἱ ἐναντίοι, βοηθῶν αὖ τούτους στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐθβαίας. εὑρὼν δὲ ἀποτεταφρεμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένα ἀπαύνα, ὑπερβάς τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἐδὴν τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, παρέχων καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη μάχεσθαι Ἐθβαίοις, εἰ βούλοιτο. ἐστράτευε δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐπίοντι ἔτει πάλιν ἐπὶ Ἐθβαίας· καὶ ὑπερβᾶς τὰ κατὰ Σκόλον σταυρώματα καὶ τάφρους ἐδήσωσε τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας.

23 Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου κοινὴ αὐτῶς τε καὶ ἡ πόλις εὐτύχει: ὅσα γε μὴν μετὰ τοῦτο σφάλματα ἐγένοντο οὐδεὶς ἀν εἶποι ὡς 'Ἀγησίλαο ἠγουμένου ἐπράξῃ. ἔπει δ' αὖ τῆς ἐν Δεύκτρους, φορὰς γεγενημένης κατακαίνουσι τοὺς ἐν Τεγεα φίλους καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντιπάλοι σὺν Μακτινεῦσι, συνεστηκότων ἢδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων καὶ Ἀρκά-
severe losses on them, set up a trophy; nor did he cease until he had induced the Acarnanians, Aetolians and Argives to enter into friendship with the Achaeans and alliance with himself.

When the enemy sent embassies desiring peace, Agesilaus opposed the peace until he forced Corinth and Thebes to restore to their homes the citizens who had been exiled on account of their sympathy with the Lacedaemonians. And again later, having led an expedition in person against Phleius, he also restored the Phleiasian exiles who had suffered in the same cause. Possibly some may censure these actions on other grounds, but at least it is obvious that they were prompted by a spirit of true comradeship. It was in the same spirit that he subsequently made an expedition against Thebes, to relieve the Lacedaemonians in that city when their opponents had taken to murdering them. Finding the city protected on all sides by a trench and stockade, he crossed the Pass of Cynoscephalae, and laid waste the country up to the city walls, offering battle to the Thebans both on the plain and on the hills, if they chose to fight. In the following year he made another expedition against Thebes, and, after crossing the stockade and trenches at Scolus, laid waste the rest of Boeotia.

Up to this time he and his city enjoyed unbroken success; and though the following years brought a series of troubles, it cannot be said that they were incurred under the leadership of Agesilaus. On the other hand, after the disaster at Leuctra, when his adversaries in league with the Mantineans were murdering his friends and acquaintances in Tegea, and a coalition of all Boeotia, Arcadia and Elis
δων καὶ Ὁλείων, στρατεύει σὺν μόνη τῇ Δακεδαιμονίων δυνάμει, πολλών νομιζόντων οὐδ’ ἂν ἐξελθεῖν Δακεδαιμονίως πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν. δηώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν κατακαïντων τοὺς φίλους οὕτως αὐδ’ οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν.

24 Ἡ ἄπο γε μὴν τούτου ἔπτι τὴν Δακεδαιμονα στρατευσαμένων Ἀρκάδων τε πάντων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ὁλείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Φωκέων καὶ Δοκρῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ Αἰνείαν ων καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Ἐυβοέων, πρὸς δὲ τούτως ἀφεστηκότων μὲν τῶν δούλων, πολλῶν δὲ περιοικίδων πόλεως, καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐ μειόνων ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ ἐν Δεύκτρωι μάχῃ ἢ λειπομένων, ὀμος διεφύλαξε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, ὅπου μὲν ἐν παντὶ πλέον ἄν εἶχον οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐκ ἐξάγων ἐνταῦθα, ὅπου δὲ οἱ πολίται πλέον ἔξειν ἐμέλλον, εὐρώστως παρατεταγμένοις, νομίζων εἰς μὲν τὸ πλατὺ ἐξιδὼν πάντωθεν ἀν περιέχεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ ὑπερδεξίοις τόποις ὑπομένους τῷ παντὶ κρατεῖν ἄν.

25 Ἔπει γε μὴν ἀπεχώρησε τὸ στρατεύμα, πῶς οὐκ ἂν φαίη τις αὐτῶν εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἐαυτῷ; ὡς γὰρ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ἐφ’ ἦπτων ἀπείργεν ἡδὴ τὸ γῆρας, χρημάτων δὲ ἐώρα τὴν πόλιν δεομένην, εἰ μέλλοι σύμμαχον των ἔξειν, ἐπὶ τὸ πορίζειν ταῦτα ἐαυτὸν ἔταξε. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐδύνατο οὐκοὶ μένων ἐμηχανάτο, ἢ δὲ καιρὸς ἢν οὐκ ὄκνει μετιέναι οὐδ’ ἐγχύνετο, εἰ μέλλοι τὴν πόλιν ὀφελήσειν,
c. had been formed, he took the field with the Lacedaemonian forces only, thus disappointing the general expectation that the Lacedaemonians would not even go outside their own borders for a long time to come. It was not until he had laid waste the country of those who had murdered his friends that he returned home once more.

After this Sparta was attacked by all the Arcadians, Argives, Eleians and Boeotians, who had the support of the Phocians, both the Locrian peoples, the Thessalians, Aenianians, Acarnanians and Euboeans. In addition the slaves and many of the outlander communities were in revolt, and at least as many of the Spartan nobles had fallen in the battle of Leuctra as survived. He kept the city safe notwithstanding, and that though it was without walls, not going out into the open where the advantage would have lain wholly with the enemy, and keeping his army strongly posted where the citizens would have the advantage; for he believed that he would be surrounded on all sides if he came out into the plain, but that if he made a stand in the defiles and the heights, he would be master of the situation.

After the retirement of the enemy, none will deny that his conduct was marked by good sense. The marching and riding incidental to active service were no longer possible to a man of his years, but he saw that the state must have money if she was to gain an ally anywhere. So he applied himself to the business of raising money. At home he did all that ingenuity could suggest; and, if he saw any prospect of serving the state abroad, shrank from no measures that circumstances called for, and he was not ashamed to go out, not as a general, but as an
26 πρεσβευτής ἐκπορευόμενος ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ. οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ ἔργα διεπράξατο. Αὐτοφραδάτης τε γὰρ πολιορκῶν ἐν Ἀσσω Ἀρισταρχάνην σύμμαχον ὅντα δείσας Ἀγησίλαον φεύγων φῶχετο. Κύτως δὲ Ἀθηναίοι πολιορκῶν Ἀρισταρχάνου ἔτι οὕσαν λύσας καὶ οὐτος τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπηλλάγη· ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τρόπαιοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐστήκει αὐτῷ. Μαυσωλός γε μὴν κατὰ θάλαττα ἐκατόν ναυσὶ πολιορκῶν ἀμφότερα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα οὐκέτι δεῖσας, ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ἀπετε-πλευσεν οἰκαδε. κανταῦθα οὖν ἂξια θαύματος διεπράξατο· οἳ τε γὰρ εὖ πεποιθέναι νομίζοντες ὅτι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες αὐτῶν ἀρχηγάτας ἀμφότεροι ἔδοσαν. Ταχὼς γε μὴν καὶ Μαυσωλός, διὰ τὴν πρόσθεν Ἀγησίλαον ξενίαν συμβαλό-μενος καὶ οὗτος χρήματα τῇ Δακεδαίμοι, ἀπεπεμψαν αὐτῶν οἰκαδε προπομπῆν δόντες μεγαλοπρεπῆ.

27 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦδη μὲν ἑτη ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ ὁγδοῖκοντα· κατανεοθηκῶς δὲ τὸν Λιγυπτῖον βασιλέα ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῷ Πέρσῃ πολεμεῖν καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππεὰς, πολλά δὲ χρήματα ἐχοῦντα ἄσμενος ἦκουσεν, ὅτι μετε-πέμπτετο αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῦτα ἑγεμονίαν ὑπισχυοῦ-μενος. ἐνόμιζε γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀρμῇ τῷ μὲν Λιγυπτίῳ χάριν ἀποδώσειν ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργητήκει τῇ Δακεδαίμονα, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἐλλήνας πάλιν ἐλευθερόσειν, τῷ δὲ Πέρσῃ δίκην ἐπιδήσειν καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν καὶ ὅτι νῦν σύμμαχος εἶναι

28 φάσκων ἐπέταττε Μεσσήνῃ ἀφιέναι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ μεταπεμψάμενος οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὴν ἑγεμονίαν

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envoy. And even as an envoy he accomplished work worthy of a great general. For instance, Autophradates laying siege to Ariobarzanes, an ally of Sparta, at Assos, took to his heels from fear of Agesilaus. Cotys for his part, besieging Sestos, while it was still in the hands of Ariobarzanes, broke up the siege and made off. With good reason, therefore, might the victorious envoy have set up a trophy once again to record these bloodless successes. Again, Mausolus, laying siege to both these places with a fleet of a hundred vessels, was induced, not indeed by fear, but by persuasion, to sail for home. In this affair too his success was admirable; for those who considered that they were under an obligation to him and those who fled before him, both paid. Yet again, Tachos and Mausolus (another of those who contributed money to Sparta, owing to his old ties of hospitality with Agesilaus), sent him home with a magnificent escort.

Subsequently, when he was now about eighty years of age, he became aware that the king of Egypt was bent on war with Persia, and was possessed of large forces of infantry and cavalry and plenty of money. He was delighted when a summons for help reached him from the Egyptian king, who actually promised him the chief command. For he believed that at one stroke he would repay the Egyptian for his good offices to Sparta, would again set free the Greeks in Asia, and would chastise the Persian for his former hostility, and for demanding now, when he professed to be an ally of Sparta, that her claim to Messene should be given up. However, when this suitor for his assistance failed to give him
αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ὡς τὸ μέγιστον ἐξηπατημένος ἐφροντίζε, τί δεὶ ποιεῖν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δίχα στρατευόμενοι τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἀφίστανται τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπείγετα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὑπέλιπον αυτῶν. καὶ αὐτός μὲν δείσας ἀπεχώρησε φυγῇ εἰς Σιδώνα τῆς Φοινίκης, οἱ δ' Ἀιγυπτίοι στασιάζοντες διττοὺς βασιλέας αἰροῦνται. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος γνώσε, ὅτι εἰ μὲν μιθητέρῳ συλλήψει, μισθὸν ὀυδέτερος λύσει τοὺς Ἐλλησιν, ἀγοράν δὲ ὀυδέτερος παρέξει, ὁπότερος τ' ἀν κρατήσῃ, οὕτως ἐχθρὸς ἔσται· εἰ δὲ τῷ ἔτερῳ συλλήψει, οὕτως γε εὐ παθὼν ὡς τὸ εἶκος φίλος ἔσοιτο, οὕτω δὴ κρίνας, ὁπότερος φιλέλλην μᾶλλον ἑδόκει εἶναι, στρατευσάμενος μετὰ τούτου τὸν μὲν μισέλληνα μάχη νικήσας χειροῦται, τὸν δ' ἔτερον συγκαθίστησοι καὶ φίλον ποιῆσας τῇ Δακεδαίμονι καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ προσλαβῶν οὕτως ἀποπληίοι οἶκας καὶ πέρι μέσου χειμῶνός οὕτως, σπεύδων, ὡς μὴ ἀργὸς ἢ πόλις εἰς τὸ ἔπιον θέρος πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους γένοιτο.

III. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἰρήται ὅσα τῶν ἑκείνου ἔργων μετὰ πλείστων μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οὐ τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται, ἀλλ' ἀναμνήσαι μόνον ἄρκει καὶ εὐθὺς πιστεύεται. νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν ἁρετὴν πειράσομαι δηλοῦν, δι' ἣν ταῦτα ἔπραττε καὶ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἡρα καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐξεδίωκεν.

2 Ἀγησίλαος γὰρ τὰ μὲν θεῖα οὕτως ἐσέβετο, ὡς καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τοὺς ἑκείνου ὀρκοὺς καὶ τὰς
the command Agesilaus felt that he had been grossly deceived, and was in doubt what he ought to do. At this juncture first a portion of the Egyptian troops, operating as a separate army, revolted from the king, and then the rest of his forces deserted him. The king left Egypt and fled in terror to Sidon in Phoenicia, while the Egyptians split up into two parties, and each chose its own king. Agesilaus now realised that if he helped neither king, neither of them would pay the Greeks their wages, neither would provide a market, and the conqueror, whichever he proved to be, would be hostile, but if he co-operated with one of them, that one, being under an obligation to him, would in all probability adopt a friendly attitude. Accordingly, having decided which of them showed the stronger signs of being a friend to the Greeks, he took the field with him. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy of the Greeks, and helped to establish his rival; and so having made him the friend of Sparta, and having received a great sum of money in addition, he sailed home, though it was mid-winter, with all haste, in order that the state might be in a position to take action against her enemies in the coming summer.

III. Such, then, is the record of my hero's deeds, so far as they were done before a crowd of witnesses. Actions like these need no proofs; the mere mention of them is enough and they command belief immediately. But now I will attempt to show the virtue that was in his soul, the virtue through which he wrought those deeds and loved all that is honourable and put away all that is base.

Agesilaus had such reverence for religion, that even his enemies considered his oaths and his
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ἐκείνου σπονδάς πιστοτέρας ἐνόμιζον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φιλίαν; οἴ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστιν ὅτε μὲν ὄκνουν εἰς ταύτων ἴναι, Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ αυτοῦς ἐγχείριζον. ὅπως δὲ μὴ τις ἀπιστῇ, καὶ ὄνομάσαι βούλομαι 3 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν. Σπιθριδάτης μὲν γε ὁ Πέρσης εἶδός, ὅτι Φαρνάβαζος γῆμαι μὲν τὴν βασιλέως ἐπραττε θυγατέρα, τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ ἀνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὑβριν νομίζας τοῦτο Ἀγησιλάῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ 4 τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεχείρισε. Κότυς δὲ ὁ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἄρχων βασιλεῖ μὲν οὐχ υπῆκουσε δεξιὰν πέμποντι, φοβοῦμενος, μὴ ληφθεῖς ἥ χρήματα πολλὰ ἀποτίσειεν ἢ καὶ ἀποθιμόνιοι, Ἀγησιλάου δὲ καὶ οὕτως ταῖς σπονδαῖς πιστεύσας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τε ἴλθε καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος εἴλετο σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ στρα- τεύσθαι, χιλίους μὲν ἐπτέας, δισχιλίους δὲ 5 πελτοφόρους ἔχων. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐις λόγους καὶ διωμολόγησεν, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς πάσης τής στρατιᾶς στρατηγός καταστα- θείη, ἀποστησθεσθαι βασιλέως. ἣν μέντοι ἐγὼ γένομαι στρατηγός, ἐφι, πολεμήσω σοι, ὦ Ἀγησιλαῖ, ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνομαι κράτιστα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγω ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παράσπονδον παθεῖν. οὕτως μέγα καὶ καλὸν κτήμα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀπασί καὶ ἀνδρὶ δὴ στρατηγῷ τὸ ὀσίον τε καὶ πιστῶν εἶναι τε καὶ ὅντα ἐγνώσθαι. καὶ περὶ μὲν εὐσεβείας ταῦτα.

1 The text here is quite uncertain: there is a gap in the manuscripts after φιλίαν.
treaties more to be relied on than their own friendship with one another: for there were times when they shrank from meeting together, and yet would place themselves in the power of Agesilaus. And lest anyone should think this statement incredible, I wish to name the most famous among them. Spithridates the Persian, for example, knew that Pharnabazus was negotiating for a marriage with the Great King's daughter, and intended to take his, Spithridates', daughter as a concubine. Regarding this as an outrage, he delivered himself, his wife, his children and all that he had into Agesilaus' hands. Cotys, ruler of the Paphlagonians, who had disobeyed the command of the Great King, though it was accompanied with the symbol of friendship, feared that he would be seized and either be fined heavily or even put to death; but he too, trusting in the armistice with Agesilaus, came to his camp and having entered into alliance elected to take the field at Agesilaus' side with a thousand horse and two thousand targeteers. And Pharnabazus too came and parleyed with Agesilaus, and made agreement with him that if he were not himself appointed the Persian general, he would revolt from the Great King. "But," he said, "if I become general, I shall make war on you, Agesilaus, with all my might." He used this language in full confidence that nothing contrary to the terms of the armistice would happen to him. So great and so noble a treasure has every man, and above all a general, who is upright and trustworthy and is known to be so. So much, then, for the virtue of Piety.

2 The "right hand," often mentioned as a pledge of good faith or friendship.
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IV. Περὶ γε μὴν τῆς εἰς χρήματα δικαιοσύνης ποια ἂν τις μείζων τεκμήρια ἔχω τώνδε; ὕπο γὰρ Ἀγησίλαον στέρεσθαι μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν πῶςποτε ἐνεκάλεσεν, εὖ δὲ πεποιθέναι πολλοὶ πολλὰ ωμολόγουν. ὅτω δὲ ήδυ τὰ αὐτοῦ διδόναι ἐπὶ ὕφελεία ἀνθρώπων, πῶς ἂν οὔτος ἔθελοι τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀποστερεῖν ἐφ’ ὃ κακόδοξος εἶναι; εἰ γὰρ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμοῖν, πολὺ ἀπραγμονέστερον τὰ αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν ἢ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα λαμβάνειν. ὃς δὲ δὴ καὶ χάριτας ἀποστερεῖν μὴ ἔθελοι, ὅν οὐκ εἰσὶ δίκαι πρὸς τὸν μὴ ἀποδίδοντα, πῶς ἂ γε καὶ νόμος κωλύει εἴθελοι ἂν ἀποστερεῖν; Ἀγησίλαος δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ ἀποδίδοναι χάριτας ἄδικον ἔκρινεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴ πολὺ μείζους τὸν

3 μείζω δυνάμενον. τὰ γε μὴν τῆς πόλεως κλέπτειν πὴ ἂν τις αὐτῶν εἰκότως αἰτιάσαιτο, δς καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν χάριτας ὀφειλομένας τῇ πατρίδι καρπούσθαι παρεδίδου; τὸ δ’ ὅποτε βούλοιτο εὐ ποιεῖν ἡ πόλιν ἢ φίλους χρήμασι, δύνασθαι παρ’ ἑτέρων λαμβάνοντα ὦφελεῖν, οὐ καὶ τοῦτο μέγα τεκμήριον ἐγκρατείας χρημάτων; εἰ γὰρ ἐπώλει τὰς χάριτας ἢ μισθοῦ εὐεργεῖτε, οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδὲν ὀφείλειν αὐτῷ ἐνόμισεν; ἀλλ’ οἱ προϊκα εὑ πεποιθότες, οὕτοι ἂεὶ ἑδέως ύπηρετοῦσι τῷ εὐεργετῇ καὶ διότι εὐ ἐπαθὼν καὶ διότι προειπτεύθησαν ἄξιοι εἶναι παρακαταθήκην χάριτος φυλάττειν.

4 Ὁστὶς δ’ ἥρειτο καὶ σὺν τῷ γενναῖῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἢ σὺν τῷ ἄδικῳ πλέον ἔχειν, πῶς οὔτος οὐκ ἂν

1 Symposium, viii. 36.
IV. Next comes his Justice in money matters. Of this what proofs can be more convincing than the following? No man ever made any complaint that he had been defrauded by Agesilaus: but many acknowledged that they had received many benefits from him. One who delighted to give away his own for the good of others could not possibly be minded to defraud others at the price of disgrace. For if he had coveted money it would have cost him far less trouble to keep his own than to take what did not belong to him. A man who would not leave unpaid debts of gratitude, which are not recoverable in the courts, cannot have been minded to commit thefts that are forbidden by law. And Agesilaus held it wrong not only to repudiate a debt of gratitude, but, having greater means, not to render in return a much greater kindness. Again, with what show of reason could embezzlement of public property be charged against a man who bestowed on his fatherland the rewards due to himself? And is it not a striking proof of his freedom from avarice that he was able to get money from others, whenever he wanted, for the purpose of rendering financial assistance to the state or his friends? For had he been in the habit of selling his favours or taking payment for his benefactions, no one would have felt that he owed him anything. It is the recipient of unbought, gratuitous benefits who is always glad to oblige his benefactor in return for the kindness he has received and in acknowledgment of the trust reposed in him as a worthy and faithful guardian of a favour.

Further, is it not certain that the man who by a noble instinct refused to take more and preferred to take less than his just share was far beyond the reach
Πολυ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀποφεύγοι; ἐκεῖνος τοῖς κριθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντᾷ ἔχειν τὰ Ἀγιὸς τὰ ἡμίσεα τοὺς ἀπὸ μητρὸς αὐτῶ ὁμογόνους μετέδωκεν, ὥστε πενυμένους αὐτοὺς ἐώρα. ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἀληθῆ, πᾶσα μάρτυς ὅ τοις Δακεδαιμονίων πόλεις. διδόντως δ' αὐτῷ πάμπολλα δῶρα Τιθραύστου, εἰ ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. 'Ω Τιθραύστα, νομίζεται παρ' ἡμῖν τῷ ἀρχοντὶ κάλλιον εἶναι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡ ἕαυτῶν πλούτιζει καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων λάφυρα μᾶλλον περισσαθαι ἡ δῶρα λαμβάνειν.

V. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὡσαὶ γε ἡδοναὶ πολλῶν κρατοῦσιν ἄνθρωπων, ποίαι οὐδὲ τις Ἀγησίλαον ἤτησέντα; ὅς μεθῆς μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι ὅμοίως φητο χρήναι καὶ μανίας, σίτων δ' ὑπὲρ καίρων ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργίας. διμοιρίαν γε μὴν λαμβάνων ἐν ταῖς θοίναις οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρήτο, ἀλλὰ διαπέμπτων οὐδετέραν αὐτῷ κατέλειπε, νομίζουν βασιλεί τούτω διπλασιασθῆναι οὐχὶ πλησμονῆς ἑνεκα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχοι καὶ τούτω 2 τιμᾶν εἰ τινα βούλοιτο. οὐ μὴν ύπεργε δεσπότη, ἀλλ' ἀρχομένῳ ύπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐχρήτο καὶ εὐνὴν γε εἰ μὴ τῶν συνόντων ψαλούτηρν ἔχοι, αἰδούμενος οὐκ ἄδηλος ἦν ἠγεῖτο γὰρ ἀρχοντὶ προσήκειν οὐ μαλακία, ἀλλὰ καρτερία τῶν ἰδιωτῶν περιεῖναι.

3 Τάδε μέντοι πλευνεκτῶν οὐκ ἑσχύνετο, ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει τοῦ ἥλιου, ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶν τοῦ ψύχους καὶ μὴν εἰ ποτὲ μοχθήσαι στρατία συμβαίνῃ,
of covetousness? Now when the state pronounced him sole heir to the property of Agis, he gave half of it to his mother’s kinsfolk, because he saw that they were in want; and all Lacedaemon bears witness that my statement is true. On receiving from Tithraustes an offer of gifts unnumbered if only he would leave his country, Agesilaus answered: “Among us, Tithraustes, a ruler’s honour requires him to enrich his army rather than himself, and to take spoils rather than gifts from the enemy.”

V. Again, among all the pleasures that prove too strong for many men, who can mention one to which Agesilaus yielded? Drunkenness, he thought, should be avoided like madness, overeating like idleness. Moreover, he received a double ration at the public meals, but instead of consuming both portions himself, he distributed both and left neither for himself, holding that the purpose of this double allowance to the king was not to provide him with a heavy meal, but to give him the opportunity of honouring whomsoever he would. As for sleep, it was not his master, but the servant of his activities; and unless he occupied the humblest bed among his comrades, he could not conceal his shame: for he thought that a ruler’s superiority over ordinary men should be shown not by weakness but by endurance.

There were things, to be sure, of which he was not ashamed to take more than his share—for instance, the summer’s heat and the winter’s cold: and whenever his army was faced with a hard task,

Agesilaus have λαμπριάς, “gluttony,” and ἵμαρπιας, “error.”

2 Lac. Pol., xv. 4; Cyropaedia, viii. ii. 4.

3 Cyropaedia, 1. iv. 25.
ἔκών ἐπόνει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, νομίζων πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα παραμυθίαν εἶναι τοῖς στρατιώταις. ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, Ἀγγείλαος πονῶν μὲν ἡγάλλετο, ῥαστώνην δὲ πάμπαν οὐ προσίετο.

4 Περὶ γε μὴν ἀφροδισίων ἐγκρατείας αὐτοῦ ἂρ’ οὔχι εἰ μὴ τοῦ ἄλλου ἄλλαθαύματος ἕνεκα ἄξιον μνημήναι; τὸ μὲν γὰρ δὲν μὴ ἐπεθύμησεν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀνθρώπινον ἀν τις φαίνεται, τὸ δὲ Μεγαβάτον τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου παιδὸς ἔρασθεντα, ὥσπερ ἄν τοῦ καλλίστου ἡ σφοδροτάτη φύσις ἔρασθείη, ἔπειτα ἥνικα, ἐπιχωρίου ὄντος τοῖς Πέρσαις φιλεῖν οὐς ἄν τιμῶσιν, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ὁ Μεγαβάτης φιλήσαι τὸν Ἀγγείλαον, διαμέχεσθαι ἀνὰ κράτος τὸ μὴ φίλησθαι, ἅρ’ οὔ τοῦτο γε ἢδο τὸ σωφρόνημα καὶ λίαν γεννικοῦν.

5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀτιμασθῆναι νομίσας ὁ Μεγαβάτης τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐκέτι φιλεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, προσφέρει την λόγον τῶν ἑταίρων ὁ Ἀγγείλαος πείθειν τὸν Μεγαβάτην πάλιν τιμᾶν ἐπάντων. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ ἑταίρου, ἡν πείσθη ὁ Μεγαβάτης, εἰ φιλήσει, ἐνταῦθα διασωτήσας ὁ Ἀγγείλαος εἴπετε. Οὐ τὸ σιώ, οὔδ’ εἰ μέλλοιμι γε αὐτίκα μάλα κάλλιστός τε καὶ ἰσχυρότατος καὶ τάχιστος ἀνθρώπων ἐσεσθαι, μάχεσθαι γε μέντοι πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν μάχην ὀμνύμι πάντας θεοὺς η μὴ μᾶλλον βούλεσθαι ἢ πάντα μοι ὡσ ὅρῳ χρυσά

6 γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ τι μὲν δὴ ὑπολαμβάνουσι τινὲς ταῦτα, οὐκ ἄγνως’ ἐγὼ μέντοι δοκῶ εἰδέναι, ὅτι πολὺ πλέονες τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τῶν τοιούτων δύνανται κρατεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὄλγων εἰδότων πολλοῖς ἐξεστιν ἀπιστεῖν τὰ δὲ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι ἥκιστα μὲν οἱ ἐπιφανεστατοὶ 106
He toiled willingly beyond all others, believing that all such actions were an encouragement to the men. Not to labour the point, Agesilaus gloried in hard work, and showed a strong distaste for indolence.

His habitual control of his affections surely deserves a tribute of admiration, if worthy of mention on no other ground. That he should keep at arms' length those whose intimacy he did not desire may be thought only human. But he loved Megabates, the handsome son of Spithridates, with all the intensity of an ardent nature. Now it is the custom among the Persians to bestow a kiss on those whom they honour. Yet when Megabates attempted to kiss him, Agesilaus resisted his advances with all his might—an act of punctilious moderation surely! Megabates, feeling himself slighted, tried no more to kiss him, and Agesilaus approached one of his companions with a request that he would persuade Megabates to show him honour once again. "Will you kiss him," asked his companion, "if Megabates yields?" After a deep silence, Agesilaus gave his reply: "By the twin gods, no, not if I were straight-way to be the fairest and strongest and fleetest man on earth! By all the gods I swear that I would rather fight that same battle over again than that everything I see should turn into gold." What opinion some hold in regard to these matters I know well enough; but for my part I am persuaded that many more men can gain the mastery over their enemies than over impulses such as these. No doubt when these things are known to few, many have a right to be sceptical: but we all know this, that the

1 *Cyropaedia*, i. iv. 27.  
2 *Anabasis*, ii. vi. 28.
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tῶν ἀνθρώπων λανθάνουσιν ὁ τί ἂν ποιῶσιν. Ἀγησίλαον δὲ τι πράξαντα μὲν τοιοῦτον οὔτε ἰδὼν πῶς ποτε οὔδεὶς ἀνηγγείλειν οὔτε εἰκάζων
7 πιστὰ ἂν ἐδοξέ λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰς οἰκίαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἰδία ἐν ἀποδημία κατήγετο, ἀεὶ δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐν ιερῷ, ἐνθα δὴ ἀδύνατον τὰ τοιαύτα πράττειν, ἢ ἐν φανερῷ, μάρτυρας τοὺς πάντων οὐφάλμοις τῆς σωφροσύνης ποιοῦμενος. εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ταῦτα ψεύδομαι ἄντια τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπισταμένης, ἐκείνον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαινῶ, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ ψέγω.

VI. Ἀνδρείας γε μὴν οὐκ ἄφανὶ τεκμηρία μοι δοκεῖ παρασχέσθαι ύφιστάμενος μὲν ἄει πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τῇ Ἐλλάδι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τούτους ἀγώσι

2 πρῶτον ἐαυτὸν τάττων. ἐνθα γε μὴν ἡθέλησαν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχην συνάψαι, οὐ φόβῳ τρεφάμενοι νίκης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μάχη ἀντιτύπῳ κρατήσας τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο, ἀθάνατα μὲν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς μνημεία καταλιπτῶν, σαφῆ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σημεῖα ἀπενεγκάμενος τοῦ θυμῶ μάχεσθαι· ὡςτ' οὐκ ἀκούοντας, ἀλλ' ὀρῶντας ἔζην αὐτῷ

3 τῇ νυχὶ δοκιμάζειν. τρόπαια μὴν Ἀγησιλάῳ οὐχ ὡσα ἐστήσατο, ἀλλ' ὡσα ἐστρατεύσατο δίκαιον νομίζειν. μείον μὲν γὰρ οὔδεν ἐκράτει, οτὲ οὐκ ἠθελον αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχεσθαι, ἀκινδυνότερον δὲ καὶ συμφορώτερον τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἁγώσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἡττον τοὺς ἀκοντὶ ἥ τους διὰ μάχης νικώντας στεφανοῦσι.

1 Memorabilia, i. i. 11.
2 The reference is not general, but definitely to the battle of Coronea; see c. ii, § 11–13.
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greater a man's fame, the fiercer is the light that beats on all his actions; 1 we know too that no one ever reported that he had seen Agesilaus do any such thing, and that no scandal based on conjecture would have gained credence; for it was not his 7 habit, when abroad, to lodge apart in a private house, but he was always either in a temple, where conduct of this sort is, of course, impossible, or else in a public place where all men's eyes became witnesses of his rectitude. If I speak this falsely against the knowledge of the Greek world, I am in no way praising my hero; but I am censuring myself.

VI. As for Courage, he seems to me to have afforded clear proofs of that by always engaging himself to fight against the strongest enemies of his state and of Greece, and by always placing himself in the forefront of the struggle. When the enemy 2 were willing to join battle with him, 2 it was not by their panic flight that he won victory, but it was after overcoming them in stubborn fighting that he set up a trophy, leaving behind him imperishable memorials of his own valour, and bearing in his own body visible tokens of the fury of his fighting, so that not by hearsay but by the evidence of their own eyes men could judge what manner of man he was. In 3 truth the trophies of Agesilaus are not to be counted by telling how many he set up; the number of his campaigns is the number of them. His mastery was in no way less complete when the enemy were unwilling to accept battle, but it was gained at less risk and with more profit to the state and to the allies. So in the Great Games the unchallenged champion is crowned no less than he who has fought to conquer.
Τὴν γε μὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ ποιά τῶν ἐκείνων πράξεων οὐκ ἐπιδεικνύουσιν; δε τῇ μὲν πατρίδι οὔτως ἐχρῆτο, ὡστε μάλιστα πειθόμενος ἔταϊροις δὲ πρόθυμοι ἄν ἀπροφασίστους τοὺς φίλους ἐκέκτητο τοὺς δὲ γε στρατιώτας ἀμα πειθόμενοι καὶ φιλοῦντας αὐτὸν παρεἰχε. καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἵσχυροτέρα γένοιτο φάλαιξ ἡ διὰ τὸ μὲν πείθεσθαι εὑτάκτος οὕσα, διὰ δὲ τὸ φίλειν τὸν ἄρχοντα πιστῶς παροῦσα; τοὺς γε μὴν πολεμίους εἴχε ψέγειν μὲν οὐ δυναμένους, μισεῖν δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενους. τοὺς γὰρ συμμάχους ἂεὶ πλέον ἔχειν αὐτῶν ἐμηχανάτο, ἐξαπάτων μὲν ὅποι καίρος εἶη, φθάνων δὲ ὅποι τάχους δέοι, λήθων δὲ ὅποι τούτο συμφέρω, πάντα δὲ τὰναντία πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτηδεύων. καὶ γὰρ νυκτὶ μὲν ὅσαπερ ἡμέρα ἐχρῆτο, ἡμέρα δὲ ὅσαπερ νυκτὶ, πολλάκις ἄδηλος γιγάντας ὅποι τε εἶη καὶ ὅποι οὐ καὶ ὃ τι ποιῆσοι. ὡστε καὶ τὰ ἐχυρὰ ἰἀνώχυρα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθίστη, τὰ μὲν παριῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπερβαίνων, τὰ δὲ κλέπτων. ὅποτε γε μὴν πορεύοιτο εἰδώς, ὅτι ἐξείη τοῖς πολεμίους μάχεσθαι, ἦ βούλοιτο, συντεταγμένοι μὲν οὕτως ἤγε τὸ στρατεύμα, ὡς ἂν ἐπικουρεῖν μάλιστα ἐαυτῷ δύνατο, ἡσύχως δ', ὥσπερ ἄν παρθένοι σοφρονεστάτη προβαίνων, νομίζων ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τὸ τε ἀτρεμῆς καὶ ἀνεκπληκτοτάτων καὶ ἀθορυβητότατον καὶ ἀναμαρτητότατον καὶ δυσεπιβουλευτότατον εἶναι.  

1 Something is wanting here: many supply ἵσχυε πλειστον from Plutarch, 

Ag. s. c. 4—φησίν ο Ε. δι τάντα τῇ πατρίδι πειθόμενος ἵσχυε πλείστων.
Of his Wisdom I find the evidence in every one of his deeds. Towards his fatherland he behaved in such a manner that, being entirely obedient to her, he won the obedience of the citizens, and by his zeal for his comrades he held the unquestioning devotion of his friends: and as for his troops, he gained at once their obedience and their affection. Surely nothing is wanting to the strength of that battle-line in which obedience results in perfect discipline, and affection for the general produces faithful promptitude. As for the enemy, though they were forced to hate, he gave them no chance to disparage him. For he contrived that his allies always had the better of them, by the use of deception when occasion offered, by anticipating their action if speed was necessary, by hiding when it suited his purpose, and by practising all the opposite methods when dealing with enemies to those which he applied when dealing with friends. Night, for example, was to him as day, and day as night, for he often veiled his movements so completely that none could guess where he was, whither he was going, or what he meant to do. Thus he made even strong positions untenable to the enemy, turning one, scaling another, snatching a third by stealth. On the march, whenever he knew that the enemy could bring him to an engagement if they chose, he would lead his army in close order, alert and ready to defend himself, moving on as quietly as a modest maiden, since he held that this was the best means of maintaining calm, of avoiding panic, confusion, and blundering, and of guarding against a surprise attack.

1 Hellenica, vi. i. 15; Lac. Pol., v. 7; Cyropaedia i. v. 12.
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8 Τοιγαροῦν τοιαῦτα ποιῶν τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους δεινὸς ἦν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους θάρρος καὶ ῥώμην ἐνεποίει. ὡστε ἀκαταφρόνητος μὲν ὕπο τῶν ἔχθρων διετέλεσεν, ἄξιόμοις δ' ὕπο τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀμεμπτός δ' ὕπο τῶν φίλων, πολυεραστότατος δὲ καὶ πολυεπαινετώτατος ὕπο πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

VII. "Ὡς γε μὴν φιλόπολις ἦν, καθ' ἐν μὲν ἑκαστον μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν ὅτι συνεῖναι ὑπὸ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ, δ' τι οὐκ εἰς τούτο ἐνεποίει. ὡς δ' ἐν βραχεί εἰπεῖν, ἀπαντείς ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι Ἀγασίλαος ὅπου φητο τὴν πατρίδα τι ὀφελήσειν, οὐ πόνων ἔφεστο, οὐ κινδύνων ἀφίστατο, οὐ χρησάτων ἐφείδετο, οὐ σῶμα, οὐ γῆς προφασίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ τούτο ἐργον ἐνόμιζε, τὸ τούς ἀρχομένους ὡς 2 πλείστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν. ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δὲ ὀφελήσασι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τόδε ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτῷ, ὅτι δυνατῶτατος ἂν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανερὸς ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς νόμοις λατρεύων, τὸς γὰρ ἂν ἠθελήσεν ἀπειθεῖν ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα πειθόμενον; τὸς δ' ἂν ἤγο uomενος μειονεκτεῖν νέωτερον τι ἐπεχείρησε ποιεῖν εἰδὼς τὸν βασιλέα νομίμως 3 καὶ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι φέροντα; ὅς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁσπερ πατὴρ πρὸς παῖδας προσεφέρετο. ἐλοιδορεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμαρτήμασιν, ἐτίμα δ' εἰ τι καλὸν πράττοιεν, παρίστατο δ' εἰ τις συμφορά· συμβαίνοι, ἐχθρὸν μὲν οὐδένα ἤγο uomενος πολιτὴν, ἐπαίνειν δὲ πάντας ἔθελων, σώζεσθαι δὲ πάντας κέρδος νομίζων, ξημίαν δὲ τιθεῖς, εἰ καὶ ὁ μικρὸν ἄξιος ἀπόλοιπον· εἰ δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἰρμεοῦντες διαμένουσιν, δῆλος
And so, by using such methods, he was formidable to his enemies, and inspired his friends with strength and confidence. Thus he was never despised by his foes, never brought to account by the citizens, never blamed by his friends, but throughout his career he was praised and idolised by all the world.

VII. Of his Patriotism it would be a long task to write in complete detail, for there is no single action of his, I think, that does not illustrate that quality. To speak briefly, we all know that when Agesilaus thought he would be serving his fatherland he never shirked toil, never shrunk from danger, never spared money, never excused himself on the score of bodily weakness or old age; but believed that it is the duty of a good king to do as much good as possible to his subjects. Among the greatest services he rendered to his fatherland I reckon the fact that, though the most powerful man in the state, he was clearly a devoted servant of the laws. For who would be minded to disobey when he saw the king obeying? Who would turn revolutionist, thinking himself defrauded of his due, when he knew that the king was ready to yield in accordance with the laws? Here was a man whose behaviour to his political opponents was that of a father to his children: though he would chide them for their errors he honoured them when they did a good deed, and stood by them when any disaster befell them, deeming no citizen an enemy, willing to praise all, counting the safety of all a gain, and reckoning the destruction even of a man of little worth as a loss. He clearly reckoned that if the citizens should continue to live in peaceful sub-

1 Memorabilia, III. ii.
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ην ευδαίμονα μὲν ἢι ἐσεσθαί τὴν πατρίδα λογιζόμενος, ἵσχυρὰν δὲ τότε, ὅταν οἱ Ἕλληνες σωφρονῶσιν.

4 Εἰ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγεν Ἕλληνα ὅταν ἐπίκλησιν εἶναι, τίνα τις οἴδειν ἄλλαν στρατηγὸν ἢ πόλιν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα αἱρεῖν, ὅταν οἴηται πορθήσειν, ἢ συμφόραν νομίζοντα τὸ νικᾶν ἐν τῷ προσ Ἕλληνας πολέμω; ἐκεῖνός τοῖς, ἀγγελίας μὲν ἐλθούσης αὐτῶ, ὥς ἐν τῇ ἐν Κορίνθῳ μάχῃ ὅκτω μὲν Δακεδαμοῦνων, ἐγγὺς δὲ μύριοι τῶν ἀντιπάλων τεθναιεν, οὐκ ἐφσθεῖς φανέρως ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ ἐπέν ἁρα. Φεῦ σου, ὅ Ἕλλας, ὅποτε οἱ νῦν τεθνηκότες ἴκανοι ἴσαν ἴσας νικᾶν μαχόμενοι πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους. Κορινθίων γε μὴν τῶν ἡγούμενων λεγόμενων, ὅτι εἰ διόδεο αὐτῶς ἢ πόλις, καὶ μηχανᾶς ἐπιδεικνύτων, αἰς πάντως ἥλπιζον ἢν ἐλείν τὰ τείχῃ, οὐκ ἦθελε προσβάλλειν, λέγων, ὅτι οὐκ ἁνδραποδίζεσθαι δεῖοι Ἕλληνιδάς πόλεας, ἀλλὰ σωφρονίζειν. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἁμερτά-

νοῦς, ἐφη, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀφανισθὲν, ὅραν χρῆ, μὴ οὖν ἐξομεν μὲθ ὁτον τῶν βαρβάρων κρατήσωμεν.

6 Εἰ δ' αὖ καλὸν καὶ μισοπέρσην εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πάλαι ἐξεστράτευσεν ὃ ὁ δούλωσόμενος τὴν Ἕλλαδα καὶ ὁ νῦν συμμαχεῖ μὲν τοῦτοι, μὲθ' ὁποτέρων ἢν οἴηται μείζων βλάψεως, διώρειται δ' ἐκεῖνοι, οὐς ἄν νομίζῃ λαβοῦντας πλεῖστα κακὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιήσειν, εἰρήνην δὲ συμπράττει, ἐξ ἡς ἂν ἠγαθῇ μᾶλλοτα ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις πολε-

μήσεις ὀρῶσι μὲν οὐν ἀπότατες τάυτα· ἐπεμεληθη δὲ τις ἀλλως πῶς τοι πλὴν Ἀγρίαλαος, ἦ ὁπῶς

1 σου is added from Priscian 2 p. 188: it is not in S’s text.

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mission to the laws, the fatherland would always prosper and that she would be strong when the Greeks were prudent.

Again, if it is honourable in one who is a Greek 4 to be a friend to the Greeks, what other general has the world seen unwilling to take a city when he thought that it would be sacked, or who looked on victory in a war against Greeks as a disaster? Now 5 when a report reached Agesilaus that eight Lacedaemonians and near ten thousand of the enemy had fallen at the battle of Corinth, instead of showing pleasure, he actually exclaimed: “Alas for thee, Hellas! those who now lie dead were enough to defeat all the barbarians in battle had they lived!”

And when the Corinthian exiles told him that the 6 city was about to be surrendered to them and pointed to the engines with which they were confident of taking the walls, he would not make an assault, declaring that Greek cities ought not to be enslaved, but chastened. “And if,” he added, “we are going to annihilate the erring members of our own race, let us beware lest we lack men to help in the conquest of the barbarians.”

Or again, if it is honourable to hate the Persian 7 because in old days he set out to enslave Greece, and now allies himself with that side which offers him the prospect of working the greater mischief, makes gifts to those who, as he believes, will injure the Greeks most in return, negotiates the peace that he thinks most certain to produce war among us—well, everyone can see these things, but who except Agesilaus has ever striven either to bring about

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2 αρ is added by Richards: it is not in S.’s text.
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φύλον τι ἀποστήσεται τοῦ Πέρσου ἢ ὅπως τὸ ἀποστάν μὴ ἀπόληται ἢ τὸ παράπαν ὡς καὶ βασιλεὺς κακὰ ἔχων μὴ δυνήσεται τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ πράγματα παρέχειν; δέ καὶ πολεμοῦσης τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς ᾿Ελληνας ὁμος τοῦ κοινοῦ ἁγαθοῦ τη ᾿Ελλάδι οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ τι δύναιτο κακὸν ποιῆσον τοῦ βάρβαρον.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιον γε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐχαρι μὴ σιωπᾶσθαι ὃ γε ὑπαρχούσης μὲν τιμῆς, παρούσης δὲ δυνάμεως, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις βασιλείας, καὶ ταύτης οὐκ ἐπιβουλευομένης ἀλλ’ ἀγαπωμένης, τὸ μὲν μεγάλαυχον οὐκ ἂν εἶδε· τις, τὸ δὲ φιλόστοργον καὶ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν φίλων καὶ 2 μὴ ξητῶν κατενόησεν ἄν. καὶ μὴν μετείχε μὲν ἢδιστα παιδικῶν λόγων, συνεπούδαζε δὲ πάν ὁ τι δέοι φίλοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ εὐελπίς καὶ εὐθυμοσ καὶ αἰεὶ ἰλαρός εἶναι πολλούς ἐποίει μὴ τοῦ διαπράξασθαι τι μόνον ἐνεκα πλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἢδιον δημηρεύειν. ἦκιστα δ’ ὧν οἶος μεγαληγορεῖν ὁμος τῶν ἐπαινούντων αὐτοῦς οὐ βαρέως ἠκονεν, ἡγούμενος βλάπτειν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς, 3 ύπισχεῖσθαι δὲ ἀνδρας ἁγαθοὺς ἑσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῇ μεγαλογυμοσύνῃ γε ὡς εὐκαίρως ἐχρήτο, οὐ παραλειπτέον. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ, ὅτ’ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ βασιλέως, ἤν ὁ μετὰ Κάλλεά τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Πέρσης ἦγεγκε, περὶ ξενίας τε καὶ φιλίας αὐτοῦ, ταύτην μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τῷ δὲ φέροντι ἐἵππει ἀπαγγεῖλαι βασιλεὶ, ὡς ἰδίᾳ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν δέοι ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν, ἢν δὲ

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AGESILAUS, vii. 7—viii. 3

the revolt of a tribe from the Persian, or to save a revolting tribe from destruction, or by some means or other to involve the Great King in trouble so that he will be unable to annoy the Greeks? Nay, when his fatherland was actually at war with Greeks, he did not neglect the common good of Greece, but went out with a fleet to do what harm he could to the barbarian.

VIII. Another quality that should not go unrecorded is his urbanity. For although he held honour in fee, and had power at his beck, and to these added sovereignty—sovereignty not plotted against but regarded with affection—yet no traces of arrogance could have been detected in him, whereas signs of a fatherly affection and readiness to serve his friends, even if unsought, were evident. He delighted, moreover, to take his part in light talk, yet he showed an eager sympathy with friends in all their serious concerns. Thanks to his optimism, good humour, and cheerfulness he was a centre of attraction to many, who came not merely for purposes of business, but to pass the day more pleasantly. Little inclined to boastfulness himself, he heard without annoyance the self-praise of others, thinking that, by indulging in it, they did no harm and gave earnest of high endeavour. On the other hand, one must not omit a reference to the dignity that he showed on appropriate occasions. Thus, when the Persian envoy who came with Calleas, the Lacedaemonian, handed him a letter from the Great King containing offers of friendship and hospitality, he declined to accept it. "Tell his Majesty," he said to the bearer, "that there is no need for him to send me private letters, but, if he
Aristodemus was great-grandson of Hyllus, son of Heracles. Xenophon follows the Lacedaemonian account, according to which Aristodemus himself was leader at the time when the Lacedaemonians obtained Sparta (Herodotus,
AGESILAUS, viii. 3-7

gives proof of friendship for Lacedaemon, and goodwill towards Greece, I on my part will be his friend with all my heart. But if he is found plotting against them, let him not hope to have a friend in me, however many letters I may receive.” In this contempt for the king’s hospitality, as nothing in comparison with the approval of the Greeks, I find one more reason for praising Agesilaus. Admirable too was his opinion that it is not for the ruler with the deeper coffers and the longer roll of subjects to set himself above his rival, but for him who is the better leader of the better people.

Again, an instance of his foresight that I find worthy of praise is this: believing it to be good for Greece that as many satraps as possible should revolt from the king, he was not prevailed on either by gifts or by the king’s power to accept his hospitality, but was careful not to give cause to those who wanted to revolt for mistrusting him.

There is yet another side of his character that everyone must admire. It was the belief of the Persian king that by possessing himself of colossal wealth, he would put all things in subjection to himself. In this belief he tried to engross all the gold, all the silver and all the most costly things in the world. Agesilaus, on the contrary, adopted such a simple style in his home that he needed none of these things. If anyone doubts this, let him mark what sort of a house contented him, and in particular, let him look at the doors: one might imagine that they were the very doors that Aristo-demus, the descendant of Heracles set up with his

vi, 52). His sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, became the first joint-kings.
λαβὼν ἐπεστήσατο· πειράσθω δὲ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἔνδον κατασκευήν, ἐννόησάτω δὲ, ὡς έθοίναζεν ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις, ἀκουσάτω δὲ, ὡς ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ καννάθρου κατήγει εἰς Ἀμύκλας ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ.

8 τουγαροῦν οὕτως ἐφαρμόσας τὰς δαπάνας ταῖς προσόδοις οὔδεν ἥναγκάζετο χρημάτων ἕνεκα ἄδικον πράττειν. καίτοι καλὸν μὲν δοκεῖ εἰναι τείχῃ ἀνάλωτα κτάσθαι ὑπὸ πολεμίων· πολὺ μέντοι ἤγογοι κάλλιον κρίνω τὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχήν ἀνάλωτον κατασκευάσαι καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων καὶ ὑπὸ ἱδονῶν καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου.

IX. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔρω γε, ὡς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεστήσατο τῇ τοῦ Πέρσου ἀλαζονεία. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν τῷ σπανίως ὁρᾶσθαι ἐσεμνύνετο, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ ἀεὶ ἐμφανῆς εἶναι ἡγάλλετο, νομίζων αἰσχρουργίᾳ μὲν τὸ ἀφανίζεσθαι πρέπειν, τῷ δὲ εἰς κάλλος βίῳ τὸ φῶς μᾶλλον κόσμον

2 παρέχειν. ἐπειτα δὲ ὁ μὲν τῷ δυσπρόσοδος εἶναι ἐσεμνύνετο, ὁ δὲ τῷ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος εἶναι ἔχαρε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡβρύνετο τῷ βραδέως δια- πράττειν, ὁ δὲ τότε μάλιστα ἔχαρεν, ὅπως τάχιστα τυχόντας ὃν δέοιτο ἀποπέμποι.

3 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν εὐπάθειαν ὅσῳ ράοναι καὶ εὐποροτέραν Ἀγησίλαος ἐπετήδευσεν, ἄξιον κατανοῆσαι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πέρση πᾶσαν γῆν περιέρχοντας μαστεύοντες, τὶ ἀν ἡδέως πῖοι, μυρίοι δὲ τεχνώνται, τὶ ἀν ἡδέως φάγοι· ὅπως γε μὴν καταδρόθωσι, οὐδ' ἀν εἴποι τις ὁσα πραγματεύονται. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλότονος

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own hands in the days of his home-coming. Let him try to picture the scene within; note how he entertained on days of sacrifice, hear how his daughter used to go down to Amyclae in a public car. And so, thanks to this nice adjustment of his expenditure to his income, he was never compelled to commit an act of injustice for the sake of money. Doubtless it is thought noble to build oneself fortresses impregnable to an enemy: but in my judgment it is far nobler to fortify one's own soul against all the assaults of lucre, of pleasure, and of fear.

IX. I will next point out the contrast between his behaviour and the imposture of the Persian king. In the first place the Persian thought his dignity required that he should be seldom seen: Agesilaus delighted to be constantly visible, believing that, whereas secrecy was becoming to an ugly career, the light shed lustre on a life of noble purpose. In the second place, the one prided himself on being difficult of approach: the other was glad to make himself accessible to all. And the one affected tardiness in negotiation: the other was best pleased when he could dismiss his suitors quickly with their requests granted.

In the matter of personal comfort, moreover, it is worth noticing how much simpler and how much more easily satisfied were the tastes of Agesilaus. The Persian king has vintners scouring every land to find some drink that will tickle his palate; an army of cooks contrives dishes for his delight; and the trouble his lackeys take that he may sleep is indescribable. But Agesilaus, thanks to his love of

1 To the feast of Hyacinthus; see c. ii. 17.
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eίναι πάν μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἡδέως ἐπινε, πᾶν δὲ τὸ συντυχὼν ἡδέως ἤσθιεν· εἰς δὲ τὸ ἁσμένως
4 κοιμηθῆμα πᾶς τόπος ἱκανός ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ
tαύτα οὐ μόνον πράττων ἔχαρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐνθυμούμενος ἡγάλλετο, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν μέσαις
ταῖς εὐφροσύναις ἀναστρέφοιτο, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον
ἐώρα, εἰ μέλλοι ἄλυπως βιώσεσθαι, συνελκυστέον
αὐτῷ ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς γῆς τὰ τέρψοντα.
5 εὐφραίνε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τάδε, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἤδει
tῇ τῶν θεῶν κατασκευῆ δυνάμενος ἄλυπως
χρήσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐώρα φεύγοντα μὲν θάλπη,
φεύγοντα δὲ ψύχη δι’ ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς, οὐκ
ἀνδρῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ θηρίων τῶν ἁθενεστάτων
βίον μιμούμενον.
6 Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πῶς οὐ καλὸν καὶ μεγαλόγνωμον,
τὸ αὐτὸν μὲν ἄνδρος ἔργοις καὶ κτήμασι κοσμεῖν
tὸν ἐαυτοῦ οἶκον, κύνας τε πολλοὺς θηρευτὰς
καὶ ἵππους πολεμιστηρίους τρέφοντα, Κυνίσκαν
δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὕσαν πείσαι ἄρματοριφοῖ καὶ
ἐπιδείξαι νικώσης αὐτῆς, ὅτι τὸ θρέμμα τοῦτο
οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίας, ἀλλὰ πλοῦτου ἐπίδειγμά ἔστι.
7 τάδε γε μὴν πῶς οὐ σαφῶς πρὸς τὸ γενναῖον
ἐγγὺς, ὅτι ἄρματε μὲν νικήσας τοὺς ἰδιώτας οὐδὲν
ὄνομαστότερος ἄν γένοιτο, εἰ δὲ φίλην μὲν πάντων
μᾶλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἔχοι, πλεῖστοις δὲ φίλους
καὶ ἀρίστους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κεκτῆσιν, νικότι
δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίρους ἐνεργείῶν,
tοὺς δὲ ἀντιπάλους τιμωροῦμενος, ὅτι ὅντως ἂν
εἰς νικηφόρος τῶν καλλίστως καὶ μεγαλοπρε-
πεστάτως ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ ὀνομαστότατος καὶ
ξών καὶ τελευτήσας γένοις ἂν;
Χ. Ἑγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπαινῶ 'Αγησίλαον.
toil, enjoyed any drink that was at hand and any food that came his way; and any place was good enough to give him soft repose. Nor was he happy only in this behaviour: he was also proud to reflect that, while he was surrounded with good cheer, he saw the barbarian constrained to draw from the ends of the world the material for his enjoyment, if he would live without discomfort. And it cheered his heart to know that he could accommodate himself to the divine ordering of the world, whereas he saw his rival shunning heat and shunning cold through weakness of character, imitating the life, not of brave men, but of the weakest of the brutes.

Surely, too, he did what was seemly and dignified when he adorned his own estate with works and possessions worthy of a man, keeping many hounds and war horses, but persuaded his sister Cynisca to breed chariot horses, and showed by her victory that such a stud marks the owner as a person of wealth, but not necessarily of merit.1 How clearly his true nobility comes out in his opinion that a victory in the chariot race over private citizens would add not a whit to his renown; but if he held the first place in the affection of the people, gained the most friends and best all over the world, outstripped all others in serving his fatherland and his comrades and in punishing his adversaries, then he would be victor in the noblest and most splendid contests, and would gain high renown both in life and after death.

X. Such, then, are the qualities for which I praise

1 Hiero, xi. 5.
taûta γὰρ οὐχ ὠσπερ εἰ θησαυρὸς τις ἐντύχωι, πλουσίωτερος μὲν ἂν ἢ, οἰκονομικῶτερος ὁ
οὐδέν ἂν, καὶ εἰ νόσου δὲ πολεμίους ἐμπεσοῦσης
κρατήσειν, εὐτυχέστερος μὲν ἂν εἰ, στρατηγι-
κῶτερος δὲ οὐδέν ἂν, ὁ δὲ καρτερία μὲν πρωτεύον,
ἐνθὰ πονεῖν καιρός, ἀλκή δὲ, ὅποι ἀνδρείας ἀγών,
γνώμη δὲ, ὅπου Βουλῆς ἔργων, οὕτως ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ
δικαίως ἀνὴρ ἁγαθὸς παντελῶς ἃν νομίζεσθαι.
1 e'ı dê kalôn εὐρήμα ἀνθρώποις στάθμη καὶ κανών
πρὸς τὸ ἁγαθὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, καλὸν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ
ὁ Ἀγησιλάον ἀρετὴ παράδειγμα γενέσθαι τοῖς
ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀσκεῖν βουλομένοις. τίς γὰρ ἂν
ὁ θεσεβὴ μιμούμενος ἀνόσιος γένοιτο ὁ δίκαιον
ἀδικος ὁ σώφρονα υβριστὴς ἡ ἐγκρατὴ ἀκρατὴς;
καὶ γὰρ ὃς οὐχ οὕτως ἐπί τῷ ἄλλων βασιλεῖνειν
ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχειν ἐμεγαλύνειν οὐδ' ἐπὶ
tô πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς πᾶσαι
ἀρετὴν ἤγεισθαι τοῖς πολίταις.
2 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ ὅτι τετελευτηκὼς ἐπαινεῖται,
tούτου ἄνεκα θρήνῳς τις τούτων τῶν λόγων νομι-
σάτω, ἄλλα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐγκώμιον. πρῶτων
μὲν γὰρ ἀπερ ξῶν ἦκουε, ταῦτα καὶ νῦν λέγεται
περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἔπειτα δὲ τὶ καὶ πλέον θρήνου
ἀπεστίν ἡ βίος τε εὐκλείης καὶ θάνατος ὁραῖος;
ἐγκώμιον δὲ τί ξιωτέρων ἢ νικά τε αἱ κάλλισται
καὶ ἐργα τὰ πλείστου ἀξία; δικαίως δ' ἂν
ἐκείνος ἐν μακαρίζοιτο, ὅσ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκ παιδὸς
ἐρασθεὶς τοῦ εὐκλείης γενέσθαι ἐνυχε τούτου
μάλιστα τῶν καθ' ἑαυτῶν. φιλοτιμοτατος δὲ

1 The reference is to the ceremonial hymns sung at or
after funerals, which of course contained much that would
not have been said or sung in the hero's life-time.
AGESILAUS, x. 1-4

Agesilaus. These are the marks that distinguish him, say, from the man who, lighting on a treasure, becomes wealthier but not wiser in business, or from the man who wins victory through an outbreak of sickness among the enemy, and adds to his success but not to his knowledge of strategy. The man who is foremost in endurance when the hour comes for toil, in valour when the contest calls for courage, in wisdom when the need is for counsel—he is the man, I think, who may fairly be regarded as the perfect embodiment of goodness. If line and rule 2 are a noble discovery of man as aids to the production of good work, I think that the virtue of Agesilaus may well stand as a noble example for those to follow who wish to make moral gooduess a habit. For who that imitates a pious, a just, a sober, a self-controlled man, can come to be unrighteous, unjust, violent, wanton? In point of fact, Agesilaus prided himself less on reigning over others than on ruling himself, less on leading the people against their enemies than on guiding them to all virtue.

However, let it not be thought, because one whose 3 life is ended is the theme of my praise, that these words are meant for a funeral dirge. They are far more truly the language of eulogy. In the first place the words now applied to him are the very same that he heard in his lifetime. And, in the second place, what theme is less appropriate to a dirge than a life of fame and a death well-timed? What more worthy of enlogies than victories most glorious and deeds of sovereign worth? Justly may 4 the man be counted blessed who was in love with glory from early youth and won more of it than any man of his age; who, being by nature very covetous

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πεφυκὼς ἀήττητος διετέλεσεν, ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἑγένετο· ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μήκιστον ἀνθρωπίνου αἰῶνος ἀναμάρτητος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ περὶ τούτου, ὃν ἴτείτο, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους, οἰς ἐπολέμει.

XI. Βουλομαί δὲ καὶ ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἄν ὁ ἐπαινοῦς εὐμνημονε-στέρως ἔχῃ.

᾿Αγησίλαος οἱρὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσέβητο, ἡγούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ ἦττον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ χρήμα ἢ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἰκέτας δὲ θεῶν οὖδὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐβιάζετο, νομίζον ἄλογον εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἵερῶν κλέπτοντας ἱεροσύλους καλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ βωμῶν ἴκέτας ἀπο-στόντας εὐσέβεις ἤγεισθαι.

2 'Εκείνος γε μὴν ὑμνῶν οὐποτ' ἔληγεν, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκοτο οὖδὲν ἦττον ὁσίοις ἔργοις ἢ ἄγνοις ἱεροῖς ἠδεσθαι.

Ἅλλα μὴν καὶ ὅποτε εὐτυχοὶ, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὑπερεφρόνει, ἁλλὰ θεοὶς χάριν ἱδεῖ. καὶ θαρρῶν πλείονα ἐθνεὶν ἢ ὁκνῶν ἡχέτο.

Εἶθεστο δὲ φοβοῦμενος μὲν Ἰλαρὸς φαίνεσθαι, εὐτυχῶν δὲ πράος εἶναι.

3 Τῶν γε μὴν φίλων οὐ τοὺς δυνατῶτάτονς, ἁλλὰ τοὺς προθυμοτάτονς μάλιστα ἡσπάζετο.

Ἔμισει δὲ οὐκ εἰ τις κακῶς πάσχων ἡμῶνετο, ἁλλὰ εἰ τις εὐρεγετούμενος ἀχάριστος φαῖνοιτο.

'Εχαίρε δὲ τοὺς μὲν αἰσχροκερδείς πένητας ὄρων, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους πλουσίους ποιῶν, βουλό-μενος τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τῆς ἄδικες κερδαλεωτέραν καθιστάναι.
of honour, never once knew defeat from the day that he became a king; who, after living to the utmost limit of human life, died without one blunder to his account, either concerning the men whom he led or in dealing with those on whom he made war.

XI. I propose to go through the story of his virtue again, and to summarize it, in order that the praise of it may be more easily remembered.

Agesilaus reverenced holy places even when they belonged to an enemy, thinking that he ought to make allies of the gods no less in hostile than in friendly countries.

To suppliants of the gods, even if his foes, he did no violence, believing it unreasonable to call robbers of temples sacrilegious and yet to consider those who dragged suppliants from altars pious men.

My hero never failed to dwell on his opinion that the gods have pleasure in righteous deeds no less than in holy temples.

In the hour of success he was not puffed up with pride, but gave thanks to the gods. He offered more sacrifices when confident than prayers when in doubt.

He was wont to look cheerful when in fear, and to be humble when successful.

Of his friends he welcomed most heartily not the most powerful, but the most devoted.

He hated not the man who defended himself when injured, but such as showed no gratitude for a favour.

He rejoiced to see the avaricious poor and to enrich the upright, desiring to render right more profitable than wrong.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

4 Ἡςκεὶ δὲ ἐξομιλεῖν μὲν παντοδαποῖς, χρήσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς.

Ὀπότε δὲ ψεγόντων ἢ ἐπαινοῦντων τινὰς ἀκούοι, οὐχ ἦττον φέτο καταμανθάνειν τοὺς τῶν λεγόντων τρόπους ἢ περὶ δὲν λέγοιεν.

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ φίλων ἐξαπατωμένους οὐκ ἔψευγε, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πολεμίων πάμπαν κατεμέφετο καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπιστούντας ἐξαπατᾶν σοφὸν ἔκρινε, τὸ δὲ πιστεύοντας ἀνόσιον.

5 Ἐπαινούμενος δὲ ἔχαριέν ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ ψεγεῖν ἑθελόντων τὰ μὴ ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν παρρησίαζομένων οὐδένα ἥχθραινε, τοὺς δὲ κρυψίνους ὀσπερ ἐνέδρας ἐφυλάττετο.

Τοὺς γε μὴν διαβόλους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς κλέπτας ἐμίσει, μείζων ξημίαν ἡγούμενος φίλων ἡ χρημάτων ἀμαρτίας πράως ἐφερε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγάλας ἤγε, κρίνων τοὺς μὲν ὅλιγα, τοὺς δὲ πολλά κακῶς διατιθέναι.

Τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ προσήκειν εὐνομίζειν οὐ ραδιούργιαν, ἄλλα καλοκάγαθιαν.

6 Καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος εἰκόνα στήσασθαι ἀπέσχετο, πολλῶν αὐτῷ τούτο δωρεῖσθαι θελόντων, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς οὐδέποτε ἐπαύετο μνημεῖα διαπονούμενος, ἡγούμενος τὸ μὲν ἀνδριαντοποιῶν, τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔργον εἶναι καὶ τὸ μὲν πλούσιων, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

7 Χρήματι γε μὴν οὐ μόνων δικαίως, ἄλλα καὶ ἐλευθερίως ἐχρήτο, τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ ἄρκειν ἡγούμενος τὸ ἔαν τὰ ἄλλοτρα, τῷ δὲ ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προσωφελητέον εἶναι.

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It was his habit to associate with all sorts and conditions of men, but to be intimate with the good.

Whenever he heard men praise or blame others, he thought that he gained as much insight into the character of the critics as of the persons they criticized.

If friends proved deceivers he forebore to blame their victims, but he heaped reproaches on those who let an enemy deceive them; and he pronounced deception clever or wicked according as it was practised on the suspicious or the confiding.

The praise of those who were prepared to censure faults they disapproved was pleasing to him, and he never resented candour, but avoided dissimulation like a snare.

Slanderers he hated more than thieves, deeming loss of friends graver than loss of money. The mistakes of private persons he judged leniently, because few interests suffer by their incompetence; but the errors of rulers he treated as serious, since they lead to many troubles.

Kingship, he held, demands not indolence, but manly virtue.

He would not allow a statue of himself to be set up, though many wanted to give him one, but on memorials of his mind he laboured unceasingly, thinking the one to be the sculptor's work, the other his own, the one appropriate to the rich, the other to the good.

In the use of money he was not only just but generous, thinking that a just man may be content to leave other men's money alone, but the generous man is required also to spend his own in the service of others.
'Αεί δὲ δεισιδαίμων ἦν, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν καλῶς ἡμείς ταῖς ἡμείς ωμοίως συνειδήμονας, τοὺς δὲ εὐκλεῶς τετελευτηκότας ἦδη μακαρίους.

9 Μείζω δὲ συμφορὰν ἔκρινε τὸ γιγνώσκοντα ἢ ἀγνοοῦντα ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.
Δόξης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἡρα, ἢς οὐκ ἔξεπόνει τὰ ἱδία.
Μετ’ ὀλίγων δὲ μοι ἐδόκει ἀνθρώπων οὐ καρτερίαν τὴν ἁρετήν, ἀλλ’ εὐπάθειαν νομίζων· ἐπαινούμενος γοῦν ἐχαίρε μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα κτῶμενος.

'Αλλὰ μὴν ἀνδρείαν γε τὸ πλέον μετ’ εὐβουλίας ἢ μετὰ κυνήγουν ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ σοφίαν ἐργῷ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγους ἦσκει.

10 Πραότατος γε μὴν φίλοις ὄν ἔχθροῖς φοβέρωτατος ἦν καὶ πόνοις μᾶλιστα ἀντέχων ἐταίροις ἡδίστα ὑπεικε, καλῶν ἐργῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν.

"Εν γε μὴν ταῖς εὐπραξίασις σωφρονεῖν ἐπιστάμενος ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐθαρσῆς ἐδύνατο εἶναι.

11 Καὶ τὸ εὐχαρι ὁ σκόμμασιν, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ ἐπετήδευε καὶ τῷ μεγαλόφρονι οὐ σὺν ὑβρεί, ἀλλὰ σὺν γνώμῃ ἔχρητο· τῶν γοῦν ὑπεραύχων καταφρονῶν τῶν μετρίων ταπεινότερος ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκαλλωπίζετο τῇ μὲν ἁμφὶ τὸ σώμα φαινότητι, τῷ δ’ ἁμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα κόσμῳ, τῷ δ’ αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων δείσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἡς πλείστα ὡφελεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βαρύτατος μὲν ἀνταγωνιστὴς ἦν, κούφοτατος δὲ κρατήσας, ἔχθροις μὲν δυσεξαπάτητος, φίλοις δὲ εὐπαραπειστότατος.
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AGESILAUS, XI. 8-12

He was ever god-fearing, believing that they who are living life well are not yet happy, but only they who have died gloriously are blessed.

He held it a greater calamity to neglect that which is good knowingly than in ignorance.

No fame attracted him unless he did the right work to achieve it.

He seemed to me one of the few men who count virtue not a task to be endured but a comfort to be enjoyed. At any rate praise gave him more pleasure than money.

Courage, as he displayed it, was joined with prudence rather than boldness, and wisdom he cultivated more by action than in words.

Very gentle with friends, he was very formidable to enemies; and while he resisted fatigue obstinately, he yielded most readily to a comrade, though fair deeds appealed more to his heart than fair faces.

To moderation in times of prosperity he added confidence in the midst of danger.

His urbanity found its habitual expression not in jokes but in his manner; and when on his dignity, he was never arrogant, but always reasonable; at least, if he showed his contempt for the haughty, he was humbler than the average man. For he prided himself on the simplicity of his own dress and the splendid equipment of his army, on a strict limitation of his own needs and a boundless generosity to his friends. Added to this, he was the bitterest of adversaries, but the mildest of conquerors; wary with enemies, but very compliant to friends.
'Αεί δὲ τίθεις τὰ τῶν φίλων ἁσφαλῶς ἢ ἀμαυροῦν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἑργον εἰχεν.

13 Ἐκείνων οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς φιλοκηδεμόνα ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ χρώμενοι ἀπροφάσιστον, οἱ δ' ὑπουργησάντες τι μνήμονα, οἱ δ' ἀδικούμενοι ἐπίκουρον, οἳ γε μὴν συγκινδυνεύοντες μετὰ θεοὺς σωτήρα.

14 Δοκεὶ δ' ἐμοιγε καὶ τόδε μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι η ἡ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἵσχὺς γηράσκει, ἢ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ρώμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρῶν ἀγήρατος ἐστίν. Ἐκείνος γοῦν οὐκ ἀπείπε μεγάλης καὶ καλῆς ἐφίεμενος δόξης, ἕι καὶ μὴ τὸ σώμα φέρειν ἢδύνατο τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ρώμην.

15 τοιγαροῦν ποιῶς οὐ νεότητος κρεῖττον τὸ ἐκείνου γηρᾶς ἐφάνη; τίς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀκμάζων οὔτω φοβερὸς ἦν ὡς Ἄγησίλαος τὸ μήκιστον τοῦ αἰῶνος ἔχων; τίνος δ' ἐκποδῶν γενομένου μᾶλλον ἔσθησαν οἱ πολέμοι ἢ Ἀγησιλάον καίπερ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος; τίς δὲ συμμάχοις θάρρος παρέσχεν ὅσον Ἀγησίλαος καίπερ ἦδη πρὸς τὸ στόματι τοῦ βίου ὄν; τίνα δὲ νέον οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἐπόθησαν ἢ Ἀγησιλαόν γηραιοῦ ἀποθανόντα; οὔτω δὲ τελέως ὁ ἄνηρ τῇ πατρίδι ὁφέλιμος ὄν διεγένετο, ὡς καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἦδη ἔτι μεγαλείως ὁφελῶν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αἰδίου οὐκησιν κατηγάγετο, μυνημεῖα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γην κτησάμενος, τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυχῶν.

1 The text is corrupt. δόξης εἰ καὶ μὴ is wanting in A, which has μεγάλην καὶ καλῆν.
AGESILAUS, xi. 12-16

While ever ensuring security to his own side, he ever made it his business to bring to nought the designs of his enemy.

By his relatives he was described as “devoted to his family,” by his intimates as “an unfailing friend,” by those who served him as “unforgettable,” by the oppressed as “a champion,” by his comrades in danger as “a saviour second to the gods.”

In one respect, I think, he was unique. He proved that, though the bodily strength decays, the vigour of good men’s souls is ageless. At any rate, he never wearied in the pursuit of great and noble glory so long as his body could support the vigour of his soul. What man’s youth, then, did not seem weaker than his old age? For who in his prime was so formidable to his foes as Agesilaus at the very limit of human life? Whose removal brought such welcome relief to the enemy as the death of Agesilaus, despite his years? Who gave such confidence to allies as Agesilaus, though now on the threshold of death? What young man was more regretted by his friends than Agesilaus, though he died full of years? So complete was the record of his service to his fatherland that it did not end even when he died: he was still a bountiful benefactor of the state when he was brought home to be laid in his eternal resting-place, and, having raised up monuments of his virtue throughout the world, was buried with royal ceremony in his own land.¹

¹ Hellenica, v. v. 45.
² The reference is to the money which Agesilaus had obtained in Egypt, and which was brought to the city with his body. For the burial see Const. of the Lac., end.
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

1. 'Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐννοήσας ποτὲ, ὅς ἦ Σπάρτη τῶν ὀλιγανθρωποτάτων πόλεων οὕσα δυνατωτάτη τε καὶ ὁνομαστοτάτη ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι ἐφάνη, ἑθαύμασα, ὅτῳ ποτὲ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ μεντοὶ κατενόησα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐκέτι ἑθαύμαζον.

2. Δυκοῦργον μέντοι τῶν θέντα αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους, οἷς πειθόμενοι ἡνδαιμόνησαν, τούτον καὶ θαυμάζω καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα σοφῶν ἡγοῦμαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐ μιμησάμενος τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἄλλα καὶ ἑναντία γνών ταῖς πλείσταις προ-έχουσαν εὐδαιμονία τὴν πατρίδα ἐπέδειξεν.

3. Αὐτικὰ γὰρ περὶ τεκνοποιίας, ἢν εἴ ἄρχης ἄρξωμαι, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς μελλούσας τίκτειν καὶ καλῶς δοκοῦσας κόρας παιδεύσεθαι καὶ σίτῳ ἢ ἄνυστὸν μετρωτάτῳ τρέφουσι καὶ ὄψῳ ἢ δυνατὸν μικροτάτῳ. οὗν γε μὴν ἢ πάμπαν ἄπεχομένας ἢ υδαρεῖ χρωμένας διάγουσιν· ὁσπερ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων ἐδραίοι εἰσίν, οὕτω καὶ τὰς κόρας οἱ ἄλλοι ὁ 'Ελληνες ἢρεμιζούσας ἐριουργεῖν ἄξιούσι. τὰς μὲν οὖν οὕτω τρεφομένας πῶς χρῆ προσδοκῆσαι μεγαλείον ἂν τι γεννήσαι;
CONSTITUTION OF THE LACEDAEMONIANS

I. It occurred to me one day that Sparta, though among the most thinly populated of states, was evidently the most powerful and most celebrated city in Greece; and I fell to wondering how this could have happened. But when I considered the institutions of the Spartans, I wondered no longer.

Lycurgus, who gave them the laws that they obey, and to which they owe their prosperity, I do regard with wonder; and I think that he reached the utmost limit of wisdom. For it was not by imitating other states, but by devising a system utterly different from that of most others, that he made his country pre-eminently prosperous.

First, to begin at the beginning, I will take the begetting of children. In other states the girls who are destined to become mothers and are brought up in the approved fashion, live on the very plainest fare, with a most meagre allowance of delicacies. Wine is either withheld altogether, or, if allowed them, is diluted with water. The rest of the Greeks expect their girls to imitate the sedentary life that is typical of handicraftsmen—to keep quiet and do wool-work. How, then, is it to be expected that women so brought up will bear fine children?

1 The prose Constitution of the Lacedaemonians by Critias began with the same point. See Introduction III.
4 'Ο δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐσθήτας μὲν καὶ δούλας παρέχειν ἑκανάς ἤγγίζατο εἶναι, ταῖς δ' ἐλευθέραις μέγιστον νομίσας εἶναι τὴν τεκνοποιίαν πρῶτον μὲν σωμασκεῖν ἔταξεν οὐδὲν ἠττον τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος φύλου· ἔπειτα δὲ δρόμου καὶ ἰσχύος, ὠσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὖτω καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις ἀγώνας πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐποίησε, νομίζων εξ ἀμφοτέρων ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τὰ ἐκγόνα ἐρρωμενέστερα γίγνεσθαι.

5 Ἐπεί γε μὴν γυνὴ πρὸς ἀνδρα ἑλθοί, ὀρῶν τοὺς ἄλλους τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ χρόνου ἀμέτρως ταῖς γυναιξὶ συνόντας, καὶ τοῦτον τάναντία ἔγνω· ἔθηκε γὰρ αἰδεῖσθαι μὲν εἰσίόντα ὀφθήναι, αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ ἐξίόντα. οὖτω δὲ συνόντων ποθεινοτέρως μὲν ἀνάγκη σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἐρρωμενέστερα δὲ γίγνεσθαι, εἰ τι βλάστοι, οὖτω μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ διάκοροι ἀλλήλων εἰεν. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι καὶ ἀποπαύσας τοῦ ὅποτε βούλουσκα ἐκαστοι γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι ἔταξεν ἐν ἄκμαις τῶν σωμάτων τοὺς γάμους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο συμφέρουν τῇ εὐγνώμῳ νομίζων. εἰ γε μέντοι συμβαίνῃ γεραιῶ νέαν ἔχειν, ὀρῶν τοὺς τηλικοῦτοις φυλάττοντας μάλιστα τὰς γυναίκας τάναντία καὶ τοῦτον ἐνώμισε τῷ γὰρ πρεσβύτη ἐποίησεν, ὁποιοῦ ἀνδρὸς σῶμα τε καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγασθεί, τοῦτον ἐπαγομένων τεκνοποιήσασθαι. εἰ δὲ τις αὐτὴ γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιτο, τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοῦ ἤντινα νόμου ἐποίησεν, ἣντινα 138
THE LACEDAEMONIANS, 1. 4-8

But Lycurgus thought the labour of slave women sufficient to supply clothing. He believed motherhood to be the most important function of freeborn woman. Therefore, in the first place, he insisted on physical training for the female no less than for the male sex: moreover, he instituted races and trials of strength for women competitors as for men, believing that if both parents are strong they produce more vigorous offspring.

He noticed, too, that, during the time immediately succeeding marriage, it was usual elsewhere for the husband to have unlimited intercourse with his wife. The rule that he adopted was the opposite of this: for he laid it down that the husband should be ashamed to be seen entering his wife's room or leaving it. With this restriction on intercourse the desire of the one for the other must necessarily be increased, and their offspring was bound to be more vigorous than if they were surfeited with one another. In addition to this, he withdrew from men the right to take a wife whenever they chose, and insisted on their marrying in the prime of their manhood, believing that this too promoted the production of fine children. It might happen, however, that an old man had a young wife; and he observed that old men keep a very jealous watch over their young wives. To meet these cases he instituted an entirely different system by requiring the elderly husband to introduce into his house some man whose physical and moral qualities he admired, in order to beget children. On the other hand, in case a man did not want to cohabit with his wife and nevertheless desired children of whom he could be proud, he made it lawful for him to choose a woman who was the
εὔτεκνον καὶ γενναίαν ὄρφη, πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι.

9 Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοιαύτα συνεχόμεν· ἀυτὶ τε γὰρ γυναῖκες διττοὺς οἴκους βούλονται κατέχειν οὐ τε ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὺς τοῖς παισὶ προσλαμβάνειν, οὐ τοῦ μὲν γένους καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως κοινωνοῦσα, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀντιποιοῦνται.

10 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τεκνοποίας οὕτω τάναντια γνῶσις τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰ τι διαφέροντας καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ κατ’ ἱσχὺν ἄνδρας τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀπετέλεσεν, ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπισκοπεῖτο.

Π. Ἔγὼ μέντοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ γενέσεως ἐξήγημαι, βουλομαι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἐκατέρων σαφηνίσαι.

Τῶν μὲν τούνν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων οἱ φάσκοντες κάλλιστα τοὺς νεῖς παιδεύειν, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ παιδεῖς τὰ λεγόμενα συνιῶσιν, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς παιδαγωγοὺς θεράποντας ἐφιστᾶσιν, εὐθὺς δὲ πέμπουσιν εἰς διδασκάλους μαθησομένους καὶ γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν παλαίστρα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν παιδῶν πόδας μὲν ὑποδήμασιν ἀπαλύνουσι, σῶματα δὲ ἱματίων μεταβολαῖς διαβρύστουσι σῖτον γε μὴν αὐτοῖς γαστέρα μέτρον νομίζουσιν.

2. Ο δὲ Δυκούργος ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἰδίᾳ ἐκαστὸν παιδαγωγοὺς δούλους ἐφιστάναι ἄνδρα ἐπέστησε κρατεῖν αὐτῶν ἐξ ωσπερ αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαί

1 i.e. at Sparta.
mother of a fine family and of high birth, and if he obtained her husband’s consent, to make her the mother of his children.

He gave his sanction to many similar arrangements. 9 For the wives want to take charge of two households, and the husbands want to get brothers for their sons, brothers who are members of the family and share in its influence, but claim no part of the money.

Thus his regulations with regard to the begetting of children were in sharp contrast with those of other states. Whether he succeeded in populating Sparta with a race of men remarkable for their size and strength anyone who chooses may judge for himself.

II. Having dealt with the subject of birth, I wish next to explain the educational system of Lycurgus, and how it differs from other systems.

In the other Greek states parents who profess to give their sons the best education place their boys under the care and control of a moral tutor as soon as they can understand what is said to them, and send them to a school to learn letters, music and the exercises of the wrestling-ground. Moreover, they soften the children’s feet by giving them sandals, and pamper their bodies with changes of clothing; and it is customary to allow them as much food as they can eat.

Lycurgus, on the contrary, instead of leaving each father to appoint a slave to act as tutor, gave the duty of controlling the boys to a member of the class from which the highest offices are filled, in

1 I have adopted for παιδαγωγός the term used at Oxford for a person who has charge of, but does not teach, an undergraduate.
καθίστανται, δς δή καὶ παιδονόμος καλεῖται. 
τοῦτον δὲ κύριον ἐποίησε καὶ ἀθροίζειν τοὺς 
παιδας καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα, εἰ τις ῥαδιουργοί, 
ἰσχυρῶς κολάζειν. ἔδωκε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν 
ήβωντων μαστιγοφόρους, ὅπως τιμωροῦν ὅτε 
δέου ὡστε πολλὰν μὲν αἰδῶ, πολλὰν δὲ πειθώ 
3 ἐκεῖ συμπαρεῖναι. ἀντί γε μὴν τοῦ ἀπαλύνειν 
τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν ἔταξεν ἀνυπόδησία κρα-
τύνειν, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἀσκήσειαν, πολὺ μὲν 
ῥὰν ἁν ὀρθώσεις βαίνειν, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ πρανὴ 
kataβαίνειν, καὶ πηδήσας δὲ καὶ ἀναθορεῖν καὶ 
dραμεῖν θάττων τὸν ἁνυπόδητον, εἰ ἥσκικος εἵν' 
4 τοὺς πόδας, ἤ τὸν ὑποδειμένων. καὶ ἀντί γε 
tοῦ ἴματιου διαθύπτεσθαι ἐνόμισεν ἐνὶ ἴματι 
dὲ ἐτοὺς προσεβίζεσθαι, νομίζων οὔτως καὶ πρὸς 
ψύχῃ καὶ πρὸς θάλπῃ ἄμεινον ἁν παρεσκευάσθαι. 
5 σιτόν γε μὴν ἔταξε τοσοῦτον ἔχοντα συμβολεύειν 
tὸν εἴρενα, ὡς ἕπο πλησιμονίς μὲν μῆποτε βαρύ-
νεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἔνδεεστέρος διάγειν μὴ ἀπειρῶς 
ἐχεῖν, νομίζων τοὺς οὔτω παιδευομένους μᾶλλον 
mὲν ἁν δύνασθαι, εἰ δεῖσειεν, ἀσιτήσαντας ἐπιπο-
νηθῆσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἁν, εἰ παραγγελθεῖ, ἀπὸ τοῦ 
αὐτοῦ σιτοῦ πλείω χρόνον ἐπιταθῆναι, ἦττων δ' 
ἀν ὄψου δεῖσθαι, εὐχερέστερον δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ἐχεῖν 
6 βρῶμα καὶ ύγιευνότερος δ' ἁν διάγειν, καὶ εἰς

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1 τὸν, wanting in the MSS. and in S., is twice supplied by Cobet.

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1 συμβολεύειν is the conjecture of F. Portus for συμβουλεύειν, 
and εἴρενα that of Schneider for ἐρενα. The prefect took his 
meals with the class of which he had charge. But Stobaeus’
text runs σιτόν γε μὴν τοσοῦτον ἐχείν (for which read ἐσθίειν)
fact to the "Warden" as he is called. He gave this person authority to gather the boys together, to take charge of them and to punish them severely in case of misconduct. He also assigned to him a staff of youths provided with whips to chastise them when necessary; and the result is that modesty and obedience are inseparable companions at Sparta. Instead of softening the boys' feet with sandals he required them to harden their feet by going without shoes. He believed that if this habit were cultivated it would enable them to climb hills more easily and descend steep inclines with less danger, and that a youth who had accustomed himself to go barefoot would leap and jump and run more nimbly than a boy in sandals. And instead of letting them be pampered in the matter of clothing, he introduced the custom of wearing one garment throughout the year, believing that they would thus be better prepared to face changes of heat and cold. As to the food, he required the prefect to bring with him such a moderate amount of it that the boys would never suffer from repletion, and would know what it was to go with their hunger unsatisfied; for he believed that those who underwent this training would be better able to continue working on an empty stomach, if necessary, and would be capable of carrying on longer without extra food, if the word of command were given to do so: they would want fewer delicacies and would accommodate themselves more readily to anything put before them, and at the same time would enjoy better health. He also thought that a diet which ἀνεβόθυλεν ὡς, "he recommended them to eat so moderately that they"; and this is probably right.
μήκος ἄν αὐξάνεσθαι τὴν ῥαδίνα τὰ σώματα ποιοῦσαν τροφὴν μᾶλλον συλλαμβάνειν ἥγησατο ἡ τὴν διαπλατύνουσα τῷ σῖτῳ.

'Ως δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἁγαν ἀν πιείζοιτο, ἀπραγμόνως μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδωκε λαμβάνειν ὁν ἂν προσδέωνται, κλέπτειν δ’ ἐφήκεν ἔστιν ἃ τῷ λιμῷ ἑπικουροῦντας. καὶ ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπορῶν ὦ τι δοθή ἐφήκεν αὐτοῖς γε μηχανάσθαι τὴν τροφὴν, οὐδένα οἴμαι τούτο ἁγνοεῖν δήλον δ’ ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα κλωπεύειν καὶ νυκτὸς ἁγρυπνεῖν δεὶ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀπατῶν καὶ ἑνεδρεύειν, καὶ κατασκόπους δεὶ ἑτοιμάζειν τὸν μέλλοντα τι λήψεσθαι. ταῦτα οὖν δὴ πάντα δήλον ὦτι μηχανικωτέρους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων βουλόμενος τοὺς παίδας ποιεῖν καὶ πολεμικωτέρους οὕτως ἐπαιδεύειν.

8 Ἐιτοῖ δ’ ἂν οὖν τις, τὶ δήτα, εἴπερ τὸ κλέπτειν ἁγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπέβαλε τῷ ἀλισκομένῳ; ὦτι, φημὶ ἐγώ, καὶ ταλλα, ὥσα ἀνθρωποὶ διδάσκουσι, κολάζοντι τὸν μὴ καλῶς ὑπηρετοῦντα. κάκεινοι οὖν τοὺς ἀλισκομένους ως κακῶς κλέπτοντας τιμωροῦνται. καὶ ως πλείστους δὴ ἄρπάσαι τυροὺς [παρ’ Ὄρθιας] καλὸν θεὶς μαστιγῶν τούτους ἀλλὰς ἐπέταξε, τοῦτο δὴ δηλῶσαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ βουλόμενος, ὦτι ἐστὶν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀλγήσαντα πολὺς χρόνον εὐδοκιμοῦντα εὐφραίνεσθαι. δηλοῦται δὲ ἐν

1 Anabasis, iv. vi. 14.
2 At this altar the annual scourging of Spartan boys and youths took place, according to Plutarch and Pausanias; but
THE LACEDAEMONIANS, ii. 6–9

made their bodies slim would do more to increase their height than one that consisted of flesh-forming food.

On the other hand, lest they should feel too much the pinch of hunger,¹ while not giving them the opportunity of taking what they wanted without trouble he allowed them to alleviate their hunger by stealing something. It was not on account of a difficulty in providing for them that he encouraged them to get their food by their own cunning. No one, I suppose, can fail to see that. Obviously a man who intends to take to thieving must spend sleepless nights and play the deceiver and lie in ambush by day, and moreover, if he means to make a capture, he must have spies ready. There can be no doubt then, that all this education was planned by him in order to make the boys more resourceful in getting supplies, and better fighting men.

Someone may ask: But why, if he believed stealing to be a fine thing, did he have the boy who was caught beaten with many stripes? I reply: Because in all cases men punish a learner for not carrying out properly whatever he is taught to do. So the Spartans chastise those who get caught for stealing badly. He made it a point of honour to steal as many cheeses as possible [from the altar of Artemis Orthia],² but appointed others to scourge the thieves, meaning to show thereby that by enduring pain for a short time one may win lasting fame and felicity. It is shown herein that this custom seems to have no connexion with that of punishing those who were caught thieving. It is not improbable that the whole of this sentence is an interpolation; if not, the text is corrupt beyond restoration.

¹
²
XENOPHON

tούτω, ότι καὶ ὅπου τάχους δεῖ ὁ βλακεύων ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὄφελεῖται, πλείστα δὲ πράγματα λαμβάνει.

10 Ὡς τὸ παιδονόμος ἀπέλθω, ἑρμοὶ ποτὲ οἱ παῖδες εἰεν ἄρχοντος, ἐποίησε τὸν ἀεὶ παρόντα τῶν πολιτῶν κύριον εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς παισίν ὅ τι ἀγαθὸν δοκοῖ εἶναι καὶ κολάζειν, εἴ τι ἀμαρτάνοιευ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας διέπραξε καὶ αἰδημονεστέρους εἶναι τοὺς παίδας· οὔδεν γὰρ οὕτως αἰδοῦνται οὔτε παῖδες οὔτε ἀνδρεῖς

11 ὡς τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ὡς δὲ καὶ εἴ ποτε μηδεῖς τύχοι ἀνὴρ παρών, μηδὲ ὃς ἑρμοὶ οἱ παῖδες ἄρχοντος εἰεν, ἔθηκε τῆς ἐλπὶς ἐκάστης τῶν τορώτατον τῶν εἰρέων ἄρχειν· ὡςτε οὐδέποτε ἐκεῖ οἱ παῖδες ἑρμοὶ ἄρχοντός εἰσί.

12 Δεκτεόν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῶν παιδικῶν ἑρώτων· ἐστὶ γὰρ τι καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς παιδείαν. οἱ μὲν τοῦν ἄλλοι "Ελληνες ἡ ὁσπερ Βοιωτοί ἀνὴρ καὶ παις συζύγεστε ὀμιλοῦσιν ἡ ὁσπερ Ἡλείοι διὰ χαρίτων τῇ ὀρᾷ χρώνται· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ παντάπασι τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰργουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν παιδών.

13 Ὁ δὲ Δυκούργος ἐναντία καὶ τούτοις πᾶσι γυνοῖς εἰ μὲν τοὺς αὐτὸς ὅποι οἷον δεῖ ἀγαθεῖς ψυχὴν παιδὸς πειρώτε άμεμπτον φίλον ἀποτελέσασθαι καὶ συνεῖναι, ἐπήνει καὶ καλλίστην παιδείαν ταῦτην ἐνόμιζεν· εἰ δὲ τις παιδὸς σώματος ὀρεγόμενος φανεῖ, αἰσχύτων τοῦτο θεῖς ἐποίησεν εἰν Δακεδαῖμοι μηδὲν ἢττον ἑραστὰς παιδικῶν ἀπέχεσθαι ἡ γονεῖς παιδῶν καὶ ἱδέλφῳ ἱδέλφῳ εἰς ἀφροδίσια ἀπέχονται.

1 ἡ καὶ S. with the MSS. : ἡ was removed by Schäfer.
where there is need of swiftness, the slothful, as usual, gets little profit and many troubles.

In order that the boys might never lack a ruler even when the Warden was away, he gave authority to any citizen who chanced to be present to require them to do anything that he thought right, and to punish them for any misconduct. This had the effect of making the boys more respectful; in fact boys and men alike respect their rulers above everything. And that a ruler might not be lacking to the boys even when no grown man happened to be present, he selected the keenest of the prefects, and gave to each the command of a division. And so at Sparta the boys are never without a ruler.

I think I ought to say something also about intimacy with boys, since this matter also has a bearing on education. In other Greek states, for instance among the Boeotians, man and boy live together, like married people; elsewhere, among the Eleians, for example, consent is won by means of favours. Some, on the other hand, entirely forbid suitors to talk with boys.

The customs instituted by Lycurgus were opposed to all of these. If someone, being himself an honest man, admired a boy's soul and tried to make of him an ideal friend without reproach and to associate with him, he approved, and believed in the excellence of this kind of training. But if it was clear that the attraction lay in the boy's outward beauty, he banned the connexion as an abomination; and thus he purged the relationship of all impurity, so that in Lacedaemon it resembled parental and brotherly love.

* Symposium, viii. 34*
14 Τὸ μέντοι ταῦτα ἀπιστείσθαι ὑπὸ τινῶν οὐθαυμάζω, ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ τῶν πόλεων οἱ νόμοι οὐκ ἔναντιοῦνται ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιθυμίαις.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ παιδεία εὑρῆται ἢ τε Δακωνικὴ καὶ ἢ τῶν Ἀλλων Ἐλλήνων: ἐξ ὁποτέρας δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ εὐπειθέστεροι καὶ αἰδημονέστεροι καὶ ὁν ἐνεγκρατέστεροι ἄνδρες ἀποτελοῦνται, ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισκοπεῖσθω.

III. Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐκ παῖδων εἰς τὸ μειρακιούσθαι ἐκβαίνωσι, τηνικαύτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παύσουσι μὲν ἀπὸ παιδαγωγῶν, παύσουσι δὲ ἀπὸ διδασκάλων, ἀρχουσι δὲ οὐδένες ἐτὶ αὐτῶν, ἄλλα αὐτοῦμοις ἀφιάσιν· ὁ δὲ Δυκουργὸς καὶ τοῦτων 2 τὰναντία ἔγνω. καταμαθῶν γὰρ τοῖς τηλικούτοις μέγιστον μὲν φρόνημα ἐμφυώμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑβριν ἐπιπολάξουσαν, ἱσχυροτάτας δὲ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἢδονῶν παρισταμένας, τηνικαύτα πλείστους μὲν πόνους αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλε, πλείστην δὲ ἄσχολιαν 3 ἐμηχανήσατο. ἐπιθείς δὲ καὶ εἰ τις ταῦτα φύγοι, μηδενὸς ἐτί τῶν καλῶν τυγχάνειν, ἐποίησε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ δημοσίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κηδομένους ἐκάστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἀποδειλάσαντες ἀδόκιμοι παντάπασιν ἐν τῇ πόλει γένοιτο.

4 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι ἱσχυρῶς ἐμφυσιῶσαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπέταξεν ἐντὸς μὲν τοῦ ἱματίου τῷ χείρε ἐχειν, σιγὴ δὲ πορεύεσθαι, περιβλέπειν δὲ μηδαμοί, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὀραν. ἐνθὰ δὴ καὶ δήλων γεγένηται, ὅτι τὸ ἄρρεν φύλον καὶ εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἱσχυρότερον ἔστι τῆς θηλείας 5 φύσεως. ἐκεῖνων γοῦν ἤττον μὲν ἀν φωνήν
I am not surprised, however, that people refuse to believe this. For in many states the laws are not opposed to the indulgence of these appetites.

I have now dealt with the Spartan system of education, and that of the other Greek states. Which system turns out men more obedient, more respectful, and more strictly temperate, anyone who chooses may once more judge for himself.

III. When a boy ceases to be a child, and begins to be a lad, others release him from his moral tutor and his schoolmaster: he is then no longer under a ruler and is allowed to go his own way. Here again Lycurgus introduced a wholly different system. For he observed that at this time of life self-will makes strong root in a boy's mind, a tendency to insolence manifests itself, and a keen appetite for pleasure in different forms takes possession of him. At this stage, therefore, he imposed on him a ceaseless round of work, and contrived a constant round of occupation. The penalty for shirking the duties was exclusion from all future honours. He thus caused not only the public authorities, but their relations also to take pains that the lads did not incur the contempt of their fellow citizens by flinching from their tasks.

Moreover, wishing modesty to be firmly rooted in them, he required them to keep their hands under their cloaks, to walk in silence, not to look about them, but to fix their eyes on the ground. The effect of this rule has been to prove that even in the matter of decorum the male is stronger than the female sex. At any rate you would expect a
άκουσαι ἡ τῶν λιθὼν, ἦττον δ' ἄν ὀμματα
mezastrepsiis ἡ τῶν χαλκῶν, αἰδημονεστέρους
δ' ἄν αὑτοὺς ἡγήσαιο καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
θαλάμωις παρθένων. καὶ ἑπειδὰν ἐις τὸ φιλίτιον
γε ἀφίκωνται, ἀγαπητόν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐρωτηθέν
ἀκούσαι.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐ παίδισκων οὕτως ἐπεμελήθη.

IV. Περὶ γε μὴ τῶν ἠβώντων πολὺ μάλιστα
ἐσπούδασε, νομίζων τούτους, εἰ γένοιτο οὖνς
δει, πλείστον ρέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει.

2 ὁρῶν οὖν, οἷς ἄν μάλιστα φιλονεικία ἐγγένηται,
tούτων καὶ χοροὺς ἀξιακροστοτάτους γιγνομένους
καὶ γυμνικοὺς ἀγώνας ἀξιοθεατοτάτους, ἐνόμιζεν,
ei καὶ τοὺς ἡβώντας συμβάλλοι εἰς ἔριν περὶ
ἀρτῆς, οὕτως ἄν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ πλείστον
ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀνδραγαθίας. ὡς οὖν τούτους αὐ
συνέβαλεν, ἐξηγησόμαι.

3 Αἱροῦνται τοίνυν αὐτῶν οἰ ἐφοροῦ ἐκ τῶν ἀκμα-
ζόντων τρεῖς ἄνδρας: οὕτως δὲ ἵππαργέται κα-
λοῦνται. τούτων δὲ ἐκαστος ἄνδρας ἐκατὸν
καταλέγει, διασαφηνίζων, ὅτου ἔνεκα τοὺς μὲν

4 προτιμαί, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδοκιμάζει. οἱ οὖν μὴ τυγ-
χάνοντες τῶν καλῶν πολεμοῦσι τοῖς τῇ ἑποστει-
λασίων αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς αἱρεθείσοις ἄνθρ αὐτῶν,
καὶ παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, εἰ ὁ τὶ παρὰ τὰ
καλὰ νομιζόμενα ῥαδιουργοῦσι.

5 Καὶ αὕτη δὴ γίγνεται ἡ θεοφιλεστάτη τε καὶ

1 Longinus and Stobaeus quote this with ὀφθαλμοῖς, “eyes,”
in place of θαλάμοις, “bridal chambers”; and the former cen-
sures the use of παρθένων for κόρων, meaning “pupils” of the
eye.

2 Cyropaedia, ii. i. 22.
stone image to utter a sound sooner than those lads; you would sooner attract the attention of a bronze figure; you might think them more modest even than a young bride in the bridal chamber. When they have taken their place at a public meal, you must be content if you can get an answer to a question.

Such was the care that he bestowed on the growing lads.

IV. For those who had reached the prime of life he showed by far the deepest solicitude. For he believed that if these were of the right stamp they must exercise a powerful influence for good on the state. He saw that where the spirit of rivalry is strongest among the people, there the choruses are most worth hearing and the athletic contests afford the finest spectacle. He believed, therefore, that if he could match the young men together in a strife of valour, they too would reach a high level of manly excellence. I will proceed to explain, therefore, how he instituted matches between the young men.

The Ephors, then, pick out three of the very best among them. These three are called Commanders of the Guard. Each of them enrolls a hundred others, stating his reasons for preferring one and rejecting another. The result is that those who fail to win the honour are at war both with those who sent them away and with their successful rivals; and they are on the watch for any lapse from the code of honour.

Here then you find that kind of strife that is

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πολιτικωτάτη ἔρις, ἐν ᾗ ἀποδέδεικται μὲν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν, χωρὶς δὲ ἑκάτεροι ἄσκουσιν, ὡς ἀεὶ κράτιστοι ἔσονται, ἕαν δὲ τὶ δέῃ, καθὼς ἐνα ἄρρητοι τῇ πόλει παντὶ σθένει. ἀνάγκη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐεξίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πυκτεύοντο διὰ τὴν ἔριν ὅποιν ἃν συμβάλωσι διαλύεσθαι μέντοι τοὺς μαχομένους πᾶς ὁ παραγενόμενος κύριος. ἥν δὲ τις ἀπειθῇ τῷ διαλύοντι, ἀγεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ παιδονόμος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· οἱ δὲ ζημίουσι μεγαλείως, καθιστάναι βουλόμενοι εἰς τὸ μῆποτε ὀργὴν τοῦ μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις κρατῆσαι.

7. Τοῖς γε μὴν τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν πεπερακόσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἦδη καὶ αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαι καθιστανται, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι "Ἐλληνες ἀφέλοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἰσχὺς ἐτε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι στρατεύεσθαι ὅμως αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάπτουσιν, ὅ δὲ Δυκούργος τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις νόμομον ἐποίησε κάλλιστον εἶναι τὸ θηρᾶν, εἰ μὴ τι δημόσιον κωλύοι, ὡς δύναντο καὶ οὕτω μηδὲν ἴττον τῶν ἡβώντων στρατιωτικοὺς πόνους ὑποφέρειν.

V. Ἀ μὲν οὖν έκάστη ἡλικία ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Δυκούργος ἐπιτηδεύματα, σχεδὸν εὑρηται· οἷαν δὲ καὶ πάσι διαίται κατεσκευάζε, νῦν πειράσομαι διηγείσθαι.

2. Δυκούργος τοῖς παραλαβῶν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ὀστεροῖ τοὺς ἄλλους "Ἐλληνας οἴκοι σκηνοῦντας, γνοὺς ἐν τούτοις πλείστα βαδιονομίσθαι εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐξίγγαγε τὰ συσκήμα, οὕτως ἡγούμενος

1 Horsemanship, ii. 1.
2 Lit. "moved the Syskania out into the open." See Introduction III.
dearest to the gods, and in the highest sense political—the strife that sets the standard of a brave man's conduct; and in which either party exerts itself to the end that it may never fall below its best, and that, when the time comes, every member of it may support the state with all his might. And they are bound, too, to keep themselves fit, for one effect of the strife is that they spar whenever they meet; but anyone present has a right to part the combatants. If anyone refuses to obey the mediator the Warden takes him to the Ephors; and they fine him heavily, in order to make him realize that he must never yield to a sudden impulse to disobey the laws.

To come to those who have passed the time of youth, and are now eligible to hold the great offices of state. While absolving these from the duty of bestowing further attention on their bodily strength, the other Greeks require them to continue serving in the army. But Lycurgus established the principle that for citizens of that age, hunting was the noblest occupation, except when some public duty prevented, in order that they might be able to stand the fatigues of soldiering as well as the younger men.

V. I have given a fairly complete account of the institutions of Lycurgus so far as they apply to the successive stages of life. I will now try to describe the system that he established for all alike.

Lycurgus found the Spartans boarding at home like the other Greeks, and came to the conclusion that the custom was responsible for a great deal of misconduct. He therefore established the public messes outside in the open, thinking that this
3 καὶ σίτων γε ἔταξεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς µῆτε ὑπερπληροῦσθαι µήτε ἐνδεεὶς γίγνεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παράλογα γίγνεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρευμένων· οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἄρτον ἀντιπαραβάλλουσιν· ὡστε οὕτε ἔρηµός ποτε ἡ τράπεζα βρωτῶν γίγνεται, ἔστ' ἀν διασκηνώσων, οὕτε πολυδάπανος.

4 καὶ µὴν τοῦ πότου ἀποπαύσας τὰς ἀναγκαίας πόσεις, αἳ σφάλλουσι µὲν σώματα, σφάλλουσι δὲ γνώμας, ἐφ' ἴκεν ὅποτε διψώ· ἐκαστὸς πίνειν, οὕτω νοµίζων ἀβλαβεστάτον τε καὶ ἑδιστὸν ποτὸν γίγνεσθαι.

Οὕτω γε µὴν συσκευαύντων πῶς ἄν τις ἡ ὑπὸ λίχνειας ἡ οἰνοφλυγίας ἡ αὐτῶν ἡ οἶκον διαφθεί-5 τε ἔστε· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν µὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὡς τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἡλικες ἄλληλοι σύνεσι, μεθ' ἄντερ καὶ ἑλαχίστῃ αἰώνως παραγίγνεται· ο δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀνέμιξε παιδεύεσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γεραιτέρων ἐμπειρίας.

6 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιχώριον ἐν τοῖς φιλιτίοις λέγεσθαι τίνας τις ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιήσῃ· ὅστ' ἐκεῖ ἡκιστα µὲν ὑβριν, ἡκιστα δὲ παρουσίαν, ἡκιστα 7 δὲ αἰσχροουργίαν καὶ αἰσχροολογίαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι. ἀγαθά γε µὴν ἀπεργάζεται καὶ τάδε ἡ ἐξο σιτησίως· περιπατεῖν τε γὰρ ἀναγκάζονται ἐν τῇ οἰκαί ἀφόδῳ καὶ µὴν τὸ ὑπὸ οἶνου µὴ σφάλ-λεσθαι ἐπιμελεισθαι, εἰδότες, ὡτι οὔκ ἔνθατερ

1 γε Stephanus: τε S. with the MSS.
2 τὰς Madvig: τὰς οὐκ S. with the MSS.

1 At the public meals each had his own cup: there was no passing of cups along as at Athens and elsewhere. Critias in Athenaeus, x. 432 ν and xi. 463 ε.
would reduce disregard of orders to a minimum. The amount of food he allowed was just enough to prevent them from getting either too much or too little to eat. But many extras are supplied from the spoils of the chase; and for these rich men sometimes substitute wheaten bread. Consequently the board is never bare until the company breaks up, and never extravagantly furnished. Another of his reforms was the abolition of compulsory drinking, which is the undoing alike of body of mind. But he allowed everyone to drink when he was thirsty, believing that drink is then most harmless and most welcome.

Now what opportunity did these public messes give a man to ruin himself or his estate by gluttony or wine-bibbing? Note that in other states the company usually consists of men of the same age, where modesty is apt to be conspicuous by its absence from the board. But Lycurgus introduced mixed companies at Sparta, so that the experience of the elders might contribute largely to the education of the juniors. In point of fact, by the custom of the country the conversation at the public meals turns on the great deeds wrought in the state, and so there is little room for insolence or drunken uproar, for unseemly conduct or indecent talk. And the system of feeding in the open has other good results. They must needs walk home after the meal, and, of course, must take good care not to stumble under the influence of drink (for they know that they will not

2 Something appears to be lost after ἀνέμιζε. Schneider suggested ἀνέμιζε τὰς ἡλικίας ὡστε, "mixed the ages, so that."
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ἐδείπνουν καταμενούσιν καὶ τῇ ὀρφῇ ὅσα ἡμέρα χρηστέον· οὔδὲ γὰρ ὑπὸ φανοῦ τὸν ἐτὶ ἐμφρουροῦν ἐξεστὶ πορεύεσθαι.

8 Καταμαθῶν γε μὴν ὁ Δυκούργος καὶ ὁ ὁποῖος τῶν αὐτῶν σῖτων οἱ μὲν διαπονοῦμενοι εὐχροὶ τε καὶ εὐσαρκοὶ καὶ εὐρωπτοὶ εἰσίν, οἱ δ’ ἀπονεῖ πεφυσημένου τε καὶ αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀναφαίνονται, οὔδὲ τούτου ἡμέλησεν, ἄλλ’ ἐννοοῦν, ὅτι καὶ ὅταν αὐτὸς τις τῇ ἑαυτῷ γυώμῃ φιλοπονῇ, ἀρκούντως τὸ σῶμα ἐχὼν ἀναφαίνεται, ἐπέταξε τὸν ἅγιο πρεσβύτατον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐκάστῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς μὴ πόνους αὐτοῖς.

9 ἔλαττους τῶν σιτίων γίγνεσθαι. καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὔδ’ ἐν τούτῳ σφαλῆναι δοκεῖ. οὐκ ἂν ὅννας ἐν τοῖς εὐροῖς Σπαρτιατῶν οὔτε ὕγιεινότεροι οὔτε τοῖς σῶμασι χρησιμωτέροις ὁμοίωσι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σκελῶν καὶ ἀπὸ χειρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τραχήλου γυμνάζονται.

VI. Ἐναντία γε μὴν ἐγνω καὶ τάδε τοῖς πλείστοις. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς πόλεσι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκαστῶς καὶ παῖδων καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ χρηματῶν ἄρχουσιν ὁ δὲ Δυκούργος κατασκευάζει βουλόμενος, ὡς ἂν μηδὲν βλάπτοντες ἀπολαύσαι τι οἱ πολίται ἀλλήλων ἀγαθῶν, ἐποίησε παῖδων ἐκαστῶν ὁμοίως τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀλλωτρίων ἄρχειν. ὅταν δὲ τις εἰδή, ὅτι οὕτω πατέρες εἰσὶ τῶν παῖδων, ὅν αὐτὸς ἄρχει, ἀνάγκη οὕτως ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ ἂν καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι βούλοιτο. ἢν δὲ τις παῖς ποτὲ πληγᾶς λαβὼν ὑπ’ ἄλλου κατείπῃ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, αἰσχρῶν

1 ἐκάστῳ MSS.: S. reads ἐκάστων with Hermann.
THE LACEDAEMONIANS, V. 7-VI. 2

stay on at the table); and they must do in the dark what they do in the day. Indeed, those who are still in the army are not even allowed a torch to guide them.

Lycurgus had also observed the effects of the same rations on the hard worker and the idler; that the former has a fresh colour, firm flesh and plenty of vigour, while the latter looks puffy, ugly and weak. He saw the importance of this; and reflecting that even a man who works hard of his own will because it is his duty to do so, looks in pretty good condition, he required the senior for the time being in every gymnasium to take care that the tasks set should be not too small for the rations allowed. And I think that in this matter too he succeeded. So it would not be easy to find healthier or handier men than the Spartans. For their exercises train the legs, arms and neck equally.

VI. In the following respects, again, his institutions differ from the ordinary type. In most states every man has control of his own children, servants and goods. Lycurgus wanted to secure that the citizens should get some advantage from one another without doing any harm. He therefore gave every father authority over other men's children as well as over his own. When a man knows that fathers have this power, he is bound to rule the children over whom he exercises authority as he would wish his own to be ruled. If a boy tells his own father when he has been whipped by another father, it is

1 The text of this sentence is open to suspicion. o deceived patres can hardly be sound.

2 The text as altered by Hug. θεον is highly probable: the MSS. have ὡς μηποτε αὐτον ἐλάττουσ, and S. merely omits αὐτον, but this is not satisfactory.
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3 Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ οἰκέταις, εἰ τις δεηθεὶς, χρήσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις. καὶ κυνῶν δὲ θηρευτικῶν συνήψε κοινωνίαν ὡστε οἱ μὲν δεόμενοι παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπὶ θήραν, ὁ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸς σχολάζων ἣδεως ἐκπέμπει. καὶ ἵπποις δὲ ὀσαύτως χρύνται: ὃ γὰρ ἀσθενήσας ἢ δεηθεὶς όχήματος ἢ ταχύ ποι βουλθεῖς ἀφικέσθαι, ἢν ποι ἵππον ἄντα, λαβὼν καὶ χρησάμενος καλῶς ἀποκαθίστησιν.

4 Οὐ μὴν οὖν ἑκεῖνο γε παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοίς εἰθισμένον ἐποίησεν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι. ὅποι γὰρ ἦν ὑπὸ θήρας όψισθεντες δεηθῶσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἦν μὴ συνεσκενασμένοι τύχωσι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔθηκε τοὺς μὲν πεπαμένους καταλείπειν τὰ πεποιημένα, τοὺς δὲ δεομένους ἁνοίξαντας τὰ σήμαντρα, ἀλβώντας ὡς ἄν δέωνται, σημηναμένους καταλιπεῖν. τοιγαροῦν οὕτως μεταδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ οἱ τὰ μικρὰ ἔχοντες μετέχουσι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁπόταν τινός δεηθῶσιν.

VII. Ἐναντία γε μὴν καὶ τάδε τοῖς ἀλλοίς "Εἶλησι κατέστησεν ὁ Δυκούργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ νόμιμα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ δῆπον ταῖς ἀλλαίς πόλει πάντες χρηματίζονται ὡσον δύνανται· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γεωργεῖ, ὁ δὲ ναυκληρεῖ, ὁ δ' ἐμπορεύεται, οἱ δὲ ἱπποδρόμου ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῇ ὁ Δυκούργος τοῖς ἐλευθεροῖς τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ χρηματισμὸν ἀπείπε μηδενός ἀπτεσθαι, ὃσα δὲ ἐλευ-

1 i.e. so much of it as remained over.
a disgrace if the parent does not give his son another whipping. So completely do they trust one another not to give any improper orders to the children.

He also gave the power of using other men's servants in case of necessity; and made sporting dogs common property to this extent, that any who want them invite their master, and if he is engaged himself he is glad to send the hounds. A similar plan of borrowing is applied to horses also; thus a man who falls ill or wants a carriage or wishes to get to some place quickly, if he sees a horse anywhere, takes and uses it carefully and duly restores it.

There is yet another among the customs instituted by him which is not found in other communities. It was intended to meet the needs of parties belated in the hunting-field with nothing ready to eat. He made a rule that those who had plenty should leave behind the prepared food, and that those who needed food should break the seals, take as much as they wanted, seal up the rest and leave it behind. The result of this method of going shares with one another is that even those who have but little receive a share of all that the country yields whenever they want anything.

VII. Nor does this exhaust the list of the customs established by Lycurgus at Sparta that are contrary to those of the other Greeks. In other states, I suppose, all men make as much money as they can. One is a farmer, another a ship-owner, another a merchant, and others live by different handicrafts. But at Sparta Lycurgus forbade freeborn citizens to have anything to do with business affairs. He insisted
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θερίαν ταῖς πόλεσι παρασκευάζει, ταῦτα ἔταξε
3 μόνα ἔργα αὐτῶν νομίζειν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὸ πλοῦτος
ἐκεῖ γε σπουδαστέος, ἐνθα ἵσα μὲν φέρειν εἰς τὰ
ἐπιτιθεία, ὦμοιώς δὲ διαίτασθαι τάξας ἐποίησε
μὴ ἑπιπαθείας ἑνεκα χρημάτων ὀρέγεσθαι; ὀλλὰ
μὴν οὐδ’ ἰματίων γε ἑνεκα χρηματιστέον οὐ γὰρ
ἔσθήτος πολυτέλεια, ὀλλὰ σώματος εὐεξίας κοσ-
4 μοῦνται. οὐδὲ μὴν τοῦ γε εἰς τοὺς συσκήνους
ἐχειν ἐπανάν χρήματα ἀθροιστέον, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῶ
σώματι πονοῦντα ὥφελειν τοὺς συνόντας εὐδοξο-
tερον ἐποίησεν ἤ τὸ ἐπανώντα, ἐπιδείξας τὸ
μὲν ψυχής, τὸ δὲ πλούτου ἔργον.
5 Τὸ γε μὴν ἐξ ἁδίκων χρηματίζεσθαι καὶ, ἐν
tοῖς τοιούτοις διεκώλυσε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νό-
μισμα τοιούτων κατεστίσατο, ὃ δεκάμων μὸνον
ἀν εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσελθὼν οὐτε δεσπότας οὐτε οἰκέτας
λάθου καὶ γὰρ χώρας μεγάλης καὶ ἀμάξης ἀγω-
6 γῆς δεοῖτ’ ἄν. χρυσίον γε μὴν καὶ ἄργυριον
ἐρευνᾶται, καὶ ἄν τί που φανῇ, ὃ ἐχὼν ζημιοῦται.
tί οὖν ἄν ἑκεῖ χρηματισμὸς σπουδάζοιτο, ἐνθα ἡ
κτήσις πλείουσι λύτας ἢ ἡ χρῆσις εὐφροσύνας
παρέχει;

VIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἐν Ἑπάρτῃ μάλιστα
πείθονται ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ἵσμεν
ἀπαντεῖς. ἐγὼ μὲντοι οὐδ’ ἐγχειρήσαι οἷμαι πρό-
tερον τῶν Δυκοῦργον ταύτην τὴν εὐταξίαν

1 ἑνεκα, which S. adds after συσκήνους—with the MSS., was
removed by Weiske.
2 δαπανῶντα Morus: δαπανῶντας S. with the MSS.
3 δεκάμων Dindorf: δέκα μνών S. with the MSS.
4 εὐταξίαν Dindorf: εὐεξίαν S. with the MSS.

1 Agesilaus, ix. 6.
on their regarding as their own concern only those activities that make for civic freedom. Indeed, how should wealth be a serious object there, when he insisted on equal contributions to the food supply and on the same standard of living for all, and thus cut off the attraction of money for indulgence' sake? Why, there is not even any need of money to spend on cloaks: for their adornment is due not to the price of their clothes, but to the excellent condition of their bodies. Nor yet is there any reason for amassing money in order to spend it on one's messmates; for he made it more respectable to help one's fellows by toiling with the body than by spending money, pointing out that toil is an employment of the soul, spending an employment of wealth.

By other enactments he rendered it impossible to make money in unfair ways. In the first place the system of coinage that he established was of such a kind that even a sum of ten minae^2 could not be brought into a house without the master and the servants being aware of it: the money would fill a large space and need a wagon to draw it. Moreover, there is a right of search for gold and silver, and, in the event of discovery, the possessor is fined. Why, then, should money-making be a preoccupation in a state where the pains of its possession are more than the pleasures of its enjoyment?

VIII. To continue: we all know that obedience to the magistrates and the laws is found in the highest degree in Sparta. For my part, however, I think that Lycurgus did not so much as attempt

^2 Some £40.
καθιστάναι, πρὶν ὁμογνώμονας ἐποίησατο τοὺς
2 κρατίστους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ
tαύτα, ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οἱ
dυνατότεροι οὐδὲ βούλονται δοκεῖν τὰς ἁρχὰς
φοβεῖσθαι, ἄλλα νομίζουσι τούτο ἀνελεύθερον
εἶναι. ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ ὑπέρ-
χονται μάλιστα τὰς ἁρχὰς καὶ τῷ ταπεινῷ εἶναι
μεγαλύνονται καὶ τῷ ὅταν καλῶνται τρέχοντες
ἄλλα μὴ βαδίζουτες ὑπακούειν, νομίζουσες, ἢν
αὐτοὶ κατάρχωσι τοῦ σφόδρα πείθεσθαι, ἐξεσθαι
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· ὀπερ καὶ γεγένηται.

3 Εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐφορείας δύναμιν τοὺς
αὐτοὺς τούτους συγκατασκευάσαι, ἔπειτερ ἐγνω-
σαν τὸ πείθεσθαι μέγιστον ἁγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν
πόλει καὶ ἐν στρατὶ καὶ ἐν οἶκῳ· ὅσῳ γὰρ μεῖζῳ
δύναμιν ἔχοι 1 ἡ ἁρχὴ, τοσοῦτο μᾶλλον ἡ γῆ-
σαντο αὐτὴν καὶ καταπλήξειν τοὺς πολίτας τοῦ
ὑπακούειν. Ἐφοροὶ οὖν ἰκανοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ ζημιοῦν
ὅν ἄν βούλονται, κύριοι δὲ ἐκπράπτειν παραχρῆμα,
κύριοι δὲ καὶ ἁρχοντας μεταξὺ καταπαύσαί 2 καὶ
eἰρξαί γε καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἁγώνα κατα-
στῆσαι. τοσαῦτην δὲ ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐχ
ὡσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἔδωσι τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ὡς
ἁρχεῖν τὸ ἔτος ὅπως ἄν βούλωνται, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ
οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἁγώσιν
ἐπιστάται, ἢν τινα αἰσθάνωνται παρανομοῦντά
τι, εὐθὺς παραχρῆμα κολάζουσι.

5 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ὄντων μηχανημάτων
καλῶν τῷ Δυκούργῳ εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις

1 ξχο: Dindorf: ξχε: S. with MSS.
2 καταπαύσαι: Stobaeus: καὶ καταπαύσαι S. with the MSS.

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to introduce this habit of discipline until he had secured agreement among the most important men in the state. I base my inference on the following facts. In other states the most powerful citizens do not even wish it to be thought that they fear the magistrates: they believe such fear to be a badge of slavery. But at Sparta the most important men show the utmost deference to the magistrates: they pride themselves on their humility, on running instead of walking to answer any call, in the belief that, if they lead, the rest will follow along the path of eager obedience. And so it has proved.

It is probable also that these same citizens helped to set up the office of Ephor, having come to the conclusion that obedience is a very great blessing whether in a state or an army or a household. For they thought that the greater the power of these magistrates the more they would impress the minds of the citizens. Accordingly, the Ephors are competent to fine whom they choose, and have authority to enact immediate payment: they have authority also to deprive the magistrates of office, and even to imprison and prefer a capital charge against them. Possessing such wide power they do not, like other states, leave persons elected to office to rule as they like throughout the year, but in common with despots and the presidents of the games, they no sooner see anyone breaking the law than they punish the offender.

Among many excellent plans contrived by Lycurgus for encouraging willing obedience to the laws

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1 τοῦ ἐπακοὺειν is omitted in the translation. It can hardly be right; Schneider removed it, and Cobet proposed ἐς τὸ ἐπακοὺειν, “so as to make them obedient.”
XENOPHON

ἐθέλειν τοὺς πολίτας, ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ τούτῳ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐ πρῶτον ἀπέδωκε τῷ πλῆθε τοὺς νόμους, πρὶν ἐλθὼν σὺν τοῖς κρατίστοις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο τὸν θεόν, εἶ λῦν καὶ ἀμείων ἐνή τῇ Σπάρτῃ πειθομένη ὡς αὐτὸς ἔθηκε νόμοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνείλε τῷ παντὶ ἀμείων εἶναι, τότε ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ἄνομον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνόσιον θεῖς τὸ πυθοχρήστως νόμοις μη πείθεσθαι.

IX. Ἀξίον δὲ τοῦ Δυκούργου καὶ τόδε ἀγασθήναι, τὸ κατεργάσασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἴρετωπερον εἶναι τὸν καλὸν θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ βίου καὶ γάρ δὴ ἐπισκοπῶν τις ἄν εὐροὶ μείους ἀποθνήσκοντας τούτων ἢ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ ἀποχωρεῖν αἱρουμένων. ὡς τάληθες εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπεται τῇ ἁρὴτῇ τὸ ἱ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν πλεῖον χρόνον μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ κακίᾳ καὶ γάρ ῥανων καὶ ἡδῶν καὶ εὐπορωτέρα καὶ ἱσχυρότερα. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ εὐκλεία μάλιστα ἐπεται τῇ ἁρητῇ καὶ γάρ συμμαχεῖν πως πάντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς βοῦλονται.

3 Ἡμέντοι ὅστε ταῦτα γίνεσθαι ἐμηχανησάτο, καὶ τούτῳ καλὸν μὴ παραλιπεῖν. ἐκείνος τοῖς διὰ παρεσκεύαστε τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς εὐδαιμονίαι,

4 τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς κακοδαιμονίαι. ἐν μὲν γάρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πολεσίων ὅποταν τις κακὸς γένηται, ἐπικλήσει μόνον ἔχει κακὸς εἶναι, ἀγοράζει δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὁ κακὸς τἀγαθὸς καὶ κάθηται καὶ γυμνὰ· ζεταῖ, εὰν βούληται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Δακεδαῖμοι πᾶς

1 τὸ added by Morus: S. omits with the MSS.

1 Herodotus i. 65.

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among the citizens, I think one of the most excellent was this: before delivering his laws to the people he paid a visit to Delphi,\(^1\) accompanied by the most important citizens, and inquired of the god whether it was desirable and better for Sparta that she should obey the laws that he himself had framed. Only when the god answered that it was better in every way did he deliver them, after enacting that to refuse obedience to laws given by the Pythian god was not only unlawful, but wicked.

IX. The following achievement of Lycurgus, again, deserves admiration. He caused his people to choose an honourable death in preference to a disgraceful life. And, in fact, one would find on consideration that they actually lose a smaller proportion of their men than those who prefer to retire from the danger zone. To tell the truth, escape from premature death more generally goes with valour than with cowardice: for valour is actually easier and pleasanter and more resourceful and mightier.\(^2\) And obviously glory adheres to the side of valour, for all men want to ally themselves somehow with the brave.

However, it is proper not to pass over the means by which he contrived to bring about this result. Clearly, what he did was to ensure that the brave should have happiness, and the coward misery. For in other states when a man proves a coward, the only consequence is that he is called a coward. He goes to the same market as the brave man, sits beside him, attends the same gymnasium, if he chooses. But in Lacedaemon everyone would be ashamed to

\(^1\) The sentiment is taken from Tyrtaeus.
μὲν ἂν τις αἰσχυνθεὶς τὸν κακὸν σύσκηνον παραλαβεῖν, πᾶς δὲ ἂν ἐν παλαίσματι συγγυμναστὴν. 5 πολλάκις δ' ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ διαιρομένων τοὺς ἀντισφαιριοῦντας ἀχώριστος περιγύγνεται καὶ ἐν χοροῖς δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπονειδίστους χώρας ἀπελαύνεται, καὶ μὴν ἐν ὁδοῖς παραχωρητεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν θάκοις καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ὑπαναστατεῖν, καὶ τὰς μὲν προσηκούσας κόρας οἶκοι θρεπτεῖν καὶ ταύταις τῆς ἀναιρείας 1 αἰτίαν ὑφεκτεῖν, γυναικὸς δὲ κενὴν ἐστίναν περιοπτεύον 2 καὶ ἀμα τοῦτον ἄμμιαν ἀποτιστεύον, λιπαρὸν δὲ ὦ πλανητέον οὕδε μιμητέον τοὺς ἀνεγκλήτοις, ἡ πληγὰς ὑπὸ 6 τῶν ἀμεινόων ληπτεύον. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τουιῶντας τοὺς κακοῖς ἄτιμας ἐπικειμένης οὐδὲν θαυμάξω τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι ἐκεῖ θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ οὕτως ἄτιμον τε καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίον.

Χ. Καλῶς δὲ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Ἀυκοῦργος νομοθετήσαι καὶ ἦ μέχρι γῆρως ἄσκοιτ' ἂν ἄρετή. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ τέρματι τοῦ βίου τὴν κρίσιν τῆς γεροντίας προσβῆσαι ἐποίησε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ ἀμελεῖ-2 σθαι τὴν καλοκαγαθίαν. ἄξιαγαστὸν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπικουρῆσαι τῷ τῶν ἁγαθῶν γήρᾳ. θείς γὰρ τοὺς γέροντας κυρίους τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἁγῶνος διεπραξέν ἐντιμότερον εἶναι τῷ γήρᾳ τῆς 3 τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ῥώμης. εἰκότως δὲ τοῦ καὶ σπουδάζεται οὕτως ὁ ἁγὼν μᾶλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώ-πων. καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ γυμνικοὶ ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν σωμάτων εἰσὶν. ὃ δὲ περὶ τῆς γεροντίας ἁγῶν ψυχῶν ἁγαθῶν κρίσιν παρέχει. ὅσῳ οὖν κρείττων ψυχῆ σώματος, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ οἱ ἁγῶνες

1 ἀναιρείας S. with the better MSS.
have a coward with him at the mess or to be matched with him in a wrestling bout. Often when sides are picked for a game of ball he is the odd man left out: in the chorus he is banished to the ignominious place; in the streets he is bound to make way; when he occupies a seat he must needs give it up, even to a junior; he must support his spinster relatives at home and must explain to them why they are old maids: he must make the best of a fireside without a wife, and yet pay forfeit for that: he may not stroll about with a cheerful countenance, nor behave as though he were a man of unsullied fame, or else he must submit to be beaten by his betters. Small wonder, I think, that where such a load of dishonour is laid on the coward, death seems preferable to a life so dishonoured, so ignominious.

X. The law by which Lycurgus encouraged the practice of virtue up to old age is another excellent measure in my opinion. By requiring men to face the ordeal of election to the Council of Elders near the end of life, he prevented neglect of high principles even in old age. Worthy of admiration also is the protection that he afforded to the old age of good men. For the enactment by which he made the Elders judges in trials on the capital charge caused old age to be held in greater honour than the full vigour of manhood. And surely it is natural that of all contests in the world this should excite the greatest zeal. For noble as are the contests in the Games, they are merely tests of bodily powers. But the contest for the Council judges souls whether they be good. As much then, as the soul surpasses the body, so

2 περιπτέων Dindorf: οὐ περιπτέων S. with the MSS.
τῶν ψυχῶν ἢ τῶν σωμάτων ἀξιοσπουδαστέρων.

4 Τόδε γε μὴν τοῦ Δυκούργου πῶς οὐ μεγάλως ἀξιον ἀγασθήναι; ὡς ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθεν, ὅτι ὅπου ἤφαν ὁ βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελοῦνται τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐχ ἵκανοι εἰσὶ τὰς πατρίδας αὐξεῖν, ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἡνάγκασε δημοσία πάντας πάσας ἁσκεῖν τὰς ἀρετάς. ὡσπερ οὖν ἰδιώται ἰδιωτῶν διαφέρουσιν ἀρετὴς οἱ ἁσκοῦντες τῶν ἁμελοῦντων, οὐτώς καί ἡ Σπάρτη εἰκότως πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀρετής διαφέρει, μόνη δημοσία ἐπιτηδεύουσα τῇ

5 καλοκαγαθίαν. οὐ γάρ κακεῖνο καλόν, τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων κολαξοῦσιν, ἢν τίς τι ἐτέρος ἐτέρων ἀδική, ἐκείνοις ζημίας μὴ ἐλάττους ἐπιθείναι, εἰ τις φανερὸς εἰς ἁμελῶν τοῦ ὡς βέλτιστος
tos εἶναι; ἐνομίζει γάρ, ὡς ἐοικεῖν, ὅπο οἷον τῶν ἀνδραποδίζομένων τινὰς ἡ ἀποστεροῦντων τι ἡ κλεπτόντων τοὺς βλαπτομένους μόνον ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὤπο δὲ τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀνάνδρων ὅλας τὰς πόλεις προδίδοσθαι. ὥστε εἰκότως ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ τούτως μεγίστας ζημίας ἐπιθείναι.

6 Ἐπέθεκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνάγκην ἁσκεῖν ἀπασαν πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν. τοῖς μὲν γάρ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκτελοῦσιν ὅμοιως ἀπασι τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖαν ἐποίησε καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπελογίσατο οὐτε σωμάτων οὐτὲ χρημάτων ἁσθένειαν· εἰ δὲ τις ἀπουδειλασετε τοῦ τὰ νόμιμα διαπονεῖσθαι, τούτον ἐκείνος ἀπεδείξε μηδὲ νομίζεσθαι ἐτὶ τῶν ὁμοίων εἶναι.

8 Ἀλλὰ γάρ ὡτι μὲν παλαιότατοι οὕτωι οἱ νόμοι

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1 ὅτι ἐστιν ὅπου S. with Morus.
THE LACEDAEMONIANS, x. 3–8

much more worthy are the contests of the soul to kindle zeal than those of the body.

Again, the following surely entitles the work of Lycurgus to high admiration. He observed that where the cult of virtue is left to voluntary effort, the virtuous are not strong enough to increase the fame of their fatherland. So he compelled all men at Sparta to practise all the virtues in public life. And therefore, just as private individuals differ from one another in virtue according as they practise or neglect it, so Sparta, as a matter of course, surpasses all other states in virtue, because she alone makes a public duty of gentlemanly conduct. For was not this too a noble rule of his, that whereas other states punish only for wrong done to one’s neighbour, he inflicted penalties no less severe on any who openly neglected to live as good a life as possible? For he believed, it seems, that enslavement, fraud, robbery, are crimes that injure only the victims of them; but the wicked man and the coward are traitors to the whole body politic. And so he had good reason, I think, for visiting their offences with the heaviest penalties.

And he laid on the people the duty of practising the whole virtue of a citizen as a necessity irresistible. For to all who satisfied the requirements of his code he gave equal rights of citizenship, without regard to bodily infirmity or want of money. But the coward who shrank from the task of observing the rules of his code he caused to be no more reckoned among the peers.

Now that these laws are of high antiquity there

2 ἐπιμελείντα: Haase: ἐπιμελεῖνθα. S. with the MSS.
εἰσί, σαφές· ὁ γὰρ Δυκοῦργος κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας λέγεται γενέσθαι· οὔτω δὲ παλαιὸν ὄντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις καυνότατοι εἰσί· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάντων θαυμαστότατον ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμᾶ πῶλος ἐθέλει.

XI. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ εἰ δὲ τις βουλεῖται καταμαθεῖν, ὁ τι καὶ εἰς τὰς στρατείας βέλτων τῶν ἄλλων ἐμηχανύσατο, ἔξεστι καὶ τούτων ἀκοῦειν.

2 Πρὸτον μὲν τῶν νῦν οἱ ἐφοροὶ προκηρύττουσι τὰ ἔτη, εἰς ἃ δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἱππεύσας καὶ ὀπλιταῖς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς χειροτέχναις· ὡστε ὅσοισπερ ἐπὶ πόλεως χρώνται ἀνθρώποι, πάντων τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ στρατιάς οἱ Δακεδαμώνιοι εὐποροῦσι· καὶ ὅσα δὲ ὁργάνων ἡ στρατιὰ κοινῇ δεηθεὶν ἀν, ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν ἀμάξῃ προστέτακται παρέχειν, τὰ δὲ ὑποζυγῳφ· οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστ' ἀν τὸ ἐκλείπον διαλάθοι.

3 Εἰς γε μὴν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἀγώνα τοιάδ' ἐμηχανύσατο, στολὴν μὲν ἔχειν φοινικίδα καὶ χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα, ταύτῃ νομίζων ἥκιστα μὲν γυναικεία κοινωνεῖν, πολεμικωτάτην δὲ εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα λαμπρύνειται καὶ σχολιώτατα ῥυπαίνεται. ἐφήκε δὲ καὶ κομῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἥλικιαν, νομίζων οὕτω καὶ μείζους ἀν καὶ ἐλευθεροτέρους καὶ γοργοτέρους φαίνεσθαι.

4 Οὕτω γε μὴν κατεσκευασμένων μόρας μὲν διείλευ ἔξι καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ὀπλιτῶν. ἐκάστη δὲ

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1 The words καὶ χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα should probably come before καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα. There is also a suspicion that some words
can be no doubt: for Lycurgus is said to have lived in the days of the Heracleidae. Nevertheless, in spite of their antiquity, they are wholly strange to others even at this day. Indeed, it is most astonishing that all men praise such institutions, but no state chooses to imitate them.

XI. The blessings that I have enumerated so far were shared by all alike in peace and in war. But if anyone wishes to discover in what respect Lycurgus' organisation of the army on active service was better than other systems, here is the information that he seeks.

The Ephors issue a proclamation stating the age-limit fixed for the levy, first for the cavalry and infantry, and then for the handicraftsmen. Thus the Lacedaemonians are well supplied in the field with all things that are found useful in civil life. All the implements that an army may require in common are ordered to be assembled, some in carts, some on baggage animals; thus anything missing is not at all likely to be overlooked.

In the equipment that he devised for the troops in battle he included a red cloak, because he believed this garment to have least resemblance to women's clothing and to be most suitable for war, and a brass shield, because it is very soon polished and tarnishes very slowly. He also permitted men who were past their first youth to wear long hair, believing that it would make them look taller, more dignified and more terrifying.

The men so equipped were divided into six regiments of cavalry and infantry. The officers of referring to other details of the equipment have dropped out.

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τῶν πολιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἕνα, λοχαγοῦς τέτταρας, πεντηκοντήρας ὅκτω, ἐνω-
μοτάρχους ἐκκαίδεκα. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν μορῶν
dιὰ παρεγγυῆσεως καθίστανται τότε μὲν εἰς
. . . ἕνωμοτίας, τότε δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τότε δὲ εἰς ἕξ.
5 "Ο δὲ οἱ πλείστοι οὐνται, πολυπλοκωτάτη

ν εἶναι τὴν ἐν ὅπλοις Λακωνικὴν τάξιν, τὸ ἐναντιῶ-
tatou ὑπειλήφασι τοῦ ὄντος: εἰς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ
Λακωνικὴ τάξει οἱ πρωτοστάται ἄρχοντες καὶ ο

στίχος ἐκαστὸς πάντ' ἔχων ὑσα δεὶ παρέχεσθαι.

6 οὗτο δὲ ῥάδιον ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μαθεῖν, ὡς ὅστις
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δύναται γιγνώσκειν, οὐδεὶς ἂν
ἀμέμπτοι τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦγεισθαι δέδοται, τοῖς δὲ
ἔπεσθαι τέτακται. αἱ δὲ παραγωγαὶ ὡσπερ ὑπὸ
κήρυκος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνωμοτάρχου λόγῳ δηλοῦνται,
αἰς ἀραιαὶ τε καὶ βαθύτεραι αἱ φάλαγγες γύνον-
7 ται: ὃν δὴ οὐδ' ὅπως τι οὐν χαλεπὸν μαθεῖν. τὸ
μέντοι κἂν ταραχθῶσι μετὰ τοῦ παρατυχόντος

ὁμοίως μάχεσθαι, ταύτην τὴν τάξιν οὐκέτι ῥάδιον
ἐστι μαθεῖν πλὴν τοῖς υπὸ τῶν τοῦ Λυκοῦργον

νόμων πεπαιδευμένως.

8 Εὐπορώτατα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα Λακεδαιμόνιοι
ποιοῦσι τὰ τοῖς ὀπλομάχοις πάνω δοκοῦντα
χαλεπὰ εἶναι: ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ κέρως πορεύων-
tαι, καὶ οὐρὰν δήπον ἐνωμοτία ἐνωμοτία ἐπεται:
ἐὰν δ' ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πολεμία

φάλαγξ ἐπιφανῆ, τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ παρεγγυᾶται εἰς

1 No gap is indicated in S.

1 Or, reading ὀπλιτικῶν with Stobaeus, "regiment of heavy infantry."

2 On account of Hellenica vii. iv. 20 and v. 10 it is thought that δῶ, "two," should be read for τέτταρας (δ').

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each citizen\(^1\) regiment comprise one colonel, four\(^2\) captains, eight first lieutenants and sixteen second lieutenants. These regiments at the word of command form sections\(^3\) sometimes (two), sometimes three, and sometimes six abreast.

The prevalent opinion that the Laconian infantry\(^5\) formation is very complicated is the very reverse of the truth. In the Laconian formation the front rank men are all officers, and each file has all that it requires to make it efficient.\(^4\) The formation is so easy to understand that no one who knows man from man can possibly go wrong. For some have the privilege of leading; and the rest are under orders to follow. Orders to wheel from column into line of battle are given verbally by the second lieutenant acting as a herald, and the line is formed either thin or deep, by wheeling. Nothing whatever in these movements is difficult to understand. To be sure,\(^7\) the secret of carrying on in a battle with any troops at hand when the line gets into confusion is not so easy to grasp, except for soldiers trained under the laws of Lycurgus.

The Lacedaemonians also carry out with perfect\(^8\) ease manoeuvres that instructors in tactics think very difficult. Thus, when they march in column, every section of course follows in the rear of the section in front of it. Suppose that at such a time an enemy in order of battle suddenly makes his appearance in front: the word is passed to the

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\(^1\) A number, \(\varepsilon\nu\alpha\), \"in single file,\" or \(\delta\nu\), \"two,\" must have fallen out before \(\epsilon\nu\omega\mu\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\alpha\).  
\(^2\) The exact meaning is not clear and the text is possibly corrupt. Weiske suggested \(\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\), \"acts exactly as it should.\"
μέτωπον παρ' ἀσπίδαια καθίστασθαι, καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ φάλαγξ ἐναντία καταστῇ. ἤν γε μὴν οὕτως ἔχοντων ἐκ τοῦ ὁπισθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφανῶσιν, ἐξελίττηται ἐκαστὸς ὁ στίχος, ἰνα οἱ κράτιστοι ἐναντίοι αἰεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὤσιν. 9 ὅτι δὲ ὁ ἄρχων εὐώνυμος γίγνεται, οὖδὲν τούτῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἤγονται, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. εἰ γὰρ τινὲς κυκλοῦσθαι ἐπιχειροῖεν, οὐκ ἂν κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ ὁπλισμένα περιβάλλοντες ἂν. ἤν δὲ ποτε ἐνεκά τινος δοκῆ συμφέρειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα δεξίον κέρας ἔχειν, στρέψατε τὸ ἀγγιμα ἐπὶ κέρας ἐξελίττουσι τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ μὲν ἡγεμὼν δεξίος ἂν, ἡ δὲ οὖρὰ εὐώνυμος γένηται. ἤν δ' αὖ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν πολέμιων τάξεως ἐπιφαίνηται ἐπὶ κέρας πορευομένων, οὐδὲν ἄλλο πραγματεύονται ἢ τὸν λόχον ἐκαστὸν ὡσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπροφοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις στρέφουσι, καὶ οὕτως αὖ γίγνεται ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν λόχος παρὰ δόρυ. ἤν γε μὴν κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα πολέμιοι προσίσωσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπωθοῦσιν ἢ ἐναντίοις ἀντιπάλοις τοὺς λόχους στρέφουσι. καὶ οὕτως αὖ ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν λόχος παρ' ἀσπίδαια καθίσταται.

XII. Ὑπὸ δὲ καὶ ἡ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐνόμισε χρῆμα Δυκοῦργος.

Διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ τετραγώνου

1 i.e. this was the regular plan, because each of two battle lines advancing to meet one another always tended to converge to the right. See Thucydides, v. 71.
second lieutenant to deploy into line to the left, and so throughout the column until the battle-line stands facing the enemy. Or again, if the enemy appears in the rear while they are in this formation, each file counter-marches, in order that the best men may always be face to face with the enemy. True, the leader is then on the left, but instead of thinking this a disadvantage, they regard it as a positive advantage at times. For should the enemy attempt a flanking movement he would try to encircle them, not on the exposed but on the protected side. If, however, it seems better for any reason that the leader should be on the right wing, the left wing wheels, and the army counter-marches by ranks until the leader is on the right, and the rear of the column on the left. If, on the other hand, an enemy force appears on the right when they are marching in column, all that they have to do is to order each company to wheel to the right so as to front the enemy like a man-of-war, and thus again the company at the rear of the column is on the right. If again an enemy approaches on the left, they do not allow that either, but either push him back or wheel their companies to the left to face him, and thus the rear of the column finds itself on the left.

XII. I will now explain the method of encampment approved by Lycurgus.

Seeing that the angles of a square are useless, he

2 This can only mean that if the Lacedaemonians are in battle-order the whole phalanx turns to the left to meet the attack: wheeling by companies to the left would only be necessary when the army marching in column was threatened on the left. But ἀλλὰ προσέχων found in C ("but either run forward") is almost certainly the right reading.
XENOPHON

ἀχρῆστος εἶναι εἰς κύκλον ἑστρατοπεδεύσατο, εἰ μὴ ὄρος ἀσφάλες εἰῇ ἢ τείχος ἢ ποταμῶν
2 ὁπισθὲν ἔχοιν. φυλακάς γε μὴν ἑποίησε μεθημερίας τὰς μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὅπλα εἰσῷ βλεποῦσας; οὐ γὰρ πολεμίων ἕνεκα ἄλλα φίλων αὐταὶ καθίστανται· τοὺς γε μὴν πολεμίους ἵππεῖς φυλάττουσι ἀπὸ χωρίων ὡν ἂν ἐκ
3 πλείστον προορᾷν. εἰ δὲ τις προσίον1 νῦκτωρ ἐξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἐνόμισεν ὑπὸ Σκιριτῶν προ-
φυλάττεσθαι· νῦν δ' ἡδή καὶ ὑπὸ ξένων ἦν
4 τύχωσιν2 αὐτῶν τινες συμπαρόντες. τὸ δὲ ἔχοντας τὰ δόρατα ἀεὶ περιέναι, εὑ καὶ τοῦτο
deι εἰδέναι ὅτι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκά ἐστιν οὕτε καὶ τοὺς δούλους εἱπροσευν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων. καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαία ἑπίστανται οὐ δει
θαυμάζειν ὅτι οὔτε ἄλληλων οὔτε τῶν ὅπλων πλέον ἢ ὅσον μὴ λυπεῖν ἄλληλους ἀπέρχονται· καὶ γὰρ ταύτα ἄσφαλείας ἑνεκα ποιοῦσι.

5 Μεταστρατοπεδεύουνται γε μὴν πυκνά καὶ τοῦ
σύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ ὠφελεῖν
toús fílous.

Καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ προαγορεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ
νόμον ἀπασι Δακεδαιμονίως, ἐωσπερ ἀν στρατεύ-
ωνται· ὥστε μεγαλοπρεπεστέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς γῆγνεσθαι, ἐλευθεριωτέρους δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
φαίνεσθαι. δεὶ δὲ οὔτε περίπατον οὔτε δρόμον
μάςω ποιεῖσθαι ἢ ὅσον ἂν ἡ μόρα ἐφήκη, ὅπως
6 μηδὲς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὅπλων πόροις γύγνηται. μετὰ
de τὰ γυμνάσια καθίσειν μὲν ὁ πρῶτος πολέ-

1 προσίο: Madvig: προσί S. with the MSS. S. places a
comma after φάλαγγος.

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THE LACEDAEMONIANS, xii. 1-6

introduced the circular form of camp, except where there was a secure hill or wall, or a river afforded protection in the rear. He caused sentries to be posted by day facing inwards along the place where the arms were kept, for the object of these is to keep an eye not on the enemy but on their friends. The enemy is watched by cavalry from positions that command the widest outlook. To meet the case of a hostile approach at night, he assigned the duty of acting as sentries outside the lines to the Sciritae. In these days the duty is shared by foreigners, if any happen to be present in the camp. The rule that patrols invariably carry their spears, has the same purpose, undoubtedly, as the exclusion of slaves from the place of arms. Nor is it surprising that sentries who withdraw for necessary purposes only go so far away from one another and from the arms as not to cause inconvenience. Safety is the first object of this rule also.

The camp is frequently shifted with the double object of annoying their enemies and of helping their friends.

Moreover the law requires all Lacedaemonians to practise gymnastics regularly throughout the campaign; and the result is that they take more pride in themselves and have a more dignified appearance than other men. Neither walk nor race-course may exceed in length the space covered by the regiment, so that no one may get far away from his own arms. After the exercises the senior colonel gives the order by herald to sit down—this

\[\textit{ἡ ὑπὸ τὸ χωρὶς τὸν Placement of camps with Ruehl: S. reads αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τίνες with Hermann.}\]
μαρχός κηρύττει· ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὡσπερ ἐξέτασις· ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἄριστοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ταχὺ τῶν πρόσκοπον ὑπολύεσθαι· ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀν διατριβαῖνει καὶ ἀναπαύσεις πρὸ τῶν ἐσπερινῶν γυμνασίων.

7 μετά γε μην ταῦτα δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κηρύττεται, καὶ ἔπειδαν ἄσωσιν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς οἶς ἄν κεκαλλιεργήκοτες ὅσι, ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἀναπαύσεσθαι.

"Οτι δὲ πολλά γράφω, οὔ δὲ θαυμάζειν· ἥκιστα γὰρ Λακεδαίμονίοις εὔροι ἀν τις παραλειμένα ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς οὐσὶ δεὶ ἐπιμελείας.

XIII. Διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ ἢν ἐπὶ στρατιάς ὁ Ἁρκουργος βασιλεύ δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν παρεσκεύασε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς τρέφει ἡ πόλις βασιλεὰ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· συσκήνωσι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, ὡς δὲ συνόντες μᾶλλον καὶ κοινοβουλῶσιν, ἢν τι δεόνται· συσκήνωσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν ὁμοίων· οὕτως τούτοις ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡς μηδεμία ἀσχολία ἢ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιμελείας.

2 Ἐπαναλήψομαι δὲ, ὡς ἔξορμαται σὺν στρατιᾷ ὁ βασιλεύς. θύει μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἰκοί ὃν Δῆλοι ἄγιττορ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· ἢν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιεργήσῃ, λαβὼν ὁ πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ προσγείεται ἐπὶ τὰ ὀρια τῆς χώρας· ὥς δὲ

3 βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ αὐθεῖναι Δῆλο καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς· ὡσιν δὲ ἀμφότεροι τοῦτον τῶν θεῶν καλλιεργῆ, τότε

1 Or, if we read ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ with Haase, "he and his staff." By "the associated gods" we should understand.

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THE LACEDAEMONIANS, xii. 6–xiii. 3

is their method of inspection—and next to take breakfast and to relieve the outposts quickly. After this there are amusements and recreations until the evening exercises. These being finished, the herald gives the order to take the evening meal, and, as soon as they have sung to the praise of the gods to whom they have sacrificed with good omens, to rest by the arms.

Let not the length to which I run occasion surprise, for it is almost impossible to find any detail in military matters requiring attention that is overlooked by the Lacedaemonians.

XIII. I will also give an account of the power and honour that Lycurgus conferred on the King in the field. In the first place, while on military service the King and his staff are maintained by the state. The colonels mess with the King, in order that constant intercourse may give better opportunities for taking counsel together in case of need. Three of the peers also attend the King's mess. These three take entire charge of the commissariat for the King and his staff, so that these may devote all their time to affairs of war.

But I will go back to the beginning, and explain how the King sets out with an army. First he offers up sacrifice at home to Zeus the Leader and to the gods associated with him. If the sacrifice appears propitious, the Fire-bearer takes fire from the altar and leads the way to the borders of the land. There the King offers sacrifice again to Zeus and Athena. Only when the sacrifice proves acceptable to both these deities does he cross the Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri. In the Oxford text I gave τοῖν σιῶν, "the twin gods."
Διαβάσανε τὰ ὁρία τῆς χώρας· καὶ τὸ πῦρ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἱερῶν προηγεῖται οὕποτε ἀποσβενυμένον, σφάγια δὲ παντοῖα ἐπεται. ἂεὶ δὲ ὅταν θύηται, ἀρχεῖ τεν τοῦτο τοῦ ἔργου ἔτι κινεφαῖος, προλαμβάνειν βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εὔνοιαν. πάρεισι δὲ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν πολέμαρχοι, λοχαγοὶ, πεντηκοντήρες, ξένων στρατιάρχοι, στρατοῦ σκευοφερκοῦ ἀρχοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων δὲ στρατηγῶν ὁ βουλόμενος· πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔφορων δύο, οἱ πολυπραγμονοῦσι μὲν οὐδέν, ἢ μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλῆ ὁ ὅρωντες δὲ ὁ τι ποιεῖ ἕκαστος πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός. ὅταν δὲ τελεσθῇ τὰ ἱερά, ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλέσας πάντας παραγγέλλει τὰ ποιητέα. ὡστε ὅρων ταῦτα ἡγήσαι ἀν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, Δακεδαιμονίους δὲ μόνους τὸ ὅντι τεχνίτας τῶν πολεμικῶν.

6 Ἐπειδὰν γε μὴν ἡγήται βασιλεὺς, ἢ μὲν μηδεῖς ἐναντίος φαίνηται, οὔδεις αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν πορεύεται πλὴν Σκιρίται καὶ οἱ προερευνῶμενοι ἵππεῖς· ἢν δὲ ποτε μάχην οἰωνται ἐσεσθαι, λαβὼν τὸ ἁγημα τῆς πρώτης μόρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει στρέψαι ἐπὶ δόρυ, ἐστὶ ἀν γένηται ἐν μέσῳ δυνῶν μόραι καὶ δυοῖν πολεμάρχων. οὐς δὲ δεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτος τετάχθαι, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν περὶ δάμοσιν συντάττει· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ὅσοι ἀν σύνθησαι ὡς τῶν ὅμοίων, καὶ μάντεις καὶ ἰατροὶ καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀρχοντες, καὶ ἐθελούσιοι ἢ τινες παρῶσιν. ὡστε τῶν δεομένων γύνεσθαι οὐδέν ἀπορεῖται· οὐδέν γὰρ ἀπρόσκεπτὸν ἦστι.
borders of the land. And the fire from these sacrifices leads the way and is never quenched, and animals for sacrifice of every sort follow. At all times when he offers sacrifice, the King begins the work before dawn of day, wishing to forestall the goodwill of the god. And at the sacrifice are assembled colonels, captains, lieutenants, commandants of foreign contingents, commanders of the baggage train, and, in addition, any general from the states who chooses to be present. There are also present two of the Ephors, who interfere in nothing except by the King's request, but keep an eye on the proceedings, and see that all behave with a decorum suitable to the occasion. When the sacrifices are ended, the King summons all and delivers the orders of the day. And so, could you watch the scene, you would think all other men mere improvisors in soldiering and the Lacedaemonians the only artists in warfare.

When the King leads, provided that no enemy appears, no one precedes him except the Sciritae and the mounted vedettes. But if ever they think there will be fighting, he takes the lead of the first regiment and wheels to the right, until he is between two regiments and two colonels. The troops that are to support these are marshalled by the senior member of the King's staff. The staff consists of all peers who are members of the royal mess, seers, doctors, fluteplayers, commanding officers and any volunteers who happen to be present. Thus nothing that has to be done causes any difficulty, for everything is duly provided for.

1 η ς added by Zeune: S. omits with the MSS.
Μάλα δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑφέλιμα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐμηχανήσατο Λυκούργος εἰς τὸν ἐν ὅπλοις ἀγώνα. ὅταν γὰρ ὀρόντων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζηται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστε-φάνωτον εἶναι· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ λαμπρύνεσθαι προ-αγορεύεται. ἐξεστὶ δὲ τῷ νέῳ καὶ κεκριμένῳ¹ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι καὶ φαιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον.

καὶ παρακελεύονται δὲ τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχην οὐδ’ ἀκούεται γὰρ εἰς ἐκάστην πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἀφ’ ἐκάστου ἐνωμοτάρχου ἔξω· ὅπως δὲ καλῶς γίγνηται, πολεμάρχῳ δὲ μέλειν.

"Ὅταν γε μὴν καὶρὸς δοκῆ εἶναι στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, τούτοι μὲν κύριος βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ δεῖξαι γε, ὅπως δὲ· τοῦ μέντοι πρεσβείας ἀποτέμπεσθαι καὶ φιλίας καὶ πολεμίας, τούτ’ οὐ² βασιλέως. καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν πάντες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὅταν

βούλωνται πραξάι τι. ἦν δ’ οὖν δίκης δεόμενός τις ἐλθῆ, πρὸς ἐκλανοδίκας τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποτέμπει, ἦν δὲ χρημάτων, πρὸς ταμίας, ἦν δὲ ληίδα ἄγων, πρὸς λαφυροπόλας. οὗτο δὲ πραττομένων βασιλείς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον κατα-λεύπεται ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς ἢ ἱερεῖ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι, στρατηγῷ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

XIV. Εἰ δὲ τὸς με ἔροιτο, εἰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μοι

¹ κεκριμένῳ is somehow wrong. Weiske proposed καὶ κόμην διακεκριμένῳ after Plutarch, Λυκ. 22. εὐδόκιμον also comes in oddly as the text stands. Probably some words are lost either before φαιδρὸν or after εὐδόκιμον.

² οὐ Weiske: αὖ S. with the MSS.
The following arrangements made by Lycurgus with a view to the actual fighting are also, in my opinion, very useful. When a goat is sacrificed, the enemy being near enough to see, custom ordains that all the fluteplayers present are to play and every Lacedaemonian is to wear a wreath. An order is also given to polish arms. It is also the privilege of the young warrior to comb his hair before entering battle, to look cheerful and earn a good report. Moreover, the men shout words of encouragement to the subaltern, for it is impossible for each subaltern to make his voice travel along the whole of his section to the far end. The colonel is responsible for seeing that all is done properly.

When the time for encamping seems to have arrived, the decision rests with the King, who also indicates the proper place. On the other hand the dispatch of embassies whether to friends or enemies is not the King's affair. All who have any business to transact deal in the first instance with the King. Suitors for justice are remitted by the King to the Court of Hellanodicae, applications for money to the treasurers; and if anyone brings booty, he is sent to the auctioneers. With this routine the only duties left to the King on active service are to act as priest in matters of religion and as general in his dealings with the men.

XIV. Should anyone ask me whether I think

\[1\] This paragraph is an afterthought, supplementing c. xi. 3-4.

\[2\] When two or more sections are abreast (c. xi. 4), the men take up and repeat the exhortations of the subaltern posted at the end of the line, and pass them along to the next subaltern, and so on. These detached notes are not clearly expressed.
доκούσιν οἱ Δυκούργου νόμοι ακίνητοι διαμένειν,
2 τούτο μὰ Δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐτὶ θρασέως εἴποιμι. οἶδα
γὰρ πρότερον μὲν Δακεδαίμονίους αἱρουμένους
οἴκου τὰ μέτρια ἔχοντας ἀλλήλους συνεῖναι μᾶλλον
ἡ ἀρμόζοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κολακευμένους
3 διαφθείρεσθαι. καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν οἶδα αὐτοὺς
φοβουμένους χρυσίου ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι· νῦν δ' ἔστιν οὓς καὶ
cαλλωπιζόμενους ἐπὶ τῷ κεκτήσθαι.
4 ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν τοῦτον ἔνεκα ἱερεῖας
σιάς γιγνομένας καὶ ἀποδημεῖν οὐκ ἔξον, ὅπως
μή ῥαδιουργίας οἱ πολίται ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξων ἐμπί-
πλαντο· νῦν δ' ἐπίσταμαι τοὺς δοκούντας
πρώτους εἶναι ἐσπουδακότας, ὡς μηδέποτε
5 παύονται ἀρμόζοντες ἐπὶ ξένης. καὶ ἢν μὲν
ὅτε ἐπεμελοῦντο, ὅπως ἄξιοι εἶν ἡγεῖσθαι· νῦν
de πολὺ μᾶλλον πραγματεύονται, ὅπως ἄρξουσιν
6 ἡ ὅπως ἄξιοι τοῦτον ἔσονται. τοιχαροῦν οἱ
"Ἐλληνες πρότερον μὲν ἱόντες εἰς Δακεδαίμονα
ἐδέατο αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς δοκούντας
ἀδικεῖν" νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ παρακαλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους
7 ἐπὶ τὸ διακωλύειν ἄρξαι πάλιν αὐτοὺς. οὐδὲν
μέντοι δεὶ θαυμάζειν τούτων τῶν ἐπιφώγων αὐτοῖς
γιγνομένων, ἐπειδὴ φανερὸν ἐστὶν οὔτε τῷ θεῷ
πειθόμενοι οὔτε τοῖς Δυκούργου νόμοις.

XV. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἃς βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν συνθήκας ὁ Δυκούργος ἐποίησε διηγήσα-
σθαι· μονὴ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὴ ἄρχῃ διατελεῖ οὕπερ
ἐξ ἄρχῆς κατεστάθη· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πολιτείας
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that the laws of Lycurgus still remain unchanged at this day, I certainly could not say that with any confidence whatever.¹ For I know that formerly the Lacedaemonians preferred to live together at home with moderate fortunes rather than expose themselves to the corrupting influences of flattery as governors of dependent states. And I know too that in former days they were afraid to be found in possession of gold; whereas nowadays there are some who even boast of their possessions. There were alien acts in former days, and to live abroad was illegal; and I have no doubt that the purpose of these regulations was to keep the citizens from being demoralized by contact with foreigners; and now I have no doubt that the fixed ambition of those who are thought to be first among them is to live to their dying day as governors in a foreign land. There was a time when they would fain be worthy of leadership; but now they strive far more earnestly to exercise rule than to be worthy of it. Therefore in times past the Greeks would come to Lacedaemon and beg her to lead them against reputed wrong-doers; but now many are calling on one another to prevent a revival of Lacedaemonian supremacy. Yet we need not wonder if these reproaches are levelled at them, since it is manifest that they obey neither their god nor the laws of Lycurgus.

XV. I wish also to give an account of the compact made by Lycurgus between King and state. For this is the only government that continues exactly as it was originally established, whereas

¹ ὅπερ . . ἄριος probably does not correspond to "no longer" here. On this chapter see Introduction.
εὐροὶ ἀν τις μετακεκινημένας καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετακινουμένας.

2 Ἅθηκε γὰρ θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια ἀπαντα, ὡς ἀπὸ θεοῦ οὖν, καὶ στρατιῶν ὅποι ἐν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπτη ἡγεῖσθαι. 

3 ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ γέρα ἀπὸ τῶν θυμομένων λαμβάνειν καὶ γῆν τε ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν περιοικῶν πόλεων ἀπεδείξει εξαιρετοῦ τοσαῦτην, ὥστε μήτε ἐνδείσθαι.

4 τῶν μετρίων μήτε πλούτῳ ὑπερφέρειν. ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῖν, σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπεδείξε, καὶ διμοιρία γε ἐπὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ἦν διπλάσια καταφάγοιες, ἀλλ' ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτῳ τιμήσατε ἐχοίειν εἰ τίνα βαύλοιντο.

5 ἔδωκε δ' αὐτὶ καὶ συσκήνως δύο ἐκατέρφρο προσελέσθαι, οἱ δ' ἦν καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πασῶν τῶν συών ἀπὸ τόκου χοίρον λαμβάνειν, ὡς μήποτε ἀπορήσαι βασιλεὺς ἱερῶν, ἢ τι δειθήθαις συμβουλεύσασθαι.

6 Καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ δὲ λίμνῃ ὑδατὸς ἀφθονίαν παρέχει, ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς πολλὰ χρήσιμον, οἱ μὴ ἔχοντεσ αὐτὸ μᾶλλον γιγνώσκουσι. καὶ ἔδρας δὲ πάντες ὑπανιστάνται βασιλεῖ πλὴν οὐκ.

7 ἔφοροι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορικῶν δίφρων. καὶ ὥρκους δὲ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μὴν ποιοῦνται, ἔφοροι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ὥρκος ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν, τῇ δὲ πόλει ἐμπεδορκοῦντος ἐκείνου ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέξειν.

8 Αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ τιμαὶ οἴκοι ἢ τοῦτο βασιλεῖ δέδονται, οὐδὲν τὶ πολὺ ὑπερφέρονται τῶν ἴδι-

1 S., following Cobet, regards οἴκοι as spurious.
other constitutions will be found to have undergone and still to be undergoing modifications.

He ordained that the King shall offer all the public sacrifices on behalf of the state, in virtue of his divine descent, and that, whatever may be the destination to which the state sends out an army, he shall be its leader. He also gave him the right to receive certain parts of the beasts sacrificed, and assigned to him enough choice land in many of the outlanders' cities to ensure him a reasonable competence without excessive riches. In order that even the kings should mess in public, he assigned to them a public mess tent; he also honoured them with a double portion at the meal, not that they might eat enough for two, but that they might have the wherewithal to honour anyone whom they chose. He also allowed each King to choose two mess-mates, who are called Pythii. Further, he granted them to take of every litter of pigs a porker, that a King may never want victims, in case he wishes to seek counsel of the gods.

A lake near the house supplies abundance of water; and how useful that is for many purposes none know so well as those who are without it. Further, all rise from their seats when the King appears; only the Ephors do not rise from their official chairs. And they exchange oaths monthly, the Ephors on behalf of the state, the King for himself. And this is the King's oath: "I will reign according to the established laws of the state." And this the oath of the state: "While you abide by your oath, we will keep the kingship unshaken."

These then are the honours that are bestowed on the King at home during his lifetime; and they do
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οὕτως  οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλήθη  οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεύσι τυραννικῶν φρόνημα παραστήσαι οὔτε τοῖς πολί-9 ταῖς φθόνοις ἐμποιήσαι τῆς δυνάμεως. αἱ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇ δὲ βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι, ὅτι σὺν ὀν ὄς ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἠρως τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασιν.

1 Herodotus (vi. 58) gives details of these honours. The elaborate funeral obsequies were attended by a great concourse of men and women from all parts of Laconia. A man and a woman in every family were compelled to go into
not greatly exceed those of private persons. For it was not the wish of Lycurgus to put into the Kings’ hearts despotic pride, nor to implant in the mind of the citizens envy of their power. As for the 9 honours assigned to the King at his death, the intention of the laws of Lycurgus herein is to show that they have preferred the Kings of the Lacedaemonians in honour not as mere men, but as demigods.¹

mourning. If a king died on foreign service his body was embalmed and brought home if possible; if not, an image of him, as in the case of Agesilaus, was buried.
WAYS AND MEANS
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΟΡΟΙ

1. Ἡγὼ μὲν τοῦτο ἀεὶ ποτὲ νομίζω, ὅποιοὶ τινες ἄν οἱ προστάται ὅσι, τοιαύτας καὶ τὰς πολιτείας γίγνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθήνης προστηκότων ἐλέγοντό τινες ὡς γυγνώσκουσι μὲν τὸ δίκαιον οὐδενὸς ἦττον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πενίαις ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἐφασαν ἰδικῶτεροι εἶναι περὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἐπεχείρησα σκοπεῖν, εἰ τῇ δύναιντ' ἂν οἱ πολίται διατρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἕαντῶν, ὦθεν περὶ καὶ δικαίωτας πολίμιξων, εἰ τούτῳ γένοιτο, ἀμα τῇ τε πενίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπικεκουρήσθαι ἄν καὶ τῷ ὑπόπτους τοῖς Ἑλλησίων εἶναι.

2. Σκοποῦντι δὴ μοι ἃ ἐπενόησα τοῦτο μὲν εὕθως ἀνεφαίνετο, ὅτι ἡ χώρα πέφυκεν οὐδά πλείστας προσόδους παρῆχθαι, ὅπως δὲ γυμνοθῆ, ὅτι ἀληθεῖς τοῦτο λέγω, πρῶτον διηγήσομαι τῇν φύσιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

3. Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν τὰς ὁρὰς ἐνθάδε πραστάτας εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γυγνόμενα μαρτυρεῖ: ἄγιον πολλαχοῦ οὐδὲ βλαστάνειν δύνατ' ἂν, ἐνθάδε καρποπορεῖ. ὥσπερ δὲ ἡ γῆ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν χώραν θάλαττα παμφορωτάτη ἐστί. καὶ μὴν ὅσπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁραῖς ἄγαθα παρέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνταύθα πρωιάτατα

4. μὲν ἄρχεται, ὁμιλόεται δὲ λήγει. οὐ μόνον δὲ κρατεῖ τοῖς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτοῖς θάλλουσι τε καὶ γηράσκουσιν, ἄλλα καὶ ἀίδια ἄγαθὰ ἔχει ἡ
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I. For my part I have always held that the constitution of a state reflects the character of the leading politicians. But some of the leading men at Athens have stated that they recognize justice as clearly as other men; "but," they have said, "owing to the poverty of the masses, we are forced to be somewhat unjust in our treatment of the cities." This set me thinking whether by any means the citizens might obtain food entirely from their own soil, which would certainly be the fairest way. I felt that, were this so, they would be relieved of their poverty, and also of the suspicion with which they are regarded by the Greek world.

Now as I thought over my ideas, one thing seemed clear at once, that the country is by its nature capable of furnishing an ample revenue. To drive home the truth of this statement I will first describe the natural properties of Attica.

The extreme mildness of the seasons here is shown by the actual products. At any rate, plants that will not even grow in many countries bear fruit here. Not less productive than the land is the sea around the coasts. Notice too that the good things which the gods send in their season all come in earlier here and go out later than elsewhere. And the pre-eminence of the land is not only in the things that bloom and wither annually: she has other good things

1 See Introduction.
χώρα. πέφυκε μὲν γὰρ λίθος ἑν αὐτῇ ἀφθονος, ἐξ οὐ κάλλιστοι μὲν ναοί, κάλλιστοι δὲ βωμοὶ γίγνονται, εὐπρεπέστατα δὲ θεοῖς ἀγάλματα· πολλοὶ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐλλήνες καὶ βάρβαροι 5 προσδέονται. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ γῆ ἡ σπειρομένη μὲν οὐ φέρει καρπόν, ὅρυττομένη δὲ πολλαπλασίως τρέφει ἢ εἰ σιτον ἐφέρε. καὶ μὴν ὑπάργυρος ἐστὶ σαφῶς θεία μοίρα· πολλῶν γοῦν πόλεων παροικούσων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς οὐδεμίαν τούτων οὐδὲ μικρὰ φλέψ ἄργυρί- 6 τιδος διήκει.

6 Ὥνκ ἄν ἄλογος δε τις οἰκθείη τῆς Ἐλλάδος καὶ πάσης δε τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀμφι τὰ μέσα οἰκεῖοθα 1 τὴν πόλιν. ὦσω γὰρ ἂν τινες πλεῖόν ἀπέχωσιν αὐτῆς, τοσοῦτω χαλεπωτέροις ἡ ψυ- χειν ἡ θάλπεσιν ἐνυγχάνουσιν ὁπόσοι τ' ἄν αὐ βουληθῶσιν ἀπ' ἐσχάτων τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπ' ἐσχάτα ἀφικέσθαι, πάντες οὐτοὶ ὦστερ κύκλου τόρμον τὰς Ἀθηνας ἂν παραπλέουσιν ἂ παρέρ- 7 χονται. καὶ μὴν οὐ περίρρυτος γε οὖσα ὃμως ὦσπερ νῆσος πᾶσιν ἀνέμοις προσφυγεταί τε ἄν δεῖται καὶ ἀποπέμπται ἂ βουλεῖται· ἀμφιθάλ- λατος γὰρ ἐστ. καὶ κατὰ γῆν ἄν τολλα 8 δέχεται ἐμπορίας 2 ἡπειρος γὰρ ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ ταῖς μὲν πλείσταις πόλεσι βάρβαροι προσοι- κοῦντες πράγματα παρέχουσιν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ γειτονεύουσιν αἱ καὶ αὐταὶ πλείστον ἀπέχουσι 5 τῶν βαρβάρων.

II. Τούτων μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων, ὦσπερ εἶπον, νομίζω αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν αὐτίαν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοφυέσιν ἀγαθοῖς πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μετοίκων ἐπιμέλεια γένοιτο· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ πρόσοδος 194
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that last for ever. Nature has put in her abundance of stone, from which are fashioned lovely temples and lovely altars, and goodly statues for the gods. Many Greeks and barbarians alike have need of it. Again, there is land that yields no fruit if sown, and yet, when quarried, feeds many times the number it could support if it grew corn. And recollect, there is silver in the soil, the gift, beyond doubt, of divine providence: at any rate, many as are the states near to her by land and sea, into none of them does even a thin vein of silver ore extend.

One might reasonably suppose that the city lies at the centre of Greece, nay of the whole inhabited world. For the further we go from her, the more intense is the heat or cold we meet with; and every traveller who would cross from one to the other end of Greece passes Athens as the centre of a circle, whether he goes by water or by road. Then too, though she is not wholly sea-girt, all the winds of heaven bring to her the goods she needs and bear away her exports, as if she were an island; for she lies between two seas: and she has a vast land trade as well; for she is of the mainland. Further, on the borders of most states dwell barbarians who trouble them: but the neighbouring states of Athens are themselves remote from the barbarians.

II. All these advantages, as I have said, are, I believe, due to the country itself. But instead of limiting ourselves to the blessings that may be called indigenous, suppose that, in the first place, we studied the interests of the resident aliens. For in them we

1 oikeiçôsai papyrus fragment: ἡκησθαι MSS. : φησθαι S., Dindorf.
2 ἐμπορία Schanz with M : ἐμπόρια S. : ἐμπορεία Α.ο.
καλλίστων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐπείπερ αὐτοὺς τρέφοντες καὶ πολλὰ ὠφελοῦντες τὰς πόλεις οὐ λαμβάνονσι μισθὸν, ἀλλὰ μετοίκιοι
2 προσφέροντιν ἐπιμέλειαί γιὰ μὴν ἦδ' ἄν ἄρκειν μου δοκεῖ, εἰ ἀφέλοιμεν μὲν ὡσα μηδὲν ὠφελοῦντα τὴν πόλιν ἀτιμίας τις δοκεῖ τοῖς μετοίκοις παρέχειν, ἀφέλοιμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ συστατεύεσθαι ὀπλίτας μετοίκοις τοῖς ἀστοῖς. μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτῶν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν
3 οἰκεῖων ἀπίεναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ πόλις γ' ἄν ὠφεληθείη, εἰ οἱ πολῖται μετ' ἀλλήλων στρατευόντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ συντάττοιντο αὐτοῖς, ὀσπερ
νῦν, Λυδῷ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Σύροι καὶ ἄλλοι παντοδαποὶ βαρβαροὶ πολλοὶ γὰρ τουτοῦ τῶν
4 μετοίκων. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τῷ τούτους τοῦ συντάττεσθαι ἀφεθήναι καὶ κόσμος ἄν τῇ πόλει εὑρ., εἰ δοκοῖ Ἀθηναίοι εἰς τὰς μάχας αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἢ ἀλλοδαποῖς.
5 Καὶ μεταδιδόντες δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν τοῖς μετοίκοις τῶν τ' ἄλλων ὃν καλὸν μεταδιδόναι καὶ τοῦ ἵππου εὐνοουστέρους ἂν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἁμα ἰσχυροτέραν ἄν καὶ μείζω τῇ πόλιν ἀποδεικνύαν.
6 Εἰτὰ ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὰ οἰκίων ἐρημά ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ οἰκόπεδα εἰ ἡ πόλις διδοὺς οἰκοδομησαμένοις ἐγκεκτήσθαι οἱ ἄν αὐτοῦμενοι

1 τὶ added by Weiske: S. omits with the MSS.
2 οἰκεῖων Dindorf: οἰκίων S. with the MSS.
3 τοῦ Schneider: ἐκ τοῦ S. with the MSS.
4 Punctuation as corrected by Brinkmann. S. has the comma after οἰκόπεδα.

1 The MSS. have τῶν τέκνων, “their children.”

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have one of the very best sources of revenue, in my opinion, inasmuch as they are self-supporting and, so far from receiving payment for the many services they render to states, they contribute by paying a special tax. I think that we should study their interests sufficiently, if we relieved them of the duties that seem to impose a certain measure of disability on the resident alien without conferring any benefit on the state, and also of the obligation to serve in the infantry along with the citizens. Apart from the personal risk, it is no small thing to leave their trades and their private affairs.

The state itself too would gain if the citizens served in the ranks together, and no longer found themselves in the same company with Lydians, Phrygians, Syrians, and barbarians of all sorts, of whom a large part of our alien population consists. In addition to the advantage of dispensing with the services of these men, it would be an ornament to the state that the Athenians should be thought to rely on themselves rather than on the help of foreigners in fighting their battles.

If, moreover, we granted the resident aliens the right to serve in the cavalry and various other privileges which it is proper to grant them, I think that we should find their loyalty increase and at the same time should add to the strength and greatness of the state.

Then again, since there are many vacant sites for houses within the walls, if the state allowed approved applicants to erect houses on these and

1 τῶν οἰκίων, "their houses," may possibly be right in spite of what is said below in § 6.
άξιοι δοκῶσιν εἶναι, πολὺ ἀν οἴομαι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλεῖον τε καὶ βελτίως ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς Ἀθήνησιν ὀικήσεως.

7 Καὶ εἰ μετοικοφύλακας ὑστερὸς ὀρφανοφύλακας ἀρχὴν καθισταίμεν καὶ τοῦτοις τιμὴ τις ἑπείη, οἴτινες πλείστους 1 μετοίκους ἀποδείξειαν, καὶ τοῦτο εὐνοοῦστέρους ἄν τοὺς μετοίκους ποιοῖ ἢ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, πάντες ἄν οἱ ἀπόλιδες τῆς Ἀθήνηθεν μετοικίας ὀρέγοιντο καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἄν αὔξοιεν,

III. Ὡς γε μὴν καὶ ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἡδίστη τε καὶ κερδαλεωτάτη ἡ πόλις, νῦν ταῦτα λέξω.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ δήποι ναυσὶ καλλίστας καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτας ὑποδοχὰς ἔχει, ὅπου γ᾽ ἔστιν εἰσορμηθέντας ἄδεως 2 ἑνεκα χειμᾶνος ἀναπαύειν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐν μέν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι τι ἀνάγκη. νομίσματι γὰρ οὐ χρησίμοις ἔξω χρώνται ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις πλείστα μὲν ἔστιν ἀντεξάγειν ἃν ἄν δεώνται ἀνθρώποι, ἴν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι, καὶ 3 ἀργύριον ἑξάγοντες καλὴν ἐμπορίαν ἑξάγουσιν. ὅπου γὰρ ἄν πωλῶσιν αὐτὸ, παντάχοι πλεῖον τοῦ ἀρχαίον λαμβάνουσιν.

3 Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἀρχῇ ἀθλα προτιθείη τις, ὅστις δικαίοτατα καὶ τάχιστα διαιροῖ τὰ ἄμφιλογα, ὡς μὴ ἀποκωλύεσθαι ἀποπλεῖν τὸν βουλόμενον, πολὺ ἄν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλεῖον τε καὶ ἥδιον ἐμπορεύοιντο.

1 πλείστους Cobet: πλείον S. with the MSS.
2 ἄδεως Cobet: ἡδέως S. with the MSS.
3 καὶ Deventer: καὶ οἱ S. with the MSS.

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WAYS AND MEANS, II. 6–III. 4

granted them the freehold of the land, I think that we should find a larger and better class of persons desiring to live at Athens.

And if we appointed a board of Guardians of 7 Aliens analogous to the Guardians of Orphans, and some kind of distinction were earmarked for guardians whose list of resident aliens was longest, that too would add to the loyalty of the aliens, and probably all without a city would covet the right of settling in Athens, and would increase our revenues.

III. I shall now say something of the unrivalled amenities and advantages of our city as a commercial centre.

In the first place, I presume, she possesses the finest and safest accommodation for shipping, since vessels can anchor here and ride safe at their moorings in spite of bad weather. Moreover, at 2 most other ports merchants are compelled to ship a return cargo, because the local currency has no circulation in other states; but at Athens they have the opportunity of exchanging their cargo and exporting very many classes of goods that are in demand, or, if they do not want to ship a return cargo of goods, it is sound business to export silver; for, wherever they sell it, they are sure to make a profit on the capital invested.

If prizes were offered to the magistrates of the 3 market for just and prompt settlement of disputes, so that sailings were not delayed, the effect would be that a far larger number of merchants would trade with us and with much greater satisfaction.

1 The market at the Peiraeus. The functions of the Board alluded to are unknown apart from what is implied in the text.
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4 ἀγαθὰν δὲ καὶ καλὸν καὶ προεδρίαις τιμᾶσθαι ἐμπόρους καὶ ναυκλήρους καὶ ἐπὶ ξενιά γ’ ἔστιν ὅτε καλεῖσθαι, οἱ ἂν δοκῶσιν ἀξιολόγοις καὶ πλοίοις καὶ ἐμπορεύμασιν ὕφελεν τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα γὰρ τιμῶμενοι οὐ μόνον τοῦ κέρδους ἄλλα καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἔνεκεν ὡς πρὸς φίλους ἐπιστεύοιεν ἄν.

5 "Ὅσῳ γε μὴν πλείονες εἰσοικεῖοντο τε καὶ ἀφικνοῖντο, δήλον ὅτι τοσοῦτο ἄν πλείον καὶ εἰσάγοιτο καὶ ἐκπέμποιτο καὶ πωλοῖτο καὶ μισθοφοροῖτο καὶ τελεσφορῇ.

6 Εἰς μὲν οὖν τὰς τοιαύτας αὐξήσεις τῶν προσόδων οὔδε προδαπανήσαί τι 1 δει οὔδεν ἀλλ’ ἢ ψηφίσματα τε φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἐπιμελείας ὅσαί δ’ ἂν ἄλλαι δοκοῦσί μοι πρόσοδοι γίγνεσθαι, γιγνώσκω ὅτι ἃφορμῆς δεήσει εἰς αὐτάς.

7 οὐ μέντοι δύσελπις εἰμι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ προθύμως ἄν τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὰ τοιαύτα εἰσφέρειν, ἐνθυμούμενος, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν εἰσήγηκεν ἡ πόλις, ὅτε Ἀρκάσιων ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ Δυσιστράτου ἡγούμενος

8 μένου, πολλὰ δὲ ἔπι Ἡγησίλεω. ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ τριήρεις πολλάκις ἐκπεμπομένας σὺν πολλῇ δαπάνῃ 2 τούτου μὲν ἀδήλου ὄντος, εἰτε βέλτιον εἰτε κάκιον ἐσται, ἐκείνου δὲ δήλου, ὅτι οὔδεποτε ἀπολήψονται ἢ ἄν εἰσενέγκωσιν οὔδε μεθὲξονσιν

9 ἄν ἄν εἰσακεφαλωσί. κτῆσιν δὲ ἀπ’ οὔδενος ἄν οὔτω καλὴν κτήσαιντο ὡσπερ ἄφ’ οὐ ἄν προτελέσωσιν εἰς τὴν ἃφορμήν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἄν δέκα μναὶ εἰσφορά

1 προδαπανήσαι inferior MSS.: προδαπανῆσαι S. with A: δαπανῆσαι M.

2 S. adds καὶ ταύτα γενομένα with the MSS. Schneider conjectures καὶ ταύτα γενομένα: Bake κατεσκευασμένας.
It would also be an excellent plan to reserve front 4 seats in the theatre for merchants and shipowners, and to offer them hospitality occasionally, when the high quality of their ships and merchandise entitles them to be considered benefactors of the state. With the prospect of these honours before them they would look on us as friends and hasten to visit us to win the honour as well as the profit.

The rise in the number of residents and visitors would of course lead to a corresponding expansion of our imports and exports, of sales, rents and customs.

Now such additions to our revenues as these need cost us nothing whatever beyond benevolent legislation and measures of control. Other methods of raising revenue that I have in mind will require capital, no doubt. Nevertheless I venture to hope that the citizens would contribute eagerly towards such objects, when I recall the large sums contributed by the state when Lysistratus was in command and troops were sent to aid the Arcadians, and again in the time of Hegesileos. I am also aware that large expenditure is frequently incurred to send warships abroad, though none can tell whether the venture will be for better or worse, and the only thing certain is that the subscribers will never see their money back nor even enjoy any part of what they contribute. But no investment can yield them so fine a return as the money advanced by them to form the capital fund. For every subscriber of ten minae, drawing three obols a day,

1 366 B.C.
2 361 B.C. Hegesileos commanded at the battle of Mantinea.
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...γένηται, ὡσπερ ναυτικῶν σχεδὸν ἐπίπεμπτον αὐτῶ γίγνεται, τριώβολον τῆς ἡμέρας λαμβάνων. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἂν πέντε μναῖ, πλεῖον ἡ ἐπίτριτον.

10 οἱ δὲ γε πλείστοι Ἀθηναίων πλείονα λήψονται κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ ὅσα ἂν εἰσενέγκωσιν. οἱ γὰρ μναῖ προτελέσαντες ἐγγὺς δυοῖν μναῖν πρὸς δοὺν ἐξουσί, καὶ τὰῦτα ἐν πόλει, δὸ δοκεῖ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀσφαλέστατὸν τε καὶ πολυχρονιώτατον εἶναι.

11 Οἴμαι δὲ ἐγώγε, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀναγραφῆσαι εὐεργέται εἰς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον, καὶ ξένους ἂν πολλοὺς εἰσενεγκείν, ἐστὶ δὲ ἂς ἂν καὶ πόλεις τῆς ἀναγραφῆς ὅρεγμένας. ἑπτίζω δὲ καὶ βασιλέας ἂν τινας καὶ τυράννους καὶ σατράπας ἐπιθυμήσαι μετασχεῖν ταῦτας τῆς χάριτος.

12 Ὅποτε γε μὴν ἀφορμή ὑπάρχω, καλὸν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ναυκλήροις οἰκοδομεῖν καταγώγια περὶ λιμένας πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἐμπόροις προσήκοντας τόπους ἐπι ὅπῃ τε καὶ πρῶσει καὶ τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις δὲ δημόσια καταγώγια. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγοραῖος οἰκῆσεις τε καὶ πωλητήρια κατασκευασθεὶς καὶ ἐν Πειραιᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἅστει, ἀμα τ' ἂν κόσμος εἰθα τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλαὶ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦτων πρόσοδοι γίγνοιντο.

13 Ἀγαθὸν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ εἰναι πειραθήματι, εἰ καὶ ὡσπερ τριήρεις δημοσίας ἢ πόλις κέκτηται, οὔτω καὶ ὅλκάδας δημοσίας δυνατόν αὐν γένοιτο κτήσασθαι καὶ ταύτας ἐκμισθοῦν ἐπ' ἐγγυτῶν ὡσπερ καὶ τάλλα δημοσία. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο

1 προσήκοντας τόπους ἐπὶ Bergk: ἐπὶ προσήκοντας τόπους
S, with the MSS.
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gets nearly twenty per cent.—as much as he would get on bottomry; \(^1\) and every subscriber of five minae gets more than a third of his capital back in interest. But most of the Athenians will get over 10 a hundred per cent. in a year, for those who advance one mina will draw an income of nearly two minae, guaranteed by the state, which is to all appearances the safest and most durable of human institutions.

I think, too, that if their names were to be recorded in the roll of benefactors for all time, many foreigners also would subscribe, and a certain number of states would be attracted by the prospect of enrolment. I believe that even kings and despots and oriental governors would desire to share in this reward.

When funds were sufficient, it would be a fine plan to build more lodging-houses for shipowners near the harbours, and convenient places of exchange for merchants, also hotels to accommodate visitors. Again, if houses and shops were put up both in the Peiraeus and in the city for retail traders, they would be an ornament to the state, and at the same time the source of a considerable revenue.

Moreover, I think it would be a good plan to take a hint from the state ownership of public warships, and to see whether it be possible to acquire a fleet of public merchant vessels and to lease them under securities, like our other public property.

\(^1\) 3 obols a day are to be paid by the state to every citizen, i.e. 180 drachmae a year, or nearly 2 minae, which is nearly 20 per cent. on 10 minae, and exactly 36 per cent. on half that sum.
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οιόν τε ὃν φανεῖη, πολλὴ ἄν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτων πρόσοδος γίγνοιτο.

IV. Τά γε μὴν ἀργύρεια εἰ κατασκευασθείη ὥς δεὶ, πάμπολλα ἂν νομίζῃ χρήματα ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεῖ τῶν ἄλλων προσόδων προσεῖναι. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι τὴν τούτων δύναμιν δηλώσαι: ταύτην γὰρ γνώντες καὶ ὅπως χρήσθαι δεῖ αὐτοῖς ἄμεινοι ἄν βουλεύσωμεθε.

2 Οὐκοῦν ὦτι μὲν πάντων πάλαι ἑνεργά ἐστι, πᾶσι σαφές: οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὐδὲ πειράται λέγειν, ἀπὸ ποίου χρόνου ἐπεχειρήθη. οὔτω δὲ πάλαι ὀρυττομένης τε καὶ ἐκφορομενής τῆς ἀργυρίτιδος κατανοησατε, τι μέρος οἱ ἐκβεβλημένοι σωροί τῶν αὐτοφυῶν τε καὶ ὑπαργύρων λόφων. οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ ἀργυρόθης τόπος εἰς μείον τι συστελλόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκτεινόμενον φανερός ἐστιν.

Ἐν δὲ γε μὴν χρόνω οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀνθρωποί εὑρένοιτο ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἔργον ἡπόρησέν, ἀλλὰ ἂν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἔργαξομένων περιήν.

4 καὶ νῦν δὲ οἱ κεκτημένοι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις ὀνείρῳ τοῦ πλήθους ἁφαίρευσέν, ἀλλὰ ἂεὶ προσκετάται ὁπόσα ἄν πλείστα δύνηται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅταν μὲν ὁλίγοι οὕρτωσι καὶ ξητῶσιν, ὁλίγα οἶμαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα εὐρίσκεται: ὅταν δὲ πολλοί, πολλαπλασιά ἡ ἀργυρίτις ἀναφαίνεται. ὥστε ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ ὁμ ἐγὼ ὁδὰ ἔργων οὐδὲ φθονεῖ οὐδεὶς τοῖς ἐπικατασκευαζομένοις.¹

5 Ὅτι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀγροῦς κεκτημένοι πάντες

¹ ἐπικατασκευαζομένοι Cobet: ἐπικατασκευαζομένοι S. with the MSS.

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For if this proved to be practicable, these vessels would yield another large revenue.

IV. As for the silver mines, I believe that if a proper system of working were introduced, a vast amount of money would be obtained from them apart from our other sources of revenue. I want to point out the possibilities of these mines to those who do not know. For, once you realize their possibilities, you will be in a better position to consider how the mines should be managed.

Now, we all agree that the mines have been worked for many generations. At any rate, no one even attempts to date the beginning of mining operations. And yet, although digging and the removal of the silver ore have been carried on for so long a time, note how small is the size of the dumps compared with the virgin and silver-laden hills. And it is continually being found that, so far from shrinking, the silver-yielding area extends further and further.

Well, so long as the maximum number of workmen was employed in them, no one ever wanted a job; in fact, there were always more jobs than the labourers could deal with. And even at the present day no owner of slaves employed in the mines reduces the number of his men; on the contrary, every master obtains as many more as he can. The fact is, I imagine, that when there are few diggers and searchers, the amount of metal recovered is small, and when there are many, the total of ore discovered is multiplied. Hence of all the industries with which I am acquainted this is the only one in which expansion of business excites no jealousy.

Further than this, every farmer can tell just how
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έχοιεν ἄν εἰπεῖν, ὅπόσα ἓμεν ἡ ἱερείς εἰς τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ὅπόσοι ἐργάται· ἣν δ' ἐπὶ πλείου τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐμβάλλῃ τις, ξημίαν λογίζονται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ἐργοῖς πάντες δὴ φασίν ἐνδείσθαι ἐργατῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὅσπερ ὅταν πολλοὶ χαλκοτύποι γένονται, ἀξίων γενομένων τῶν χαλκευτικῶν ἐργῶν, καταλύονται οἱ χαλκοτύποι, καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς χαὶ ὡσάυτως· καὶ ὅταν γε πολὺς σῖτος καὶ οἶνος γένηται, ἀξίων οὖν τῶν καρπῶν, ἀλευρίζετο αἱ γεωργίαι γίγνονται, ὡστε πολλοὶ ἄφιέμενοι τοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐργάξεσθαι ἐπὶ ἐμπορίας καὶ κατηλείας καὶ τοκίσμοις τρέπονται· ἀργυρίτις δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείων φαίνεται καὶ ἀργυρίου πλείων γίγνεται, τοσούτῳ πλείων ἐπὶ τὸ ἐργον τούτῳ ἐρχονται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιπλα μέν, ἐπειδὰν ἱκανὰ τις κτῆσθαι τῇ οἰκίᾳ, οὐ μάλα ἐτί προσωνούνται ἀργυρίου δὲ οὕδεις πω οὕτω πολύ ἐκτήσατο, όστε μὴ ἐτί προσδείσθαι· ἀλλ' ἥν τις γένηται παμπληθές, τὸ περίττευον κατορύττοντες οὖθεν ἦττων ἱδονταὶ ἡ χρώμενοι αὐτῷ.

Καὶ μὴν ὅταν γε εὐ πράττωσιν αἱ πόλεις, ἰσχυρὰς οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἀργυρίου δέονται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρες ἄμφι ὅπλα τε καλὰ καὶ ἔποιες ἀγαθοῦς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς βουλοῦνται δαπανᾶν, αἳ δὲ γυναικὲς εἰς ἑσθῆτα πολυτελῆ καὶ χρυσοῦν κόσμον τρέπονται. ὅταν τε αὖ νοσῆσωσι πόλεις ἡ ἀφορίας καρπῶν ἡ πολέμῳ, ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀργῳ τῆς γῆς γεγομένης καὶ εἰς ἐπιτήδεια καὶ εἰς ἐπικούρους νομίσματος δέονται.

Εἰ δὲ τις φήσεις καὶ χρυσίον μηδὲν ἦττον χρήσιμον
many yoke of oxen are enough for the farm and how many labourers. To put more on the land than the requisite number is counted loss. In mining undertakings, on the contrary, everyone tells you that he is short of labour. Mining, in fact, is quite different from other industries. An increase in the number of coppersmiths, for example, produces a fall in the price of copper work, and the coppersmiths retire from business. The same thing happens in the iron trade. Again, when corn and wine are abundant, the crops are cheap, and the profit derived from growing them disappears, so that many give up farming and set up as merchants or shopkeepers or money-lenders. But an increase in the amount of the silver ore discovered and of the metal won is accompanied by an increase in the number of persons who take up this industry. Neither is silver like furniture, of which a man never buys more when once he has got enough for his house. No one ever yet possessed so much silver as to want no more; if a man finds himself with a huge amount of it, he takes as much pleasure in burying the surplus as in using it.

Mark too that, whenever states are prosperous, silver is in strong demand. The men will spend money on fine arms and good horses and magnificent houses and establishments, and the women go in for expensive clothes and gold jewelry. If, on the other hand, the body politic is diseased owing to failure of the harvest or to war, the land goes out of cultivation and there is a much more insistent demand for cash to pay for food and mercenaries.

If anyone says that gold is quite as useful as
μον εἶναι ἡ ἀργύριον, τοῦτοῦν 1 μὲν οὐκ ἀντιλέγω, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι σίδα, ὧτι καὶ χρυσίον ὅταν πολὺ παραφανὴ, αὐτὸ μὲν ἀτιμότερον γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον τιμιώτερον ποιεῖ.
11 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐδήλωσα τούτου ἔνεκα, ὅπως θαρροῦντες μὲν ὧτι πλείστους ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια ἄγομεν, θαρροῦντες δὲ κατασκευαζόμεθα ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐτε ἐπιλειψοῦσι ποτὲ ἄργυρίτιδος
12 οὐτε τοῦ ἄργυριον ἀτίμου ποτὲ ἐσομένου. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ἡ πόλις προτέρα ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἐγνωκέναι. παρέχει γοῦν ἐπὶ ἱσοτελεία καὶ τῶν ἔξων τῷ ὑμνῇ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις.
13 Ἡνα δὲ καὶ σαφέστερον περὶ τῆς τροφῆς εἰπὼν, νῦν διηγησόμαι, ὡς κατασκευασθέντα τὰ ἀργύρεια ὑφελιμωτατ' ἔν εἰς τῇ πόλει. ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν οὖν ἐγωγε ἀφ' ὧν μέλλω λέγειν οὐδέν τι ἀξιῶθαν ἡμάζεσθαι ὡς δυσεὐρετόν τι ἐξευρηκώς τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὧν λέξω καὶ νῦν ἐτί πάντες ὁρῶμεν, τὰ δὲ παροιχομένα παρὰ τῶν πατέρων 2 κατὰ ταῦτα ἀκούομεν 3.
14 τῆς μέντοι πόλεως πάνω ἀξιώθαι το ἀίσθανομένην πολλοὺς πλουτιζομένους εἰς αὐτής ἱδιώτας μὴ μιμεῖσθαι τοῦτος. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ δήποτε οἱς μεμέληκεν ἀκηκόαμεν, ὅτι Νικίας ποτὲ ὁ Νικημάτων ἐκτῆσατο ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις χιλίους ἀνθρώπους, οδοίς ἐκεῖνος Σωσία τῷ Θρακί ἐξεμίσθωσε ἐφ' ὑψωτίῳ μὲν ἀτελή ἐκάστου τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποδιδόναι,
15 τοῦ δ' ἀριθμὸν ἱσοῦς ἀεὶ παρέχειν. 4 ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἰππονίκως ἀξιόκοσμα ἀνδράποδα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐκδεδομένα, ἄ προσέφερε μυαν

1 τοῦτο Heindorf : τοῦτο S. with the MSS.
2 παρὰ τῶν πατέρων Wilamowitz : πάντων MSS. : τῶν πραγματων S. with the Aldine.
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silver, I am not going to contradict him; but I know this, that when gold is plentiful, silver rises and gold falls in value.

With these facts before us, we need not hesitate to bring as much labour as we can get into the mines and carry on work in them, feeling confident that the ore will give out and that silver will never lose its value. I think, indeed, that the state has anticipated me in this discovery; at any rate she throws open the mining industry to foreigners on the same terms as are granted to citizens.

To make myself clearer on the subject of alimony, I will now explain how the mines may be worked with the greatest advantage to the state. Not that I expect to surprise you by what I am going to say, as if I had found the solution of a difficult problem. For some things that I shall mention are still to be seen by anyone at the present day, and as for conditions in the past, our fathers have told us that they were similar. But what may well excite surprise is that the state, being aware that many private individuals are making money out of her, does not imitate them. Those of us who have given thought to the matter have heard long ago, I imagine, that Nicias son of Niceratus, once owned a thousand men in the mines, and let them out to Socias the Thracian, on condition that Sosias paid him an obol a day per man net and filled all vacancies as they occurred. Hipponicus, again, had six hundred slaves let out on the same terms and

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8 ταύτα ἂν M.: ταύτα ἂδ S. with other MSS.
4 παρέχειν Lenklau: παρέχειν S. with the MSS.
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οτελη της ημερας. Φιλημονίδη δε τριακόσια Ανθρώπων ἀλλοι δὲ γε ώς οἴομαι δύναμις έκά-10 στοις ὑπήρχεν. ἀταρ τι τα παλαια δει λέγειν; καὶ γὰρ νῦν πολλοὶ εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἄργυρείοις ἀνθρωποι
ούτως ἐκδεδομένοι. περαινομένων γε μην ὃν λέγω, τοῦτ' ἀν μόνον καὶ μόνον γένοιτο, εἰ ὀσπερ οἱ ἰδιωταὶ κτησάμενοι ἀνδράποδα, ς ὕδωδον ἁνεαν κατε-
σκευασμένοι εἰσὶν, οὔτω καὶ ή πόλις κτῶπο δημόσια ἀνδράποδα, ἐως γίγνοιτο τριά ἐκάστω
'Αλθηαινών. εὶ δὲ δυνατὰ λέγομεν, καθ' ἐν ἐκαστον αὐτῶν σκοπῶν ὁ βουλόμενος κρινεῖτο.
Οὐκοῦν τιμὴν μὲν ἀνθρώπων εὑδιλλον ὅτι μᾶλλον ἀν τὸ δημόσιον δύνατο ἢ οἱ ἰδιωται παρα-
σκευάσασθαι. τῇ γε μὴν βουλῇ ῥαδίον καὶ κηρυ-
ξαί ἄγειν τὸν βουλόμενον ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ
προσαχθέντα πρίασθαι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὀνηθῆ, τι ἄν ἢπτον μισθοῦτο τις παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἰδιωτοῦ, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέλλων ἐξεῖν; μισθοῦνται γούν καὶ τεμένη 2 καὶ οἰκίας καὶ τέλη ὑφοῦνται παρὰ τῆς πόλεως.
Οπως γε μὴν τὰ ὀνηθέντα σφησταὶ, τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐστι λαμβάνειν ἐγγύους παρὰ τῶν μισθομένων, ὀσπερ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὄνουμένων τὰ τέλη. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἄδικησαι γε ῥᾶν τῷ τέλος πριαμένω ἡ
τῶ ἀνδράποδα μισθομένῳ. ἀργύριον μὲν γὰρ

1 & added by Hager: S. omits with the MSS.
2 After τεμένη S. adds with the MSS. καλ ἰερά, which was removed by Bake.

1 The MSS. add καλ ἰερά, “and temples,” for which καλ ἰερεία (victims for sacrifice) has been conjectured. But (1) μισθοῦνται is not “contract to supply,” and (2) it appears
received a rent of a mina a day net. Philemonides had three hundred, and received half a mina. There were others too, owning numbers in proportion, I presume, to their capital. But why dwell on the past? At this day there are many men in the mines let out in this way. Were my proposals adopted, the only innovation would be, that just as private individuals have built up a permanent income by becoming slave owners, so the state would become possessed of public slaves, until there were three for every citizen. Whether my plan is workable, let anyone who chooses judge for himself by examining it in detail.

So let us take first the cost of the men. Clearly the treasury is in a better position to provide the money than private individuals. Moreover the Council can easily issue a notice inviting all and sundry to bring slaves, and can buy those that are brought to it. When once they are purchased, why should there be more hesitation about hiring from the treasury than from a private person, the terms offered being the same? At any rate men hire consecrated lands and houses, and farm taxes under the state.

The treasury can insure the slaves purchased by requiring some of the lessees to become guarantors, as it does in the case of the tax-farmers. In fact a tax-farmer can swindle the state more easily than a lessee of slaves. For how are you to detect that the sacrifices were, in point of fact, paid for out of the rents received for the τεμένη, and the victims were not supplied by individuals on contract. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* c. 47, writing of the leases of state property, says nothing about victims.
πῶς καὶ φωρᾶσειεν ἃν τις τὸ δημόσιον ἔξαγόμενον, ὁμοίου τοῦ ἱδίου ὄντος αὐτῷ; ἀνδράποδα δὲ σεσημασμένα τῷ δημοσίῳ σημάντρῳ καὶ προκειμένης ἕκμιας τὸ τε πωλοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἐξάγοντι, πῶς ἃν τις ταύτα κλέψειεν;

Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τούτου δυνατον φανεῖται τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ ἀνθρώπους καὶ κτήσασθαι καὶ 22 φυλάξαι. εἰ δ' αὖ τις τοῦτ' ἑυθυμεῖται, πῶς ἐπειδὰν πολλοὶ ἔργαται γένονται, πολλοὶ φανοῦνται καὶ οἱ μισθωσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνο κατανοήτας ϑαρρεῖτω, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν κατεσκευασμένων προσμισθώσονται τοὺς δημοσίους, πολλὰ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς γηρασκόντες, 1 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ ἔνοι, οὗ τῷ σώματι μὲν οὔτε βούλοντ' ἀν οὔτε δύναιντ' ἀν ἐργαζέσθαι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ ἐπιμελοῦμενοι ἡδέως ἃν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζοιντο.

23 Ἡν γε μέντοι τὸ πρῶτον συστῇ διακόσια καὶ χίλια ἀνδράποδα, εἰκὸς ἦδη ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς προσόδου ἐν ἐτεσι πέντε ἡ ἐξ μὴ μεῖον ἃν τῶν 2 ἔξακισ χιλίων γενέσθαι. ἀπὸ γε μὴν τούτου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἦν ὅβολον ἐκαστὸς ἀτελὴ τῆς ἡμέρας φέρη, ἡ μὲν πρόσοδος ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἦν εἰς ἄλλα ἀνδράποδα τιθήται εἰκοσι, τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἡ ἔξεσται τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι εἰς ἄλλο 3 τι ἃν δέη. ὅταν δὲ γε μῦρα ἀναπληρωθῇ, ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἡ πρόσοδος ἐσται. Ὅτι δὲ δέξεται πολλαπλάσια τοῦτων, μαρτυρήσαιεν ἃν μοι εἰ τινὲς ἔτi εἰσὶ τῶν μεμνημένων, ὅσον τὸ τέλος εὐρίσκε τῶν ἀνδράποδῶν πρὸ τῶν

1 γηρασκόντες Dindorf: γηρασκόντων S. with the MSS.
the export of public money? Money looks the same whether it is private property or belongs to the state. But how is a man to steal slaves when they are branded with the public mark and it is a penal offence to sell or export them?

So far, then, it appears to be possible for the state to acquire and to keep men. But, one may ask, when labour is abundant, how will a sufficient number of persons be found to hire it? Well, if anyone feels doubtful about that, let him comfort himself with the thought that many men in the business will hire the state slaves as additional hands, since they have abundance of capital, and that among those now working in the mines many are growing old. Moreover, there are many others, both Athenians and foreigners, who have neither will nor strength to work with their own hands, but would be glad to to make a living by becoming managers.

Assume, however, that the total number of slaves to begin with is twelve hundred. By using the revenue derived from these the number might in all probability be raised to six thousand at the least in the course of five or six years. Further, if each man brings in a clear obol a day, the annual revenue derived from that number of men is sixty talents. Out of this sum, if twenty talents are invested in additional slaves, the state will have forty talents available for any other necessary purpose. And when a total of ten thousand men is reached, the revenue will be a hundred talents.

But the state will receive far more than that, as anyone will testify who is old enough to remember how much the charge for slave labour brought in

* ἀν τῶν Wilamowitz: αὑτῷ S. with the MSS. 213
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ἐν Δεκελείᾳ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ κάκεινο, ὅτι εἰργασμένων ἀνθρώπων ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ἀναρτημῆτων νῦν οὐδέν διαφέρει τὰ ἄργυρεια ἡ οἰς 1 οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν οὐτα ἐμνημόνευον
26 αὐτά. καὶ τὰ νῦν δὲ γιγνόμενα πάντα μαρτυρεῖ, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ πλεῖω ἀνδράποδα ἐκεῖ γέγοιτο ἡ ὁσων ἂν τὰ ἔργα δέχται, οὔτε γὰρ βάθος πέρας
27 οὔτε ὑπονόμων οἰ δρύττοντες εὐρίσκουσι. καὶ μὴν καῖνοτομεῖν γε οὔδεν ἦττον ἐξεστὶ νῦν ἡ πρότερον. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν ἂν ἔχοι εἰδῶς οὔδείς, πότερον ἐν τοῖς κατατετμημένοις πλεῖων ἀργυρίτες ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἀτμήτοις ἐστὶ.

28 Τι δήτα, φαίη ἂν τις, οὐ καὶ νῦν, ὃς περ ἐμπροσθεν, πολλοὶ καὶνοτομοῦσιν; ὅτι πενέστεροι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ περὶ τὰ μέταλλα νευστὶ γὰρ πάλιν κατασκευάζονται κινδύνος δὲ μέγας τῷ καὶνοτο-
29 μοῦντι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐρών ἀγαθὴν ἐργαζίαν πλούσιοι γίγνεται ὃ δὲ μὴ εὐρῶν πάντα ἀπόλλυσιν, ὡσα ἂν δαπανήσῃ. εἰς τούτον οὖν τὸν κινδύνον οὐ μάλα πως ἔθελουσιν οἱ νῦν ἱέναι.

30 Ἐγὼ μέντοι ἐχεῖν μοι δοκῶ καὶ περὶ τούτον συμβουλεύσαι, ὡς ἂν ἄσφαλέστατα καὶνοτομοῖτο. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ δήπον Ἀθηναίων δέκα φυλαὶ; εἰ δ' ἡ πόλις δοιῆ ἐκαστῇ αὐτῶν ἡ σα ἀνδράποδα, αἱ δὲ κοινωσάμεναι τὴν τυχὴν καὶνοτομοῖν, οὕτως ἂν,
31 εἰ μία εὐρώι, πάσαις ἂν λυσιτελές ἀποδείξειν, εἰ δὲ δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρες ἡ αἱ ἡμίσεια εὐρωιν,
before the trouble at Decelea. And there is another proof. During the history of the mines an infinite number of men has worked in them; and yet the condition of the mines to-day is exactly the same as it was in the time of our ancestors, and their memory ran not to the contrary. And present 26 conditions all lead to the conclusion that the number of slaves employed there can never be greater than the works need. For the miners find no limit to shaft or gallery. And, mark you, it is as 27 possible now to open new veins as in former times. Nor can one say with any certainty whether the ore is more plentiful in the area already under work or in the unexplored tracts.

Then why, it may be asked, are fewer new cuttings 28 made nowadays than formerly? Simply because those interested in the mines are poorer. For operations have only lately been resumed, and a man who makes a new cutting incurs a serious risk. If he strikes good stuff he makes a fortune; but if he is 29 disappointed, he loses the money he has spent. Therefore people nowadays are very chary of taking such a risk.

However, I think I can meet this difficulty too, 30 and suggest a plan that will make the opening of new cuttings a perfectly safe undertaking. The Athenians, of course, are divided into ten tribes. Now assume that the state were to offer each tribe an equal number of slaves, and that when new cuttings were made, the tribes were to pool their luck. The result would be that if one tribe found silver, 31 the discovery would be profitable to all; and if two,

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1 In 413 B.C., when great numbers of slaves deserted, and labour in the mines dwindled.
δήλων ὅτι χυσίτελέστερα ἄν τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα γίγνοιτο.

Τὸ γε μὴν πάσας ἀποτυχεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρελη-
λυθότων ἔοικός. οἶνον τε δὴ οὕτως καὶ ἵδιῶτας συν-
ισταμένους καὶ κοινουμένους τὴν τύχην ἀσφαλέ-
στερον κινδυνεύειν. μηδὲν μέντοι τοῦτο φοβεῖσθε,
ὡς ὁ τὸ δημόσιον οὕτω κατασκευαζόμενον παραλυ-
πήσει τοὺς ἱδιῶτας ὡς ἦτο ἵδιώται τὸ δημόσιον· ἀλλ'
ὀστερ σύμμαχοι ὃσῳ ἄν πλείους συνιῶσιν, ἵσχυ-
ροτέρους ἀλλήλους ποιοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἀργυρείοις ὁσφτερ ἄν πλείους ἐργάζονται, τόσῳ
πλείονα τἀγαθὰ εὑρῆσοντε καὶ ἐκφορήσουσι. ¹

33 Καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ εἰρήται, ὡς ἄν ἡγοῦμαι κατα-
σκευασθείσῃ τῆς πόλεως ἴκανην ἄν πᾶσιν Ἀθη-
34 ναίοις τροφὴν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γενέσθαι. εἰ δὲ τινες
λογιζόμενοι παμπόλλης ἄν δεῖν ἄφορμῆς εἰς
ταῦτα πάντα σὺν ἡγοῦνται ἴκανα ἄν ποτε χρήματα
35 εἰσενεχθῆναι, μηδὲ οὕτως ἄθυμοντων. οὐ γὰρ
οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς ἀνάγκη ἄμα πάντα ταῦτα
γίγνεσθαι, ἢ μηδὲν ὁφελος αὐτῶν εἶναι· ἀλλ'
ὅποσα ἄν ἡ οἰκοδομηθῇ ἡ ναυπηγηθῇ ἡ ἀνδράποδα
36 ὀνηθῇ, εὐθὺς ταῦτα ἐν ὀφελεία ἐσται· ἀλλὰ
μὴν καὶ τῇ δὲ γε συμφορώτερον τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἢ
τὸ ἄμα πάντα πράττεσθαι. οἰκοδομοῦντες μὴν
γὰρ ἀθρόοι πολυτελέστερον ἄν καὶ κάκιον ἢ
κατὰ μέρος ἀποτελοῦμεν· ἀνδράποδα δὲ παμπληθῇ
ζητοῦντες ἀναγκαζοίμεθ' ἄν καὶ χείρῳ καὶ τιμω-
τερα ὀνείσθαι.

¹ ἐκφορήσουσι Cobet: φορήσουσι S. with the MSS.
three, four, or half the tribes found, the profits from these works would obviously be greater.

Nothing that has happened in the past makes it probable that all would fail to find. Of course, 32 private individuals also are able to combine on this principle and pool their fortunes in order to diminish the risk. Nevertheless there is no reason to fear that a public company formed on this plan will conflict with the interests of private persons, or be hampered by them. No, just as every new adhesion to a confederacy brings an increase of strength to all its members, so the greater the number of persons operating in the mines, the more treasure they will discover and unearth.

I have now explained what regulations I think 33 should be introduced into the state in order that every Athenian may receive sufficient maintenance at the public expense. Some may imagine that 34 enough money would never be subscribed to provide the huge amount of capital necessary, according to their calculations, to finance all these schemes. But even so they need not despair. For it is not 35 essential that the plan should be carried out in all its details in order that any advantage may come of it. No, whatever the number of houses built, or of ships constructed, or of slaves purchased, they will immediately prove a paying concern. In 36 fact in one respect it will be even more profitable to proceed gradually than to do everything at once. For if everybody begins building, we shall pay more for worse work than if we carry out the undertaking gradually; and if we try to find an enormous number of slaves, we shall be forced to buy inferior men at a high price.
XENOPHON

37 Κατά γε μην το δυνατόν περαιώνοντες τὰ μὲν καλῶς γνωσθέντα καὶ αὐθεντὰς ἂν ἡμῶν γενέσθαι οἰόμεθα·
εἰ δέ τι ἀμαρτηθεὶς, ἀπεχοίμεθα ἃν αὐτοῦ. ἔτι δὲ πάντων ἁμα γιγνομένων, ἡμᾶς ἃν ἀπαντά δεοι ἐκποριζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τὰ μὲν περαιώνοντο, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντι, ἢ ὑπάρξασα 2 πρόσοδος τὸ ἐπιτῆ-
δειον συγκατασκευάζοι ἃν.

39 "Ο δὲ ἱσως φοβερῶτατον δοκεῖ πᾶσιν εἶναι, μή
eἰ ἀγαν πολλὰ κτῆσαι ὡ ὀλίγης ἀνδράποδα,
ὑπεργεμισθείη ἂν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τοῦτον τοὺ φόβου
ἀπηλλαγμένοι ἃν εἴημεν, εἰ μή πλείονας ἀνθρώ-
pους ἢ ὅσοις αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα προσαιτοῖν κατ’
ἔνιαυτὸν ἐμβάλομεν.

40 Οὔτως ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἢπερ ράστων, ταύτη καὶ
ἀριστῶν εἶναι ταῦτα πράττειν· εἰ δ’ αὐ διὰ ταῖς ἐν
τῷ νῦν πολέμῳ γεγενημένας εἰσφορὰς νομίζῃ ἃν
μηδ’ ὅτιον δύνασθαι εἰσενεγκεῖν, ὑμεῖς δ’ ὅσα μὲν
πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήματα εὑρίσκε τὰ τέλη, ἀπὸ
tοσοῦτων καὶ τὸ ἐπὶδόν ἐτος διοικεῖτε τὴν πόλιν·
ὅσα δ’ ἄν ἐφευρίσκη διὰ τὸ εἰρήνην τε εἶναι καὶ
diὰ τὸ θεραπεύεσθαι μετοίκους καὶ ἐμπόρους καὶ
diὰ τὸ πλειόνων συναγειρομένων ἀνθρώπων πλεῖον
eἰσάγεσθαι καὶ ἕξαγεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ ἔλλημενα 3
καὶ τὰς ἁγορὰς αὐξάνεσθαι, ταῦτα λαμβάνοντες
κατασκευάσασθε, ὡς ἂν πλεῖσται πρόσοδοι
γίγνοντο.

41 Εἰ δὲ τινες αὐ φοβοῦνται, μή ματαία ἂν γένοιτο
αὕτη ἢ κατασκευή, εἰ πόλεμος ἑγερθείη, ἐννοη-

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1 The text is corrupt. The MSS. have ἡμῶν οἶόμεθα or οἶομεθά, and γενέσθαι is a conjectural and unsatisfactory addition.

2 ὑπάρξασα MSS.: ὑπάρξουσα S.
WAYS AND MEANS, iv. 37-41

By proceeding as our means allow, we can repeat whatever is well conceived and avoid the repetition of mistakes. Besides, were the whole scheme put in hand at once, we should have to find the whole of the money; but if some parts were proceeded with and others postponed, the income realised would help to provide the amount still required.

Possibly the gravest fear in everyone’s mind is that the works may become overcrowded if the state acquires too many slaves. But we can rid ourselves of that fear by not putting more men in year by year than the works themselves require.

Accordingly I hold that this, which is the easiest way, is also the best way of doing these things. On the other hand, if you think that the burdens imposed during the late war make it impossible for you to contribute anything at all—well, keep down the cost of administration during the next year to the amount that the taxes yielded before the peace; and invest the balances over and above that amount, which you will get with peace, with considerate treatment of resident aliens and merchants, with the growth of imports and exports due to concentration of a larger population, and with the expansion of harbour and market dues, so that the investment will bring in the largest revenue.²

Or again, if any fear that this scheme would prove worthless in the event of war breaking out, they

¹ The allusion is to the “War of the Allies” who had revolted from Athens. It lasted from 357 to 355 B.C. See Introduction.
² i.e. invest the balances in the mines, and use the revenue obtained to carry out my scheme.

³ τὰ ἀλλιμένια Bergk: ἐν λιμένι S. with the MSS.
σάντων, ὅτι τούτων γιγνομένων πολὺ φοβερῶτερος
42 ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσιν ἦ τῇ πόλει. τί γὰρ
dὴ εἰς πόλεμον κτῆμα χρησιμώτερον ἀνθρώπων;
pολλὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς πληροῦν ἰκανοὶ ἂν εἶν

dημοσίᾳ; πολλοὶ δ' ἂν καὶ πεζοὶ δημοσίᾳ δύναντ'

ἀν βαρεῖς εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ τις αὐτοῦ;
θεραπεύοι.

43 Δογιζομαι δ' ἐγώγε καὶ πολέμου γιγνομένου
οἰόν τ' εἶναι μὴ ἐκλείπουσθαι τὰ ἀργύρεια. ἐστὶ

μὲν γὰρ δῆπον περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἐν τῇ πρὸς

μεσημβρίαν τείχος ἐν Ἀναφλύστῳ, ἐστὶ δ' ἐν

tῇ πρὸς ἀρκτὸν τείχος ἐν Ἡρωκω. ἀπέχει δὲ

tαῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκουντα στάδια.

44 εἰ οὖν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὕψη-

λοτάτῳ Βήςης τρίτον ἔρυμα, συνήκοι τ' ἄν τὰ ἐργα

eἰς ἐν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν τείχων, καὶ εἰ τι αἰσθάνοιτο

πολεμικόν, ὑβραχύ ἂν εἰ ἐκάστῳ ἐὰν τὸ ἄσφαλῆς

ἀποχωρῆσαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐλθοῦν πλείους πολέμιοι,

δῆλον ὅτι εἰ μὲν σίτον ὁ οἶνον ἢ πρόβατα ἐξω

εὐροίεν, ἀφέλοιν' ἂν ταῦτα: ἄργυρτίδος δὲ κρα-

τήσαντες τι ἂν μᾶλλον ἡ λίθοις ἔχοιεν χρῆσθαι;

45 πῶς δὲ καὶ ὀρμήσειαν ἂν ποτὲ πολέμιοι πρὸς τὰ

μέταλλα; ἀπέχει μὲν γὰρ δῆπον τῶν ἄργυρειν

ἡ ἐγγύτατα πόλις Μέγαρα πολὺ πλεῖον τῶν

πεντακοσίων σταδίων; ἀπέχει δὲ ἂν μετὰ ταῦτα

πλησιαίτατα Θῆβαι πολὺ πλεῖον τῶν ἐξακοσίων.

47 ἂν οὖν πορεύωνται ἐντεῦθεν ποθὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια,

1 S. with the MSS. adds θαλάττη which Bergk saw to be

spurious.
should observe that, with this system at work, war becomes far more formidable to the aggressors than to the city. For what instrument is more serviceable for war than men? We should have enough of them to supply crews to many ships of the state; and many men available for service in the ranks as infantry could press the enemy hard, if they were treated with consideration.

But I reckon that, even in the event of war, the mines need not be abandoned. There are, of course, two fortresses in the mining district, one at Anaphystus on the south side, the other at Thoricus on the north. The distance between them is about seven miles and a half. Now suppose that we had a third stronghold between them on the highest point of Besa. The works would then be linked up by all the fortresses, and at the first intimation of a hostile movement, every man would have but a short distance to go in order to reach safety. In case an enemy came in force, he would, no doubt, seize any corn or wine or cattle that he found outside; but the silver ore, when he had got it, would be of as much use to him as a heap of stones. And how could an enemy ever go for the mines? The distance between Megara, the nearest city, and the silver mines, is of course much more than five hundred furlongs; and Thebes, which is next in proximity, lies at a distance of much more than six hundred furlongs from them. Let us assume, then, that an enemy is marching on the mines from some such point.

1 Observe that Xenophon alludes here not to the resident aliens, but to the state-owned slaves in the mines.

2 Or, as some understand, "the workmen would gather from all the fortresses into one."
παρεναι αυτούς δεήσει τὴν πόλιν κἂν μὲν ὡσιν ὀλίγοι, εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἵππεων καὶ ὑπὸ περιπόλων. πολλῆ γε μὴν δυνάμει πορεύεσθαι ἐξερημοῦντας τὰ έαυτῶν χαλεπῶν· πολὺ γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἀν εἰὴ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων άστυ ἦ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τοῖς πετάλ-λοις οὖντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθοιεν, πῶς ἂν καὶ δύναυτο μένειν μὴ ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια; ἐπισιτιζεσθαί γε μὴν μέρει μὲν κίνδυνος καὶ περὶ τῶν μετιόντων καὶ περὶ ὅν ἀγωνίζοντα· πάντες δὲ ἢ μὲτιόντες πολιορκοῖντ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἡ πολιορκοῖεν.

48 Οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀποφορὰ τὴν διατροφὴν τῇ πόλει αὔξοι ἂν, ἀλλὰ πολυανθρωπίας περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἀθροιζομένης καὶ ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἐκεὶ οὐσίας καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίῶν περὶ τάργυρεια δημοσίων καὶ ἀπὸ καμίνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πρόσοδοι ἂν πολλαὶ γίγνοιντο. ἱσχυρῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὕτη πολυάνθρωπος γένοιτο πόλις, εἰ οὔτω κατασκευασθεῖν καὶ οἳ η ὑδροὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἶναί μείονος αὔξοι τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐνταῦθα ἡ τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἁστυ.

50 Πραξθέντων γε μὴν ὃν εἰρήκα σύμφημι ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον ἂν χρήμασιν εὐπορωτέραν τὴν πόλιν εἴναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπειθεστέραν καὶ εὐτακτοτέραν καὶ 52 εὐπολεμοστέραν γενέσθαι. οἳ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμναύζονται πολὺ ἂν ἐπιμελέστερον τοῦτο πράτ-

1 ἀπόφορὰ Schneider: εἰσφορὰ S. with the MSS.

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He is bound to pass Athens; and if his numbers are small, he is likely to be destroyed by our cavalry and patrols. On the other hand, to march on them with a large force, leaving his own property unprotected, is no easy matter; for when he arrived at the mines the city of Athens would be much nearer to his own states than he himself would be. But even supposing that he should come, how is he to stay without supplies? And to send part of their forces in search of food may mean destruction to the foraging party and failure to achieve the ends for which he is contending; or if the whole force is continually foraging it will find itself blockaded instead of blockading.

However, the rent derived from the slaves would not be the only source of relief to the community. With the concentration of a large population in the mining district, abundant revenue would be derived from the local market, from state-owned houses near the silver mines, from furnaces and all the other sources. For a densely populated city would grow up there, if it were organised on this plan; yes, and building sites would become as valuable there as they are in our suburbs.

If the plans that I have put forward are carried out, I agree\(^1\) that, apart from the improvement in our financial position, we shall become a people more obedient, better disciplined, and more efficient in war.\(^2\) For the classes undergoing physical training will take more pains in the gymnasium when

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1 σύμφημι must mean "agree." If the text is right, one naturally asks "With whom?" Isocrates, Eubulus, or both? See Introduction.

τοιεύν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείω ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπταῖσι γυμνασιαρχομενοῖ οί τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις οί τε πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖτιν τὴν χώραν πάντα ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἂν πράττοιεν, ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν ἔργων τῆς τροφῆς ἀποδιδομένης.

V. Εἰ δὲ σαφῆς δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὡς εἴ μέλλουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πόλεως προσέναι, εἰρήνην δεῖ ὑπάρχειν, ἃρ' οὐκ ἀξίων καὶ εἰρηνοφύλακας καθιστάναι; πολὺ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὕτη ἀἱρεθεῖσα ἡ ἀρχὴ προσφιλεστέραν καὶ πυκνοτέραν εἰσαφικνείσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιῆσει τῆν πόλιν.

2 εἰ δὲ τινὲς οὕτω γιγνώσκουσιν, ὡς ἔαν ἡ πόλις εἰρήνην ἁγοῦσα διατελῆ, ἄδυνατώτερα τε καὶ ἀδοξοτέρα καὶ ἄττον ὄνομαστῇ ἐν τῇ Ἐπιλάδι ἐσται, καὶ οὕτῳ γε ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ 2 παραλόγως σκοποῦσιν. εὐδαιμονέσταται μὲν γὰρ δήπου πόλεις λέγονται, αἱ ἀν πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διατελώσαν πασών δὲ πόλεων Ἀθῆναι μάλιστα

3 πεφύκασιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ αὑξέσθαι. τίνες γὰρ ἰσχυάν ἁγοῦσιν τῆς πόλεως οὐ προσδέουσιν ἄν αὐτῆς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐμπόρων; οὐχ οἱ πολύσιτοι, οὐχ οἱ πολύσινοι,3 τί δὲ οἱ πολυέλαιοι, τί δὲ οἱ πολυπρόβατοι, οἱ δὲ γνώμη καὶ ἀργυρίω

4 δυνάμενοι χρηματίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴν χειροτέχναι τε καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ φιλοσόφοι, οἱ δὲ ποιηταί, οἱ δὲ τὰ τοῦτα μεταχειρίζομενοι, οἱ δὲ ἀξιοθεάτων ἢ ἀξιακοῦστων ἰερῶν ἢ ὅσιῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντες; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ δεόμενοι πολλὰ ταχὺ ἀποδίδοσθαι ἢ

1 τοῦτο πράττοιεν ὡς πράττοιεν MSS.: πράττοιεν τὰ S. with Lenklau.

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they receive their maintenance in full than they take under the superintendents of the torch races; and the classes on garrison duty in a fortress, or serving as targeteers, or patrolling the country will show greater alacrity in carrying out all these duties when the maintenance is duly supplied for the work done.

V. If it seems clear that the state cannot obtain a full revenue from all sources unless she has peace, is it not worth while to set up a board of guardians of peace? Were such a board constituted, it would help to increase the popularity of the city and to make it more attractive and more densely thronged with visitors from all parts. If any are inclined to think that a lasting peace for our city will involve a loss of her power and glory and fame in Greece, they too, in my opinion, are out in their calculations. For I presume that those states are reckoned the happiest that enjoy the longest period of unbroken peace; and of all states Athens is by nature most suited to flourish in peace. For if the state is tranquil, what class of men will not need her? Shipowners and merchants will head the list. Then there will be those rich in corn and wine and oil and cattle; men possessed of brains and money to invest; craftsmen and professors and philosophers; poets and the people who make use of their works; those to whom anything sacred or secular appeals that is worth seeing or hearing. Besides, where will those who want to buy or sell

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1 The superintendents paid for the upkeep of the competitors training for public competitions. In difficult times they could not supply full rations.

2 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ Castalio; ἐμὴ δὲγι S. with the MSS.
3 S. retains ὅποι οἱ ἑδύναιοι after πολύνοι with the MSS.
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\text{πρίασθαι πο\textsuperscript{1} τούτων μᾶλλον ἂν τύχοιεν ἢ } \text{2 'Αθήνησιν;}
\]

5 Εἰ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀντιλέγει, τὴν δὲ ἡγεμονίαν βουλόμενοι τινες ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν \textsuperscript{3} ταύτην διὰ πολέμου μᾶλλον ἢ δι’ εἰρήνης· ἤγοινται ἃν καταπραχθῆναι, ἐννοησάτωσαν πρὸτον μὲν τὰ Μηδικά, πότερον βιαζόμενοι ἢ ἐνεργευότατες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἡγεμονίας τε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ Ἕλληνο-

tαμίας ἐτύχομεν. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ ὁμῶς ἀγαν δόξασα προστατεύειν ἢ πόλις ἐστερήθη τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ καὶ τότε, ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἄδικειν ἀπεσχάμεθα, πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἐκόπτων προστάται τοῦ ναυτικοῦ

7 ἐγενόμεθα; οὐκόν καὶ Ἐθησαῖοι ἐνεργευόμενοι ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτῶν ἐδωκαν Ἀθηναίοις; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ βιασθέντες ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ’ εὐ πάσχοντες ἐπέτρεψαν Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τῆς

8 ἡγεμονίας θέσθαι ὡπως βούλοιντο. νῦν δὲ γε διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἕλλαδὶ ταραχὴν παραπετοκέναι μοι δοκεῖ τῇ πόλει ὡστε καὶ ἀνευ πόνων καὶ ἀνευ κινδύνων καὶ ἀνευ δαπάνης ἀνακτᾶσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ πειράσθαι διαλλάττειν

tὰς πολεμούσας πρὸς ἀλλήλας πόλεις, ἔστι δὲ συναλλάττειν, εἰ τινες ἐν αὐταῖς στασιάζουσιν.

9 εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅπως τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἵερον αὐτόνομον ὥσπερ πρόσθεν γένοιτο, φανερὸι εἶντε ἐπιμελεύμενοι, μὴ συμπολεμοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἑρεσίβευσοντες ἀνὰ τὴν Ἕλλαδα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδεν ἂν οἴμαι θανμα-

στοῦν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁμογνω-

μονάς τε καὶ συνόρκους καὶ συμμάχους λάβοιτε

\textsuperscript{1} τοῦ C: ἢ ὁ S. with the other MSS.

\textsuperscript{2} ἢ C: S. omits with the other MSS.
many things quickly meet with better success in their efforts than at Athens?

No one, I dare say, contests this; but there are some who wish the state to recover her ascendancy, and they may think that it is more likely to be won by war than by peace. Let such, in the first place, call to mind the Persian Wars. Was it by coercing the Greeks or by rendering services to them that we became leaders of the fleet and treasurers of the league funds? Further, after the state had been stripped of her empire through seeming to exercise her authority with excessive harshness, did not the islanders even then restore to us the presidency of the fleet by their own free will, when we refrained from acts of injustice? And again, did not the Thebans place themselves under the leadership of the Athenians in return for our good offices? Yet once again, it was not the effect of coercion on our part, but of generous treatment, that the Lacedaemonians permitted the Athenians to arrange the leadership as they chose. And now, owing to the confusion prevalent in Greece, an opportunity, I think, has fallen to the state to win back the Greeks without trouble, without danger, and without expense. For she has it in her power to try to reconcile the warring states, she has it in her power to compose the factions contending in their midst. And were it apparent that you are striving to make the Delphic shrine independent, as it used to be, not by joining in war, but by sending embassies up and down Greece, I for my part should not be in the least surprised if you found the Greeks all of one mind, banded together by oath and united in alliance.

\[8 \text{ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἐρμήν: ὑπὸ τὸν Ἐρμήν: S. with the MSS.} \]
XENOPHON

ἐπ’ ἐκείνους, οὕτως ἐκλιπτόντων Φακέων τὸ ἱερὸν
καταλαμβάνειν πειρώντο.  

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἀνὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν εἰρήνη ἔσται, φανερὸι ἐίητε ἐπιμελήμενοι, ἐγὼ μὲν οἷον πάντας ἄν εὔχεσθαι μετὰ τὰς ἐαυτῶν πατρίδας Ἀθήνας μάλιστα σώξεσθαι.

Εἰ δὲ τις αὖ εἰς χρήματα κερδαλεώτερον νομίζει εἶναι τῇ πόλει πόλεμον ἡ εἰρήνη, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, πῶς ἀν ἀμείνω ταῦτα κριθείν ἡ εἰ τις τὰ προγεγενημένα ἔπανασκοποῖ ἡ τῇ πόλει πῶς ἀποβέβηκεν. εὐρήσει γὰρ τὸ τε παλαιὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν πάνυ πολλὰ χρήματα. εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνενεχθέντα, ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα κατα- 

dαπανηθέντα. γνώσεται δὲ, ἢν σκοτη, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν χρόνῳ διὰ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τῶν προσόδων πολλὰς ἐκλιπτούσας καὶ τὰς εἰσελθούσας εἰς 

παντοδαπὰ 3 καταδαπανηθέσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη κατὰ θάλατταν γεγένηται, ἄφησμένας τε τὰς προσόδους καὶ ταύτας ἔξω τοῖς πολίταις χρήσθαι ὑ τι βούλοιντο.

Εἰ δὲ τις μὲ ἐπερωτώθη, Ὁ καὶ ἂν τις ἁδικῇ 
tῇ πόλιν, λέγεις, ὡς χρή καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγεις; οὐκ ἂν φαίνῃ ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον λέγω, ὅτι πολὺ θάττων ἄν τιμωροίμεθα αὐτοὺς, 

εἰ μηδένα ὑπάρχομεν ἁδικοῦντες. 4 οὔδενα γὰρ ἄν ἔχοιεν σύμμαχον.

VI. Ἀλλὰ εἰ γε μὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ἁδύνατον 

μὲν μηδὲν ἐστὶ μηδὲ χαλεπὸν, πραττομένων δὲ

1 πειρώντο Madvig: ἐπειρώντο S. with the MSS.
2 ἔπανασκοποὶ Dindorf: ἔτι ἄνασκοποὶ S. with the MSS.
3 παντοδαπὰ Lenklau: παντοδαπὰ πολλὰ S. with the MSS.

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against any that attempted to seize the shrine in the event of the Phocians abandoning it. Were 10 you to show also that you are striving for peace in every land and on every sea, I do think that, next to the safety of their own country, all men would put the safety of Athens first in their prayers.

If, on the other hand, any one supposes that financially war is more profitable to the state than peace, I really do not know how the truth of this can be tested better than by considering once more what has been the experience of our state in the past. He will find that in old days a very great amount 12 of money was paid into the treasury in time of peace, and that the whole of it was spent in time of war; he will conclude on consideration that in our own time the effect of the late war on our revenues was that many of them ceased, while those that came in were exhausted by the multitude of expenses; whereas the cessation of war by sea has been followed by a rise in the revenues, and has allowed the citizens to devote them to any purpose they choose.

But some one may ask me, Do you mean to say 13 that, even if she is wronged, the state should remain at peace with the offender? No, certainly not; but I do say that our vengeance would follow far more swiftly on our enemies if we provoked nobody by wrong-doing; for then they would look in vain for an ally.

VI. Well now, surely, if none of these proposals is impossible or even difficult, if by carrying them into

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{1}} \, \text{ἐπάρχοιμεν ἄδικοῦντες Cobet: παρέχοιμεν ἄδικοῦντα S. with the MSS.} \]
αὐτῶν προσφιλέστεροι μὲν τοῖς "Ελλησι γενησόμεθα, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ οἰκήσομεν, εὐκλεέστεροι δὲ ἐσόμεθα καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος τροφῆς εὐπορήσει, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον δαπάνης ἀπαλλαγήσονται, περιουσίας δὲ πολλῆς γενομένης μεγαλοπρεπέστερον μὲν ἐτὶ ἡ νῦν ἐορτὰς ἄξομεν, ἵππα δ' ἐπισκεύασομεν, τείχῃ δὲ καὶ νεώρια ἀνορθώσομεν, ἱερεύσι δὲ καὶ βούλῃ καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἱππεύσι τὰ πάτρια ἀποδώσομεν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον ὡς τάχιστα τούτοις ἐγχειρεῖν, ἢν ἐτι ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπίδωμεν τὴν πόλιν μετ' ἀσφαλείας εὐδαιμονοῦσαν;

2 Εἰ γε μὴν ταῦτα δόξειν ὑμῖν πράττειν, συμβουλεύσαι μ' ἄν ἐγγυεῖ πεμψαντας καὶ εἰς Δωδώνην καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερέσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ λύσον καὶ ἁμεινοὺς εἰη ἄν τῇ πόλει οὕτω κατασκευαζομένῃ καὶ αὐτίκα καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑπειτὰ

3 χρόνον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα συναινοεῖν, τότέ ἂν αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν χρήσις ἐπερωτᾶν, τίνας θεῶν προσποιούμενοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα καὶ ἁριστὰ πράττομεν ἃν οὖς δ' ἀνέλοιμεν θεούς, τούτοις εἰκὸς καλλιεργήσαντας ἀρχεσθαι τοῦ ἐργου. σὺν γὰρ θεῷ πραττομένου εἰκὸς καὶ τὰς πράξεις προϊέναι ἐπὶ τὸ λύσον καὶ ἁμεινοῦν ἀέω τῇ πόλει.
effect we shall be regarded with more affection by the Greeks, shall live in greater security, and be more glorious; if the people will be maintained in comfort and the rich no more burdened with the expenses of war; if with a large surplus in hand we shall celebrate our festivals with even more splendour than at present, shall restore the temples, and repair the walls and docks, and shall give back to priests, councillors, magistrates, knights their ancient privileges; surely, I say, our proper course is to proceed with this scheme forthwith, that already in our generation we may come to see our city secure and prosperous.

Furthermore, if you decide to go forward with the plan, I should advise you to send to Dodona and Delphi, and inquire of the gods whether such a design is fraught with weal for the state both now and in days to come. And should they consent to it, then I would say that we ought to ask them further, which of the gods we must propitiate in order that we may prosper in our handiwork. Then, when we have offered an acceptable sacrifice to the gods named in their reply, it behoves us to begin the work. For with heaven to help us in what we do, it is likely that our undertakings will go forward continually to the greater weal of the state.
THE CAVALRY COMMANDER


ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΙΠΠΑΡΧΙΚΟΣ

I. Πρώτον μὲν θύοντα χρή αίτεϊσθαι θεοὺς ταῦτα διδόναι καὶ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν, ἢφ' δὲν θεοῖς μὲν κεχαρισμεύωτατα ἀρξεῖας ἂν, σαυτῷ δὲ καὶ φίλοις καὶ τῇ πόλει προσφιλέστατα

2 καὶ εὐκλείστατα καὶ πολυφελέστατα. θεῶν δ' ἱλεων ὄντων ἀναβιβαστέον μὲν σοι ἁπτέας, καὶ ὅπως ἀναπληρωται ὁ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἁριθμός καὶ ὅπως τὸ ὄν ἱππικὸν μὴ μειῶται. εἶ δὲ μὴ προσαναβήσονται ἱππεῖς, μείονες αἰεί ἐσονται ἀνάγκῃ γάρ τοὺς μὲν γῆρα ἀπαγορευέων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἐκλείψειν.

3 Πληρομενέων γε μὴ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἐπιμελητέον μὲν, ὅπως τρέφωνται οἱ ἱπποί, ὡς ἂν δύνωνται πόνους ὑποφέρειν· οἱ γὰρ ήττους τῶν πόνων οὔτε αἵρεῖν οὔτε ἀποφεύγειν δύναιντο ἂν. ἐπιμελητέον δὲ, ὅπως εὐχρηστοὶ ὅσιν· οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀπειθεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς φίλοις

4 συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ οἱ λακτίζοντες δὲ ἀναβεβα- μένοι ἱπποί ἐκποδῶν ποιητέοι· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι πολλάκις πλεῖοι κακὰ ἢ οἱ πολέμιοι ποιοῦσι. δεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως δύνων- ται καὶ ἐν τραχεῖα χῶρα ἱππεύεων, εἴδότα,1 οτι ὅπου ἂν ἀλγώσιν ἐλαυνόμενοι, ἐνταῦθα οὐ χρή- σιμοὶ εἰσίν.

1 εἴδότα BM: εἴδότας S. with other MSS.
THE CAVALRY COMMANDER

I. The first duty is to sacrifice to the gods and pray them to grant you the thoughts, words and deeds likely to render your command most pleasing to the gods and to bring yourself, your friends and your city the fullest measure of affection and glory and advantage. Having gained the goodwill of the gods, you have then to recruit a sufficient number of mounted men that you may bring the number up to the total required by the law, and also may prevent any decrease in the cavalry establishment. Unless additional recruits are enrolled in the force, the number will constantly dwindle, for some men are bound to retire through old age and others to drop off for various reasons.

While the ranks are filling up, you must see that the horses get enough food to stand hard work, since horses unfit for their work can neither overtake nor escape. You must see that they are docile, because disobedient animals assist the enemy more than their own side. And horses that kick when mounted must be got rid of, for such brutes often do more mischief than the enemy. You must also look after their feet, so that they can be ridden on rough ground, for you know that wherever galloping is painful to them, they are useless.

1,000; but, as we shall see, the number had fallen to something like 650 at the time Xenophon wrote.
Τῶν γε μὴν ἵππων ὑπαρχόντων οἷων δεῖ τοὺς ἵππεας αὐτὸν ἀσκητέον, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππους ἀναπηδῶν δύνωνται πολλοῖς γὰρ ἡδή ἡ σωτηρία παρὰ τούτῳ ἐγένετο· δεύτερον δὲ ὅπως ἐν παντοῖος χωρίοις ἱππάζεσθαι δυνήσονται· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόλεμοι ἀλλοτε ἐν ἀλλοίοις τόποις γίγνονται. ὅταν δὲ ἡδή ἐποχοὶ ὅσι, δεῖ αὐτὸν σκοπεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἀκοντιοῦντι τε ὅς πλεῖστοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τάλλα δυνήσονται ποιεῖν ἀ δεῖ τοὺς ἱππικοὺς.

Metà ταύτα ὀπλιστέον καὶ ἱπποὺς καὶ ἱππέας, ὅς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἥκιστα τιτρώσκοιτ' ἂν, βλάπτειν

7 δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μάλιστα δύναντ' ἂν. ἐκ τούτων παρασκευαστέον, ὅπως εὐπειθεῖς οἱ ἄλλες ὅσιον ἀνεν γὰρ τούτου οὐθ' ἱππῶν ἀγαθῶν οὔτε ἱππέων ἐπόχων οὔτε ὀπλῶν καλῶν ὀφελοὺς οὐδέν.

Προστατεύειν μὲν οὖν τούτων πάντων ὅπως

8 καλῶς γίγνηται τὸν ἱππαρχον εἰκὸς ἔστιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις χαλεπὸν ἡγησαμένη ταύτα πάντα τοῦ ἱππαρχον μόνον ὁντα κατεργάζεσθαι προσαρπείται μὲν αὐτῷ συνεργοὺς φυλάρχους, προσέταξε δὲ τῇ βουλῇ συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, ἀγαθον μοι δοκεῖ εἰναι τοὺς μὲν φυλάρχους παρασκευάζειν συνεπιθυμεῖν σοι τῶν καλῶν τῷ ἱππικῷ, ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ ἔχειν ῥήτορας ἐπιτηδείους, ὅπως λέγοντες φοβῶσι τε τοὺς ἱππέας,

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1 A difficult feat, since the Greek rider had no stirrups.
2 When attacking infantry in line the cavalry never charged home; but only approached near enough to throw.
THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, 1. 5-8

Having made sure that the horses are in good condition, the next business is to train the men. First they must learn to mount from the spring, since many before now have owed their lives to that. Secondly, they must practise riding over all sorts of ground, since any kind of country may become the area of war. As soon as they have acquired a firm seat, your next task is to take steps that as many as possible shall be able to throw the javelin when mounted and shall become efficient in all the details of horsemanship.

After that both horses and men must be armed, so that, while they are themselves thoroughly protected against wounds, they may have the means of inflicting the greatest loss on the enemy. Then you must contrive to make the men obedient: otherwise neither good horses nor a firm seat nor fine armour are of any use.

For ensuring efficiency in all these matters the cavalry commander, as a matter of course, is the principal authority. But, at the same time, the state thinks it difficult for the cavalry commander to carry out all these duties single-handed; therefore, it also elects colonels of regiments to assist him; and it has charged the Council with the duty of taking a share in the management of the cavalry. I think it well, then, that you should encourage the colonels to be as eager as yourself for the efficiency of the cavalry, and should have suitable spokesmen in the Council, that their speeches may alarm the men—they will do better under the influence of fear—and the javelin with effect. Hence the importance attached to an accomplishment by no means easy to perform without stirrups. See especially the next treatise, c. xii.
XENOPHON

βελτίωνες γὰρ ἂν ἔδει φοβοῦμενοι, καταπραύνωσι τε τὴν βουλήν, ἢν τι παρὰ καίρον χαλεπαίνῃ.

9 Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὑπομνήματα ὅν δεῖ σε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς δ' ἂν ἐκαστὰ τούτων βελτιστα περαινοιτο, τοῦτο δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν.

Τούς μὲν τοίνυν ἱππέας δῆλον ὅτι καθιστάναι δεὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ χρήματι καὶ σώμασιν ἢ εἰσάγοντα εἰς δικαστήριον ἢ πεῖθοντα. ἔγω δὲ οἶμαι εἰς μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον τούτων εἰςακτέον εἶναι, οὐς μὴ εἰσάγων ἂν τις διὰ κέρδος δοκοί τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἦττοι δυναμένοις εὐθὺς ἂν εἰ άποστροφή, εἰ μὴ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους πρῶτους ἀναγκάζοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὐς ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τις νέος μὲν τὰ ἐν ἰππικῇ λαμπρὰ λέγον εἰς ἐπιθυμίαιν καθιστάναι τοῦ ἱππεύειν, τοὺς δὲ κυρίους αὐτῶν ἦττον ἀντιτείνοντας ἔχειν, τάδε διδάσκων, ως ἀναγκασθήσονται μὲν ἱπποτρεφεῖν, ἢν μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ, ὑπ’ 10 ἄλλον, διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ σοῦ ἀναβῶσιν, ως ἀποστρέψεις μὲν τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τῶν πολυτελῶν τε καὶ μανικῶν ἱππωνεῖων, ἐπιμελήσει δὲ, ως ἂν ταχὺ ἰππικοὶ γίγνοιτο. λέγοντα δὲ οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖν ταύτα πειρατέον.

11 Τοὺς γε μὴν οὕτας ἱππέας ἢ βουλὴ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ προειποῦσα, ως τὸ λοιπὸν δεῖσσει διπλάσια ἱππάξεσθαι καὶ ως τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ἵππον ἀκολούθειν ἀποδοκιμάσει, ἐπιτείναι ἂν τρέφειν τε ἀμεινον καὶ ἐπιμελείσθαι μᾶλλον τῶν ἱππών.

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may also appease the wrath of the Council, in case it shows indignation at the wrong time.

Here, then, you have brief notes on the matters that demand your attention. I will now try to explain how these duties may best be carried out in detail.

As for the men, you must obviously raise them as required by the law, from among those who are most highly qualified by wealth and bodily vigour, either by obtaining an order of the court or by the use of persuasion. The cases that should be brought before the court, I think, are those of men who otherwise might be suspected of having bribed you not to apply for a judgment. For the smaller men will at once have a ground for escaping, unless you first compel the most highly qualified to serve. I think, too, that, by dwelling on the brilliancy of horsemanship, you might fire some of the young men with ambition to serve in the cavalry, and that you might overcome the opposition of their guardians by informing them that they will be required to keep horses by someone, if not by you, on account of their wealth; whereas, if their boys join up during your command, you will put an end to their extravagance in buying expensive horses, and see that they soon make good riders. And you must try to suit your actions to your words.

As for the existing cavalry, I think that the Council should give notice that in future double the amount of exercise will be required, and that any horse unable to keep up will be rejected. This warning would put the screw on the men and make them feed their horses better and take more care of
καὶ τοὺς βιαίους δ᾿ ἵππους ἀγαθὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι προφηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκιμασθήσονται. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀπειλὴ πωλεύειν ¹ ἀν τοὺς τοιούτους μᾶλλον παρορμήσει καὶ ἰππώνειν σωφρονε-στερον. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἰππασίαις λακτίζοντας ἵππους προφηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκιμασθήσονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ συντάττειν τοὺς τοιούτους δυνατόν, ἀλλ᾿ ἀνάγκη κἂν ποι ἐπὶ πολεμίους δὲν ἐλαύνειν, ὡστάτους αὐτοὺς ἔπεσθαι, ὡστε διὰ τὴν ἵππον κακοῦργιαν ἄχρηστος καὶ ὁ ἰππεὺς καθίσταται.

'Ως δ᾿ ἂν καὶ οἱ πόδες εἰεν τῶν ἱππων κράτιστοι, εἰ μὲν τις ἔχει ῥᾴδι καὶ ἐντελεστέραν ἀσκησιν, ἐκείνη ἐστὼ· εἰ δὲ μῆ, ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι πείραν ἔχων χύδην καταβαλόντα λίθους τὸν ἐκ τῆς ὀδοῦ ὅσον μιαῖνοι καὶ πλεῖον καὶ μεῖον ἐν τούτοις τὸν ἵππον ψήχειν καὶ ἐνιστάναι, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης ἀποβῇ. βαδίζων γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λίθοις οὐπότε ὁ ἵππος παύσεται οὐθ᾿ ὅταν ψήχε-ται οὐθ᾿ ὅταν μυιωπίζηται. ὁ δὲ πειραθεὶς τὰ τε ἄλλα, ἀ λέγω, πιστεύσει καὶ στρογγύλους τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἱππων ὑφεται.

Οπότε γε μήν οἱ ἵπποι εἰσὶν οἶνος δεῖ, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸι οἱ ἰππεῖς ἀριστοὶ γύγνοιτο, τοῦτο διηγήσομαι.
Τὸ μὲν τοῖνυν τοὺς νέους αὐτῶν ἀναπηδὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς πείθομεν ἃν αὐτοὺς μανθάνειν· τὸν διδάξοντα δὲ παρασχῶν ἐπαίνου δικαίως ἃν τυγχάνοις, τοὺς γε μήν πρεσβύτερους τὸν Περ-σικὸν τρόπον ἀναβάλλεσθαι ὑπ᾿ ἄλλων προσεθίσας καὶ τούτους ὀφελήσαις ἂν.

¹ πωλεύειν Rühl: πωλεύ S. with the MSS.

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them. I think it would be well, too, if notice were given that vicious horses would be rejected. Under the stimulus of this threat men would break in such animals more thoroughly and would be more careful in buying horses. Again, it would be well to give notice that horses found kicking at exercise will be rejected. For it is impossible even to keep such animals in line; in a charge against an enemy they are bound to lag behind, and the consequence is, that through the bad behaviour of his horse, the man himself becomes useless.

For getting horses' feet into the best condition, if anyone has an easier and cheaper method than mine, by all means adopt it. If not, I hold—and I speak from experience—that the right way is to throw down some stones from the road, averaging about a pound in weight, and to curry the horse on these and to make him stand on them whenever he goes out of the stable. For the horse will constantly use his feet on the stones when he is cleaned and when he is worried by flies. Try it, and you will find your horses' feet round, and will believe in the rest of my rules.

Assuming that the horses are in good condition, I will explain how to make the men themselves thoroughly efficient.

We would persuade the young recruits to learn for themselves how to mount from the spring; but if you provide an instructor, you will receive well-merited praise. The way to help the older men is to accustom them to get a leg-up in the Persian fashion.

1 Horse-shoes being unknown; cf. the following treatise, c. iv.
"Οπως γε μήν ἐν παντοδαποῖς χωρίοις ἐποχοι οἱ ἱππεῖς δυνήσονται εἶναι, τὸ μὲν πυκνὰ ἐξάγειν μὴ πολέμου ὄντος ἴσως ὄχληρον συγκαλέσαντα δὲ χρή τοὺς ἱππεῖς συμβουλεύσαι αὐτοῖς μελετᾶν, καὶ ὅταν εἰς χώραν ἐλαύνωσι καὶ ὅταν ἄλλοσε ποι, ἐκβιβάζοντας τὸν ὀδὸν καὶ ταχὺ ἐλαύνοντας ἐν τόποις παντοδαποῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ ὥφελεῖ μὲν παραπλησίως τῷ ἐξάγειν, ὥσπερ δ' οὐχ ὄμοιον παρέχει. ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ὑπομιμησκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ η ἐπόλις ἀνέχεται δαπανῶσα εἰς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἑγγὺς τετταράκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὡς ἦν πόλεμος γίγνεται, μὴ ξητεῖν δὲν ἱππικὸν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτοίμου ἔχῃ παρεσκευασμένον χρήσθαι. ἴσωστα γὰρ ἐνθυμομένους εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἱππικήν, ὅπως ἦν πόλεμος ἐγείρηται, μὴ ἀμελετήτους ὄντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι δὲν περί τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ εὐκλείας καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προειπεῖν τοὺς ἱππεύσιν, ὅτι ἐξάγεις καὶ σὺ ποτε αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ παντοῖον χωρίον ἠγάθησε. καὶ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις δὲ τῆς ἀνθιππασίας καλὸν ἐξάγειν ἄλλοτε εἰς ἄλλοιον τόπον καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἱππεύσι καὶ τοῖς ἱπποῖς βέλτιον.

Ἀκοντιζεῖν γε μήν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν ὦδ' ἄν πλείστοι μοι δοκούσι μελετᾶν, εἰ τοῦτ' αὐ προείποι τοῖς φυλάρχοις, ὅτι αὐτούς δεήσει ἡγουμένους τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἀκοντισταίς ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον. φιλοτιμοῦντο γὰρ ἂν, ἣ εἰκὸς, ὡς 242
THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, i. 18–21

To ensure that the men have a firm seat, whatever the nature of the ground, it is, perhaps, too much trouble to have them out frequently when there is no war going on; but you should call the men together, and recommend them to practise turning off the roads and galloping over all sorts of ground when they are riding to quarters or any other place. For this does as much good as taking them out, and it is less tedious. It is useful to remind them that the state supports an expenditure of nearly forty talents\(^1\) a year in order that she may not have to look about for cavalry in the event of war, but may have it ready for immediate use. For with this thought in their minds the men are likely to take more pains with their horsemanship, so that when war breaks out they may not have to fight untrained for the state, for glory and for life. It is well also to give notice to the men that you intend to take them out yourself some day, and lead them over country of all kinds. And during the manoeuvres that precede the sham fight it is proper to take them out to a different piece of country at different times: this is better for both men and horses.

As for throwing the javelin on horseback,\(^2\) I think that the greatest number will practise that if you add a warning to the colonels that they will be required to ride to javelin exercise themselves at the head of the marksmen of the regiment. Thus, in all probability, everyone of them will be eager to turn

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\(^1\) Say £9,500, a large sum in those times. The pay is, of course, alluded to. The expenditure would amount daily to nearly 666 *drachmae*. The cavalryman’s normal pay was a *drachma* a day. Hence it looks as if the number of the cavalry in 365 B.C. had fallen to about 650.

\(^2\) At a suspended shield.
πλείστους ἐκαστὸς ἀποδείξαι ἀκοντιστὰς τῇ πολεῖ.

22 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς γε ὀπλισθήματι τοὺς ἰπτέας οἱ φύλαρχοι ἂν μοι δοκοῦσι μέγιστον συλλαμβάνειν, εἰ πεισθείσαν, ὅτι πολὺ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῆς πόλεως εὐδοξότερον τῇ τῆς φυλῆς λαμπρότητι κεκοσμηθαὶ ἢ μόνον τῇ ἑαυτῶν στολῇ. εἰκὸς δὲ μὴ δυσπειστὸς εἶναι αὐτοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἳ γε φυλαρχεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι, δυνατὸ δὲ εἰσὶ κατὰ τὰ ἔν τῷ νόμῳ ὀπλίσασι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δαπανῶν τῷ μισθῷ ἐπαναγκάζοντες κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὀπλί-
ξεσθαι.

24 Εἰς γε μὴν τὸ εὑπειθεῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχομένους μέγα μὲν τὸν λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ὥσα ἀγαθὰ ἐν ἐν τῷ πειθαρχεῖν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μὲν ποιεῖν τοὺς ἐυτάκτους, μειονεκτεῖν δὲ ἐν πάσι τοὺς ἀπακτοῦντας.

25 Ἰσχυροτάτη δὲ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι παρόρμησις τῶν φυλάρχων εἰς τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καλῶς παρεσκευασμένης ἐκαστὸν τής φυλῆς ἡγεῖσθαι, εἰ τοὺς ἀμφὶ σὲ προδρόμους κοσμῆσαι μὲν ὀπλοῖς ὡς κάλλιστα, ἀκοντίζειν δὲ μελετῶν ἐξαναγκάζοντες ὡς μάλιστα, εἰςηγοῦ ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἑπὶ τὸ ἄκοντιον αὐτὸς εὺ μάλα μεμελετηκὼς.

26 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀθλά τις δύνατο προτιδέναι ταῖς

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1 τὸ Schneider: τὸ καὶ S. with the MSS.
2 S. with the MSS. adds κατὰ τὸν νόμον, which was removed by Weiske.
3 παρεσκευασμένης Weiske: παρεσκευασμένος S. with the MSS.

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1 The reference is first to the “establishment money”
out as many marksmen as possible for the service of the state.

Towards the proper arming of the men, I think that the greatest amount of assistance will be obtained from the colonels, if they are persuaded that from the point of view of the state the brilliance of the regiment is a far more glorious ornament to them than the brightness of their own accoutrements only. It is likely that they will not be hard to persuade in such matters, considering that honour and glory were the attractions that the colonelcy held out to them, and they can arm the men in accordance with the regulations laid down in the law without incurring expense themselves, afterwards compelling the men to spend their pay on their arms, as the law ordains.

To make the men who are under your command obedient, it is important to impress on them by word of mouth the many advantages of obedience to authority, and no less important to see that good discipline brings gain and insubordination loss in every respect.

The best way of inducing every colonel to take pride in commanding a well equipped regiment, I think, is to arm your company of couriers as well as you can, to demand of them constant practice in the use of the javelin, and to instruct them in it after making yourself proficient. And if you could offer prizes to the regiments for skill in for horse and equipment, due to recruits when they had passed the examination by the Council. There is another allusion to it in c. ix. 5. This sum is independent of the pay; and it is probable that on leaving the service the cavalryman had to refund it.
XENOPHON

φυλαῖς πάντων ὄποσα ἀγαθὰ νομίζουσιν ἀσκεῖσθαι ἐν ταῖς θέασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, τοῦτο πάντας οἴμαι Ἀθηναῖους γε μάλιστ' ἂν προτρέπειν εἰς φιλονεκίαν. δήλον δὲ τούτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὡς μικρῶν ἄθλων ἕνεκα πολλῶν μὲν πόνων, μεγάλαι δὲ δαπάναι τελοῦνται. τούς μὲντοι κριτᾶς τοιούτους δει εὐρίσκειν, παρ' οἷς νικῶντες μάλιστ' ἂν ἀγάλλοιντο.

II. Ἡν δὲ δὴ σοι ταῦτα πάντα ἐξησκημένοι ὦσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς, δεῖ δὴποι καὶ τάξιν τινὰ ἐπιστασθαι αὐτοὺς, ἐξ ἡς καλλιστας μὲν θεῶις τομπᾶς πέμψουσι, κάλλιστα δὲ ἱππύσονται, ἀριστα δὲ μαχοῦνται, ἢν δὲν, ράστα δὲ καὶ ἀταραξότατα ὅδοις πορεύσονται καὶ διαβάσεις περάσοντιν. ὑ τοίνυν χρώμενοι τάξει δοκοῦσιν ἃν μοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα διαπράττεσθαι, ταύτην γὰν ἢδη πειράσομαι δηλοῦν.

2 Οὐκοῦν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχουσι διηρθημέναι φυλαὶ δέκα. τοῦτων δ' ἐγὼ φημὶ χρῆναι πρῶτον μὲν δεκαδάρχοις σὺν τῇ τῶν φυλάρχων ἐκάστου γνώμῃ καταστῆσαι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζοῦτων τε καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτων καλὸν τι ποιεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσιν καὶ τούτους μὲν πρωτοστάτας 3 δεῖ εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτοι ἵσους χρὴ τοῦτοις ἀριθμοῦν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ φρουριμωτάτων ἐλέσθαι, οὕτως τελευταίοι τῶν δεκάδων ἔσονται. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ ἀπεκάσαι, οὕτω καὶ σίδηρος κάλλιστα διατήμειν σίδηρον, ὅταν τό τε ἰγούμενον τοῦ τομέως ἐρρωμένον ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐπελαιανόμενον ἴκανον.

4 Τοὺς γε μὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῶν

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all the feats that the public expects the cavalry to perform at the spectacles, I think this would appeal strongly to the spirit of emulation in every Athenian. For evidence of this I may refer to the choruses, in which many labours and heavy expenses are the price paid for trifling rewards. Only you must find judges whose suffrage will shed lustre on a victory.

II. When your men are well trained in all these points, they must, of course, understand some plan of formation, that in which they will show to greatest advantage in the sacred processions and at manoeuvres, fight, if need be, with the greatest courage, and move along roads and cross rivers with perfect ease in unbroken order. So I will now try to explain the formation that I think will give the best results in these various circumstances.

Now the state has divided the cavalry into ten separate regiments. I hold that within these you should, to begin with, appoint file-leaders after consulting each of the colonels, choosing sturdy men, who are bent on winning fame by some brilliant deed. These should form the front rank. Next you should choose an equal number of the oldest and most sensible to form the rear rank. To use an illustration, steel has most power to cut through steel when its edge is keen and its back reliable.

To fill the ranks between the front and rear, the file-leaders should choose the men to form the

1 "Decadarchs," commanding a file of ten (δέκας). X. had in mind the organisation of the Spartan infantry; cp. Constitution of the Lac. xi 5.

1 δέκα added here by Pierleoni: S. omits with the MSS.
τελευταίων, εἰ οἱ δεκάδαρχοι ἐπιστάταις ἐλοιντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐφέλοιντο, οὕτως εἰκός ἐκάστῳ πιστότατον τὸν ἐπιστάτην εἶναι.

5 Τὸν μέντοι ἄφηγούμενον ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δεὶ ἰκανὸν ἄνδρα καθιστάναι. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν, εἰτε ποτὲ δέοι ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἐλαύνειν, ἐγκεκλεύων ῥώμην ἀν ἐμβάλλοι τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν, εἰτ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν καίρος συμβαίνοι, φρονίμως ἄφηγούμενος μᾶλλον ἂν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, σῶζοι τοὺς ψυλέτας.

6 Οἱ μέντοι δεκάδαρχοι ἅρτιοι ὄντες πλεῖω ἵσα μέρη παρέχοιεν ἂν διαίρειν ἦ εἰ περιττοὶ εἶεν.

Αὕτη δὲ μοι ἡ τάξις ἄρέσκει διὰ τάδε, ότι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ πρωτοστάται πάντες ἄρχοντες γίγνονται, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες, ὅταν ἄρχωσι, μᾶλλον πῶς οἴονται ἐαυτοῖς προσήκειν τι καλὸν ποιεῖν ἢ ὅταν ἰδιῶτα ὅσιν ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὅταν πρακτέον τι ᾧ, τὸ παραγγέλλειν μὴ ἰδιῶτας, ἀλλ' ἄρχουσι πολὺ ἀνυτικότερον.

7 Τεταγμένων γε μὴν οὕτως χρή, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς φυλάρχοις προαγορεύεται ἢ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππάρχου, ἐν ἡ ἐκάστῳ ἐλατέου, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις παρηγγέλθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων ὅπη¹ πορευτέον ἐκάστῳ. οὕτω γὰρ προειρήμένων πολὺ εὐτακτοτέρως ἔχοι ἢ ἂν εἰ ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου ὡς ἂν τύχωσιν ἀπιόντες λυποῦσιν

8 ἀλλήλους. καὶ μάχεσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἔθέλουσιν οὐ τε πρῶτοι, ἢν τὶ ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν προσπίπτῃ,

¹ ὅπη Diels: ὅπως S. with the MSS.

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second line, and these in turn the men to form the third, and so on throughout. In this way every man will naturally have complete confidence in the man behind him.

You must be very careful to appoint a competent man as leader in the rear. For if he is a good man, his cheers will always hearten the ranks in front of him in case it becomes necessary to charge; or, should the moment come to retreat, his prudent leadership will, in all probability, do much for the safety of his regiment.

An even number of file-leaders has this advantage over an odd, that it is possible to divide the regiment into a larger number of equal parts.

The reasons why I like this formation are these. In the first place, all the men in the front rank are officers; and the obligation to distinguish themselves appeals more strongly to men when they are officers than when they are privates. Secondly, when anything has to be done, the word of command is much more effective if it is passed to officers rather than to privates.

Let us assume that this formation has been adopted: every file-leader must know his position in the line of march by word passed along by the colonel, just as every colonel is informed by the commander of his proper place in the charge. For when these instructions are given there will be much better order than if the men hamper one another like a crowd leaving the theatre. And in the event of a frontal attack, the men in the van are far more willing to

\[\text{i.e. the last man of each file (cf. § 3), who in some cases would have to act as leader. In the Spartan infantry he was the man with the longest service in the file.}\]
ο ου ειδωσιν, ότι αυτη η χωρα αυτων και οι
teleutaioi, ην τι οπισθεν επιφανηται, επιστα-
9 μενοι, ότι αισχρον λυπειν την ταξιν. Ατακτοι
d' οντες αλληλους μεν ταραττουσι και εν
στεναις οδοις και εν διαβασει, τοις δε πολε-
μιοις ουδεις έκων αυτων ταττε μαχεσθαι.
Και ταυτα μεν δι' ην παντα υπαρχειν δει
εκπιτονημενα πασι τοις ιππευσιν, ει μελλουσιν
απροφασιστοι έσεσθαι συνεργοι τω ηγουμενω.

III. Τωνδε γε μην αυτο ήδη μελειν δει τω
ιππαρχων πρωτων μεν οπως καλλιεργησει τοις
θεοις υπερ του ιππικου, επειτα οπως τας
πομπας εν ταις ευρταις αξιοθεατους ποιησει,
ετε δε και ταλλα οσα επιδεικνυναι δει τη
πολει οπως η δυνατον καλλιστα επιδειξει, τα
ta εν 'Ακαδημεια και τα εν Λυκειω και τα
Φαληροι και τα εν τω ιπποδρομω.

Και ταυτα μεν αλλα υπομνηματα εις δε
τουτων έκαστα καλλιστα αν πραττοιτο, νυν
αυτα ταυτα λεξω.

2 Τας μεν ουν πομπας ολομαι αν και τοις
θεοις κεχαριμενωτατας και τοις θειαταις ειναι,
ei οσων ιερα και αγαλματα εν τη άγορα εστι,
taua αρξαμενοι απω των Έρμων κυκλω2
περιελαιωνειν τιμωντες τους θεους. και εν τοις

1 ταυτα is omitted by S. with ML.
2 S. with the MSS. adds περι την άγοραν και τα ιερα which
was removed by Herwerden.

1 Nothing in the sequel refers to manoeuvres at Phalerum;
accordingly it has been proposed to omit και τα Φαληροι as
spurious. The Hippodrome was probably in the N.W.

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fight when they know that this is their station; so is the rear-rank in the event of a surprise attack in the rear, when the men there understand that it is disgraceful to leave their post. But if no order is kept there is confusion whenever the roads are narrow or rivers are being crossed; and when an action is fought no one voluntarily takes his post in the fighting line.

All these preliminaries must be thoroughly mastered by all the cavalry, if they are to give their leader unflinching support.

III. Now we come to duties that the cavalry commander must perform himself. First, he must sacrifice to propitiate the gods on behalf of the cavalry; secondly, he must make the processions during the festivals worth seeing; further, he must conduct all the other obligatory displays before the people with as much splendour as possible, that is to say, the reviews in the Academy, in the Lyceum, at Phalerum, and in the Hippodrome.

These again are only brief notes; and I will now explain exactly how the details of these various functions may be carried out with most splendour.

As for the processions, I think they would be most acceptable both to the gods and to the spectators if they included a gala ride in the market place. The starting point would be the Herms; and the cavalry would ride round saluting the gods at their shrines district of the Piraeus. This treatise gives the only information that we possess about these functions.

2 The Herms stood in two rows between the "Stoa Basileios" and the "Poicile." The Eleusinium, probably lay at the western foot of the Acropolis. See Frazer, Pausanias vol. ii., p. 121 and p. 131. Some think the site was at the east foot.
Διονυσίως δὲ οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες.

ʻΕπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς ʼΕρμαίς γένωνται περιεληλακότες, ἐντεῦθεν καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κατὰ φυλὰς εἰς τάχος ἀνεῖναι τοὺς ἱππους μέχρι τοῦ ᾿Ελευσινίου. οὐδὲ δόρατα μὴν παραλεῖψω ὡς ἥκιστα ἀν ἄλληλοις ἐπαλλάττοιτο. δεῖ γὰρ μεταξὺ τοῖν ὅτοιν τοῦ ἱπποῦ ἐκαστὸν σχεῖν, εἰ μέλλει φοβερὰ τε καὶ εὐκρινὴ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἁμα πολλὰ φανεῖσθαι.

4 'Επειδὰν δὲ τῆς εἰς τάχος διελάσεως λήξωσι, τὴν ἄλλην ἦδη καλὸν σχέδην εἰς τὰ ἱερά, ἦπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, διελαύνειν. καὶ οὗτως ὥσα ἔστων ἦδη ἐν ἱππῳ ἀναβεβαμένῳ, πάντα ἐπιδεδευγμένα ἔσται καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

5 Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ταύτα οὐκ εἰθαμένοι ποιεῖν οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰσίν, οἴδα: γηγώσκω δέ, ὅτι ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ἦδεα ἔσται. αἰσθάνομαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγωνίσματα τοὺς ἱππέας κεκαινουργηκότας, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἱππαρχοὶ ἰκανοὶ ἐγένοντο πείσαν ᾧ ἰβουλῆθησαν.

6 Ὁσαν γε μὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἀκοντισμοῦ διελαύνωσιν ἐν Δυκείῳ, καλὸν ἐκατέρας τὰς πάντες φυλὰς ἐπὶ μετώπων ἐλαύνειν ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ἤγουμένου τοῦ ἱππάρχου καὶ τῶν φυλάρχων ἐν τοιαύτῃ τάξει, ἀφ’ ἦς πληρώσεται τοῦ δρόμου τὸ πλάτος.

7 ἐπειδὰν δ’ ὑπερβάλωσι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου θεάτρου, χρήσιμον ἄν οἴομαι φανήναι καὶ εἰ καθ’ ὀπόσους μέτριον εἰς τὸ κάταντες

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1 The Greek text is unreliable here.
2 The Theatre of Dionysus, facing them as they come westwards from the Lyceum.

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and statues. So at the Great Dionysia the dance of
the choruses forms part of the homage offered to the
Twelve and to other gods.

When the circuit is completed and the cavalcade
is again near the Herms, the next thing to do, I
think, is to gallop at top speed by regiments as far
as the Eleusinium. I will add a word on the 3
position in which the lances should be held to
prevent crossing. Every man should point his
lance between his horse’s ears, if the weapons are
to look fearsome, stand out distinctly, and at the
same time to convey the impression of numbers.

The gallop finished and the goal reached, the right 4
plan is to ride back to the temples by the same
route, but at a slow pace: thus every effect that can
be obtained from a horse with a man on his back 1
will be included in the display, to the satisfaction of
 gods and men alike.

I know that our cavalrymen are not accustomed to 5
these movements: but I am sure that they are desir-
able and beautiful, and will delight the spectators.
I am aware, too, that the cavalry have exhibited
other novel feats of skill in days when the cavalry
commanders had sufficient influence to get their
wishes carried out.

During the parade at the Lyceum, before the 6
javelin-throwing, the right way is to ride in two
divisions in line of battle, each division consisting of
five regiments with its commander at the head and
the colonels; and the line should be so extended that
the whole breadth of the course will be covered.
As soon as they reach the highest point looking 7
down on the Theatre opposite, 2 I think it would
clearly be useful if you displayed your men’s ability
δυναμένους ταχύ ἐλαύνειν ἐπιδείξαις τοὺς ἰππέας.
8 οὐ μέντοι ἄγων, ὅτε ἦν μὲν πιστεύσθω δυνήσε-σθαι ταχύ ἐλαύνειν, πάνυ ἄν ἢδεϊς ἐπιδείξαιντο· ἦν δὲ ἀμελέτητοι ὅσων, ὅραν χρή, ὅπως μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς τούτο δράν ἀναγκάσουσιν.
9 Ἔν γε μὴν ταῖς δοκιμασίαις ἡ μὲν τάξις εὑρήται, μεθ' ἂς ἄν κάλλιστα ἰππάζοιτο. ἦν δ' ὁ ἡγοῦμενος, ἦπερ ἔχῃ δυνατὸν ἰππὸν, ἐν τῷ ἐξωθεὶν ἀεὶ στίχῳ περιφέρηται, οὕτως αὐτὸς μὲν ἀεὶ ταχύ ἐλᾶ καὶ οὐ̂ν αὐτῷ ἐξωθεὶν γιγνόμενοι πάλιν αὐ̂ ταχύ ἐλώσιν ὡστε ἦ μὲν βουλῇ ἄει τὸ ταχύ ἐλαυνόμενον θεάσεται, οἱ δὲ ἰπποὶ οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν ἐν μέρει ἀναπαύομενοι.
10 Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἰππόδρομῳ ἡ ἐπίδειξις ἦ, καλὸν μὲν οὕτω πρώτον τάξασθαι, ὡς ἄν ἐπὶ μετώπου ἐμπλήσαντες ἰππῶν τὸν ἰππόδρομον ἐξελάσειαν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀνθρώπους. καλὸν δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ φυλαὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνθιππασίᾳ φεύγουσι τε ἀλλήλας καὶ διώκουσι ταχέως, ὅταν οἱ ἰππαρχοὶ ἠγώνται ταῖς πέντε φυλαῖς, ἐκατέρας διελαύνειν τὰς φυλὰς δ' ἀλλήλων. ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θέας τὸ το ἀντιμετώπους προσελαύνειν ἀλλήλοις γοργῶν τὸ τε διελάσαντας τὸν ἰππόδρομον αὐτῶν πάλιν στῆναι ἀλλήλοις σεμνὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σάλπιγγος αὐ τὸ δεύτερον θάττων ἐπε- λαύνειν καλὸν. στάντας δὲ ἦδη τὸ τρίτον αὐ ἀπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος χρή τάχιστα ἀλλήλοις

1 The allusion is not to the inspection of recruits by the Council, but to the manoeuvres enumerated in c. iii. 1. The formation is that proposed in c. ii.
2 As it is not known precisely what evolutions took place

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to gallop downhill in fairly large companies. To be sure, I know well enough that, if they feel confident of their ability to gallop, they will welcome the opportunity of showing off their skill: but you must see that they are not short of practice, or the enemy will compel them to do it against their will.

The formation that would add most to the beauty of the exercises at the inspections has already been explained. Provided his horse is strong enough, the leader should ride round with the file that is on the outside every time. He will be galloping all the time himself, and the file whose turn it is to be on the outside with him will also be galloping. Thus the eyes of the Council will always be on the galloping file, and the horses will get a breathing space, resting by turns.

When the Hippodrome is the scene of the display, the right plan would be that the men should first be drawn up on a front broad enough to fill the Hippodrome with horses and drive out the people standing there. In the sham fight when the regiments pursue and fly from one another at the gallop in two squadrons of five regiments, each side led by its commander, the regiments should ride through one another. How formidable they will look when they charge front to front; how imposing when, after sweeping across the Hippodrome, they stand facing one another again; how splendid, when the trumpet sounds and they charge once more at a quicker pace! After the halt, the trumpet should sound once more, and they should charge yet a

at the displays, it is impossible to make out what changes Xenophon proposes.
XENOPHON

ἐπελαύνειν καὶ διελάσαντας εἰς κατάλυσιν ἡδη ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἀπαντασ καταστάντας, ὁστερ

13 εἰώθατε, προς τὴν Βουλὴν προσελαύνειν. ταύτα μοι δοκεῖ πολεμικωτέρα τε φαίνεσθαι ἂν καὶ κανότερα. τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον μὲν τῶν φυλάρχων ἐλαύνειν, τὸν δ᾽ αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις ἔπνεεν οὐκ ἄξιον ἱππαρχίας.

14 "Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἑπικρότῳ ἐν Ἄκαδημείᾳ ἔπνεειν δέῃ, ἰχώ τάδε παραινέσαν εἰς μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀποκρούσθηαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν ὑπτίους ἀναπεπτώκοτας ἐλαύνειν, εἰς δὲ τὸ μὴ πίπτειν τοὺς ἱπποὺς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀναστροφαῖς. τὰ μέντοι ὀρθὰ ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν χρή: οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ἀσφάλες καὶ τὸ καλὸν θεάσηται ἡ Βουλὴ.

IV. "Εν γε μὴν ταῖς πορείαις αἰὲ δεῖ τὸν ἱππαρχον προνοεῖν, ὡς αἰναπαύῃ μὲν τῶν ἱππῶν τὰς ἔδρας, ἀναπαύῃ δὲ τοὺς ἱππεὰς τῷ βαδίζειν, μέτριον μὲν ὅρχυντα, μέτριον δὲ πεζοποροῦντα. τοῦ δὲ μετρίου ἐννοῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις: αὐτὸς γὰρ μέτρου ἐκαστὸς τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν ὑπερπονοῦνται.

2 "Ὅταν μέντοι ἀδήλου ὄντος, εἰ πολεμίως ἐντεύξει, πορεύῃ ποι, κατὰ μέρος χρῆ τὰς φυλὰς ἀναπαύειν. χαλεπὸν γὰρ, εἰ πάσι καταβεβηκόσι πλησιάσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι.

3 Καὶ ἡν μὲν γε διὰ στενῶν ὀδῶν ἐλαύνης, ἄπὸ παραγγέλσεως εἰς κέρας ἥγητεον ἢν δὲ πλατείαις ἐπιτυγχάνης ὀδοῖς, ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως αὐτοῦ πλατυτέου τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης τὸ

1 ἀπὸ B: ποτὲ S. with the other MSS.
2 τῷ Herwerden: τοῦ S. with the MSS.

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third time at top speed; and when they have crossed, they should all range themselves in battle line preparatory to being dismissed, and ride up to the Council, just as you are accustomed to do. I think that these manoeuvres would look more like war and would have the charm of novelty. It is unworthy of his high rank that a cavalry commander should gallop at a slower pace than the colonels, and ride in the same way as they do.

When the ride is to take place in the Academy on hard ground, I have the following recommendations to make. To avoid being thrown the riders should throw the body back in charging, and collect their horses when wheeling, to keep them from falling. In the straight, however, they should gallop. The Council will thus watch a safe as well as a beautiful performance.

IV. During a march the cavalry commander must always think ahead, in order that he may rest the horses' backs and relieve the men by walking, giving moderate spells of alternate riding and marching. You can't misjudge what is a moderate spell, since every man is himself the measure\(^1\) that will show you when they are getting tired.

But when it is uncertain whether you will encounter an enemy on your way to any place, you must give the regiments a rest in turn. For it would be a bad job if all the men were dismounted when the enemy is close at hand.

If you are riding along narrow roads, the order must be given to form column; but when you find yourself on broad roads, the order must be given to

\(^1\) Perhaps a reference to the theory of Protagoras, "Man is the measure of all things."

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μετωπον. ἦταν γε μὴν εἰς πεδίου ἀφικνῆσθε, ἐπὶ φάλαγγος πάσας τὰς φυλὰς ἀκτέον.1 ἀγαθὸν γὰρ καὶ μελέτης ἐνεκα ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦ 2 ἤδιον διαπερᾶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ποικύλλωντας ἱππικαίς τάξεις τὰς πορείας.

4 Ὡταν μέντοι ἔξω τῶν ὀδῶν διὰ δυσχωρίας ἐλαύνητε, μᾶλλα χρήσιμον καὶ ἐν πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἐν φιλίᾳ προελαύνειν τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης τῶν ὑπηρετῶν οἰκίαις, ἦν ἀπόροις νάπαις ἐντυγχάνωσι, παρόντες ἐπὶ τὰ εὐπορὰ δηλώσουσι τοῖς ἱππεύσιν, ἢ χρῆ τὴν ἐλασίν ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ ὅλαι αἱ τάξεις πλανῶνται.

5 Ἡν δὲ δι᾽ ἐπικυιδύνων3 ἐλαύνητε που, φρονίμου ἱππάρχου τοῦ τῶν προόδων ἄλλου προόδου διερευνωμένου προηγεῖσθαι τὸ γὰρ ὡς ἐκ πλείστον προαίσθανεθαι πολεμίων χρήσιμον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ φυλάξασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀναμένειν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς διαβάσεσιν, ὡς μὴ κατακόπτωσι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν ἡγεμόνα διώκοντες. ἦσασι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντες, καρτερεῖν δ’ ἐπιμελόμενοι οὐ πολλοὶ ἑθέλουσι.

6 Προςήκει δὲ ἱππάρχῳ ἐτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἐμπείρως ἔξει τῆς τε πολεμίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας χώρας· ἂν δ’ ἀρα αὐτὸς ἀπειρως ἐχῇ, τῶν ἄλλων γε ἰὲ τῶν ἐπιστημονεστάτους ἐκάστων τόπων παραλαμβάνειν. πολὺ 4 γὰρ διαφέρει ἡγούμενος ὁ5 εἰδὼς τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ μὴ εἰδότος, καὶ ἐπίβουλεύων δὲ πολεμίοις ὁ εἰδὼς τῶν τόπων τοῦ μὴ εἰδότος πολὺ διαφέρει.

1 ἀκτέον added by Zeune.
2 τοῦ Richards: τοῦτο S. with the MSS.
every regiment to extend front. When you reach open ground, all the regiments must be in line of battle. Incidentally these changes of order are good for practice, and help the men to get over the ground more pleasantly by varying the march with cavalry manoeuvres.

When riding on difficult ground away from roads, whether in hostile or friendly country, it is very useful to have some of the aides-de-camp in advance of each regiment, that they may find a way round into the open in case they come across pathless woodland, and show the men what line they should follow, so that whole companies may not go astray.

If your route lies in dangerous country, a prudent commander will have a second advanced guard ahead of his scouts for reconnaissance purposes. For it is useful both for attack and defence to discover an enemy as far off as possible. It is useful also to halt at the passage of a river, that the rear guard may not wear out their horses in chasing their leader. These rules, no doubt, are familiar to nearly everybody; but few will take the trouble to observe them.

A cavalry commander should be at pains even in time of peace to acquaint himself with hostile and friendly country alike. In case he is without personal experience, he should at least consult the men in the force who have the best knowledge of various localities. For the leader who knows the roads has a great advantage over one who does not. In making plans against the enemy, too, a knowledge of the district makes a great difference.

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8 δι’ ἐπικυνδύνων B: ἐπὶ κυνδύνων S. with the other MSS.
4 πολύ Dindorf: πάνω S. with the MSS.
5 ἡγοῦμενος ὁ Dindorf: ὁ ἡγοῦμενος S. with the MSS.
7 Καὶ κατασκόπων δὲ πρὶν πόλεμον εἶναι δεῖ μεμεληκέναι, ὅπως ἔσονται καὶ ἐκ πόλεων ἀμφότεροις φίλων καὶ ἐξ ἐμπόρων· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις τοὺς εἰσάγοντας τι ἂεὶ ὡς εὐμενεῖς δέχονται· καὶ ψευδαυτόμολοι δ' ἔστιν ὅτε χρήσιμον. οὗ μέντοι τοῖς γε κατασκόποις δεῖ ποτε πιστεύοντα φυλακὴς ἅμελεῖν, ἀλλ' ἂεὶ οὕτως κατεσκευάσθαι χρή, ὡσπερ ἢν ἦξον τε εἰσηγηγημένοι ὅσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ γὰρ ἢν πάνυ πιστοὶ ὅσιν οἱ κατασκοποὶ, χαλεπῶν ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγέλλειν πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμπόδια ἐμπίπτει.

8 Τάς γε μὴν ἐξαγωγὰς τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἦττον ἄν οἱ πολέμιοι αἰσθάνοντο, εἰ ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως γίγνοντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ κήρυκος ἢ ἀπὸ προγραφῆς. ἀγαθὸν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔδιπλα παραγγέλσεως ἐξάγειν τὸ δεκαδάρχιον καθιστάναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δεκαδάρχους πεμπτάδαρχους, ἵνα ὡς ἑλαχίστους ἐκαστοὺς παραγγέλλῃ· καὶ τὸ μέτωπον δὲ οὕτω μηκύνοιεν ἄν τῆς τάξεως ἀταράκτως οἱ πεμπτάδαρχοι παράγοντες, ὅποτε τούτον καιρὸς εἶναι.

9 Ὅσαν γε μὴν προφυλάττειν δένῃ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν ἐπανώ τὰς κρυπτὰς σκοπᾶς τε καὶ φυλακᾶς· οὕτω γὰρ ἀμα μὲν τῶν φίλων φυλακαὶ γίγνονται, ἄμα δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδραι κατασκευάζονται.

10 καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δυσεπιβουλευτότεροί εἰσιν ἀφανεῖς ὄντες, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις φοβερῶτεροι. τὸ γὰρ εἰδέναι μὲν, ὅτι εἰσὶ τοὺς φυλακαί, ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ὅποσαι μὴ εἰδέναι, τοῦτο βαρρεῖν μὲν κωλύει τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑποπτεύειν δὲ ἀναγκάζει πάντα

1 τὸ B: τῷ S. with the other MSS.
2 ἐπὶ added by Schneider: καὶ τοῖς B: καὶ τοῖς τε the other MSS.: καὶ τοῖς δὲ S.

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You must also have taken steps to enlist the services of spies before the outbreak of war. Some of these should be citizens of neutral states, and some merchants, since all states invariably welcome the importer of merchandise. Sham deserters, too, have their use on occasions. Still, you must never neglect to post guards through reliance on spies; on the contrary, your precautions must at all times be as complete as when you have information that the enemy is approaching. For even if the spies are entirely reliable, it is difficult to report at the critical moment, since many things happen in war to hinder them.

The advance of cavalry is less likely to be detected by the enemy if orders are not given by a herald or in writing beforehand, but passed along. Accordingly, for this purpose, too, that the order to advance may be given by word of mouth, it is well to post file-leaders, and half file-leaders behind them, so that each may pass the word to as few men as possible. Thus, too, the half file-leaders will wheel and extend the line without confusion, whenever there is occasion to do so.

When it is necessary to keep a look out, I am all in favour of the plan of having hidden outposts and guards. For these serve at once as guards to protect your friends and snares to trap the enemy. And the men, being unseen, are more secure themselves and at the same time more formidable to the enemy. For the enemy, conscious that there are outposts somewhere, but ignorant of their whereabouts and their strength, feels nervous and is forced to suspect

1 These form the sixth rank.
tà χωρία· αἱ δὲ φανεραὶ φυλακαί δῆλα παρέ-
χουσι ¹ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ εὐθαρσῆ. ἔτι δὲ
τῶν μὲν κρυπτῶν ἔχουσι φυλακὰς ἐξέσται μὲν
φανεροὶς ὀλγοὺς ἐμπροσθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν φυλά-
tουτά· πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς ἑνέδρας
ὑπάγειν. ἀγρευτικὸν δὲ καὶ ὁπίσθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν
ἀλλοις φανεροῖς ἔστιν ὅτε φυλάττειν καὶ τούτο
γὰρ ἐξαπατητικὸν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμοίως τῷ
πρόσθεν εἰρημένῳ.

13 Ἀλλὰ μὴν φρονίμου γε ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸ μήποτε
κυνυφεῖν εἰκόνα, πλὴν ὅπου ἄν πρόδηλον ἦ,
ὅτι πλέον ἔσει τῶν πολεμίων· τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετεῖν
τὰ ἡδίστα τοὺς πολεμίους προδοσία τῶν συμ-
mάχων δικαίως ἃν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνδρεία κρίνοιτο.

14 σῶφρον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ὀρμᾶν, ὅπου ἄν ἁσθενή
τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦ, καὶ πρόσῳ ὅντα τυγχάνῃ.
τὸ γὰρ σφόδρα πονησαί ἀκινδυνότερον ἡ πρός

15 τοὺς κρείττους ἀγονίζεσθαι. ἦν δὲ τῇ εἰς μέσον
φιλίων πειχέων εἰςίσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ πολὺ
cρείττους ὄντες, καλὸν μὲν ἐντεύθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν
ὅπως ἂν λειήθησι παρῶν, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἁμὰ
ἀμφοτέρῳν. ὅταν γὰρ οἱ ἔτεροι ἀποχωρῶσιν,
οἱ ἑκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐλαύνουντες ταράττουν μὲν
ἀν τοὺς πολεμίους, σῶζοιες δ' ἄν τοὺς φίλους.

16 Καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ κατασκόπων πειρᾶσθαι εἰδέναι
tὰ τῶν πολεμίων πάλαι εἰρήται ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἔστιν.
ἔγω δὲ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζω εἶναι τὸ αὐτῶν
πειρᾶσθαι, ἢν ἢ ποθεν ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς, θεώμενον

17 τοὺς πολεμίους ἄθρεῖν, ἢν τι ἀμαρτάνοισι. καὶ
τὸ μὲν κλατήναι δυνατὸν πέμπτειν χρῆ τοὺς
ἐπιτηδείους κλέψοντας, τὸ δ' ἀρπασθῆναι ἐγχω-

¹ ταρέχουσι Rühl: ἔχουσι S. with the MSS.
every possible position; whereas visible outposts show them where danger lies and where all is safe. Besides, if you conceal your outposts, you will have the chance of luring the enemy into an ambush by placing a few guards in the open to screen the hidden men. Occasionally, too, a cunning trap may be laid by posting a second body of exposed guards behind the men in hiding; for this plan may prove as deceptive to the enemy as the one just referred to.

A prudent commander will never take risks unnecessari ly, except when it is clear beforehand that he will have the advantage of the enemy. To play into the enemy's hand may fairly be considered treachery to one's allies rather than courage. Another sound principle is to go for any position where the enemy is weak, even if it is a long way off, since hard work is less dangerous than a struggle against superior forces. But if the enemy places himself somewhere between yourself and fortresses friendly to you, then it is proper to attack him, even if he is greatly superior, on that side where your presence is unsuspected, or on both flanks at once, for when one part of your force is retiring, a charge on the opposite flank will flurry the enemy and rescue your friends.

It is an old maxim that, in attempting to discover what the enemy is about, it is well to employ spies. But the best plan of all, in my opinion, is for the commander himself to watch the enemy from some safe coign of vantage, if possible, and take notice of his mistakes. And when anything can be filched by cunning, you should send likely men to steal it; and when anything may be seized you should despatch
18 Δυνατόν δὲ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ταύτα καταμανθάνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βραχυγνωμονέστερα ἀνθρώπου θηρία οἱ τε ἱκτινοὶ δύνανται ὃ ἂν ἀφύλακτον ἢ ἀφαρπάσαντες εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρεῖν πρὶν ληφθῆναι καὶ οἱ λύκοι δὲ τὰ τε ἔρημούμενα φυλακῆς ἀγρεύουσι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς δυσοράτοις κλέπτουσι, κἂν μεταθέων γέ τις ἐπιγίγνηται κύων, ἢ μὲν ἡττῶν ἢ, τούτῳ ἐπιτίθεται: ἢν δὲ κρείττων, ἀποσπάσας ὃ τι ἂν ἔχῃ ἀποχωρεῖ. ὅταν δὲ γε φυλακῆς καταφρονήσωσι λύκοι, τάξαντες ἐαυτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀπελαυνεῖν τὴν φυλακὴν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρπάξειν, οὕτω τὰ ἐπιτίθεια πορίζονται. θηρίων γε μὴν δυναμένων τὰ τοιαύτα φρονίμως ληξεσθαι, πῶς οὔκ ἀνθρωπόν γε ὄντα εἰκὸς σοφώτερον τοῦτων φαίνεσθαι, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ τέχνη ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἀλλάκεται;

19 Εἰς δὲ μὴν εἰδέναι ἵππικον ἀνδρός, ἐκ πόσου ἂν ἵππος πεζὸν ἔλει καὶ ἐξ ὀπόσου βραδεῖς ἂν ἵπποι ταχεῖς ἀποφύγοιε. ἵππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ χωρία γηγνώσκειν, ἕνθα πεζοὶ κρείττους ἵππεων καὶ ἕνθα πεζῶν κρείττους ἵππεῖς. Χρῆ δὲ μηχανητικὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦς μὲν φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ὀλίγους ἵππεις, πάλιν δ' ὀλίγους τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρόντα μὲν ἀπείναι, ἀπόντα δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον κλέπτειν ἐπίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ

20 ἦν ἀποσπάσας Courier: ἀποσφάξας S. with the MSS.
THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, iv. 17–v. 2

troops to seize it. If the enemy is marching on some objective and a part of his force weaker than your own separates from the main body or straggles carelessly, the chance must not be missed; the hunter, however, must always be stronger than the hunted.

You can see the point of this if you consider. 18 Even wild creatures less intelligent than man, such as hawks, will grab unguarded plunder and get away into a place of safety before they can be caught: wolves, again, prey on anything left unprotected and steal things lying in holes and corners; and if a dog does pursue and overtake him, 19 the wolf, if stronger than the dog, attacks him; or if weaker, snatches away the prize and makes off. Moreover, when a pack of wolves feels no fear of a convoy, they arrange themselves so that some shall drive off the convoy, and others seize the plunder; and thus they get their food. Well, if wild beasts show such sagacity, surely any man may be expected to show more wisdom than creatures that are themselves taken by the skill of man.

V. Every horseman should know at what distance a horse can overtake a man on foot, and how much start a slow horse needs to escape from a fast one. A cavalry commander should also be able to judge of the ground where infantry has an advantage over cavalry and where cavalry has an advantage over infantry. He must also have sufficient ingenuity to 2 make a small company of horse look large, and conversely, to make a large one look small; to seem to be absent when present, and present when absent; to know how to deceive, not merely how to steal the enemy's possessions, but also how to conceal
ιππέας ἀμα κλέπτοντα ἐξ ἀπροσδοκητοῦ τοῖς
3 πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ μηχανήμα καὶ
tὸ δύνασθαι, ὅταν μὲν τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἀσθενῶς ἔχῃ,
φόβον παρασκευάζειν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς μὴ
ἐπίθωνται: ὅταν δὲ ἐρρομένως, θάρρος αὐτοῖς
ἐμποιεῖν, ὡς ἐγχειρῶσιν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν,
ἀν ἦκιστα κακῶς πάσχοι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους
μάλιστ’ ἀν ἀμαρτάνοντας λαμβάνοις.
4 "Οπως δὲ μὴ προστάτεων δοκῶ ἄδυνατα,
γράψω καὶ ὃς ἀν γίγνοιτα τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῶν
χαλεπώτατα εἶναι.
Τὸ μὲν τῶν μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐγχειροῦντα
dιώκειν ἡ ἀποχωρεῖν ἐμπειρία ποιεῖ ἵππων
dυνάμεως. πῶς δ’ ἂν ἐμπείρως ἔχωι; εἰ προσ-
έχοις1 τὸν νοῦν ἐν ταῖς μετὰ φιλίας ἀνθιπ-
pασίαις οἴοι2 ἀποβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῶν διώξεων τε
καὶ φυγῶν.
5 "Οταν μέντοι βούλη τοὺς ἵππεας πολλοὺς
φαίνεσθαι, ἐν μὲν πρῶτον ὑπαρχέτω, ἢπερ
ἐγχωρῆ, μὴ ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγχειρεῖν ἔξα-
pατάν: καὶ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ πρόσω καὶ
ἀπατητικότερον. ἐπειτα δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι
ἀθρόοι μὲν ἵπποι πολλοὶ φαίνονται διὰ τὸ
μέγεθος τοῦ ἱψοῦ, διασπειρόμενοι δ’ εὐαριθμητοί
6 γίγνονται. ἔτι δ’ ἂν πλεῖον σοι τὸ ἵππικὸν τοῦ
ὄντος φαίνοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἵπποκόμους εἰς τοὺς
ἵππεας ἐνισταίης μάλιστα μὲν δόρατα, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
ὁμοια δόρασιν ἔχοντας, ἢν τε ἐστηκὸς ἐπιδεικνύης
τὸ ἵππικὸν ἢν τε παράγγης: ἀνάγκῃ γὰρ τὸν
ὄγκον τῆς τάξεως ὀὕτω μείζω τε καὶ πυκνότερον
φαίνεσθαι.
7 "Ἡν δ’ αὐ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀλύγους βούλη3 δοκεῖν
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his own force and fall on the enemy unexpectedly. Another neat ruse is to create a scare among the enemy when your own position is precarious, so that he may not attack, and to put him in good heart, when it is strong, so that he may make an attempt. Thus you are least likely to come to harm yourself and most likely to catch the enemy tripping.

That I may not seem to demand impossibilities, I will add a solution of the problems that seem most puzzling.

Success in an attempt to pursue or retreat depends on experience of horses and their powers. But how are you to get this experience? By watching the friendly encounters of the sham fights and noticing what condition the horses are in after the pursuits and flights.

When your object is to make the number of your cavalry look large, first take it for an axiom, if possible, not to attempt the ruse when you are near the enemy: for distance gives safety and increases the illusion. Secondly you must know that horses look many when crowded, owing to the animals' size, but are easily counted when scattered. Another way of exaggerating the apparent strength of your force is to arm the grooms with lances or even imitation lances, and put them between the cavalrymen, whether you display the cavalry at the halt or wheel it into line. Thus the bulk of the company is bound to look denser and more massive.

On the other hand, if your object is to make a

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1 ἐχοις and προσέχοις Krüger: ἐχοι and προσέχοι S. with the MSS.
2 οἶαi Lenklau: οἶα S. with the Aldine ed.: οἶαi MSS.
3 βούλη B: S. omits with the other MSS.
8 Φοβείν γε μὴν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ψευδενέδρας οἴον τε καὶ ψευδοβοθείας καὶ ψευδαγγελίας ποιοῦντα. θαρροῦσι δὲ μάλιστα πολέμιοι, ὅταν ὄντα\(^1\) τοῖς ἑναντίοις πράγματα καὶ ἀσχολίας πυνθάνονται.

9 Τοῦτων δὲ γεγραμμένων μηχανασθαί αὐτὸν χρῆ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀεὶ ἀπατῶν ὄντως γὰρ οὐδὲν κερδαλεώτερον ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπάτης· ὅποτε γὰρ\(^2\) καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὅταν παίζωσι ποσίνδα, δύνανται ἀπατῶν προίσχοντες ὡστε ὀλίγους τ’ ἔχοντες πολλοὺς δοκεῖν ἔχειν καὶ πολλοὺς προεχόντες ὀλίγους φαίνεσθαι ἔχειν, πῶς οὐκ ἄνδρες γε τῷ ἐξαπατῶν προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν δύναιντ’ ἄν τοιαύτα μηχανάσθαι; καὶ ἑνθυμούμενος δ’ ἄν τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πλεονεκτήματα εὑροί ἀν τις τὰ πλείστα καὶ μεγίστα σὺν ἀπάτῃ γεγεννημένα. ὅν ἐνεκα ἢ οὐκ ἐγχειρητέοιν ἁρχεῖν ἢ τοῦτο σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν αἰτητέων δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ μηχανητέον.

10 Οῖς δὲ θάλαττα πρόσεστιν, ἀπατητικῶν καὶ τὸ πλοῖα παράσκευαζόμενον τεξῆ τι πρᾶξαι καὶ τὸ

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\(^1\) ὄντα added by Madvig.

\(^2\) γὰρ Ribitt: γε S. with the MSS.
large number look small, then, assuming that your ground affords cover, you can obviously conceal your cavalry by having part in the open and part hidden. If, however, the whole of the ground is exposed, you must form the files into rows and wheel, leaving a gap between each two rows; and the men in each file who are next the enemy must hold their lances upright, while the rest keep theirs low down out of sight.

The means to employ for scaring the enemy are false ambuscades, false reliefs and false information. An enemy’s confidence is greatest when he is told that the other side is in difficulties and is preoccupied.

But given these instructions, a man must himself invent a ruse to meet every emergency as it occurs. For there is really nothing more profitable in war than deception. Even children are successful deceivers when they play "Guess the number"; they will hold up a counter or two and make believe that they have got a fist-full, and seem to hold up few when they are holding many; so surely men can play similar tricks when they are intent on deceiving in earnest.

And on thinking over the successes gained in war you will find that most of them, and these the greatest, have been won with the aid of deception. For these reasons either you should not essay to command, or you should pray to heaven that your equipment may include this qualification, and you should contrive on your own part to possess it.

For those near the sea two effective ruses are, to strike on land while fitting out ships, and to

1 The enemy will not know (a) the number of files when posted one behind another, nor (b) the depth of the line when the files have wheeled.
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πεξή προσποιούμενον ἐπιβουλεύειν κατὰ θάλατ-
tαν ἐπιχειρήσαι.

13 Ἰππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ διδάσκειν τὴν πόλιν,
ός ἀσθενεῖ τὸ πεζὸν ἔρημον ἵππικὸν πρὸς τὸ
ἀμύπτους πεζοὺς ἔχον. Ἰππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ
λαβόντα πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι: ἐστὶ δὲ πεζοὺς
οὐ μόνον ἐντός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπισθεν ἵππεων ἀποκρύψασθαι:
πολὺ γὰρ μεῖζων ὁ ἰππεύς τοῦ
πεζοῦ.

14 Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐγώ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις τις
μηχανήσεται ἡ βία ἡ τέχνη αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίον
βουλόμενος σὺν τῷ θεῷ πράττειν συμβουλεύω,
ίνα καὶ ἡ τύχη ἀνεπανηχθῇ θεῶν ἱλεών ὄντων.

15 Ἐστι δὲ ὅτε πάνω ἀπατητικὸν καὶ τὸ λίαν
φυλακτικὸν προσποιούμεθα εἶναι καὶ μηδαμῶς
φιλοκίνδυνον τὸῦτο γὰρ τοὺς πολέμοις πολ-
λάκις προάγεται ἀφυλακτοῦντας μᾶλλον ἀμαρτά-
νειν. ἡν δὲ ἀπαξ δόξη τις φιλοκίνδυνος εἶναι,
ἐξεστὶ καὶ ἡ συνοχὴ ἔχοντα, προσποιούμενον δὲ
πράξεων τι πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίως παρέχειν.

VI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄν τις δύνατο πλάσαι
οἷν βούλεται, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἐξ ὑπὸν γε πλάττοιτο παρε-
σκευασμένα εἰή ὡς πείθηται τῇ τοῦ χειροτέχνου
γρώμῃ οὐδὲ γάρ ἀν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν, εἰ μὴ σὺν θεῷ
οὕτω παρασκευασμένοι ἔσονται, ὥς φιλικῶς τε
ἐχειν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοῦτα καὶ φρονιμότερον σφῶν
αὐτὸν ἢγεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
ἀγώνων.

2 Εὐνοϊκὸς μὲν οὖν ἐχειν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκὼς
τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ὅταν φιλοφρόνως τε ἐχθρὸς

1 ἐντός Herwerden: ἐν τούτοις S., with the MSS.
2 ἵππεων Dindorf: ἵππων S., with the MSS.
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attack by sea while ostensibly planning a land attack.

Another duty of a cavalry commander is to demonstrate to the city the weakness of cavalry destitute of infantry as compared with cavalry that has infantry attached to it. Further, having got his infantry, a cavalry commander should make use of it. A mounted man being much higher than a man on foot, infantry may be hidden away not only among the cavalry but in the rear as well.

For the practical application of these devices and any others you may contrive for the undoing of your foes by force or craft, I counsel you to work with God, so that, the gods being propitious, fortune too may favour you.

Another ruse that proves highly effective at times is to feign excess of caution and reluctance to take risks. For this pretence often lures the enemy into making a more fatal blunder through want of caution. Or once come to be thought venturesome, and you can give the enemy trouble by merely sitting still and pretending that you are on the point of doing something.

VI. However, no man can mould anything to his mind unless the stuff in which he proposes to work lies ready to obey the artist's will. No more can you make anything of men, unless, by God's help, they are ready to regard their commander with friendly feelings and to think him wiser than themselves in the conduct of operations against the enemy.

Now the feeling of loyalty will naturally be fostered when the commander is kind to his men,

2 ἡ τῷχη Courier: τὴν τῷχην S. with the Mss.
αὐτοὺς καὶ προνοοῦν φαίνηται, ὅπως τε σίτον ἔξουσι καὶ ὅπως ἁσφαλῶς μὲν ἀποχωρήσουσιν,
3 πεφυλαγμένους δὲ ἀναπαύσονται. ἐν δὲ ταῖς φρουραῖς χρὴ καὶ χίλοι καὶ σκηνῶν καὶ ὕδατων καὶ φρυγανών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων φανερῶν εἶναι ἐπιμελούμενον καὶ προνοοῦντά τε καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦντά ἕνεκα τῶν ἀρχομένων. καὶ ὅταν γε πλέον ἐξῆς τι, τὸ μεταδοῦναι κερδαλέου τῷ προεστηκότι.
4 Ἡκιστα δ’ ἂν καταφρονοῦν ἄρχοντος, ως μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ ὀπόσα ἐκεῖνος παραινοή, αὐτὸς ταῦτα βέλτιον ἐκείνων φαίνοντο ποιῶν.
5 ἀρξάμενον οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναβάινειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς πάντα τὰ ἐν ἱπποκη τοις, ὅπως ὀρθῷ τὸν ἄρχοντα δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποῦ καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν ἁσφάλως περᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπερακρίζειν καὶ ἀπ’ ὄχθων καταιρεῖν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἰκανῶς πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα προκόπτει τι εἰς τὸ μῆ κατα-
6 φρονεῖσθαι. ἂς δὲ δὴ καὶ τάττειν ἑγνώσων ἐπισταμένον τε καὶ δυνάμενον παρασκευάζειν, ὡς ἂν πλέον ἔχοιε τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κάκεινο λάβωσιν εἰς τὴν γνώμην, ὡς οὔτ’ ἂν εἰκῇ οὔτ’ ἄνευ θεῶν οὔτε παρὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἡγίσατ’ ἂν ἐπὶ πολεμίως, πάντα ταῦτα πιθανότερος τῷ ἄρχοντι τοὺς ἁρχομένους ποιεῖ.

VII. Παντὶ μὲν οὖν προσήκει ἄρχοντι φρονίμῳ εἶναι: πολὺ μὲντοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπαρχον δια-
φέρειν δεῖ καὶ τῷ τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύειν καὶ τῷ πολεμικὸν εἶναι, ὥς γε ὑπάρχοντι μὲν ὄμοροι ἀντίπαλοι ἱππεῖς τε παραπλήσιοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ
2 ὀπλῖται πολλοὶ. καὶ μὲν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβάλλειν ἐπιχειρή ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως, πρὸς
and obviously takes care that they have victuals, and that they are safe in retreat and well protected when at rest. In the garrisons he must show an interest in fodder, tents, water, firewood, and all other supplies: he must show that he thinks ahead and keeps his eyes open for the sake of his men. And when he is doing well the chief's best policy is to give them a share in his good things.

To put it shortly, a commander is least likely to incur the contempt of his men if he shows himself more capable than they of doing whatever he requires of them. He must therefore practise every detail of horsemanship—mounting and the rest,—that they may see their commander able to take a ditch without a spill, clear a wall, leap down from a bank and throw a javelin skilfully. For all these feats are so many stepping stones to their respect. If they know him also to be a master of tactics and able to put them in the way of getting the better of the enemy; and if besides, they are certain that he will never lead them against an enemy recklessly or without the gods' approval or in defiance of the sacrifices, all these conditions increase the men's readiness to obey their commander.

VII. Every commander, then, should have intelligence. The Athenian cavalry commander, however, should excel greatly both in the observance of his duty to the gods and in the qualities of a warrior, seeing that he has on his borders rivals in the shape of cavalry as numerous as his and large forces of infantry. And if he attempts to invade the enemy's country without

1 The Thebans are meant.

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1 φυγάνων Madvig: φυλακῶν S. with the MSS.
2 τάττειν B: πράττειν S. with the other MSS.
καταφεροντες τουτους μονους δεν τοις ἵππευσι δια-
κινδυνεύοι. ἢν δ' οι πολέμιοι εις την Ἀθηναίων
χώραν ἐμβάλλωσι, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἄν ἄλλως
ἐλθοιει εἰ μὴ σὺν ἄλλοις τε ἵππευσι πρὸς τοῖς
έαυτον καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὀπλίταις ὀπόσοις ἄν
οἰωνται πάντας Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἴκανον έσται

3 μάχεσθαι. πρὸς όντων τοσούτων πολεμίους ἢ
μὲν ἡ πόλις πάσα ἐπεξή ἀρίζουσα τῇ χώρᾳ,
ἐλπίδες καλαί. ἵππεις τε γὰρ σὺν θεῷ ἁμείνους,
ἢν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελήται ὡς δεῖ, ὀπλίται τε οὐ
μείους ἑσονται καὶ τὰ σώματα τοῖνυν οὐ χείρῳ
ἐχοντες καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς φιλοτιμότεροι, ἢν ὀρθῶς
ἀσκηθῶσι σὺν θεῷ, καὶ μὴν ἐπί γε τοῖς προ-
γόνοις οὐ μεῖον Ἀθηναίοι ἢ Βοιωτοὶ φρονοῦσιν.

4 ἢν δὲ οἱ μὲν πόλις τρέπηται ἐπὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ
ἀρκῇ αὐτῇ τὰ τεῖχα διασώζειν, ὡσπερ καὶ ὀπότε
Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ἄπασι τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐνέβαλον,
τους δὲ ἵππεας ἰξιώσῃ τὰ τε ἐκτὸς τοῦ τεῖχους
dιασώζειν καὶ αὐτοὺς μόνους διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς
πάντας τους ἐναντίους, ἑνταύθα δὴ θεῶν μὲν
οἴμαι πρῶτον συμμάχων ἵσχυρῶν δεῖ, ἑπεὶτα δὲ
καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον προσήκει ἀποτετελεσμένον
ἄνδρα εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ φρονήσεως δεῖ πολλῆς
πρὸς τοὺς πολυ πλείους καὶ τόλμης, ὡσπερ καίρος
παραπέσαι.

5 Δεῖ δὲ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ πονεῖν αὐτὸν ἴκανὸν
εἶναι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρὸν στράτευμα δια-
κινδυνεύων, ὥ μὴ ὅλη ἡ πόλις θέλοι ἀντικαθί-

1 ἰξιώσῃ Dindorf: ἰξιώσει S. with the MSS.

1 In the Peloponnesian War.
2 I have translated πονεῖν, but it is certainly not what X.
the other armed forces of the state, he will have to take his chance with the cavalry only against both arms. Or if the enemy invades Athenian territory, in the first place, he will certainly not fail to bring with him other cavalry besides his own and infantry in addition, whose numbers he reckons to be more than a match for all the Athenians put together. Now provided that the whole of the city's levies turn out against such a host in defence of their country, the prospects are good. For our cavalrymen, God helping, will be the better, if proper care is taken of them, and our heavy infantry will not be inferior in numbers, and I may add, they will be in as good condition and will show the keener spirit, if only, with God's help, they are trained on the right lines. And, remember, the Athenians are quite as proud of their ancestry as the Boeotians. But if the city falls back on her navy, and is content to keep her walls intact, as in the days when the Lacedaemonians invaded us with all the Greeks to help them,¹ and if she expects her cavalry to protect all that lies outside the walls, and to take its chance unaided against her foes,—why then, I suppose, we need first the strong arm of the gods to aid us, and in the second place it is essential that our cavalry commander should be masterly. For much sagacity is called for in coping with a greatly superior force, and abundance of courage when the call comes.

I take it, he must also be able to stand hard work.² For if he should elect to take his chance against the army confronting him—an army that not even the whole state is prepared to stand up to—it is evident wrote. The sequel demands the sense "he must be a man of sound judgment, ἀποφοβόν (with B) πρὸςοεῖεν."
στασθαι, δήλον ὁτι πάσχοι ἄν ν τι οἱ κρείττοις
6 βούλοντο, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἄν ικανὸς εἰη. εἰ δὲ
φυλάττων μὲν τὰ ἐξώ τείχους τοσοῦτοι, ὅσοι
σκοπεύειν τε τοὺς πολεμίους ικανοὶ ἔσονται καὶ
ἀναχωρίζειν εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τὰ δεόμενα ὡς ἐκ
πλείστου· ικανοὶ δὲ καὶ προοράν οὐδὲν ἔττον οἱ
ὁλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν καὶ φυλάττειν τοίνυν καὶ
ἀναχωρίζειν τὰ φίλια οὐκ ἀκαίροτεροι οἱ μῆτε
7 αὐτοῖς μῆτε τοὺς ἑπταίσι πιστεύοντες· ὁ γὰρ
φόβος δεινὸς δοκεῖ συμφύλαξι εἶναι· τοὺς μὲν
φύλακας ἐκ τούτων ἀν τις ποιῶν ἱσως ὀρθῶς
βουλεύοιτο· τοὺς δὲ περίττους τῆς φυλακῆς εἰ
μὲν τις στρατιάν ἔχειν ἡγησται, ὁλίγῃ αὐτῷ
φανεῖται· τοῦ παντὸς γὰρ ἐνδεῆσται ὡστε ἐκ
τοῦ ἑμφανοῦς διακινδυνεῖν· ἢν δὲ ὃς λειτάρις
αὐτοῖς χρήται, πάνι ἄν ὃς τὸ εἰκὸς ἱκανὴν τούτο
8 πράττειν ἔχοι δύναμιν. δεῖ δὲ, ὃς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
toὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἄει ἔχοντα ὡς ποιεῖν τι
μὴ καταφανὴ ὑντα φυλάττειν, ἢν τι ἀμαρτᾶνη
9 τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα. φιλοῦσι δὲ πως
στρατιώται δόσῳ ἄν πλείον ὁσι, τοσοῦτοι πλείω
ἀμαρτάνειν. ἢ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτιθέεαι ἐπιμελεία
σκεδάνωσται ἢ πορευομένων ἀταξία οἱ μὲν προ-
έρχονται, οἱ δ' ὑπολείπονται πλέον τοῦ καινῶν.
10 τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτήματα οὐ χρῆ παριέναι
ἀκόλαστα· εἰ δὲ μή, ὡλὴ ἢ χῶρα στρατόπεδον
ἔσται· ἐκεῖνο καλὸς προνοοῦτα, ἡν ποιήσῃ τι,
φθάσαι ἀποχωρήσαντα πρὶν τὸ πολὺ βοηθοῦν
ἐπιγενέσθαι.
11 Πολλάκις δὲ πορευόμενον στράτευμα καὶ εἰς
όδους ἔρχεσθαι, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲν πλείον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
ὁλίγων δύνανται. καὶ ἐν διαβάσεις ἧ ἐστὶ τῷ
that he would be entirely at the mercy of the stronger and incapable of doing anything. But should he guard whatever lies outside the walls with a force that will be just sufficient to keep an eye on the enemy and to remove into safety from as great a distance as possible property that needs saving,—and a large force is not necessary for this: a small force can keep a look-out as well as a large one, and when it comes to guarding and removing the property of friends, men who have no confidence in themselves or their horses will meet the case, because Fear, it seems, is a formidable member of a guard—well, it may perhaps be a sound plan to draw on these men for his guards. But if he imagines that the number remaining over and above the guard constitutes an army, he will find it too small; for it will be utterly inadequate to risk a conflict in the open. Let him use these men as raiders, and he will probably have a force quite sufficient for this purpose. His business, it seems to me, is to watch for any blunder on the enemy's part without showing himself, keeping men constantly on the alert and ready to strike. It happens that, the greater is the number of soldiers, the more they are apt to blunder. Either they scatter deliberately in search of provisions, or they are so careless of order on the march that some get too far ahead, while others lag too far behind. So he must not let such blunders go unpunished, or the whole country will be occupied; only he must take good care to retire the moment he has struck, without giving time for the main supports to arrive on the scene.

An army on the march often comes to roads where large numbers have no advantage over small. In crossing rivers, again, a man with his wits about
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προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἀσφαλῶς ἐφεπομένῳ ταμευσασθαί, ὡστε ὁπόσοις ἀν βουληταῖ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἦστι δὲ ὅτε καλὸν καὶ στρατοπεδευμένοι καὶ ἀριστῶσι καὶ δειπνοποιούμενοι ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐκ κοίτης γε ἀνισταμένοις. ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις ἀσπλοὶ στρατιῶται γίγνονται, μείνα μὲν χρόνον οἱ ὀπλῖται, πλείονα δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς. σκοποῖς μέντοι καὶ προφυλακὰς οὐδὲν ποτε δεῖ παύεσθαι ἐπιβουλεύοντα. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸ ὅλογοι μὲν ἀεὶ καθίστανται, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ ἱσχυροῦ ἐνίστε ἀποστατοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοιοῦτα ἤδη καλῶς φυλάττωνται οἱ πολέμιοι, καλῶν ἦστι σὺν θεῷ λαθόντα ἐλθείν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν μεμεληκότα, πόσοι τε ἐκασταχοῦ καὶ ποῦ τῆς χώρας προφυλάττοντοι. οὐδέμια γὰρ οὕτως καλὴ λεία ὡς φυλακαί, ἢν κρατηθῶσι. καὶ εὐεξιαπτάτητοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ φύλακες: διώκουσι γὰρ δὲ τι ἁν ὅλιγον ἱδωσι, νομίζοντές σφισι τοῦτο προστετάχθαι. τὰς μέντοι ἀποχωρήσεις σκοπεῖν δεῖ ὅπως μὴ ἐναντία τοῖς βοηθοῦσιν ἐσονται.

VIII. Τοὺς μέντοι μέλλοντας δυνησεθαί ἀσφαλῶς τὸ πολὺ κρείττον στράτευμα κακουργεῖν σαφῶς δεῖ τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν, ὡστε αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀσκητὰς φαίνεσθαι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐν ἰππικῇ ἑργοῖς, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδιώτας. τούτῳ δὲ ἄν εἰη πρῶτον μὲν εἰ οἱ ληξεθαί μέλλοντες ἐκπεπονημένοι εἶν τῇ ἐλάσει, ὡστε δύνασθαι στρατιωτικοὺς πόνους ὑποφέρειν. οἱ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες καὶ ἱπποι καὶ ἄνδρες εἰκότως ἄν 3 ὅσπερ γυναίκες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἄγονιζοντο. οἱ δὲ γε δεδιδαγμένοι τε καὶ εἰθισμένοι τάφρους διαπηδᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπεραίρειν καὶ ἐπ' ὀχθοὺς
him may dog the enemy's steps without danger and regulate according to his will the number of the enemy that he chooses to attack. Sometimes it is proper to tackle the enemy while his troops are at breakfast or supper or when they are turning out of bed. For at all these moments soldiers are without arms, infantry for a shorter and cavalry for a longer time. Pickets and outposts, however, should be the mark of incessant plots, these being invariably weak in numbers and sometimes remote from their main force. But when the enemy has learned to take due precautions against such attacks, it is proper, with God's help, to enter his country stealthily after ascertaining his strength at various points and the position of his outposts. For no booty that you can capture is so fine as a patrol. Besides, patrols are easily deceived, for they pursue a handful of men at sight, believing that to be their special duty. You must see, however, that your line of retreat does not lead you straight into the enemy's supports.

VIII. It is clear, however, that no troops will be able to inflict loss on a much stronger army with impunity, unless they are so superior in the practical application of horsemanship to war that they show like experts contending with amateurs. This superiority can be attained first and foremost if your marauding bands are so thoroughly drilled in riding that they can stand the hard work of a campaign. For both horses and men that are carelessly trained in this respect will naturally be like women struggling with men. On the contrary, those that are taught and accustomed to jump ditches, leap walls,
άνάλλεσθαί καὶ ἀφ’ ὑψηλῶν ἀσφαλῶς κατιέναι καὶ τὰ κατάντη ταχὺ ἐλαύνεσθαι, οὗτοι δὲ ἀυτοὶ τοσοῦτον διαφέροιεν ἀν τῶν ἀμελετήτων ταῦτα ὀσονπερ πτηνὸι πεζῶν· οἱ δὲ γε ἀυτοὶ τῶν πόδας ἐκπεπονημένοι τῶν ἀτριβάστων πρὸς τραχεὰ ὀσονπερ ὑγιεῖς χωλῶν· καὶ οἱ γε τῶν τῶν ἐμπειρῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπείρους τοσοῦτον ἐν ταῖς προελάσει καὶ ἀποχωρήσει διαφέροιεν ἀν ὀσονπερ οἱ ὀρῶντες τῶν τυφλῶν.

4 Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ χρῆ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οἱ εὐωχούμενοι ἵπποι, ἐκπεπονημένοι δὲ ὡστε μὴ ἀποτυγχάεσθαι ἐν τοῖς πόνοις εὗ παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσί. χρῆ δὲ, ἐπείπερ χαλινοὶ καὶ ἐφίττπα ἐξ ἰμάντων ἐρημ.-μένα ἐστὶ, ¹ μήποτε τὸν ἵππαρχον τούτων ἐρήμων εἶναι· μικρὰ γὰρ δαπάνῃ τοὺς ἀποροῦντας χρησίμους ἀν παρέχουσι.

5 Εἰ δὲ τις νομίζῃ ² πολλὰ ἔχειν ἀν³ πράγματα, εἰ οὔτω δεὶς ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἰππικήν, ἐνθυμηθίτω, ὅτι οἱ εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἐγώνας ἀσκοῦντες πολὺ πλείω πράγματα καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἔχουσιν ἢ οἱ 6 τὴν ἰππικήν τὰ μάλιστα μελετῶντες. καὶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν γυμνικῶν ἀσκημάτων τὰ πολλὰ σὺν ἰδροῦτι ἐκπονοῦνται, τῆς δὲ ἰππικῆς τὰ πλεῖστα μεθ’ ἠδονῆς. ὅπερ γὰρ εὔξαίτι ἀν τὶς πτηνῶς γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅ τι μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων 7 ἐργῶν ἐοικεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ μὴν τὸ γ’ ἐν πολέμῳ νικῶν πολλὰ ἐνδοξότερον ἤ πυγμῆ· μετέχει μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ ἡ πόλις ταύτης τῆς δόξης· ὡς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου νίκη καὶ εὐδαι-

¹ ἔστι Courier: ἔστι χρησίμα S. with the MSS.
² νὸ ίξο Bm; νομίζει S. with other MSS.
³ ἀν B: S. omits with the other MSS.
⁴ ἐνδοξότερον B: ἐνδοξότερον S. with the other MSS.

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spring up banks, leap down from heights without a spill, and gallop down steep places, will be as superior to the men and horses that lack this training as birds to beasts. Moreover, those that have their feet well hardened will differ on rough ground from the tender-footed as widely as the sound from the lame. And those that are familiar with the locality, compared with those to whom it is unfamiliar, will differ in the advance and retreat as much as men with eyes differ from the blind.

It should also be realised that horses, to be well settled, must be well fed and thoroughly exercised, so as to do their work without suffering from heaves. And since bits and saddle-cloths are fastened with straps, a cavalry leader must never be short of them, for at a trifling expense he will make men in difficulties efficient.

In case anyone feels that his troubles will be endless if his duty requires him to practise horsemanship in this way, let him reflect that men in training for gymnastic contests face troubles far more numerous and exacting than the most strenuous votaries of horsemanship. For most gymnastic exercises are carried out with sweat and drudgery, but nearly all equestrian exercises are pleasant work. For if it is true that any man would like to fly, no action of man bears a closer resemblance to flying. And, remember, it is far more glorious to win a victory in war than in a boxing match, because, whereas the state as well as the victor has a considerable share in this glory, for a victory in war the gods generally

1 Cyropaedia iv. iii. 15.
2 He does not express himself clearly, but by “this glory” he means “the glory of a victory whether won in war or in the games.”
μοιά οἱ θεοὶ τὰς πόλεις στεφανοῦσιν. ὡστ' οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε, τι προσήκει ἀλλ' ἄττα μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖςι
8 σθαι ἡ τὰ πολεμικά. ἐννοεῖν δὲ χρή, ὅτι καὶ οἱ κατὰ θάλατταν λησταὶ διὰ τὸ πονεῖν ἥσκηκέναι δύνανται ξῆν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολὺ κρείττονῶν.
προσήκει γε μὴν καὶ κατὰ γῆν οὐ τοῖς καρπο-
μένοις τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἄλλα τοῖς στερισκομένοις τῆς
tροφῆς ληγίσεθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἔργαστέοιν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν
eἰργασμένοιν θρεπτέον· ἀλλὰς δ' οὐ ράδιον οὔτε
βιοτεύειν οὔτε εἰρήνης τυχεῖν.
9 Μεμνήσθαι δὲ κάκειν χρή, μήτοτε ἐπὶ τοὺς
κρέιττους ἐλαύνειν ὁπισθεὶν ἑπτοῖς δύσβατον
ποιούμενον· οὐ γὰρ ὄμοιον φεύγοντι καὶ διώκοντι
σφαλύναι.
10 Ἐτι δὲ βούλομαι ὑπομνῆσαι καὶ τόδε φυλάττε-
σθαι. εἰς γὰρ τινας, οί ὅταν μὲν ἰωσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ-
tous, ὃν ὁνὶνται κρέιττους εἶναι, παντάμασιν
ἀσθενεὶς δυνάμει ἐρχονται, ὥστε πολλάκις ἐπαθοῦν
ἀ ψιτο ποιῆσειν· ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτος, ὃν ἀν
σαφῶς ἐπίστωνται ἥπτους ὄντες, πᾶσαν ὅσην ἀν
11 ἔχωσι δύναμιν ἁγουσιν. ἑγὼ δέ φημι χρὴναι
tάναντία τοῖσα ποιεῖν· ὅταν μὲν κρατήσειν
οἰόμενος ἄγη, μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅσῃ
ἀν ἔχη. τὸ γὰρ πολὺ τικάν οὐδεὶς πῶποτε μετα-
μέλειαν παρέσχεν. ὅταν δὲ τοῖς πολὺ κρέιττοισι
ἐπιχειρῆ καὶ προγιγνώσκῃ, ὅτι ποιήσαντα δ' τι
ἀν δύνηται φειντέον ἐστίν, εἰς τὰ τοιαύτα ζημι
πολὺ κρέιττον εἶναι ὀλίγους ἢ τὸντας προσάγειν,
τοὺς μέντοι ἀπειλεγμένους καὶ ἑπτοὺς καὶ ἄνδρας
toūs κρατίστους. τοιούτοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ποιῆσαι

1 Hellenica vi. v. 51.
THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, viii. 7-12

crown states with happiness as well. For my part, therefore, I know not why any art should be more assiduously cultivated than the arts of war. It should be noticed that a long apprenticeship to toil enables sea-pirates to live at the expense of much stronger folk. On land, too, pillage, though not for those who reap what they have sown, is the natural resource of men who are deprived of food. For either men must work or they must eat the fruits of other men's labour: else it is a problem how to live and to obtain peace.

If you charge a superior force, you must remember never to leave behind you ground difficult for horses. For a fall in retreat and a fall in pursuit are very different things.

I want to add a word of warning against another error. Some men, when they suppose themselves to be stronger than the enemy whom they are going to attack, take an utterly inadequate force with them. The consequence is that they are apt to incur the loss they expected to inflict. Or, when they know themselves to be weaker than the enemy, they use all their available strength in the attack. The right procedure, in my opinion, is just the opposite: when the commander expects to win, he should not hesitate to use the whole of his strength: for an overwhelming victory never yet was followed by remorse. But when he tries conclusions with a much stronger force, knowing beforehand that he is bound to retreat when he has done his best, I hold that it is far better in such a case to throw a small part of his strength into the attack than the whole of it; only horses and men alike should be his very best. For such a force will be
XENOPHON

ἀν τι καὶ ὑποχωρήσαι ἀσφαλέστερον ἀν δύναιντο.

13 ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους πάντας προσαγαγόν ἀποχωρεῖν βούληται, ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν βραδυτάτων ἵππων ἀλίσκεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δὲ ἀφιππίαν 1 πίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ δυσχωρίας ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι καὶ γὰρ πολὺν τόπον χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν οἶον ἀν τις εὐξιώτο. ὑπὸ γε μὴν τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ συμπίπτοντος ἀν καὶ ἐμποδίζοντες πολλὰ ἀν ἀλλήλους κακουργοῦεν. οἱ δὲ ἁγαθοὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἰππεῖς δυνατοὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν 2 διαφεύγειν, ἄλλως τε ἂν καὶ μηχανάται τις τοῖς διώκοντι φόβοι ἀπὸ τῶν περιττῶν ἵππεών.

15 σύμφορον δὲ ἐς τούτο καὶ αἰ ψευδενέδραι. χρησιμον δὲ κάκειν, τὸ εὐρίσκειν πόθεν ἃν οἱ φίλοι ἐξ ἀσφαλοὺς ἐπιφαινόμενοι βραδυτέρους τοὺς διώκοντας παρέχοιεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸδε δήλου, ὡς πόνοις καὶ τάχει οἱ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν πολὺ μᾶλλον ὡς τοί πολλοὶ τῶν ὀλίγων περιγίγνοντ' ἂν καὶ οὗ λέγω, ὡς διὰ τὸ ὀλίγοι εἶναι καὶ πονεῖν μᾶλλον δυνήσονται καὶ θάπτους ἔσονται, ἀλλ' ὅτι ῥαὸν εὑρεῖν ὀλίγους ὡς πολλοὺς τοὺς καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐπιμελησομένους ὡς δει καὶ αὐτοὺς φρονίμως μελετήσονται τὴν ἵππην.

17 ἂν δὲ ποτε συμβαίνῃ ἀγωνίζεσθαί πρὸς παραπλησίον ἵππεας, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι οὐκ ἄν χεῖρον εἶναι, εἰ τις δύο τάξεις ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ποιήσεε ταῖς μὲν ὁ φυλαρχὸς ἡγοῖτο, τῆς δὲ Ἀλλῆς ὀστίς ἀριστος δοκοί εἶναι, οὕτως δὲ τέως μὲν ἐποιεῖ κατ' ὀυρὰν τῆς μετὰ τοῦ φυλαρχοῦ τάξεως, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἣδη εἶποι αὐτιπάλοι, ἀπὸ παραγ-

1 ἀφιππίαν is a correction in B: ἀφιππελαν S. with the MSS.
able to achieve something and to retreat with less risk. But when he has thrown the whole of his strength into an attack on a stronger force, and wants to retire, the men on the slowest mounts are bound to be taken prisoners; others to be thrown through lack of horsemanship; and others to be cut off owing to inequalities in the ground, since it is hard to find a wide expanse of country entirely to your liking. Moreover, owing to their numbers they will collide and hinder and hurt one another frequently. But good horses and men will contrive to escape, especially if you manage to scare the pursuers by using your reserves. Sham ambuscades, too, are helpful for this purpose. It is also useful to discover on what quarter your friends may suddenly reveal themselves in a safe position and make the pursuit slower. Then again it is obvious that in point of endurance and speed the advantage is much more likely to rest with a small than with a large force. I do not mean that mere paucity of numbers will increase the men’s powers of endurance and add to their speed; but it is easier to find few men than many who will take proper care of their horses and will practise the art of horsemanship intelligently on their own account.

Should it happen at any time that the cavalry forces engaged are about equal, I think it would be a good plan to split each regiment into two divisions, putting one under the command of the colonel, and the other under the best man available. The latter would follow in the rear of the colonel’s division for a time; but presently, when the adversary is near,
γέλσεως παρελαύνοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὕτω γὰρ οἷμαι καὶ ἐκπληκτικώτερος τοὺς ἔχθροις ἂν εἰναι καὶ δυσμαχωτέρος. εἰ δὲ πεζοὺς ἔχοιει ἐκάτεροι, καὶ οὕτωι ἀποκεκρυμένοι ὀπίσθεν τῶν ἱππέων, ἔξαπτυς δὲ παραφαινόμενοι καὶ ὦμόσε ιόντες δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι τὴν νίκην πολὺ μᾶλλον κατεργάζεσθαι. ὥρῳ γὰρ τὰ παράδοξα ἦν μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἤν, μᾶλλον εὐφραίνοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,

ηὗ δὲ δεινὰ, μᾶλλον ἐκπλήττοντα. ταῦτα δὲ γνοίη ἂν τις μάλιστα ἐνθυμούμενος, ὡς οὐ τέ ἐνεδραί ἐμπίπτοντες ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ ἐὰν πολὺ πλείους ὦσι· καὶ ὃταν πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἀντικάθωνται, ὡς πολὺ ταῖς πρῶταις ἥμεραις φοβερῶτατα ἔχουσιν.

21 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν διατάξαι ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶν, τὸ δ᾽ εὑρεῖν τοὺς φρονίμους καὶ πιστῶς καὶ προθύμους καὶ εὐφύχως παρελώντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,

22 τοῦτο ἡδὴ ἀγαθοῦ ἵππαρχον. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἰκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ποιεῖν τοιαῦτα, ἄφ᾽ ὅν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι γρῶσονται ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τό τε πείθεσθαι καὶ τό ἐπεσθαι καὶ τό ὦμόσε ἐλαύνειν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἐπιθυμήσοντι τοὺς καλὸν τι ἀκούειν καὶ δυνῆσονται ἃ ἄν γυώσων ἐγκαρτερεῖν.

23 Ἔιδ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς καὶ ἡ φαλάγγων ἀντιτεταγμένων ἡ χωρίων ἐκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἀναστροφαὶ τε καὶ διώξεις καὶ ἀποχωρῆσεις γίγνονται, εἰὼθασί μὲν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἀκ τῶν τοιούτων ὀρμᾶν μὲν 1 βραδέως ἀμφότεροι, τὸ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τάχιστα ἐλαύνειν. ἦν δὲ τις οὕτω προδείξας ἐπείτα 2 ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν ταχέως

1 S. reads ὀρμᾶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν with the MSS. : ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν is rightly removed by Rühl.

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he would wheel on receiving the order and charge. This plan, I think, would make the blow delivered by the regiment more stunning and more difficult to parry. Both divisions should have an infantry contingent; and if the infantry, hidden away behind the cavalry, came out suddenly and went for the enemy, I think they would prove an important factor in making the victory more decisive; for I have noticed that a surprise cheers men up if it is pleasant, but stuns them if it is alarming. Anyone will recognise the truth of this who reflects that, however great their advantage in numbers, men are dazed when they fall into an ambuscade, and that two hostile armies confronting each other are scared out of their wits for the first few days.

There is no difficulty in adopting these tactics; but only a good cavalry commander can find men who will show intelligence, reliability and courage in wheeling to charge the enemy. For the commander must be capable both by his words and action of making the men under him realize that it is good to obey, to back up their leader, and to charge home; of firing them with a desire to win commendation; and of enabling them to carry out their intentions with persistence.

Suppose now that the cavalry are busy in the no-man’s-land that separates two battle lines drawn up face to face or two strategic positions, wheeling, pursuing and retreating. After such manoeuvres both sides usually start off at a slow pace, but gallop at full speed in the unoccupied ground. But if a commander first feints in this manner, and then after

* ἀπείτα Hartman: ἀπείτα δ' S. with the MSS.
τε διώκη καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωρῆ, βλάπτειν τ' ἂν μάλιστα τοὺς πολεμίους δύνατο καὶ ὡς το εἰκὸς ἁσφαλέστατ' ἂν διάγοι, ταχύ μὲν διώκων ἐν φ' ἂν ἐγγύς ή τοῦ έαυτοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, ταχύ δὲ ἀπο- χωρόν ἀπὸ τῶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυρῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ λαθεῖν δύνατο ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἑκάστης καταλίπων ἡ τέτταρας ἡ πέντε τῶν κρατίστων ιππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πολὺ ἂν προέχοιεν εἰς τὸ ἐπαναστρεφόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμπίπτειν.

IX. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκειν μὲν καὶ ὑλιγάκις ἀρκεῖ, ἐννοεῖν 1 δὲ τὸ παρατυγχάνον αὐτῷ ἀεὶ 2 δεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παριστάμενον σκοποῦσα τὸ συμφέρον ἐκπονεῖν. γράψαι δὲ πάντα, ὅπόσα δεὶ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οίον τέ ἐστιν ἢ τὰ μέλ- 2 λοντα πάντα εἰδέναι. πάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπομνη- μάτων ἐμούγε δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι τὸ ὢσα ἂν γνφ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν πραξῆ. ὀρθῶς δὲ γιγνωσκόμενα οὐ φέρει καρπὸν οὔτε ἐν γεωργίᾳ οὔτ' ἐν ναυκληρίᾳ οὔτ' ἐν ἄρχῃ, ἢν μὴ τις ἐπιμελήται ὡς ἂν ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς 3 ἐκπεραίνηται. 4

3 Φημὶ δ' ἐγὼ 5 καὶ τὸ πάν ἵππικον ὡδ' ἂν πολὺ θάττον ἐκπληρωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς χιλίους ἱπ- πέας καὶ πολὺ ράον τοῖς πολίταις, εἰ διακοσίους ἱππεῖς ἦν νους καταστήσατο: δοκοῦσι γὰρ ἂν

1 ἐννοεῖν Madvig: ποιεῖν S. with the MSS.
2 αὐτῷ δὲl BM: ἀεὶ αὐτῷ S. with other MSS.
3 The MSS. have no σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς here, but have ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς in the next sentence—see next note but one. S. follows the text of the MSS.: the correction is by Madvig.
4 ἐκπεραίνηται B: περαίνηται S. with the other MSS.
5 ἐγὼ ταῦτα S. with the MSS.: ταῦτα was removed by Lenklau.
wheeling, pursues and retreats at the gallop he will be able to inflict the greatest loss on the enemy, and will probably come through with the least harm, by pursuing at the gallop so long as he is near his own defence, and retreating at the gallop from the enemy's defences. If, moreover, he can secretly leave behind him four or five of the best horses and men in each division, they will be at a great advantage in falling on the enemy as he is turning to renew the charge:

IX. To read these suggestions a few times is enough; but it is always necessary for the commander to hit on the right thing at the right moment, to think of the present situation and to carry out what is expedient in view of it. To write out all that he ought to do is no more possible than to know everything that is going to happen. The most important of all my hints, I think, is this: Whatever you decide to be best, see that it gets done. Whether you are a farmer, a skipper or a commander, sound decisions bear no fruit unless you see to it that, with heaven's help, they are duly carried out.

Further, I am of opinion that the full complement of a thousand cavalry would be raised much more quickly and in a manner much less burdensome to the citizens if they established a force of two hundred foreign cavalry. For I believe that the

1 *Oeconomicus* xi. 8.
2 This expression undoubtedly comes here; compare especially the maxim "Act with god" (§ 8), and the end of the *Ways and Means*.
3 The 200 mercenaries would be included in the total of 1000.
μοι οὖτοι προσγενόμενοι καὶ εὐπειστότερον ἄν πᾶν τὸ ἱππικὸν ποιήσαι καὶ φιλοτιμότερον πρὸς
4 ἀλλήλους περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας. οἶδα δ’ ἐγώ γε καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίοις ἱππικόν ἀρξάμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν,
ἐπεὶ ξένους ἱππέας προσέλαβον. καὶ ἐν ταῖς
ἀλλαῖς δὲ πόλεσι πανταχοῦ τὰ ξενικὰ ὀρῶ
eὐδοκιμοῦντα: ἢ γὰρ χρεία μεγάλην προθυμίαν
5 συμβάλλεται. εἰς δὲ τιμὴν τῶν ἱππῶν νομίζω
ἄν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ύπάρξαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν
σφόδρα ἀπεχομένων μὴ ἱππεύειν, ὅτι καὶ οἷς
καθίστησι τὸ ἱππικὸν ἑθέλουσι τελεῖν ἀργύριον
ὡς μὴ ἱππεύειν, καὶ παρὰ πλουσίων μέν,1 ἀδυ-
νάτων δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ παρ’
6 ὀρφανῶν τῶν δυνατοὺς οἶκους ἠχόντων. νομίζω
dὲ καὶ μετοίκοις φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἀν τινὰς εἰς
ἱππικόν2 καθισταμένους: ὅρω γὰρ καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ὅποσων ἄν καλῶν ὄντων μεταδιδὼσιν
αὐτοῖς οἱ πολῖται, φιλοτιμως ἐνίοις ἑθέλουσα τὸ
7 προσταχθὲν διαπράττεσθαι. δοκεῖ δ’ ἄν μοι καὶ
πεξόν σὺν τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἐνεργότατον εἶναι, εἰ
συσταθεῖ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων τοῖς
πολεμίοις.

Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα θεῶν συνεθελόντων γένοιτ’ ἄν.
8 εἰ δὲ τις τοῦτο θαυμάζει, ὅτι πολλάκις γέγραπται
τὸ σὺν θεῷ πράττειν, εὖ ἵστω, ὅτι ἣν πολλάκις
κινδυνεύῃ, ἦττον τοῦτο θαυμάζεται καὶ ἣν γε
καταισθ., ὅτι ὅταν πόλεμος ᾧ, ἐπιβουλεύοις μεῖ

1 μὲν Dindorf: γε S. with the MSS.
2 ἵππικον Bake: ἵππικῃ S. with the MSS.

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presence of these men would improve the discipline of the whole force and would foster rivalry in the display of efficiency. I know that the fame of the Lacedaemonian horse dates from the introduction of foreign cavalry; and in the other states everywhere I notice that the foreign contingents enjoy a high reputation; for need helps to produce great eagerness. To defray the cost of their horses, I believe that money would be forthcoming from those who strongly object to serve in the cavalry—since even men actually enrolled are willing to pay in order to get out of the service—from rich men who are physically unfit, and also, I think, from orphans possessed of large estates. I believe also that some of the resident aliens would be proud to be enrolled in the cavalry. For I notice that, whenever the citizens give them a share in any other honourable duty, some are willing enough to take pride in doing the part assigned to them. I fancy, too, that infantry attached to the cavalry will be most effective if it consists of persons who are very bitter against the enemy.

All these things are feasible provided the gods give their consent. If anyone is surprised at my frequent repetition of the exhortation to work with God, I can assure him that his surprise will diminish, if he is often in peril, and if he considers that in time

1 The mercenaries would not receive “establishment” money.
2 ὁς καθιστης is not right; but the translation gives the approximate sense of what Xenophon must have written.
3 Orphans were exempt from state burdens until a year after attaining their majority. The meaning seems to be that during this period of exemption they might fairly be asked to contribute to such a fund.
άλληλοις οἱ ἐναντίοι, ὅλιγάκις δὲ ἵσασι, πῶς ἔχει
9 τὰ ἐπιβουλεῦμα. τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα οὐδ' ὅτῳ
συμβουλεύσατι ἃν τις οἶνον τε εὗρεῖν πλὴν θεῶν
ούτοι δὲ πάντα ἰσασι καὶ προσημαίνουσιν ὡ ἂν
ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν
φήμαις καὶ ἐν ὀνείραις. εἰκὸς δὲ μᾶλλον
ἐθέλειν αὐτοὺς συμβουλεύειν τούτοις, οὗ ἂν μὴ
μόνον ὅταν δέωται ἐπερωτῶσι, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις θεραπεύωσιν ὃ τι ἂν
δύνωται τοὺς θεοὺς.
of war foemen plot and counterplot, but seldom know what will come of their plots. Therefore there is none other that can give counsel in such a case but the gods. They know all things, and warn whomsoever they will in sacrifices, in omens, in voices, and in dreams. And we may suppose that they are more ready to counsel those who not only ask what they ought to do in the hour of need, but also serve the gods in the days of their prosperity with all their might.

1 Memorabilia i. i. 3.
ON THE ART
OF HORSEMANSHIP
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΙΠΠΙΚΗΣ

1. 'Επειδή διὰ τὸ συμβήναι ἡμῖν πολὺν χρόνον ἱππεύειν οἴομεθα ἐμπειροὶ ἱππικῆς γεγενήσθαι, Βουλόμεθα καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις τῶν φίλων δηλῶσαι, ἣ ἂν νομίζομεν αὐτοὺς ὀρθότατα ἵππους προσφέρεσθαι. συνέγραψε μὲν οὖν καὶ Σίμων περὶ ἱππικῆς, ὅσι καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν Ἑλευσίνιον ἱππον χαλκοῦν ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐν τῷ βάθρῳ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα ἔξετύπωσεν. ἡμεῖς γε μέντοι ὅσοις συνετύχουμεν ταύτα γνώντες ἐκεῖνω, οὐκ ἔξαλείφομεν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἤδιον παραδώσομεν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις, νομίζοντες ἁξιοπιστότεροι εἶναι, ὅτι κακεῖνος κατὰ ταύτα ἡμῖν ἐγὼ ἱππικὸς ὄν καὶ ὅσα δὴ παρέλιπεν, ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα δηλῶσαι.

Πρῶτον δὲ γράψωμεν, ὡς ἂν τις ἡκιστα ἔξαπατότο ἐν ἱππωνείᾳ.

Τοῦ μὲν τοίνυν ἔτι ἀδαμάστον πῶλον δῆλον ὅτι τὸ σώμα δεῖ δοκιμάζειν τῆς γαρ ψυχῆς οὐ πάνω σαφῆ τεκμήρια παρέχεται ὁ μῆπω ἀναβαίνομεν.

2. Τοῦ γε μὴν σώματος πρῶτον φαμεν χρήναι τοὺς πόδας σκοπεῖν. ὃσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐδὲν

1 A considerable fragment of this work survives in a MS. in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The most recent editions are those of Oder and Rühl. The "cavalry commander"
ON THE ART
OF HORSEMANSHIP

1. Inasmuch as we have had a long experience of cavalry, and consequently claim familiarity with the art of horsemanship, we wish to explain to our younger friends what we believe to be the correct method of dealing with horses. True there is already a treatise on horsemanship by Simon, who also dedicated the bronze horse in the Eleusinium at Athens and recorded his own feats in relief on the pedestal. Nevertheless, we shall not erase from our work the conclusions that happen to coincide with his, but shall offer them to our friends with far greater pleasure, in the belief that they are more worthy of acceptance because so expert a horseman held the same opinions as we ourselves: moreover, we shall try to explain all the points that he has omitted.

First we will give directions how best to avoid being cheated in buying a horse.

For judging an unbroken colt, the only criterion, obviously, is the body, for no clear signs of temper are to be detected in an animal that has not yet had a man on his back.

In examining his body, we say you must first look at his feet. For, just as a house is bound to be worth-

named Simon referred to in Aristophanes' Knight's 242, is just a member of the chorus, but the name probably recalls the author.
XENOPHON

οφελος ἄν εἰ, εἰ τὰ ἄνω πάνυ καλὰ ἔχοι μή ὑποκειμένων οἶων δεῖ θεμελίων, οὔτω καὶ ὑπ' ὅπου πολεμιστηρίου οὐδὲν ἄν οφελος εἰ, οὔδ' εἰ τάλλα πάντα ἁγαθὰ ἔχοι, κακότους δ' εἶπ' οὐδεὶ γὰρ ἄν δύνατο τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀρσεῖ.

3. Πόδας δ' ἄν τις δοκιμάζει πρώτον μὲν τοὺς ὄνυχας σκοπῶν' οἳ γὰρ παχεῖς πολὺ τῶν λεπτῶν διαφέρουσιν εἰς εὔποδίαν' ἐπειτα οὐδὲ τούτο δεῖ λαυθάνειν, πότερον αἱ ὅπλαι εἰσίν υψηλαὶ ἢ ταπειναὶ καὶ ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ὅπισθεν ἢ χαμηλαί. αἱ μὲν γὰρ υψηλαὶ πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ δαπέδου ἔχουσι τὴν χειλιδόνα καλουμένην, αἱ δὲ ταπειναὶ ὁμοίως βαίνουσι τῷ τε ἵσχυροτάτῳ καὶ τῷ μαλακώτατῳ τοῦ ποδός, ὃσπερ οἱ βλαιοῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ δὲ φησὶν Σίμων δήλους εἶναι τοὺς εὔποδας, καλῶς λέγων ὃσπερ γὰρ κύμβαλον ψοφεῖ πρὸς τῷ δαπέδῳ ἡ κοίλη ὀπλῆ.

4 Ἔπει δὲ ἡρξάμεθα ἐντεύθεν, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀναβησόμεθα πρὸς τὸ ἀλλο σῶμα.

Δεῖ τοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω μὲν τῶν ὅπλῶν κατωτέρω δὲ τῶν κυνηπόδων ὥστ' ὅτε ἀγαν ὄρθα εἶναι ὃσπερ αἰγός· ἀντιτυπώτερα γὰρ ὁντα κόππει τε τὸν ἀναβάτην καὶ παραπέμπεται μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα σκέλη· οὐδὲ μὴν ἀγαν ταπεινὰ τὰ ὥστ' δεὶ εἶναι· ψιλοῖτο γὰρ ἀν καὶ ἐλκοῖντο οἱ κυνηπόδες εἶτ' ἐν βάλοις εἰτ' ἐν λίθοις ἐλαύνοιτο ὁ ἄππος.

5 Τῶν γε μὴν κυνημῶν τὰ ὥστ' πα ἐὰν χρῆ εἶναι· ταύτα γὰρ ἐστὶ στήριγμας τοῦ ὁμάτος· οὐ

1 "M. Bourgelat, in his preface to the second volume of Les Elemens Hippiatriques reprehends this remark as trifling and false; and if our author is to be understood literally, the
less if the foundations are unsound, however well the upper parts may look, so a war-horse will be quite useless, even though all his other points are good, if he has bad feet; for in that case he will be unable to use any of his good points.

When testing the feet first look to the hoofs. For it makes a great difference in the quality of the feet if they are thick rather than thin. Next you must not fail to notice whether the hoofs are high both in front and behind, or low. For high hoofs have the frog, as it is called, well off the ground; but flat hoofs tread with the strongest and weakest part of the foot simultaneously, like a bow-legged man. Moreover, Simon says that the ring, too, is a clear test of good feet: and he is right; for a hollow hoof rings like a cymbal in striking the ground.

Having begun here, we will proceed upwards by successive steps to the rest of the body.

The bones (of the pastern) above the hoofs and below the fetlocks should not be too upright, like a goat’s: such legs give too hard a tread, jar the rider, and are more liable to inflammation. Nor yet should the bones be too low, else the fetlocks are likely to become bare and sore when the horse is ridden over clods or stones.

The bones of the shanks should be thick, since these are the pillars of the body; but not thick with criticism is certainly just.”—Berenger i, 221. Yet it is unlikely that Simon and X. were both mistaken.

"The pasterns (of the hackney) should neither be too oblique, which bespeaks weakness: nor too straight, which wears the horse out and is unpleasant to the rider."—Blair in Loudon’s *Agriculture*.

"Wide" would be a more suitable word.
μέντοι φλεψί γε ούδε σαρξι παχέα· εἰ δὲ μῆ, ὅταν ἐν σκληροῖς ἑλαύνηται, ἀνάγκη αἵματος ταύτα πληροῦσθαι καὶ κρισσοὺς γίγνεσθαι καὶ παχύνεσθαι μὲν τὰ σκέλη, ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τὸ δέρμα. χαλώντος δὲ τούτου πολλάκις καὶ ἡ περόνη ἀποστάσα χωλόν ἀπέδειξε τὸν ἱππόν.

6 Τά γε μὴν γόνατα ἡ βαδίζων ὁ πῶλος ύγρῶς κάμπτη, εἰκάζοις ἂν καὶ ἰππεύοντα ὑγρὰ ἔξειν τὰ σκέλη· πάντες γὰρ προίόντος τοῦ χρόνου ύγροτέρως κάμπτουσιν εἰς τοῖς γόνασι. τὰ δὲ υγρὰ δικαίως εὐδοκιμεῖ· ἀπταστότερον γὰρ καὶ ἀκοπώτερον τὸν ἱππόν τῶν σκληρῶν σκελῶν παρέχει.

7 Μηροὶ γε μέντοι οἱ ὑπὸ ταῖς ὠμοπλάταις ἦν παχεῖς ύσιν, ἱσχυρότεροι τε καὶ εὐπρεπέστεροι ὁσπερ ἁνδρὸς φαίνονται.

Καὶ μὴν στέρνα πλατύτερα ὑντα καὶ πρὸς κάλλος καὶ πρὸς ἱσχὺν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μῆ ἐπαλλὰξ ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλοῦ τὰ σκέλη φέρειν εὐφυέστερα.

8 Ἀπὸ γε μὴν τοῦ στέρνου ὁ μὲν αὐχὴν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὁσπερ κάρπου προπετῆς πεφύκοι, ἀλλ’ ὁσπερ ἀλεκτρυνόνος ὀρθὸς πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν ἤκοι, λαγαρὸς δὲ εἰὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν συγκαμπῆν, ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ ὀστώδης οὐσα μικράν σιαγόνα ἔχοι. οὕτως ο μὲν τράχηλος πρὸ τοῦ ἀναβάτου ἀν εἰη, τὸ δὲ ὄμμα τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὀρών. καὶ βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἤκιστ’ Ἀπὸ τῶν ὀτοίτων σχῆμα ἕχων καὶ εἰ πάνω θυμοειδῆς εἰη; οὐ γὰρ ἐγκάμπτοντες, ἀλλ’ ἐκτείνοντες τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν βιαζεσθαι οἱ ἱπποὶ ἐπιχειροῦντο.

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1 The Greek word means the fibula in man, but the fibula, of course, is no part of the shank in the horse. Morgan 300
ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, i. 5-8

veins nor with flesh, else when the horse is ridden over hard ground, these parts are bound to become charged with blood and varicose; the legs will swell, and the skin will fall away, and when this gets loose the pin,\(^1\) too, is apt to give way and lame the horse.

If the colt’s knees are supple when bending as he 6 walks, you may guess that his legs will be supple when he is ridden too, for all horses acquire greater suppleness at the knee as time goes on. Supple knees are rightly approved, since they render the horse less likely to stumble and tire than stiff legs.

The arms below the shoulders,\(^2\) as in man, are 7 stronger and better looking if they are thick.

A chest of some width is better formed both for appearance and for strength, and for carrying the legs well apart without crossing.

His neck should not hang downwards from the 8 chest like a boar’s, but stand straight up to the crest, like a cock’s;\(^3\) but it should be flexible at the bend; and the head should be bony, with a small cheek. Thus the neck will protect the rider, and the eye see what lies before the feet.\(^4\) Besides, a horse of such a mould will have least power of running away, be he never so high-spirited, for horses do not arch the neck and head, but stretch them out when they try to run away.

rightly says that X. writes throughout of the horse as he appears outwardly, and not of the skeleton (with which he was unacquainted), and that the allusion is to the back sinew of the shin.

\(^1\) The forearm, not the true arm, which X. includes in the chest.

\(^2\) The horse should not be “cock-throttled.”

\(^3\) He will not be a “star-gazer.”
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9 Σκοπεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ εἰ ἀμφότεραι μαλακαί αἱ γυνάθοι ἢ σκληραὶ ἢ ἢ ἔτερα. ἔτερογνωθοῦ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ μὴ ὁμοίας τὰς γυνάθους ἔχοντες γίγνονται.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ ἐξόφθαλμον εἶναι ἐγρηγορός μᾶλλον φαίνεται τοῦ κοιλοφθάλμου, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον δὲ ἀν ὁ τοιοῦτος ὁρόθη. καὶ μυκτήρες γε οἱ ἀναπεπταμένοι τῶν συμπεπττοκότων εὐπνοῶτεροί τε ἅμα εἰσὶ καὶ γοργότερον τὸν ἵππον ἀποδεικνύουσι. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ὁργίζηται ἤππος ἤππῳ ἢ ἐν ἱππασίᾳ θυμῶτα, εὐρύνει μᾶλλον τοὺς μυκτήρας.

10 Καὶ μὴν κορυφῇ μὲν μείζων, ὡτα δὲ μικρότερα ἵπποδεστέραν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποφαίνει.

'Ἡ δ' αὐὴ ψηλὴ ἀκρωμία τῷ τε ἀναβάτῃ ἀσφαλεστέραν τὴν ἔδραν καὶ τοῖς ὅμοιοι 1 ἱχυροτέραν τὴν πρόσφυσιν παρέχεται.

'Ράχις γε μὴν ἡ διπλὴ τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ ἐγκαθήσθαι μαλακωτέρα καὶ ἱδεῖν ἡδίων.

11 Καὶ πλευρὰ δὲ ἡ βαθυτέρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα ὀγκοδεστέρα ἀμα εὐεδρότερον τε καὶ ἱσχυρότερον καὶ εὐχιλότερον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

'Οσφὺς γε μὴν ὅσω δὐν πλατυτέρα καὶ βραχυτέρα ἤ, τοσοῦτω βραχὸν μὲν ὁ ἵππος τὰ πρόσθεν αἱρεταὶ, βραχὸν δὲ τὰ ὁπίσθεν προσάγεται: καὶ ὁ κενεὼν δὲ οὕτω μικρότατος φαίνεται, ὁσπερ μέγας ὁν μέρος μὲν τι καὶ αἰσχύνει, μέρος δὲ τι καὶ ἀσθενέστερον καὶ δυσφορώτερον αὐτὸν τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

12 Καὶ πλευρὰ δὲ ἡ βαθυτέρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα ὀγκοδεστέρα ἀμα εὐεδρότερον τε καὶ ἱσχυρότερον καὶ εὐχιλότερον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

13 Τὰ γε μὴν ἱσχία πλατέα μὲν εἶναι χρὴ καὶ εὐσάρκα, ἵνα ἀκόλουθα ἢ ταῖς πλευραῖς καὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἢν δὲ πάντα στερεά ἢ, κουφότερα ἄν τὰ

1 ómous Schneider: ómous kai τῷ σώματι S. with the MSS.
You should notice, too, whether both jaws are soft or hard, or only one; for horses with unequal jaws are generally unequally sensitive in the mouth.

A prominent eye looks more alert than one that is hollow, and, apart from that, it gives the horse a greater range of vision. And wide open nostrils afford room for freer breathing than close ones, and at the same time make the horse look fiercer, for whenever a horse is angry with another or gets excited under his rider, he dilates his nostrils.

A fairly large crest and fairly small ears give the more characteristic shape to a horse's head.

High withers offer the rider a safer seat and a stronger grip on the shoulders.

The double back is both softer to sit on than the single and more pleasing to the eye.

The deeper the flanks and the more swelling toward the belly, the firmer is the seat and the stronger, and as a rule, the better feeder is the horse.

The broader and shorter the loins, the more easily the horse lifts his fore quarters and the more easily he brings up his hind quarters. And, apart from that, the belly looks smallest so, and if it is big it disfigures the horse to some extent, and also makes him to some extent both weaker and clumsier.

The haunches must be broad and fleshy, that they may be in right proportion to the flanks and chest, and if they are firm all over, they will

1 "That was before the days of saddles, and horsemen had a tender interest in the double back—the characteristic back of dappled horses."—Pocock, Horses, p. 118. "Duplex agitur per lumbos spina," says Virgil (Georg. iii. 87).
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πρὸς τὸν δρόμον εἰσὶ καὶ ὀξύτερον μᾶλλον ἀν¹ τὸν ἵππον παρέχοιτο.

14 Μηροῦσ γε μὴν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ οὐρᾷ ἢν ἀμα πλατείᾳ τῇ γραμμῇ διωρισμένους ἔχῃ, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ὁπίσθεν σκέλη διὰ πολλοῦ ὑποθῆσεν τούτο δὲ ποιῶν ἀμα γοργοτέραν τε καὶ ἵσχυροτέραν ἔξει τὴν ὑπόβασιν τε καὶ ἰππασίαν καὶ ἀπαντά βελτίων ἐσται ἑαυτοῦ.² τεκμήριαυ δὲ ἂν καὶ ἂπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων. ὅταν γὰρ τι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἄρασθαι βούλωνται, διαβαίνοντες πάντες μᾶλλον ἢ συμβεβηκότες ἐπιχειροῦσιν αἰρεσθαί.

15 Τούς γε μὴν ὀρχείς δεῖ μὴ μεγάλους τὸν ἱππον ἔχειν, ὦ σὺ εἴ στι πῶλου κατιδείν.

Περὶ γε μὴν τῶν κάτωθεν ἀστραγάλων ἢ κνημῶν καὶ κυνηπόδων καὶ ὀπλῶν τὰ αὕτα λέγομεν ἀπερ περὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν.

16 Γράψαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ἔξ ὅν ἄν περὶ μεγέθους ἡκιστὰ ἀποτυγχάνοι τις. ὅτον γὰρ ἄν ὅσιν αἱ κνῆμαι εὔθυς γιγαννομένου υψηλόταται, οὕτω μέγιστος γίγνεται. προϊόντος γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων αἱ μὲν κνῆμαι εἰς μέγεθος οὐ μάλα αὔξουσι, πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἄν συμμέτρως ἔχῃ συναύξεται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα.

17 Εἴδος μὲν ὅτι πῶλον οὖτω δοκιμάζοντες μᾶλιστ᾽ ἄν ἡμῖν δοκοῦσι τυγχάνειν εὔποδος καὶ ἰσχύρος καὶ εὐσάρκος καὶ εὐχήμορος καὶ εὐμεγέθους. εἰ δὲ τινὲς αὔξανόμενοι μεταβάλλουσιν, ὄμως οὕτω

¹ ἰν Dindorf: αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄ: αὐτὸν Ὁ: ἀδ Σ. with M.
² βελτίων ἐσται ἑαυτοῦ Ἄ: βελτίων ἐσται ἑαυτὸν Ὁ: with the other MSS.

¹ He must not be "cat-hammed" (Berenger), which means that the hocks will be turned inwards. Such horses are
be lighter for running and will make the horse speedier.

If the gap that separates the hams under the tail is broad, he will also extend his hind legs well apart under his belly; and by doing that he will be more fiery and stronger when he throws himself on his haunches and when he is ridden, and will make the best of himself in all ways. One can infer this from the action of a man: for when he wants to lift anything from the ground, a man invariably tries to lift it with his legs apart rather than close together.

A horse’s stones should not be big: but it is impossible to observe this in a colt.

As for the parts below, the hocks, shin bones, fetlocks and hoofs, what we have said about the corresponding parts in the forelegs applies to these also.

I want also to explain how one is least likely to be disappointed in the matter of size. The colt that is longest in the shanks at the time he is foaled makes the biggest horse. For in all quadrupeds the shanks increase but little in size as time goes on, whereas the rest of the body grows to them, so as to be in the right proportion.

He who applies these tests to a colt’s shape is sure, in my opinion, to get a beast with good feet, strong, muscular, of the right look and the right size. If some change as they grow, still we may often good trotters (Blane), but the Greek cavalry rider did not require that.

* "For his stature this is an infallible rule that the shinne bone ... never increaseth, no not from the first foaling ... insomuch that if those bones be long and large, we are ever assured that the Foale will prove a tall and large Horse." G. Markham, *Cavalerice*, 1617.
θαρροῦντες δοκιμάζοιμεν ἃν ὕπολλῳ γὰρ πλείονες εὐχρήστου εξ αἰσχρῶν ἢ ἐκ τοιούτων αἰσχροὶ γίγνονται.

Π. "Ὅτι γε μὴν δεῖ πωλεῖν ενυπερ ήμῖν μὴ γραπτέων εἶναι. τάπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἵππεῖν οἳ τοῖς χρήμασι τε ἱκανῶτατοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μετέχοντες· πολὺ δὲ κρείττον τοῦ πωλοδόμην εἶναι τῷ μὲν νέῳ εὐνεχίας τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτικὴν ἐπισταμένῳ ἦδη ἐπιπάζεσθαι μελετᾶν· τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ τοῦ τε οἴκου καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμφὶ 2 πώλεσιν διατρίβειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὦστερ ἐγὼ γιγνώσκων περὶ πωλείας δῆλον ὅτι ἐκδώσει τὸν πώλων. χρὴ μὲντοι ὦστερ τὸν παίδα ὅταν ἐπὶ τέχνῃ ἐκδίκω, συγγραφάμενον δὲ δεῖσαι ἐπιστάμενον ἀποδούναι ὦς ἔκδικων. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπομνῆμα ἢ ἐσται τῷ πωλοδόμῃ ἡν δεὶ ἐπιμεληθῆναι, εἰ μέλλει τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι.

3 "Ὅτι γε μέντοι πρᾶός τε καὶ χειροθής καὶ φιλανθρωπος ὁ πῶλος ἐκδικῶται τῷ πωλοδόμην, ἐπιμελητέουν. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον οὐκ οἷον τε τὰ πλείστα καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἵπποκομοῦ ἀποτελεῖται, ἢν ἐπιστήται τὸ μὲν πεινὴν καὶ διψήν καὶ μυστίζεσθαι παρασκευάζειν μετ’ ἔρημος γίγνεσθαι τῷ πῶλῳ, τὸ δὲ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ τῶν λυποῦντων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι δι’ ἀνθρώπων. τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον φιλεῖσθαι ἅλλα καὶ ποθεῖσθαι

4 ὑπὸ πώλων ἀνθρώπως. καὶ ἀπτεσθαι δὲ χρὴ

1 ἃν, added by Dindorf, is wanting in S.
2 εὐχρήστοι Schneider: εὐχράστοι S. with the MSS.
3 ἐπιτικὴν ἐν (sic) Α: ἐπιτικῆς ἢ S. with the other MSS.

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confidently rely on these tests, for it is far commoner for an ugly colt to make a useful horse than for a colt like this to turn out ugly.

II. We do not think it necessary to give directions for breaking a colt. For in our states the cavalry are recruited from those who have ample means and take a considerable part in the government. And it is far better for a young man to get himself into condition and when he understands the art of horsemanship to practise riding than to be a horse-breaker; and an older man had far better devote himself to his estate and his friends and affairs of state and of war than spend his time in horse-breaking. So he who shares my opinion about horse-breaking will, of course, send his colt out. Still he should put in writing what the horse is to know when he is returned, just as when he apprentices his son to a profession. For these articles will serve as notes to remind the horse-breaker of what he must attend to if he is to get his money.

Still, care must be taken that the colt is gentle, tractable, and fond of man when he is sent to the horse-breaker. That sort of business is generally done at home through the groom, if he knows how to contrive that hunger and thirst and horseflies are associated by the colt with solitude, while eating and drinking and delivery from irritation come through man's agency. For in these circumstances a foal is bound not only to like men, but to hanker after them. One should also handle those parts in

1 Or, perhaps, "to give many directions." Something is lost in the MSS., in which the υι (added by Courier) does not appear.

4 υπομνήματα AB: υποδηλήματα S. with M.
ων ψηλαφωμένων ο άππος μάλιστα ήδεται·

taúta d' éstí tā te lασιώτατα kai ois aútops

ήκιστα δύναται ο άππος, ἢν τι λυπή αύτών,

5 ἐπικουρεῖν. προστετάξω δὲ τῷ ἰπποκόμῳ καὶ
tὸ δι' ὄχλου διάγειν καὶ παντοδαπαῖς μὲν ὄψει
pαντοδαποῖς δὲ ψόφοις πλησιάζειν. τούτων δὲ

ὀπόσα ἄν ο πώλος φοβήται, οὐ χαλεπαίνοντα δεί,

ἀλλὰ πραύνοντα διδάσκειν, ὅτι οὐ δεινά ἐστι.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν πωλείας ἄρκειν μοι δοκεῖ τῷ

ἵδιώτῃ εἰπεῖν τοσάύτα πράττειν.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΝΝ ΜΗ ΛΑΘΕΤΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ, ΤΙΣ Ἡ

ηλικίαι· ο γὰρ μηκέτι ἐχὼν γνώμονας οὔτ' ἐλπίσιν εὐφραίνει οὔτε ὅμοιως εὐσπάλλακτος

γίγνεται.

2 Ὅποτε δὲ ἡ νεότης σαφῆς, δεῖ αὐτῇ λαθεῖν, πῶς

μὲν εἰς τὸ στόμα δέχεται τὸν χαλινόν, πῶς δὲ

περὶ τὰ ὦτα τὴν κορυφαίαν. ταύτα δ' ἡκιστ' ἄν

λανθάνοι, εἰ ὀρθῶντος μὲν τὸν ὄνουμένου ἐμβάλ-

λοιτο ὁ χαλινός, ὀρθῶντος δ' ἐξαιροῖτο.

3 Ἡσπειτά δὲ προσέχειν δει τὸν νοῦν, πῶς ἐπὶ τὸν

νώτον δέχεται τὸν ἀναβάτην. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἰπποῖ

χαλεπῶς προσίενται ἃ πρόδηλα αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ὅτι

προσέμενοι πονεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται.

4 Σκεπτέον δὲ καὶ τὸδε, εἰ ἀναβαθείς ἔθελει ἀφ'

ἵππων ἀποχωρεῖν ἢ εἰ παρ' ἐστηκότας ἰππεύων

μὴ ἐκφέρει πρὸς τούτοις. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ διὰ

1 The knowledge of the teeth as a criterion of age is

rudimentary.
which the horse likes most to be cherished, that is to say the hairiest parts and those where the horse has least power of helping himself, if anything worries him. Let the groom be under orders also to lead him through crowds, and accustom him to all sorts of sights and all sorts of noises. If the colt shies at any of them, he must teach him, by quieting him and without impatience, that there is nothing to be afraid of.

I think that the directions I have given on the subject of horse-breaking are sufficient for the private person.

III. In case the intention is to buy a horse already ridden, we will write out some notes that the buyer must thoroughly master if he is not to be cheated over his purchase.

First, then, he must not fail to ascertain the age. A horse that has shed all his milk teeth does not afford much ground for pleasing expectations, and is not so easily got rid of. If he is clearly a youngster, one must notice further how he receives the bit in his mouth and the headstall about his ears. This may best be noticed if the buyer sees the bridle put on and taken off again.

Next, attention must be paid to his behaviour when he receives the rider on his back. For many horses will not readily accept a thing if they know beforehand that, if they accept it, they will be forced to work.

Another thing to be observed is whether when mounted he is willing to leave his companions, or whether in passing standing horses he does not bolt towards them. Some too, in consequence of bad
κακήν ἁγωγήν πρὸς τὰς ὀικαδὲ ἀφόδους φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἱππασιῶν.

5 Τούς γε μὴν ἑτερογνάθους μηνύει μὲν καὶ ἡ πέδη καλουμένη ἱππασία, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἱππασίαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγχειροῦσιν ἐκφέρειν, ἣν μὴ ἁμα συμβῆ ἢ τε ἀδικος γνάθος καὶ ἡ πρὸς οἶκον ἐκφορά. δεῖ γε μὴν εἰδέναι καὶ εἰ ἄφεθεῖς εἰς τὰχος ἀναλαμβάνεται ἐν βραχεί καὶ εἰ ἀποστρέφεσθαι θέλει. άγαθον δὲ μὴ ἀπειρον εἶναι, εἰ καὶ πληγῇ ἐγερθεῖς θέλει δομοῖς πείθεσθαι. ἀχρηστον μὲν γὰρ δῆπον καὶ οἰκέτης καὶ στράτευμα ἂπειθεῖς ἵπποσ δὲ ἂπείθῆς οὐ μόνον ἀχρηστος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καὶ ὀσαπερ προδότης διαπράττεται.

6 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολεμιστήριον ἵππον ὑπεθέμεθα ὠνείσθαι, ληπτέον πεῖραν ἀπάντων, ὀσωνπερ καὶ ὁ πόλεμος πεῖραν λαμβάνει. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα, τάφρους διαπηδῶν, τειχία ὑπερβαινειν, ἐπ’ ὀχθους ἀνορούνειν, ἀπ’ ὀχθων καθάλλεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀναντες δὲ καὶ κατὰ πρανοὺς καὶ πλάγια ἐλαύνοντα πεῖραν λαμβάνειν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα εἰ ὑγιὲς βασανίζει.

7 Οὐ μέντοι τὸν μὴ καλῶς πάνυ ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἀποδοκιμαστέον. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀπειροὶ εἶναι τούτων ἔλλειπονται. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐθισθέντες καὶ μελετήσαντες καλῶς ἀν ταῦτα πάντα ποιοῖεν, εἰ 310
training run away from the riding ground to the paths that lead home.

A horse with jaws unequally sensitive is detected by the exercise called the "ring," but much more by changing the exercise. For many do not attempt to bolt unless they have a bad mouth, and the road along which they can bolt home gives them their chance. It is likewise necessary to know whether, when going at full speed he can be pulled up sharp, and whether he turns readily. And it is well to make sure whether he is equally willing to obey when roused by a blow. For a disobedient servant and a disobedient army are of course useless; and a disobedient horse is not only useless, but often behaves just like a traitor.

As we have assumed that the horse to be bought is designed for war, he must be tested in all the particulars in which he is tested by war. These include springing across ditches, leaping over walls, rushing up banks, jumping down from banks. One must also try him by riding up and down hill and on a slope. All these experiments prove whether his spirit is strong and his body sound.

Nevertheless, it is not necessary to reject a horse that is not perfect in these trials. For many break down in these not from want of ability, but from lack of experience. With teaching, use and discipline they will perform all these exercises well,

1 i.e. the "volte"; see note at c. vii. § 13.
2 i.e. by riding on the other hand. The allusion, as Hermann saw, is not to the inverted volte.
3 The meaning is, that if, for example, the road on the right leads home, the horse with a more sensitive right jaw will try to bolt down it.
9 γ' ἀλλως ὑγιεὺς καὶ μὴ κακοὶ εἶν. τοὺς γε μέντοι ὑπόττας φύσει φυλακτέουν. οἱ γὰρ ὑπέρφοβοι βλάπτειν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἂφ’ ἐαυτῶν οὐκ ἕωσι, τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἐσφηλάν τε πολλάκις καὶ εἰς τὰ χαλεπώτερα ἐνέβαλον.

10 Δεῖ δὲ καὶ εἰ τινα χαλεπότητα ἔχοι ὁ ἵππος, καταμανθάνειν, εἴτε πρὸς ἵππους εἴτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ εἰ δυσγάργαλίς γε εἰήν πάντα γὰρ ταύτα χαλέπτα τοῖς κεκτημένοις γίγνεται.

11 Τὰς δὲ γε τῶν χαλινώσεων καὶ ἀναβάσεων ἀποκωλύσεις καὶ τάλλα δὴ 1 νεύματα πολύ ἄν ἐτί μᾶλλον καταμάθοι τις, εἰ πεποιηκότος ἥδη τοῦ ἵππου πάλιν πειρώτο ποιεῖν ταύτα ὅσα περὶ ἄρξασθαι ἵππεῖν. ὦςοι δ’ ἄν πεποιηκότες ἔθελωσι πάλιν πόνους ὑποδύεσθαι, ἱκανά τεκμήρια παρέχονται ταύτα ψυχῆς καρτερᾶς.

12 Ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ὅστις εὐποροῦσ μὲν εἰη, πρῶς δε, ἀρκούντως δὲ ποδώκης, ἐθέλοι δὲ καὶ δύνατο πόνους ὑποφέρειν, πεῖθοιτο δὲ μάλιστα, οὕτως ἄν εἰκότως ἀλυπότατός τ’ εἰη καὶ σωτηρώτατος τῷ ἀμβάτῃ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἢ διὰ βλακείαν ἐλάσεως πολλῆς δεόμενοι ἢ διὰ τὸ ὑπέρθυμοι εἶναι πολλῆς θωπείας τε καὶ πραγματείας ἀσχολιάν μὲν ταῖς χεριὶ τοῦ ἀναβάτου παρέχοσιν, ἀθυμίαν δ’ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις.

IV. "Ὅταν γε μὴν ἀγασθεῖς ἵππον πρὶν πάρῃ τις καὶ οἴκαδε ἀγάγηται, καλὸν μὲν ἐν τοιούτῳ τῆς οἰκίας τῶν σταθμὸν εἶναι, ὅποιν πλευστάκις ὁ δεσπότης ὄψεται τὸν ἵππον ἀγαθὸν δ’ οὕτω κατεσκευάσθαι τὸν ἵππονα, ὅστε μηδὲν μᾶλλον οἶνον τ’ εἶναι τὸν τοῦ ἱπποῦ σῖτον κλαπήναι ἐκ

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provided they are otherwise sound and not faulty. But one should beware of horses that are naturally shy. For timid horses give one no chance of using them to harm the enemy, and often throw their rider and put him in a very awkward situation.

It is necessary also to find out whether the horse has any vice towards horses or towards men, and whether he will not stand tickling: for all these things prove troublesome to the owner.

As regards objection to being bridled or mounted, and the other reactions, there is a much better way still of detecting these, namely, by trying to do over again, after the horse has finished his work, just what one did before starting on the ride. All horses that are willing after their work to do another spell thereby give sufficient proofs of a patient temper.

To sum up: the horse that is sound in his feet, gentle and fairly speedy, has the will and the strength to stand work, and, above all, is obedient, is the horse that will, as a matter of course, give least trouble and the greatest measure of safety to his rider in warfare. But those that want a lot of driving on account of their laziness, or a lot of coaxing and attention on account of their high spirit, make constant demands on the rider's hands and rob him of confidence in moments of danger.

IV. When a man has found a horse to his mind, bought him and taken him home, it is well to have the stable so situated with respect to the house that his master can see him very often; and it is a good plan to have the stall so contrived that it will be as difficult to steal the horse's fodder out of the manger

1 For δὴ νεύματα S. reads δινεύματα, a conjecture of Stephanus (δεινεύματα some inferior MSS.)
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τῆς φάτνης ἢ τῶν τοῦ δεσπότου ἐκ τοῦ ταμιεῦν. ο.addAll ἐπὶ τούτου ἀμελῶν ἐμοί μὲν ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖ ἀμελεῖν. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα τῷ ἵππῳ ὁ δεσπότης παρακατατίθεται.

2 ἔστι δὲ οὐ μόνον τοῦ μὴ κλέπτεσθαι ἕνεκα τὸν σῖτου ἁγαθὸς ὁ ἑχυρὸς ἵππων, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὅταν πὴ ἐκκομίζῃ τὸν σῖτου ὁ ἵππος, φανερῶν γίγνεται. τούτου δ' ἂν τὶς αἰσθόμενος γιγνώσκοι, ὅτι ἢ τὸ σῶμα ὑπεραιμοῦν δεῖται θεραπεῖας ἢ κόπου ἐνόντος δεῖται ἀναπαύσεως ἢ κριθίασις ἢ ἄλλη τις ἀρρωστία ὑποδύεται. ἔστι δ' ὦσπερ ἄνθρωπῳ ὦτῳ καὶ ἵππῳ ἀρχόμενα πάντα εὐιατότερα ἢ ἑπειδὰν ἑνσκιρρωθῇ τε καὶ ἐξαμαρτηθῇ τὰ νοσήματα.

3 ὢσπερ δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ σῖτου τε καὶ γυμνασίων ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως ἄν τὸ σῶμα ἴσχυ, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀσκητέον. τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ύγρα τε καὶ λεια τῶν σταθμῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ταῖς εὐφύσειν ὀπλαῖς. δεῖ δὲ, ὡς μὲν μὴ ἢ ύγρά, εἶναι ἀπόρρυστα, ὡς δὲ μὴ λεῖα, λίθους ἔχουν κατοργυμένους προσαλλῆλους παραπλησίους ὀπλαῖς τὸ μέγεθος. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σταθμὰ καὶ ἐφεστηκότων ἀμα στερεοὶ τοὺς πόδας.

4 Ἐπειτά γε μὴν τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ ἔξακτεον μὲν τὸν ἵππον ὅπου ψῆξει, μεταδετέον δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἀριστον ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης, ἵν' ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὸ δεὶπνον ἢ. ὡδὲ δ' ἂν αὐτὸ ὁ ἔξω σταθμὸς βέλτιστος εἶη καὶ τοὺς πόδας κρατύνοι, εἰ λίθων στρογγύλων ἀμφιδόχμων ὕσον μυαλῶν ἀμάξας τέτταρας καὶ 314
as the master’s victuals from the larder. He who neglects this seems to me to neglect himself; for it is plain that in danger the master entrusts his life to his horse. But a well-secured stall is not only good for preventing theft of the fodder but also because one can see when the horse spills his food. And on noticing this one may be sure that either his body is overfull of blood and needs treatment or that the horse is over-worked and wants rest, or that colic or some other ailment is coming on. It is the same with horses as with men: all distempers in the early stage are more easily cured than when they have become chronic and have been wrongly treated.

Just as the food and exercise of the horse must be attended to in order that he may keep sound, so his feet must be cared for. Now damp and slippery floors ruin even well-formed hoofs. In order that they may not be damp, the floors should have a slope to carry off the wet, and, that they may not be slippery, they should be paved all over with stones, each one about the size of the hoof. Such floors, indeed, have another advantage because they harden the feet of the horses standing on them.

To take the next point: the groom must lead out the horse to clean him, and must loose him from the stall after the morning feed, that he may return to his evening feed with more appetite. Now the stable-yard will be of the best form and will strengthen the feet if he throws down and spreads over it four or five loads of round stones, the size of a fist, about a pound

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1 The text of this sentence is conjectural; and it is thought that some words are lost before Τὰ γὰρ and after σταθμα in the next.
πέντε χύδην καταβάλλοι, περιχειλώσας σιδήρω, ὡς ἀν μὴ σκεδασμόνωται· ἐτὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐστηκὼς ὁσπερ ἐν ὅδῳ λιθώδει ἀεὶ ἀν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας πορεύοντο. ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ ψηχόμενον καὶ μυωπί-
ζόμενον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ὀπλαῖς καθάπερ ὅταν βαδίζῃ, καὶ τὰς χελιδόνας δὲ τῶν ποδῶν οὐτω κεχυμένωι λίθοι στερεοῦσιν.

Ὡς δὲ περὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὅπως καρτεραί ἐσονται, οὕτως καὶ περὶ τῶν στομάτων ὅπως μαλακά ἔσται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεὶ. τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ ἀνθρώπου τε σάρκα καὶ ἰππὸν στόμα ἀπαλύνει.

V. Ἰππικοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἡμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἰπποκόμον πεπαιδεύσθαι ἃ δεὶ περὶ τὸν ἰππὸν πράττειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν τῆς ἐπιφανείας φορβειᾶς ἐπιστασθαι αὐτὸν δεὶ μὴ ποτὲ τὸ ἀμμα ποιεῖσθαι ἐνθαπὲρ ἡ κορυφαῖα περιτίθεται. πολλάκις γὰρ κυρίων ὁ ἰππὸς ἐπὶ τῇ φάτνῃ τῆς κεφαλῆς, εἰ μὴ ἀσινης ἢ φορβειᾶ περὶ τὰ ὡτα ἔσται, πολλάκις ἀν ἐλκη ποιοῖ. ἐλκουμένων γε μὴν τούτων ἀνά-
γκη τὸν ἰππὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ χαλινοῦσθαι καὶ περὶ 2 τὸ ψῆχεσθαι δυσκολώτερον εἶναι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τεταχθαι τῷ ἰπποκόμῳ καθ’ ἡμέραν τὴν κόπρον καὶ τὰ ὑποστρώματα τοῦ ἰπποῦ ἐκφέρειν εἰς ἐν χωρίον. τούτο γὰρ ποιῶν αὐτὸς τ’ ἀν ράστα 3 ἀπαλλάττοι καὶ ἀμα τὸν ἰππὸν ὄφελοι. εἰδέ-
ναι δὲ χρῆ τὸν ἰπποκόμον καὶ τὸν κημὸν περι-
tιθέναι τῷ ἰππῷ καὶ όταν ἐπὶ ψῆξιν καὶ όταν ἐπὶ καλόστραν ἔξαγην. καὶ αἰ δὲ ὅποι ἀν ἀχα-
λίνωτον ἀγη κημοῦν δεί. ο̣ γὰρ κημὸς ἀνάπνειν μὲν ὦ κωλύει, δάκνειν δὲ οὐκ ἐδὴ καὶ τὸ ἐπι-

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in weight, and surrounds them with a border of iron so that they may not be scattered. Standing on these will have the same effect as if the horse walked on a stone road for some time every day. When he is being rubbed down and teased with flies he is bound to use his hoofs in the same way as when he walks. The frogs also are hardened by stones scattered in this way.

The same care must be taken to make his mouth tender as to harden his hoofs. This is done by the same methods as are employed to soften human flesh.

V. It is a mark of a good horseman, in our opinion, to see that his groom, like himself, is instructed in the way in which he should treat the horse.

First then the man ought to know that he should never make the knot in the halter at the point where the headstall is put on. For if the halter is not easy about the ears, the horse will often rub his head against the manger and may often get sores in consequence. Now if there are sore places thereabouts the horse is bound to be restive both when he is bridled and when he is rubbed down. It is well also for the groom to have orders to remove the dung and litter daily to one and the same place. For by doing this he will get rid of it most easily and at the same time relieve the horse. The groom must also know about putting the muzzle on the horse when he takes him out to be groomed or to the rolling-place. In fact he must always put the muzzle on when he leads him anywhere without a bridle.\footnote{The muzzle appears on several Greek vases. The Greek horse was given to biting.} For the muzzle prevents him from biting without hampering his breathing; and moreover, when it is put on, it
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βουλεύειν δὲ περικείμενος μᾶλλον ἐξαιρεῖ τῶν ἱππῶν.

4 Καὶ μὴν δεσμεύειν τῶν ἱππῶν ἀνωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς δεί. πάντα γὰρ ὅποσα ἄν δύσκολο γεῖνειν τὸ πρόσωπον ὃ ἵππος ἐκνεύειν πέφυκεν ἄνω. ἐκνεύων γε μὴν οὕτω δεδεμένος χαλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ διαστὰ τὰ δεσμά.

5 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ψῆχῃ, ἀρχεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς χαίτης μὴ γὰρ καθαρῶν τῶν ἀνω ὄντων μάταιον τὰ κάτω καθαίρειν, ἐπειτὰ δέ κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς καθάρσεως ὀργάνοις ἀνιστάντα δεῖ τὴν τρίχα σοβείν οὐκ ἔτι κατὰ 1 φύσιν τῆς τριχός τῶν ὃ ἐν τῇ ράχῃ τριχῶν ἀλλὰ μὲν ὀργάνῳ οὐδενὶ δεὶ ἀπτεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ χερᾶς τρίπειν καὶ ἀπαλύνειν ἃπερ φύσει κέκλυται. ἥκιστα

6 γὰρ ἀν βλάπτω τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ ἱπποῦ. ὑδατὶ δὲ καταπλύνειν τὴν κεφαλῆν χρῆ. ὀστώδης γὰρ οὖσα εἰ σιδήρῳ ἢ ξύλῳ καθαίροιτο, λυποῖ ἄν τὸν ἱπποῦ. καὶ τὸ προκόμιον δὲ χρῆ βρέχειν καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ εὑμήκεις οὖσαν αἱ τρίχαι ὁρᾶν μὲν ὅπερ κολύσουσι τὸν ἱπποῦ, ἀποσοβοῦσὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φθαλμῶν τὰ λυποῦντα. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ οἰεσθαι χρῆ δεδωκέναι ταῦτας τὰς τρίχας ἵππῳ ἄντι τῶν μεγάλων ὠτῶν, ἃ ὅνοι τε καὶ ἡμιόνοις

7 ἔδοσαν ἀλεξητηρία πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων. καὶ οὐρῶν δὲ καὶ χαίτιν πλύνειν χρῆ, ἔπειπερ αὐξεῖν δεὶ τὰς τρίχας, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ οὐρᾶ, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστοι εἰκονούμενος ἀποσβηθεῖς ὁ ἱππος τὰ λυποῦντα, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ τραχύλῳ ὅπως τῷ ἀμβάτῃ

8 ὡς ἀφθονωτάτῃ ἀντιληψεῖ φέ. δέδοται δὲ παρὰ

1 κατὰ MSS.: οὐ κατὰ S. with Gesner.

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goes far towards preventing any propensity to mischief.

He should tie up the horse at a place above the head, because when anything irritates his face, the horse instinctively tries to get rid of it by tossing his head upwards; and if he is tied thus he loosens the halter instead of breaking it by tossing up his head.

In rubbing the horse down, the man should start at the head and mane; for if the upper parts are not clean, it is idle to clean his lower parts. Next, going over the rest of his body, he should make the hair stand up with all the dressing instruments, and get the dust out by rubbing him the way the hair lies. But he should not touch the hair on the backbone with any instrument; he should rub and smooth it down with the hands the way it naturally grows; for so he will be least likely to injure the rider's seat. He must wash the head well with water, for, as it is bony, to clean it with iron or wood would hurt the horse. He must also wet the forelock, for this tuft of hair, even if pretty long, does not obstruct his sight, but drives from his eyes anything that worries them; and we must presume that the gods have given the horse this hair in lieu of the long ears that they have given to asses and mules as a protection to their eyes. He should also wash the tail and mane, for growth of the tail is to be encouraged in order that the horse may be able to reach as far as possible and drive away anything that worries him, and growth of the mane in order to give the rider as good a hold as possible. Besides, the mane, forelock and tail have been

1 The instructions are rather vague.
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θεδων και ἀγαλαίας ἐνεκα ἵππῳ χαίτη καὶ προκόμιον τε καὶ οὐρά. τεκμῆρον δὲ· αἱ γὰρ ἀγελαίαι τῶν ἵππων οὐχ ὀμοίως ὑπομένουσι τοὺς ὄνους ἐπὶ τῇ ὀχείᾳ, ἕως ἂν κομῇσιν· οὐ ἐνεκα καὶ ἀποκείρουσι πρὸς τὴν ὀχείαν τὰς ἵππους ἀπαντες οἱ ὑνοβατοῦντες.

9 Τῇν γε μὴν τῶν σκελῶν κατάπλυσιν ἀφαιροῦμεν· ὥφεληε μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν, βλάπτει δὲ τὰς ὀπλὰς ἦ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν βρέξις. καὶ τῇν ὑπὸ γαστέρα δὲ ἀγαν κάθαρσιν μειών ὑψη· αὐτὴ γὰρ λυπεί μὲν μάλιστα τὸν ἵππον, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν καθαρώτερα ταῦτα γένηται, τοσοῦτο πλείονα τὰ λυποῦντα ἀθροίζει ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα· ἦν δὲ καὶ πάνυ διαποιήσηται τις ταῦτα, οὐ φθάνει τε ἐξαγόμενος ὁ ἵππος καὶ εὐθὺς ὀμοίος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐὰν χρῆ ἀρκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν σκελῶν ψήξις αὐταῖς ταῖς χερσὶ γεγυμομένη.

VI. Δηλώσομεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥς ἄν ἄβλαβέστατα μὲν τις ἐαυτῷ, τῷ δ' ἵππῳ ὥφελμιστατα ψήχοι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ βλέπων τῷ ἵππῳ καθαίρῃ, κίνδυνον καὶ τῷ ὑγινατί καὶ τῇ ὀπλῇ 2 εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον πληγήματι· ἦν δὲ ἀντία τῷ ἵππῳ ὀρῶν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ σκέλους, ὅταν καθαίρῃ, κατὰ τὴν ὀμοπλάτην καθίζων ἀποτρίβῃ, οὕτω πάθοι μὲν ἄν οὐδέν, δύνατο δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν χειλιδώνα τοῦ ἵππου θεραπεύειν ἀναπτύσσων τὴν ὀπλήν. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ὀπισθεν σκέλη καθαρέτω.

1 Several allusions to this erroneous belief of the Greeks are collected by the commentators.
2 The text shows that the parts washed were not
given to the horse by the gods as an ornament. A proof of this is that brood mares herding together, so long as they have fine manes,¹ are reluctant to be covered by asses; for which reason all breeders of mules cut off the manes of the mares for covering.

Washing down of the legs we disapprove of; it does no good, and the hoofs are injured by being wetted every day. Excessive cleaning under the belly also should be diminished; for this worries the horse very much, and the cleaner these parts are, the more they collect under the belly things offensive to it;² and notwithstanding all the pains that may be taken with these parts, the horse is no sooner led out than he looks much the same as an unwashed animal. So these operations should be omitted; and as for the rubbing of the legs, it is enough to do it with the bare hands.

VI. We will now show how one may rub down a horse with least danger to oneself and most advantage to the horse. If in cleaning him³ the man faces in the same direction as the horse, he runs the risk of getting a blow in the face from his knee and his hoof. But if he faces in the opposite direction to the horse and sits by the shoulder out of reach of his leg when he cleans him, and rubs him down so, then he will come to no harm, and can also attend to the horse's frog by lifting up the hoof.⁴ Let him do exactly the same in cleaning the hind-legs. thoroughly dried: indeed, efficient drying cloths were not used. See Pollux i. 185.

³ What follows refers to cleaning the fore-legs, to which a reference has doubtless dropped out of the text.

⁴ On the vase referred to in the Introduction (p. xxxiv) the groom examining his frog is crouching under the horse and facing the same way.
3 εἴδέναι δὲ χρῆ τὸν περὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τάλλα πάντα, ὅσα πράττειν δεῖ, ὡς ἥκιστα χρῆ κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπον τε καὶ οὐράν ποιήσοντα προσέναι· ἦν γὰρ ἐπιχειρῆ ἀδικεῖν, κατ’ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα κριῆττον ὁ ἵππος ἄνθρωπον. ἐκ πλαγίων δ’ ἄν τις προσιῶν ἀβλαβέστατα μὲν ἑαυτῷ, κάλλιστα ¹ δ’ ἄν ἵππῳ δύνατο χρῆσθαι.

4 Ἑστιδάν γε μὴν ἄγειν δεὴ τὸν ἵππον, τὴν μὲν ὁπισθεν ἀγωγὴν διὰ τάδε οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἄγοντι οὕτως ἥκιστα ἔστι φυλάξασθαι, τῷ δὲ ἵππῳ οὕτως μάλιστα ἔξεστι ποιῆσαι τί τι ἄν

5 βούληται. τὸ δ’ αὖ ἐμπροσθὲν μακρῷ τῷ ἀγωγῷ προίόντα διδάσκειν ψηφιεῖσθαι τὸν ἵππον διὰ τάδε αὖ ψέγομεν. ἔξεστι μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καθ’ ὅποτερ’ ἂν βούληται τῶν πλαγίων κακοῦργεῖν, ἔξεστι δὲ ἀναστρεφόμενον ἄντιον γίγνεσθαι τῷ

6 ἄγοντι. ἀθρόοι δὲ δὴ ἵπποι πῶς ἂν ποτε ἀλλήλων δύναντο ἀπέχεσθαι οὕτως ἁγόμενοι; ἐκ πλαγίων δὲ ἵππος ἐθισθεὶς παράγεσθαι ἥκιστα μὲν ἂν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἄνθρωπους δύναι τὰν κακοῦργεῖν, κάλλιστα δ’ ἂν παρεσκευασμένοι τὸ ἀναβάτη εἰὴ καὶ εἰ ποτε ἐν τάχει ἀναβῆναι δεῖσειν.

7 Ἡνα δὲ ὁ ἰπποκόμος καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ὀρθῶς ἐμβάλῃ. πρῶτον μὲν προσίτω κατὰ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν ἡνίας περιβαλὼν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταθέτω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρωμίᾳ, τὴν δὲ κορυφαίαν τῇ δεξιᾷ αἱρέτω, τὸ δὲ στόμου τῇ

8 ἀριστερᾶ προσφερέτω. κἂν μὲν δέχηται, δῆλον ὅτι περιτιθέναι δεὶ τὸν κεκρυφαλὸν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑποχύσῃ, ἔχοντα δεὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὀδούς τὸν χαλινὸν τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς

¹ κάλλιστα Herderen: πλείστα S. with the MSS.
The man employed about the horse is to know that in these operations and in all that he has to do he must be very chary of approaching from the head or tail to do his work. For if the horse attempts to show mischief he has the man in his power in both these directions; but if he approaches from the side he can manage the horse with least danger to himself and in the best manner.

When it is necessary to lead the horse, we do not approve of leading him behind one for this reason, that the man leading him is then least able to take care of himself while the horse has the utmost freedom to do whatever he chooses. On the other hand we also disapprove of training the horse to go in front on a long lead for the following reasons: the horse has the power of misbehaving on either side as he chooses, and has also the power of turning round and facing his driver. And if several horses together are driven in this fashion, how can they possibly be kept from interfering with one another? But a horse that is accustomed to being led from the side will have least power of doing harm either to horses or to men, and will be in the handiest position for the rider should he want to mount quickly.

In order to put the bit in properly, first let the groom approach on the near side of the horse. Then let him throw the reins over the head and drop them on the withers, and next lift the headstall with the right hand and offer the bit with the left. If he takes the bit, of course the bridle should be put on. But if he refuses to open his mouth, the man must hold the bit to his teeth and put the thumb of
eisw tís γυνάθου τῷ ἵππῳ ποιήσαι. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τούτων γυμνομένου χαλώσι τὸ στόμα. ἦν δὲ μηδ’ οὕτω δέχηται, πιεσάτω τὸ χείλος περὶ τῷ κυνόδοτι καὶ πάνυ τινὲς ὅλγοι οὐ δέχονται
9 τοῦτο πάσχοντες. δεδιδάχθω δὲ καὶ τάδε ὁ ἵπποκόμος, πρῶτον μὲν μῆποτε ἄγειν τῆς ἡμέρας τὸν ἵππον τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπερωγνόθουσα ποιεῖ ἐπείτα δὲ ὁσον δεὶ ἀπέχειν τὸν χαλινών τῶν γυναθῶν. ομεν γὰρ ἄγαν πρὸς αὐταῖς τυλοὶ τὸ στόμα, ὥστε μὴ ευαίσθητον εἶναι, ὃ δὲ ἄγαν εἰς ἀκρόν τὸ στόμα καθιέμενος ἔξουσιαν παρέχει συνδάκνοντι
10 τὸ στόμιον μὴ πείθεσθαι. χρῆ δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ τὰ τοιάδε παρατηρεῖν, εἰ μὴ δρᾶίως τὸν χαλινών ὁ ἵππος δέχεται, αἰσθανόμενος ὤτι 1 δεῖ πονεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐθέλειν τὸν ἵππον τὸν χαλινών, ὥς μὴ δεχόμενος
11 παντάπασιν ἀχρήστος. ἦν δὲ μὴ μόνον ὅταν πονεῖν μέλλῃ χαλινώτατι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἔπὶ τὸν σῖτον καὶ ὅταν ἔξ ἴππασίας εἰς οἰκον ἀπάγηται, ὁδὲν ἀν εἰς θαυμαστὸν, εἰ ἀρπάζοι 2 τὸν χαλινών
αὐτόματος προτεινόμενον.

12 Ἠγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ ἀναβάλλειν ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς Περσικοὺς τρόπουν, ὅπως αὐτὸς τε ὁ δεσπότης, ἦν ποτε ἀρρωστήσῃ ἢ πρεσβύτερος γένηται, ἔχῃ τὸν εὖπετῶς ἀναβιβάζοντα καὶ ἀλλῷ ἦν τούς βούληται τὸν ἀναβαλοῦντα ἐπιχαρίσηται.

13 Τὸ δὲ μῆποτε σὺν ὀργῇ τῷ ἵππῳ προσφέρεσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ δίδαγμα καὶ ἔθισμα πρὸς ἴππον ἀριστον. ἀπρονόητον γὰρ ἡ ὀργή, ὥστε πολ-

1 ἵπποκόμον . . . ὤτι Α: the other MSS. have παραξύνθα, for the παρατηρεῖν of AB; all but Α omit μη . . . αἰσθανόμενος, and have τι for ὤτι: S. adds ἴππον μὴ κατὰ τοιάδε παραχύνθα, εἰ τι between τὸν and δεῖ.

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the left hand in the horse's jaw. Most horses open the mouth when this is done. If he still resists, the man should squeeze his lip against the tusk; and very few resist when they are treated in this way. The groom should also be instructed in the following 9 points: first, never to lead the horse on the rein—that gives the horse a hard mouth on one side—and secondly, what is the correct distance from the bit to the jaws. For if it is too high up, it hardens the mouth so that it loses its sensitiveness; and if it lies too low in the mouth, it gives the horse power to take it between his teeth and refuse to obey. The groom must also pay some attention to such points as the following: whether the horse will not easily take the bit when he knows that he has work to do. Willingness to receive the bit is, in fact, so important that a horse that refuses it is quite useless. But if he is bridled not only when he is going to be ridden, but also when he is taken to his food and when he is led home from exercise, it would not be at all surprising if he seized the bit of his own accord when offered to him.

It is well for the groom to know how to give a leg-up in the Persian fashion,¹ so that his master himself, in case he is indisposed or is getting old may have someone to put him up conveniently, and may, if he wishes, oblige his friend with a man to give him a lift-up.

The one best rule and practice in dealing with a horse is never to approach him in anger; for anger is a reckless thing, so that it often makes a man do what

¹ See Cavalry Commander, i. 17.

² ἀρπάζει A: ἀρπάζω S. with the other MSS.
14 λάκις ἔξεργαξεται ὁν μεταμέλειν ἀνάγκη. καὶ ὅταν δὲ ὑποπτεύοσας τι ὁ ἱππὸς μὴ θέλη πρὸς τοῦτο προσίεναι, διδάσκειν δεῖ, ὅτι οὐ δεινὰ ἔστι, μᾶλιστα μὲν οὖν ἰππῷ εὐκαρδίᾳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπτόμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ δεινοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἱππὸν πράως προσάγοντα. οἱ δὲ πληγαῖς ἀναγκάζοντες ἔτι πλεῖον φόβον παρέχουσιν οὖνται γὰρ οἱ ἱπποὶ, ὅταν τι χαλέπιον πᾶσχοσίν ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ, καὶ τοῦτο τὰ ὑποπτευόμενα αὑτία εἶναι.

16 Ἐπειδὰν γε μὴν ὁ ἱπποκόμος τὸν ἱππὸν παραδίδῳ τῷ ἀναβάτῃ, τὸ μὲν ἐπίστασθαι ὑποβιβάζεσθαι τὸν ἱππὸν, ὅστε εὐπτεῖς εἶναι ἀναβῆναι, οὐ μεμφόμεθα· τὸν γε μέντοι ἰππέα νομίζομεν χρὴναι μελετᾶν καὶ μὴ παρέχουσιν ἵππον δύνασθαι ἀναβαίνειν. ἄλλοτε μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἵππος παραπίπτει, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄλλως ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπηρετεῖ.

VII. Ὅταν γε μὴν παραδεξηται τὸν ἱππὸν ὡς ἀναβησόμενος, νῦν αὖ γράψομεν, ὡς ποιῶν ὁ ἵππευς καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ ἱππῷ ὡφελιμῶτατος ἄν ἐν τῇ ἱππικῇ εἴη.

Πρῶτον μὲν τούτων τὸν ὑμεγέρεια χρῆ ἐκ τῆς ὑποχαλινίδιας ὡς τοῦ ψαλίου ἠρημεμένοι εὐτρεπῆ εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα λαβεῖν καὶ οὕτω χαλαρῶν, ὡς μήτ', ἀν 1 τῶν τριῶν παρὰ τὰ ὁπ' ἀπὸ δόρατος ἀναπηδά, σπάν τὸν ἱππὸν. τῇ δέξιᾷ δὲ τάς ἥνιας παρὰ τὴν ἀκρωμίαν λαμβανέτω ὀμοῦ τῇ χαίρῃ, ὡς μὴδε καθ' ἐνα τρόπον ἀναβαίνων

1 ἀν τῶν Courier: ἀν ἀνιῶν τῶν MSS.: ἀν ἀνιῶν τῶν S. with Stephanus.

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he must regret. Moreover, when the horse is shy of anything and will not come near it, you should teach him that there is nothing to be afraid of, either with the help of a plucky horse—which is the surest way—or else by touching the object that looks alarming yourself, and gently leading the horse up to it. To force him with blows only increases his terror; for when horses feel pain in such a predicament, they think that this too is caused by the thing at which they shy.

When the groom presents the horse to his rider, we take no exception to his understanding how to cause the horse to crouch, for convenience in mounting. We think, however, that the rider should get used to mounting even without his horse's help. For a rider gets a different sort of horse at different times, and the same one does not always serve him in the same way.

VII. We will now describe what the rider should do when he has received his horse and is going to mount, if he is to make the best of himself and his horse in riding.

First, then, he must hold the leading-rein fastened to the chin-strap or the nose-band ready in the left hand, and so loose as not to jerk the horse whether he means to mount by holding on to the mane near the ears or to spring up with the help of the spear. With his right hand let him take hold of the reins by the withers along with the mane, so that he may

1 Hellenica, v. iii. 7.
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2 σπάση τῷ χαλινῷ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἵππου. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνακουφίσῃ ἕαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, τῇ μὲν ἀριστερὰ ἀνιμάτω τὸ σώμα, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ ἐνείνων συνεπαρέτω ἕαυτόν οὔτω γὰρ ἀναβαίνων οὐδὲ ὁπισθεὶν αἰσχρὰν θέαν παρέξεις συγκεκαμένων ¹ τῷ σκέλει καὶ μηδὲ τὸ γόνυ ἐπὶ τὴν ῥάχιν τοῦ ἵππου τιθέτω, ἀλλὰ ὑπερβησάτω ἐπὶ τὰς δεξιὰς πλευρὰς τὴν κυήμην. ὅταν δὲ περιενέγκη τὸν πόδα, τότε καὶ τῷ γλουτῷ καθέτω ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον.

3 Ἡν δὲ τύχῃ ὁ ἵππευς τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ ἀγών τοῦ ἵππου, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἀγαθῶν μὲν ἡμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι τῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεξίων μελετῆσαι ἀναπηδάν. μαθείν δὲ οὐδεν δεὶ ἄλλο ἢ ἃ μὲν τότε τοῖς δεξιοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἑποίει, τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς ποιεῖν, ἃ δὲ τότε τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς, τοῖς δεξιοῖς. τούτοις δὲ ἐνεκα καὶ ταῦτην ἐπαινοῦμεν τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ὅτι ἀμα τε ἀναβεβηκὼς ἂν εἴη καὶ κατεσκευασμένος πάντα, εἴ τι δέοι ἐξαίφνης πρὸς πολεμίους ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

4 Ἐπειδὰν γε μὴν καθίζηται εάν τε ἐπὶ ψιλοῦ εάν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑφιππίου, οὐ τὴν ὀστερὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου ἔδραν ἐπαινοούμεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀστερὰ ὀρθὸς ἂν διαβεβηκὼς εἴῃ τοῖς σκελοῖς. τοῖς τε γὰρ μηροῖν οὕτως ἂν ἔχοιτο μᾶλλον τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ ὀρθός ὂν ἐρρωμενεστέρως ἂν δύνατο καὶ ἀκοντίζαι καὶ πατάξαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, εἴ δέοι.

¹ δὲ τῷ with a colon after παρέξει and comma after σκέλει S. The δὲ is not in AB.

¹ In the jockey mode. "I think that those critics are in error who understand that X. meant that the rider
not jerk the horse’s mouth with the bit in any way as he mounts. When he has made his spring in order to mount, he should raise his body with his left hand, while at the same time he helps himself up by stretching out his right; for by mounting in this way he will not present an awkward appearance even from behind by bending his leg. Neither must he touch the horse’s back with his knee, but throw the leg right over the off side. Having brought the foot over, he must then let his buttocks down on the horse’s back.

In case the horseman happens to be leading the horse with the left hand and holding his spear in the right, it is well, we think, to practise mounting on the off side also. For this purpose all that he needs to learn is to do with the left parts of the body what in the other case he did with the right, and *vice versa*. The reason why we recommend this method of mounting also is, that no sooner is the rider mounted than he is quite ready to fight with the enemy on a sudden, if occasion requires.

When he is seated, whether on the bare back or on the cloth, we would not have him sit as if he were on his chair, but as though he were standing upright with his legs astride. For thus he will get a better grip of his horse with his thighs, and the erect position will enable him, if need be, to throw his spear and deliver a blow on horseback with more force.

should take the extreme ‘fork’ seat; for not only would such a position be very insecure upon the simple saddles of the Greeks, but it is inconsistent with the graceful and firm positions exhibited by the marbles.” E. L. Anderson in *Riding* (Badminton series).
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6  Χρῆ δὲ καὶ χαλαρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ γόνατος ἀφεῖσθαι τὴν κνήμην σὺν τῷ ποδὶ. σκληρῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔχων τὸ σκέλος εἰ προσκόψει ἑτεροὶ προσκεκλαμένος ἃν εἰη ὑγρὰ δὲ οὐσα ἡ κνήμη, εἴ τι καὶ προσπίπτοι αὐτῇ, ὑπείκοι ἂν καὶ τῶν μηρῶν οὐδὲν

7 μετακινοῖν. δεὶ δὲ τὸν ἵππεα καὶ τὸ ἀνωθεν τῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἱσχίων σῶμα ὡς υγρότατον ἐδίζειν εἶναι. οὐτω γὰρ ἂν πονεῖν 1 τῇ τοῦ μᾶλλον δύνατο καὶ εἴ ἐλκοι τις αὐτὸν ἡ ὀθοῖν, ἦττον ἂν φαλλοῖτο.

8 Ἐπειδὰν γε μὴν καθίζηται, πρῶτον μὲν ἡρεμεῖν δεὶ διδάσκειν τὸν ἵππον, ἐώς ἂν καὶ υποσπάσεται, ἣν τι δέηται, καὶ ἤνιας ἰσώσεται καὶ δόρυ λάβη, ὡς ἂν εὐφορώτατον εἰη. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐχέτω τὸν ἀριστερὸν βραχίωνα πρὸς ταῖς πλευραῖς οὖτω γὰρ εὐσταλέστατος τε ὁ ἵππεας ἔσται καὶ ἡ χεῖρ ἐγκρατεστάτη. ἤνιας γε μὴν ἔπαινοιμον ὁποῖαί ἵσαι τῇ εἰσὶ καὶ μὴ ἀσθενεῖς μηδὲ ὀλυσθηραί μηδὲ παχεῖαι, ἦν καὶ τὸ δόρυ, ὅταν δὲν, δέχεσθαι ἡ χεῖρ δύνηται.

9 Ὅταν δὲ προχωρεῖν σημήνη τῷ ἵππῳ, βάδην μὲν ἀρχέσθω· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀταρακτότατον. ἡμο-χείτω δὲ, ἦν μὲν κυφαγωγότερος ὢν ὁ ἵππος, ἀνωτέρω ταῖς χερσίν, ἢν δὲ μᾶλλον ἀνακεκυφῶς, κατωτέρω· οὖτω γὰρ ἂν μᾶλιστα κοσμοῖ ἡ σχῆμα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν αὐτοφυῆ διατρο-χάζον διαχαλώγη τ' ἃν ἄλυπότατα τὸ σῶμα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπιρραβδοφορεῖν ἔδιστ' ἂν ἀφικνοῖτο. ἐπείπερ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀρχεσθαι εὐδοκιμώτερον, ὡδ' ἂν μᾶλιστα ἀπὸ τούτων ἄρχοιτο, εἰ διατροχάζοντος μὲν, ὅποτε ἐμβαίνοι

1 πονεῖν A: πονεῖν S. with the other MSS.
The lower leg including the foot must hang lax and easy from the knee down. For if he keeps his leg stiff and should strike it against anything, he may break it, whereas a loose leg will recoil, whatever it encounters, without disturbing the position of the thigh at all. The rider must also accustom himself to keeping his body above the hips as loose as possible, for thus he will be able to stand more fatigue and will be less liable to come off when he is pulled or pushed.

As soon as he is seated, he must teach his horse to stand quiet at first, until he has shifted anything that wants arranging underneath him, gathered the reins even in his hand and grasped his spear in the most convenient manner. Then let him keep his left arm close to his side, for thus the horseman's figure will look best, and his hand will have most power. As for reins, we recommend that they be of equal strength, not weak nor slippery nor thick, in order that the spear may be held in the same hand when necessary.

When he directs his horse to go forward, let him begin at a walk, for this prevents any flurry. If the horse carries his head too low, let the rider hold the hands higher; if too high, lower; for in this way he will give him the most graceful carriage. After this, if he breaks into his natural trot, he will relax his body in the easiest fashion and come to the gallop most readily. Since, too, the more approved method is to begin with the left, one will best begin on this side, by giving the horse the signal

1 The left lead comes natural to the horse. The Parthenon figures show the right lead; but the Greeks approved of many things in art that they did not practise.
XENOPHON

tω δεξιῶ, τότε σημαίνοι τῷ ἵππῳ τὸ ἐπιρρα-
βδοφορεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἀριστερῶν μέλλων αὖρειν ἐκ
τούτου ἀν ἄρχοιτο, καὶ ὀπότε ἐπὶ τὰ εὐώνυμα
ἀναστρέφοι, τότε καὶ τῆς ἐπισκελίσεως ἄρχοιτο.
καὶ γὰρ πέφυκεν οὗ ἰππος εἰς μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ
στρεφόμενοι τοῖς δεξιοῖς ἀφηγείσθαι, εἰς εὔώνυμα
dὲ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς.

12 Ἰππασίαν δ’ ἐπανοῦμεν τὴν πέδην καλουμένην·
ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρας γὰρ τὰς γυάθους στρέφεσθαι
ἐθίζει. καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὴν Ἰππασίαν
ἀγαθῶν, ἵνα ἀμφότεραι αἱ γυάθοι καθ’ ἐκάτερον
13 τῆς Ἰππασίας ἱσαίζωνται. ἐπανοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν
ἐπερομήκη πέδην μᾶλλον τῆς κυκλοτεροῦσ. ἤδιον
μὲν γὰρ οὗτως ἀν στρέφοιτο οὗ ἰππος ἤδη πλήρης
生产总 τὴν εὐθέος καὶ τὸ τε ὀρθοδρομεῖν καὶ τὸ
14 ἀποκάμπτειν ἀμα μελετών ἂν. δεὶ δὲ καὶ
ὑπολαμβάνειν εὖ ταῖς στροφαῖς· οὔ γὰρ ράδιον
τῶν ἰππῶν οὐδ’ ἄσφαλες ἐν τῷ τάχει ἄντα κάμπτειν
ἐν μικρῷ, ἄλλως τε κἂν ἀπόκροτον ἡ ὀλισθηρόν
15 ἡ τὸ χωρίον. ὅταν γε μὴν ὑπολαμβάνῃ, ὡς
ηκιστα μὲν χρῆ τὸν ἰππον πλαγιοῦ τῷ χαλινῷ,
ὡς ἦκιστα δ’ αὐτὸν πλαγιοῦσθαι εἰ δὲ μῆ, εὐ
χρῆ εἰδέναι, ὅτι μικρὰ πρόφασις ἀρκέσει κείσθαι
16 καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἰππον. ἐπειδὰν γε μὴν ἐκ
τῆς στροφῆς εἰς τὸ εὔθυς βλέπῃ οὗ ἰππος, ἐν
τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ θάττον αὐτὸν ὀρμάτω. δηλοῦ

1 A remarkable proof of X’s power of observation.
When the trotting horse treads with the right fore-leg, the
hind-legs are in the position that the horse assumes when
galloping on the left lead, and the horse will strike off with
the left fore-leg.

2 Literally “fetter.” The old English term is “ring.”

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to gallop while trotting, at the instant when he is treading with the right (fore) foot. As he is then on the point of raising the left, he will begin with it, and, as soon as the rider turns him to the left, will immediately begin the stride. For it is natural for the horse to lead with the right when turned to the right, and with the left when turned to the left.¹

The exercise that we recommend is the one called the ring,² since it accustoms the horse to turn on both jaws. It is also well to change the exercise,³ in order that both jaws may be equally practised on each side of the exercise.⁴ We recommend the manage⁵ rather than the complete ring, for thus the horse will turn more willingly when he has gone some distance in a straight course, and one can practise the career and the turn at the same time. It is necessary to collect him at the turns; for it is neither easy for the horse nor safe to turn short when going fast, especially if the ground is uneven or slippery. In collecting him the rider must slant the horse as little as possible with the bit, and slant his own body as little as possible; else he may be sure that a trifling cause will be enough to bring him and his horse down. As soon as the horse faces the straight after turning, push him along at now volte. Of course the horse was exercised first in one direction, then in the other.

¹ i.e. ride on the other hand; this is not part of the volte.
² i.e. may have both jaws equally sensitive on whichever hand he is ridden.
³ I have ventured to use this term since X. means precisely what Gervase Markham calls the "manage" in the strict sense, i.e. two straight treads with a semicircle at either end.
γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ στροφαὶ εἰσὶν ἡ τοῦ διώκειν ἡ τοῦ ἀποχωρεῖν ἕνεκα. ἄγαθον

18 οὖν τὸ στραφέντα ταχύνειν μελετᾶν. ὅταν δὲ ἰκανῶς ἦδη δοκῆ τὸ γυμνάσιον τῷ ἵππῳ ἔχειν, ἄγαθον καὶ διαπαύοντα ὀρμῆσι αἱ ἔξαιρῆς εἰς τὸ τάξιστον καὶ ἀφ’ ἵππων μέντοι, μὴ ἱπποὺς· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ταχέος αὐτ ὡς ἐγγυτάτω ἠρμίζειν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἑστάναι δὲ στρέψασθαι πάλιν ὁ ὀρμᾶν. πρὸ δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἑσταὶ ποτὲ ὅτε ἐκατέρου τοῦτων δεῖσει.

19 Ὅταν γε μὴν καταβαίνειν ἦδη καὶ ὅτε ἐν ἵπποις ποτὲ καταβαίνειν μήτε παρὰ σύντασιν ἀνθρώπων μήτε ἔξω τῆς ἱππασίας, ἀλλ’ ὀποίους καὶ πονεῖν ἀναγκάζεσθαι ὁ ἵππος, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς ῥαστώνης τυγχανόντω.

VIII. Ἐπειδήπερ ἐστιν ὅτι τρέχειν δεῖσει τὸν ἵππον καὶ πρανῇ καὶ ὀρθᾳ καὶ πλάγιᾳ, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτι ὑπον ὀπον διαπηδᾶν, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτι καὶ ἐκπηδᾶν, ἐνθα δὲ καὶ καθαίλλεσθαι, καὶ ταύτα πάντα διδάσκειν τε δεῖ καὶ μελετᾶν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππον οὕτω γὰρ ἄν σωτηρίοι τε εἶεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ καθόλου 3 χρησιμωτέροι ἄν δοκοῦν εἶναι.

2 Εἰ δὲ τις διλογεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴεται, ὅτι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγομεν νῦν τέ καὶ πρόσθεν, οὐ διλογεῖν ταύτα ἐστίν. οτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἑωνεῖτο, πειρᾶσθαι ἐκελεύομεν, εἰ δύνατο τὸ ἵππος ταύτα ποιεῖν νῦν δὲ διδάσκειν φαμέν χρῆμα τὸν ἑαυτὸν καὶ γράφομεν, ὡς δεὶ διδάσκειν.

1 μὴ MSS. : καὶ S. with Camerarius.
2 πάλιν Lenklau : δεὶ πάλιν S. with the MSS.
3 καθόλου placed here by Pollack : in the MSS. it comes after αὐτῶν in the previous sentence : S. omits with Dindorf.
once. For of course, in war too, turns are made with a view to pursuit or retreat. It is well, therefore, to practise increasing the pace after turning. So soon as the horse appears to have been exercised enough, it is well to let him rest a certain time, and then suddenly to put him to his top speed again, of course away from, not towards, other horses, and to pull him up again in the midst of his career as short as possible, and then to turn and start him again from the stand. For it is obvious that a time will come when it will be necessary to do one or the other.

When the time has come to dismount, the rider must never dismount among other horses or near a group of people or outside the riding-ground; but let the place where the horse is forced to work be the place where he also receives his reward of ease.

VIII. As the horse will frequently have to gallop down hill and up hill and along a slope, and as he will have to leap over, and to leap out, and to jump down at various times, the rider must teach and practise both himself and his horse in all these things. For thus they will be able to help each other, and will be thought altogether more efficient.

If anyone thinks that we are repeating ourselves, because we are referring to matters already dealt with, this is not repetition. For we recommended the purchaser to try whether the horse could do these things at the time of buying; but now we say that a man should teach his own horse; and we will show how to teach him.
3 Τὸν μὲν γὰρ παντάπασιν ἄπειρον τοῦ διαπηδαν λαβόντα δεῖ τοῦ ἄγωγεώς καταβεβληµένου προ- διαβῆναι αὐτὸν τὴν τάφρον, ἔπειτα δὲ ἑντείνειν
4 δεὶ τῷ ἄγωγεῖ, ὡς διάλληται. ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλη, ἐχών τις µάστιγα ἢ πάβδον ἐµβαλέτω ὡς ἵσχυ- ροτατα· καὶ οὕτως ύπεραλείται οὐ τὸ µέτρον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλεῖον τοῦ καιροῦ· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν δεῖσει παίειν, ἀλλ' ἢ µόνον ἰδη ὀπίσθεν
5 τινα ἐπελθόντα, ἀλεῖται. ἐπείδαιν δὲ οὕτω διαπηδαν ἔθισθη, καὶ ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐπαγέτω τὸ µὲν πρὸτον µικράς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ µείζους. ὅταν δὲ µέλλῃ πηδᾶν, παισάτω αὐτὸν τῷ µύσπι. ὁσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀναπηδᾶν καὶ τὸ καταπηδᾶν διδάσκων παισάτω τῷ µύσπι. ἀθρόῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν καὶ έαντῷ ὡ ὁ τιττος καὶ τῷ ἀναβάτῃ ἀσφαλέστερον ποιήσει µᾶλλον ἢ ἁν ἐλλεῖπη τὰ ὀπίσθεν ἢ διαπηδᾶν ἢ ἀνορούν ἢ καθαλλόµενος.

6 Εἰς γε µὴν τὸ κάταντες πρὸτον χρη ἐν µαλακῷ χωρῷ διδάσκειν. καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπείδαιν τούτω ἔθισθη, πολὺ ἤδιον τὸ πρανές τοῦ ὀρθίου δρα- μεῖται. ἀ δὲ φοβοῦνται τινες µὴ ἀπορρηγνύωνται τοὺς ἁµους· κατὰ τὰ πρανή ἐλαυνόµενοι, θαρ- ρούντων µαθώντες, στὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Ὥδρυσαι ἀπαντησα· καὶ κατάντη ἀµιλλώµενοι οὐδὲν ὅττον τῶν Ἐλλήνων υγίεις τοὺς ὅπλους ἔχουσι.

7 Παρήσοµεν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅπως τὸν ἀναβάτην ὑπη- ρετεῖν δεὶ πρὸς ἐκαστὰ τούτων· χρῇ γὰρ ὀρµῶντος µὲν ἐξαίφνης ὅππου προνεύειν· ὅττον γὰρ ἀν καὶ ὑποδύοι ὁ τιττος καὶ ἀναβάλλοι τὸν ἀναβάτην· ἐν µικρῷ δὲ ἀναλαµβανοµένου ἀναπίπτειν. ὅττον
8 γάρ ἀν αὐτὸς κόπτοτο. τάφρον δὲ διαλλοµένου 336
ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, viii. 3-8

When a man has a raw horse quite ignorant of leaping, he must get over the ditch himself first, holding him loosely by the leading-rein, and then give him a pull with the rein to make him leap over. If he refuses, let someone strike him as hard as he can with a whip or a stick: whereupon he will leap, and not only the necessary distance, but much further than was required. In future there will be no need to beat him, for if he merely sees a man approaching behind him, he will leap. As soon as he has grown accustomed to leap in this way, let him be mounted and tried first at narrow ditches, and then at wider ditches. Just as he is on the point of springing touch him with the spur. Similarly he should be taught to leap up and to leap down by a touch of the spur. For if he does all these things with his body compactly gathered, it will be safer for the horse as well as the rider than if his hind-quarters lag in taking a leap over, or in springing upwards or jumping downwards.

Going down hill should first be taught on soft ground; and in the end, when the horse gets used to this, he will canter down more readily than up hill. If some fear that horses may put out their shoulders by being ridden down hill, they may take comfort when they understand that the Persians and Odrysians all ride races down hill, and yet keep their horses just as sound as the Greeks.

Nor will we omit to state how the rider is to assist in all these movements. If the horse springs suddenly, he should lean forward; for so the horse is less likely to slip away and throw the rider off. But in pulling him up short he should lean back; for so he himself will be less jolted. When jumping

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καὶ πρὸς ὁρθίον ἰεμένου καλὸν ἕπιλαμβάνεσθαι, ὥς μὴ ὁ ὑπόσ τῷ τε χωρίῳ ἀμα καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ βαρύνηται. ἐйς γε μὴν τὸ πρανὲς καὶ ἑαυτῶν ὑπτιαστέον καὶ τοῦ ὑπον ἀντιληπτέον τῷ χαλινῷ, ὦς μὴ προπετῶς εἰς τὸ κάταντες μήτε αὐτὸς μήτε ὁ ὑπόσ φέρηται.

9 Ὄρθως δὲ ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἀλλοτε μὲν ἐν ἀλλοις τόποις, ἀλλοτὲ δὲ μακρὰς ἀλλοτὲ δὲ βραχείᾳς τὰς ἱππασίας ποιεῖσθαι. ἀμισέστερα γὰρ τῷ ὑπῷ καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις καὶ ὁμοίως τὰς ἱππασίας ποιεῖσθαι.

10 Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ ἐν παντοίοις τε χωρίοις τὸν ὑπον ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνοντα ἐποχον εἶναι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπον τοῖς ὑπλοῖς καλῶς δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ὦτοι μὲν ἐστὶ χωρία ἐπιτήδεια καὶ θηρία, ἀμεμπτὸς ἡ ἐν θηρίαις μελέτῃ τῆς ἱππικῆς. ὦτον δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ὑπάρχει, ἀγαθῇ ἀσκησις καὶ ἧν δύο ἱππότα συνθεμένω ὁ μὲν φεῦγῃ ἔπὶ τοῦ ὑπον παντοῖα χωρία καὶ τὸ δόρυ εἰς τοῦπισθεν μεταβαλόμενος ὑποχωρῆ, ὁ δὲ διώκῃ ἐσφαρωμένα τε ἔχων ἀκόντια καὶ δόρυ ὅσαύτως πεπραγματευμένω καὶ ὦτοι μὲν ἄν εἰς ἀκόντιον ἀφικνήται, ἀκούηξι τὸν φεῦγοντα τοῖς σφαιρωτοῖς. ὦτον ὅ δ᾽ ἂν εἰς δόρατος πληγῆν, παίη τῶν ἀλισκόμενον. ἅγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ποτε συμπέσωσιν, ἐλκύσαντα ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν τὸν πολέμιον ἐξαίφνης ἀπώσαι: τόπο γὰρ κατα-βλητικόν. ὁρθῶς δὲ ἔχει καὶ τῷ ἐλκομένῳ ἐπε-

1 καλὸν AB: κακὸν Μ: οὐ κακὸν S. with L.
2 ἀνὰ κράτος MSS.: S. reads ἀγκράτος from Suidas.
a ditch or riding up hill it is well\(^1\) to take hold of the mane, that the horse may not be burdened by his bridle and the difficulty of the ground at the same time. When going down a steep incline, he should throw his body back and support the horse with the bridle, that neither rider nor horse may be tossed headlong down hill.

It is correct also to exercise the horse sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, and to make the exercises sometimes long and sometimes short; for this is less irksome to the horse than being exercised always in the same place and for the same length of time.

Since it is necessary that the rider should have a firm seat when riding at top speed over all sorts of country, and should be able to use his weapons properly on horseback, the practice of horsemanship by hunting is to be recommended where the country is suitable and big game is to be found. Where these conditions are lacking, it is a good method of training for two riders to work together thus: one flies on his horse over all kinds of ground and retreats, reversing his spear so that it points backwards, while the other pursues, having buttons on his javelins and holding his spear in the same position, and when he gets within javelin shot, tries to hit the fugitive with the blunted weapons, and if he gets near enough to use his spear, strikes his captive with it. It is also a good plan, in case of a collision between them, for one to pull his adversary towards him and suddenly push him back again, since that is the way to dismount him. The right thing for the man who is being pulled is to

\(^1\) Of course no modern rider would approve of this.
λαύνειν τον ἵππου· τούτο γὰρ ποιῶν ὁ ἐλκόμενος καταβάλοι ἀν μᾶλλον τὸν ἐλκοντα ἡ καταπέσοι.

12 Ἡν δὲ ποτε καὶ στρατοπέδου ἀντικαθημένου ἀνθιππεύωσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ διώκοσι μὲν μέχρι τῆς πολεμίας φάλαγγος τοὺς ἀντίους, φεύγωσι δὲ μέχρι τῆς φιλίας, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἑνταῦθα ἐπιστασθαί, ὅτι ἔως μὲν ἀν παρὰ τοὺς φίλους τις ἡ, καλὸν καὶ ἀσφαλές τὸ ἐν πρώτοις ἐπιστρέψαντα ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπικείσθαι, ὅταν δ᾿ ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐναντίων γίγνηται, ὑποχείριον τὸν ἵππου ἔχειν. οὔτω γὰρ ἄν ὡς τὸ εἰκός μάλιστα δύνατο βλάπτων τοὺς ἐναντίους μὴ βλάπτεσθαι ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν.

13 Ἀνθρώπως, μὲν οὖν ἀνθρωπον θεοὶ ἐδοσαν λόγω διδάσκειν ἀ δεὶ ποιεῖν, ἵππου δὲ δῆλον ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν οὔδεν ἀν διδάξασι· ἢν δὲ ὅταν μὲν ποιήσῃ ὡς ἂν βοῦλη, ἀντιχαρίσῃ αὐτῷ, ὅταν δὲ ἀπειθῇ, κολάξῃς, οὔτω μάλιστα μάθοι ἄν τὸ δέον ὑπηρετεῖν· καὶ ἐστὶ μὲν τούτῳ ἐν βραχεί ἐπιεῖν, δι᾿ ὅλης δὲ τῆς ἱππικῆς παρακολουθεῖ. καὶ γὰρ χαλινον μᾶλλον ἂν λαμβάνοι, εἰ ὅποτε δέξαιτο ἀγαθὸν τι αὐτῷ ἀποβαίνοι· καὶ διαπηδοσὶ δ᾿ ἂν καὶ ἐξάλλοιτο καὶ τάλλα πάντα ὑπηρετοῖν ἂν, εἰ προσδοκώ οὕτω τὰ σημαινόμενα πράξεις ῥαστώνην τινά·

14 Ἡν δὲ εἰρημένα ταῦτα ἐστιν, ὡς ἂν ἥκιστα μὲν ἐξαπατώτω καὶ πῶλον καὶ ἵππον ἰδοὺμενος, ἥκιστα δ᾿ ἂν διαφθείραι χρώμενος, μάλιστα δ᾿ ἂν ἵππον ἀποδεικνύειν δέοι ἔχουτα ὅν ἵππευς δεῖτα εἰς πόλεμον. καὶ ὅσος ήσυς γράψαι καὶ εἰ ποτε συμβαίνῃ θυμοειδεστέρῳ ἵππῳ τοῦ καιροῦ χρήσθαι ἡ βλακωδεστέρῳ, ὡς ἂν ὄρθοτα ἐκατέρω χρώτο.
urge his horse forward; by doing this the pulled is more likely to unhorse the puller than to be unhorsed himself.

If at any time when an enemy’s camp lies in front there is a cavalry skirmish, and one side presses the pursuit right up to the enemy’s line of battle, but then retreats hastily to its own main body, it is well to know in that case that so long as you are by your friends, it is proper and safe to be among the first to wheel and make for the enemy at full speed; but when you come near the enemy to keep your horse well in hand. For in this way you have the best chance of injuring the enemy without coming to harm yourself.

Now, whereas the gods have given to men the power of instructing one another in their duty by word of mouth, it is obvious that you can teach a horse nothing by word of mouth. If, however, you reward him when he behaves as you wish, and punish him when he is disobedient, he will best learn to do his duty. This rule can be stated in few words, but it applies to the whole art of horsemanship. He will receive the bit, for example, more willingly if something good happens to him as soon as he takes it. He will also leap over and jump out of anything, and perform all his actions duly if he can expect a rest as soon as he has done what is required of him.

IX. So far we have described how to avoid being cheated in buying a colt or a horse, how to avoid spoiling him in usage and how to impart to a horse all the qualities required by a cavalryman for war. It is time perhaps to give directions, in case one has to deal with a horse that is too spirited or too sluggish, for the correct way of managing either.
2  Πρώτον τοίνυν χρη τούτο γνώναι, ὅτι ἐστὶν θυμὸς ὡτπῷ ὀπερ ὅργη ἀνθρώπω. ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ ἀνθρωπὸν ἥκιστ' ἄν ὅργίζοι τις μήτε λέγων χαλέπτων μηδὲν μήτε ποιῶν, οὔτω καὶ ἵππων
3 θυμοειδῆ ὁ μὴ ἀνών ἥκιστ' ἄν ἔξοργίζοι. εὖθυς μὲν οὖν χρη ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὡς ἄν ἥκιστ' ἀναβαίνων λυποίη ἑπειδὰν δ' ἀναβη, ἡρεμήσαντα πλείω χρόνων ἢ τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα οὔτω προκινεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς πραστάτοις σημείοις. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βραδυτάτου ἀρχόμενον οὔτως οὖν εἰς τὸ θάττου προώγειν, ὡς ἄν μάλιστα λανθάνοι αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππος εἰς τὸ ταχὺ ἀφίκνου-
4 μενος. δ' τι δ' ἀν ἐξαίφνης σημήνης, θυμοειδῆ ἵππων ὡσπερ ἀνθρωπὸν ταράττει τὰ ἐξαπίνα αι καὶ ὰράματα καὶ ἀκούσματα καὶ παθήματα. εἰδέναι δὲ χρῆ, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἰππῷ τὰ ἐξαπίνα
5 τάραχον ἐξεργάζεται. ἢν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ θάττου ὀρμώμενον τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν βούλη τὸν θυμοειδῆ, οὐ δεῖ ἐξαπιναίως στὰν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμὰς προσάγεσθαι τῷ χαλινῷ πραύνοντα, οὐ βιαζό-
6 μενον ἡρεμεῖν. καὶ αἱ τε μακρὰ ἐλάσεις μᾶλλον ἡ αἱ πυκναὶ ἀποστροφαὶ πραύνουσι τοὺς ἵππους καὶ αἱ ήσυχαὶ μὲν,2 πολυχρόνοι δὲ3 καθέψουσι καὶ πραύνουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεγείρουσι τοῦ θυμοειδῆ. 
7 εἰ δὲ τις οἴεται, ἢν ταχὺ καὶ πολλὰ ἐλαύνηται, ἀπειπεῖν ποίησας τὸν ἵππον πραύνειν, τὰναυτία γιγνώσκει τοῦ γιγνομένου. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὁ θυμοειδὴς καὶ ἄγειν βίᾳ μάλιστα ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ σὺν τῇ ὅργῃ ὡσπερ ἀνθρωπὸς ὀργίλος πολλάκις καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀναβάτην πολλὰ ἀνήκεστα

1 S. with Cobet would omit this sentence. The kal before ἐν is in A only, and is therefore not in S.
First, then, it must be realised that spirit in a horse is precisely what anger is in a man. Therefore, just as you are least likely to make a man angry if you neither say nor do anything disagreeable to him, so he who abstains from annoying a spirited horse is least likely to rouse his anger. Accordingly, at the moment of mounting, the rider should take care to worry him as little as possible; and when he is mounted, he should let him stand still longer than is otherwise usual, and then direct him to go by the most gentle aids. Then let him begin at a very slow pace and increase the speed with the same gentle help, so that the horse will not be aware of the transition to a quicker motion. Any sudden sign disturbs a spirited horse, just as sudden sights and sounds and sensations disturb a man. It is important to realise that a horse too is flurried by anything sudden. If you want to correct a spirited horse when he is going too fast, do not pull him suddenly, but quietly check him with the bit, soothing him, not forcing him, to a quiet pace. Long rides rather than frequent turnings, calm horses; and quiet ones lasting long soothe and calm a spirited horse and do not excite him. But if anyone supposes that he will calm a horse by frequent riding at a quick pace so as to tire him, his opinion is the opposite of the truth. For in such cases a spirited horse does his utmost to get the upper hand by force, and in his excitement, like an angry man, he often causes many irreparable injuries both

2 μὲν is omitted by S.
3 πολυχρόνιοι δὲ Madvig: πολὺν δὲ χρόνον A: πολὺν χρόνον S. with the other MSS.
8 ἐποίησεν. ἐπιλαμβάνειν δὲ χρή ἵππου θυμοειδῆ καὶ τοῦ εἰς τὸ τάχιστον ὅρμαν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ παραβάλλειν ἵππῳ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπέχεσθαι: σχεδὸν γὰρ καὶ φιλονικότατοι οἱ θυμοειδέστατοι τῶν ἵππων γίγνονται.

9 Καὶ χαλινοὶ δὲ οἱ λεῖοι ἐπιτηδειότεροι τῶν τραχέων. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τραχὺς ἐμβληθῇ, τῇ χαλαρώτητί λεῖῳ δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀφομοιών. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἐθίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἥρμεν, μάλιστα ἐπὶ θυμοειδοῦς ἵππον, καὶ τὸ ὡς ἤκιστα ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄππεσθαι ἢ οἷς τοῦ καθῆσαι ἀσφαλῶς ἐνεκα ἀπτόμεθα.

10 Εἰδέναι δὲ χρή, ὅτι δίδαγμα ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ποπτυσμῷ μὲν πραύνεσθαι, κλωγμῷ δὲ ἐγείρεσθαι. καὶ εἰ τις εἰς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ μὲν κλωγμῷ τὰ πραέα, ἐπὶ δὲ ποπτυσμῷ τὰ χαλεπὰ προσφέρον, μᾶθοι ἄν ὃ ἵππος ποπτυσμῷ μὲν ἐγείρεσθαι, κλωγμῷ δὲ πραύνεσθαι. οὐτῶς οὖν δεῖ καὶ παρὰ κραυγῆν καὶ παρὰ σάλπιγγα μήτ' αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι τεθορυβημένον τῷ ἵππῳ μὴτε μὴν ἐκείνῳ ἰώρυβῶδες μηδὲν προσφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἀνάπαυεν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ ἀριστα καὶ δεῖπνα, εἰ συγχωροῖ, προσφέρειν. κάλλιστον δὲ συμβουλευόμενα τὸ ἀγαν θυμοειδῆ ἵππον μὴ κτάσθαι εἰς πόλεμον.

Βλακί γε μὴν ἵππῳ ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ γράψαι πάντα τάναντια ποιεῖν ὅσα τῷ θυμοειδεῖ χρήσθαι συμβουλεύομεν.

Χ. Ἡν δὲ τίς ποτε βουληθῇ χρήσθαι τῷ
to himself and to his rider. One must prevent 1 a high-spirited horse from going at his top speed, and of course, entirely avoid letting him race with another horse; for as a rule the most highly spirited horses are also most eager for victory.

As for the bits, the smooth are more suitable than the rough; but if a rough one is used, it should be made to resemble a smooth one by lightness of hand. It is also well to accustom oneself to sit still, especially on a spirited horse, and to touch him as little as possible with anything other than the parts that give us a safe seat by contact.

It should also be known that a horse can be taught to be calm by a chirp with the lips and to be roused by a cluck with the tongue. And if from the first you use with the cluck aids to calm him, and with the chirp aids to rouse him, the horse will learn to rouse himself at the chirp and to calm down at the cluck. Accordingly, if a shout is heard or a trumpet sounds, you must not allow the horse to notice any sign of alarm in you, and must on no account do anything to him to cause him alarm, but as far as possible let him rest in such circumstances, and, if you have the opportunity, bring him his morning or evening meal. But the best advice is not to get an over-spirited horse for war.

As for a sluggish beast, I may be content with the remark that in everything you must do the opposite of what we advise for the treatment of a high-spirited one.

X. If a man wants to make a useful war-horse

1 Or, reading τὸτε τοῦ for τοῦ with Pollack "one must try to stop a spirited horse even then from going at his full speed." A has τὸτε for τοῦ.
χρησίμως εἰς πόλεμον ἵππων μεγαλοπρεπεστέρω τε καὶ περιβλεπτοτέρω ἰππᾶζεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ἐλκειν τε τὸ στόμα τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ μυωπίζειν τε καὶ μαστιγοῦν τὸν ἵππον, ἀ δ οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦντες λαμπρύνειν οἴονται, ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ· πάντα γὰρ τὰναντία οὕτω γε ποιοῦσιν ὥν βουλοῦνται.

2 τὰ τε γὰρ στόματα ἐλκοντες ἀνω ἀντὶ τοῦ προορᾶν ἐκτυφλοῦσι τοὺς ἵππους καὶ μυωπίζουντες καὶ παῖοντες ἐκπλήττουσιν, ὡστε τεταράχθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν. ταύτα δ’ ἔστων ἱππῶν ἔργα τῶν μάλιστα ἀχθομένων ἴππασία καὶ αἰσχρὰ καὶ

3 οὐ καλὰ ποιοῦντων. ἐὰν δὲ τις διδάξῃ τὸν ἵππον εἰν χαλαρῷ μὲν τῷ χαλινῷ ἱππεύειν, ἀνω δὲ τὸν αὐχένα διαίρειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κυρτοῦσθαι, οὕτως ἄν ἀπεργάζωτο ποιεῖν τὸν ἵππον οὐοισπερ

4 καὶ αὐτὸς ἢδεται τε καὶ ἀγάλλεται. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τοῦτοι ἢδεται. ὅταν γὰρ σχηματοποιεῖσθαι θέλη 1 παρ’ ἱπποὺς, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν παρὰ θηλείας, τότε αἴρει τε τὸν αὐχένα ἀνωτάτῳ καὶ κυρτῷ μάλιστα τῆς κεφαλῆς γοργοῦμενος καὶ τὰ μὲν σκέλη ὑγρὰ μετεωρίζει, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν

5 ἄνω ἀνατέινει. ὅταν οὖν τις αὐτῶν εἰς ταύτα προώῃ, ἀπερ αὐτὸς σχηματοποιεῖται, ὅταν μάλιστα καλλωπίζεται, οὕτως ἢδομενὸν τε τῇ ἴππασίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ καὶ γοργῷ καὶ περιβλεπτον ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἵππον. ὅς οὖν ἡγούμεθα ταῦτ’ ἄν ἀπεργασθῆναι, νῦν αὐτοπρομεθα διηγεῖσθαι.

6 Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν χρῆ ὦ μὲν δυοῦν χαλινῶιν κεκτῆσθαι. τοῦτων δὲ ἔστω ὦ μὲν λείος, τοὺς

1 σχηματοποιεῖσθαι θέλη A: the rest have θέλη only: S. reads ἀνθεῖλς θέλη with Jacobs.

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look more stately and showy when ridden, he must avoid pulling his mouth with the bit, and using the spur and whip, means by which most people imagine that they show off a horse. In point of fact the results they produce are the very opposite of what they intend. For by dragging the mouth up they blind their horses instead of letting them see ahead, and by spurring and whipping, flurry them so that they are startled and get into danger. That is the behaviour of horses that strongly object to being ridden and that behave in an ugly and unseemly fashion. But if you teach the horse to go with a slack bridle, to hold his neck up and to arch it towards the head, you will cause the horse to do the very things in which he himself delights and takes the greatest pleasure. A proof that he delights in them is that whenever he himself chooses to show off before horses, and especially before mares, he raises his neck highest and arches his head most, looking fierce; he lifts his legs freely off the ground and tosses his tail up. Whenever, therefore, you induce him to carry himself in the attitudes he naturally assumes when he is most anxious to display his beauty, you make him look as though he took pleasure in being ridden, and give him a noble, fierce, and attractive appearance. How we think that these effects may be produced we will now try to explain.

To begin with, you should possess two bits at least. One of these should be smooth and have the

1 Or, reading ἐνέβειν, which occurred to Pollack and the translator independently, "twist about," "indulge in reactions." This is much more probable.

2 See Introduction.
τροχοὺς εὐμεγέθεις ἔχων, ὦ δὲ ἔτερος τοὺς μὲν τροχοὺς καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἑχύνους ὀξεῖς, ὅνα ὀποταν μὲν τούτον λάβῃ, ἀσχάλλων τῇ τραχύτητι διὰ τοῦτο ἁφὶ, ὅταν δὲ τὸν λείον μεταλάβῃ, τῇ μὲν λειώτητι αὐτῶν ἤσθη, ὥδὲ ὕπο τοῦ τραχεὸς παιδευθῆ, ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ λείῳ ποιή. ἦν δ' αὐτοκαταφρονήσας τῆς λειώτητος θαμνὰ ἀπερείδηται ἐν αὐτῷ, τούτου ἕνεκα τοὺς τροχοὺς μεγάλους τῷ λείῳ προστίθημεν ὡς κάσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἁφὶ τῷ στόμων. οἶνον τε δὲ καὶ τὸν τραχύν παντο- δαπὸν ποιεῖ καὶ κατειλύντα καὶ κατατένωντα.

8 ὅποιοι δ' ἀν ὅσι χαλινοῖ, πάντες ὤγροι ἐστώσαιν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ σκληρὸν, ὅτι ἀν ὁ ἵππος λάβῃ, ὦλον ἔχει πρὸς ταῖς γνάθοις. ὡσπερ καὶ ὥβελίσκον, ὃ ὅπόθεν ἂν τις λάβῃ, ὦλον ἀἰρεῖ. ὥδ' ἔτερος ὡσπερ ἡ ἅλυσις ποιεῖ: δ' γὰρ ἂν ἔχῃ τις αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο μὸνον ἀκαμπτὸν μένει, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀπήρτη- ται. τὸ δὲ φεύγουν ἐν τῷ στόματι ἡλθεὶς ἁφήσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γνάθων τὸ στόμων τοῦτον ἕνεκα καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέσον ἐκ τῶν ἄξωνον δακτύλιοι κρεμάνυνται, ὅπως τοῦτος διόκων τῇ τε γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς ὄδοισιν ἰμέλῃ τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνειν πρὸς τὰς γνάθους τὸν χαλινόν.

9 Ἐι δὲ τις ἀγνοεῖ, τί τὸ ὤγρον τοῦ χαλινοῦ καὶ τί τὸ σκληρὸν, γράφομεν καὶ τοῦτο. ὤγρον μὲν γὰρ ἐστιν, ὅταν οἱ ἄξονες εὐρείας καὶ λείας ἔχωσι τὰς συμβολὰς, ὥστε ῥάδιος κάμπτεσθαι, καὶ

1 So as to mitigate the roughness of the teeth. This was sometimes done by covering the teeth with wax (Pollux i. 207).

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discs of a good size; the other should have the discs heavy and low, and the teeth sharp, so that when the horse seizes it he may drop it because he objects to its roughness, and when he is bitted with the smooth one instead, may welcome its smoothness and may do on the smooth bit what he has been trained to do with the aid of the rough one. In case, however, he takes no account of it because of its smoothness, and keeps bearing against it, we put large discs on the smooth bit to stop this, so that they may force him to open his mouth and drop the bit. It is possible also to make the rough bit adaptable by wrapping it up and tightening the reins. But whatever be the pattern of the bits, they must all be flexible. For wherever a horse seizes a stiff one, he holds the whole of it against his jaws, just as you lift the whole of a spit wherever you take hold of it. But the other kind of bit acts like a chain; for only the part that you hold remains unbent, while the rest of it hangs loose. As the horse continually tries to seize the part that eludes him in his mouth, he lets the bit drop from his jaws. This is why little rings are hung in the middle on the axles, in order that the horse may feel after them with his tongue and teeth and not think of taking the bit up against the jaws.

In case the meaning of the terms flexible and stiff as applied to a bit is not known, we will explain this too. "Flexible" means that the axles have broad and smooth links so that they bend easily;

2 See c. ix, § 9.
3 Two sets, one hanging to each of the two links that form the centre joint of the two axles of which the "flexible" bit consisted. They are found in both the Berlin bits.
πάντα δὲ ὅπόσα περιτίθεται περὶ τοὺς ἄξονας, ἡν εὐρύστομα ἢ καὶ μὴ σύμπυκνα, ὑγρότερά ἐστιν. ἡν δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐκαστα τοῦ χαλινοῦ διατρέχη καὶ συνθέῃ, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ σκληρὸν εἶναι.

Ὅποιος δ’ ἂν τις ἢ, τούτῳ τάδε γε πάντα ταῦτα ποιητέον, ἢπερ γε βούληται ἀποδείξασθαι τὸν ἵππον οἰδοντερ ἐγρηται. ἀνακρουστέον μὲν τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἄγαν χαλεπῶς ὡστε ἐκνευεῖν, οὔτε ἄγαν ἢσύχως ὡς μὴ αἰσθάνεσθαι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνακρούμενος αἴρῃ τὸν αὐχένα, δοτέον εὐθὺς τὸν χαλινόν. καὶ τὰλλα δὲ δεῖ, ὡσπερ οὐ παυόμεθα λέγοντες, ἐν ἦ ἂν καλῶς ὑπηρετῇ.

χαρίζεσθαι τῷ ἰππῳ. καὶ οὕτω δ’ ἀϊσθηται ἢδόμενον τὸν ἵππον τῇ τε ύψηλαυχείᾳ καὶ τῇ χαλαρότητι, ἐν τούτῳ οὔδεν δεῖ χαλεπὸν προσφέρειν ὡς πονεῖν ἀναγκαζοντα, ἀλλὰ θωπεύειν ὡς παύσασθαι βουλόμενον. οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα θαρρῶν πρόεισιν εἰς τὴν ταχεῖαν ἰππασίαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῷ ταχῦ θεῖν ἵππος ἢδεται, τεκμηριοῦν ἐκφυγὼν γὰρ οὔδεις βάδην πορεύεται, ἀλλὰ θεί. τούτῳ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἢδεσθαι, ἢν μὴ τις πλείω τοῦ καιροῦ θείν ἀναγκαζεῖ ὑπερβάλλον δε τὸν καιρὸν οὔδεν τῶν πάντων ἦδυ οὔτε ἵππῳ οὔτε ἀνθρώπῳ.

Ὅταν γε μὴν εἰς τὸ ἰππάζεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ κυδροῦ ἀφιγμένος ἢ, εἰδισμένος μὲν δὴπον ἡμῖν ἦν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἰππασίᾳ ἐκ τῶν στροφῶν εἰς τὸ θάττον ὀρμᾶσθαι. ἢν δὲ τις τοῦτο μεμαθηκότος

1 Meaning (1) the toothed cylinders, (2) the pendants to which the reins were attached, (3) the curved or S-shaped branches with eyes to which the bridle was fastened. It is
and if everything that goes round the axles has large openings, and does not fit tight, it is more flexible. "Stiff," on the other hand, means that the pieces of the bit do not run over the axles and work in combination easily.

Whatever the pattern may be, the same method of using it must be carried out in all the points that follow, assuming that you want your horse to have just the appearance I have described. The mouth must neither be pulled so hard that he holds his nose in the air, nor so gently that he takes no notice. As soon as he raises his neck when you pull, give him the bit at once. Invariably, in fact, as we cannot too often repeat, you must humour your horse whenever he responds to your wishes. And when you notice that high carriage of his neck and lightness of hand give him pleasure, you should not deal hardly with him as though you were forcing him to work, but coax him as when you want to stop; for thus he will break into a fast pace with most confidence. There is plain proof that a horse takes pleasure in going fast: for when he breaks loose a horse never goes at a walking pace, but always runs. He instinctively takes pleasure in this, provided he is not compelled to run too far for his strength. Nothing in excess is ever pleasing either to horse or man.

When your horse has progressed so far as to bear himself proudly when ridden, he has, of course, already been accustomed in the early exercises to break into a quicker pace after turning. Now if after curious that we do not know the Greek terms for (2) and (3). "Let all the parts be loose" is what X. means.

\[ A \text{ has } \pi\nu\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota; \text{ "to ride," for } \pi\nu\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota. \]

vii. 17.
αὐτοῦ ἀμα ἀντιλαμβάνεται τε τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ σημῆνη τῶν ὄρμητηρίων τι, οὕτως ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ χαλινοῦ πιεσθείς, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὄρμαν σημανθήμει ἐγερθεὶς 1 προβάλλεται μὲν τὰ στέρνα, αἱρεῖ δὲ ἣνω 2 τὰ σκέλη ὄργιζομενος, οὐ μέντοι ὑγρὰ γε· οὐ γὰρ μάλα, ὅταν λυπῶνται, ὑγροῖς τοῖς σκέλεσιν ὑπογεία 16 χρωνται. ἢν δὲ τις οὕτως ἄνεξω· πυρημένω αὐτῷ δώ τὸν χαλινόν, ἑνταῦθα ὕφ' ἕδωνης τῷ διὰ τὴν χαλαρότητα τοῦ στοιμοῦ λευσθαί νομίζειν, κυδρῷ μὲν τῷ σχῆματι, ὕγροῖν δὲ τοῖς σκελοῖς γαυρώμενος φέρεται, παντάπασιν ἐκμιμούμενοι τὸν πρὸς ὑπονικὸν καλεςμοῖν, καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι τὸν ὑπὸν τοιώντων ἐπικαλοῦσιν 3 ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ ἔθελουργὸν καὶ ἐπιστήν καὶ θυμοειδῆ καὶ σοβαρὸν καὶ ἀμα ἥδυν τε καὶ 4 γοργὸν ἱδεῖν.

Καὶ ταύτα μὲν δή, ὡς τούτων τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ, μέχρι τούτων ἢμῖν γεγράφθω.

XI. Ἡν δὲ τις ἄρα βουληθῇ καὶ πομπικῷ καὶ μετεώρῳ καὶ λαμπρῷ ὑπὸ χρήσασθαι, οὐ μάλα μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκ παντὸς ὑπού γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μεγαλόφρονα 2 καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὐρυστόν. οὐ μὲντοι ὡς οἶνοι τίνες, τὸν τὰ σκέλη ὑγρὰ ἔχοντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα αἱρεὶν δυνῆσεσθαι, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅσ ὁ τῆν ὄσφυν ὑγρᾶν τε-καὶ βραχείαν καὶ ἵσχυρὰν ἔχῃ, καὶ οὐ τὴν κατ' οὐρὰν λέγομεν, ἀλλ' ἥ πέφυκε μεταξὺ τῶν τε πλευρῶν καὶ τῶν ἵσχίων κατὰ τὸν κενεῶνα, οὐτος δυνῆσεται πόρρῳ ὑποτιθέναι τὰ ὀπίσθια σκέλη ὑπὸ τὰ ἐμπρόσθια.

1 ἐγερθεὶς Weiske; ἐγερθεὶς καὶ S. with the MSS.
he has learnt this you pull him up with the bit and at the same time give him one of the signs to go forward, then being held back by the bit and yet roused by the signal to go forward, he throws his chest out and lifts his legs from the ground impatiently, but not with a supple motion; for when horses feel uncomfortable, the action of their legs is not at all supple. But if, when he is thus excited, you give him the bit, then, mistaking the looseness of the bit for a deliverance from restraint, he bounds forward for very joy with a proud bearing and supple legs, exultant, imitating exactly in every way the graces that he displays before horses. And those who watch the horse when he is like that call him well-bred, a willing worker, worth riding, mettlesome, magnificent, and declare his appearance to be at once pleasing and fiery.

And here we conclude these explanations addressed to those who want this sort of thing.

XI. But in case anyone wants to own a horse suitable for parade, with a high and showy action, such qualities are by no means to be found in every horse: but it is essential that he should have plenty of spirit and a strong body. Many suppose that an animal that has supple legs will also be capable of rearing his body. That, however, is not the case: rather it is the horse with supple, short, strong loins that will be able to extend his hind-legs well under the forelegs. By "loins" we do not mean the parts about the tail, but those between the flanks and

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2 ἀνω AB: ἀνωτέρω S. with the rest.
3 ἐπικαλοῦσιν Herwerden: ἀποκαλοῦσιν S. with the MSS.
4 καὶ A: καὶ ἄμα S. with the rest.
3 ἡν οὖν τις ὑποτιθέντος αὐτοῦ ἀνακρούη τῷ χαλινῷ, ὀκλάζει μὲν τὰ ὀπίσθια ἐν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις, αἴρει δὲ τὸ πρόσθεν σῶμα, ὡστε τοῖς ἔξ ἐναντίας φαίνεσθαι τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ αἴδοια. δεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅταν ταῦτα ποιήσῃς, διδόναι αὐτῷ τὸν χαλινόν, ὅπως τὰ κάλλιστα ἦπτοι ἐκόντα
4 ποιήσαι ἕκεν τοῖς ὀρῶσιν. εἰςι μέντοι οἱ καὶ ταῦτα διδάσκουσιν οἱ μὲν ράβδῳ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἀστραγάλους κρούοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ βακτηρία παρατρέχοντα τίνα κελεύοντες ὑπὸ τὰς μηριάιας παίειν.
5 ἤμεῖς γε μέντοι τὸ κράτιστον τῶν διδασκαλίων νομίζομεν, ὡσπερ ἄει λέγομεν, ἢν ἐν παντὶ παρεπτηται τὸ ἐν ὧν ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ ἀναβάτη κατὰ
6 γνώμην τυχανέειν ῥαστόνης παρ’ αὐτοῦ. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἦπτος ἀναγκαζόμενος ποιεῖ, ὡσπερ καὶ Σίμων λέγει, οὔτ’ ἐπίσταται οὕτε καλὰ ἐστίν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ τις ὀρχιστὴν μαστιγοῖν καὶ κεντρίζοιν πολὺ γὰρ ἂν πλεῖο ἀσχημονοῖν ἢ καλὰ ποιοῖς ὁ τοιαύτα πάσχοι καὶ ἦπτος καὶ ἀνθρώπος. ἀλλὰ δεὶ ἄπο σημεῖων ἐκόντα πάντα τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ λαμπρότατα ἐπιδεικνυόμενοι.
7 ἢν δὲ καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἦπτοις ἐπιπάζωσι, μέχρι πολλοῦ ἰδρῶτος ἐλαύνηται, ὅταν δὲ καλῶς μετεωρίζῃ ἐαυτὸν, ταχὺ τε καταβαινήται καὶ ἀποχαλινώται, εὗ χρή εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐκὼς ἐστίν εἰς τὸ μετεωρίζειν ἐαυτὸν.
8 Ἐπὶ τῶν τουτῶν δὲ ἦδη ἦπτοις ἐπιπάζομεν ἦπτοι καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἱέρως γράφονται, καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ καλῶς χρώμενοι αὐτοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς φαίνονται.
9 οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ μετεωρίζων ἐαυτὸν ἦπτος σφόδρα ἀγαστῶν, ἄστιν ἦπτοι τῶν ὀρόντων καὶ

ἐκόντα ποιήσαι Courier: ἐκὼν τε ποιή καὶ S. with the MSS.
haunches about the belly. Now, if when he is planting his hind-legs under him you pull him up with the bit, he bends the hind-legs on the hocks and raises the fore-part of his body, so that anyone facing him can see the belly and the sheath. When he does that you must give him the bit that he may appear to the onlookers to be doing willingly the finest things that a horse can do. Some, however, teach these accomplishments by striking him under the hocks with a rod, others by telling a man to run alongside and hit him with a stick under the gaskins. We, however, consider that the lesson is most satisfactory if, as we have repeatedly said, the rider invariably allows him relaxation when he has done something according to his wishes. For what a horse does under constraint, as Simon says, he does without understanding, and with no more grace than a dancer would show if he was whipped and goaded. Under such treatment horse and man alike will do much more that is ugly than graceful. No, a horse must make the most graceful and brilliant appearance in all respects of his own will with the help of aids. Further, if you gallop him during a ride until he sweats freely, and as soon as he prances in fine style, quickly dismount and unbridle him, you may be sure that he will come willingly to the prance.

This is the attitude in which artists represent the horses on which gods and heroes ride, and men who manage such horses gracefully have a magnificent appearance. Indeed a prancing horse is a thing so graceful, terrible and astonishing that it rivets the

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2 ἀγαπτῶν Cobot: Ἡ καλὸν ἢ δεινὸν ἢ ἀγαπτῶν ἢ θαυμαστῶν
AB: Ἡ καλὸν ἢ θαυμαστῶν ἢ ἀγαπτῶν S. with the other MSS.
νέων καὶ γεραιτέρων τὰ ὀμματα κατέχει. οὔδεὶς
γοῦν οὔτε ἀπολείπει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀπαγορεύει θεώ-
μενος, ἕστ' ἂν περ ἐπιδεικνύῃ τὴν λαμπρό-
τητα.
10 Ἡν γε μὴν ποτε συμβῇ τινι τῶν τοιοῦτων
ἵππων κεκτημένων ἡ φυλαρχήσαι ἡ ἱππαρχήσαι,
οὔ δεὶ αὐτῶν τοῦτο σπουδάζειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς μόνος
λαμπρός ἔσται, ὅλλα πολὺ μᾶλλον ὅπως ὅλων
τὸ ἐπόμενον ἄξιοθέατον φανεῖται. ἤν μὲν οὖν
ήγηται, ὡς μάλιστα ἐπαινοῦσι τοὺς τοιοῦτους
ἵππους, δὲ ἂν ἀνωτάτῳ αἱρόμενοι καὶ πυκνότατα
tὸ σῶμα βραχύτατον προβαίνῃ, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ
βάδην ἔποιητ' ἂν οἱ ἄλλοι ἱπποι αὐτῶ. ἐκ δὲ
tαύτης τῆς ὀψεως τί ἄν καὶ λαμπρὸν γένοιτ' ἂν;
12 ἐν δὲ ἔξεγείρας τὸν ἱππόν ἡγη μήτε τῷ ἀγαν
τάχει μήτε τῷ ἀγαν βράδει, ὡς δὲ εὐθυμοτάτοι
ἵπποι καὶ γοργότατοι καὶ ἐνσχημονέστατοι
γίγνονται, ἐὰν ἡγη αὐτοῖς οὕτως, ἄθροος μὲν ἄν
ὦ τύπος, ἄθροον δὲ τὸ φρύγαμα καὶ τὸ φύσημα
tῶν ἱππῶν συμπαρέποιτο ὅστε οὐ μόνον αὐτός,
ἄλλα καὶ πάντες οἱ συμπαρεπόμενοι ἄξιοθέατοι
ἄν φαίνοντο.
13 Ἡν γε μὴν τις καλῶς ἰππωνήσῃ, τρέφῃ δὲ
ὡς πόνους δύνασθαι ὑποφέρειν, ὅρθως δὲ χρῆται:
καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς πόλεμον μελετῆμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς
πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἱππασίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικῶς
ἀγωνίσμασι, τί ἐτί ἐμποδῶν τοῦτο μὴ οὐχὶ
πλείονός τε ἄξιοις ἱπποισ ποιεῖν ἡ οἶνος ἄν
παραλαμβάνη, καὶ εὐδοκίμους μὲν ἱπποισ ἔχειν,

1 καὶ Weiske καὶ ποιεῖν S. with the MSS.
2 ὃν added by Courier, is omitted by S. with the MSS.
3 συμπαρέποιτο AB: συμπαρέσοιτο the other MSS.: S. omits.
gaze of all beholders, young and old alike. At all events no one leaves him or is tired of gazing at him so long as he shows off his brilliance.

Should the owner of such a horse happen to be a colonel or a general, he must not make it his object to be the one brilliant figure, but must attach much more importance to making the whole troop behind him worth looking at. Now if a horse is leading in the manner which wins most praise for such horses, prancing high and with his body closely gathered, so that he moves forward with very short steps, the rest of the horses must obviously follow also at a walking pace. Now what can there be really brilliant in such a sight? But if you rouse your horse and lead neither too fast nor too slow, but at the pace at which the most spirited horses look most fiery and stately—if you lead your men in that way, there will be such a continual stamping, such a continual neighing and snorting of the horses going on behind you, that not only you yourself but all the troop behind you will be worth watching.

If a man buys his horses well, trains them so that they can stand work, and uses them properly in the training for war, in the exhibition rides and on the battle-fields, what is there then to hinder him from making horses more valuable than they are when he takes them over, and why should he not be the owner of famous horses, and also become famous

1 Cavalry Commander, i. 22.
εὐδοκιμεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἱππικῇ, ἣν μὴ τι
dαιμόνιον κωλύῃ;

XII. Γράψαι δὲ βουλόμεθα καὶ ὡς δεῖ ὤπλι-
σθαί τὸν μέλλοντα ἐφ' ἵππου κινδυνεύειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν φαμὲν χρῆιναί τὸν θώρακα
πρὸς τὸ σῶμα πεποίησθαι τὸν μὲν ἡγαρ καλὸς
ἀρμόζοντα ὅλον φέρει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν δὲ ἄγαν
χαλαρὸν οἱ ζῆμοι μόνοι φέρουσιν, ὃ γε μὴν λίαν
2 στενὸς δεσμὸς, οὐχ ὀπλοῦν ἔστιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὃ
αὐχὴν ἔστι τῶν καιρῶν, φαμὲν χρῆιναι καὶ τούτῳ
ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θώρακος ὁμοίον τὸν αὐχένι στέ-
γασμα πεποίησθαι. τούτῳ γὰρ ἀμα κόσμον τε
παρέξει καὶ ἢν οὐν δεὶ εἰργασμένου ἃ, δέξεται
ὅταν βοῦληται τῷ ἀναβάτῃ τὸ πρόσωπον μέχρι
3 τῆς ῥυίος. κράνος γε μὴν κράτιστον εἴναι νομι-
ζομεν τὸ βοιωτιουργῆς· τούτῳ γὰρ ἀὐ στεγάζει
μάλιστα πάντα τὰ ύπερέχουσα τοῦ θώρακος,
ὅραν δὲ οὐ κωλύει. ὁ δὲ θώραξ οὕτως εἰρ-
γάσθω, ὃς μὴ κωλύῃ μῆτε καθίζειν μῆτ' ἐπικύ-
4 πτειν. περὶ δὲ τὸ ἥτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ
κύκλῳ οἱ πτέρυγες τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἔστω-
5 σαν, ὃστε στέγειν τὰ βέλη. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἢ
ἀριστερὰ χεῖρ ἢν τι πάθη, καταλύει τὸν ἰππεά,
καὶ ταύτη ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸ εὐρήμενον ὄπλον τὴν
χεῖρα καλομένην. τὸν τε γὰρ ὅμοιον σκεπάζει
καὶ τὸν βραχίονα καὶ τὸν πήχυν καὶ τὸ ἐχώμενον
τῶν ἤμων, καὶ ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ συγκάμπτεται
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ διαλείπτον τοῦ θώρακος
6 ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ καλύπτει. τὴν γε μὴν δεξιὰν
ἐπαίρειν δεῖ, ἢν τε ἀκοντίσαι ἢν τε πατάξαι

1 τὸν μὲν γὰρ A: τὸν μὲν the other MSS.: ὃτι τὸν μὲν S.
2 βέλη AB: μέλη S. with the rest.
himself for his horsemanship, provided no divine power prevents?

XII. We want to explain also how a man who is to face danger on horseback should be armed.

We say, then, that in the first place his breast-plate must be made to fit his body. For the well-fitting breastplate is supported by the whole body, whereas one that is too loose is supported by the shoulders only, and one that is too tight is rather an encumbrance than a defence. And, since the neck is one of the vital parts, we hold that a covering should be available for it also, standing up from the breastplate itself and shaped to the neck. For this will serve as an ornament, and at the same time, if properly made, will cover the rider's face, when he pleases, as high as the nose. For the helmet we consider the Boeotian pattern the most satisfactory: for this, again, affords the best protection to all the parts that project above the breastplate without obstructing the sight. As for the pattern of the breastplate, it should be so shaped as not to prevent the wearer from sitting down or stooping. About the abdomen and middle and round that region let the flaps be of such material and such a size that they will keep out missiles. And as a wound in the left hand disables the rider, we also recommend the piece of armour invented for it called the "hand." For it protects the shoulder, the arm, the elbow, and the fingers that hold the reins; it will also extend and fold up; and in addition it covers the gap left by the breastplate under the armpit. But the right hand must be raised when the man intends to fling

\[1 \text{ i.e. a gauntlet.}\]
βουληθη, τού μὲν οὖν θώρακος τὸ κωλύον
taύτη ἀφαιρετέον· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου πτέρυγας ἐν
tois γιγγλύμοις προσθετέον, ὅπως ὦταν 1 μὲν
diaίρηται, ὁμοίως ἀναπτύσσονται, ὦταν δὲ
7 καταίρηται, ἐπικλέωνται. τῷ γε μὴν βραχίονι
tὸ ὀστρέρ κυμῆς παρατιθέμενον βέλτιον 2 ἢμῖν
dοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ συνδεθὲν ὀπλω. τῷ γε μὴν ψιλού-
μενον αἱρομένης τῆς δεξιᾶς στεγαστέον ἐγγὺς
tοῦ θώρακος ἡ μοσχείων ἡ χαλκείων; εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐν
tῷ ἐπικαιροτάτῳ ἀφύλακτον ἔσται.
8 Ἐπείπερ δὲ ἢν τι πάσχῃ ὃ ἵππος, ἐν παντὶ
κινδύνῳ καὶ ὁ ἀναβάτης γίγνεται, ὀπλίζειν δεῖ
cαὶ τὸν ἵππον προμετωπιδίω καὶ προστεριδίω
cαὶ παραμυρίδιοι· ταύτα γὰρ ἁμα καὶ τῷ ἀμ-
βάτῃ παραμυρίδια γίγνεται. πάντων δὲ μᾶλιστα
tοῦ ἵππου τὸν κενεώνα δεὶ σκεπάζειν· καιριώ-
tων γὰρ ὃν καὶ ἀφαιροτατὸν ἔστι· δυνατὸν δὲ
9 σὺν 3 τῷ ἐφιππίῳ καὶ 4 αὐτὸν σκεπάσαι. χρὴ δὲ
cαὶ τὸ ἐποχον τοιούτων ἐρράφθη, ὥς ἁσφαλε-
στερὸν τε τὸν ἵππεα καθῆσθαι καὶ τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ
ἵππου μὴ σίνεσθαι.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα οὖτω καὶ ὃ ἵππος καὶ ὃ
ἵππεις ὁπλισμένοι ἄν εἰεν. κυήμαι δὲ καὶ πόδες
ὑπερέχοιεν μὲν ἄν εἰκότως τῶν παραμυρίδων,
ὀπλισθεῖν δὲ καὶ ταύτα, εἰ ἐμβάδες 5 γένοιτο
σκύτους, ἥξι οὕτερ 6 αἱ κρηπὶδες ποιοῦνται· οὖτω
gὰρ ἄν ἁμα ὀπλον τε κυήμαι καὶ ποσὶν ὑποδή-
ματ' ἂν εἰη.

1 πτέρυγας . . . προσθετέον ὅπως ὦταν Α· πτέρυγες προσ-
θεταί, ὦταν Σ. with the rest. He also reads ἀναπτύσσονται
and ἐπικλέονται against the MSS.
2 βέλτιον Α· ἁρκεῖν βέλτιον S. with the rest.
3 All MSS. have σύν, which S. omits.
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his javelin or strike a blow. Consequently that portion of the breastplate that hinders him in doing that should be removed; and in place of it there should be detachable flaps at the joints, in order that, when the arm is elevated, they may open correspondingly, and may close when it is lowered. For the fore-arm it seems to us that the piece put over it separately like a greave is better than one that is bound up together with a piece of armour. The part that is left exposed when the right arm is raised should be covered near the breastplate with calf-skin or metal; otherwise the most vital part will be unprotected.

Since the rider is seriously imperilled in the event of his horse being wounded, the horse also should be armed, having head, chest, and thigh pieces: the last also serve to cover the rider's thighs. But above all the horse's belly must be protected; for this, which is the most vital part, is also the weakest. It is possible to make the cloth serve partly as a protection to it. The quilting of the cloth should be such as to give the rider a safer seat and not to gall the horse's back.

Thus horse and man alike will be armed in most parts. But the rider's shins and feet will of course be outside the thigh-pieces. These too can be guarded if boots made of shoe-leather are worn: there will thus be armour for the shins and covering for the feet at the same time.

1 i.e. with the breastplate. Schneider thought that τῇ should be inserted before ἕλκα.

4 καὶ AB: S. omits.
5 ἐμβάδες A: ἐμβάται S. with the other MSS.
6 οὔπερ AB: ὀουπερ S. with M.
11 Ὅσ μὲν δὴ μῆ βλάπτεσθαι θεῶν ἱλευν ὁντῶν ταῦτα ὀπλα. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους βλάπτειν, μάχαιραν μὲν μᾶλλον ἡ ξίφος ἐπαινούμεν· ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ γὰρ ὄντι τῷ ἱππεῖ κοπίδος μᾶλλον ἡ
12 πληγή ἡ ξίφος ἀρκεῖσει. ἀντὶ γε μὴν δόρατος καμακίνου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀσθενές καὶ δύσφορόν ἐστι, τὰ κρανείνα δύο παλτά μᾶλλον ἐπαινούμεν. καὶ γὰρ ἔξαφείναι τὸ ἑτερον δυνατὸν τῷ ἐπισταμένῳ καὶ τῷ λειτομένῳ οἷον τε χρῆσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀντίον καὶ εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τούτισθεν¹ καὶ ἀμα ἰσχυρότερα τε τοῦ δόρατος καὶ εὐφορώτερά ἐστιν.

13 Ἀκόντισμα γε μὴν τὸ μακρότατον ἐπαινούμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀποστρέψαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν παλτὸν οὕτω μᾶλλον ὁ χρόνος ἐγχωρεῖ. γράψομεν δὲ ἐν βραχεὶ καὶ ὡς ἀν τις κράτιστα ἀκοντίζοι. ἦν γὰρ προβαλλόμενος μὲν τὰ ἀριστερά, ἐπανάγων δὲ τὰ δεξιά, ἐξαιστάμενος δ' ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν, μικρὸν ἐπανακύπτουσαν τὴν λόγχην ἀφῆ, οὕτω σφοδρότατον τε καὶ μακρότατον οὖσεται τὸ ἀκόντιον, εὐστοχώτατον μὲντοι, ἐὰν κατὰ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀφτεμένη ἀεὶ ὁρᾷ ἡ λόγχη.

14 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἱδιώτη καὶ υπομνήματα καὶ μαθήματα καὶ μελετήματα γεγράφθω ἡμῖν. ἄ δὲ ἰππάρχω προσῆκεν εἰδέναι τε καὶ πράττειν, ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

¹ τούπισθεν Α: τούμπροσθεν S. with the other MSS.
ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, xii. 11-14

These are the defensive arms which with the 11 gracious assistance of heaven will afford protection from harm. For harming the enemy we recommend the sabre¹ rather than the sword, because, owing to his lofty position, the rider will find the cut with the Persian sabre more efficacious than the thrust with the sword. And, in place of the spear 12 with a long shaft, seeing that it is both weak and awkward to manage, we recommend rather the two Persian javelins of cornel wood. For the skilful man may throw the one and can use the other in front or on either side or behind. They are also stronger than the spear and easier to manage.²

We recommend throwing the javelin at the longest 13 range possible. For this gives a man more time to turn his horse and to grasp the other javelin. We will also state in a few words the most effective way of throwing the javelin. If a man, in the act of advancing his left side, drawing back his right, and rising from his thighs, discharges the javelin with its point a little upwards, he will give his weapon the strongest impetus and the furthest carrying power; it will be most likely to hit the mark, however, if at the moment of discharge the point is always set on it.

These notes, instructions and exercises which we 14 have here set down are intended only for the private person. What it belongs to a cavalry leader to know and to do has been set forth in another book.

¹ The sabre (μάχαιρα) was used in the Lacedaemonian and the Persian army. ¹ The two Persian javelins were shorter than the Greek spear.

² κοῖς is the special term for the Persian weapon.

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ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΝΗΓΕΤΙΚΟΣ

I. Τὸ μὲν εὐρήμα θεῶν, 'Απόλλωνος καὶ 'Αρτέμιδος, ἄγας καὶ κύνες: ἔδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἐτίμησαν 2 τοῦτο Χείρωνα διὰ δικαιότητα. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐχάρη τῷ δόρῳ καὶ ἔχρητο· καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ μαθηταὶ κυνηγεσίων τε καὶ ἐτέρων καλῶν Κέφαλος, 'Ασκληπιός, Μειλανίων, Νέστωρ, 'Αμφιρασ, Πηλεὺς, 'Ατλαμόων, Μελέαγρος, Θησεύς, Ἰππόλυτος, Παλαμήδης, Ὀδυσσεύς, Μενεσθέας, Διομίδης, Κάστωρ, Πολυδεύκης, Μαχάων, Ποδαλείριος, 'Αντίλοχος, Αἰνείας, 'Αχιλλεύς· διὸ κατὰ 3 χρόνον ἐκαστὸς ὑπὸ θεῶν ἑτίμηθη. θαυμαζέτω δὲ μηδείς, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀρέσκοντες θεοὶς ὅμως ἐτελεύτησαν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις· ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπαινοῦντοι αὐτῶν μεγάλοι ἐγένοντο· μηδὲ ὅτι οὐ καὶ αἱ αὐταὶ ἥλικια πᾶσι τούτοις.1 ο γὰρ Χείρωνος βίος πᾶσιν ἐξήρκει. Ζεῦς γὰρ καὶ Χείρων ἄδελφοι πατρὸς μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ ο μὲν Ῥέας, ο δὲ Ναίδος νύμφης· ὡστε ἐγεγόνει μὲν πρότερος τούτων, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ὦστερος ἐπεὶ 2 'Αχιλλέα ἐπαιδεύσεν. 5 Ἕκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς 3 τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας πολὺ διενεγκόντες κατὰ τὴν ἁρετὴν ἑθαυμάσθησαν.

1 πάσι τούτοις Α: S. omits with the rest.
2 ὦστερος ἐπει Α: ὦστερον ἡ ἦς S. with M.
ON HUNTING

I. Game and hounds are the invention of gods, of Apollo and Artemis. They bestowed it on Cheiron and honoured him therewith for his righteousness. And he, receiving it, rejoiced in the gift, and used it. And he had for pupils in venery and in other noble pursuits—Cephalus, Asclepius, Meilanion, Nestor, Amphiaraus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theseus, Hippolytus, Palamedes, Odysseus, Menestheus, Diomedes, Castor, Polydeuces, Machaon, Podaleirius, Antilochus, Aeneas, Achilles, of whom each in his time was honoured by gods. Let no man marvel that the more part of these, even though they pleased gods, died none the less; for that was nature's work; but the praise of them grew mightily;—nor yet that not all of these flourished at one time. For Cheiron's lifetime sufficed for all. For Zeus and Cheiron were brethren, sons of one sire, but the mother of the one was Rhea, of the other the nymph Nais: and so, though he was born before these, he died after them, for he taught Achilles.

Through the heed they paid to hounds and hunting and the rest of their scholarship they excelled greatly and were admired for their virtue.

\[\tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{Schneider}: \tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\kappa\ S\ \text{with the MSS}\]
Κέφαλος μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ θεᾶς ἡρπάσθη, Ἀσκληπιὸς δὲ μειζόνων ἐτυχεν, ἀνιστάναι μὲν τεθνεῶτας, νοσοῦτας δὲ ἱάσθαι διὰ δὲ τάυτα θεὸς ὑς παρ᾿ ἀνθρώποις αἰείμυστον κλέος ἔχει. Μειλανίων δὲ τοσοῦτον ὑπερέσχε φιλοποιίᾳ, ὅσε ὃν αὐτῷ ἀντερασταὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ τότε ἁρίστοι τῶν τότε μεγίστων γάμων μόνος ἐτυχεν Ἀταλάντης. Νέστωρος δὲ προδιεληλυθεν ἡ ἁρετῇ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τὰς ἄκοις, ὅστε εἰδόσιν ἀν λέγοιμι. Ἀμφιάραος δὲ ὅτε ἐπὶ Θῆβας ἐστράτευσεν, πλείστων κτησάμενος ἐπαινὼν ἐτυχε παρὰ θεῶν ἀείζως τιμᾶσθαι. Πηλεὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν παρέσχε καὶ θεοὶς δοῦναι τε θέτων αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν γάμον παρὰ Χείρων ὑμνήσαι. 

Τελαμῶν δὲ τοσοῦτος ἐγένετο, ὅστε ἕκ μὲν πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης ἥν αὐτὸς ἐβουλεύτο γῆμαι Περίβοιαν τῆν Ἀλκάθων ὅτε δὲ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐδίδου τὰ ἁριστεία Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Διὸς, ἐλών. 

Τροίαν, Ἡσιόνην αὐτῷ ἐδωκεν. Μελέαγρος δὲ τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἃς ἐλαβε φανεραὶ· πατρὸς δὲ ἐν γῆρα ἐπιλανθανομένου τῆς θεοῦ οὐχ αὐτοῦ αἰτίας ἑδύστυχη. Θησεὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχθροὺς πάσης μόνος ἀπώλεσε· τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ πατρίδα πολλῷ μείζων ποιήσας ἔτι καὶ νῦν θαυμάζεται. Ἰππόλυτος δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς ᾿Αρτέμιδος ἐτιμάτω καὶ ἐν λόγοις ἦν, σωφροσύνη δὲ καὶ ὀσιότητι μακαρισθεὶς ἐπελεύσθη. Παλαμήδης δὲ ἔως μὲν ἦν, πολὺ τῶν ἐφ ἐαυτοῦ ὑπερέσχε σοφία, ἀποθανὼν δὲ ἀδίκως τοσαύτης ἐτυχε τιμωρίας ὑπὸ θεῶν, ὅσης οὐδεὶς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων.

1 This τότε is omitted by S. 
2 ἀείζωs Dindorf: ἀεὶ σω S. with the MSS.
Cephalus was carried away by a goddess. Asclepius won yet greater preferment—to raise the dead, to heal the sick; and for these things he has everlasting fame as a god among men. Meilanion was so peerless in love of toil that, though the princeliest of that age were his rival suitors for the greatest Lady of the time, only he won Atalanta. Nestor's virtue is an old familiar tale to Greek ears; so there is no need for me to tell of it. Amphiaraus when he fought against Thebes, gained great praise and won from the gods the honour of immortality. Peleus stirred a desire even in the gods to give him Thetis and to hymn their marriage in Cheiron's home. Telamon waxed so mighty that he wedded from the greatest city the maiden of his choice, Periboea, daughter of Alcathus: and when the first of the Greeks, Heracles son of Zeus, distributed the prizes of valour after taking Troy, to him he gave Hesione. As for Meleager, the honours that he won are manifest; and it was not by his own fault that he came to sorrow when his father in old age forgot the goddess. Theseus single-handed slew the enemies of all Greece; and because he enlarged greatly the borders of his country he is admired to this day. Hippolytus was honoured by Artemis and held converse with her; and for his prudence and holiness he was counted happy when he died. Palamedes far outstripped the men of his generation in wisdom while he lived; and being unjustly slain he won from the gods such vengeance as fell to the lot of no other

1 Aurora.
2 The καλ before τις in the text should probably be placed before μει.χόνων.
3 i.e. when his father Oeneus forgot Artemis,—a laps which led ultimately to the death of Meleager.
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έτελεύτησε δὲ οὖς ὕφε δὲ οἴνονταὶ τινες· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἦν ὁ μὲν σχεδὸν τι ἁριστος, ὁ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀγαθὸς.

12 κακοῖ δὲ ἔπραξαν τὸ ἐργον. Μενεσθεὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς τῶν κυνηγεσίων τοσοῦτον ὑπερέβαλε φιλοποιία, ὡστε ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων πρῶτους ὑστέρους εἶναι τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνου πλὴν Νέστορος· καὶ οὕτως οὐ προέχειν λέγεται, ἀλλὰ δρίζειν. Ὁδυσσεὺς δὲ καὶ Διομήδης λαμπροὶ μὲν καὶ καθ' ἐν ἐκαστον, τὸ δὲ ὁλον αἴτιοι Τροίαν ἄλωναι. Κάστωρ δὲ καὶ Πολυδέκατος ὅσα ἐπεδείξατο ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τῶν παρὰ Χείρωνος διὰ τὸ ἄξιωμα τὸ ἐκ τούτων ἀθάνατοι εἰσι. Μαχάων δὲ καὶ Ποδαλείριος παιδευθέντες τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα ἐγένοντο καὶ τέχνας καὶ λόγους καὶ πολέμους ἀγαθοὶ. Ἀντίλοχος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεραποθανὸν τοσαύτης ἔτυχεν εὐκλείας, ὡστε μόνος φιλοπάτωρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἀναγαρευθῆναι. Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρῴους καὶ μητρῴους θεοὺς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα δόξων εὐσεβείας εξηνεγκατο, ὡστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ὄν ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐδοσαν μὴ συλληθῆναι. Ἀχιλλέως δ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ παιδείᾳ τραφεῖς οὕτω καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα μνημεῖα παρέδωκεν, ὡστε οὔτε λέγων οὔτε ἀκούων περὶ ἐκείνου οὐδεὶς ἀπαγορεύει.

17 Οὗτοι τοιούτοι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς

1 τῆς Schneider: τῆς ἐκ S. with the MSS.

1 Odysseus and Diomedes, who, according to one account, drowned Palamedes when he was fishing. The reference here may be to this version. In Memorabilia iv. ii. 4 X. follows the commoner version that Odysseus got P. put to 370.
mortal. But his end was not compassed by those whom some imagine, else could not the one of them have been well-nigh the best, and the other the peer of the good; but bad men did the deed. Menestheus through the heed he paid to hunting, so far surpassed others in love of toil that the first of the Greeks confessed themselves his inferiors in feats of war, all save Nestor; and he, it is said, outdid not, but rivalled him. Odysseus and Diomedes were brilliant in every single deed, and in short, to them was due the capture of Troy. Castor and Polydeuces, through the renown that they won by displaying in Greece the arts they learned of Cheiron, are immortal. Machaon and Podaleirius, schooled in all the same arts, proved in crafts and reasonings and wars good men. Antilochus, by giving his life for his father, won such glory that he alone was proclaimed among the Greeks as "the Devoted Son." Aeneas saved the gods of his father's and his mother's family, and withal his father himself; wherefore he bore away fame for his piety, so that to him alone among all the vanquishers at Troy even the enemy granted not to be despoiled. Achilles, nursed in this schooling, bequeathed to posterity memorials so great and glorious that no man wearies of telling and hearing of him.

These, whom the good love even to this day and death by a false charge of treachery; and in the *Odyssey* attributed to the rhetorician Alcidamus, Diomedes and Sthenelus are associated with Odysseus in bringing this charge. In revenge for his death his father Nauplius caused the shipwreck of the Greek fleet off the south of Euboea.

2 In *Iliad* ii. 555.

3 How Antilochus, son of Nestor, saved his father's life is told by Pindar in the sixth *Pythian*. 371
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παρὰ Χείρωνος, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔρωσιν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ φθονοῦσιν, ὅστ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἑλλάδι εἰ τῷ συμφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἡ πόλει ἡ βασιλεῖ, ἐλύσοντ' 1 αὐτοὺς: εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βαρ-βάρους πάντας πάση τῇ Ἑλλάδι νεῖκος ἡ πόλε-μος, διὰ τούτους οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐκράτουν, ὡστε ἀνίκητον τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν.

18 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραϊνὼ τοῖς νέοις μὴ καταφρο-νεῖν κυνηγεσίων μηδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας: ἐκ τούτων γὰρ γίγνονται τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαθοὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα, εξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καλῶς νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν.

II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτή-<.bl><br/></bl>δεμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων τὸν ἕδη ἐκ παιδὸς ἄλλαττοντα τὴν ἥλικιαν, εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα παιδεύματα, τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα σκεφτάμενον τὴν οὐ-<bl><br/></bl>σίαν ὧ μὲν ἐστὶν ἰκανή, ἄξιως τῆς αὐτοῦ ὠφελείας, ὧ δὲ μὴ ἐστὶν, ἄλλ' οὖν τὴν γε προ-<bl><br/></bl>θυμίαν παρεχέσθω μηδὲν ἐλλειπτῶν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεως.

2 Ἡσα δὲ καὶ σὰ δὲ <bl><br/></bl>φανερεσκενασμένον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτό, φράζω καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκάστου, ἵνα προειδῶς ἐγχερῆ τῷ ἔργῳ. καὶ μηδείς αὐτὰ φαύλα νομισάτω εἰναι: ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ τούτων ὑπ' ἄν εἰη πράξεις.

3 Χρὴ δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἄρκυνορων εἴναι ἐπιθυμοῦντα τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν φωνῆν Ἑλληνα, τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν περὶ ἐτῇ εἰκοσί, τὸ δὲ εἰδός ἐλαφρόν, ἰσχυρον, ψυχὴν δὲ ἰκανον, ἵνα τῶν πόνων τούτως κράτων ἑαν ἐπὶ ἀρκυνος Φασιανοῦ ἡ Καρ-

1 S. omits δ' with the better MSS.
ON HUNTING, 1. 17–II. 4

the evil envy, were made so perfect through the care they learned of Cheiron that, when troubles fell upon any state or any king in Greece, they were composed through their influence; or if all Greece was at strife or at war with all the Barbarian powers, these brought victory to the Greeks, so that they made Greece invincible.

Therefore I charge the young not to despise hunting or any other schooling. For these are the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed.

II. The first pursuit, therefore, that a young man just out of his boyhood should take up is hunting, and afterwards he should go on to the other branches of education, provided he has means. He must look to his means, and, if they are sufficient, spend as much as the benefit to himself is worth; or, if they are insufficient, at least let him supply enthusiasm, in no way coming short of his power.1

I will give a list and a description of the intending hunter's outfit, and the explanation of each item, in order that he may understand the business before he puts his hand to it. And let no one regard these details as trivial; inasmuch as nothing can be done without them.

The net-keeper should be a man with a keen interest in the business, one who speaks Greek, about twenty years old, agile and strong, and resolute, that, being well qualified to overcome his tasks, he may take pleasure in the business. The purse-nets should 4

1 The text of this paragraph is open to suspicion. The words from ἐλπα to Ἐχοντα may be an afterthought.
χηδονίου λεπτοῦ λίνου καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ τὰ δίκτυα.

"Εστοσαν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἄρκνας ἐννεάλινοι ἐκ τριῶν τόνων, ἐκαστὸς δὲ τόνος ἐκ τριῶν λίνων, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος πεντεσπίθαμοι, διπάλαιστοι δὲ τοὺς βρόχους, περικείσθωσαν ¹ δὲ τοὺς περιδρόμους ἀναμ-5 μάτους,² ἵνα εὑτροχοὶ ὤσι, τὰ δ' ἐνόδια δωδεκάλινα, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα ἐκκαίδεκάλινα, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τὰ μὲν ἐνόδια διώρυγα, τετρώρυγα, πεντώρυγα, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα δεκώρυγα, εἰκοσώρυγα, τριακοντώρυγα· ἐὰν δὲ ἢ μείζων, δυσμεταχείριστα ἔσται· ἀμφότερα δὲ τριακονθάμματα, καὶ τῶν βρόχων 6 τὸ διάστημα ἵσον ταῖς ἀρκυσιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀκρωλείοις τὰ μὲν ἐνόδια ἐχέτω μαστοῦς, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα δακτυλίους, τοὺς δὲ περιδρόμους ἀπὸ 7 στροφείων. αἱ δὲ σχαλίδες τῶν μὲν ἄρκυν τὸ μήκος δέκα παλαιστῶν, ἐστοσαν δὲ καὶ ἐλάττους· αἱ μὲν ἀνισοὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐτεροκλινέσι τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' ἵσα τὰ ύψη ἐξαίρωσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀμαλέσιν αἱ ἵσαι αὐταὶ δ' εὐπερισπαστοὶ τὰ ἀκρα καὶ αὐταὶ λείαι· τῶν δὲ ἐνοδίων διπλα-

¹ περικείσθωσαν Α: ύφεισθωσαν S., a conjecture based on the other MSS
² οἱ περιδρόμοι ἀναμάτου S. against the MSS.

¹ i.e. Colchian. Much flax and linen was exported from Colchis.
² The cords meant here are those that ran round the mouth of the purse, and served as a running noose to close it when the hare got in.
³ i.e. ten meshes, so that the extreme height, if the net was fully stretched, would be five feet. Poachers now use slip-knots or nets about four feet deep with a mesh of two-and-a-half inches.
be made of fine Phasian or Carthaginian flax, and the road-nets and hayes of the same material.

Let the purse-nets be of nine threads woven in three strands, each strand consisting of three threads. The proper length for these nets is forty-five inches, the proper width of the meshes six inches. The cords that run round them must be without knots, so that they may run easily. The road-nets should be of twelve threads, and the hayes of sixteen. The length of the road-nets may be twelve, twenty-four or thirty-feet; that of the hayes sixty, a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and eighty feet. If they are longer, they will be unwieldy. Both kinds should be thirty knots high, and should have meshes of the same width as those of the purse-nets. At the elbows at either end let the road-nets have slip-knots of string and the hayes metal rings, and let the cords be attached by loops. The stakes for the purse-nets should be thirty inches long, but some should be shorter. Those of unequal length are for use on sloping ground, to make the height of the nets equal, while those of the same length are used on the level. These stakes must be so shaped at the top that the nets will pull off readily and they must be smooth. The stakes for the road-nets

4 The rings running down the two sides were used for joining two nets together.
5 i.e. the cords running along the top and bottom of the nets.
6 The author means, I think, to imply a contrast between the stakes of the purse-nets and those of the other nets. The second ἀὕται in the text can scarcely be right: possibly καὶ ἀὕται λέια should be omitted, or ἀὕται, "they themselves," read with Dindorf.
σιαί, αἱ δὲ τῶν δικτύων τὸ μὲν μέγεθος πεντεσπίθαμοι, δικρὰ ἐξουσαι μικρά, τὰ ἐντυμήματα μη βαθέα· εὐπαγεῖς δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ μη ἀσύμμετροι τὰ

8 πάχη πρὸς τὰ μῆκη. τῷ δὲ πλῆθει τῶν σχαλίδων οἷον τέ ἐστι χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ δίκτυα πολλῷ καὶ ὁλίγῳ ἐλάττουν μὲν, ἀν σφόδρα τείνηται ἐν τῇ

9 στίσει πλέονι δ', ἂν ἰσυχῇ. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἐσονται αἱ ἀρκεί καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ δίκτυα ¹ κυνουχος μόσχειος καὶ τὰ δρέπανα, ἢν ἦ τῆς ὕλης τέμνοντα φράττειν τὰ δεόμενα.

III. Τὰ δὲ γένη τῶν κυνῶν ἐστὶ διπτά, αἱ μὲν γὰρ καστόριαι, αἱ δὲ ἀλωπεκίδες. ἐξουσί δ' αἱ μὲν καστόριαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὅτι Κάστωρ ἡσθείς τῷ ἐργῷ μάλιστα αὐτάς διεφύλαξεν· αἱ δ' ἀλωπεκίδες, διότι ἐκ κυνῶν τε καὶ ἀλωπέκων ἐγένοντο· ἐν πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ συγκέκραται αὐτῶν

2 ἡ φύσις. χείρους δὲ καὶ πλείους αἱ τοιαίδε, μικραί, γρυπταί, χαροποί, μνωποί, ἀμορφοί,² σκληραί, ἀσθενεῖς, ψιλαί, ὑψηλαί, ἀσύμμετροι,

3 ἄψυχοι, ἄρρινες, οὐκ εὐπόδες. αἱ μὲν οὖν μικραὶ πολλάκις ³ ἀποστειροῦνται τῆς ἐργασίας διὰ τὸ μικρόν· αἱ δὲ γρυπταὶ ἀστομοὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ κατέχουσι τὸν λαγὸ· χαροποί ⁴ δὲ καὶ μνωποὶ χειρώ τὰ ὄμματα ἐχουσίων, ἀμορφοὶ δὲ καὶ αἰσχραὶ ὀράσθαι· αἱ δ' σκληραῖ τὰ εἰδὴ χαλέπως ἀπὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων ἀπαλλάττουσιν πονεῖν δὲ ἀδύνατοι αἱ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ αἱ ψιλαί· καὶ αἱ ὑψηλαί μὲν καὶ ἀσύμμετροι ἀσύντακτα ἐχουσί τὰ

¹ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ δίκτυα A: τὰ δίκτυα ἐν ἐκατέροις S. with the rest.
² ἀμορφοί Rühl: αἰσχαλ MSS.: S. omits.
³ S. adds ἐκ τῶν κυνηγεσίων omitted in AB.
⁴ μνωποὶ δὲ καὶ χαροποὶ S. with BM.

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should be twice the length of these, and those for the hayes forty-five inches long. The latter should have little forks with shallow grooves, and all should be stout, of a thickness proportioned to the length. The number of stakes used for the hayes may be large or small; fewer are required if the nets are strained tight when set up, more if they are slack. A calf-skin bag will be wanted for carrying the purse-nets and road-nets and hayes and the bill-hooks for cutting wood and stopping gaps where necessary.

III. The hounds used are of two kinds, the Castorian and the Vulpine. The Castorian is so called because Castor paid special attention to the breed, making a hobby of the business. The Vulpine is a hybrid between the dog and the fox: hence the name. In the course of time the nature of the parents has become fused. Inferior specimens (that is to say, the majority) show one or more of the following defects. They are small, hook-nosed, grey-eyed, blinking, ungainly, stiff, weak, thin-coated, lanky, ill-proportioned, cowardly, dull-scented, unsound in the feet. Now small dogs often drop out of the running through their want of size; hook-nosed dogs have no mouth and can't hold the hare; grey-eyed dogs and blinkers have bad sight; ungainly dogs look ugly; stiff ones are in a bad way at the end of the hunt; no work can be got out of the weak and the thin-coated ones; those that are lanky and ill-proportioned are heavy movers and carry them-

1 Or perhaps he means both sets.

2 Both are Laconian varieties, the Castorian being much the larger. The Vulpine resembled a fox; hence the erroneous idea that it was a hybrid between dog and fox (O.Keller, die antike Tierwelt, i. 121).
σώματα βαρέως διαφοιτώσιν αἱ ἄψυχοι δὲ λείπουσι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἀφίστανται τὸν ἥλιον ὕπο τᾶς σκιᾶς καὶ κατακλίνονται αἱ δὲ ἄρρυνοι μόλις καὶ ὀλγάκις αἰσθάνονται τοῦ λαγών ἀἱ δὲ ἀποδεῖσθαι οὖν ἐὰν ὡσιν εὐψυχοι, τοὺς πόνους δύναται ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύουσι διὰ τὸ ἄλγος τῶν ποδῶν.

4 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἰχνεύσεως πολλοὶ τρόποι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν κυνῶν αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειδὰν λάβωσι τὰ ἵππη, πορεύονται ἀσήμως ὡστε μὴ γιγαντίας ἅποι ἰχνεύουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὦτα μόνον διακινοῦσι, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἑσυχὴ ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὦτα μὲν ἀκίνητα ἔχουσιν, ἀκρὰ δὲ τῇ οὐρᾳ σείουσι.

5 ἄλλαι δὲ συνάγονται τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἐπισκυθρωπάσασαι διὰ τοῦ ἰχνους σχάσασαι τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ φράξασαι διατρέχουσι πολλαὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι, μανικῶς δὲ περιφερόμεναι ὑλακτοῦσι περὶ τὰ ἵππη, ὅτε δὲ ἐἰσπίπτοντοι οἷς αὐτὰ, ἀφρόνως καταπατοῦσαι τὸς αἰσθήσεως.

6 εἰσὶ δ' αἱ κύκλοις πολλοὶς χρώμεναι καὶ πλάνοις ὑπολαμβάνονται ἐκ τοῦ πρὸσω 2 τὰ ἵππη παραλείπουσι τὸν λαγώ, ὅσαίς δ' ἐπιπρέξτη τὰ ἵππη, εἰκάζουσι, προορώμεναι δὲ τὸν λαγώ τρέμουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐπερχοῦται, πρὸν ἴδουσιν ὑποκινοῦντα. ὡσι δὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων κυνῶν εὐρήματα ἐν ταῖς ἰχνείαις καὶ μεταδρομαίς προθέουσι θαμνὰ σκοποῦσαι, ἐαυταῖς ἀπίστως ἔχουσι θρασεῖα δ' αἱ οὖκ ἔστι τῶν συνεργῶν τὰς σοφὰς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προϊέναι, ἀλλ' ἀνείργουσι θρουβοῦσαι αἱ δὲ ἀσταξόμεναι τὰ ψευδή καὶ ὑπερλαμψύνομεν εἴφ' ὅτι ἄν τὰ ἰχνη προάγουσι συνειδεύοι

7 ὑποκινοῦντα. ὡσι δὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων κυνῶν εὐρήματα ἐν ταῖς ἰχνείαις καὶ μεταδρομαίς προθέουσι θαμνα σκοποῦσαι, ἐαυταῖς ἀπίστως ἔχουσι θρασεῖα δ' αἱ οὖκ ἔστι τῶν συνεργῶν τὰς σοφὰς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προϊέναι, ἀλλ' ἀνείργουσι θρουβοῦσαι αἱ δὲ ἀσταξόμεναι τὰ ψευδή καὶ ὑπερλαμψύνομεν εἴφ' ὅτι ἄν τὰ ἰχνη προάγουσι συνειδεύοι

1 δ' is omitted by S. with M.
ON HUNTING, iii. 3-7

selves anyhow; cowards leave their work and give up and slink away from the sun into shady places and lie down; dogs with no nose seldom scent the hare and only with difficulty; and those with bad feet, even if they are plucky, can’t stand the hard work, and tire because they are foot-sore.

Moreover, hounds of the same breed vary much in behaviour when tracking. Some go ahead as soon as they find the line without giving a sign, and there is nothing to show that they are on it. Some move the ears only, but keep the tail still; others keep the ears still and wag the tip of the tail. Others prick up the ears and run frowning along the track, dropping their tails and putting them between their legs. Many do none of these things, but rush about madly round the track, and when they happen upon it, stupidly trample out the traces, barking all the time. Others again, continually circling and straying; get ahead of the line when clean off it and pass the hare, and every time they run against the line, begin guessing, and if they catch sight of the hare, tremble and never go for her until they see her stir. Hounds that run forward and frequently examine the discoveries of the others when they are casting about and pursuing have no confidence in themselves; while those that will not let their cleverer mates go forward, but fuss and keep them back, are confident to a fault. Others will drive ahead, eagerly following false lines and getting wildly excited over anything that turns up, well know-

1 The Greek hound had short ears (cf. c. iv. 1) like a fox-terrier.

3 πρόσθεν S. with M.
εισαται ότι έξαπατώσων· αἱ δ' οὐκ εἰδυῖαι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι ταύταις· φαύλαι δὲ αἱ οὐκ ἂπαλλαττόμεναι ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν τὰ ὀρθὰ οὐ γιγνώσκουσαι.

8 ὥσιν ὅτι τῶν κυνῶν τὰ ἧχη τὰ μὲν εὐναία ἀγνοοῦσι, τὰ δὲ δρομαία ταχὺ διατρέχουσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ γνήσιαι· διόκους δὲ αἱ μὲν ἄρχομεναι σφόδρα, διὰ δὲ μαλακίαν ἀναισί, αἱ δὲ ύποθέουσι, ἐίτα ἀμαρτάνουσι, ἐτεραι δὲ ἀνοίητως ἐμπίπτουσαι εἰς τὰς ὀδοὺς ἀμαρτάνουσι τὸ ἀνήκουστον πολὺ ἔχουσαι. πολλαὶ δὲ τὰ διϊγματα ἀφίεσαι ἐπανέρχονται διὰ τὸ μισόθηρον, πολλαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον· αἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἱχνῶν κεκλάγγυια ἐξαπατᾶν πειρόνται ἀληθῆ τὰ ψευδὴ ποιοῦμεναι. εἰσὶ δ' αἳ τούτῳ μὲν οὐ ποιοῦσι, μεταξὺ δὲ θέουσαι ἄν ποθὲν ἄκούσσωι κρανγῆς, καταλείπουσαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἔργα ἀπρονοῆτος ἐπὶ τούτῳ φέρονται· μεταθέουσι γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἀσαφῶς, αἱ δὲ πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι, δοξάζουσαι δὲ ἐτέρως· 1 αἱ δὲ πεπλασμένως, φθονέροι δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκκυ νουσὶ παρὰ τὸ ἱχνος διὰ τέλους συμπεριφέρομεναι.

10 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείστα τούτων φύσει ἔχουσι, 2 τὰ δὲ ήγεμέναι ἀνεπιστημονός δύσχρηστοί εἰσιν· αἱ τοιαύται μὲν οὖν κύρες ἀποτρέψειαν ἄν τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας κυνηγεῖσιν. οἶας δὲ δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους τὰ τε εἰδή καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, φράσω.

IV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρῆ εἶναι μεγάλας, εἶτα ἔχουσας τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐλαφράς, σιμάς, ἀρθρώδεις, ἰνόθη τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν μετώπων, ὅμωτα μετέωρα, μέλανα, λαμπρά, μέτωπα μεγάλα καὶ πλατέα,

1 ἐτέρως A: ἔτερα S. with BM.
2 ἔχουσαι S. with M.

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ON HUNTING, iii. 7–iv. 1

ing that they are playing the fool; others will do the same thing in ignorance. Those that stick to game paths and don’t recognise the true line are poor tools. A hound that ignores the trail and races over the track of the hare on the run is ill-bred. Some, again, will pursue hotly at first, and then slack off from want of pluck; others will cut in ahead and then get astray; while others foolishly dash into roads and go astray, deaf to all recall. Many abandon the pursuit and go back through their hatred of game, and many through their love of man. Others try to mislead by baying on the track, representing false lines as true ones. Some, though free from this fault, leave their own work when they hear a shout from another quarter while they are running, and make for it recklessly. When pursuing some are dubious, others are full of assumptions but their notions are wrong. Then there are the skirters, some of whom merely pretend to hunt, while others out of jealousy perpetually scamper about together beside the line.

Now most of these faults are natural defects, but some by which hounds are spoilt are due to unintelligent training. Anyhow such hounds may well put a keen hunter off the sport. What hounds of the same breed ought to look like and what they should be in other respects I will now explain.

IV. First, then, they should be big. Next, the head should be light, flat and muscular; the lower parts of the forehead sinewy; the eyes prominent, black and sparkling; the forehead broad, with a

1 "The trail of the hare is the path she takes in going to her seat."—Beckford.

2 The author’s ideal harrier is clearly the Castorian.

3 In profile.
τὰς διακρίσεις βαθείας, ὡτα μικρά, κεπτά, ψιλὰ ὁπισθεν, τραχύους μακρούς, ύγροὺς, περιφερείς, στήθη πλατέα, μη ἀσαρκα, ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμών τὰς ὁμοπλάτας διεστώσας μικρῶν, σκέλη τὰ πρόσθια μικρά, ὀρθά, στρογγύλα, στιφρά, τοὺς ἄγκωνας ὀρθούς, πλευρὰς μη ἐπὶ γῆν βαθείας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πλάγιον παρηκουσάς, ὁσφύς σαρκώδεις, τὰ μεγέθη μεταξὺ μακρῶν καὶ βραχέων, μητὲ ὕγρας λίαν μήτε σκληράς, λαγώνας μεταξὺ μεγάλων καὶ μικρῶν, ἵσχύα στρογγύλα, ὁπισθεν σαρκώδη, ἀνωθεν δὲ μη συνδεδεμένα, ἐνδοθεν δὲ προσεσταλμένα, τὰ κατωθεν τῶν κενεώνων λαγαρά καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κενεώνας, οὐρὰς μακράς, ὀρθᾶς, λυγυράς, μηριαῖας σκληράς, ύποκώλα μακρά, περιφερῇ, εὐπαγή, σκέλη πολὺ μεῖξω τὰ ὁπισθεν τῶν ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ἐπιρρικνα,
2 πόδας περιφερείς. καὶ ἐὰν ὅσι τοιάται αἴ κύνες, ἔσονται ἵσχυρα τὰ εἴδη, ἐλαφραί, σύμμετροι, ποδώκεις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προσώπων φαίδραλ καὶ εὐστομοι.

3 Ἰχνευέτωσαν δ' ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν ταχύ ἀπαλλατ-τόμεναι, τιθεῖσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ γῆν λεχρίας, ἐμμειδώσαι μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἱχνή, ἐπικαταβάλλουσαι δὲ τὰ ὀδη, καὶ 3 τὰ μὲν ὀμματα πυκνὰ διακινοῦ-σαι, ταῖς δὲ οὐραῖς διασώσουσαι, κύκλους πολλοὺς πρὸς τὰς εὐνὰς προίτωσαν ὁμοῖ διὰ τὸν ἰχνος 4 ἀπασαί. ὅταν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅσι τὸν λαγῶ,  

1 μακρά S., a wrong conjecture.  
2 ἐπὶ γῆν AB ἐπὶ σαν S. with M.  
3 καὶ A: S. omits with the rest.

1 i.e. not bent inwards or outwards.
ON HUNTING, iv. 1–4

deep dividing line; the ears small and thin with little hair behind; the neck long, loose and round; the chest broad and fairly fleshy; the shoulder-blades slightly outstanding from the shoulders; the forelegs short, straight, round and firm; the elbows straight; the ribs not low down on the ground, but sloping in an oblique line; the loins fleshy, of medium length, and neither too loose nor too hard; the flanks of medium size; the hips round and fleshy at the back, not close at the top, and smooth on the inside; the under part of the belly and the belly itself slim; the tail long, straight and thin; the thighs hard; the shanks long, round and solid; the hind-legs much longer than the fore-legs and slightly bent; the feet round. Hounds like these will be strong in appearance, agile, well-proportioned, and speedy; and they will have a jaunty expression and a good mouth.

When tracking they should get out of the game paths quickly, hold their heads well down and aslant, smiling when they find the scent and lowering their ears; then they should all go forward together along the trail towards the form circling frequently, with eyes continually on the move and tails wagging. As soon as they are close on the hare,

2 So Pollux read, for he says μὴ πρὸς τὴν γῆν βαθυνομένας. The sense is then that the ribs are not to be low on the ground when the hound is couchant, but well tucked up behind. ἐπὶ πᾶν βαθέας, “deep throughout,” would apply to the depth from wall to wall, and the meaning would be that the ribs are to contract towards the flanks.

3 i.e. without folds in the coat towards the loins.

4 From the elbows to the feet.

5 A participle to govern κύκλους πολλοὺς has dropped out of the text.
δήλων ποιεῖτο σαν τῷ κυνηγήτῃ θάττον φοιτώσαι, μάλλον γυνωρίζουσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμμάτων, ἀπὸ τῆς μεταλάξεως τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναβλεμμάτων καὶ ἐμβλεμμάτων εἰς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ἀναστρεμμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς καθέδρας τοῦ λαγώ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ὅπισθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον διαρρημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθῶς ἢ ἕδη αἰωρεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχήν καὶ ὑπερφαίρειν, ὅτι τοῦ λαγώ ἐγγύς εἰσί.

5 Διωκέτωσαν δὲ ἐρρωμένως καὶ μὴ ἐπανείσας σὺν πολλῇ κλαγῇ καὶ ὑλαγμῷ, συνεκπερῶσας μετὰ τοῦ λαγώ πάντη μεταθεῖσαν δὲ ταχὺ καὶ λαμπρῶς, πυκνὰ μεταφέρομεναι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι δικαίως· πρὸς δὲ τὸν κυνηγήτην μὴ ἐπανίστωσαν λιποῦσαι τὰ ἰχνῆ.

6 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ εἴδους καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου εὐψυχοι ἐστώσαν καὶ εὐρίνες καὶ εὔποδες καὶ εὔτριχες. εὐψυχοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔστηνται, ἐὰν μὴ λίπωσι τὰ κυνηγεῖα, ὅταν ἢ πνίγη· εὐρίνες δὲ, ἐὰν τοῦ λαγῶ ὀσφραῖνονται ἐν τόποις ψίλοις, ἔνοροις, προσηλίοις τοῦ ἀστρον ἐπιόντος· εὐπόδες δὲ, ἐὰν τῇ αὐτῇ ὠρᾳ μὴ καταρρογνύονται αὐτῷ οἱ πόδες τὰ ὀρη θεουσῶν· εὔτριχες δὲ, ἐὰν ἔχωσι λεπτὴν καὶ πυκνὴ καὶ μαλκήν τὴν τρίχα. τὰ δὲ χρώματα οὐ χρῆ εἶναι τῶν κυνῶν οὔτε πυρρὰ οὔτε μέλανα οὔτε λευκὰ παντελῶς· ἔστι γὰρ οὐ γενναίον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ θηριώδες.

7 αἱ μὲν οὖν πυρραὶ ἐξούσαι ἐστώσαν λευκῆν τρίχα ἐπανθοῦσαν περὶ τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ αἱ μέλαιναι, αἱ

1 eis .. ἀναστρεμμάτων is omitted by S.
they should let the huntsman know, quickening the pace and showing more emphatic signs by their excitement, movements of the head and eyes, changes of attitude, by looking up and looking into the covert and returning again and again to the hare's form, by leaps forward, backward and to the side, displays of unaffected agitation and overpowering delight at being near the hare.

They should pursue with unremitting vigour, giving tongue and barking freely, dogging the hare's steps wherever she goes. They should be fast and brilliant in the chase, frequently casting about and giving tongue in the right fashion; and they should not leave the track and go back to the huntsman.

Along with this appearance and behaviour they should have pluck, keen noses, sound feet and good coats. They will be plucky if they don't leave the hunting-ground when the heat is oppressive; keen-nosed if they smell the hare on bare, parched and sunny ground in the dog days\(^1\); sound in the feet if at the same season their feet are not torn to bits during a run in the mountains; they will have a good coat if the hair is fine, thick and soft. The colour of the hounds should not be entirely tawny, black or white; for this is not a sign of good breeding: on the contrary, unbroken colour indicates a wild strain. So the tawny and the black hounds should show a patch of white about the

\(^1\) The older commentators are probably right in understanding the allusion to be to the Dog-star, not to the Sun.
δὲ λευκὰ πυρρὰν ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς μηραιαῖς ἀκραῖς τρίχας ὅρθας, βαθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁσφύσι καὶ ταῖς οὐραῖς κατώ, ἀνώθεν δὲ μετρίας.

9 Ἀγειν δὲ ἀμεινον τὰς κύνας εἰς τὰ ὅρη πολ- λάκις, τὰ δὲ ἔργα ἱππον τὰ μὲν γάρ ὅρη οἶνον τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἰχνεύειν καὶ μεταθέν καθαρῶς, τὰ δὲ ἔργα οὐδέτερα διὰ τοὺς τριμμοὺς. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν τὸν λαγὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀγειν τὰς κύνας εἰς τὰ τραχέα· καὶ γὰρ εὐποδες γίγνονται καὶ τὰ σώματα διαπονοῦσαι ἐν τόποις τοιούτοις ὕφελούνται. ἀγέσθωσαν δὲ θέρους μὲν μέχρι μεσημβρίας, χειμῶνος δὲ δὴ ἡμέρας, μετοπώρου δὲ ἧξω μεσημβρίας, εντὸς δ' ἐστέρας τὸ ἔαρ. ταῦτα γὰρ μέτρια.

10 Υ. Τὰ δὲ ἤχυν τοῦ λαγῶ τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος μακρὰ ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῶν νυκτῶν, τοῦ δὲ θέρους βραχέα διὰ τὸ ἐναντίον. χειμῶνος μὲν οὖν προῖ οὐκ ὄξει αὐτῶν, ὅταν πάχυνῃ ἡ παγετός· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πάχυν τῇ αὐτῆς ἵσχυ ἀντισπάσασα τὸ θἐρ-

11 μὸν ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ, ὁ δὲ παγετὸς ἐπιπήξας. καὶ αἱ κύνες μαλκώσαι τὰς ρίνας οὐ δύνανται αἰσθά-

12 νεθαί, ὅταν ἡ τοιαύτα, πρὶν ἀν ὁ ἡλίος διαλύσῃ αὐτὰ ἡ προϊόσα ἡ ἡμέρα: τότε δὲ καὶ αἱ κύνες ὀσφαίρονται καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπαναφερόμενα ὄξει.

13 ἀφανίζει δὲ καὶ ἡ πολλῆ δρόσος καταφέρουσα αὐτά, καὶ οἱ ὄμβροι οἱ γιγνόμενοι διὰ χρόνου ὁσμὰς ἀγοντες τῆς γῆς ποιοῦσι δύσσωμον, ἐως ἂν ὕπχθη: χειρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ νότια ποιεῖ: ὑγραί-

1 ἀγειν τῆς γῆς has no parallel in Greek prose: perhaps ἐκ has fallen out or τὴν γῆν should be read.

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face, and the white hounds a tawny patch. At the top of the thighs the hair should be straight and thick, and on the loins and at the lower end of the tail, but it should be moderately thick higher up.

It is advisable to take the hounds to the mountains often, but less frequently to cultivated land. For in the mountains it is possible to track and follow a hare without hindrance, whereas it is impossible to do either in cultivated land owing to the game paths. It is also well to take the hounds out into rough ground, whether they find a hare or not; for they get sound in the feet, and hard work in such country is good for their bodies. In summer they should be out till midday, in winter at any hour of the day, in autumn at any time except midday, and before evening during the spring; for at these times the temperature is mild.

V. The scent of the hare lies long in winter owing to the length of the nights, and for a short time in summer for the opposite reason. In the winter, however, there is no scent in the early morning whenever there is a white frost or the earth is frozen hard. For both white and black frost hold heat; since the one draws it out by its own strength, and the other congeals it. The hounds’ noses, too, are numbed by the cold, and they cannot smell when the tracks are in such a state until the tracks thaw in the sun or as day advances. Then the dogs can smell and the scent revives. A heavy dew, again, obliterates scent by carrying it downwards; and storms, occurring after a long interval, draw smells from the ground and make the earth bad for scent until it dries. South winds spoil scent, because the moisture scatters it, but north winds concentrate
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4 συνίστησι καὶ σώζει. οί δὲ υπετοι κατακλύζουσι καὶ αἱ ψακάδες, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἁμαυρὸ τῷ θερμῷ, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν ἡ πανσέληνος καὶ μανότατα τότε χαίροντες γὰρ τῷ φέγγει ἐπαναρριπτοῦντες μακρὰ διαίρουσιν ἀντιπαίζοντες ταραχώδη δὲ,

5 ὅταν ἀλώπεκες προδιεξέλθωσι, γίγνεται. τὸ δὲ ἔαρ κεκραμένον τῇ ὦρᾳ καλῶς παρέχει τὰ ἱχνη λαμπρά, πλὴν εἰ τί ἡ γῆ ἐξανθοῦσα βλάπτει τὰς κύνας, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συμμειγνύοντα τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰς ὁσμὰς. λεπτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσαφῆ τοῦ θέρους: διάπυρος γὰρ οὖσα ἡ γῆ ἀφανίζει τὸ θερμόν, ὁ ἕχουσιν ἐστὶ γὰρ λεπτῶν καὶ αἱ κύνες ήττον ὀσφραίνονται τότε διὰ τὸ ἐκλεύσθαι τὰ σώματα. τοῦ δὲ μετοπώρου καθαρά: ὃσα γὰρ ἡ γῆ φέρει, τὰ μὲν ἡμέρα συγκεκόμισται, τὰ δὲ ἀγρία γῆρα διαλέλυται: ὡστε οὐ παραλυτοῦσι τῶν καρπῶν 6 αἱ ὁσμαῖ εἰς ταῦτα φερόμεναι. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ μετοπώρου τὰ ἱχνη ὀρθὰ ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, τοῦ δ' ἡρος συμπτερισμένα: τὸ γὰρ θηρίον συνάνζεται μὲν ἄει, μάλιστα δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὦραν. ὡστε διὰ τούτο εξ' ἀνάγκης μετ' ἀλλήλων πλανώμενοι τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν.

7 Ὅζει δὲ τῶν ἱχνῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖωχρόνον τῶν εὐναίων ἡ τῶν δρομαίων τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐναία δ' λαγός πορεύεται ἐφιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ δρομαία ταχὺ· ἡ γῆ οὖν τῶν μὲν πυκνοῦται, τῶν δὲ οὐ πιμπλαται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑλώδεσι μᾶλλον ἥ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς ὤζει· διατρέχων γὰρ καὶ ἀνακαθίζων ἀπτεται πολλῶν.

1 διαίρουσιν Radermacher; διαίρουσιν S. with the MSS.

1 Or “deadens the heat” if we read τὸ θερμὸν with Gesner. But the Greeks did attribute heat to the moon.

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and preserve it, if it has not been previously dissolved. Heavy showers drown it, and so does light rain, and the moon deadens it by its warmth, especially when at the full. Scent is most irregular at that time, for the hares, enjoying the light, fling themselves high in the air and jump a long way, frolicking with one another; and it becomes confused when foxes have crossed it. Spring with its genial temperature yields a clear scent, except where the ground is studded with flowers and hampers the hounds by mingling the odours of the flowers with it. In summer it is thin and faint, for the ground, being baked, obliterates what warmth it possesses, which is thin; and the hounds' noses are not so good at that season, because their bodies are relaxed. In the autumn it is unimpeded; for the cultivated crops have been harvested and the weeds have withered, so that the odours of the herbage do not cause trouble by mingling with it. In winter and summer and autumn the scent lies straight in the main. In spring it is complicated; for though the animal couples at all times, it does so especially at this season; so instinct prompts them to roam about together, and this is the result they produce.

The scent left by the hare in going to her form lasts longer than the scent of a running hare. For on the way to the form the hare keeps stopping, whereas when on the run she goes fast; consequently the ground is packed with it in the one case, but in the other is not filled with it. In coverts it is stronger than in open ground, because she touches many objects while running about and sitting up.

* The "March hare."
8 Κατακλίνονται δ' εἰς ἄ ἡ γῆ φύει ἡ ἔχει ἔφ' ἐαυτῆς ὑπὸ παντί, ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἐν αὐτοῖς, παρ' αὐτά, ἀποθεῖν πολὺ, μικρόν, μεταξὺ τοίτων· ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διαρριπτῶν ἔπὶ τὸ δυνατόν καὶ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐάν τι ἡ ὑπερέχου ἡ ἐμπεφυκός ἐν τούτῳ. ὁ μὲν οὖν εὖναις ποιούμενος εὐνὴν ἔπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὅταν μὲν ἡ ψυχή, ἐν εὐδεινοῖς, ὅταν δὲ καύματα, ἐν παλισκίοις, τὸ δὲ ἔαρ καὶ τὸ φθινὸ-πωρον ἐν προσηλπῶς· οἱ δὲ δρομαιοι οὐχ οὐτω διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ἐκπληκτοὶ 2 γέγνεσθαι.

10 κατακλίνεται δὲ ὑποθέσει τὰ ὑποκώλια ὑπὸ τὰς λαγόνας, τὰ δὲ πρόσθεν σκέλη τὰ πλεῖστα συνθέσει καὶ ἐκτείνας, ἐπ' ἀκροις δὲ τοὺς πόδας τὴν γέννην καταθεῖς, τὰ δὲ ὦτα ἐπιπετάσας ἔπι τὰς ὠμοπλάτας, εἶτα δὲ ὑποστέγει τὰ ὑγρά· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίχα στεγανῆν· πυκνὴ γὰρ καὶ μαλακὴ. καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἐγρηγόρη, καταμύει τὰ βλέφαρα, ὅταν δὲ καθεῦθη, τὰ μὲν βλέφαρα ἀναπέπτταται ἀκίνητα, οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀτρέμας ἔχουσι· τοὺς δὲ μυκτήρας, ὅταν μὲν εὐδη, κινεῖ 12 πυκνά, ὅταν δὲ μή, ἦττον. ὅταν δὲ ἡ γῆ βρύη, μᾶλλον τὰ ἔργα ἡ τὰ ὅρη ἑχοῦσιν. ὑπομενεὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ ἰχνευόμενος, εὰν μὴ τε περίφοβος τῆς νυκτὸς γένηται· παθῶν δὲ τοῦτο ὑποκινεῖ.

13 Πολύγονον δ' ἐστὶν οὖτως, ὥστε τὰ μὲν τέτοκε,

1 οὖν should probably be omitted.
2 ἐμπληκτοὶ S., after Schneider.

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1 See “The Hare,” *Fur and Feather Series*, p. 38 f.
2 The fluctuation between plural and singular is in the Greek.

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They find a resting-place where there is anything growing or lying on the ground, underneath anything, on the top of the objects, inside, alongside, well away or quite near or fairly near; occasionally even in the sea by springing on to anything she can reach, or in fresh water, if there is anything sticking out or growing in it, the hare, when going to her form generally choosing a sheltered place for it in cold weather and a cool one in hot, but in spring and autumn a place exposed to the sun; but hares on the run do not do that, because they are scared by the hounds. When she sits, she puts the hind-legs under the flanks, and most commonly keeps the fore-legs close together and extended, resting the chin on the ends of the feet, and spreading the ears over the shoulder-blades, so that she covers the soft parts. The hair too, being thick and soft, serves as a protection. When awake she blinks her eyelids; but when she is asleep the eyelids are wide open and motionless, and the eyes still. She moves her nostrils continually when sleeping, but less frequently when awake. When the ground is bursting with vegetation they frequent the fields rather than the mountains. Wherever she may be she remains there when tracked, except when she is suddenly alarmed at night; in which case she moves off.

The animal is so prolific that at the same time she is

The distinction is not, as often supposed, between hares with different habits ("squatters," εύραντοι, and "roamers," δρομάντοι—a non-existent distinction), but merely between the behaviour of all hares in different circumstances. The unusual, but not unexampled, position of the article—δια and οί—has misled interpreters. Blane saw the true meaning.

I do not think that είκα δια can mean this, and suspect that είκα is wrong.
τὰ δὲ τίκτει, τὰ δὲ κυεῖ. τῶν δὲ μικρῶν λαγίων ὀξεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν μεγάλων· ἔτι γὰρ ὄγρομελή ὁντα ἐπισύρεται ὁλα. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. τὰ μὲν οὖν λίνα νεογνὰ οἱ φιλοκυνηγῆται ἀφίασι τῇ θεῷ· οἱ δὲ ἥδη ἔτειοι τάχιστα θέουσι τὸν πρῶτον δρόμουν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους οὐκ ἔτι· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐλαφροὶ, ἀδύνατοι δὲ.

15 Δαμβάνειν δὲ τοῦ λαγώ τὰ ἵχνη ὑπάγοντα τὰς κύνας ἐκ τῶν ἑργών ἀνωθεν· οὐσοι δὲ μὴ ἔρχονται αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ἑργάσιμα, τοὺς λειμῶνας, τὰς νάτας, τὰ ἱεῖθρα, τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὑλῶδη· καὶ εὰν ὑποκινῆ, μὴ ἀναβοῶν, ἵνα μὴ αἱ κύνες ἐκφονεῖς γιγνόμεναι χαλεπῶς τὰ ἵχνη γνωρίζωσιν.

16 εὐρισκόμενοι δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ διωκόμενοι ἐστίν ὅτε διαβαίνοντι τὰ ἱεῖματα, καὶ ὑποκάμτουσι καὶ καταδύονται εἰς φάραγγας καὶ εἰς εἰλνοῦς· πεφοβηνται γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς κύνας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς· ὑπερβάλλοντες γὰρ τὰ σιμὰ καὶ τὰ ψιλὰ ἀναρπάζονται, ἕως ἂν ὡσὶν ἔτειοι· τοὺς δὲ μεῖζους ἐπιτρέχουσι αἱ κύνες ἀναιροῦνται.¹

17 Ποδωκέστατοι μὲν οὖν εἰσίν οἱ ὄρειοι, οἱ πεδινοὶ δὲ ἢττον, βραδύτατοι δὲ οἱ ἔλειοι· οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς τόπους πλανῆται χαλεποὶ πρὸς τοὺς δρόμους· τὰ γὰρ σύντομα ἰσασίν· θέουσι γὰρ μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ἀνάντη ἢ τὰ ὁμαλά, τὰ δὲ ἀνώμαλα² ἀνομοῖως, τὰ δὲ κατάντη ἤκιστα.

18 διωκόμενοι δὲ εἰσὶ κατάδηλοι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ

¹ ἀναιροῦνται: Richards: ἀφαιροῦνται S. with the MSS.
² ἀνώμαλα Α: ἀνόμοια S. with the rest.

1 Artemis.
rearing one litter, she produces another and she is pregnant. The scent of the little leverets is stronger than that of the big ones; for while their limbs are still soft they drag the whole body on the ground. Sportsmen, however, leave the very young ones to the goddess. Yearlings go very fast in the first run, but then flag, being agile, but weak.

Find the hare's track by beginning with the hounds in the cultivated lands and gradually working downwards. To track those that do not come into cultivated land, search the meadows, valleys, streams, stones and woody places. If she moves off, don't shout, or the hounds may get wild with excitement and fail to recognise the tracks. Hares when found by hounds and pursued sometimes cross brooks and double back and slip into gullies or holes. The fact is they are terrified not only of the hounds, but of eagles as well; for they are apt to be snatched up while crossing hillocks and bare ground until they are yearlings, and the bigger ones are run down and caught by the hounds.

The swiftest are those that frequent mountains; those of the plain are not so speedy; and those of the marshes are the slowest. Those that roam over any sort of country are difficult to chase, since they know the short cuts. They run mostly uphill or on the level, less frequently in uneven ground, and very seldom downhill. When being pursued they are

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1 The cultivated land is on the lower slopes of the mountains.
2 There is evidently a gap in the Greek before τοὺς λειμαγγας, which has nothing to govern it.
3 Not "so long as"; cf. § 14.
4 i.e. when pursued.
γῆς κεκινημένης, ἐὰν ἔχωσιν ἔνιον ἐρύθημα, καὶ διὰ καλάμης διὰ τὴν ἀνταύγειαν κατάδηλοι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τριμμοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐὰν ὄσιν ἵππους ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνοῦ ἀντιλάμπετι άδηλοι δὲ, ὅταν τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὅρη, τὰ φέλλια, τὰ δασεὰ ἀποχωρῶσι, διὰ τὴν ὀμόχροιαν.

19 προλαμβάνοντες δὲ τὰς κύνας ἐφίστανται καὶ ἀνακαθίζοντες ἐπαίρουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπακοῦσιν, εἰ που πλησίον κλαγῇ ἢ ψόφος τῶν κυνῶν καὶ ὅθεν ἰδοῦσιν, ἀποτρέπονται. ὅτε δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄκουσαντες, ἀλλὰ δόξασεν ἢ πεισθέντες ὅφε' αὐτῶν παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπαλλάττοντες ἀλματα, ἐμποιοῦντες ἔχωσιν ἔχυσι, ἀποχωροῦσι. καὶ εἰσὶ μακροδρομῶτατοι μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ψιλῶν εὐρισκόμενοι διὰ τὸ καταφάνες, βραχυδρομῶτατοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν δασεῶν, ἐμποδοῦν γὰρ τὸ σκοτεινὸν.

20 Δύο δὲ καὶ τὰ γένη ἐστὶν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μεγάλοι τὸ χρώμα \(^1\) ἐπίπερκνοι καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ μέγα ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττωσιν ἐπηκαθοῦσι, μικρὸν τὸ λευκὸν ἔχουσι. τὴν δὲ υἱὸν οἱ μὲν κύκλῳ περιποίκιλον, οἱ δὲ παράσειρον, καὶ τὰ ὦματα οἱ μὲν υποχάροιποι, οἱ δ' ὑπόγλαυκοι καὶ τὰ μέλαια τὰ περὶ τὰ ὀντά

21 ἀκρα ἀκρα \(^2\) οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ μικρόν. ἔχουσιν δὲ αὐτῶν αἴ πολλαὶ τῶν νῆσων τοὺς ἐλάττους, αἳ τ' ἔρημοι καὶ οἰκούμεναι τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πλείους

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\(^1\) τὸ χρώμα AB and Pollux: S. omits with M.

\(^2\) ἀκρα ἀκρα S.
most conspicuous across ground that has been broken up, if they have some red in their coats, or across stubble, owing to the shadow they cast. They are also conspicuous in game paths and on roads if these are level, since the bright colour of their coats shows up in the light. But when their line of retreat is amongst stones, in the mountains, over rocky or thickly wooded ground they cannot be seen owing to the similarity of colouring. When they are well ahead of the hounds, they will stop, and sitting up will raise themselves and listen for the baying or the footfall of the hounds anywhere near; and should they hear the sound of them from any quarter, they make off. Occasionally, even when they hear no sound, some fancy or conviction prompts them to jump hither and thither past and through the same objects, mixing the tracks as they retreat. The longest runners are those that are found on bare land, because they are exposed to view; the shortest, those found in thick covers, since the darkness hinders their flight.

There are two species of hare. The large are dark brown, and the white patch on the forehead is large; the smaller are chestnut, with a small white patch. The larger have spots round the scut, the smaller at the side of it. The eyes in the large species are blue, in the small grey. The black at the tip of the ear is broad in the one species, narrow in the other. The smaller are found in most of the islands, both desert and inhabited. They are more plentiful.

1 The common hare and a smaller variety of the same; which is said to be “more brindled in colour” than the larger kind. See "The Hare" in Fur and Feather Series, p. 5.
ἐν αὐταῖς ἡ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις· οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶν οὔτ' ἀλώπεκες ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς αὐτῶν, αἰτίως καὶ αὐτοῦς καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐπισύναι ἀναρωνύται, οὔτε ἀετοῖ· τὰ μεγάλα γὰρ ὅρη ἔχουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ μικρὰ· ἐλάπτων δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὰ ἐν ταῖς νῆσοις.

κυνηγέται δὲ εἰς μὲν τὰς ἐρήμους ὀλυγάκις ἀφικνούνται, ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκουμείαις ὀλύγοι εἰσὶν 1 καὶ οὐ φιλόθεροι οἱ πολλοί· εἰς δὲ τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν νῆσων οὐδὲ διαβιβάζειν οἶνον τε κύνας. ὅταν οὖν τῶν τε ὑπαρχόντων ὀλύγους ἐκθηρώνται καὶ τῶν ἐπιγενομένων, ἀνάγκη ἀφθόνοις εἰναι.

Βλέπει δὲ οὐκ ὅξυ διὰ πολλά· τὰ τε γὰρ ὀμματα ἐχει ἔξω καὶ τὰ βλέφαρα ἑλλείποντα καὶ οὐκ ἑχοντα προβολὴν ταῖς αἰγαίς· ἡ ὄψις οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἀμαυρά, ἐσκεδασμένη· ἀμα δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐν υπνῷ ὃν τα πολλὰ τὸ θηρίον οὐκ ὀφελεῖται πρὸς τὸ ὅραν. καὶ ἡ ποδώκεια πρὸς τὸ ἀμβλυωπείν αὐτῷ πολὺ συμβάλλεται· ταχὺ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ παραφέρει τὴν ὄψιν, πρὶν νοῆσαι.

ὁ τι ἐστὶ. καὶ οἱ φύσι τῶν κυνῶν, ὅταν διώκονται, ἐπόμενοι μετὰ τούτων συνεξαιροῦνται τὸ προνοεῖσθαι. ὡστε διὰ ταῦτα προσπίπτων λαυθάνει πρὸς πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀρκεῖς ἐμπίπτων.

εἰ δ' ἐφευγεν ὧρθον, ὀλυγάκις ἄν ἐπασχε τὸ τοιοῦτον· νῦν δὲ περιβάλλων καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τῶν τῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτράφη, ἀλίσκεται. κατὰ πόδας δὲ οὐ πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν διὰ τὸ τάχος κρατεῖται· ὅσοι δὲ ἀλίσκονται, παρὰ φύσιν τοῦ σώματος, τύχη δὲ χρώμενοι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἵσομέγεθε τούτῳ ὁμοίων ἐστι

1 eis Dindorf: ous S. with the MSS.

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in the islands than on the mainland, for in the majority of these there are no foxes to attack and carry off the hares and their young; nor eagles, for they haunt big mountains rather than small, and the mountains in the islands, generally speaking, are rather small. Hunters seldom visit the desert islands, and there are few people in the inhabited ones, and most of them are not sportsmen; and if an island is consecrated, one may not even take dogs into it. Since, then, but few of the old hares and the leverets that they produce are exterminated by hunting, they are bound to be abundant.

The sight of the hare is not keen for several reasons. The eyes are prominent; the lids are too small and do not give protection to the pupils; consequently the vision is weak and blurred. Added to this, though the animal spends much time asleep, it gets no benefit from that, so far as seeing goes. Its speed, too, accounts in no small degree for its dim sight. For it glances at an object and is past it in a flash, before realising its nature. And those terrors, the hounds, close behind them when they are pursued combine with these causes to rob them of their wits. The consequence is that the hare bumps against many obstacles unawares and plunges into the net. If she ran straight, she would seldom meet with this mishap. But instead of that she comes round and hugs the place where she was born and bred, and so is caught. In a fair run she is seldom beaten by the hounds owing to her speed. Those that are caught are beaten in spite of their natural characteristics through meeting with an accident. Indeed, there is nothing in the world of equal size to match the hare as a piece of mechanism.
XENOPHON

πρὸς ἀρμὸν¹ σύγκειται γὰρ ἐκ τοιοῦτων τὸ σῶμα.

30 Ἐξει γὰρ κεφαλὴν κούφην, μικράν, καταφερῆ, στενὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν, ὥστε ύψηλα, τράχηλον λεπτὸν, περιφερῆ, οὗ σκληρῶν, μῆκος ικανὸν, ὥμοπλάτας ὀρθὰς, ἀσυνδέτους άνωθεν, σκέλη τὰ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐλαφρά, σύγκωλα, στήθος οὗ βαρύτονον, πλευρὰς ἐλαφράς, συμμέτρους, ὀσφὺν περιφερῆ, κωλὴν σαρκώδη, λαγόνας ύγρᾶς, λα- παράς ικανὸς, ἱσχία στρογγύλα, πλήρη κύκλῳ, ἀνώθεν δὲ ὡς χρῆ διεστῶτα, μηροὺς μικροὺς,² εὐπαγεῖς, ἐξώθεν μύς ³ ἐπιτεταμένους, ἐνδοθέν δὲ οὕκ ὑγκώδεις, ὑποκώλια μακρά, στυφρά, πόδας τοὺς πρόσθεν ἄκρως ύγροὺς, στενοὺς, ὀρθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ὁπίσθεν στερεούς, πλατεῖς, πάντας δὲ οὕδενος τραχεός φροντίζοντας, σκέλη τὰ ὁπίσθεν μείζων πολὺ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ἐγκεκλιμένα

31 μικρὸν ἔξω, τρίχωμα βραχῦ, κοῦφον. ἔστιν οὖν ἀδύνατον μὴ οὐκ εἶναι ἐκ τοιοῦτων συνημμοσμένον ἴσχυρόν, ύγρόν, ὑπερέλαφρον.

Τεκμήριον δὲ ὡς ἐλαφρὸν ἐστὶν ὅταν ἄτρέμα διαπορεύνηται, πηδᾶ, βαδίζοντα δὲ οὖθεν εὔρακεν οὐδ’ ὅφεται, τιθείς εἰς τὸ ἐπέκεινα τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ποδῶν τοὺς ὁπίσθεν καὶ ἔξω, καὶ ⁴ θεί οὕτως.

32 δὴλον δὲ τούτο ἐν χιόνι. οὐρὰν δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτηδείαν ἔχει πρὸς δρόμον· ἐπευθύνειν γὰρ οὖχ ικανὴ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα· ἀλλὰ τῷ ὦτι ἐκατέρω τούτο ποιεῖ, καὶ ὅταν ἀνιστήται ⁵ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν,

¹ ἀμοὸν ΑΒΜ; δρόμον S. with inferior MSS.
² μικροὺς Pierleoni: μακροὺς S.
³ μύς MSS. : μὲν S.
⁴ καὶ MSS. : S. omits with Schneider.
For the various parts that make up her body are formed as follows.

The head is light, small, drooping, narrow at the front; the ears are upright; the neck is thin, round, not stiff, and fairly long; the shoulder-blades are straight and free at the top; the fore-legs are agile and close together; the chest is not broad; the ribs are light and symmetrical; the loins are circular; the rump is fleshy; the flanks are soft and fairly spongy; the hips are round, well filled out, and the right distance apart at the top; the thighs are small and firm, muscular on the outside and not puffy on the inside; the shanks are long and firm; the fore-feet are extremely pliant and narrow and straight and the hind-feet hard and broad; and all four are indifferent to rough ground; the hind-legs are much longer than the fore-legs, and slightly bent outwards; the coat is short and light. With such a frame she cannot fail to be strong, pliant and very agile.

Here is a proof of her agility. When going quietly, she springs—no one ever saw or ever will see a hare walking—bringing the hind-feet forward in advance of the fore-feet and outside them; and that is how she runs. This is obvious when snow is on the ground. The scut is of no assistance in running, for it is not able to steer the body owing to its shortness. The hare does this by means of one of her ears; and when she is roused by the hounds she

1 "The ears are upright" is not in the MSS., and is inserted from Pollux. As our author is enumerating those characteristics of the hare that make for speed, it is not quite certain that the words are his, but see § 33.

5 áνιστήται Pierleoni: ἀλισκηται S. with the MSS.
καταβάλλων καὶ\(^1\) παραβάλλων τὸ ἑτέρον οὐς πλάγιον, ὀποτέρα ἂν λυπηταί, ἀπερείδομενος δὴ εἰς τοῦτο ὑποστρέφεται ταχὺ, ἐν μικρῷ πολὺ
καταλπῶν τὸ ἐπιθερόμενον. οὕτω δὲ ἐπίχαρι ἐστὶ τὸ θέαμα,\(^2\) ὡστε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν ἰχνεύομενον, εὐρισκόμενον, μεταθεόμενον, ἀλισκόμενον ἐπιλάθοιτ' ἂν εἰ τοῦ ἔρφῃ.

34 Ἔν δὲ τοὺς ἔργοις κυνηγετοῦντα ἀπέχεσθαι οὖν ὡραι φέροντες καὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ τὰ βείθρα ἐὰν. τὸ γὰρ ἀπεσθαὶ τούτων αἰσχρὸν καὶ κακὸν, καὶ ἰνα μὴ τῷ νόμῳ ἐναντίοι διαὶ οἱ ἰδόντες. καὶ ὅταν ἀναγρία ἐμπίπτη, ἀναλύειν χρῆ τὰ περὶ κυνηγήσιον πάντα.

VI. Κυνῶν δὲ κόσμος δέραια, ἰμάντες, στελμονίαι: ἐστω δὲ τὰ μὲν δέραια μαλακᾶ, πλατέα, ἵνα μὴ θραύῃ τὰς τρίχας τῶν κυνῶν, οἱ δὲ ἰμάντες ἔχοντες ἀγκύλας τῇ χειρὶ, ἀλλὸ δὲ μηδὲν. οὐ γὰρ καλῶς τηροῦσι τὰς κύνας οἱ ζὲ αὐτῶν εἰργασμένοι τὰ δέραια: αἱ δὲ στελμονίαι πλατεῖς τοὺς ἰμάντας, ἵνα μὴ τρίβωσι τὰς λαγόνας αὐτῶν: ἐγκατερραμμέναι δὲ ἐγκεντρίδες, ἵνα τὰ γένη φυλάττωσιν.

2 ἔξωγεν δὲ αὐτὰς οὐ χρῆ ἐπὶ τὰ κυνηγεῖσιν, ὅταν μὴ τὰ προσφερόμενα δέχονται ἢδέως: τεκμηρίου δὲ τούτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔρρονται· μηδὲ ὅταν ἀνεμὸς πνῆς μέγας. διαρπάζει γὰρ τὰ ἰχνῆ καὶ οὐ δύνανται σφραίνεσθαι οὐδὲ αἰ ἄρκνες ἐστάναι οὐδὲ τὰ δίκτυα. ὅταν δὲ τούτων μηδέτερον κωλύῃ, ἄγειν διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρας. τὰς δὲ ἀλώ-

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1 καὶ Dindorf: ἔρα καὶ S. with the MSS.
2 θέαμα Arrian, Hermogenes: θηρίον S. with the MSS.
ON HUNTING, v. 32–vi. 3

drops one ear on the side on which she is being pressed and throws it aslant, and then bearing on this she wheels round sharply and in a moment leaves the assailant far behind. So charming is the sight that to see a hare tracked, found, pursued and caught is enough to make any man forget his heart's desire.

When hunting on cultivated land avoid growing crops and let pools and streams alone. It is unseemly and wrong to interfere with them, and there is a risk of encouraging those who see to set themselves against the law. On days on which there is no hunting, all hunting tackle should be removed.

VI. The trappings of hounds are collars, leashes, and surcingles. The collars should be soft and broad, so as not to chafe the hounds' coat. The leashes should have a noose for the hand, and nothing else; for if the collar is made in one piece with the leash, perfect control of the hounds is impossible. The straps of the surcingles should be broad, so as not to rub the flanks, and they should have little spurs sewed on to them, to keep the breed pure.

Hounds should not be taken out hunting when off their feed, since this is a proof that they are ailing; nor when a strong wind is blowing, since it scatters the scent and they cannot smell, and the purse-nets will not stand in position, nor the hayes. But when neither of these hindrances prevents, have the hounds out every other day. Do not let them

1 Both text and meaning are doubtful here. By "the law" is probably meant the law (or custom?) that allowed hunters to hunt over growing crops. See c. xii. 5.

2 i.e. during festivals.
πεκας μὴ ἔθιζειν τὰς κύνας διώκειν διαφθορά γὰρ μεγίστη καὶ ἐν τῷ δέοντι οὕποτε πάρεισιν. 4 εἰς δὲ τὰ κυνηγεία μεταβάλλοντα ἄγειν, ἢν ὁδιν ἐμπεριο τῶν κυνηγεῶν, αὐτὸς 1 δὲ τῆς χώρας. ἐξείναι δὲ προῖ, ἢν τῆς ἱχνεύσεως μὴ ἀποστερώνται, ὡς οἱ ὑφιστάμενοι ἀφαιροῦνται τὰς μὲν κύνας τοῦ εὑρεῖν τὸν λαγὸ, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῆς ὕφελείας· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμένει τοῦ ἱχνος ἡ φύσις λεπτῇ οὐσα πᾶσαν ὁραν. 5 Τὴν δὲ στολὴν ὁ ἀρκνωρὸς ἐξίτω ἔχων ἐπὶ θῆραν μὴ ἔχουσαν βάρος. τὰς δὲ ἀρκνις ἰστάτω εἰς ὀδοὺς ἄμφιδρόμους, 2 τραχεῖας, σιμάς, λαγαράς, σκοτεινάς, ῥοῦς, χαράδρας, χειμάρρους ἀενώνοι, εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλιστα φεύγει· εἰς ὅσα δὲ ἀλλα ἀπειρον εἰπεῖν τούτων δὲ παράδους, διόδους, καταφανεῖς, λεπτάς, 3 εἰς ὅρθρον καὶ μὴ προῖ, ἢν ἔαν ἢ πλησίον τὸ ἀρκυστάσιον τῶν ζητησίμων, μὴ φοβηται ἄκοιν ὁμον τὸν ψόφον (εὰν δὲ ἢ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων πολύ, ἢττον κωλύει προῖ) καθαρὰς ποιουμένοις 4 τὰς ἀρκυστάσιας, ἢν αὐτῶν μηδὲν ἀντέχηται. πηγνυεῖν δὲ τὰς σχαλίδας ὑππίας, ὅπως ἄν ἐπαγόμεναι ἔσκοι τὸ σύντονον ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρας ἵσοις τοὺς βρόχους ἐπιβαλλότω καὶ ὀμοίως

1 αὐτὸς Weiske: αὐτὸl S. with the MSS.
2 A has eis ἄμφιδρόμους, the rest ἄμφιδρόμους only: S. reads ἄμφι δρόμους, ὀδοὺς τραχείας. Probably some substantive has dropped out of the MSS., but ὀδοὺς is unlikely. Perhaps eis ἄμφιδρομας should be read; ὀδοὺς is not in the MSS.
3 A word to govern these accusatives must have been lost.
4 ποιουμένους S.

1 This portentous sentence is a literal presentation of the Greek text, which, however, is rather uncertain. If the
ON HUNTING, vi. 3-7

take to pursuing foxes; for it is utter ruin, and they are never at hand when wanted. Vary the hunting-ground frequently, so that the hounds may be familiar with the hunting-grounds and the master with the country. Start early, and so give the hounds a fair chance of following the scent. A late start robs the hounds of the find and the hunters of the prize; for the scent is by its nature too thin to last all day.

Let the net-keeper wear light clothing when he goes hunting. Let him set up the purse-nets in winding, rough, steep, narrow, shady paths, brooks, ravines, running watercourses (these are the places in which the hare is most apt to take refuge: a list of all the others would be endless), leaving un-obstructed and narrow passages to and through these places, just about daybreak, and not too early, so that in case the line of nets be near the growth to be searched, the hare may not be frightened by hearing the noise close by (if the distance is considerable, it matters less if the work is done early), seeing that the nets stand clear so that nothing may cling to them. He must fix the stakes aslant, so that when pulled they may stand the strain. On the tops of them let him put an equal number of meshes, and nets are fixed near the covert before daybreak, the hare is likely to stir at the noise. After daybreak she will not stir.

2 i.e. sloping towards the side from which the hare will come. The nets, of course, hang on the other side of the stakes.

3 If ἑσθος means "equal in number," more than one mesh is to be put in the groove of each stake, so that the top of the row of nets will be puckered. Perhaps, however, "level in height" is the sense.
ἀντερειδέτω, ἐπαίρων εἰς μέσον τὸν κεκρύφαλον.
8 εἰς δὲ τὸν περιδρόμον ἐναπτέτω λίθον μακρὸν καὶ μέγαν, ἵνα ἡ ἄρκυς, ὅταν ἔχῃ τὸν λαγῷ, μὴ ἀντιτείνῃ στοιχιζέτω δὲ μακρά, ὑψηλά, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ύπερτηδὰ.
Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἱχνείαις μὴ ύπερβάλλεσθαι· ἐστὶ γὰρ θηρατικὸν μὲν οὐ, 1 φιλόπονον δὲ τὸ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπον ἕλειν ταχύ.
9 Τὰ δὲ δίκτυα τεινέτω ἐν ἀπέδοις, ἐμβάλλετω δὲ τὰ ἐνόδια εἰς τὰς ὀδοὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα, καθάπτων τοὺς περιδρόμους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, τὰ ἀκρωλένια συνάγων, πηγνύων τὰς σχαλίδας μεταξὺ τῶν σαρδόνων, ἐπὶ ἀκρας ἐπιβάλλων τοὺς ἐπιδρόμους καὶ τὰ 2 παράδρομα συμφράττων. φυλαττέτω δὲ ἐκπεριμων· εὰν δὲ ἐκκλίνῃ τὸν στοιχὸν ἡ 3 ἄρκυς, ἀνιστάτω. διωκομένου δὲ τοῦ 4 λαγὼ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προϊέσθω καὶ ἐπιθέων μὲν ἐκβοάτω· ἐμπεπτωκότος δὲ τὴν ὅργην τῶν κυνῶν πάνετω, μὴ ἀπτόμενος ἀλλὰ παραμυθούμενος· καὶ δῆλουτω τῷ κυνηγήτῃ, ὥστε ἑαλωκεν ἀναβοήσας ἢ ὥστε παραδεδράμηκε παρὰ τάδε ἢ τάδε ἢ ὅτι οὐχ ἕωρακεν ἢ οὐ κατεῖδε.

1 οὗ Α: S. omits with the rest.
2 S. omits τὰ with BM.
3 A has τὸν στιχον ἡ: BM στοιχος ἡ: S. reads στοιχος ἡ.
4 διωκόμενον δὲ τὸν S. with BM.

1 Small sticks were used for propping up the purse on the inside, and the purse was propped higher towards the middle; it ended in a point, so that it resembled the net on a woman's head.
2 See c. ii. § 4. The stone serves as an anchor when the net falls off the stakes.

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set the props uniformly, raising the purse towards the centre. To the cord let him attach a long, big stone, so that the net may not pull away when the hare is inside. Let him make his line long and high, so that the hare may not jump over.

When it comes to tracking the hare, he must not be too zealous. To do everything possible to effect a quick capture shows perseverance, but is not hunting.

Let him stretch the hayes on level ground and put the road-nets in roads and from game tracks into the adjacent ground, fastening down the (lower) cords to the ground, joining the elbows, fixing the stakes between the selvedges, putting the ends on the top of the stakes and stopping the byways. Let him mount guard, going round the nets. If a purse-net is pulling its stake out of line, let him put it up. When the hare is being chased into the purse-nets he must run forward and shout as he runs after her. When she is in, he must calm the excitement of the hounds, soothing without touching them. He must also shout to the huntsman and let him know that the hare is caught, or that she has run past on this or that side, or that he has not seen her, or where he caught sight of her.

3 The stakes must not be too deep in the ground, or the nets will not be high enough.
4 These remarks read like an afterthought.
5 The hayes and purse-nets seem to be connected in the same series; but the road-nets seem to be independent screens.
6 We are to think of a series of nets joined together. These stakes will be inserted in the top and bottom line of meshes. The selvedge runs along the top and bottom of the net.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

11 Τὸν δὲ κυνηγήτην ἔχοντα ἐξεῖναι ἠμελημένην ἔλαφραν ἐσθήτα ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγεῖσιον καὶ ὑπόδεσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ ἤποιαν, τὸν δὲ ἀρκνωρὸν ἐπεσθαὶ πρὸς δὲ τὸ κυνηγεῖσιον σιγὴ προσιέναι, ἵνα μὴ ὁ λαγῶς, εάν που ἦ πλησίον, ὑποκινῆ ἄκούων τῆς

12 φωνῆς. δήσαντα δ' ἐκ τῆς ὦλης τὰς κύνας ἐκάστην χωρίς, ὅπως ἄν εὐλυτοί ὄσιν, ἵσταναι τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα, ἃς εὑρήται. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν ἀρκνωρὸν εἶναι ἐν φυλακῇ· αὐτὸν δὲ τὰς κύνας λαβόντα ἴναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπαγωγήν

13 τοῦ κυνηγεῖσιον. καὶ εὐξάμενον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ μεταδοῦναι τῆς θήρας λύσαι μιᾶν κύνα, ἡτὶς ἄν ἡ σοφωτάτη ἰχνεύειν, ἐὰν μὲν ἡ χειμῶν, ἀμὴν ἠλίῳ ἀνέχοντι, ἐὰν δὲ θέρος, πρὸ ήμέρας, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ὅρας

14 μεταξὺ τούτων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ κύων λάβῃ τὸ ἰχνὸς ὀρθὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐπηλλαγμένων, παραλῦσαι καὶ ἐτέραν περαιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἰχνος διαλυόντα μὴ πολὺ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀφιέναι κατὰ μίαν καὶ ἐπεσθαί μὴ ἐγκείμενων, ὄνυματι ἐκάστην προσ- αγορεύοντα, μὴ πολλά, ἵνα μὴ παροξύνονται

15 πρὸ τοῦ καυροῦ. αὐτά δ' ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ μένους προίασιν ἐξίλλουσαι τὰ ἰχνη, ὡς πέφυκε, διπλὰ, τριπλὰ, προφορούμεναι παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπηλλαγμένα, περιφερή, ὀρθὰ, καμπύλα, πυκνά, μανά, γνώριμα, ἀγνωστά, ἑαυτὰς παρα- θέουσαι, ταχὺ ταῖς οὔραις διασεῖονσαι καὶ ἐπικλί- νουσαι τὰ ὁτα καὶ ἀστράπτουσαι τοῖς οὐρασιν.

16 ἐπειδὰν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγὸ ὅσι, δῆλον ποιήσουσι
Let the huntsman go out to the hunting ground in a simple light dress and shoes, carrying a cudgel in his hand, and let the net-keeper follow. Let them keep silence while approaching the ground, so that, in case the hare is near, she may not move off on hearing voices. Having tied the hounds separately to the trees so that they can easily be slipped, let him set up the purse-nets and hayes in the manner described. After this let the net-keeper keep guard, and let the huntsman take the hounds and go to the place in the hunting ground where the hare may be lurking; and after registering a vow to Apollo and Artemis the Huntress to give them a share of the spoil, let him loose one hound, the cleverest at following a track, at sunrise in winter, before dawn in summer, and some time between at other seasons. As soon as the hound picks up a line from the network of tracks that leads straight ahead, let him slip another. If the track goes on, let him set the others going one by one at short intervals, and follow without pressing them, accosting each by name, but not often, that they may not get excited too soon. They will go forward full of joy and ardour, disentangling the various tracks, double or triple—springing forward now beside, now across the same ones—tracks interlaced or circular, straight or crooked, close or scattered, clear or obscure, running past one another with tails wagging, ears dropped and eyes flashing. As soon as they are near the hare they will let the huntsman

1 Neither here nor in § 26 is there any reference to the road-nets. It is impossible to suggest a reason for this, and perhaps the necessary words have dropped out in both places, as might easily happen.
τῷ κυνηγήτη σὺν ταῖς οὐραῖς τὰ σώματα διὰ συνεπικραδαίνουσαί, πολεμικῶς ἐπιφερόμεναι, φιλονίκως παραθέουσαι, συντρέχουσαι φιλοπόνως, συνιστάμεναι ταχύ, διωστάμεναι, πάλιν ἐπιφερόμεναι τελευτῶσαι δὲ ἀφίζονται πρὸς τὴν εὐνὴν τοῦ λαγῶ καὶ ἐπιδραμοῦνται ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν.

17 ὃ ἡ ἐξαίφνης ἀνάξας ἔφ᾽ αὐτῶν ἦλαγμὸν ποιήσει τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κλαγγὴν φεύγων. ἐμβοάτω ¹ δὲ αὐτῷ διωκομένῳ, ἵω κύνες, ἵω καλῶς, ² σοφῶς ³ γε ὧ κύνες, καλῶς γε ὧ κύνες. καὶ κυνοδρομεῖν περιελίξαντα ὁ ἀμπέχεται περὶ τὴν χείρα καὶ τὸ ῥόπαλον ἀναλαβόντα κατὰ τὸν λαγῶ καὶ μὴ ὑπαντᾶν ἀπορον γάρ. ὁ δὲ ὑποξανρὸν ταχὺ ἐλείπων τὴν ὄψιν πάλιν περιβάλλει ἵθεν εὑρίσκεται ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. ἀναβοῶν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνον μὲν αὐτῷ, παισάτω παισὶ ⁴ παίε δῆ, παίε δή. ⁵ ὁ δὲ, ἕαν τε ἥαλωκὼς ἦ ἕαν τε μῆ, δηλοῦτο.

Καὶ ἕαν μὲν ἥαλωκὼς ἦ ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ δρόμῳ, ἀνακαλεσάμενον τὰς κύνας ζητεῖν ἄλλον: ἕαν δὲ μῆ, κυνοδρομεῖν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μῆ ἀνιέναι, ἀλλ' ἐκτεραῖν φιλοπόνως. καὶ ἕαν πάλιν ἀπαντῶσι διώκουσαι αὐτὸν, ἀναβοῶν, εὖ γε εὖ γε ὧ κύνες, ἐπεσθε ὧ κύνες: ἕαν δὲ πολὺ προειληφνῷ δῴη καὶ μῆ οἶος τῇ κυνοδρομών ἐπιγίγνεσθαι αὐταῖς, ἀλλὰ διημαρτηκὼς τῶν δρόμων ἦ καὶ πλησίον

¹ ἐμβοάτω A: ἐμβοώντων S. with BM.
² ἵω καλῶς Falbe: ἵω κακῶς BM, whence ἵω κακῶς S.: A omits.
³ σοφῶς, Gesner: σαφῶς S. with the MSS.
⁴ S. gives ἐκεῖνον μὲν, αὐτῷ παῖς, αὐτῷ παῖς. The text follows A.
⁵ If παί δῆ, παῖ δῆ (BM) is right, παῖ is an imperative of παίω, not vocative of παῖς.

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know by the quivering of the whole body as well as the tail, by making fierce rushes, by racing past one another, by scampering along together persistently, massing quickly, breaking up and again rushing forward. At length they will reach the hare’s form and will go for her. She will start up suddenly, and will leave the hounds barking and baying behind her as she makes off. Let the huntsman shout at her as she runs, “Now, hounds, now! Well done! Bravo, hounds! Well done, hounds!” Wrapping his cloak round his arm and seizing his cudgel he must follow up behind the hare and not try to head her off, since that is useless. The hare, making off, though out of sight, generally doubles back to the place where she is found. Let him call out ¹ to the man, “Hit her, boy; hit her, hit her!” and the man must let him know whether she is caught or not.

If she is caught in the first run, let him call in the hounds and look for another. But if not, he must follow up at top speed and not let her go, but stick to it persistently. If the hounds come on her again in the pursuit, let him cry, “Good, good, hounds; after her, hounds!” If they have got so far ahead of him that he cannot overtake them by following up and is quite out of the running, or if he

¹ i.e. at the moment when the hare, making for the place where she was found, comes near the nets. Something is amiss with the text here. The “man” is, of course, the net-keeper. He, too, has a cudgel, but the author has not said so.

⁶ àνιέναι A: ἀπιέναι S. with BM.
τον φοιτώσας ἡ ἐχομένας τῶν ἰχνῶν μὴ δύνηται ἰδεῖν, πυθάνεσθαι παραθέοντα ἁμα ὅτω ἀν προσ-πελάζῃ ἄναβοωντα, ἢ κατείδες ὡ ἡ τάς κύνας; 20 ἐπειδὰν δὲ πῦρηται ἢδη, ἕαν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰχνει ὄσι, προσστάντα ἐγκελέυειν, τοῦνομα μεταβάλλοντα ἐκάστης τῆς κυνός, ὀποσαχῇ οἶνον τ' ἂν ἢ τοὺς τόνους τῆς φωνῆς ποιούμενον, ὃξυ, βαρύ, μικρόν, μέγα: πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις κελεύμασιν, ἕαν ὅσιν ἐν ὅρει αἱ μεταδρομαί, ἐπικελεύειν τόδε, ὡν 2 κύνες, ὡν κύνες. ἔαν δὲ μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὅσι τοῖς ἰχνεσιν, ἄλλ' ὑπερβάλλων, καλεῖν 21 αὐτὰς, οὐ πάλιν οὐ πάλιν ὡ κύνες; ἐπειδὰν δὲ προσστῶσι τοῖς ἰχνεσι, περιάγειν αὐτάς κύκλους πολλοὺς 3 ποιούμενον ὅπου δ' ἂν ἢ αὐταῖς ἀμαυρὸν τὸ ἰχνος, σημεῖον θέσθαι στοῖχον ἐαυτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο συνείρειν, μέχρι ἂν σαφῶς γνωρίσωσιν, 22 ἐγκελέυοντα καὶ θωπεύοντα. αἱ δ' ἐπειδὰν λαμπρά ἢ τὰ ἰχνη, ἐπιρρίπτουσιν, παραπηδῶσιν, κοινωνοῦσιν, ὑπολαμβάνουσι, ἐνσημαίνομεναι, ὅρους τιθέμεναι ἐαυταῖς γνωρίμους ταχύ μεταθεύουσιν· ὅταν δὲ οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ἰχνος πυκνῶς διάττωσι, μη κατέχουντα κυνοδρομεῖν, ἵνα μη ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ὑπερβάλλοις τὰ ἰχνη.

23 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγῶ ὅσι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύονται σαφῶς τῷ κυνηγήτη, προσέχειν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὑποκινή εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν πεφοβημένος τὰς κύνας, αἱ δὲ διαρριπτοῦσιν τὰς οὐρὰς καὶ

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1 I have omitted ἡ ἐπιβοῶσας here with Schneider.
2 εἶα twice Gesner: εὖ twice S. with the MSS.
3 πολλοῦς A: πολλοῦς πυκνοῦς BM: πολλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς S. with Stephanus.
cannot see them though they are moving about somewhere near or sticking to the tracks, let him find out by shouting as he runs past to anyone near, "Hullo! have you seen the hounds?" As soon as he has found out, let him stand near if they are on the track, and cheer them on, running through the hounds' names, using all the variations of tone he can produce, pitching his voice high and low, soft and loud. Amongst other calls, if the chase is in the mountains, let him sing out, "Oho, hounds, oho!"¹ If they are not clinging to the track, but are over-running, let him call them in with, "Back, hounds, back with you!" As soon as they are close on the tracks, let him cast them round,² making many circles, and wherever they find the track dim, let him stick a pole in the ground as a mark, and beginning from this mark keep them together until they clearly recognise the track, encouraging and coaxing them. As soon as the track is clear they will be off in hot pursuit, hurling themselves on it, jumping beside it, working together, guessing, signalling to one another and setting bounds for one another that they can recognise. When they are thus scurrying in a bunch along the track, let him follow up without pressing them, or they may over-run the line through excess of zeal.

As soon as they are near the hare and give the huntsman clear evidence of the fact, let him take care, or in her terror of the hounds she will slip away and be off. The hounds, wagging their tails, colliding and

¹ Imitating the call of the Bacchic revellers, "the Hounds of Madness," on Mount Cithaeron.
² Nowadays hounds are left to make their own cast and are only assisted when they fail to recover the line.
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εαυταίς ἐμπίπτουσαι καὶ πολλαὶ ὑπερηφάνωσαι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγύνουσαι, ἐπαναίρουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς, εἰσβλέπουσαι εἰς τὸν κυνηγήτην, ἐπιγνωρίζουσαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἢδη ταύτα, ώστε αὐτῶν ἀναστήσουσι τὸν λαγὸ καὶ ἐπίσης κεκλαγγύναι. ἦδι δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀρκυς ἐμπίπτην ἢ ἐξ̣ ἡ ἐντὸς παρενεχθῆ, καθ’ ἐν ἐκαστὸν τούτων ὁ ἀρκυσίως γεγονεῖτο. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἢ ἐαλωκῶς, ἐτερον ἐπιζητεῖς· ἦδι δὲ μὴ, μεταθεὶς χρόμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκεκελεύμασιν.

25 Επειδὰν δὲ μεταθέουσαι αἱ κύνες ἦδη ὑπόκοποι ὲσι καὶ ἢ ὤψε ἢδη τῆς ἡμέρας, τότε δεῖ τὸν κυνηγήτην τὸν λαγὸ ἀπερηκότα ζητεῖν, μὴ παραλείποντα μηδὲν ἢν ἢ γῆ ἀνίσης ἢ ἔχει ἐφ’ ἐαυτῆς, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς ποιούμενον πυκνῶς, ὅπως ἢν μὴ παραλειφθῇ κατακλίνεται γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ τὸ θηρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὑπὸ κόρου καὶ φόβου· τὰς κύνας ἐπαγόμενον, ἐγκεκελεύνωσα, παραμιθούμενον τὴν φιλάνθρωπον πολλά, τὴν αὐθάδη ὀλίγα, τὴν μέσην μέτρια, ἐως ἢ ἐποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν κατὰ πόδας ἢ εἰς τὰς ἀρκυς ἐμβάλῃ.

26 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἀνελόντα τὰς ἀρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα ἀνατρίξαντα τὰς κύνας ἀπείναε ἐκ τοῦ κυνηγεσίου, ἐπιμείναντα, ἦδι ἢ θερινῇ μεσημβρίᾳ, ὅπως ἢν τῶν κυνῶν οἱ πόδες μὴ καίωνται ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ.

VII. Σκυλακεύειν δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπανείνατο τῶν πόλων τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἵνα ἔχουσαι τὴν ἡσυχίαν πρὸς τὸ ἐαρ ἐπάγωνται τὴν φύσιν γενναίαν· ἢ γὰρ ὠρα πρὸς τὰς αὐξήσεις τῶν κυνῶν κρατίστῃ αὐτῆ· εἰσὶ δὲ τετταρεσκαίδεκα ἡμέραι, ἐν αἷς ἢ 2 ἀνάγκη αὐτῆ ἔχει. ἄγειν δὲ καταπαυομένας, ἵνα 412
frequently jumping over one another, and baying loudly, with heads uplifted and glances at the huntsman, showing him plainly that they have the real thing now, will rouse the hare for themselves and go for her, giving tongue. If she plunges into the purse-nets or bolts past them on the inside or outside, the net-keeper must in each event make it known by shouting. If she is caught, look for another; if not, continue the pursuit, using the same methods of encouragement.

As soon as the hounds are getting tired of pursuing and the day is far advanced, it is time for the huntsman to search for the hare, worn out as she is, passing over nothing growing or lying on the ground, retracing his steps continually for fear of an oversight—since the animal rests in a small space and is too tired and frightened to get up,—bringing the hounds along, encouraging and exhorting the gentle frequently, the wilful sparingly, the average sort in moderation, until he kills her in a fair run or drives her into the purse-nets.

After this take up the purse-nets and hayes, rub down the hounds and leave the hunting-ground, after waiting, if it be an afternoon in summer, in order that the hounds’ feet may not be overheated on the road.

VII. For breeding purposes, relieve the bitches of work in the winter, that the rest may help them to produce a fine litter towards spring, which is the best growing season for hounds. They are in heat for fourteen days. Mate them with good dogs near the end of the period, that they may the sooner

1 Where are the road-nets?
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θάττον ἐγκύμονες γίγνονται, πρὸς κύνας ἀγαθούς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅσων ἐπίφοροι, μὴ ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον ἐνδελεχώς, ἀλλὰ διαλείπειν, ἵνα μὴ φιλο-
3 πονία διαφθείρωσι. κυνοῦσι δὲ ἡμέρας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ γέννησαν τὰ σκυλάκια, ὑπὸ τῇ τεκούσῃ ἕαν καὶ μὴ ὑποβάλλειν ύφ᾽ ἑτέραν κύων· αἱ γὰρ 
καὶ τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ αἱ περιβολαὶ φίλαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑδὴ πλα-
5 νάται τὰ σκυλάκια, διδόναι γάλα μέχρι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ οἷς μέλλει τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον βιώσεσθαι, ἀλλο δὲ μηδὲν· αἱ γὰρ βαρεῖαι πλησμοναὶ 
τῶν σκυλακίων διαστρέφοντο τὰ 2 σκέλη, τοῖς 3 σώμασι νόσους ἐμποιούσι, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ὁδικα 
γίγνεται.

6 Ἄγειν δὲ τὰς σκύλακας ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον τὰς μὲν θηλείας ὀκταμῆνους, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας 
δεκαμῆνους· πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἱχνεὶ τὰ εὐναία μὴ λύειν,

1 κυνοῦσι δ᾽ AB: κυνοῦσιν S. with M.
2 τὰ A: S omits with BM.
3 τοῖς added from Arrian: S. omits.
become pregnant. When they are near their time do not take them out hunting continually, but only now and then, or love of work may result in a miscarriage. The period of gestation is sixty days. After the birth of the puppies leave them with the mother and do not place them under another bitch; for nursing by a foster mother does not promote growth, whereas the mother's milk and breath do them good, and they like her caresses. As soon as the puppies can get about, give them milk for a year, and the food that will form their regular diet, and nothing else. For heavy feeding warps the puppies' legs and sows the seeds of disease in the system, and their insides go wrong.

Give the hounds short names, so as to be able to call to them easily. The following are the right sort: Psyche, Thymus, Porpax, Styrax, Lonché, Lochus, Phrura, Phylax, Taxis, Xiphon, Phonax, Phlegon, Alcé, Teuchon, Hyleus, Medas, Porthon, Sperchon, Orgé, Bremon, Hybris, Thallon, Romé, Antheus, Hebe, Getheus, Chara, Leusson, Augo, Polys, Bia, Stichon, Spudé, Bryas, Oenas, Sterrus, Craugé, Caenon, Tyrbas, Sthenon, Aether, Actis, Aechmé, Noés, Gnomé, Stibon, Hormé.¹

Take the bitches to the hunting ground at eight months, the dogs at ten. Do not slip them on the

¹ The names are significant of the colour, strength, spirit, sagacity or behaviour of the hounds. Hebe and Psyche are still in the list of bitches' names, and modern equivalents of several of the other names are in use, e.g. Lance (Lonché), Sentinel (Phylax), Ecstasy (Chara), Blueskin (Oenas), Crafty (Medas), Hasty (Sperchon), Vigorous (Thallon), Impetus (Hormé), Counsellor (Noés), Bustler (dog) or Hasty (bitch); cf. Sperchon. For Polús we should probably read Poleús, "Rover."
άλλ' ἔχοντα υφημένας μακροῖς ἰμασίν ἀκολουθεῖν ταῖς κυλόν ἵχνευσαις, ἔδωτα αὐτάς
7 διατρέχειν τὰ ἱχνῆ. καὶ ἐπειδὰν ὁ λαγῶς εὐρίσκεται, ἕαν μὲν καλὰ ὡσὶ πρὸς τὸν δρόμον
tὰ εἴδη, μὴ ἀνιέναι εὐθὺς· ἐπειδὰν δὲ προλάβῃ ὁ λαγῶς τῷ δρόμῳ, ὅστε μὴ ἐφορᾶν ἐτὶ αὐτῶν,
8 τὰς σκύλακας ἴναι. ἕαν γὰρ ὁμόθεν καλὰς τὰ εἴδη οὐσας καὶ εὐψύχους πρὸς τὸν δρόμον ἐπιλύῃ,
ὁρῶσαι τὸν λαγῶ ἐνεινόμεναι ρήγμωνται, οὐπώ ἔχουσιν συνεστῶτα τὰ σώματα· διαφυλάττειν
9 οὖν δὲ τοῦτο τὸν κυνηγήτην. ἕαν δὲ αἰσχρῶς
ὡς πρὸς τὸν δρόμον, οὐδὲν κωλῦει ἴναι· εὐθὺς
gὰρ δὴ ἀνέλπιστοι οὐσαὶ τοῦ ἔλειν οὐ πεῖσονται
tοῦτο. τὰ δὲ δρομαία τῶν ἱχνῶν, ἦς ἄν ἔλοσι,
μεταρεῖν ἐὰν ἀλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ διδόναι
10 αὐταῖς ἀναρρηγώνυναι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ μηκέτι θέλωσι
προσμένειν [ταῖς ἄρκυσιν], ἀλλ' ἀποσκέδασων,
νῦν ταῖς ἄρκυσιν, ἀναλαμβάνει, ἦς ἄν ἐθισθοῦσιν εὐρίσκειν προσθέουσαι τὸν λαγῶ, μὴ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ
ἀεὶ τοῦτον ζητοῦσαι τελευτῶσαι γίγνωσται
ἐκκυνοὶ, ποιηρὸν μάθημα.
11 Ἡπὸ δὲ ταῖς ἄρκυσι διδόναι τὰ σιτία αὐταῖς,
ἤως ἄν νέαι ὡσιν, ὅταν ἀναιρώνται, ἴν' ἕαν πλαυθῶσιν ἐν τῷ κυνηγεσίῳ δὲ ἀπερίαν,
πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπανοῦσαι σῶζωνται. ἀφεθῆσον ταῖς ἄρκυσιν
τοῦτον, ὅταν ἢδὲ τῷ θηρίῳ ἔχωσι πολεμίως, ἐπιμέλειαιν δὲ

1 The MSS. add τῷ ἵχνει after ἔλοσι above, but it is rightly omitted by S. after Dindorf: here too ταῖς ἄρκυσιν
must be omitted, or changed, with Richards, to τοῖς ἵχνεσιν.

1 But how is the hunter to know whether the hounds are on the trail leading to the form or on the track of a running hare?

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trail that leads to the form, but keep them in long leashes and follow the tracking hounds, letting the youngsters run to and fro in the tracks. As soon as the hare is found, if they shape well for the run don't let them go at once; but as soon as the hare has got so far ahead in the run that they can't see her, send them along. For if the huntsman slips good-looking, plucky runners close to the hare, the sight of her will cause them to strain themselves and crack, since their bodies are not yet firm. So he should be very careful about this. But if they are poor runners there is no reason why he should not let them go, for as they have no hope of catching the hare from the first, they will not meet with this accident. On the other hand, let the youngsters follow the track of the hare on the run until they catch her; and when she is caught, give her to them to break up. As soon as they show reluctance to stick to it and begin scattering, call them in, until they grow accustomed to keep on till they find the hare, lest if they get into the way of misbehaving when they seek her, they end by becoming skirters—a vile habit.

Give them their food near the purse-nets so long as they are young, while the nets are being taken up, so that if they have gone astray in the hunting ground, through inexperience, they may come back safe for their meal. This will be discontinued when they come to regard the game as an enemy;

2 Not to eat. Some hunters object more or less strongly to this injunction; but Beckford (Thoughts on Hunting), quoted by Blane, goes so far as to say, "I think it but reasonable to give the hounds a hare sometimes. I always gave mine the last they killed, if I thought they deserved her."

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ποιήσονται τούτου μάλλον ἡ ἐκείνου φροντίζειν.
12 χρῆ δὲ καὶ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δεομέναις διδόναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ταῖς κυσίν αὐτῶν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐνδεικτέοις τοῦτον αὐτοῖς σκόπεοι, ὅταν δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσαι λάβωσι, τὸν διδόντα στέργουσιν.

VIII. Ἐχνεύεσθαι δὲ τοὺς λαγώς, ὅταν νίφη ὁ θεός, ὅστε ἡφανίσθαι τὴν γῆν. εἴ δὲ ἐνέσται μελάγχωμα, δυσθάνητος ἔσται. ἔστι δὲ, ὅταν μὲν ἐπινεφῆ καὶ ἡ βόρεια, τὰ ἴχνη ἔξω πολὺν χρόνον δῆλα: οὐ γὰρ ταχὺ συντηκέται: ἔαν δὲ νότιόν τε ἡ καὶ ἡλίος ἐπιλάμπῃ, ὀλίγον χρόνον ταχύ γὰρ διαχείται.

"Ὅταν δ' ἐπινεφῆ συνεχῶς, οὐδὲν δεὶ: ἐπικαλύπτει γὰρ: οὐδ' ἐὰν πνεῦμα ἡ μέγα: συμφορῶν 2 γὰρ τὴν χιόνα ἀφανίζει. κύνας μὲν οὖν οὖν δεὶ ἔχοντα ἔξεναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ταῦτην. ἡ γὰρ χιόν καὶ εἰς τῶν κυνῶν τὰς ρίνας, τοὺς τόδας, τὴν ὅσμην τοῦ λαγῶ ἀφανίζει διὰ τὸ ὑπέρπαγες λαβόντα δὲ τὰ δίκτυα μετ' ἄλλου ἑλθόντα πρὸς τὰ ὅρη παριέναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἐπειδὰν 3 λάβῃ τὰ ἴχνη, πορεύεσθαι κατὰ ταῦτα. ἐὰν δ' ἐπιλλαμένα ἑ, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἠκοντα κύκλους ποιοῦμεν ἐκπεριέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἦσιντα ὅποι ἔξεισιν. πολλὰ δὲ πλα- νάται νὸς λαγῶς ἀπορροφοῦμεν ὅπου κατακλίθη, ἀμα δὲ καὶ εἴδισται τεχνάζειν τῇ βαδίσει διὰ 4 τὸ διώκεσθαι ἀεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ φανῇ τὸ ἴχνος, προϊέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἢ ἔξει δὲ ἡ πρὸς σύσκειν τότον ἡ πρὸς ἀπόκρημνον τὰ γὰρ πνεύματα ὑπερφορεῖ τὴν χιόνα ὑπὲρ τῶν

1 δεομέναις A: S. omits with BM.
2 μὴ added by Gesner: S. omits.

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they will be too intent on that to worry about their food. As a rule when they are hungry the master should feed the hounds himself; for when they are not hungry they do not know to whom that is due; but when they want food and get it, they love the giver.

VIII. Track the hare when it snows so hard that the ground is covered; but if there are black spaces, she will be hard to find. When it is cloudy and the wind is in the north, the tracks lie plain on the surface for a long time, because they melt slowly; but only for a short time if the wind is south and the sun shines, since they soon melt away.

But when it snows without stopping, don't attempt it, since the tracks are covered; nor when there is a high wind, since they are buried in the snowdrifts it causes. On no account have the hounds out with you for this kind of sport, for the snow freezes their noses and feet, and destroys the scent of the hare owing to the hard frost. But take the hayes, and go with a companion to the mountains, passing over the cultivated land, and as soon as the tracks are found, follow them. If they are complicated, go back from the same ones to the same place and work round in circles and examine them, trying to find where they lead. The hare roams about uncertain where to rest, and, moreover, it is her habit to be tricky in her movements, because she is constantly being pursued in this manner. As soon as the track is clear, push straight ahead. It will lead either to a thickly wooded spot or to a steep declivity. For the gusts of wind

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{4} \text{t} \text{\textsuperscript{i}n\text{\textgreek{v}}} \text{van Leeuwen: \text{t} \text{\textsuperscript{i}n\text{\textgreek{v}}} S. with the MSS.} \]

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τοιούτων. παραλείπεται οὖν εὐνάσιμα πολλά.
5 ξητεὶ δὲ τοῦτο. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ ἰχνῆ πρὸς τὰ
tοιαῦτα φέρῃ, μὴ προσέναι ἐγγύς, ἵνα μὴ
ὑποκινῆ, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ ἐκπεριέναι· ἐπὶς γὰρ
αὐτοῦ εἶναι. δὴ λοι ἤ ἐσταί· τὰ γὰρ ἰχνη ἀπὸ
6 τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὰμο Περάσει. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἤ
σαφὲς ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἔστιν, ἐάν· μενεὶ γὰρ· ἔτερον
dὲ ξητεῖν, πρὶν τὰ ἰχνη ἁδηλα γενέσθαι, τῆς
όρας ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἑτέρους εὐρίσκῃ.
7 ἐσταὶ ἡ λειπομένη ἱκανή περιστήρασθαι. ἤκοντός
dὲ τούτου περιτείνειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ τὰ δίκτυα
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄντερ ἐν τοῖς μελαγχίμοις,
περιλαμβάνοντα ἐντὸς πρὸς ὅτι ἂν ἤ, καὶ
8 ἐπειδὰν ἐστηκότα ἤ, προσελθόντα· κινεῖν. ἐάν
dὲ ἐκκυλισθῇ ἐκ τῶν δικτύων, μεταθεῖν κατὰ τὰ
ἰχνη· ὦ δὲ ἄφιξεται πρὸς ἑτερα τοιαύτα χωρία,
ἐάν μὴ ἄρα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώνι πιέσῃ ἑαυτόν.
σκεψάμενον οὖν δεὶ ὅπως ἂν ἤ περιστήρασθαι.
ἐάν δὲ μὴ υπομένῃ, μεταθεῖν· ἀλώσεται γὰρ καὶ
ἄνευ τῶν δικτύων· ταχῦ γὰρ ἀπαγορεύει διὰ
tὸ βάθος τῆς χώνος καὶ διὰ τὸ κάτωθεν τῶν
ποδῶν λασίων ὄντων προσέχεσθαι αὐτῶ ὅγκον
πολυν.
IX. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν νεβροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐλάφους
κύνας εἶναι Ἰνδικάς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἱσχυραί, μεγάλαι,
ποδώκεις, οὐκ ἄψυχοι· ἔχουσαι δὲ ταῦτα ἱκαναί
γίγνονται πονεῖν. τοὺς μὲν ὅτι νεογνοὺς τῶν

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1 The object is to make sure whether the track really does end there or not. If it does, he is to go on to seek another hare. "My father used to relate that in his student days an old forester on his brother-in-law's estate, when he wanted to make sure of supplying a hare for his master's visitors,
ON HUNTING, viii. 4–ix. 1

carry the snow over such places; consequently many resting-places are left, and she looks for one of these. As soon as the tracks lead to such a place, don't go near, or she will move off, but go round and explore. For she is probably there, and there will be no doubt about the matter, since the tracks will nowhere run out from such places. As soon as it is evident that she is there, leave her—for she will not stir—and look for another before the tracks become obscure, and take care, in case you find others, that you will have enough daylight left to surround them with nets. When the time has come, stretch the hayes round each of them in the same way as in places where no snow lies, enclosing anything she may be near, and as soon as they are up, approach and start her. If she wriggles out of the hayes, run after her along the tracks. She will make for other places of the same sort, unless indeed she squeezes herself into the snow itself. Wherever she may be, mark the place and surround it; or, if she doesn't wait, continue the pursuit. For she will be caught even without the hayes; for she soon tires owing to the depth of the snow, and because large lumps of it cling to the bottom of her hairy feet.

IX. For hunting fawns and deer use Indian hounds; for they are strong, big, speedy and plucky, and these qualities render them capable of hard

would surround the hare's form in the early morning, and the hare would not leave her form for hours.” A Körte (Hermes, 1918, p. 317).

2 The red deer is meant. Hunting the calves immediately after their birth seems a poor game; but no doubt they were good eating.

3 Thibet dogs, called by Grattius (159) Seres.
νεβρῶν τοῦ ἥρος θηρᾶν· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ὀρᾶν
2 γίγνονται. κατασκέψασθαι δὲ πρότερον προ-
ελθόντα εἰς τὰς ὁργάδας, οὐ εἰσὶν ἐλαφοὶ πλεῖ-
σται· ὅπου δ’ ἀν ὄσιν, ἔχοντα τὸν κυναγωγὸν
τὰς κύνας καὶ ἀκόντια πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐλθόντα εἰς
τὸν τόπον τούτον τὰς μὲν κύνας δῆσαι ἀποθεῖν
ἐκ τῆς ὑλῆς, ὅπως μὴ, ἀν ἔδωσι τὰς ἔλάφους,
3 ὑλακτῶσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ σκοπιωρεῖσθαι. ἀμα δὲ
tῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁφεται ἀγούσας τοὺς νεβροὺς πρὸς τὸν
tόπον, οὐ ἀν μέλλῃ ἐκάστη τὸν ἐαυτῆς εὐνάσειν.
katakλίνασαι δὲ καὶ γάλα δοῦσαι καὶ διασκε-
ψάμεναι, μὴ ὁρῶνται ὑπὸ τινὸς, φυλάττει τὸν
ἐαυτῆς ἐκάστη ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ ἀντιπέρας.
4 ἰδόντα δὲ ταύτα τὰς μὲν κύνας λύσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ
λαβόντα ἀκόντια προϊέναι ἐπὶ τὸν νεβρὸν τὸν
πρῶτον, ὅπου εἶδεν εὐνασθέντα, τῶν τόπων
ἐνθυμοῦμενον, ὅπως μὴ διαμαρτήσεται· πολὺ γὰρ
ἀλλιοῦνται τῇ ὅψει ἐγγὺς προσιόντι ἡ οἶοι
5 πόρρωθεν ἑδοξαὶ εἶναι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἤδη αὐτὸν,
προσιέναι ἐγγύς. ο’ δ’ ἔξει ἀτρέμα πιέσας ὡς
ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ εἶσει ἀνελέσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐφυσμένος
ἡ, βοῶν μέγα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οὐ μενεὶ·
tαχὺ γὰρ τὸ ὕγρον, ὦ ἔχει ἐν ἐαυτῷ, ὑπὸ τοῦ
ψυχροῦ συνιστάμενον ποιεῖ ἀποχωρεῖν αὐτὸν.
6 ἀλώσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν σὺν πόνῳ διωκό-
μενος· λαβόντα δὲ δοῦναι τῷ ἄρκυνῳ· ο’ δὲ
βοίσεται· ἢ δ’ ἐλαφὸς τὰ μὲν ἰδοῦσα, τὰ δ’
ἀκούσασα ἐπιδράμειται τῷ ἔχοντι αὐτὸν ξητοῦσα
7 ἀφελέσθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐγκελεύειν ταῖς
κυσί καὶ χρήσθαι τοῖς ἀκοντίοις. κρατήσαντα
dὲ τούτον πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ
tῷ αὐτῷ εἴδει πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῆς θήρας.
work. Hunt the calves in spring, since they are born at that season. First go to the meadows and reconnoitre, to discover where hinds are most plentiful. Wherever they are, let the keeper of the hounds go with the hounds and javelins to this place before daybreak and tie up the dogs to trees some distance off, so that they may not catch sight of the hinds and bark, and let him watch from a coign of vantage. At daybreak he will see every dam leading her fawn to the place where she means to lay it. When they have put them down, suckled them, and looked about to make sure that they are not seen, they move away into the offing and watch their calves. On seeing this, let him loose the dogs, and taking the javelins approach the spot where he saw the nearest fawn laid, carefully observing the positions so as not to make a mistake, since they look quite different when approached from what they seemed to be at a distance. As soon as he sees the fawn, let him go close up to it. It will keep still, squeezing its body tight against the ground, and will let itself be lifted, bleating loudly, unless it is wet through, in which case it will not stay, since the rapid condensation of the moisture in its body by the cold causes it to make off. But it will be caught by the hounds if hotly pursued. Having taken it, let him give it to the net-keeper. It will cry out; and the sight and the sound between them will bring the hind running up to the holder, in her anxiety to rescue it. That is the moment to set the hounds on her, and ply the javelins. Having settled this one, let him proceed to tackle the rest, hunting them in the same manner.

1 The “Keeper of hounds” has not been mentioned in connection with hare hunting. Apparently he is the person to whom all these instructions are addressed.
Καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι τῶν νεβρῶν οὕτως ἀλίσκονται·
οἱ δὲ ἦδη μεγάλου χαλεπῶς νέμονται γὰρ
μετὰ τῶν μητέρων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐλάφων· καὶ
ἀποχωροῦσιν, ὅταν διώκονται, ἐν μέσαις, ὅτε
δὲ πρὸσθεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὁπισθεὶν ὀλιγάκις. αἱ δὲ
ἐλαφοῦ τὰς κύνας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμεναι κατα-
πατοῦσιν· ὅστ' οὐκ εὐάλωτοί εἰσιν, ἐὰν μὴ
προσμείξας τις εὐθὺς διασκεδάζῃ αὐτὰς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ὅστε μονωθῆναι τινα αὐτῶν. Βιασθείσαι
dὲ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν πρῶτον δρόμον αἱ κύνες ἀπολεί-
pουται· ἢ τε γὰρ ἀποστέλλει τῶν ἐλάφων ποιεῖ
αὐτῶν περίφοβον τὸ τε τάχος οὐδενὶ ἑοικὸς ἐστὶ
tῶν τηλικοῦτων νεβρῶν· δευτέρω δὲ καὶ τρίτῳ
δρόμῳ ταὐχὺ ἀλίσκονται· τὰ γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν
dιὰ τὸ ἐτί νεαρὰ εἶναι τῷ πόνῳ οὐ δύνανται
ἀντέχειν.

'Ἰστανται δὲ καὶ ποδοστράβαι ταῖς ἐλάφοις
eν τοῖς ὄρεσι, περὶ τοὺς λειμῶνας καὶ τὰ ῥείθρα
καὶ τὰς νάπας ἐν ταῖς διόδοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις,
πρὸς ο̑ τὶ ἄν προσηῇ. χρῆ δὲ εἶναι τὰς ποδο-
στράβας σμίλακος πεπλεγμένας, μὴ περιφλοίους,
ίνα μὴ σήπωνται, τὰς δὲ στεφάνας εὐκύκλους
ἐχούσας, καὶ τοὺς ἡλίους ἑναλλὰξ σιδηροῦς τε
καὶ ἐξυλίνους ἐγκαταπεπλεγμένους ἐν τῷ πλο-
κάνῳ· μείξους δὲ τοὺς σιδηροῦς, ὅπως ἄν οἱ μὲν
ἐξυλίνοι υπείκωσι τῷ ποδί, οἱ δὲ πιέξωσι. τὸν
dὲ βρόχον τῆς σειρίδος τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν στεφάνην
ἐπιτεθησόμενον πεπλεγμένον σπάρτον καὶ αὐτὴν
tὴν σειρίδα· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀσηπτότατον τούτο. ὃ δὲ
βρόχος αὐτὸς ἐστὶν στιφρὸς καὶ ἡ σειρίς· τὸ δὲ
ἐξύλον τὸ ἐξαπτόμενον ἐστὶν μὲν δρυὸς ἡ πρίνου,
Young fawns are caught by this method; but big ones are difficult to catch. For they graze with their dams and other deer; and when pursued they make off in the midst of them, or sometimes in front, but rarely in the rear. The hinds trample on the hounds in their efforts to defend their fawns; consequently it is not easy to catch them, unless a man gets amongst them at once and scatters them, so that one of the fawns is isolated. The result of this strain on the hounds is that they are left behind in the first run; for the absence of the hinds fills the creature with terror, and the speed of fawns at that age is without parallel. But they are soon caught in the second or third run, since their bodies are still too young to stand the work.

Caltrops are set for deer in the mountains, about meadows and streams and glades, in alleys and cultivated lands that they frequent. The caltrops should be made of plaited yew, stripped of the bark, so as not to rot. They should have circular crowns, and the nails should be of iron and wood alternately, plaited into the rim, the iron nails being the longer, so that the wooden ones will yield to the foot and the others hurt it. The noose of the cord to be laid on the crown and the cord itself should be of woven sparto, since this is rot-proof. The noose itself and the cord must be strong; and the clog attached must be of common or evergreen oak, twenty-seven inches

1 The author has omitted to explain how this is to be done.
2 The "rim" (an unsatisfactory rendering) is the same thing as the "crown."
3 Yates (Textrinum Antiquorum) considers that sparto is the Spanish broom (genista) and not the grass (stipa tenuissima) now called esparto.
μέγεθος τρισπίθαμον, περίφλοιον, πάχος παλαιστής.

14 Ἰστάναι δὲ τὰς ποδοστραβὰς διελόντα τῆς γῆς βάθος πεντεπάλαιστον, περιφερές δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνωθεν ἵσον ταῖς στεφάναις τῶν ποδοστραβῶν, εἰς δὲ τὸ κάτω ἀμείβομενον στενότητι διελεῖν δὲ καὶ τῇ σειρίδι καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς γῆς ὅσον ἠξοσθαί ἀμφοῖν. ποιήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ βάθος τὴν ποδοστράβην ἐπιθείειν κατωτέρῳ ἰσόπεδον, περί δὲ τὴν στέγην τὸν βρόχου τῆς σειρίδος, καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ ξύλον καθέντα εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐκατέρου, τῇ στέγῃ ἐπιθείειν δοκίδας ἀτρακτυλίδος μὴ ὑπερτευνούσας εἰς τὸ ἔξω, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων πέταλα λεπτά, ὅν ἄν ἡ ὥρα ἥ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὰ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐπιπολής ἐξαιρεθεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν ὄρνυμάτων, ἀνωθεν δὲ γῆς στερεὰς τῆς ἀποθεν, ἴνα ἡ τῇ ἐλάφῳ ὅτι μάλιστα ἄδηλος ἡ στάσις· τὴν δὲ περιουσαν τῆς γῆς ἀποφέρειν πόρρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ποδοστράβης. ἐὰν γὰρ ὀσφραίνηται νεωστὶ κεκινμένης, δυσωπεῖται ταχύ δὲ ποιεῖ τοῦτο.

15 ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ ἔχοντα τὰς κύνας τὰς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσίν ἐστώσας, μάλιστα μὲν ἐῳθεν, χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἡμέρας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐργοῖς πρωί. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὀρεσίν οὐ μόνον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλίσκονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐργοῖς τῆς νυκτὸς διὰ τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν πεφοβηθῆσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

16 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ εὐρη ἀνεστραμμένην τὴν ποδοστράβην, μεταθεῖν ἐπιλύσαντα τὰς κύνας καὶ ἐπικελεύσαντα κατὰ τὸν ὀλκὸν τοῦ ξύλου, σκοπούμενον ὅπου ἄν φέρηται. ἐσταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄδηλον 426
long, not stripped of the bark, and three inches thick.

To set the caltrops make a round hole in the ground fifteen inches deep, of the same size at the top as the crowns of the traps, but tapering towards the bottom. Make shallow drills in the ground for the cord and the clog to lie in. Having done this lay the caltrop on the hole a little below the surface, and level, and put the noose of the cord round the top. Having laid the cord and the clog in their places, lay spindle-wood twigs on the top, not letting them stick out beyond the circle, and on these any light leaves in season. Next throw some earth on them, beginning with the surface soil taken from the holes, and on top of this some unbroken soil from a distance, in order that the position may be completely concealed from the deer. Remove any earth remaining over to a place some distance from the caltrop; for if the deer smells earth recently disturbed, it shies; and it is not slow to smell it. Accompanied by the hounds, inspect the traps set in the mountains, preferably at daybreak (but it should be done also at other times during the day), in the cultivated lands early. For in the mountains deer may be caught in the daytime as well as at night owing to the solitude; but on cultivated land only at night, because they are afraid of human beings in the daytime.

On coming across a caltrop upset, slip the hounds, give them a hark-forward, and follow along the track of the clog, noticing which way it runs. That

1 στέγην and (presently) στέγη Α; στεφάνην and στεφάνη S. with M.
XENOPHON

&t; the polo., he gave the oxen, he saw, and they were the first to see the calfs. Then he led the oxen, and they were the first to see the calf. Thus they also saw the cattle, and the oxen were the first to see the calf. So they saw the cattle, and the oxen were the first to see the calf.

19 'Evon mev onw tov prosoblon podos alw, tachy

laphthetan: ev garg tof drhmo; pavan to swma
tuppei kai to prosopon: eavan de tov opisthein,
ephelikomenon to xulon epmadwv olw; esti to
swmati: eviote de kai. eis dikhous tis ulhes
emiptypei feromenon, kal eavan mhe aporrhi
tn seirida, kataalambavetai autou. xehi de eavan
outws elh he periyenomenos pwn, mhe prosienes
egyni; tois garg kerasi paiie eavon mev he arphon,
kal toin podoin eavan de thleia toin podoin.
apothen onw akontizein.

Alyskontai de kai anev podostraphtes diwko-
menai, othan he oara therini: apagoreousi garg
sphora, oiste estwosai akontizeontai: riptoudi
de kai eis tin thalattan, eavan kataxontai, kai eis
ta ydata aporoymenai ote de diad dypsonon
pintousi.

X. Proso de ton on ton agnion kektithai kynas
Iondikas, Krthritis, Dokridas, Lakaivas, arku
akonta, proboila, podostrapbas. prwtou men
ouv xehi elinai tas kynas ekastou 2 genous mhn tase
etipthousas, iana etoimai oswi polemeiwn tow theriow.
ai de arkuw lwnon men ton autwn wntiper ai ton
laigwv, estwsoan de pentekaitetaparakontalwvoi

1 eavan mev he arphon follows pyn in S. and the MSS.: Diels

saw that it belongs here: M has tois podin and omits eav

detheleia ton podoin by oversight; and so S.

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will be clear enough for the most part: for the stones will be displaced and the trail of the clog will be obvious in the cultivated ground; and if the deer crosses rough places, there will be fragments of bark torn from the clog on the rocks, and the pursuit will be all the easier.

If the deer is caught by the fore-foot it will soon be taken, as it hits every part of its body and its face with the clog during the run; or if by the hind-leg, the dragging of the clog hampers the whole body; and sometimes it dashes into forked branches of trees, and unless it breaks the cord, is caught on the spot. But, whether you catch it in this way or by wearing it out, don’t go near it; for it will butt, if it’s a stag, and kick, and if it’s a hind, it will kick. So throw javelins at it from a distance.

In the summer months they are also caught by pursuit without the aid of a caltrop; for they get dead beat, so that they are hit standing. When hard pressed, they will even plunge into the sea and into pools in their bewilderment; and occasionally they drop from want of breath.

Χ. For hunting the wild boar provide yourself with Indian, Cretan, Locrian and Laconian hounds, boar nets, javelins, spears and caltrops. In the first place the hounds of each breed must be of high quality, that they may be qualified to fight the beast. The nets must be made of the same flax as those used for hares, of forty-five threads woven in three strands,

1 i.e. Laconian hounds of the Castorian variety; see c. iii. § 5.

2 ἐκ τοῦτου from the text as quoted by Aristides: ἐκ τοῦτου τοῦ S. with the MSS.
XENOPHON

ἐκ τριῶν τῶν, ἐκαστὸς δὲ τὸν ἐκ πεντεκαίδεκα λίνων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κορυφαίου τὸ μέγεθος δεχάμματοι, τὸ δὲ βάθος τῶν βρόχων πυγόνος· οἱ δὲ περίδρομοι ἡμιόλιοι τοῦ τῶν ἄρκυών πάχους· ἐπὶ ἄκροι δὲ δακτυλίους ἐξέτασαν, ύφεισθεὶσαν δ' ὑπὸ τοὺς βρόχους, τὸ δὲ ἄκρον αὐτῶν ἐκπεράτω ἔξω διὰ τῶν δακτυλίων· ἰκαναὶ 1 δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα.

3 Τὰ δὲ ἀκόντια ἐστῶ παντοδαπὰ, ἤχουτα τὰς λόγχας εὐπλατεῖς καὶ ἐξυρήκεις, ῥάβδους δὲ στιφράς. τὰ δὲ προβόλα πρῶτον μὲν λόγχας ἤχουτα τὸ μὲν μέγεθος πεντεπαλαίστους, κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸν αὐλὸν κωδόντας ἀποκεχαλκευμένους, στιφροὺς, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους κρανείας δορατοπαχεῖς· αἱ δὲ ποδοστράβαι ὁμοίαι ταῖς τῶν ἐλάφων. συκυκυνηγέται δ' ἔστωσαν τὸ γὰρ θηρίον μόλις καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀλίσκεται. ὅπως δὲ δεῖ τούτων ἐκάστω χρήσθαι πρὸς θήραν, διδάξω.

4 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθόντας οὐ ἂν οἴωνται 2 ὑπάγειν τὸ κυνηγεῖσιν, λύσαντας μίαν τῶν κυνῶν τῶν Δακαὶνῶν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἤχουτας δεδεμέναις συμπεριέναι τῇ κυνί. ἐπειδὰν δὲ λάβῃ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἰχνη, ἐπεσθαὶ ἔξης τῇ ἰχνεύσει ἡγομένῃ ἀκολουθοῦντας σαφῶς. 3 ἔσται δὲ καὶ τοῖς κυνηγήταις πολλὰ δὴλα αὐτοῦ, ἐν μὲν τοῖς μαλακοῖς τόσον τῶν εὐπλατεῖς καὶ ἐξυρήκεις πυγάμας· ἰκαναὶ δὲ πεντεκαίδεκαι τὸν παντοδαπὸν θηρίον ἀλλοιωθέντας, ἐν μὲν τοῖς κυνηγηταῖς πολλοῖς ἀλλοιωθέντας αὐτοῦ, ἐν μὲν τοῖς μαλακοῖς τῶν εὐπλατεῖς καὶ ἐξυρήκεις πυγάμας· αἱ δὲ ποδοστράβαι ὁμοίαι ταῖς τῶν ἐλάφων. συκυκυνηγέται δ' ἔστωσαν τὸ γὰρ θηρίον μόλις καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀλίσκεται. ὅπως δὲ δεῖ τούτων ἐκάστω χρήσθαι πρὸς θήραν, διδάξω.

1 ἰκαναὶ S. with A.
2 οἴωνται which S. and the MSS. add after οἴωνται was removed by Pierleoni.
3 ἀκολουθοῦντας σαφῶς A: ἀκολουθία S. with B: ἀκολουθίαν Μ.

1 This means, I believe, ten meshes, so that the net would be about 150 inches high. Otto Manns (Über die Jagd bei den 430
each strand containing fifteen threads. The height should be ten knots, counted from the top, and the depths of the meshes fifteen inches. The ropes at top and bottom must be half as thick again as the nets. There must be metal rings at the elbows, and the ropes must be inserted under the meshes, and their ends must pass out through the rings. Fifteen nets are sufficient.

The javelins must be of every variety, the blades broad and keen, and the shafts strong. The spears must have blades fifteen inches long, and stout teeth at the middle of the socket, forged in one piece but standing out; and their shafts must be of cornel wood, as thick as a military spear. The caltrops must be similar to those used in hunting deer. There must be several huntsmen, for the task of capturing the beast is no light one even for a large number of men. I will now explain how to use each portion of the outfit in hunting.

First then, when the company reach the place where they suppose the game to lurk, let them slip one of the Laconian hounds, and taking the others in leash, go round the place with the hound. As soon as she has found his tracks, let the field follow, one behind another, keeping exactly to the line of the track. The huntsmen also will find many evi-

\[\text{Grieschen},\] however, thinks that the net was five feet high only, \textit{i.e.} four meshes (cf. c. iv. § 5); but (1) it is hard to see how "four meshes" can be got out of "ten knots," and (2) the "bosom" (see § 7) requires a considerably greater height than five feet.

2 The ends of the upper ropes appear to have been used for fastening the nets together.

3 It is strange that the author does not state the length of the nets.
κοῖς τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἰχνῆ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λασίωις τῆς ὕλης κλάσματα: ὅπου δ᾽ ἂν δένδρα ἦ, πληγαὶ 6 τῶν ὀδώτων. ἢ δὲ κύων ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἄφιεται τόπον ὑλώδῃ ἰχνεύουσα. κατακλίνεται γὰρ τὸ θηρίον ὃς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ εἰς τοιαῦτα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ χειμώνος ἐστὶν ἀλεεινά, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ψυχεινά. 7 ἑπειδὰν δ᾽ ἄφικηται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνήν, ὑλακτεί· ὃ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὃς τὰ πολλά. λαβόντα οὖν τὴν κύνα καὶ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δῆσαι ἀποθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐνῆς πολὺ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὀρέμους ἐμβάλλειν τὰς ἄρκυς, ἐπιβάλλοντα τοὺς βρόχους ἐπὶ ἀποσχαλιδώματα τῆς ὕλης δικρα· τῆς δὲ ἄρκυνος αὐτῆς μακρὸν προήκουτα κόλπον ποιεῖν, ἀντηρίδας ἐνδοθεὶν ἐκατέρωθεν ύφιστάντα κλώνας, ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὸν κόλπον διὰ τῶν βρόχων αἱ αὕγαι τοῦ φέγγους ὡς μάλιστα ἐνέχωσιν, ἵνα προσθέουσι τὸν κϊνόντας ὡς φανότατον ἐὰν ἔσω· καὶ τὸν περίδρομον ἐξάπττειν ἀπὸ δένδρου ἵσχυρον καὶ μῆ ἐκ ράχου· συνέχονται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς αἱ ράχοι. ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκάστης ἐμφράσττειν τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τὰ δύσορμα, ἵνα εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ποιῆται τὸν δρόμον μὴ ἐξαλλάττων.

8 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ στῶσιν, ἐλβόντας πρὸς τὰς κύνας λύσαι ὁπάσας καὶ λαβοῦτας τὰ ἀκόντια καὶ τὰ προβόλια προϊέναι. ἐγκελευεύειν δὲ ταῖς κυσὶν ἐνα τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους ἐπεσθαὶ κοσμίως ἀπολείποντις ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων πολὺ, ὅπως ἂν ἢ αὐτὸ ἰκανὴ διαδρομὴ· ἐὰν γὰρ ὑποχωρῶν ἐμπέσῃ εἰς πυκνοῦς, κινδύνους πληγήναι· ὃ γὰρ ἂν προσπέσῃ, εἰς τούτον τὴν ὀργήν κατέθετο.

1 The text is doubtful. I now think συγκλάωνται probable for συνέχονται.
dences of the quarry, the tracks in soft ground, broken branches where the bushes are thick, and marks of his tusks wherever there are trees. The hound following the track will, as a rule, arrive at a well-wooded spot. For the beast usually lies in such places, since they are warm in winter and cool in summer. As soon as the hound reaches the lair, she will bark. But in most cases the boar will not get up. So take the hound and tie her up with the others at a good distance from the lair, and have the nets put up in the convenient anchorages, hanging the meshes on forked branches of trees. Out of the net itself make a long projecting bosom, putting sticks inside to prop it up on both sides, so that the light of day may penetrate as much as possible into the bosom through the meshes, in order that the interior may be as light as possible when the boar rushes at it. Fasten the (lower) rope to a strong tree, not to a bush, since the bushes give way at the bare stem. Wherever there is a gap between a net and the ground, fill in the places that afford no anchorage with wood, in order that the boar may rush into the net, and not slip out.

As soon as they are in position, let the party go to the hounds and loose them all, and take the javelins and the spears and advance. Let one man, the most experienced, urge on the hounds, while the others follow in regular order, keeping well behind one another, so that the boar may have a free passage between them; for should he beat a retreat and dash into a crowd, there is a risk of being gored, since he spends his rage on anyone he encounters.

The text is again uncertain, but the sense is clear. I incline to υπὸ δ’ ἐκάστην.
9 'Επειδὰν δὲ αἱ κῦνες ἑγγὺς ὦσι τῆς εὐνής, ἐπειδὰςθαν θορυβούμενος δὲ ἐξαναστῆσεται, καὶ ἦτις ἃν τῶν κυνῶν προσφέρηται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπον, ἀναρρίψεις δὲ ἐμπεσεῖται· εὰν δὲ μὴ, μεταθεῖν ἀνάγκη, καὶ εὰν μὲν ἢ τὸ χωρίον καταφερέσ, ἐν ὧν ἢ γενὸς αὐτοῦ ἢ ἄρκυς, ταχὺ ἐξαναστῆσεται. εὰν δὲ ἄπεδον, εὐθὺς
10 ἐστὶξει περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔχων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ καρφῷ αἱ μὲν κῦνες προσκείσονται· αὐτοὺς δὲ χρὴ φυλαττομένους αὐτὸν ἀκουτίζειν καὶ λίθοις βάλλειν, περισταμένους ὄπισθεν καὶ πολὺ ἀποθεν, ἐως ἃν κατατείχῃ προσθῶν αὐτὸν τῆς ἄρκυς τὸν περίδρομον. εἶτα ὡστε ἃν ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἐμπειρότατος καὶ ἔγκρατέστατος, προσελθόντα ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν τῷ προβολίῳ παλέων. εὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται ἀκουτιζόμενος καὶ βαλλόμενος κατατείναι τὸν περίδρομον, ἀλλ' ἐπανεῖς ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸν προσίστατα περιδρομὴν ποιούμενος, ἀνάγκη, ὅταν οὕτως ἔχῃ, λαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσθεν, ἐχεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ μὲν χειρὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ πρόσθεν, τῇ δ' ἐτέρᾳ ὀπισθεν καταρθοὶ γὰρ ἢ μὲν ἀριστερὰ αὐτὸ, ἢ δὲ δεξιὰ ἐπεμβάλλει· ἐμπροσθεν δὲ ὅ ποὺς ὁ μὲν ἀριστερὸς ἐπέσθω τῇ
11 χειρὶ τῇ ὁμονύμῳ, ὃ δὲ δεξιὸς τῇ ἑτέρᾳ· προσιόντα δὲ προβάλλεσθαι τὸ προβόλιον μὴ πολλῷ μείζῳ διαβάντα ἢ ἐν πάλῃ, ἐπιστρέφοντα τὰς πλευρὰς τὰς εὐγυμένους ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν εὐφυνυμένον, εἶτα εἰσβήλποντα εἰς τὸ ὅμμα τοῦ θηρίου, ἐνθυμούμενον τὴν κίνησιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς ἑκείνου. προσφέρειν δὲ τὸ προβόλιον φυλαττόμενον, μὴ ἐκκρούσῃ ἔκ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐκνεύσας· τῇ γὰρ ρύμη τῆς ἐκκρούσεως ἐπεται. 434
ON HUNTING, x. 9-12

As soon as the hounds are near the lair, they will go for him. The noise will cause him to get up, and he will toss any hound that attacks him in front. He will run and plunge into the nets; or if not, you must pursue him. If the ground where he is caught in the net is sloping, he will quickly get up; if it is level, he will immediately stand still, intent on himself. At this moment the hounds will press their attack, and the huntsmen must fling their javelins at him warily, and pelt him with stones, gathering round behind and a good way off, till he shoves hard enough to pull the rope of the net tight. Then let the most experienced and most powerful man in the field approach him in front and thrust his spear into him. If, in spite of javelins and stones, he refuses to pull the rope tight, but draws back, wheels round and marks his assailant, in that case the man must approach him spear in hand, and grasp it with the left in front and the right behind, since the left steadies while the right drives it. The left foot must follow the left hand forward, and the right foot the other hand. As he advances let him hold the spear before him, with his legs not much further apart than in wrestling, turning the left side towards the left hand, and then watching the beast's eye and noting the movement of the fellow's head. Let him present the spear, taking care that the boar doesn't knock it out of his hand with a jerk of his head, since he follows up the impetus of the
13 παθόντα δὲ τούτο πίπτειν δεῖ ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἀλής κάτωθεν τὸ γαρ θηρίον ἐὰν μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντι προσπέσῃ, διὰ τὴν σιμότητα τῶν ὁδόντων τὸ σῶμα οὐ δύναται ὑπολαβεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μετεώρῳ, ἀνάγκη πληγῆναι. πειράται μὲν οὖν μετεωρίζειν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνηται, ἀμφιβας
14 πατεῖ. ἀπαλλαγῇ δὲ τούτων μία ἐστὶ μόνη, οταν ἐν τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτῃ ἔχηταί, προσελθόντα ἔγγυς τῶν συγκυνηγητῶν ἐνα ἔχοντα προβόλιον ἐρεθίζειν ὥς ἀφῆσονται· ἀφιέναι δὲ οὐ χρή, μὴ
tύχῃ τοῦ πεπτωκότας. ὅταν δὲ ἵδῃ τοῦτο, καταλιπτῶν δυ ἀν ἔχῃ υφ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρεθίζοντα ὑπὸ ὄργῃς καὶ θυμοῦ ἐπιστρέψει. τὸν δὲ ταχὺ ἀνα-πηδῶν, τὸ δὲ προβόλιον μεμηθθαί ἔχοντα ἀνιστασθαι· οὐ γὰρ καλὴ ἡ σωτηρία ἄλλως ἡ
15 κρατήσαντι. προσφέρειν δὲ πάλιν τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ προτεῖναι ἐντὸς τῆς ἀμοπλάτης, ἢ ἡ σφαγή, καὶ ἀντερείσαντα ἔχειν ἐρρωμένως· ὅ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μένους πρόεισι, καὶ εἰ μὴ κωλύσουν οἱ κνώδοντες τῆς λόγχης, ἀφίκοιτ' ἀν διὰ τῆς ῥάβδου προωθῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν τὸ προβόλιον ἔχοντα.
16 Ὁυτὸς δὲ πολλὴ ἡ δύναμις ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, ὅστε καὶ ἅ ὦκ ἀν οὐκ ἂ τοις πρόσεστιν αὐτῷ· τε-θνεῶτος γαρ εὕθυς ἐὰν τις ἐπὶ τὸν ὁδόντα ἐπιθῇ τρίχας, συντρέχουσιν ὦτώς εἰσὶν θερμοί· ἔκοιτ δὲ διάπυροι, ὅταν ἐρεθίζηται· οὐ γὰρ ἀν τῶν κυνῶν ἀμαρτάνων τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀκρα τὰ τριχώματα περιεπίμπρα.
17 Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄρρην τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω
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sudden knock. In case this accident should happen, the man must fall on his face and clutch the undergrowth beneath him, for, if the beast attacks him in this position, he is unable to lift the man's body owing to the upward curve of his tusks; but if his body is off the ground, the man is certain to be gored. Consequently the boar tries to lift him up, and, if he cannot, he stands over and tramples on him. For a man in this critical situation there is only one escape from these disasters. One of his fellow huntsmen must approach with a spear and provoke the boar by making as though he would hurl it; but he must not hurl it, or he may hit the man on the ground. On seeing this the boar will leave the man under him and turn savagely and furiously on his tormentor. The other must jump up instantly, remembering to keep his spear in his hand as he rises, for safety without victory is not honourable. He must again present the spear in the same way as before, and thrust it inside the shoulder-blade where the throat is, and push with all his might. The enraged beast will come on, and but for the teeth of the blade, would shove himself forward along the shaft far enough to reach the man holding the spear.

His strength is so great that he has some peculiar properties which one would never imagine him to possess. Thus, if you lay hairs on his tusks immediately after he is dead, they shrivel up, such is the heat of the tusks. While he is alive they become intensely hot whenever he is provoked, or the surface of the hounds' coats would not be singed when he tries to gore them and misses.

All this trouble, and even more, the male animal
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πράγματα παρασχὺν ἀλίσκεται. ἐὰν δὲ θῆλεια ἢ ἡ ἐμπεσοῦσα, ἐπιθέοντα παίειν φυλαττόμενον μὴ ὀσθεὶς πέσῃ παθόντα δὲ τοῦτο πατεῖσθαι ἀνάγκη καὶ δὰκνεσθαι. ἐκὸντα οὐν οὐ χρὴ ὑποπτίπτειν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄκων ἔλθῃ εἰς τοῦτο, διαναστάσεις γίγνονται αἱ αὐταὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρρενοῦ ἐξαναστάντα δὲ δεὶ παίειν τῷ προβολίῳ, ἕως ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ.

19 Ἀλίσκονται δὲ καὶ ὅπε. ἵστανται μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ ἄρκυς ἐπὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν νατῶν εἰς τοὺς δρυμοὺς, τὰ ἁγκῆ, τὰ τραχέα, ἢ εἰσβολαὶ εἰσών εἰς τὰς ὀργάδας καὶ τὰ ἑλη καὶ τὰ ὕδατα. ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἔχων τὸ προβόλιον φυλάττει τὰς ἄρκυς. οἱ δὲ τὰς κύνας ἔπαγον εἰς τοὺς τόπους ξητοῦντες τοὺς καλλίστους· ἐπειδὰν δὲ εὑρεθῇ, διώκεται. ἐὰν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἄρκυν ἐμπύπτη, τὸν ἄρκυνωρὸν ἀναλαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσιέναι καὶ χρῆσθαι ὡς ἑιρηκα· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐμπέσῃ, μεταθεῖν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἦ πνίγη, διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν τὸ γὰρ θηρίου καὶ τὸ υπερβάλλων δυνάμει ἀπαγορεύει ὑπέρασθομον γιγνόμενον. ἀποθυνόσκουσι δὲ κύνες πολλαὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ θήρᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ κυνηγῶσι κινδυνεύοντις, ὅταν γε 1 ἐν ταῖς μεταδρομαῖς ἀπειρηκτοὶ ἀναγκάζονται προσιέναι τὰ προβόλια ἢ ἐν ὕδατι ὅντι ἢ ἐφεστῶτι 2 πρὸς ἀποκρήμνως ἢ ἐκ δασεῖς μὴ θέλοντι ἐξίεναι· οὐ γὰρ κωλύει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄρκυς οὔτε ἀλλο οὐδὲν φέρεσθαι ὁμόσε τῷ πλησιάζοντι ὀμός μὲντοι προσιτέον, ὅταν ἔχῃ σῶτοι, καὶ ἐπιδεικτεῖν τὴν εὐφυχιάν, δι’ ἦν 22 εἴλοντο ἐκποιεῖν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην. χρηστέον δὲ τῷ προβολίῳ καὶ ταῖς προβολαίς τοῦ

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causes before he is caught. If the creature in the toils is a sow, run up and stick her, taking care not to be knocked down. Such an accident is bound to result in your being trampled and bitten. So don't fall under her, if you can help it. If you get into that position unintentionally, the same aids to rise that are used to assist a man under a boar are employed. When on your feet again, you must ply the spear until you kill her.

Another way of capturing them is as follows. 19 The nets are set up for them at the passages from glens into oak coppices, dells and rough places, on the outskirts of meadows, fens and sheets of water. The keeper, spear in hand, watches the nets. The huntsmen take the hounds and search for the likeliest places. As soon as the boar is found, he is pursued. If he falls into the net, the net-keeper must take his spear, approach the boar, and use it as I have explained. The boar is also captured, in hot weather, when pursued by the hounds; for in spite of his prodigious strength, the animal tires with hard breathing. Many hounds are killed in this kind of sport, 21 and the huntsmen themselves run risks, whenever in the course of the pursuit they are forced to approach a boar with their spears in their hands, when he is tired or standing in water or has posted himself by a steep declivity or is unwilling to come out of a thicket; for neither net nor anything else stops him from rushing at anyone coming near him. Nevertheless approach they must in these circumstances, and show the pluck that led them to take up this hobby. They must use the spear and the forward

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1 γε Pierleoni: δε S. with the MSS.
2 ἄφεστῳ A: ἄφεστῳ S. with BM.
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σώματος ὡς εἰρηνάται: εἰ γάρ τι καὶ πάσχοι, οὐκ ἀν διὰ γε τὸ μὴ ὁρθῶς ποιεῖν πάσχοι.

'Ἰστανται δὲ αἱ ποδοστράβαι αὐτοὶς ἀσπερ ταῖς ἐλάφοις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, καὶ ἐπισκέψεις αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ μεταδρομαί καὶ αἱ πρόσοδοι καὶ αἱ χρεῖαι τοῦ προβολοῦν.

23 ῥ ὁ νεογενὴν αὐτῶν ὅταν ἀλήσκηται, χαλεπῶς τοῦτο πάσχει: οὔτε γὰρ μονοῦται, ἡώς ἄν μικρὰ γῃ, ὅταν τε αἱ κύνες εὐρωσίν ἥ προίδη τι, ταχὺ εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀφανίζεται· ἐπονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὄν ἄν ὡσιν ἀμφω, χαλεποὶ ὄντες τότε καὶ μᾶλλον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

XI. Δέοντες δὲ, παρδάλεις, λύγκες, πάνθηρες, ἀρκτοὶ καὶ τάλλα ὁσα ἐστὶ τοιαύτα ἡθρία ἀλήσκεται εἰς ξένας χώρας περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὅρος καὶ τὸν Κίττον τὸν ὑπέρ τῆς Μακεδονίας, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ 'Ολυμπῷ τῷ Μυσίῳ καὶ ἐν Πίνδῳ, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς Συρίας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅρεσιν, ὁσα οἰα τ' ἐστὶ τρέφειν τοιαύτα. ἀλήσκεται δὲ τὰ μὲν εὖ τοῖς ὅρεσι σαρμάκῳ διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀκοινικῷ. παραβάλλονσι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ θηρόμενοι συμμυνύντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ, ὅτι ἄν ἐκαστὸν χαῖρῃ, περὶ τὰ ὑδάτα καὶ πρὸς ὃ τι ἄλλο προσίη. τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καταβαίνοντα εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποκλεισθέντα μετὰ ὑπτων καὶ ὀπλῶν ἀλήσκεται, εἰς κίνδυνον καθιστάντα τοὺς αἱροῦντας. ἔστι δὲ οἷς αὐτῶν καὶ ὄρυγματα ποιοῦσι περιφερή, μεγάλα, βάθεα, ἐν μέσῳ λείποντες κίονα τῆς γῆς. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτον εἰς νῦκτα ἐπέθεσαν διήσαντες αἴγα καὶ ἐφραξαν κύκλῳ τὸ ὄρυγμα ὑλή, ὡστε μὴ προοράν,
position of the body as explained; then, if a man does come to grief, it will not be through doing things the wrong way.

Caltrops are also set for them as for the deer and in the same places. The routine of inspection and pursuit, the methods of approach and the use of the spear are the same.

The young pigs are not to be caught without difficulty. For they are not left alone so long as they are little, and when the hounds find them or they see something coming, they quickly vanish into the wood; and they are generally accompanied by both parents, who are fierce at such times and more ready to fight for their young than for themselves.

XI. Lions, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears and all similar wild beasts are captured in foreign countries, about Mt. Pangaeus and Cittus beyond Macedonia, on Mysian Olympus and Pindus, on Nysa beyond Syria, and in other mountain ranges capable of supporting such animals. On the mountains they are sometimes poisoned, owing to the difficulty of the ground, with aconite. Hunters put it down mixed with the animals' favourite food round pools and in other places that they frequent. Sometimes, while they are going down to the plain at night, they are cut off by parties of armed and mounted men. This is a dangerous method of capturing them. Sometimes the hunters dig large, round, deep holes, leaving a pillar of earth in the middle. They tie up a goat and put it on the pillar in the evening, and pile wood round the hole without leaving an entrance, so that the animals cannot see

\[\text{\textit{taîs A: toîs S. with BM.}}\]
eίσοδον οὐ λείποντες. τὰ δὲ ἀκούοντα τῆς φωνῆς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κύκλῳ τὸν φραγμὸν περιθέουσι καὶ ἐπειδὰν μὴ εὐρίσκη δίοδον, ύπερπηδᾶ καὶ ἀλίσκεται.

XII. Περὶ μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις εἰρηταί. ὧφελήσονται δὲ οἱ ἐπιθυμήσαντες τούτου τοῦ ἐργοῦ πολλά. ὑγίειάν τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασι παρασκευάζει καὶ ὄραν καὶ ἀκούειν μᾶλλον, γηράσκειν δὲ ἦττον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς 2 τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα παιδεύει. πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὅπλα ὅταν ἔχοντες πορεύονται ὀδοὺς χαλεπᾶς, οὐκ ἄπερσον ἀνέξονται γὰρ τοὺς πόνους διὰ τὸ εἰδίσθαι μετὰ τούτων αἱρεῖν τὰ θηρία. ἔπειτα εὐνάξεσθαι τε σκληρῶς δυνατοί ἔσονται καὶ 3 φύλakes εἶναι ἁγαθοὶ τοῦ ἑπιταττομένου. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προσόδοις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμα {o}ι τε ἔσονται ἐπιέναι καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ποιεῖν διὰ τὸ οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ αἱρεῖν τὰς ἁγρας. τεταγμένοι δ’ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν οὐ λείψονται τὰς 4 τάξεις διὰ τὸ καρτερεῖν δύνασθαι. ἐν φυγῇ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διώξονται τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν παυτὶ χωρίῳ διὰ συνήθειαν. δυστυ- χίσαντος δὲ οἰκείου στρατοπέδου ἐν χωρίοις ὕλω- δεσι καὶ ἀποκρήμνους ἢ ἄλλως ἀλλα 1 χαλεποὶ οἶοι τ’ ἔσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ σώξεσθαι μὴ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἐτέρους σώξειν ἡ γὰρ συνήθεια τοῦ ἐργοῦ παρέ- 5 ξει αὐτοῖς πλέον τι εἰδέναι. καὶ ἡδ’ τινὲς τῶν τοιούτων, πολλοὶ ὄχλου συμμάχων τρεφθέντως, τῇ αὐτῶν εὐεξίᾳ καὶ θράσει διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀμαρτότας τοὺς πολεμίους νεκρικοτάς ἀναμα-

1 ἄλλας Stobaeus: ἄλλοις S. with the MSS.
what lies in front. On hearing the bleating in the night, the beasts run round the barrier, and finding no opening, jump over and are caught.

XII. With the practical side of hunting I have finished. But the advantages that those who have been attracted by this pursuit will gain are many. For it makes the body healthy, improves the sight and hearing, and keeps men from growing old; and it affords the best training for war. In the first place, when marching over rough roads under arms, they will not tire: accustomed to carry arms for capturing wild beasts, they will bear up under their tasks. Again, they will be capable of sleeping on a hard bed and of guarding well the place assigned to them. In an attack on the enemy they will be able to go for him and at the same time to carry out the orders that are passed along, because they are used to do the same things on their own account when capturing the game. If their post is in the van they will not desert it, because they can endure. In the rout of the enemy they will make straight for the foe without a slip over any kind of ground, through habit. If part of their own army has met with disaster in ground rendered difficult by woods and defiles or what not, they will manage to save themselves without loss of honour and to save others. For their familiarity with the business will give them knowledge that others lack. Indeed, it has happened before now, when a great host of allies has been put to flight, that a little band of such men, through their fitness and confidence, has renewed the battle and routed the victorious enemy when he has

1 The word πρόσωδος in this sense is a hunters' term.
χόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο· ἀεὶ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐ ἔχουσιν ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ εὐτυ-
6 χῆσαι. εἰδότες δὲ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἦμῶν, ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν εὐτύχουν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους, ἐπιμέλειαι
tῶν νέων ἐποίησαντο· σπανίζοντες γὰρ καρπῶν
tὸ ἔξ ἄρχης ἐνόμισαν ὅμως τοὺς κυνηγέτας μὴ
kολύειν διὰ μηδενὸς 1 τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ φυσιμένων
7 ἀγρεύειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ μὴ νυκτερεύειν ἐντὸς
pολλῶν σταδίων, ἦν μὴ ἀφαιροῦντα τὰς θῆρας
aυτῶν οἱ ἐχοῦσε ταῦτην τὴν τέχνην. ἐώρων γὰρ,
ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ἡ ἠδονή μονὴ αὐτὴ πλεῖστα
ἀγαθὰ παρασκευάζει. σώφρονᾶς τε γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ
8 δικαίους διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παιδεὔεσθαι· τὰ
tε ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὰ 2 τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τούτων 3
eυτυχοῦντες ἰσθάνοντο· καὶ 4 τῶν ἄλλων εἰ τι
βούλονται ἐπιτηδεύειν καλῶν οὐδενὸς ἀποστερεῖ
ὥσπερ ἐτεραὶ κακαὶ ἠδοναί, ἀς οὐ χρή μανθάνειν.
ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων οὖν στρατιῶται τε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ
9 στρατηγοὶ γίγνονται. ὅπι γὰρ οἱ πόνοι τὰ μὲν
αἰσχρὰ καὶ υβριστικὰ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ
σώματος ἀφαιροῦνται, ἐπιθυμίαν δὲ ἀρετῆς ἐν-
νύξεσαν, οὕτω δὲ ἀριστοί· οὐ γὰρ ἄν περιδοεῖν
οὐτε τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀδικουμένην οὔτε τὴν
χώραν πάσχοσαν κακῶς.
10 Δέγοναι δὲ τινες, ὡς οὐ χρὴ ἔραν κυνηγεῖσιν,
ἳνα μὴ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελῶσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οἱ
tὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς φίλους εἰ ποιοῦντες πάντες

1 διὰ μηδενὸς A: διὰ τὸ μηδεν BM: τὸ μηδεν S.
2 τὰ τε ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὰ AB: τὰ τε M: S. omits τά τέ...
3 ήσθάνοντο with Schneider,
4 τοὐτῶν AB: τῶν τοιούτων S. with M.
5 καὶ τῶν AB: τῶν τε S. with M.
blundered owing to difficulties in the ground. For men who are sound in body and mind may always stand on the threshold of success. It was because they knew that they owed their successes against the enemy to such qualities that our ancestors looked after the young men. For in spite of the scarcity of corn it was their custom from the earliest times not to prevent hunters from hunting over any growing crops; and, in addition, not to permit hunting at night within a radius of many furlongs from the city, so that the masters of that art might not rob the young men of their game. In fact they saw that this is the only one among the pleasures of the younger men that produces a rich crop of blessings. For it makes sober and upright men of them, because they are trained in the school of truth (and they perceived that to these men they owed their success in war, as in other matters); and it does not keep them from any other honourable occupation they wish to follow, like other and evil pleasures that they ought not to learn. Of such men, therefore, are good soldiers and good generals made. For they whose toils root out whatever is base and froward from mind and body and make desire for virtue to flourish in their place—they are the best, since they will not brook injustice to their own city nor injury to its soil.

Some say that it is not right to love hunting, because it may lead to neglect of one's domestic affairs. They are not aware that all who benefit their cities and their friends are more attentive

\[1 \text{ i.e. a training that really builds up the character. There is an implied contrast with the imposture of the education given by sophists.} \]
11 τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμελέστεροι εἰσιν. εἰ οὖν οἱ φιλο-
κυνηγέται παρασκευάζουσιν αὐτοὺς τῇ πατρίδι
χρησίμως εἶναι εἰς τὰ μέγιστα, οὐδ' ἂν τὰ ἱδια
πρόοντο σὺν γὰρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σώζεται καὶ
ἀπόλλυται τὰ οἰκεία ἐκάστου· ὥστε πρὸς τοὺς
αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱδιωτῶν οἱ τοιούτοι
12 σώζουσι. πολλοί δὲ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἀλόγιστοι τῶν
tαύτα λεγόντων αἱροῦνται διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν κακίαν
ἀπολέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐτέρων ἀρετῇ σώζεσθαι· οἱ
γὰρ ἢδοναί αἱ πολλαὶ κακαί· ὃν ἡττώμενοι ἢ
13 λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἐπαίρονται τὰ χείρω. εἰτα ἐκ
μὲν τῶν ματαίων λόγων ἐχθρας ἀναιροῦνται, ἐκ
dὲ τῶν κακῶν ἐργῶν νόσους καὶ ξημίας καὶ θανά-
tους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ παϊδῶν καὶ φίλων, ἀναι-
σθήτως μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἔχοντες, τῶν δὲ ἢδονῶν
πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἀισθανόμενοι, οἷς τίς ἄν
14 χρήσαιτο εἰς πόλεως σωτηρίαν; τοῦτον μέντοι
τῶν κακῶν οὔδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἀφέξεται ἐρασθεὶς
δὲν ἐγὼ παραίνω· παῖδευσις γὰρ καλὴ διδάσκει
χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ λέγειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ
15 ἀκούειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρασχόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ
ἄει τι μοχθεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς μὲν
μαθήσεις καὶ μελέτας ἐπιτόνους ἔχουσι, σωτηρίαν
dὲ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πόλεσιν οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλουτες διὰ
tὸ ἐπίτονον διδάσκεσθαι, ἄλλα ἐν ἢδοναῖς ἀκαί-
ροις διάγειν, φύσει οὔτοι κάκιστοι. οὔτε γὰρ
νόμοις οὔτε λόγοις ἀγαθοῖς πείθουται· οὐ γὰρ
εὐρίσκουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πονεῖν, οἷον δὲ θεοῦ τὸν ἀγαθὸν
eίναι· ὥστε οὔτε θεοσεβεῖς δύνανται εἶναι οὔτε
σοφοί· τῷ δὲ ἀπαιδεύτῳ χρώμενοι πολλὰ ἐπι-
17 τιμῶσι τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις. διὰ μὲν οὖν τούτων

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to their domestic affairs than other men. Therefore, if keen sportsmen fit themselves to be useful to their country in matters of vital moment, neither will they be remiss in their private affairs: for the state is necessarily concerned both in the safety and in the ruin of the individual's domestic fortunes. Consequently such men as these save the fortunes of every other individual as well as their own. But many of those who talk in this way, blinded by jealousy, choose to be ruined through their own evil rather than be saved by other men's virtue. For most pleasures are evil, and by yielding to these they are encouraged either to say or to do what is wrong. Then by their frivolous words they make enemies, and by their evil deeds bring diseases and losses and death on themselves, their children and their friends, being without perception of the evils, but more perceptive than others of the pleasures. Who would employ these to save a state? From these evils, however, everyone who loves that which I recommend will hold aloof, since a good education teaches a man to observe laws, to talk of righteousness and hear of it. Those, then, who have given themselves up to continual toil and learning hold for their own portion laborious lessons and exercises, but they hold safety for their cities. But if any decline to receive instruction because of the labour and prefer to live among untimely pleasures, they are by nature utterly evil. For they obey neither laws nor good words, for because they toil, not, they do not discover what a good man ought to be, so that they cannot be pious or wise men; and being without education they constantly find fault with the educated. In
οὐδὲν ἄν καλῶς ἔχων· διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἀπασαι αἱ ὀφέλειαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὑρηται.  
18 ἀμείωνοι οὖν οἱ θέλοντες πονεῖν. καὶ τούτο ἐπιδέδεικται μεγάλω παραδείγματι τῶν γὰρ παλαιοτέρων οἱ παρὰ Ἑκέρων ὁν ἐπεμνήσθην νέοι ὄντες ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔμαθον· εἰ δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτοὶς μεγάλη ἁρετὴ, δὴ ἦν καὶ νῦν θαυμάζονται· ὅτι μὲν ἐρῶσι πάντες, εὐθηλον, ὅτι δὲ διὰ πόνων ἔστιν τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, οἱ πολλοὶ ἀφίστανται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατεργάσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀδηλον, οἱ δὲ πόνοι οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνόντες φανεροὶ.

Ἰσσος μὲν οὖν εἰ ἦν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς δήλον, ἢπτον ἄν ἡμέλουν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἁρετῆς εἰδότες ὅτι ὡσπερ αὐτοὶς ἐκεῖνη ἐμφάνισθη ἐστίν, οὐτω καὶ 20 αὐτοὶ ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνης ὀρῶνται. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τις ὀρᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρωμένου, ἀπας ἑαυτὸν ἐστὶ βελτίων καὶ οὔτε λέγει οὔτε ποιεῖ αἰσχρὰ οὔδε κακά, ἓνα μῆ 21 ὁφθῇ ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἁρετῆς οὐκ ὀφέλον ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἐναντίον ποιοῦσιν, ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνοι οὐχ ὀρὸσιν· ὅ δὲ πανταχοῦ πάρεστι διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀθάνατος καὶ τιμᾶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγαθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς 22 ἀτίμαξε. εἰ οὖν εἰδεῖεν τοῦτο, ὅτι θεᾶται αὐτοῦς, ἑντὸ ἄν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους καὶ τὰς παίδευσεις, αἰς ἀλίσκεται μόλις, καὶ κατεργάζοντο ἀν αὐτὴν.

XIII. Ἡμνάζω 1 δὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν καλουμένων

1 S. regards the whole of this chapter as a spurious addition.

1 The argument, such as it is, would be better with "the toilers," for "the better sort," and the next words would
these men's hands, therefore, nothing can prosper. All discoveries that have benefited mankind are due to the better sort. Now the better sort are those who are willing to toil. And this has been proved by a great example. For among the ancients the companions of Cheiron to whom I referred learnt many noble lessons in their youth, beginning with hunting; from these lessons there sprang in them great virtue, for which they are admired even today. That all desire Virtue is obvious, but because they must toil if they are to gain her, the many fall away. For the achievement of her is hidden in obscurity, whereas the toils inseparable from her are manifest.

It may be that, if her body were visible, men would be less careless of virtue, knowing that she sees them as clearly as they see her. For when he is seen by his beloved every man rises above himself and shrinks from what is ugly and evil in word or deed, for fear of being seen by him. But in the presence of Virtue men do many evil and ugly things, supposing that they are not regarded by her because they do not see her. Yet she is present everywhere because she is immortal, and she honours those who are good to her, but casts off the bad. Therefore, if men knew that she is watching them, they would be impatient to undergo the toils and the discipline by which she is hardly to be captured, and would achieve her.

XIII. I am surprised at the sophists, as they then be "those who are willing to toil, therefore, are the better men."

\footnote{\textit{αὐτῷ}, "it," \textit{i.e.} the achievement, would be an improvement.}
οτι φασί μεν ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν ἀγειν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς νέους, ἀγουσὶ δ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντίον· οὔτε γὰρ ἄνδρα ποὺ ἐωράκαμεν, οὖν τινὶ οὐν σοφισταὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐποίησαν, οὔτε γράμματα παρέχονται, εὖ δὲν χρὴ ἀγαθοὺς γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ματαίων

2 πολλὰ αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, ἀφ’ οὖν τῶν νέως αἱ μὲν ἡδονὴ κεναί, ἀρετὴ δ’ οὐκ ἐνι. διατριβὴν δ’ ἀλλ’ παρέχει τοῖς ἐλπίσασι τι ἀὐτῶν μαθήματα μάτην καὶ ἐτέρων κωλύει χρησίμων καὶ διδάσκει κακά. μέμφομαι οὖν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν μεγάλα μειζόνως· περὶ δὲ οὖν γράφουσιν ὅτι τὰ μὲν ρήματα αὐτοῖς ἐξῆτηται, γνῶμαι δὲ ὅρθως ἔχουσαι, αἰς ἀν παιδεύοντο οἱ νεώτεροι ἐπ’

4 ἀρετήν, οὐδαμοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἴδιότης μὲν εἰμι, οἴδα δὲ, ὅτι κράτιστον μὲν ἐστιν παρὰ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως τὸ ἀγαθὸν διδάσκεσθαι, δεύτερον δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθῶν τι ἐπισταμένων μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ

5 τῶν ἐξαπατῶν τέχνην ἐχοῦντων. ἵσως οὖν τοῖς μὲν ὅνομασιν οὐ σοφισμένως λέγω· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠτῶ ὁτὸ ὁτὸ δὲ δεόνται εἰς ἀρετὴν οἱ καλῶς πεπαιδευμένοι, ὅρθως ἐγνωσμένα ἡτῶ. λέγειν· ὅνομασι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀν παιδεύσειαν, γνῶμαι δέ,

6 εἰ καλῶς ἔχοιεν. ψέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τοὺς νῦν σοφιστὰς καὶ οὐ τοὺς πιλοσόφους, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ὅνομασι σοφίζονται καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς νοημασιν.

Οὐ λανθάνει δὲ με, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ ἐξῆς γεγραμμένα φίλει τις ἱσως τῶν τοιούτων οὐ καλῶς οὖδεν.
are called, because, though most of them profess to lead the young to virtue they lead them to the very opposite. We have never seen anywhere the man whose goodness was due to the sophists of our generation. Neither do their contributions to literature tend to make men good: but they have written many books on frivolous subjects, books that offer the young empty pleasures, but put no virtue into them. To read them in the hope of learning something from them is mere waste of time, and they keep one from useful occupations and teach what is bad. Therefore their grave faults incur my graver censure. As for the style of their writings, I complain that the language is far-fetched, and there is no trace in them of wholesome maxims by which the young might be trained to virtue. I am no professor, but I know that the best thing is to be taught what is good by one's own nature, and the next best thing is to get it from those who really know something good instead of being taught by masters of the art of deception. I daresay that I do not express myself in the language of a sophist; in fact, that is not my object: my object is rather to give utterance to wholesome thoughts that will meet the needs of readers well educated in virtue. For words will not educate, but maxims, if well found. Many others besides myself blame the sophists of our generation—philosophers I will not call them—because the wisdom they profess consists of words and not of thoughts.

I am well aware that someone, perhaps one of this set,¹ will say that what is well and methodically

¹ i.e. a sophist. But the text of what follows is open to suspicion.
§ 7 ἡ ὁρθῶς μέμψασθαι καὶ τοῖς γέγραπται γε οὕτως, ἵνα ὁρθῶς ἔχῃ καὶ ἡ σοφιστικὸς ποίης, ἀλλὰ σοφὸς καὶ ἁγάθος: οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν αὐτὰ βούλομαι μᾶλλον ἢ εἶναι χρήσιμα, ἵνα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸς ταύτην λέγουσι καὶ γράφουσιν έπὶ τῷ ἐαυτῶν κέρδει καὶ οὐδένα οὐδέν ἀφελοῦσιν: οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφὸς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρκει ἐκάστῳ σοφιστῇ κληθῆσαι, ο ἐστιν οὐνείδος παρὰ γε εὖ φρονοῦσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν σοφιστῶν παραγγέλματα παραιῶν φυλάττεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐνθυμήματα μὴ ἀτιμάζειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοφισταὶ πλούσιοι καὶ νέοις θηρώνται, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι πάσι κοινοὶ καὶ φίλοι: τύχας δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τιμῶσιν οὔτε ἀτιμάζουσι.

§ 8 ἂ ν ζηλοῦν δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας εἰκῆ λόντας, μήτ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας μητ' ἐπὶ τὰς δημοσίας, ἐνθυμηθέντα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀριστοὶ αὐτῶν ἡγομόσκονται μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίων ἐπίφθονοι δ' εἰσίν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ πᾶσχουσὶ τε κακῶς καὶ γγνώσκονται ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω. τὰς τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οὐσίας ἀφαιροῦμενοι καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰς κοινὰς σωτηρίας ἀνωφελέστεροι εἰσὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, τὰ τε σώματα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κάκιστα καὶ αἰσχραί ἔχουσι πονεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι. οἱ δὲ κυνηγότας εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς πολεμίσαι καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ κτήματα καλῶς ἔχουσα παρέχουσιν. ἔρχονται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους.

1 γεγραμμένα... ἐξής is omitted by S. with M.
2 αὐτῶν MSS.: ἀνδρῶν S.
3 I have substituted ἐπίθεονοι for ἐπίσοφοι.
written is not well and methodically written—for hasty and false censure will come easily to them. But my aim in writing has been to produce sound work that will make men not wiseacres, but wise and good. For I wish my work not to seem useful, but to be so, that it may stand for all time unrefuted. The sophists talk to deceive and write for their own gain, and do no good to anyone. For there is not, and there never was, a wise man among them; everyone of them is content to be called a sophist, which is a term of reproach among sensible men. So my advice is: Avoid the behests of the sophists, and despise not the conclusions of the philosophers; for the sophists hunt the rich and young, but the philosophers are friends to all alike: but as for men’s fortunes, they neither honour nor despise them.

Envy not those either who recklessly seek their own advantage whether in private or in public life—bear in mind that the best of them, though they are favourably judged, are envied, and the bad both fare badly and are unfavourably judged. For engaged in robbing private persons of their property, or plundering the state, they render less service than private persons when plans for securing the common safety are afoot, and in body they are disgracefully unfit for war because they are incapable of toil. But huntsmen offer their lives and their property in sound condition for the service of the citizens. These attack the wild beasts, those others

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1 ἐγνωσμένα, "thought," would be a great improvement on γεγραμμένα, "written."
2 Professional politicians.
3 i.e. they contrive to "save their pockets."

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4 δ' Kaibel: τ' S with the MSS.
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους ἴόντες δύσκλειαν ἐξούσι πάρα πᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ κυνηγόται ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία, ἴόντες εὐκλειαν· ἴόντες μὲν γὰρ πολέμια νικῶσι, μὴ ἴόντες δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἔπαινον ἔσχον, ἑπείτα ὅτι οὐ ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς βλάβη οὔτε φιλοκερδεία ἔρχονται.

13 ἑπείτα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιχειρήματος βελτίων γίγνονται πρὸς πολλὰ καὶ σοφότεροι δὲ οὐ διδάξομεν. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πόνοι καὶ ἐνθυμῆμασι καὶ ἐπιμελείαις πολλαῖς ὑπερβάλλονται, οὔκ ἂν ἔλοιεν ἄγρας.

14 τὰ γὰρ ἀντίπαλα αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιζόμενα καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῶν ὀικίσσει ἐν ἱσχύ πολλῇ ἔστιν· ὡστε τῷ κυνηγήτῃ μάτην οἱ πόνοι γίγνονται, ἐὰν μὴ μείζονι φιλοπονίᾳ καὶ πολλῇ συνέσει κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν.

15 Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ πόλιν βουλόμενοι πλεονεκτεῖν μελετῶσι νικᾶν φίλους, οἱ δὲ κυνηγόται καινοὺς ἐχθρούς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡ μελέτη αὐτὴ ποιεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμιους ἀμείνους, τοὺς δὲ πολὺ χείρους· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἡ ἀγρα μετὰ σωφροσύνης, τοῖς δὲ μετὰ αἰσχροῦ θράσους. κακοθείας δὲ καὶ αἰσχροκερδείας οἱ μὲν δύνανται καταφρονεῖν, οἱ δ’ οὐ δύνανται· φωνῆν δὲ οἱ μὲν εὔεπή ἰάσιν, οἱ δ’ αἰσχράν· πρὸς δὲ τὰ θεία τοῖς μὲν οὐδὲν

16 ἐμποδῶν ἀσεβεῖν, οἱ δ’ εὐσεβέστατοι. λόγοι γὰρ παλαιοὶ κατέχουσιν, ὡς καὶ θεοὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ χαίρουσι καὶ πράττοντες καὶ ἱρώντες· ὡστε ὑπάρχειν ἐνθυμομένους τοῦτων θεοφιλεῖς ῥ’ εἶναι

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their friends. And whereas those who attack their friends earn infamy by general consent, huntsmen by attacking the wild beasts gain a good report. For if they make a capture, they win victory over enemy forces: and if they fail, they are commended, in the first place, because they assail powers hostile to the whole community; and, secondly, because they go out neither to harm a man nor for sordid gain. Moreover, the very attempt makes them better in many ways and wiser; and we will give the reason. Unless they abound in labours and inventions and precautions, they cannot capture game. For the forces contending with them, fighting for their life and in their own home, are in great strength; so that the huntsman's labours are in vain, unless by greater perseverance and by much intelligence he can overcome them.

In fine, the politician whose objects are selfish practises for victory over friends, the huntsman for victory over common foes. This practice makes the one a better, the other a far worse fighter against all other enemies. The one takes prudence with him for companion in the chase, the other base rashness. The one can despise malice and avarice, the other cannot. The language of the one is gracious, of the other ugly. As for religion, nothing checks impiety in the one, the other is conspicuous for his piety. In fact, an ancient story has it that the gods delight in this business, both as followers and spectators of the chase. Therefore, reflecting on these things, the young who do what I exhort them to do will put themselves in the way of being dear

1 i.e. kindly and pleasant; not reckless and shameless like that of the politicians.

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καὶ εὐσεβείς τοὺς νέους τοὺς ποιοῦντας ἄ ἐγὼ παραινῶ, οἰομένους ὑπὸ θεῶν τοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι ταῦτα. οὕτωι δ' ἀν εἴεν καὶ τοκεῦσιν ἄγαθοι καὶ πάση τῇ ἐαυτῶν πόλει καὶ ἐνί ἐκάστω τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ 18 φίλων. οὐ μόνον δὲ ὁσοὶ ἄνδρες κυνηγεσίων ἡράσθησαν ἐγένοντο ἄγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες, αἱς ἐδωκέν ἡ θεὸς ταῦτα,¹ Ἀταλάντη καὶ Πρόκρις καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλη.

¹ Ἀρτεμίς, which follows ταῦτα in the MSS., was removed by Weiske.
ON HUNTING, xiii. 17–18

to the gods and pious men, conscious that one or other of the gods is watching their deeds. These will be good to parents, good to the whole city, to every one of their friends and fellow-citizens. For all men who have loved hunting have been good: and not men only, but those women also to whom the goddess has given this blessing, Atalanta and Procris and others like them.

1 Artemis.
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