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XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA

BOOK V

GOBRYAS AND GADATAS
Ε

1. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐπραξάν τε καὶ ἔλεξαν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὰ μὲν Κυαξάρου ἐκέλευσε διαλαβόντας φυλάττειν οὐδὲ οἰκειοτάτους αὐτῷ δόντας· καὶ ὥσα ἐμοὶ δίδοτε, ἥδεως, ἐφη, δέχομαι· χρῆσται δ’ αὐτοῖς ὑμῶν ὁ ἀεὶ μάλιστα δεδεμένος.

Φιλόμουσος δὲ τις τῶν Μήδων εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν ἐγώ, ὁ Κύρης, τῶν μουσουργῶν ἀκούσας ἐστέρας ὃν σὺ τῆς ἔχεις, ἦκουσά τε ἦδεως κἂν μοι δῆς αὐτῶν μίαν, στρατεύσῃς ἃν μοι δοκῶ ἢδιον ἢ οἶκοι μένειν.

'Ὁ δὲ Κύρος εἶπεν, 'Ἀλλ’ ἐγώ, ἐφη, καὶ δίδωμι σοι καὶ χάριν οἰμαι σοὶ πλεῖον ἔχειν ὅτι ἐμε ζητήσας ἢ σὺ ἐμοὶ ὅτι λαμβάνεις· οὕτως ἐγὼ ὑμῖν δυνῶ χαρίζεσθαι.

Ταῦτην μὲν οὖν ἔλαβεν ὁ αἰτήσας.

2. Καλέσας δὲ ὁ Κύρος Ὁράσπαν Μήδον, ὅς ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ παιδῶν ἐταΐρος, ὁ καὶ τὴν στολὴν ἐκάθος ἐδωκε τὴν Μηδικήν, ὅτε παρὰ Ἀσπυάγος εἷς Πέρσας ἦπηε, τούτου ἐκέλευσε διαφυλάξαι αὐτῷ
BOOK V

I

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

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

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

So he that asked received her.

2. Then Cyrus called to him Araspas, a Mede, who had been his friend from boyhood—the same one to I. iv. 26 whom he had given his Median robe when he laid it off as he was returning from Astyages's court to Persia—and bade him keep for him both the lady
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tῆν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν σκηνήν. 3. ἢν δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀβραδάτου τοῦ Σουσιου, ὅτε δὲ ἥλισκε τὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων στρατόπεδον, ὃ ἀνήρ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐτυχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὅν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τῶν Βακτρίων βασιλέα πρεσβεύων φύετο: ἐπεμψε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσσύριος περὶ συμμαχίας. Ξένος γὰρ ὄν ἐτύγχανε τῷ τῶν Βακτρίων βασιλέως ταύτην οὖν ἐκεῖσεν ὁ Κῦρος διαφυλάττειν τὸν Ἀράσταν, ἐώς ἀν αὐτὸς λάβη. 4. κελευόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀράστας ἐπήρετο, Ἐώρακας δ', ἐφη, ὁ Κῦρε, τὴν γυναίκα, ἢν με κελεύεις φυλάττειν;

Μὰ Δ', ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐκ ἔγωγε.

Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἐφη, ἦνικα ἐξηροῦμὲν σοι αὐτῆς καὶ δῆτα, ὅτε μὲν ἐσθήθομεν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς, τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διέγνωμεν αὐτῆς. χαμαι τε γὰρ ἐκάθητο καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι πᾶσαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τοίνυν ὅμοιαν ταῖς δοῦλαις εἰχε τὴν ἑσθήτα. ἐπεὶ δὲ γνώναι βουλόμενοι πολά εἰς ἡ δέσποινα πάσας περιεβλέψαμεν, ταχὺ πάνι καὶ πασῶν ἐφαίνετο διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ περ καθημένη κεκαλυμμένη τε καὶ εἰς γῆν ὄροσα. 5. ὡς δὲ ἀναστήναι αὐτὴν ἐκελευσάμεν, συνανέστησαν μὲν αὐτή ἀπασαὶ αἱ ἅμφα αὐτῆς, διήνεγκε δ' ἐνταῦθα πρὸ τοῦ μὲν τῷ μεγέθει, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ εὐσχημοσύνῃ καὶ περὶ ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι ἐστηκυῖα. ἐδῆλα δ' ἢν αὐτῆ καὶ τὰ δάκρυα στᾶσοντα, τὰ μὲν κατὰ τῶν πέπλων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πόδας. 6. ὡς δ' ἦμων ὁ γεραῖτατος ἐπευ, Θάρρει, ὁ γυναῖκα καλὸν μὲν γὰρ κάγαθαν ἀκούομεν

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

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

"But I have," said the other. "I saw her when we selected her for you. And when we went into her tent, upon my word, we did not at first distinguish her from the rest; for she sat upon the ground and all her handmaids sat around her. And she was dressed withal just like her servants; but when we looked round upon them all in our desire to make out which one was the mistress, at once her superiority to all the rest was evident, even though she sat veiled, with her head bowed to the earth. 5. But when we bade her rise, all her attendants stood up with her, and then was she conspicuous among them both for her stature and for her nobility and her grace, even though she stood there in lowly garb. And she could not hide her tears as they fell, some down her dress, some even to her feet. 6. Then, when the oldest man in our company said: 'Have no fear, lady; for
καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀνδρὰ εἶναι νῦν μέντοι ἐξαιροῦμεν ἀνδρὶ σε ἠ ἠσθί ὀτιούτε τὸ εἴδος ἐκείνου χείρονι οὔτε τὴν γνώμην οὔτε δύναμιν ἦττον ἔχοντι, ἂλλ' ὡς ἡμεῖς γε νομίζομεν, εἰ τίς καὶ ἄλλος ἀνήρ, καὶ Κύρος ἀξίος ἔστι θαυμάζεσθαι, οὗ σὺ ἔσει τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ὡς σὺν τούτῳ ἥκουσεν ἡ γυνὴ, περικατερρήξατο τε τὸν ἀνωθεν πέπλουν καὶ ἀνωδύρατον συνανέβοθησαν δὲ καὶ αἱ ἄνωθεν.

7. 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ ἐφάνη μὲν αὐτῆς τὸ πλείστου μέρος τοῦ προσώπου, ἐφάνη δὲ ἡ δέρη καὶ αἱ χεῖρες· καὶ εὐ ἑσθι, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρη, ὡς ἐμοὶ τε ἐδοξε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασί τοῖς ἰδοὺς μὴτο φῦναι μηδὲ γενέσθαι γυνὴ ἀπὸ θυητῶν τοιαύτη ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ· ἀλλὰ πάντως, ἐφη, καὶ σὺ Θέασαι αὐτήν.

8. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐφη, [Ναλ] 1 Μὰ Δία, πολὺ γε ἦττον, εἰ τοιαύτη ἐστὶν οἶαν σὺ λέγεις. Τί δαί; ἐφη ὁ νεανίσκος.

"Οτι, ἐφη, εἰ νυνι σοῦ ἀκούσας ὅτι καλὴ ἔστι πεισθήσομαι ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενος, οὐδὲ πάνυ μοι σχολής οὐσῆς, δέδουκα μὴ πολὺ θάττον ἐκείνη ἄθυσ ἀναπείσῃ καὶ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενον· εκ δὲ τούτου ἰσως ἃν ἁμελήσας ὃς με δεὶ πράττειν καθὴμεν ἐκείνην θεώμενον.

9. Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀναγελάσας ἐπεν, Οἰεὶ γὰρ, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρη, ἰκανὸν εἶναι κάλλος ἀνθρώπου ἀναγκαζον τοὺς μὴ βουλόμενον πράττειν παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον; εἰ μέντοι, ἐφη, τούτῳ οὕτως ἐπεφύκει, πάντας ἃν ἡμῶν καζέν ὁμοίως. 10. ορᾶς, ἐφη, τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πάντας ὁμοίως καὶ; πεφυκε γὰρ τοιουτον· τῶν δὲ καλῶν τῶν μὲν ἔρωσι τῶν δ' οὖ, καὶ

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

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

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

"Why so?" asked the young man.

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

9. "Why Cyrus," said the young man breaking
into a laugh, "you do not think, do you, that human
beauty is able to compel a man against his will to act
contrary to his own best interests? Why," said he,
"if that were a law of nature, it would compel us all
alike. 10. Do you observe," said he, "how fire burns
all alike? That is its nature. But of beautiful things
we love some and some we do not; and one loves one,
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άλλος γε ἄλλου. ἐθελούσιον γάρ, ἔφη, ἕστι, καὶ ἔρα ἐκαστὸς ὁν ἅν βούληται. ἀυτίκ’, ἔφη, οὐκ ἔρα ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφής, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης, οὐδὲ πατὴρ θυγατρός, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης· καὶ γὰρ φόβος καὶ νόμος ἰκανὸς ἔρωτα καλύειν. 11. εἰ δὲ γ’, ἔφη, νόμος τεθείη μὴ ἐσθίοντας μὴ πεινήν καὶ μὴ πίνοντας μὴ δυσῆν μηδὲ ρίγων τοῦ χειμῶνος μηδὲ θάλπεσθαι τοῦ θέρους, οὕδεις ἃν νόμος δυνηθείη διατράξασθαι ταύτα πείθεσθαι ἀνθρώπους· πεφύκασι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦτων κρατεῖσθαι. τὸ δ’ ἐράν ἐθελούσιον ἕστι· ἐκαστὸς γοῦν τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἔρα, ὀσπερ ἰματίων καὶ ὑποδημάτων.

12. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰ ἐθελούσιον ἔστι τὸ ἑρασθῆναι, οὐ καὶ παῦσασθαι ἐστιν οὕτως ὅταν τις βούληται; ἀλλ’ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἑώρακα καὶ κλαίοντας ὑπὸ λύπης δι’ ἔρωτα, καὶ δουλεύοντας γε τοῖς ἐρωμένοις καὶ μάλα κακὸν νομίζοντας πρὶν ἐράν τὸ δουλεύειν, καὶ διδόντας γε πολλὰ ὁν οὐ βέλτιον αὐτοῖς στέρεσθαι, καὶ εὐχομένους ὀσπερ καὶ ἀλλῆς τινὸς νόσου ἀπαλλαγῆναι, καὶ οὐ δυναμένους μέντοι ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεδεμένους ἵσχυροτέρα ἀνάγκη ἢ εἰ ἐν σιδήρῳ ἐδεδείτο. παρέχουσι γοῦν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἐρωμένοις πολλὰ καὶ εἰκῆ ὑπηρετοῦντας· καὶ μέντοι οὖν’ ἀποδιδράσκειν

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

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

13. Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα, Ποιοῦσι γὰρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα· εἰσὶ μέντοι, ἔφη, οἱ τοιούτου μοχθηρῶν. διόπερ οἱ μαλλαί καὶ εὐχοῦνται μὲν ἡμᾶς ἂν ὧν τί πεπείσαντο καὶ ὡς ὡσ ὦντες ἀποθανεῖν, μυρίων ὡς οὐσῶν μηχανῶν ἀπαλλαγής τοῦ βίου οὐκ ἀπαλλάττονται. οἱ αὐτοὶ δέ γε οὐκ οἱ κλέπτειν ἐπιχειροῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχουσι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τι ἀρπάσωσιν ἢ κλέψωσιν, ὅπως ὅτι σὺ πρῶτος, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαίον δὲν τὸ κλέπτειν, αἰτιὰ τὸν κλέπτοντα καὶ ἀρπάζοντα, καὶ οὐ συγγυρώσκεις, ἀλλὰ κολάζεις. 14. οὕτω μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ καλοὶ οὐκ ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐραν ἑαυτῶν οὐδὲ ἐφίσθαι ἀνθρώπους ὥς μὴ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀνθρώπια πασῶν οἴμαι τῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀκρατὴ ἔστι, κάπετα ἔρωτα αἰτιῶνται. οἱ δὲ γε καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἐπὶ πον ἀγαθῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καλῶν, ὁμοὶ πάντων τούτων δῦνανται ἀπέχεσθαι ὡστε μὴ ἀπτεθῆναι αυτῶν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. 15. ἔγὼ γοῦν, ἔφη, ταύτην ἔωρακὸς καὶ πάνυ καλῆς δοξάσῃς μοι εἰναι ὁμοὶ καὶ παρὰ σοί εἰμι καὶ ἐπιτεῦχω καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἔμοι προσήκοντα ἀποτελῶ.

16. Ναὶ μὲ Δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος· ἵστως γὰρ θάττου ἀπῆλθες ἢ ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ ἢ ὡς πέφυκε συσκευάσθαι ἀνθρωπον. καὶ πυρὸς γὰρ τοι ἐστὶ θυγόντα μὴ εὐθὺς κάεσθαι καὶ τὰ ξύλα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀναλάμβανον 1.

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

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

16. “Aye, by Zeus,” said Cyrus; “for you came away perhaps in less time than love takes, as its nature is, to get a man ensnared. For, you know, it is possible for a man to put his finger in the fire and not be burned at once, and wood does not burst at once into flame; still, for my part, I neither
πεν· ὅμως δ' ἐγώγε οὕτε πυρὸς ἐκὼν εἶναι ἀπτομαὶ οὕτε τοὺς καλοὺς εἰσορῶ. οὐδὲ γε σοὶ συμβουλεύω, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀράστα, ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἐὰν τὴν ὅψιν ἐνδιατρίβεις· ὥς τὸ μὲν πῦρ τοὺς ἀπτομένους κάει, οἱ δὲ καλοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀπωθεῖν θεωμένους ὕφαστον· ὅστε αἰθεσθαι τῷ ἔρωτι.

17. Θάρρει, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρης· οὐδ' ἐὰν μηδέποτε παύσωμαι θεωμένος, οὐ μὴ κρατηθῶ ὃστε ποιεῖν τι ὅν μὴ χρῆ ποιεῖν.

Κάλλιστα, ἐφη, λέγεις· φύλαττε τοίνυν, ἐφη, ὥσπερ σὲ κελεύω καὶ ἐπιμέλου αὐτῆς· ἵσως γὰρ ἂν πάνω ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο αὐτῇ ἡ γυνὴ.

18. Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἰπόντες διελύθησαν.

Ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος ἀμα μὲν ὄρων καλὴν τὴν γυναίκα, ἀμα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τὴν καλοκαγαθίαν αὐτῆς, ἀμα δὲ θεραπεύων αὐτῆς καὶ οἰόμενος χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῇ, ἀμα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος οὐκ ἀχάριστον οὕσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελομένην διὰ τὸν αὐτῆς οἰκετῶν ὡς καὶ εἰσιόντι εἰη αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα καὶ εἴ ποτε ἀσθενήσειν, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐνδεόστο, ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἡλίσκετο ἔρωτι, καὶ ἵσως οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν ἔπασχε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐπράττετο.

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

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

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

18. After this conversation, then, they separated. He falls in love

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

19. Cyrus, however, wishing to have his Medes and allies stay with him voluntarily, called a meeting of all his staff-officers, and when they were come together he spoke as follows: 20. "Men of Media and all here present, I am very sure that you came out with me, not because you desired to get money by it nor because you thought that in this you were
Κυαξάρη νομίζοντες τούτο ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ 
βουλόμενοι τούτο χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐμὲ τιμῶντες 
νυκτοπορεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν σὺν ἐμοὶ θηδελήσατε. 
21. καὶ χάριν τούτων ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἔχω μὲν, εἰ μὴ 
ἀδικῶ· ἀποδιδόναι δὲ οὐτὸ ἄξιαν δίωμιν ἔχειν 
μοι δοκῶ. καὶ τούτο μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι λέγων· 
τὸ δ' ἔαν μένητε παρ' ἐμοὶ, ἀποδῶσω, εὖ ἔστε, 
ἐφ' ἀἰσχυνοίμην ἂν εἰπεῖν· νομίξω γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν 
ἐοικέναι λέγοντι ταῦτα ἑνεκα τοῦ ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον 
ἐθέλειν παρ' ἐμοὶ καταμένειν. ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου τάδε 
λέγω· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν, κἂν ἦδη ἀπίητε Κυαξάρη 
πειθόμενοι, ὅμως, ἂν ἀγαθὸν τι πράξω, πειράσομαι 
οὗτοι ποιεῖν ὥστε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἑπανεῖν. 22. οὐ 
γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸς γε ἀπειμῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὀρκανίος οἷς 
τοὺς ὀρκοὺς καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς ἐδοκιμασίας ἐμπεδοῦσώ καὶ 
οὕτως τούτους προδιδοὺς ἀλώσομαι, καὶ τῷ νῦν 
didόντι Γωβρία καὶ τείχῃ ήμῖν καὶ χώραν 
καὶ δίωμιν πειράσομαι ποιεῖν μὴ μεταμελήσαι 
tῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ὀδοῦ. 23. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον δὴ, 
θεῶν οὗτοι διδόντων περιφανῶς ἂγαθὰ καὶ φο-
βοίμην ἂν αὐτοὺς καὶ αἰσχυνοίμην ἀπολυτῶν 
tαῦτα εἰκῇ ἀπελθεῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὗτος, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, 
pοιήσων· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅπως γυμνόςκετε οὗτος καὶ 
ποιεῖτε, καὶ ἐμοὶ εὐπατεὶ ὅ τι ἄν ὑμῖν δοκῇ.
24. Ὁ μὲν οὗτος εἶπε. πρῶτος δ' ὁ φήσας ποτὲ 
συγγενῆς τοῦ Κύρου εἶναι εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, 
ἐφη, ὁ βασιλεὺς. βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἐμοίη γοικεῖς σὺ 
φύσει πεφυκέναι οὐδὲν ἤττου ἢ ὁ ἐν τῷ σμήνει 
φυόμενος τῶν μελίττῶν ἤγεμῶν· ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ.
doing Cyaxares a service; but it was to me that you
wished to do this favour, and it was out of regard
for me that you were willing to make the night-
march and to brave dangers with me. 21. For this
also I thank you—I should be in the wrong not
to do so; but I do not think that I am as yet
in a position to make you an adequate return,
and this I am not ashamed to say. But let me
assure you," said he, "that I should be ashamed
to say 'if you will stay with me, I will make you
a proper return;' for I think it would look as if
I were saying it merely to make you more willing
to stay with me. Instead of that, this is what I
mean: even though you go back now in obedience
to Cyaxares, still, if I achieve any success, I shall
try so to act that you also will praise me. 22. For as
to myself, I certainly am not going back, but I will
be true to the oaths and the pledges which I gave
the Hyrcanians, and I will never be caught playing
them false; and I will also endeavour so to conduct
myself that Gobryas, who is now offering us both his
castle and his country and his forces, shall not repent
his coming to us. 23. And above all, now that the
gods are so manifestly blessing our efforts, I should
fear to offend them, and I should be ashamed in
their sight to go away without good reason and leave
what they have bestowed. Thus, therefore, I pro-
spose to act," said he; "and do you also do as you
judge to be best, and tell me what your decision is."
24. Thus he spoke. And the first one to reply was
the man who had once upon a time claimed to be a
kinsman of Cyrus. "For my part, O my king,"
said he—"for to me you seem to be a born king no
less than is the sovereign of the bees in a hive.
XENOPHON

αἱ μέλιται ἐκώσαι μὲν πείθονται, ὅποιον δὲ ἄν μὲν, οὐδεμία ἐντεῦθεν ἀπέρχεται ἐὰν δὲ ποι ἔξη, οὐδεμία αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπεται. οὕτω δεινὸς τις ἔρως αὐταῖς τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ’ ἐκείνου ἐγγίγνεται. 25. καὶ πρὸς σὲ δὲ μοι δοκοῦσί, παραπλησίως πως οἱ ἄνθρωποι [οὕτω] διακείσθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Πέρσας ὅτε παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀπῆνες, τῖς Μῆδων ἡ νέος ἡ γέρων σοῦ ἀπελεύθη τὸ μή σοι ἄκολουθεῖν ἐστε Ἀστυάγης ἡμᾶς ἀπέστρεψεν; ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐκ Περσῶν βοηθὸς ἡμῖν ὀρμήθης, σχεδὸν αὐ ἐφώμεν 3 τοὺς φίλους σου πάντας ἑθελούσιον συνεπομένους. ὅτε δ’ αὐ τῆς δεύρου στρατείας ἐπεθύμησας, πάντες σοι Μῆδοι ἐκόντες ἱκολούθησαν. 26. οὖν δ’ αὐ οὕτως ἔχομεν ὡς σὺν μὲν σοι ὁμως καὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντες θαρροῦμεν, ἀνευ δὲ σοῦ καὶ οἷκα καὶ ἀπινεῖναι φοβοῦμεθα. οἱ μὲν σοὶ ἀλλοὶ ὅπως ποιήσουσιν αὐτοὶ ἐροῦσιν ἐγὼ δὲ, ὁ Κῦρε, καὶ ὁν ἐγὼ κρατῶ καὶ μενοῦμεν παρὰ σοὶ καὶ ὅρωντες σὲ ἀνεξόμεθα καὶ καρτερήσουμεν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐνεργεῖτοῦμενοι.

27. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔλεξεν ὁ Τιγράνης ὃδε. Σὺ, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, μὴ τοι θαυμάζῃς ἂν ἐγὼ σιωπῶ. ἡ γὰρ ψυχή, ἔφη, οὐχ ὡς θουλεύουσα παρεσκεύασται ἅλλ’ ὡς ποιήσουσα ὁ τι ἂν παραγελλῃς.

28. Ὁ δὲ 'Τρκάνιος εἶπεν, 'Αλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν, ὁ Μῆδοι, εἰ νῦν ἀπελθοίτε, δαίμονοι ἂν φαίνη τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν εἶναι τὸ μή ἐσαι ὑμᾶς μέγα ευδαι-

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

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

28. "Well, Medes," said the Hyrcanian king, "if you should go away now, I should say that it was the plot of the evil one to prevent your becoming
μονας γενέσθαι ἀνθρωπίνη δὲ γνώμη τίς ἂν ἡ
φευγόντων πολεμῶν ἀποτρέποιτο ὡσπλα παρα-
διδόντων οὐκ ἂν λαμβάνοι ἢ ἐαυτοὺς διδόντων
καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν οὐκ ἂν δέχοιτο, ἄλλως τε καὶ
τοῦ ἄγγελου ήμῖν ὄντος τοιούτου ὃς ἔμοι δοκεῖ,
[ὡς]¹ ὅμως ὑμῖν πάντας τοὺς θεούς, εὗ ποιῶν
ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἤδεσθαι ἢ ἐαυτῶν πλουτίζων.

29. Ἐπὶ τούτω πάντας οἱ Μῆδοι τοιάδ' ἔλεγον:
Σὺ, οὔ Κῦρε, καὶ ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς καὶ οἶκαδε, ὅταν
ἀπίεναι καιρὸς δοκῇ, σὺν σοὶ ἡμᾶς ἄγε.

'Ο δὲ Κῦρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐπηύξατο, 'Ἀλλ',
ἀνά μέγιστε, αὐτοῦμαι σε, δός τοὺς ἐμὲ τιμῶντας
νυκήσαι με εὗ ποιῶντα.

30. Ἐκ τούτου ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους φυ-
λακὰς καταστήσαντας ἀμφ' ἂν τοὺς ἡδῆ ἔχειν,
τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας διαλαβεῖν τὰς σκηνὰς, τοὺς μὲν
ἵππεοι τὰς τούτους πρεποῦσας, τοὺς δὲ πέζοις
τὰς τούτους ἀρκούσας· καὶ οὕτω καταστήσασθαι
ὅπως ποιῶντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς πάντα τὰ
δέοντα φέρωσιν εἰς τὰς τάξεις τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ
τοὺς ἔππους τεθεραπευμένους παρέχωσι, Πέρσαις
δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἡ ἑργῶν ἢ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
ἐκποιεῖν.

Ταῦτην μὲν οὖν οὕτω διῆγον τὴν ἡμέραν.

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

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

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

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

Thus they spent that day.
1. Προφερώντας ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς Γωβρύαν, Κύρος μὲν ἕφ’ ἵππου καὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἵππεῖς γεγενημένοι εἰς δισχίλιον, οἱ δὲ τὰ τούτων γέρρα καὶ τὰς κοπίδας ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τούτως ἐίποντο, ἵσοι ὄντες τὸν ἄριθμόν καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ στρατιὰ τεταγμένη ἐπορεύετο. Ἐκαστὸν δ’ ἐκέλευσε τοῖς καὶ νοῦς ἔαυτῶν θεράπουσιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν ἡ τῶν ὁπισθοφυλάκων φαίνηται ὁπίσθεν ἢ τοῦ μετώπου πρόσθεν ἢ ἦ κατὰ τὰ πλάγια ἐξω τῶν ἐν τάξει ἴδιντων ἡ ἁλίσκηται, κολασθῆσεται.

2. Δευτεραίοι δὲ ἄμφι δεῖλην γίγνονται πρὸς τῷ Γωβρύου χωρίῳ, καὶ ὅρῶσιν ὑπερσχυρόν τε τὸ ἔρμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχιῶν πάντα παρεσκευασμένα ὡς ἂν κράτιστα ἀπομάχοντο καὶ βοῦς δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ πάμπολλα πρόβατα ὑπὸ τὰ ἐρμμαντα προσηγμένα ἐδρόνων.

3. Πέμψας δ’ ὁ Γωβρύας πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ἐκέλευσε περιελάσαντα ἰδεῖν ὃντος μὲν τῶν κύρων πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ἐκέλευσε περιελάσαντα ἰδεῖν ὃντος μὲν τῶν κύρων.
I. Rising early the next morning they started—Cyrus, on horseback, with those of the Persians who had been transformed into cavalrymen, to the number of about two thousand—to visit Gobryas. And those who carried the horsemen's shields and sabres followed behind them, to the same number; the rest of the army also proceeded in its proper divisions. He ordered the horsemen, each one, to inform their new squires that if any one of them should be seen behind the rear-guard or get in front of the van or be found on the flanks outside the line of march, he should be punished.

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

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

5. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ἐν προντίδι ἦν ὁ τι ποτ' εἶνεν ταῦτα, ὡς δὲ Γωβρύας αὐτὸς τε ἔξηγε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοθεὶν πάντας ἔξηγε φέροντας οἴνον, ἄλφιτα, ἀλευρα, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλαύνοντας βοῦς, αἰγας, οἶνος, σῦς, καὶ εἰ τι βρωτόν, πάντα ἵκανα προσῆγον ὡς δειπνήσαι πάσαν τὴν σὺν Κύρῳ στρατιῶν. 6. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχθέντες διήρουν τε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδειπνοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας, ἔπειτα πάντες αὐτῷ οἱ ἄνδρες ἔξω ἦσαν, εἰσεῖναι τὸν Κύρον ἐκέλευσεν ὅπως νομίζοι ἀσφαλέστατα. προεισπέμψας οὖν ὁ Κύρος προσκόπους καὶ δύναμιν καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως εἰσῆκε. ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀναπεπταμένας τὰς πύλας ἔχων, παρεκάλει τοὺς φίλους πάντας καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. 7. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνδοὺ ἦσαν, ἐκφέρουν ὁ Γωβρύας φιώλας χρυσάς καὶ πρόχοντ' καὶ κάλπιδας καὶ κόσμου παντοῦ καὶ δαρεικοῦς ἀμέτρους τινᾶς καὶ πάντα καλὰ πολλὰ, τέλος τὴν θυγατέρα, δεινὸν τὸ κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος, πενθικῶς δ' ἔχουσαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τυθηκότος, ἐξάγων δὲ καὶ χρηματίζειν ταῦτα ἀρκετά. 'Εγώ σοι, δὴ Κῦρε, τὰ μὲν χρημάτα ταῦτα δωροῦμαι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα ταύτην ἐπιτρέπει διαθέσαι ὅπως ἃν σὺ βούλῃς ἰκετεύομεν δὲ, ἐγώ μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν τοῦ νῦν, αὕτη δὲ νῦν τῷ ἀδελφῷ τιμωρών γενέσθαι σε.

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

5. Now Cyrus was pondering what all this meant, when Gobryas himself came out bringing with him all his followers; and some of them brought out with them wine and flour and barley-meal; others brought cattle, goats, sheep, swine, and all kinds of provisions—a plenty of everything for a dinner for Cyrus’s whole army. 6. And they whose business it was apportioned it and set about preparing the meal. And when all his men were outside, Gobryas bade Cyrus enter, in whatever way he thought he might enter most safely. So Cyrus sent in ahead of him some scouts and a part of his forces, and then with this precaution he went in himself. And when he had gone in, keeping the gates wide open, he called to him all his friends and the officers of the troops with him. 7. And when they were inside, Gobryas brought out golden goblets, pitchers, and vases, all sorts of ornaments, an almost countless pile of daries, and all sorts of treasure in great quantities; and finally he brought out his daughter, a marvel of beauty and stature, but in mourning for her brother who was dead; IV. vi. 24, and he said: “These treasures, Cyrus, I present to you, and this my daughter I entrust to you to make what disposal of her you may see fit. But we make our prayer to you, I, as I have done already, that you avenge my son, and she that you be the avenger of her brother.”

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

Καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ταύτα, ἐφη, ἐγὼ μὲν
dέχομαι, δίδωμι δὲ αὐτὰ τῇ παιδί ταύτῃ κἀκεῖνῳ
ὅσ ἂν γῆμη αὐτῆν. ἐν δὲ δῷ σοι ἀπειμή ἔχων παρὰ
σοῦ ἀνθ' οὐ οὐδ' ἂν τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, [ἐκεῖ πλείστα
ἔστιν,] ἕδει τὰ πανταχοῦ [ἀντί τούτον οὐ σὺ μοι
dεδώρησαι] ἔδουν ἂν ἔχων ἀπέλθοιμι.

9. Καὶ ὁ Γαβρύας θαυμάσασας τε τί τοῦτ’ εἶναί καὶ
ὑποπτεύομαι μὴ τὴν θυγατέρα λέγω, οὔτως ἦρετο:
Καὶ τί τοῦτ’ ἔστι τί, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρε;

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο, ὃς, ἐφη, ἐγώ, ὁ Γαβρύας,
pολλοὺς μὲν οἴμαι εἰναὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ
ὄστε ἀσεβεῖν ἂν ἐθελεῖν οὔτε ἄδικεῖν οὔτε
ἀν ψεύδομοι ἐκόντες εἶναι. διὰ δὲ τὸ μηδένα
αὐτοῖς θεληκέναι προέσθαι μὴ της χρήματα πολλὰ
μήτε τυραννίδα μήτε τείχη ἐρυμαὶ μήτε τέκνα
ἀξιέραστα, ἀποθυησκοῦν πρότερον πρὸς ἰδιοὺς
γνωσθαι οἶοι ἔσαι. 10. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ νῦν καὶ τείχη
ἐρυμά ταὶ πλοῦτον παντοταπὸν καὶ δύναμιν τὴν
σὴν καὶ θυγατέρα ἀξίοκτητον ἐγχειρίσας πεποίη-
kας με δὴ λογον γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι
οὐτ' ἂν ἀσεβείν περὶ μῆνες εὐθελομεν οὔτ' ἂν ἄδικείν
χρημάτων ἐνεκα οὔτε συνθήκης ἂν ψευδολαμν
ἐκὼς εἶναι. 11. τοῦτων ἔγώ, εὐ ισθι, ἐὼς ἂν ἄνθρω-
ποιος δὲ καὶ δοκῶν εἰναι τοιοῦτος ἐπαινῶμαι ὑπ'
ἀνθρώπων, οὐποτ' ἐπιλήσομαι, ἀλλὰ πειράσομαι
σὲ ἀντιτιμήσαι πάσι τοῖς καλοῖς.

1 [ἐκεῖ πλείστα ἔστιν] Hug; ei ἐκεῖ πλείστα ἔστιν MSS.; [ei
ἐκεῖ . . . ἔστιν] Hirschig; ei καὶ πλείστα ἔστιν Dindorf.

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

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

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

"Gobryas," he replied, "it is this: I believe that there are many men who would not consent to be wicked or unjust or false, but they die before it is ever discovered what sort of men they are, simply because no one has ever seen fit to entrust them with great wealth or kingly power or mighty fortresses or lovely children; 10. but you have now placed in my hands your fortress and all sorts of wealth, your forces and your precious child, and have thus given me an opportunity of showing to all the world that I would not do an act of wickedness against a friend or do a wrong for the sake of gain or willingly prove false to a covenant. 11. And so long as I am an honest man and receive men's approbation as bearing this reputation, I assure you that I shall never forget this proof of your confidence but shall try to show you all fair honour in return.
12. Καὶ ἀνδρὸς δ’, ἐφη, τῇ θυγατρὶ μὴ φοβοῦ ὡς ἀπορήσεις ἄξιον ταύτης. πολλοὶ γὰρ κάγαθολοι φίλοι εἰσὶν ἐμοὶ. ὅν τις γαμεῖ ταύτην. εἰ μέντοι χρήμαθ’ ἔξεις τοσάτα ὅσα σὺ δίδως ἢ καὶ ἄλλα πολλαπλάσια τούτων, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖς καὶ μέντοι εὖ ἔσθι ὅτι εἰσὶ τινες αὐτῶν οὐ δὲν μὲν σὺ δίδως χρημάτων οὐδὲ μικρὸν τούτων ἐνεκά σε μᾶλλον θαυμάζουσιν. ἐμὲ δὲ ξηλοῦσι νυνὶ καὶ εὐχονται πάσι θεοὺς γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἐπιδείξασθαι ὡς πιστὸι μὲν εἰσὶν οὐδὲν ἥττου ἐμοῦ τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ὡς οὐποτ’ ἂν ὑφείντο ξώντες, εἰ μὴ τις θεὸς βλάπτων. ἀντὶ δ’ ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς ὅτι οὐδ’ ἂν τὰ Σύρων πρὸς τοὺς σοῖς καὶ Ἀσσυρίων πάντα προέλθωτο. τοιούτους ἀνδρὰς εὖ ἔσθι ἐνταῦθα καθημένους.

13. Καὶ ὁ Γοβρύας εἶπε γελάσας. Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρος, δεῖξον δὴ μοι τοῦ οὕτω εἰσιν, ἵνα σε τούτων τινὰ αἰτήσωμαι παῖδα μοι γενέσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ σε δεήσει πυνθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἂν σὺν ἡμῖν ἔπη, αὐτὸς σὺ ἔξεις καὶ ἄλλοι δεικνύοις αὐτῶν ἐκαστον.

14. Τοσαῦτ’ εἰπὼν δεξιάν τε λαβὼν τοῦ Γοβρύα καὶ ἀναστὰς ἔξεις, καὶ τοὺς μεθ’ αὐτοῦ ἔξηγεν ἀπαντας’ καὶ πολλὰ δεομένου τοῦ Γοβρύα ἐνδον δειπνεῖν οὐκ ἤθελησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐδείπνευ οὐδὲ καὶ τὸν Γοβρύαν σύνδεισιν παρέλαβεν.

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

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

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

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

Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν, 'Τμῶν νη Δὲ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, ἔφη, καὶ στρώματα πλεῖω ἐστὶ καὶ κλίναι, καὶ οἰκία γε πολὺ μείζον ἢ ύμετέρα τῆς ἐμῆς, οὐ γε οἰκία μὲν χρὴσθε γῇ τε καὶ σύρανῳ, κλίναι δ' ἡμῖν εἰσιν ὁπόσαι εὐναζήνοιτ' ἀν ἐπὶ γῆς στρώματα δὲ νομίζετε σὺν ὁσα πρόβατα φῦει [ἔρια]. 1 ἀλλ' ὁσα ὅρη τε καὶ πεδία ἀνύσῃ.

16. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον συνδειπνῶν αὐτοῖς ὁ Γωβρύας καὶ ὅρων τὴν φαυλότητα τῶν παρατιθεμένων βρωμάτων πολὺ σφὰς ἐνόμιζεν ἐλευθεριωτέρους εἶναι αὐτῶν. 17. ἔτει δὲ κατενόησε τὴν μετριότητα τῶν συσσιτων 2—ἐπ' οὖν δέει γὰρ βρώματι οὐδὲ πάλματι Πέρσης ἀνήρ τῶν πεπατομένων οὐτ' ἂν ὁμμασίων ἐκπεπληγμένοις καταφανῆς γένοιτο οὔτε ἀρπαγῇ οὔτε τῷ νῷ μη δικη προσκοπεῖν ἀπερ ἀν καὶ μή ἔπει σίτῳ ὅν. ἀλλ' ὡσπερ οἱ ἴππικοι διὰ τὸ μή ταράττεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἴππων δύνανται ἀμοι ἰππεύοντες καὶ ὅρων καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ λέγειν τὸ δέον, οὗτοι κάκεινοι ἐν τῷ σίτῳ οἶονται δεῖν φρόνιμοι καὶ μέτριοι φαινέσθαι· τὸ δὲ κεκινηθεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βρωμάτων καὶ τῆς πόσεως πάνω αὐτοῖς ὑικὸν [καὶ θηριώδες] 3 δοκεῖ εἶναι.

18. Ἐνενόησε δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς ἐπηρώτων ἀλληλοὺς τοιαύτα ὅα ἐρωτηθῆναι ἢδειν ἢ μὴ καὶ

1 ἔρια MSS., Breitenbach; omitted by Dindorf, most Edd.
2 συσσιτων Muretus, Edd.; συσσιτων MSS.
3 καὶ θηριώδες MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; bracketed by Cobet.
Gobryas, do you think you have more coverlets than each one of us?"

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

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

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

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

ἐσκωπτον οἶα σκωφθήναι ἦδιον ἡ μη· ἂ τε ἐπαιξον ὡς πολὺ μὲν ὑβρεώς ἀπῆν, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ χαλεπαίνεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. 19. μέγιστον δ’ αὐτῷ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ ἐν στρατείᾳ ὄντας τῶν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κίνδυνον ἐμβαινόντων μηδὲν ὁμοθα θεῖαι δεῖν πλεῖω παρατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ νομίζειν ἡδίστην εὐφωχίαν εἶναι τοὺς συμμάχους μελλοντας ὅτι βελτιστοὺς παρασκευάζειν.

20. Ἦνικα δὲ Γωβρύας ὡς εἰς οἶκον ἀπείδων ἀνώτατο, εἰπεῖν λέγεται, Ὅυκέτι θαυμάζω, ὦ Κύρε, εἰ ἐκπώματα μὲν καὶ ἰμάτια καὶ χρυσίων ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν πλείονα κεκτήμεθα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐλάττωνος ὑμῶν ἄξιοι ἔσμεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμελομέθα ὅπως ἡμῖν ταῦτα ὡς πλεῖστα ἔσται, ὑμεῖς δὲ μου δοκεῖτε ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως αὐτοῖς ὡς βέλτιστοι ἔσεσθε.

21. Ὅ μὲν ταῦτ’ εἰπεν· ὦ δὲ Κύρος, Ἄγ’, ἔφη, ὦ Γωβρύα, ὅπως πρὸς παρέσει ἔχον τοὺς ἐπιπέας ἐξοπλισμένους, ἵνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν σου ἔδωμεν, καὶ ἀμα διὰ τῆς σῆς χώρας ἄξιες ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἂν εἰδώμεν ἃ τέ δεὶ φίλα καὶ πολέμια ἡμᾶς νομίζειν.

22. Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ εἰπόντες ἀπῆλθον ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰ προσήκοντα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, παρὴν ὁ Γωβρύας ἐχον τοὺς ἐπιπέας, καὶ ἤγείτο. ὦ δὲ Κύρος, ὅσπερ προσήκει ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι, οὐ μόνον τῶρ πορεύεσθαι τὴν ὁδὸν προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ’ ἀμα προϊόν ἐπεσκόπεῖτο εἰ τι δυνατὸν εἰη τοὺς πολεμίους

30
pleased to be asked than not, that they indulged in
such banter as is more agreeable to hear than not;
he observed how far their jests were removed from in-
sult, how far they were from doing anything unbe-
coming, and how far from offending one another. 19.
But what seemed to him most extraordinary of all
was that when on active service they did not think
they ought to be served with a larger share than any
one else of those who were going into the same
dangers, but that they considered it the most sump-
tuous feast to make those who were to be their
comrades in arms as efficient as possible.
20. When Gobryas rose to go home, he is reported
to have said: "I am no longer surprised, Cyrus, that
while we possess more cups and clothing and gold
than you, we ourselves are worth less than you are.
For our whole thought is to have as much of those
things as possible, while your whole thought seems
to me to be that you may be yourselves as capable
as possible."
21. Thus he spoke; and Cyrus answered: "Please
see to it, Gobryas, that you are here early in the
morning with your cavalry under arms, so that we
may see your forces, and then you shall lead us
through your country so that we may know what we
have to consider as belonging to our friends and
what as belonging to our enemies."
22. When they had thus spoken, they went away,
each to his own proper task.
When day dawned, Gobryas came with his cavalry
and led the way. But Cyrus, as became a general,
turned his thoughts not only upon the march, but at
the same time, as he proceeded, he kept studying
the situation to see whether it might be in any way
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23. καλέσας οὖν τὸν Τρκάνιον καὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν, τούτοις γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν εἰδέναι μάλιστα ὃν αὐτὸς φέτο δεῖσθαι μαθεῖν. 'Εγώ τοί, ἐφη, δὸ ἀνδρεὺς φίλοι, οἴμαι σὺν ὑμῖν ἄν ὡς πιστοῖς βουλευόμενοι 1 περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε οὐκ ἂν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ὃ ἐν γὰρ ὅτι μάλλον ὑμῖν ἦ ἐμοί σκέπτεσθαι ὅπως ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἡμῶν μὴ ἐπικρατήσῃ. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ, ἐφη, τῶνδε ἀποσφαλέντι ἐστιν ὑπὸ καὶ ἀλλῆ ἀποστροφῆς ὑμῖν δ', εἰ οὖτος ἐπικρατήσῃ, ὃ ἄμα πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἀλλότρια γεγονόμενα. 24. καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιος ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔμε μισῶν, ἀλλ' οἴομενος ἀσύμφορον, ἐαυτῷ μεγάλους εἶναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ στρατεύει 2 διὰ τοῦτο ἐφ' ἡμᾶς' ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ μισεῖ, ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζων ὑφ' ὑμῶν.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο ἀμφότεροι κατὰ ταῦτα περαιώνειν ὃ τι μέλλει, ὡς ταῦτα εἰδόσι πρὸς καὶ μέλον αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρῶς ὅπη τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο. 25. 'Ενταῦθα δὴ ἦξατο ὡδὲ Λέξιτε δὴ μοι, ἐφη, ἡμᾶς νομίζει μόνους πολεμικὸς ἔχειν ὁ Ἀσσύριος πρὸς ἐαυτὸν, ἡ ἐπίστασθε καὶ ἀλλοι τινὰ αὐτῷ πολέμιον;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Ἱεράνιος, πολεμιώτατοι μὲν εἰσίν αὐτῷ Καδούσιοι, ἔθνος πολύ τε καὶ ἄλκιμον. Σάκαὶ γε μὴν ὁμοροὶ ἡμῖν, οἱ κακὰ πολλὰ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου. ἐπειρᾶτο γὰρ κάκεινος ὀσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψασθαι.

1 Βουλευόμενος κυΔ, Edd.; Βουλευόμενος GH (taken into my counsel).
2 στρατεύει ξζF, Edd.; στράτευε DG² (it was for this reason that he began the war).
possible to make the enemy weaker or his own side stronger. 23. So he called Gobryas and the Hyrcanian king to him, for he supposed that they must know best what he thought he needed to learn, and said: "My dear friends, I think that I should be making no mistake to consult with you in regard to this war and to rely upon your trustworthiness. For I observe that you have greater need than I to see to it that the Assyrian shall not get the upper hand of us: if I am unsuccessful in this, I shall, perhaps, find some other place of refuge; whereas in your case, I see that if he gains the upper hand, all that you have passes into other hands. 24. For, as for me, he is my enemy, not because he hates me, but because he imagines that it would be inimical to his interests for our nation to become great, and for that reason he is making war upon us; but you he actually hates, for he thinks that you have done him wrong."

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

"Yes, by Zeus," said the Hyrcanian; "the Cadusians, a large and powerful nation, are most bitter enemies of his; and so are our neighbours, the Sacians, for they have suffered very severely at his hands; for he attempted to subjugate them just as he did us."
26. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οὐκ εἰς τὰν αὐτοῦς ἀμφοτὲρος ἥδεως ἄν ἐπιβῆναι μεθ' ἡμῶν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ; Ἕφασαν, Καὶ σφόδρ' ἀν, εἰ πῇ γε δύναιντο συμμίξαι.

Τῇ δ', ἔφη, ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦ συμμίξαι;

'Ἄσσυριοι, ἔφασαν, τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος δὲ οὕτερ νυνὶ πορεύει.

27. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἦκουσεν ὁ Κύρος, Τῇ γάρ, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, οὔ συ τοῦ μενίσκου τοῦ τοῦ ὑπὸ νῦν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν καθέστηκεν ὑπερηφανίαν πολλὴν τινα τοῖς τῷ τρόποιν κατηγορεῖς;

Τοιαῦτα γάρ, οἷμαι, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, ἔπαθον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Πότερα δὴ ταῦτα, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰς σὲ μόνου τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο ἢ καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τινὰς;

28. Νη Δ', ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, καὶ εἰς ἄλλους γε' ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας οἷα ὑβρίζει τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐνὸς δὲ ἁνδρὸς πολὺ δυνατωτέρον ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν, καὶ ἐκείνου ἐταίρου δοῦνα ὀστερ τὸν ἐμὸν, συμπίνωντα παρ' ἑαυτῷ συννεφῶν ἐξέτεμεν, ὅσ μὲν τῖνες ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἡ παλλακὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπήγεσεν αὐτὸν ὡς καλὸς εἰς καὶ ἐμακάρισε τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα ἐσεσθαι· ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς νῦν λέγει, ὅτι ἐπείρασεν αὐτοῦ τὴν παλλακίδα.

καὶ νῦν οὕτω οὐκ ὑπονοῦς μὲν ἐστὶ, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ἔχει, ἐπεὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ εὐτελεύτησεν.

29. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἰεὶ ἄν καὶ τοῦτον ἡδέως ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν, εἰ οἷοιτο ἑαυτῷ βοηθοῦς ἄν γενέσθαι;
26. "Well then," said he, "do you think that these two nations would like to join us in an attack upon the Assyrian?"

"Yes," they answered, "and right eagerly, if they could find a way to combine their forces with ours."

"And what is to hinder such a union of forces?" asked Cyrus.

"The Assyrians," they answered, "the same nation, through whose country you are now marching."

27. "But, Gobryas," said Cyrus, when he heard this, "do you not accuse this young fellow who has just come to the throne of cruel insolence of character?"

"That judgment, I think," said Gobryas, "is warranted by my experience with him."

"Pray, are you the only man towards whom he has acted in this way," Cyrus asked, "or are there others also?"

28. "Aye, by Zeus," said Gobryas; "there are others also. But why should I recount his acts of insolence toward the weak? For once when he and the son of a man much more powerful than I were drinking together, a young man who, like my son, was his comrade, he had him seized and castrated; and the occasion, so some people said, was simply because his concubine had praised his friend, remarking how handsome he was and felicitating the woman who should be his wife; but the king himself now maintains that it was because the man had made advances toward his concubine. And so now he is a eunuch, but he has come into the kingdom, for his father is dead."

29. "Well then," said Cyrus, "do you think that he also would be glad to see us, if he thought we could help him?"
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Εὖ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οίδα, ὁ Γοβρύας: ἄλλ' ἰδεῖν τοῦ αὐτὸν χαλεπόν ἔστιν, ὁ Κύρης.
Πῶς; ἔφη ὁ Κύρης.
"Οτι εἰ μέλλει της ἑκείνης συμμίξειν, παρ' αὐτήν την Βαβυλώνα δεῖ παριέναι.
30. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, τούτῳ χαλεπῷ;
"Οτι νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Γοβρύας, οίδα ἐξελθοῦσαν ἄν\(^1\) δύναμιν ἐξ αὐτῆς πολλαπλασιάν ἂς σὺ ἑχεις νῦν εὖ δ' ἔσθι ὅτι καὶ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἦττον σου νῦν ἦ το πρότερον Ἀσσύριοι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποφέρουσι καὶ τοὺς ἱππους ἀπάγουσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν αὐτῶν ὀλγὴ ἐδοξεῖ εἶναι ἂς σὺ δύναμις· καὶ ὁ λόγος οὗτος πολὺς ἢδη ἐσπαρτεῖ· δοκεῖ δὲ μοι, ἔφη, βέλτιον εἶναι φυλαττομένους πο- ρεύεσθαι.
31. Καὶ ὁ Κύρης ἀκούσας τοῦ Γοβρύου τοιαῦτα τοιάδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠλέξει· Καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, ὁ Γοβρύα, κελεύων ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὰς πορείας ποιεῖσθαι. ἐγὼ̣ γὰρ συν σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι ἐνοῆσαι ἀσφαλεστέραν οὐδεμίαν πορείαν ἡμῶν τοῦ\(^2\) πρὸς αὐτήν Βαβυλώνα ἴναι, εἰ ἐκεῖ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἴσων, ὡς σὺ φής· εἰ δὲ θαρρήσουσι, καὶ δεινοὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, ἐσονται. 32. μὴ ὀρῶντες μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οἴμοινοι ἀφανεῖς εἶναι διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι ἐκεῖνος, σὰφ' ἵσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι τού μὲν φόβον ἀπαλλάξσθαι δὲ αὐτῶς ἐνεγένετο, θάρρος δ' ἐμφύσεται ἀντὶ τούτου τοσοῦτορ μεῖξον ὅσο ἂν πλείονα χρόνον ἡμᾶς μὴ ὀρῶν· ἡν δὲ

\(^1\) ἀν added by Schaefer, Edd.; not in MSS.
\(^2\) τοῦ Weckherlein, Dindorf, Breitenbach; τῆς MSS., Marchant (who writes, after Βαβυλώνα, πορείας εἶναι), Gemoll.
“Think!” said Gobryas, “I am sure of it. But, Cyrus, it would be difficult to see him.”

“Why?” asked Cyrus.

“Because, to effect a union of forces with him, one has to march along under the very walls of Babylon.”

30. “Why, pray,” said the other, “is that so difficult?”

“Because, by Zeus,” said Gobryas, “I know that the forces that would come out of that city alone are many times as large as your own at present; and let me tell you that the Assyrians are now less inclined than heretofore to deliver up their arms and to bring in their horses to you for the very reason that to those of them who have seen your army it seemed a small one; and a rumour to this effect has now been widely spread abroad. And,” he added, “I think we should do better to proceed cautiously.”

31. “I think you are right, Gobryas, in admonishing us to march with the utmost caution,” Cyrus made answer upon hearing this suggestion from him.

“But when I think of it, I cannot conceive of any safer procedure for us than to march directly upon Babylon, if that is where the main body of the enemy’s forces is. For they are, as you say, numerous; and if they take courage, they will also, as I say, give us cause to fear them. 32. However, if they do not see us and get the idea that we are keeping out of sight because we are afraid of them, then, let me assure you, they will recover from the fear with which we inspired them; and the longer we keep out of their sight, the greater the courage that will spring up within them in place of that fear.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ηδὴ ἴωμεν ἐπ’ αὐτούς, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν εὑρήσωμεν ἔτι κλαίοντας τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὡς ἡμῶν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἔτι τραύματα ἐπιδεδεμένους ἂ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔλαβον, πάντας δὲ ἔτι μεμνημένους τῆς μὲν τοῦτο τοῦ στρατεύματος τόλμης, τῆς δ’ αὐτῶν φυγῆς τε καὶ συμφορᾶς. 33. εὗ δ’ ἵσθι, ἤφη, ὦ Γωστρίᾳ, ἢνα καὶ τούτῳ εἰδής, 1 οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνθρωποὶ, ὅταν μὲν θαρρῶσιν, ἀνυπόστατον τὸ φρόνημα παρέχονται· ὅταν δὲ δείσωσιν, ὅσοι ἄν πλείους ὡςι, τοσούτῳ μέξῳ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένους μᾶλλον τὸν φόβον κέκτηνται. 34. εἷς πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ κακῶν λόγων ἡξημένοις αὐτοῖς πάρεστιν, εἷς πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποιηθῶν σχημάτων, 2 εἷς πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυσθύμων τε καὶ ἐξετηρικῶν προσώπων ἡθοισταί. ὧσθ’ ἕποι τῶν μεγέθους οὐ ρᾷδων αὐτῶν ἐστιν οὕτω λόγοις κατασβέσαι οὕτω προσάγοντα πολεμίους μένους ἐμβαλεῖν οὕτω ἄπαγοντα ἀναθρέψαι τὸ φρόνημα, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι ἂν μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς θαρρεῖν παρακελεύῃ, τοσοῦτῳ ἐν δεινοτέροις ἰχνοῦται εἶναι.

35. Ἐκείνῳ μέντοι υἱῷ Δη’, ἤφη, σκεψώμεθα ἀκριβῶς ὅπως ἔχει. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτῳ ᾧν καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἑργοῖς ὁποτέροι ἄν πλείονα ἤχλον ἀπαριθμήσωσιν, ὁρθῶς καὶ σὺ φοβεῖ περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῷ ὅντι ἐν δεινοὶς ἐσμὲν· εἰ μέντοι ὅσπερ πρόσθεν διὰ τοὺς εὗ μαχομένους ἔτι καὶ νῦν αἱ μάχαι κρίνονται, θαρρῶν οὐδὲν ἂν σφαλεῖς· πολὺ μὲν γὰρ σὺν

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

35. "Again, by Zeus," said he, "let us consider precisely how this matter stands: if, in future, victory on the field of battle is to rest with that side which counts the greater numbers, you have good reason to fear for us and we really are in danger. If, however, battles are still to be decided by good fighting as they have been before, it would not be at all amiss for you to be bold and confident; f.r,
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toις θεοῖς πλείονας εὐρήσεις παρ’ ἡμῖν τοὺς θέλοντας μάχεσθαι ἡ παρ’ ἐκεῖνοις. 36. ὡς δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον θαρρῆς, καὶ τόδε κατανόησον οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττονες εἰσὶν νῦν ἡ πρὶν ἡττηθῆναι υφ’ ἡμῶν, πολὺ δὲ ἐλάττονες ἡ ὅτε ἀπέδρασαν ἡμᾶς· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ μείζονες νῦν, ἐπεὶ νευκηκαμεν, καὶ ἀγχορότεροι, ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν προσεγένεσθε· μὴ γὰρ ἔτι ἅτιμαζε μηδὲ τοὺς σοὺς, ἐπεὶ σὺν ἡμῖν εἰσιν· σὺν γὰρ τοῖς νικῶσι, σάφ’ ἵσθι, ὧ Γωβρύα, θαρροῦντες καὶ οἱ ἀκόλουθοι ἐπονται.

37. Μὴ λαυθανέτω δὲ σε μηδὲ τοῦτο, ἐφη, ὅτι ἔξεστι μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νῦν ἴδειν ἡμᾶς· γοργότεροι δὲ, σάφ’ ἵσθι, οὐδαμῶς ἂν αὐτοῖς φανεῖμεν ἡ ἱόντες ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνους. ὡς οὖν ἐμοῦ ταῦτα γυγνώσκοντο ἀγε ἡμᾶς εὐθὺ [τὴν ἐπὶ] 1 Βαβυλῶνος.

III

1. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ πορευόμενοι τεταρταῖοι πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς Γοβρύου χώρας ἐγένοντο. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἦν, κατέστησε λαβῶν ἐν τάξει μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ τοὺς τε πεζοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ὅσους ἐδόκει καλῶς αὐτῷ ἄχειν. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἰππέας ἀφῆκε καταβεῖν, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ὅπλα ἐχοντας κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους καὶ πρόβατα ὅσα ἂν λάβοσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας συγκαταθεῖν· καὶ

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

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

III

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

2. Ὡς δὲ παρῆν ἡ λεία, συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε τῶν Μήδων ἄρχοντας καὶ τῶν Ἰρκανίων καὶ τούς ὦμοτίμους ἐλεξεν ὅδε: "Ἀνδρέας φίλοι, ἐξένισεν ἡμᾶς ἀπαντάς πολλοῖς ἀγαθοῖς Γωβρύας. εἰ οὖν, ἔφη, τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξελοντες ῥὰ νομίζομεν καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἱκανὰ τὴν ἀλλην τούτῳ δούμενη λείαν, ἄρ ών, ἔφη, καλὸν ποιήσαιμεν τῷ εὐθὺς φανερῷ εἶναι ὅτι καὶ τοὺς εὐ ποιοῦντας πειρώμεθα νικᾶν εὐ ποιοῦντες;

3. Ὡς δὲ τούτ' ἠκουσαν, πάντες μὲν ἐπήνουν, πάντες δ' ἐνεκωμιάζων· εἰς δὲ καὶ ἐλεξεν ὅδε· Πάνυ, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρ, τούτῳ ποιῆσομεν· καὶ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύας πτωχοὺς τινας ἧμας νομίζειν, ὅτι οὐ δαρεικῶν μεστὸν ἠκουμεν οὔδε ἐκ χρυσῶν πύνομεν φιλῶν· εἰ δὲ τούτῳ ποιῆσομεν, γνοῖν ἂν, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐστιν ἐλευθερίους εἶναι καὶ ἀνεν χρυσοῦ.

4. Ἀγε δὴ, ἔφη, τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἁποδόντες τοῖς μάγοις καὶ ὅσα τῇ στρατιᾷ ἵκανὰ ἐξελόντες τάλλα καλέσαντες τῶν Γωβρύαν δότε αὐτῷ.

Οὕτω δὴ λαβόντες ἐκεῖνοι ὅσα ἔδει τάλλα ἔδοσαν τῷ Γωβρύᾳ.

5. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἤγει πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα παραταξάμενος ὀσπέρ ὅτε ἡ μάχη ἤμ. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀντ-

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

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

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

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

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

5. After this Cyrus renewed his march upon Babylon, with his army in the same order as when the battle was fought. But as the Assyrians did
εξήσαν οἱ Ἀσσύριοι, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύρος τὸν Γωβρύαν προσελάσαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι εἰ βούλεται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξιδών ύπὲρ τῆς χώρας μάχεσθαι, κἂν αὐτὸς σὺν ἐκείνῳ μάχοτοι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀμυνεῖ τῇ χώρᾳ, ὅτι ἀνάγκη τοῖς κρατουσι πείθεσθαι.

6. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Γωβρύας προσελάσας ἐνθα ἀσφαλεῖς ἦν ταῦτα εἰπεῖν, ὃ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξῆπερυφνὲν ἀποκρινοῦμεν τοιάδε. Δεσπότης ὁ σὸς λέγει, ὁ Γωβρύα, ὅχθι ὅτι ἀπέκτεινά σου τὸν νεόν μεταμέλει μοι, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ καὶ σὲ προσπάτειναι. μάχεσθαι δὲ εάν βούλησθε, ἦκετε εἰς τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν· νῦν δ' οὖτως ἡμᾶς σχολή· ἔτι γὰρ παρασκευαζόμεθα.

7. Ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας εἰπεῖν, Ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτὲ σοι λέξειν αὐτὴ ἡ μεταμέλεια· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἀνίον σὲ τι, εἴς οὖ αὐτὴ σὲ ἡ μεταμέλεια ἔχει.

8. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Γωβρύας ἀπῆγγειλε τὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπῆγγαγε τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ καλέσας τὸν Γωβρύαν, Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφ' ὅτε εἶλεγες μέντοι σὺ ὅτι τὸν ἐκτιμηθέντα ἡπτὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου οἴει ἂν σὺν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι;

Εὐ μὲν οὖν, ἐφ' ὅτι δοκῶ εἰδέναι· πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ ἐγώ μηκεῖν ἐπαρρησιάσαμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

9. Ὅποτε τοῖνυν σοι δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, πρόσθι πρὸς αὐτὸν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οὕτω πολὺς ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸι λάθρα συνήτη· ἑπειδὰν δὲ συγγένει αὐτῷ, εάν γυμὸς αὐτῶν φίλοις βούλομενον εἶναι, τοῦτο δὲι μηχανάσθαι ὅπως λάθη φίλοις ἂν ἡμῖν· οὕτε γὰρ ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ λάθρα συνήτη Muretus; ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ ὅτι ἂν λέγη εἰδήτε yP, Marchant, Gemoll; ὅπως ἂν οὕτοις λέγην Χ; ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸι λέγη ἥδη γε Ζ; ὅπως ἂν λέγη αὐτῶι εἰδήτε Pantazides, Dindorf, Breitenbach.
not march out to meet them, Cyrus ordered Gobryas to ride up and say: "If the king wishes to come out and fight for his country, I myself would join him and fight for him too; but if the king will not protect his country, then I must needs submit to the victors."

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

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

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

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

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

10. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, οἶδ’ ὅτι κἂν πρίατο Γαδάτας τὸ μέγα τι ποιήσαι κακὸν τὸν νῦν βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων. ἀλλ’ ὅ τι ὁ ἄν δύνατο, τούτῳ δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς σκοπεῖν.

11. Δέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰς τὸ φρούριον τὸ πρὸ τῆς χώρας, ὃ φατε Ῥκανίοις τε καὶ Σάκας ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇ τῇ χώρᾳ πρόβολον εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου, ἄρ’ ἂν, ἔφη, οἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ φρουράρχου παρεθήκαι τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐλθόντα σὺν δυνάμει;

Σαφῶς γ’, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, εἰπερ ἀνύποπτος ὃν, ὅσπερ νῦν ἑστιν, ἀφίκοιτο πρὸς αὐτόν.

12. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἀνύποπτος ὃν εἶ, εἰ προσβάλοιμα μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ ὡς λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀπομάχοιτο δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἂνα κράτος· καὶ λάβοιμα μὲν αὐτὸν τὶ ἐγὼ, ἀντιλάβοι δὲ κάκεινος ἡμῶν ἡ ἄλλους τινὰς ἡ καὶ ἀγγέλους πεπομένους ὑπ’ ἐμοῖ πρὸς τούτους οὓς φατε πολέμιον τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ εἶναι· καὶ οἱ μὲν λη-φθέντες λέγοιεν ὅτι ἐπὶ στράτευμα ἀπέρχονται καὶ κλίμακας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἄξοντες, ὃ δ’ εὐ-νοῦχος ἀκούσας προσποιήσαιτο προσαγγεῖλαι βου-λόμενος ταῦτα παρεῖναι.

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

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

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

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

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

13. “Under such circumstances,” answered Gobryas, “the commandant would certainly admit
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μένων σαφῶς παρεῖη ἃν αὐτόν, καὶ δέοιτο γ’ ἃν αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐως ἄπελθοις.

Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰ γε ἄπαξ εἰσέλθοι, δύνατ’ ἃν ἦμων ὑποχείριον ποιήσαι τὸ χωρίον;

14. Εἰκὸς γοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Γωβρύας, τὰ μὲν ἐνδον ἐκείνου συμπαρασκευάζοντος, τὰ δ’ ἔξωθεν σοῦ ἰσχυρότερα προσάγοντος.

"Ἰθι οὖν, ἐφη, καὶ πειρῶ ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ διαπραξάμενος παρεῖναι· πιστὰ δὲ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἃν μεῖζω οὔτ’ ἐπίποις οὕτε δεῖξις ἃν αὐτὸς σὺ τυγχάνεις παρ’ ἦμοιν εἰληφόρος.

15. Ἐκ τούτου οὐχετο μὲν ὁ Γωβρύας· ἁμερευός δὲ ἴδιων αὐτοῦ ὁ εὐνούχος συνωμολογεῖ τε πάντα καὶ συνεθετο ἢ ἔδει.

"Επεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ Γωβρύας ὅτι πάντα δοκοῖ ἰσχυρῶς τῷ εὐνούχῳ τὰ ἐπισταλέντα, ἐκ τούτου τῇ υποταξίᾳ προσέβαλε μὲν ὁ Κύρος, ἀπεμάχετο δὲ ὁ Γαδάτας. ἂν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔλαβε χωρίον ὁ Κύρος, ὑπόθεν ἐφη ὁ Γαδάτας. 16. τῶν δὲ ἀνήγελων οὐς ἔπεμψεν ὁ Κύρος προειπὼν ἢ πορεύσοντο, τοὺς μὲν ἔλαβεν ὁ Γαδάτας διαφεύγειν, ὅπως ἄγοιεν τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς κλίμακας κομίζοιεν οὕς δ’ ἔλαβε, βασανίζον ἐναντίον πολλών, ὡς ἦκουσεν ἐφ’ ἂν ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι, εὐθέως συνοχευασάμενος ὡς ἐξαγγελῶν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπορεύετο. 17. τέλος δὲ πιστευθεὶς ὡς θοῆθος εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ φρούριον· καὶ τέως μὲν συμπαρασκευάζειν ὁ τι δύνατο τῷ φρουράρχῳ ἐπεὶ 48
him—aye, and would beg him to remain there until you went away."

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

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

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

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

So, when Gobryas reported back that all the proposals were heartily accepted by the eunuch, on the day following Cyrus made his attack and Gadatas his defence. And there was also a fort which Cyrus took, as Gadatas had indicated; 16. while of the messengers whom Cyrus sent with instructions which way to go, some Gadatas allowed to escape to bring the troops and fetch the ladders; but some he took and straitly examined in the presence of many witnesses, and when he heard from them the purpose of their journey, he made ready at once and set out in the night as if to give the alarm. 17. And the end was that he was trusted and entered the fort as an ally to defend it; and for a while he helped the commandant to the extent of his ability in making preparations; but when Cyrus came, he
δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἠλθε, καταλαμβάνει τὸ χωρίον συνεργοῦσ ποιησάμενος καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Κῦρου αἰχμαλώτους.

18. Ἑπεῖ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς [Γαδάτας] ἐν εὐνοίχος τὰ ἐνδον καταστήσας ἐξῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσκυνήσας ἐλπε, Χαίρε, Κῦρε.

19. 'Ἀλλὰ ποιῶ ταῦτ', ἐφη· σὺ γὰρ με σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς οὐ κελευεῖς μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἀναγκάζεις χαίρειν. εὐ γὰρ ἰσθι, ἐφη, ὅτι ἐγὼ μέγα ποιοῦμαι φίλον τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ἐνθάδε συμμάχους καταλείπων· σοῦ δ', ἐφη, ὁ Γαδάτα, ὁ Ἀσσύριος παίδας μὲν, ὡς ἐοικε, τὸ ποιεῖσθαι ἀφείλετο, οὐ μέντοι τὸ γε φίλους δύνασθαι κτάσθαι ἀπεστερησεν ἄλλ' εὐ ἰσθι ὅτι ἡμᾶς τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ φίλους πεποίησαι, οἳ σοι, ἐὰν δυνώμεθα, πειρασόμεθα μὴ χείρονες βοηθοὶ παραστήσῃ ἢ εἴ παίδας ἐκγόνους ἐκέκτησο.

20. 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' ἐλεγεν. εὐ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Ἱρκάνιος ἀρτὶ ἡσθημένος τὸ γεγενημένον προσθεῖ τῷ Κῦρῳ καὶ λαβῶν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐλπεν, Ὁ μέγα ἄγαθον σὺ τοῖς φίλοις Κῦρε, ὡς πολλήν με τοῖς θεοῖς ποιεῖς χάριν ὦφείλειν ὅτι σοὶ με συνήγαγον.

21. Ἡθι νῦν, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ λαβῶν τὸ χωρίον οὕτως ἐνεκά με ἀσπάζει διατίθει αὐτῷ οὕτως ὡς ἀν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ φύλῳ πλείστου ἄξιον ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἅλλοις συμμάχοις, μᾶλλον δ', ἐφη, Γαδάτα τοιοῦτοι, ὅς ἡμῖν αὐτὸ λαβὼν παραδίδωσι.
made himself master of the place, employing also as his assistants in seizing it those men of Cyrus's whom he had taken prisoners.

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

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

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

21. "Go then," said Cyrus, "take this fortress on account of which you congratulate me and so dispose of it that it may be of the most service to your people and to the rest of the allies, and especially," he added, "to Gadatas here, who gained possession of it and delivered it to us."
22. Τί οὖν; ἡφη ὁ Τρκάνιος, ὑπειδάν Καδοῦσιοι ἐλθοῦσι καὶ Σάκαι καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ πολίται, καλέσω-μεν καὶ τοῦτων, ἵνα κοινῆ βουλευσόμεθα πάντες ὁσοὶ προσήκει πῶς ἀν συμφορώτατα χρῆματα τῷ φρουρίῳ;

23. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν συνήνεσεν ὁ Κύρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον οἷς ἐμελε περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου, ἐβουλεύσατο κοινῆ φυλάττειν οἰσπερ ἁγάθων ἢν φίλιον ὲν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς μὲν πρόβολος εἴη πολέμου, τοῖς δ᾿ Ἀσσυρίοις ἐπιτετειχισμένοι.

24. Τοῦτων γενομένων πολὺ δὴ προθυμότερον καὶ πλείους καὶ Καδοῦσιοι συνεστρατεύοντο καὶ Σάκαι καὶ Ἰρκάνιοι· καὶ συνελήγη ἐντεῦθεν στράτευμα Καδοὺσιων μὲν πελτασταὶ εἰς δισ-μυρίους καὶ ἰππεῖς εἰς τετρακισχίλιους, Σακῶν δὲ τοξόται εἰς μυρίους καὶ ἵπποτόξοται εἰς δισ-χίλιους· καὶ Ἰρκάνιοι δὲ πεζοῖς τε ὡς ὅποιος ἐδύναντο προσεξεπεμήνην καὶ ἰππεῖς ἔξεπτεν ἐπιρρή-σαν εἰς δισχίλιους· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν καταλειμμέ-μένοι ἦσαν πλείους οἷκοι αὐτοῖς ἰππεῖς, ὅτι καὶ οἱ Καδοῦσιοι καὶ οἱ Σάκαι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις πολέ-μιοι ἦσαν.

25. Ὁσον δὲ χρόνον ἐκαθέζετο ὁ Κύρος ἀμφὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ φρουρίον οἰκονομίαν, τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπῆγγελς ἢπ-ποὺς, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπέφερον ὄπλα, φοβοῦμενοι ἤδη πάντας τοὺς προσχώρους.

26. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον προσέρχεται τῷ Κύρῳ ὁ Γαδάτας καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἠκούσαν αὐτῷ ἀγγέλοι ὡς ὁ Ἀσσύριος, ἐπεὶ πῦθοιτο τὰ περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου,

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

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

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

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

26. And after this, Gadatas came to Cyrus and said that messengers had come to him with the information that when the Assyrian king heard the
χαλέπως τε ἐνέγκοι καὶ συσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐμβαλ·λόντο εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν. ἐὰν οὖν ἂφης με, ὁ Κῦρος, τὰ τείχη ἄν πειραθεῖν διασῶσαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μεῖον λόγος.

27. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἐὰν οὖν ἃς νῦν, πότε ἔσει οἶκοι;
     Καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας εἶπεν, Εἰς τρίτην δειπνήσω ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ.
     Ἡ καὶ τὸν Ἄσσύριον, ἔφη, οἶει ἵκει ἥδη καταλήφεσαι;
     Ἐν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οἶδα· σπεύσει γὰρ ἔσω ἐτὶ πρὸς δοκεῖς ἀπεῖναι.

28. Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ποσταῖῶς ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκείσε ἀφικόμην;
     Πρὸς τοῦτο δὴ ὁ Γαδάτας λέγει, Πολὺ ἥδη, ὁ δέσποτα, ἔχεις τὸ στράτευμα καὶ οὐκ ἂν δύναι μείον ἢ ἐν ἐξ ἢ ἐπτὰ ἡμέραις ἔλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἑμὴν ὁδηγίαν.
     Σὺ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπιθι ὡς τάχιστα· ἐγώ δ' ὡς ἂν δυνατὸν ἦπορεύσομαι.

29. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαδάτας ὕχετο· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν συμμάχων· καὶ ἠδὴ πολλοὶ τε ἐδόκουν καὶ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ παρεῖναι· ἐν οἷς δὴ λέγει ὁ Κῦρος ταῦτα·

30. Ἀνδρεὶς σύμμαχοι, Γαδάτας διέτραβεν ἃ δοκεῖ πάσιν ἡμῖν πολλοῦ ἄξια εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα πρὶν καὶ ὅτι ἄγαθὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν παθεῖν. νῦν δὲ ὁ Ἄσσύριος εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ἐμβαλεῖν ἀγγελλέται, δὴλον ὅτι ἄμα μὲν τιμορεῖσθαι αὐτῶν βουλόμενος, ὅτι δοκεῖ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλα βεβλάφθαι· ἀμα δὲ ἓσως κακεῖνο εννοεῖται ὡς εἰ οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφιστάμενοι μηδὲν ὑπ' ἔκεινον κακὸν.
facts about the fortress, he was exceedingly wroth and was preparing to invade his country. “If, then, you will permit me to go, Cyrus, I should try to save the fortified places; the rest is of less account.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

30. “Friends and allies, Gadatas has done what seems a very valuable service to us all, and that, too, before receiving any favour whatsoever at our hands. And now comes the report that the Assyrian is going to invade his country, partly, as it seems plain, from a wish to punish him because he thinks Gadatas has done him a great wrong; and perhaps also he understands that if those who desert him for us do not
πείσονται, οί δὲ συν ἐκεῖνοι οὖντες ύφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπολούνται, ὅτι τάχιστα οὐδένα εἰκὸς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλήσεσθαι εἶναι. 31. νῦν οὖν, ὥς ἄνδρες, καλὸν τι ἄν μοι δοκοῦμεν ποιῆσαι, εἰ προθύμως Γαδάτας θυσίασιμον ἄνδρι εὐεργετής καὶ ἀμα δίκαια ποιούμεν ἂν χάριν ἀποδιδόντες ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ σύμφορά γ᾽ ἄν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πράξαιμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. 32. εἰ γὰρ πάσιν φαινοίμεθα τοὺς μὲν κακοὺς ποιοῦντας νικᾶν πειρώμενοι κακῶς ποιοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ εὐεργετοῦντας ἀγαθοῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, εἰκὸς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων φίλους μὲν πολλῶς ἡμῖν βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, ἔχθρον δὲ μηδένα ἐπιθυμεῖν εἶναι.

33. Εἰ δὲ ἀμελῆσαι δόξαιμεν Γαδάτου, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ποιοῦσι λόγοις ἂν ἄλλον πείθομεν χαρίζεσθαι τι ἡμῖν; πῶς δὲ ἂν τολμῆμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς ἐπανεῖν; πῶς δὲ ἂν ἀντιβλέψῃ τις ἡμῶν δύνατο Γαδάτα, εἰ ἡπτόμεθα αὐτοῦ εὖ ποιοῦντος τοσοῦτοι οὖντες ἐνὸς ἄνδρος καὶ τούτου οὐτω διακειμένου;

34. Ὡ μὲν οὖν ὡς εἶπον οἱ δὲ πάντες ἰσχυρῶς συνεπήμουν ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

Ἀγε τοῦν, ἐφη, ἐπεικά καὶ ἡμῖν συνδοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ ὄχιμαι καταλίπωμεν ἐκαστοί τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδειοτάτους πορεύεσθαι. Γνωρίζω δὲ ἡμῖν ἀρχέτοι αὐτῶν καὶ ἱγείσθω αὐτοῖς. 35. καὶ γὰρ ὀδὼν ἐμπειρος καὶ τάλλα ἰκανός· ἡμῖς δὲ, ἐφη, καὶ ὑποίς τοῖς δυνατώτατοι καὶ ἀνδράσι πορευώμεθα, ταπιτήρ.
suffer any harm at his hands, while those who follow him are destroyed by us, the chances are that very soon no one will be willing to stay with him. 31. So now, my men, it seems to me that we should be doing what is fair, if we gave Gadatas, our benefactor, our heartiest assistance; and at the same time we should be doing only what is right in paying a debt of gratitude. But apart from that, it seems to me that we should be gaining an advantage for ourselves. 32. For if we should show every one that we try to surpass in doing harm those who do us harm, and that we surpass in well-doing those who do well by us, the consequences of such conduct would be that many would wish to become our friends and not one would desire to be our enemy.

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

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

"Come then," he continued, "since you agree with these suggestions, and first, let us leave men in charge of the beasts of burden and the wagons, each division appointing such of their number as are best suited to go with them; and let Gobryas have command of them in our place and be their guide; 35. for he is acquainted with the roads and in other ways is qualified for that task. As for us, let us proceed with the most able-bodied men and horses,
δεια τριών ἡμερῶν λαβόντες· ὅσω δὲ ἀν κοινώτερον συνεκενασόμεθα καὶ εὐτελέστερον, τοσοῦτο θίον τὰς ἐπιούσιας ἡμέρας ἀριστήσομεν τε καὶ δειπνήσομεν καὶ καθευδήσομεν. 36. νῦν δ', ἐφη, πορευόμεθα ὡδὲ πρῶτος μὲν ἄγες σὺ, Χρυσάντα, τοὺς θωρακοφόρους, ἔπει διαλήκει τε καὶ πλατεῖα ἡ ὥδε ἑστι, τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἔχων ἐν μετώπῳ πάντας· ἢ δὲ τάξει ἐκάστη ἐφ' ἐνος ἤτω· ἀβρόοι γὰρ ἄντε καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα πορευόμεθ' ἀν. 37. τούτου δ' ἐνεκα, ἐφη, κελεύω τοὺς θωρακοφόρους ἤγείσθαι ὅτι τοῦτο βραδύτατον ἐστὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος· τοῦ δὲ βραδυτάτου ἤγουμένου ἀνάγκη βαδίσως ἐπεσχεῖ πάντα τὰ βάττου ἑόρα· ὅταν δὲ τὸ τάχιστον ἤγείται ἐν νυκτὶ, οὐδὲν ἐστι θαυμαστὸν καὶ διασπᾶσθαι τὰ στρατεύματα· τὸ γὰρ προτάχθην ἀποδιδάσκει. 38. Ἔπι δὲ τούτως, ἐφη, Ἀρτάβαζος τοὺς Περσῶν πελταστὰς καὶ τοξότας ἄγετω· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Ἀνδαμύας ὁ Μῆδος τὸ Μῆδων πεζὸν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Ἐμβας τὸ Ἀρμενίων πεζὸν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Ἀρτούχας Ἰρκαλίως. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Θαμβράδας τὸ Σακῶν πεζὸν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Δατάμας Καδουνίου. 39. ἀγόντων δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἐν μετώπῳ μὲν τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἔχοντες, δεξίονς δὲ τοὺς πελταστὰς, ἀριστεροὺς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τοῦ ἑαυτῶν πλαίσιον· οὕτω γὰρ πορευόμενοι καὶ εὔχρηστότεροι γύγνουται. 40. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως οἱ σκευοφόροι, ἐφη, πάντων ἐπέσθω· οἱ δὲ ἀρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐπιμελέσθων ὅπως συνεσκευα-

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

38. "Next let Artabazus follow at the head of the Persian targeteers and bowmen; following him, Andamyas, the Mede, in command of the Median infantry; next, Embas with the Armenian infantry; then, Artuchas with the Hyrcanians; he will be followed by Thambradas at the head of the Sacian infantry force and Datamas with that of the Cadusians. 39. Let these all lead the way with their captains in front, the targeteers on the right and the archers on the left of their own squares; for, marching thus, they are more easily handled. 40. Next to these the camp-followers of all the army are to follow; their officers should see to it that they have everything ready packed up before they sleep,
σμένοι τε ὅσι πάντα πρὶν καθεύδειν καὶ πρὸ σὺν
tois skeúesi parósin eis tìn têtaigméthn xóran
kai ópwos kosmíos éptontai.

41. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σκευοφόροις, ἥθη, τοὺς Πέρσας
ἀπείσα Μαδάτας ὁ Πέρσης ἄγετω, ἔχων καὶ
οὕτως τοὺς ἐκατοντάρχους τῶν ἱππέων ἐν μετόπῳ
ὁ δὲ ἐκατόνταρχος τὴν τάξιν ἄγετω εἰς ἑνα, ὅσπερ
οἱ πέζαρχοι. 42. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὁμβάκας ὁ Μήδος
ὡσαύτως τοὺς ἕαυτον ἱππέας· ἐπὶ τούτοις σὺ, ὁ
Τυγράνη, τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἱππικὸν· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἱπ-
παρχοι μεθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐκαστοι ἀφίκοντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς·
ἐπὶ τούτοις Σάκαι ἄγετε· ἔσχατον δὲ, ὅσπερ ἠλθον,
Καδούσιοι ἱόντων. Ἄλκεύνα, σὺ δὲ ὁ ἄγων
αὐτοῦ ἐπιμέλου τὸ νῦν εἶναι πάντων τῶν ὑποισθεν
καὶ μηδένα ἐκ ὑπερον τῶν σῶν ἱππέων γί-
γνεσθαι.

43. Ἐπιμέλεσθε δὲ τοῦ σιωπῆ πορεύεσθαι οἴ
τε ἀρχοντες καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ σωφρονοῦντες· διὰ
γὰρ τῶν ὁτων ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ
tῶν ὑφαλμῶν ἐκαστα καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ πράτ-
tεσθαι· καὶ τὸ ταραξθῆναι δὲ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πολὺ
μείζων ἐστὶ πράγμα ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὑσκάτα-
ςτατώτερον. 44. οὐ ἐνεκα ἢ τε σιωπῆ ἀσκητέα
καὶ ἡ τάξις φυλακτέα.

Τὰς δὲ νυκτερινὰς φυλακάς, ὅταν μέλλητε
νυκτὸς ἀναστήσεσθαι, χρὴ ὡς βραχυτάτας καὶ
πλείστας ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς μηδένα ἢ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ
ἀγρυπνία πολλῆ οὐσα λυμαίνηται ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ;
ἡνίκα δὲ ἂν ὥρα ἡ πορεύεσθαι, σημαίνειν τῷ
κέρατι. 45. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔχοντες δὲ ἐκαστοι πάρ-
and early in the morning let them be present with the baggage at the appointed place, ready to follow the march in proper order.

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

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

"And the night watches, whenever you are to start off before daylight, must be made as short and as numerous as possible, so that want of sleep on account of doing sentinels duty may not be serious and exhaust the men for the march. And when the hour for starting comes, let the signal be given on the horn. 45. And then do you all, with whatever
εστε εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνος ὁδὸν· ὁ δὲ ὀρμῷ-μενος ἀεὶ τῷ κατ' οὐρὰν παρεγγυάτω ἐπεσθαί.

46. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ φόχοντο ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ ἀμα ἀπιόντες διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς μνημονικῶς ὁ Κύρος ὅποσοις συνέταττε πᾶσιν ὁνομάζων ἐνετέλλετο. 47. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐπιμελεία τούτο ἐποίειν πάνω γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔδοκει θαυμαστὸν εἶναι εἰ οἱ μὲν βάναυσοι ἰσασὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ τέχνης ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἐργαλείων τὰ ὁνόματα, καὶ ὁ ιατρὸς δὲ οἶδε καὶ τῶν ὄργανων καὶ τῶν φαρμάκων οἷς χρήται πάντων τὰ ὁνόματα, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς οὕτως ἡλίθιος ἐσοιτο ὡστε οὐκ εἴσοιτο τῶν υφ' ἐαυτῷ ἡγεμόνων τὰ ὁνόματα, οἷς ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ὄργανοι χρῆσαι καὶ οταν καταλαβεῖν τι βούληται καὶ οταν φυλάξαι καὶ οταν θαρύναι καὶ οταν φοβῆσαι καὶ τιμῆσαι δὲ ὁπότε πινὰ βούλοιτο, πρέπον αὐτῷ ἔδοκει εἶναι ὀνομαστὶ προσ- αγορεύειν. 48. ἔδοκον δ' αὐτῷ οἳ γυγνώσκεσθαι δοκοῦντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ καλὸν τι ποιοῦντες ὀράθαι μᾶλλον ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦ αἰσχρὸν τι ποιεῖν μᾶλλον προδυμεῖσθαι ἀπέχεσθαι. 49. ἡλιθίον δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔδοκεν εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ ὁπότε τι βούλοιτο πραχθῆναι, οὕτω προστάτειν ὃσπερ ἐν οἵῳ ἐνιοὶ δεσποταὶ προστάτουσιν, Ἰτω τις ἐφ' ὑδωρ, Ξύλα τις σχισάτω. 50. οὕτω γὰρ προσταταιμένων εἰς ἀλλήλους τι ὀρᾶν πάντες ἔδοκουν αὐτῷ καὶ οὔδεϊς περαινεῖν τὸ προσταχθὲν καὶ πάντες ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι καὶ οὔδείς τῇ αἰτίᾳ οὔτε αἰσχύνεσθαι οὔτε φοβεῖσθαι ὁμοίως διὰ τὸ σὺν πολλοῖς αἰτίαν ἔχειν· διὰ τάυτα δὴ πάντας

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

46. Hereupon they went to their tents, and, as they went, they remarked to one another what a good memory Cyrus had and how he called every one by name as he assigned them their places and gave them their instructions. 47. Now Cyrus made a study of this; for he thought it passing strange that, while every mechanic knows the names of the tools of his trade and the physician knows the names of all the instruments and medicines he uses, the general should be so foolish as not to know the names of the officers under him; and yet he must employ them as his instruments not only whenever he wishes to capture a place or defend one, but also whenever he wishes to inspire courage or fear. And whenever Cyrus wished to honour any one, it seemed to him proper to address him by name. 48. Furthermore, it seemed to him that those who were conscious of being personally known to their general exerted themselves more to be seen doing something good and were more ready to abstain from doing anything bad. 49. And when he wanted a thing done, he thought it foolish to give orders as do some masters in their homes: "Some one go get water!" "Some one split wood!" 50. For when orders are given in that way, all, he thought, looked at one another and no one carried out the order; all were to blame, but no one felt shame or fear as he should, because he shared the blame with many. It was for this reason, therefore, that he himself spoke to every one by name to whom
ἀνώμαζεν αὐτὸς ὅτῳ τῷ προστάττω. 51. καὶ Κύρος μὲν δὲ περὶ τούτων οὔτως ἐγίνει αὐτοῖς. 52. ὡς δὲ στρατιῶται τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι πάντα ἄρ έδει ἐκοιμηθῆσαν. 53. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν Κύρος δοῦς ἤγειρον τῷ Χρυσάντῳ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ ὅδῷ ὑπομενοῦ ἐν τῷ πρός τέν τούτῳ στρατεύματός ἐξῆκεν λαβὼν τοὺς ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν ὑπηρέτας. 54. ἔπει δὲ χρόνῳ ύστερον Χρυσάντας παρῆν ἄγων τοὺς θωρακοφόρους. 55. αὐτὸς δὲ θαῦμα ἔστη αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ τοῦ τούτου προσέλθατα προς ἐν τῷ τάξει, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ὑπερήφανον ἐπεμετε καλῶν. 56. ἐν μόνῳ παραλείπεται τῆς ἐν νυκτὶ ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦ, ότι πρὸ παντοῦ τοῦ στρατεύματος πεζῶν ἐνυδώκος οὐ πολλοὺς προϊστάμενοι, ἐφορομένος ὑπὸ Χρυσάντα καὶ ἐφοροῦντα αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἠτακοντοῦντες καὶ εἰ πως ἄλλως δύνατον αἱσθάνεσθαι τι, σημαίνοντα τῷ Χρυσάντῃ δὲ τι

1 ἦσυχως ... ἦσαν ΧΖ, Εδδ.; ἦσυχον ἐως ἀγγελος Ιλθοι ὅτι πάντες εἰ ὅδῷ υ ῶν.
he had any command to give. 51. Such, at least, was Cyrus's opinion about this matter.

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

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

57. Τὴν μὲν δὴ νῦκτα οὕτως ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Καδούσιων ἴππεας, ὅτι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἐσχατοὶ, παρὰ τούτοις κατέλιπεν, ὡς μηδὲ οὗτοι ψιλοὶ ίππεῶν ἴοιεν τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν παρελαύνειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἦσαν, ὅπως εἰ τί ποι ἐναντιοῦτο αὐτῷ, ἀπαντήσῃ ἔχων τὴν ἴσχυν ἐν τάξει καὶ μάχωσθο, εἰ τὸ τί ποι ἰδιόγον ὄθεν, ὡς ἐξ ἐτοιμοτάτου διώκοι. 58. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ τεταγμένοι οὐς τε διώκειν δέοι καὶ οὗς παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μὲνειν πάσαν δὲ τὴν τάξειν νυσθήναι οὐδέποτε εἰα.

59. Κύρος μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα· οὐ μέντοι αὐτὸς γε μᾶ χώρα ἐχρήτο, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχῇ περιελαύνων ἐφεώρα τε καὶ ἐπεμέλετο, εἰ τοῦ δέοντο.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ άμφὶ Κύρου οὕτως ἐπορεύοντο.

IV

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Γαδάτου ἱππικοῦ τῶν δυνατῶν τις ἀνδρῶν ἐπεὶ ἐώρα αὐτὸν ἀφεστηκότα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου, ἐνόμισεν, εἰ τι οὕτως πάθοι, αὐτὸς δὲν λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου πάντα τὰ Γαδάτον.
should know. There was also an officer in command of them who kept them in order, and what was of importance he communicated to Chrysantas, but he did not trouble him by reporting what was immaterial.

57. In this manner, therefore, they proceeded all night long; but when it became day, he left the cavalry of the Cadusians with their infantry (for these also were in the extreme rear), so that the latter might not be without the protection of cavalry; but the rest he ordered to ride up to the front, because the enemy were in front. He adopted this plan, in order that, if he happened to find any opposition, he might have his forces in fighting order to meet it, and that, if anything should be seen anywhere in flight, he might give chase with the utmost readiness. 58. He always kept drawn up in order one body of troops who were to pursue and another who were to stay with him; but he never suffered his main line to be broken.

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

Thus, then, Cyrus and his army were proceeding.

IV

1. Now there was a certain man among the officers of Gadatas’s cavalry who, when he saw that his prince had revolted from the Assyrian, concluded that if some misfortune were to overtake Gadatas, he might himself obtain from the Assyrian all his chief’s wealth.
οὔτω δὴ πέμπει τινὰ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πιστῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον καὶ κελεύει τὸν ἱόντα, εἰ καταλάβων ἦδη ἐν τῇ Γαδάτου χώρᾳ τὸ Ἐσσύριον στράτευμα, λέγειν τῷ Ἀσσύρῳ ὅτι εἰ βούλοιτο ἐνεδρέσαι, λάβοι ἂν Γαδάταν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. 2. δηλοῦν δὲ ἐνετέλλετο ὅσην τε ἐίχεν ὁ Γαδάτας δύναμιν καὶ ὅτι Κύρος οὗ συνέποιτο αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν ὄδὸν ἐδήλωσεν ὃ προσιέναι μέλλοι. προσεπέστειλε δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ οἰκέταις, ὡς πιστεύοιτο μᾶλλον, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὃ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῶς ἔχων ἐν τῇ Γαδάτου χώρᾳ παραδοθοῦν τῷ Ἀσσύρῳ καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα. ἦξεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὲν δύνατο, ἀποκτείνας Γαδάταν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς σὺν τῷ Ἀσσύρῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσόμενος.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ταχθεὶς ἔλαυνοι ὡς δυνατὸν λύνῃ τάχιστα ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον καὶ ἐδήλωσεν ἐφ' ὁ ἢκοι, ἀκούσας ἐκείνος τὸ τε χωρίον εὐθὺς παρέλαβε καὶ πολλὴν ἵππουν ἔχων καὶ ἄρματα ἐνεδρένειν ἐν κώμαις ἀθρόαις.

4. Ὄ δὲ Γαδάτας ὡς ἐγγὺς ἦν τούτων τῶν κωμῶν, πέμπει τινὰς προδιερευνησομένους. ὁ δὲ Ἀσσύριος ὡς ἐγνὸ προσιόντας τοὺς διερευνητὰς, φεύγειν κελεύει ἄρματα ἐξαναστάντα δύο ἤ τρία καὶ ἵππους ὀλίγους, ὡς δὴ φοβηθέντας καὶ ὀλίγους ὄντας. οἱ δὲ διερευνηταῖ τὸς ἐδοὺς ταῦτα, αὐτοὶ τε ἐδὼκον καὶ τῷ Γαδάτῳ κατέσειν· καὶ ὁς 68
and power. With this in view, he sent one of his trusted friends to the Assyrian, instructing his messenger, in case he found the Assyrian army already in Gadatas's country, to tell their king that if he would lay an ambuscade, he would take Gadatas and his followers prisoners. 2. He furthermore commissioned him to explain how small an army Gadatas had and to make it clear that Cyrus was not with him; he also pointed out the road by which Gadatas was likely to return; and, that he might find fuller credence, he instructed his own subordinates to surrender to the Assyrian king, together with all that was in it, the fortress which he himself happened to be holding in Gadatas's country. He promised besides that he would come himself when he had slain Gadatas, if he could, but that, if he failed in the attempt, at least he would in future be on the king's side.

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

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

ἐξαπατηθέντες διώκει ανά κράτος. οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι, ὡς ἐδόκει ἄλωτόμος εἶναι ὁ Γαδάτας, αὐτός τις ἐνέδρας. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφότεροι Ἀσσύριοι ἠδοντες ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἠδοκοῦν. καὶ ἐν τῶν ὠμέγειοι τὸν Γαδάτα παίει αὐτόν, καὶ καταρχῇ μὲν πληγῆς ἀμαρτάνει, τούτω δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ὄμοιν καὶ τυτρώσκει.

Ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο ἔξεσται, ἐχὼ σὺν τοῖς διώκουσιν ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγνώσθη δς ἦν, ὁμοί δὴ ὧν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις προθύμοις ἐκτείνων τὸν ἠποίων σὺν τῷ βασίλειε ἠδίκοιν. 6. ἐναύθα δὴ ἡλίκοιντο μὲν δὴλον ὅτι οἱ βραδυτάτους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἠποίους ὑπὸ τῶν ταχίστους. 1 ἡδὴ δὲ μᾶλλα πάντες πιεζόμενοι διὰ τὸ κατατηρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας οἱ τοῦ Γαδάτου ἠποίησις καθοράσθη τὸν Κύρον προσιόντα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι· δοκεῖν δὲ χρὴ ἀσμένοις καὶ ὡσπερ εἰς λιμένα ἐκ χειμώνος προσφέρεσθαι αὐτοῖς. 7. ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔθαυμασεν· ὥστε δὲ ἔγνω τὸ πράγμα, ἐχὼ πάντες ἐναντίον ἡλαυνοῦν· ἐναντίον καὶ αὐτός ἐν τάξει ἤγε τὴν στρατιάν· ὅστε δὲ γνῶτες οἱ πολέμου τὸν ἐτράγυμα εἰς φυγήν, ἐναύθα ὁ Κύρος διώκειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πρὸς τὸ τοῦτο τεταγμένους, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐπετο ὡς ὕστερο συμφέρειν. 8. ἐναύθα δὴ καὶ ἄρματα ἡλίκεισα, ἔνια μὲν καὶ ἐκπιπτόντων τῶν ἡμιόρχων, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ἔνια δὲ καὶ περιτεμνόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπτέων

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

When he had done this, he darted off to join the pursuing Assyrians; and when they recognized who he was, he took his place with them and urging his horse at full speed he joined with the king in the pursuit. 6. Then those who had the slowest horses were evidently being overtaken by those who had the fleetest; and just as Gadatas’s men were becoming quite exhausted, because they were already jaded and worn out by their march, they saw Cyrus coming up with his army, and one may imagine that they rushed up to them with delight, like men putting into port out of a storm. 7. At first Cyrus was surprised; but when he comprehended the situation, he continued, while the enemy were all riding against him, to lead his army in battle order against them. But the enemy, recognizing the real state of affairs, turned and fled. Thereupon Cyrus ordered those who had been detailed for that purpose to start in pursuit, while he himself followed as he thought expedient. 8. Here chariots also were captured, some because the charioteers were thrown out, a part of them from wheeling around too sharply, others for other reasons, while some were intercepted by the cavalry and
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

[ἤλισκετο]. 1 καὶ ἀποκτείνουσι δὲ ἄλλους πε ἐπόλλον καὶ τὸν παίσαντα Γαδάταν. 9. τῶν μὲντοι πεζῶν Ἁσσυρίων, οὐ ἔτυχον τὸ Γαδάτου χωρίου πολυρκούντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος κατέφυγον τὸ ἀπὸ Γαδάτου ἀποστὰν, οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες εἰς πόλιν τινὰ τοῦ Ἁσσυρίου μεγάλην, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖς ὑπποῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀρμασὶ κατέφυγεν ὁ Ἁσσύριος.

10. Κύρος μὲν δὴ διαπράξαμενος ταῦτα ἐπαναχωρεῖ εἰς τὴν Γαδάτου χώραν καὶ προστάξας οἶς ἔδει ἀμφί τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἔχειν, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο, ὡς ἐπισκέψαντο τὸν Γαδάταν πῶς ἔχοι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος. πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Γαδάτας ἐπιδεδέμενος ἦδη τὸ τραύμα ἀπαντᾷ. ἱδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κύρος ἦσθη τε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἔγω δὲ πρὸς σὲ ἃ ἐπισκεψόμενος ὅπως ἔχεις.

11. Ἔγω δὲ γ', ἔφη ὁ Γαδάτας, καὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς σὲ ἐπαναθεσάμενος ἢ ὅποσός τις ποτε φαίνει ἰδεῖν ὅ τοιαύτην ψυχὴν ἔχων· ὡς, ὅποις οὖν οἶδα ἔγραψθε ὃ τι νῦν ἐμοῦ δεόμενος οὔτε μὴν ὑποσχόμενος γέ μοι ταῦτα πράξειν οὔτε εἶν πεπονθὼς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰς γε τὸ ἱδίον οὐδ' ὅτι οὐν, ἄλλῃ ὅτι τοὺς φίλους ἐδοξάζα σοὶ τί ὅφειναι, οὔτω μοι προθύμως ἐβούθησας ὡς νῦν τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ οἴχομαι, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ σοὶ σέσωσμαι. 12. οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὁ Κύρε, εἰ ἦν οἶος ἔφυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐπαιδοποιησάμην, οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ ἐκτησάμην παῖδα τοιοῦτον περὶ ἐμὲ· ἐπεὶ ἄλλους τε οἶδα παῖδας καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νῦν Ἁσσυρίων βασιλέα πολὺ πλεῖο ἢδη τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πατέρα ἀνιᾶσαντα ἢ σὲ νῦν δύναται ἀνιῶν.

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

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

11. “And I, by the gods,” said Gadatas, “was coming to gaze upon you again and see what you may look like, you who possess such a soul. For though I do not see what need you now have of my assistance, and though you made no promise to do this for me and have been put under no obligation whatever to me, at least no personal obligation, yet because you fancied that I had given some assistance to your friends, you have come so gallantly to my relief that at this moment, whereas by myself I am a lost man, by your goodness I am saved. 12. By the gods, Cyrus, if I were such a man as once I was and had children, I doubt if I could have had a child as kind to me as you have been; for I know that this present king of Assyria, like many another son that I have known, has caused his own father much more trouble than he can now cause you.”
13. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν ὅδε: Ὡ Γαδάτα, ἡ πολὺ μεῖζον παρεῖς θαύμα ἐμὲ νῦν θαυμάζεις.

Καὶ τι δὴ τοῦτ’ ἔστω; ἐφη ὁ Γαδάτας.

"Ὅτι τοσοῦτοι μὲν, ἐφη, Περσῶν ἐσπούδασαν περὶ σέ, τοσοῦτοι δὲ Μῆδων, τοσοῦτοι δὲ Ὄρκανών, πάντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες Ἀρμενίων καὶ Σακῶν καὶ Καδοῦσιών.

14. Καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας ἐπηύξατο, Ἄλλα, ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐφη, καὶ τούτοις πόλλα ἁγαθὰ δοῦν οἱ θεοί, καὶ πλείστα τῷ αὐτῷ τού καὶ τούτους τοιούτους εἶναι. ὡσποδὲ μνεῖ τοὺς ἐπαυμένες τούτους, ὁ Κύρη, ξενίσωμεν καλῶς, δέχου τάδε ξένια οἷα ἐγὼ δούναι 1 δύναμαι.

"Ἄμα δὲ προσήγῃ πάμπολλα, ὡστε καὶ θύειν τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ ξενίζεσθαι πάν τὸ στράτευμα ἄξιος τῶν καλῶς πεποιημένων καὶ καλῶς συμβατῶν.

15. Ὁ δὲ Καδοῦσιος ὠπισθοφυλάκει καὶ οὐ μετέσχε τῆς διώξεως. βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς λαμπρὸν τι ποιῆσαι, οὔτε ἀνακοινωσάμενος οὔτε εἰπὼν οὔδεν Κύρη καταθεῖ τὴν πρὸς Βαβυλὼν χώραν. διεσπασμένοις δὲ τοῖς ὑποῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπιῶν ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως, οἷὸς 2 κατέφυγε, συντυγχάνει μάλα συντεταγμένον ἐχόν τὸ ἑαυτὸ στρατεύμα. 16. ὡς δὲ ἐγνὼ μόνον οὕτα τοὺς Καδοῦσίους, ἐπιτίθεται, καὶ τὸν τε ἄρχοντα τῶν Καδοῦσιών ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ ἀλλοὺς

1 δοῦναι supplied by Laar, most Edd.; not in MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 of Dindorf, most Edd.; of MSS., Breitenbach.
13. “You fail to notice a much greater wonder, Gadatas, when you now express your wonder at me,” Cyrus made reply.

“And what is that, pray?” asked Gadatas.

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

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

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

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

17. Κύρος δὲ ὁ φήσετο τὸ γεγονός, ἀπήντα τε τοὺς Καδούσιους καὶ ὄντως ἕδοι τετρωμένον ἀναλαμβάνων τοῦτον μὲν ὁς Γαδάταν ἔπεμπεν, ὡς ἂν ἄλλους συγκατεσκήνην καὶ ὡς τάπητίδεια ἐξουσι συνεπεμέλετο, παραλαμβάνων Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων συνεπιμελητὰς. Εὖ γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις οἱ ἄγαθοι ἔπιπονεῖν ἐθέλουσιν.

18. καὶ ἀνιώμενος μέντοι ἵσχυρῶς δῆλος ἦν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δευτερούντων ἡνικὰ ὡρα ἦν, Κύρος ἔτι σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς οὐδένα ἐκών ἀτημέλητον παρέλειπεν, ἀλλ’ ἡ αὐτόπτης ἐφεώρα ἢ εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἔξαντοι, πέμπτων φανερὸς ἦν τοὺς θεραπεύουσαν.

19. Καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κηρύξας συνιέναι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, τοὺς δὲ Καδούσιους ἅπαντας, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

Ἀνδρές σύμμαχοι, ἀνθρώπων τὸ γεγενημένον· τὸ γὰρ ἀμαρτάνειν ἀνθρώπους ἄντας οὐδὲν οἷμαι θαμμαστόν. ἄξιοι γε μέντοι ἐσμὲν τοῦ γεγενημένου πράγματος τοῦτον ἀπολαύσατε τι ἁγαθόν, τὸ μαθεῖν μὴ ποτὲ διασπᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου δύναμιν ἀσθενεστέραν τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως. 20. καὶ οὐ τούτῳ, ἐφι, λέγω ὡς οὐ δεῖ ποτὲ καὶ ἐλάτ-
others, took some of their horses, and recovered the spoil which they happened to be carrying off. He also pursued them as far as he thought was safe and then turned back. So the survivors of the Cadusians arrived at the camp, the first of them towards evening.

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

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

"Friends and allies, that which has happened might happen to any man; for it is not at all strange, I think, for mortal man to err. Still it is worth our while to reap some benefit from this occurrence, the lesson never to detach from our main body a force weaker than the forces of the enemy. 20. I do not mean by that that we should never go off, if circumstances require it, with a still smaller de-
τον ἔτι μορίῳ ἔναι, ὅπου ἄν δέη, ἢ νῦν ὁ Καδούσιος ὄχετο. ἀλλ’ ἐάν τις κοινούμενος ὄρμαται τῷ ἱκανῷ βοηθῆσαι, ἐστὶ μὲν ἀπατηθῆναι, ἐστὶ δὲ τῷ υπομένοντι ἐξαπατήσαντι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλλοσε τρέψαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων, ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλα παρέχοντα πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῖς φίλοις ἀσφάλειαν παρέχειν· καὶ οὐτω μὲν οὐδ’ ὁ χωρίς ὤν ἀπέσται, ἀλλ’ ἐξαρτήσεται τῆς ἱσχύος· ὁ δὲ ἀπεληλυθὼς μὴ ἀνακουισάμενος, ὅπου ἂν ἦ, οὐδὲν διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μόνος ἐστρατεύετο.

21. Ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ μὲν τούτου, ἔφη, ἐὰν θεὸς θέλῃ, ἀμυνοῦμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ εἰς μακράν. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἀριστήσητε, ἄξω ύμᾶς ἐνθα τὸ πράγμα ἐγένετο· καὶ ἀμα μὲν θάψωμεν τοὺς τελευτήσαντας, ἁμα δὲ δείξομεν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνθα κρατήσαι νομίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἄλλοις αὐτῶν κρείττος, ἥν θεὸς θέλῃ· καὶ ὅπος γε μηδὲ τὸ χωρίον ἡδέως ὅροσιν ἐνθα κατέκανον ἡμῶν τοὺς συμμάχους· ἕαν δὲ μὴ ἀντεπεξίωσι, καύσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς κόμας καὶ δηώσομεν τὴν χώραν, ἴνα μὴ ἡ ἡμᾶς ἐποίησαν ὁρῶντες εὐφραίνονται, ἄλλα τὰ ἐαυτῶν κακὰ θεώμενοι ἀνώνται.

22. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀλλοι, ἔφη, ἀριστάτε ἱόντες· ύμεῖς δὲ, ὁ Καδούσιοι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελθόντες ἀρχοντα ύμῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεσθε ἕπερ ύμῶν νόμος, ὅστις ύμῶν ἐπιμελήσεται σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ σὺν
attachment than that with which the Cadusian prince went. But if an officer, when he starts on an expedition, communicates his intention to one that is able to bring help, he may possibly fall into a trap, but then it is equally possible for the one who remains behind to entrap the enemy and turn them away from the detached corps; or he may annoy the enemy in some other way and so secure safety for his friends; and thus even those who are at a distance will not be out of reach but will keep in touch with the main body. But the man who goes off without communicating his purpose is in the same situation, no matter where he is, as if he were carrying on a campaign alone.

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

22. "The rest of you, therefore, go to luncheon. But you, Cadusians, go first and elect from your own number according to your custom a new general, who shall look out for your interests with the help of the gods and of us, if you have any need of our help
ኃнная, ἃν τῷ προσδέψῃ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐλησθε [καὶ ἀριστήσῃς],¹ πέμψατε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν αἰρεθέντα.

23. Ὅ μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἐπραξαν' ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐπεί ἐξήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα, κατέστησεν εἰς τάξιν τὸν ἡρμημένον ὑπὸ τῶν Καδουσίων καὶ ἐκέλευσε πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἄγειν τὴν τάξιν. Ὅπως, ἔφη, ἀν δυνώμεθα, ἀναθαρρύνωμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὔτω δὴ ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἐλθόντες ἔθαπτον μὲν τοὺς Καδουσίους, ἔδοχον δὲ τὴν χώραν. ποιήσαντες δὲ ταύτα ἀπῆλθον τάπιτηδεία ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ἑξοντες πάλιν εἰς τὴν Γαδάτον.

24. Ἐννοήσας δὲ ὅτι οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφεστηκότες ὄντες πλησίον Βαβυλῶνος κακῶς πείσονται, ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς ἄει παρῆ, οὕτως ὅσοις τε τῶν πολεμίων ἄφει, τούτοις ἐκέλευε λέγειν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς κηρύκα ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτα ² λέγοντα, ὅτι ἐτοίμος ἐίη τοὺς ἐργαζόμενους τὴν γῆν ἐὰν καὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος βούλοιτο ἐὰν ἐργάζεσθαι τοὺς τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀφεστηκότων ἐργάτας. 25. Καίτοι, ἔφη, σὺ μὲν ἢν καὶ δύνῃ κωλύειν, ὅλος τὸν τινὰς κωλύσεις· ὅλη γὰρ ἦστι χώρα ἡ τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀφεστηκότων· ἐγὼ δὲ πολλὴν ἂν σοι χώραν ἐφήν ἐνεργὸν εἶναι. εἰς δὲ τὴν τοῦ καρποῦ κομιδὴν, ἐὰν μὲν πόλεμος ἢ, ὁ ἐπικρατῶν οἱμαι καρπώσεται· ἐὰν δὲ εἰρήνη, δῆλου, ἔφη, ὅτι σὺ. ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν ὁπλα ἀνταίρηται σοι ἡ τῶν σῶν ἐμοὶ, τούτους, ἔφη, ὡς ἄν δυνώμεθα ἑκάτεροι ἀμυνούμεθα.

¹ καὶ ἀριστήσῃς MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Gemoll; καὶ ἀριστήσατε after αἰρεθέντα Marchant.
² ταύτα Dindorf, Edd.; ταύτα MSS.
as well; and when you have made your choice, send the man you have elected to me.”

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

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

28. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ διεπέπρακτο περὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν ὁ Κύρος· τὰς μέντοι νομᾶς τῶν κτημῶν τους μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι, εἰ βοῦλοντο, ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐπίκρατείᾳ· τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων λείαν ἦγον ὅπόθεν δύναι, ὅπως εἰη ἡ στρατεία ἥδων τοῖς συμμάχοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κίνδυνοι οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ λαμβάνειν τάπιτηδεια, ἡ δ' ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων τροφὴ κουφοτέραν τὴν στρατείαν ἔδοκεν παρέχειν.

29. Ἐπεί δὲ παρεσκευάζετο ἡδὴ ὁ Κύρος ὡς ἄπιστων, παρῆν ὁ Γαδάτας ἄλλα τε δώρα πολλὰ καὶ παντοτικὰ φέρων καὶ ἀγών ὡς ἄν εξ οἶκου μεγάλου, καὶ ἵππους δὲ ἤγε πολλοὺς ἀφελόμενον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἰππέων οῖς ἡπιστήκει διὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. 30. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασεν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε: Ὁ Κύρος, νῦν μὲν σοι ἐγὼ ταύτα δίδομι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καὶ χρῶ αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν δὲ τι νόμιζες δ', ἐφη, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὰμὰ σὰ εἶναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐστιν οὔτ' ἐσται ποτὲ ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ φύντε καταλείψω τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον· ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, ἐφη, σὺν ἐμοὶ τελευτῶντι πᾶν ἀποσβήναι τὸ
26. This message he entrusted to the herald and sent him away. And when the Assyrians heard it, they did everything they could to persuade the king to accept the proposal, and to leave as little of the war as possible. 27. The Assyrian king, moreover, whether because he was persuaded by his countrymen or whether he himself also wished it so, agreed to the proposal; so a covenant was made to the effect that the farmers should have peace, but the men under arms war.

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

29. When Cyrus was making preparations to depart, Gadatas came to him and brought many gifts of every sort, as might be expected from a wealthy house, and, most important of all, he brought many horses that he had taken from horsemen of his own whom he had come to distrust on account of the conspiracy against him. 30. When he came into Cyrus’s presence he spoke as follows: “These gifts, Cyrus, I beg to offer you for the present; and do you accept them, if you have any use for them. But pray consider that everything else of mine is yours; for there is not and never can be a child of my own to whom I can leave my estates, but with my
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ήμετερον γένος καὶ ὅνομα. 31. καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὃς Κῦρε, ὄμενοι σοι θεοῦς, οὐ καὶ ὀρθῶς πάντα καὶ ἀκούσαι πάντα, οὔτε ἀδικον οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔδεν οὔτ' εἰπών οὔτε ποιήσας ἔπαθον.

Καὶ ἂμα ταῦτα λέγον κατεδάκτυσε τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τύχην καὶ ὀυκέτι ἐδυνήθη πλείον εἰπεῖν.

32. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀκούσας τοῦ μὲν πάθους ὀκτείρεν αὐτὸν, ἔλεξε δὲ ὧδε. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἱπποὺς δέχομαι, ἔφη· σὲ τὲ γὰρ ὦφελῆσο εὐνοιστέροις δοὺς αὐτοὺς ἢ οὐ νῦν σοι εἴχον, ὡς ἐοίκεν, ἐγὼ τε οὐ δὴ πάλαι ἐπιθυμῶ, τὸ Περσῶν ἱππικὸν θάττων ἐκπληρόσω εἰς τοὺς μυρίους ἱππεῖς· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα χρήματα σὺ ἀπαγαγόν φύλαττε, ἐστ' ἂν ἐμὲ ἱδης ἔχοντα ὡστε σοῦ μὴ ἠττᾶσθαι ἀντιδωρούμενον· εἰ δὲ πλείῳ μοι δοὺς ἀπίους ἢ λαμβάνοις παρ' ἐμοῦ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως ἂν δυναῖμην μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι.

33. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γαδάτας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, πιστεύω σοι· ὅρω γὰρ σοι τὸν τρόπον φυλάττειν μέντοι ὁρᾶ εἰ ἐπιτήδειος εἰμί. 34. ἐώς μὲν γὰρ φίλοι ἤμεν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ, καλλίστῃ ἐδόκει εἶναι ἢ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς κτήσις· τὴς γὰρ μεγίστης πόλεως Βαβυλῶνος ἐγγὺς οὔσα ὅποι μὲν ὦφελείθαι ἐστιν ἀπὸ μεγάλης πόλεως, ταῦτα ἀπελάύομεν, οὔσα δὲ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, οὐκαδὲ δεῦρ' ἀπιόντες τούτων ἐκπόδῶν ἤμεν· νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔχθροι ἔσμεν, δὴλον ὅτι ἐπειδὰν σὺ ἀπέλθης, καὶ αὐτὸι ἐπιβουλευσόμεθα καὶ ὁ οἶκος ὅλος, καὶ οἶμαι λυπηρὸς βιωσόμεθα ὅλως τοὺς ἔχθρους

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

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

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

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

35. Τάξι μονέμοι τις ἂν· Καὶ τί δήτα οὐχ οὕτως ἔνενοι ἐν ἅπωτι ἄποστῆναι; ἀς, ὁ Κῦρη, ἡ ψυχή μου διὰ τὸ ὑβρίσθαι καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι οὐ τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον σκοποῦσα διῆγεν, ἀλλ' ἂι τοῦτο κνοῦσα, ἀρά ποτε ἔσται ἀποτίσασθαι τὸν καὶ θεοὺς ἔχθρον καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ὡς διατελεῖ μισῶν, οὐκ ἂν τίς τι αὐτὸν ἀδική, ἀλλ' ἢν τινα ὑποπτεύσῃ βελτίωνα ἐαυτοῦ εἶναι. 36. τογαροῦν οἴμαι αὐτὸς ποιηρὸς ὅν πάσι πονηροτέρους ἐαυτοῦ συμμάχους χρῆσται. ἐὰν δὲ τις ἄρα καὶ βελτίων αὐτοῦ φανῇ, θάρρει, ἐφη, ὁ Κῦρη, οὐδέν σε δεησει τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τούτῳ ἄρκεσει μηχανόμενος, ἔως ἂν ἔλη τὸν ἐαυτὸν βελτίωνα. τοῦ μέντοι ἐμὲ ἀνιᾶν καὶ σὺν πονηροῖς ῥαδίως οἴμαι κρεῖττων ἔσται.

37. Ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα τῷ Κῦρῳ ἔδοξεν ἄξια ἐπιμελείας λέγειν καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπῆ, Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ὁ Γαδάτα, οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν τεῖχη φυλακῆ ἔχυσαμεν, ὡς ἂν σοι σὰ ἡ χρήσθαι ἀσφαλῶς, ὡςτε εἰς αὐτὰ ἔρχετο δὲ σὺν ἠμῶν στρατεύει, ἢν ἂν οἱ θεοὶ ὅσπερ γίνετο σὺν ἡμῖν δόσω, οὕτως σὲ φοβήται, ἀλλὰ μὴ σὺ τούτον; ὁ τι δὲ ἥδε σοι ὅραν τῶν σῶν ἦ ὅτι συνὸν χαίρεις, ἐχών σὺν σαυτῷ ἑπερεύον. καὶ σὺ τ' ἂν ἐμοὶ, ὅς

1 σαυτῷ Hertlein, most Edd.; ἑαυτῷ MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe.

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enemies close at hand and see them stronger than ourselves.

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

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

38. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Γαδάτας ἀνέπνευσε τε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἀρ’ ὅν, ἔφη, δυναίμην ἂν συσκευασάμενος φθάσαι πρὶν σε ἐξείναι; βούλομαι γὰρ τοῖ, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἄγειν μετ’ ἐμαυτοῦ.

Ναὶ μὰ Δῖ’, ἔφη, φθάσεις ἡμέρα μέντοι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπισχῆσο ἐως ἂν φῆς καλῶς ἔχειν.

39. Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γαδάτας ἀπελθὼν φύλαξε μὲν τὰ πείχα σὺν Κύρῳ ἀχυρῶσατο, συνεσκευάσατο δὲ πάντα ὅποσοι ἂν οἴκος μέγας καλῶς οἰκοῖτο. ἦγετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ τῶν τε πιστῶν οἷς ἦδετο καὶ δν ἡπίστευ πολλοὺς, ἁναγκάζας τοὺς μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἅδελφοὺς, ὡς δεδεμένους τούτους κατέχου αὐτοὺς.

40. Καὶ τὸν μὲν Γαδάταν εὐθὺς ὁ Κύρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤει ἔχων καὶ ὅδον φραστήρα καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ χιλοῦ καὶ σίτου, ὡς εἰς ἐν τοῖς ἀφθονωτάτοις στρατοπεδευόμεθαι.

41. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος καθεώρα τὴν τῶν Βασιλικών τόλμη καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἡ ὅδος ἢν ἦν παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος φέρειν, καλέσας τὸν Γοβρύαν καὶ τὸν Γαδάταν ἦρωτα εἰ εἰς ἡλικία ὅδος, ὡστε μὴ πάνυ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἄγειν.

42. Καὶ ὁ Γοβρύας εἶπεν, Εἰσὶ μὲν, ὁ δέσποτα, καὶ πολλὴ ὅδοι· ἀλλ’ ἐγγὺς’, ἔφη, ὕμην καὶ βούλεσθαι ἂν σε νῦν ὧτι ἐγγυτάτω τῆς πόλεως ἄγειν, ἢν καὶ ἐπιδείξαις αὐτῷ ὧτι τὸ στράτευμα σου ἦδη πολὺ τε ἔστι καὶ καλὸν· ἐπειδή καὶ ὅτε

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

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

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

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

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

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

42. "Yes, sire," answered Gobryas; "in fact, there are many roads; but I supposed that you would surely wish to march as near to the city as possible, in order to show him that your army is now large and imposing; for even when you had a smaller
ελάττων εἶχες προσήλθες τε πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος καὶ ἔθεατο ἡμᾶς οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας· νῦν δὲ εἰ καὶ παρέσκευασμένος τὸ ἔστων, ὥσπερ πρὸς σε ἐπεν ὦτι παρασκευάζοιτο ὡς μαχοῦμενς σοι, οἶδ᾽ ὦτι ἱδόντι αὐτῷ τὴν σήν δύναμιν πάλιν ἀπαρασκευότατα τὰ ἦαυτοῦ φανεῖται.

43. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος πρὸς ταῦτα ἔπει, Δοὺς μοι, ὁ Γαβρία, θαυμάζειν ὦτι ἐν ἡ μὲν χρόινὶ πολὺ μείωνα ἐχων στρατιὰν ἠλθον, πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος προσῆγον· νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ πλείονα δύναμιν ἔχων, οὐκ ἔθελον ὑπ᾽ αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἀγεῖν. 44. ἄλλα ἦν θαυμαζεῖν ὦτι γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ προσάγειν τε καὶ παράγειν. προσάγουσι μὲν γὰρ πάντα ὀτω ταξάμενοι ὃς ἀν ἄριστοι εἶλεν μάχεσθαι [καὶ ἀπάγουσι δὲ οἱ σώφρονες ἢ ἀν ἀσφαλέστερα, οὐχ ἢ ἄν τάχιστα ἀπέλθοιεν].

45. παριέναι δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν ἐκτεταμέναις μὲν ταῖς ἀμαξίαις, ἀνεφυλέναις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς σκευοφόροις ἐπὶ πολὺ ταῦτα ὑπ᾽ αὐτὰ δὲ πάντα δεῖ προκεκαλύφθαι τοῖς ὀπλοφόροις καὶ μηδαμῇ τοῖς πολεμίσις γύμνῳ ὅπλων τὰ σκευοφόρα φανεῖσθαι. 46. ἀνάγκη ὦτι σκοτω ρόπαρον ἔπὶ λεπτὸν καὶ ἀσθενὲς τὸ μάχειν τετάχθαι· εἰ οὖν βούλοιτο ἀθρόοι ἐκ τοῦ τείχους προσπεταίνων πη, ὡς προσμέξειαν, πολὺ ἄν ἐρρωμενέστερον συμμυημύοιεν τῶν παριόντων. 47. καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ μακρῷ πορευμένοις μακραί καὶ αἱ ἐπικράτειαι,

1 καὶ ... ἀπέλθοιεν MSS., most Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant.
2 ἀνεφυλέναι Dindorf, recent Edd.; ἀνεφυλέναι Suidas, Sauppe; ἀνεφυλέναι yzE².
3 ἐρρωμενέστεροι Hertlein, recent Edd.; ἐρρωμενέστερον xy, Dindorf, Breitenbach; ἐρρωμενέστερον z.
force, you came right up to the very walls and he saw that we had no great numbers. So now, even if he really is to some extent prepared (for he sent word to you that he was making preparations to fight you), I am sure that, when he sees your forces, his own will again seem to him extremely ill-prepared.”

43. “You seem to be surprised, Gobryas,” said Cyrus in answer, “that I marched right up to the walls when I came with a much smaller army, whereas now with a larger force I am unwilling to march close up under the walls. 44. But do not be surprised; for marching up to and marching by are not the same thing. For every one leads up in the order best for fighting [and the wise also retreat in the safest possible way, and not in the quickest], 45. but an army must needs march by with the wagons in an extended line and with the rest of the baggage vans in a long train. And these must all be covered by soldiers, and the enemy must never see the baggage wagons unprotected by arms. 46. When people march in this way, therefore, they necessarily have the fighting men drawn out in a thin, weak line. If, then, the enemy should ever decide to sally out in a compact body from their walls, on whichever part they came to close quarters they would close with much greater force than those have who are marching by. 47. Then, too, those who are marching in a long column must be a long distance from their supports, while the
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tois δ' ek tou teixous brachv pros to egnvs kai
prosdramein kal palin apelethein.
48. 'Hev de mou meion ap'echontes parivomev ē efr
oson kai vnv ektesamenvi pornevomeva, to men
plēthos katōfontai ἕμων ύπο de tōn par-
ufasmevōn ὀπλων πᾶς ὠχλος δεινὸς φαίνεται.
49. ēv de oin tō dunti epexiosi πη, ek polloν
proorontes autois oiv an apraskevnon lam-
βanoimeva. μάλλον de, o anvres, eφη, ouv'
eπιχειρίσουσιν, oποταν πρόσω δεγ ἀπὸ τοῦ tei-
χous apieinai, ēv mē tō dλω ὑπολάβωσι τοῦ παν-
tōs kreitpous einai φοβερά γὰρ ἡ ἀποχώρησις.
50. 'Epeil de taul't eipev, edoxe te orthw tois
paroçu λέγεω kai ἡγεν ὁ Γεβρύας ἀπερ
ekēleuse. paramevoméno de tihn pōlin toû
stratēumatos aei to ὑπολειπόμενον ἱσχυρότερον
pooiμενο ἀπεχώρει.
51. 'Epeil de pornevomevos ouwos en taîs gynvo-
mevaiis ēmērav afigkneitaie eis tâ meðória toû
Σύρwv kal Mîdov, enthevper ὁρμητο,1 entaútha
ḍ̅η tría onta toû Σύρwv frouria, ev mên aytov to
asphevostatov bîa prosbhalon ēlabe, to de dîvo
frourîw fôbôv mên Kûros, peîwov de Γαδάτas
epieise paradoûnai toûs fylâttontas.
1 ὁρμητο Hertlein, Edd.; ὁρματο MSS.
townspeople have but a short way to go to make a
dash on a force near them and again retire.

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

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

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

1. Ἡ ἔπει ἔτη ταῦτα διεπέπρακτο, πέμπει πρὸς Κυαξάρην καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ ἢκεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅπως περὶ τῶν φρουρίων ὅν εἰλήφεσαν βουλεύσαντο ὅ τι χρῆσιν, καὶ ὅπως θεασάμενος τὸ στράτευμα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σύμβουλος γένυσθαι ὅ τι δοκοῖ ἐκ τούτου πράττειν. Ἐαν δὲ κελεύῃ, εἰπεῖ, ἐφη, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἂν ὡς ἐκεῖνοι λόγον συστρατοπεδευσόμενος.

2. Ὅ μὲν δὴ ἄγγελος φύκητο ταῦτ' ἀπαγγέλλων. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευσε τὴν τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου σκηνήν, ἢν Κυαξάρη οἱ Μῆδοι ἔξειλον, ταῦτην κατασκευάσαι ὡς βέλτιστα τῇ τε ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἢν εἶχον καὶ τῷ γυναικᾷ εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν γυναικόνα τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ σὺν ταῦτῃ τὰς μουσουργοὺς, αὖπερ εξηρημέναι ἦσαν Κυαξάρη. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπραττοῦν.

3. Ο ὁ δὲ πεμφθεῖς πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἐπει ἐλέει τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἔγνω βέλτιον εἶναι τὸ στράτευμα μένειν ἐν τοῖς μεθόριοις. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι οὖς μετεπέμψατο ὁ Κύρος ἦκον ἦσαν δὲ μυριάδες τέτταρες τοξότων καὶ πελταστῶν. 4. ὅρων οὖν καὶ τούτους συνομένους πολλὰ τὴν Μηδικήν, τούτων ἄν ἔδοκει ἢδιον ἀπαλλαγῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλου ὄχλου εἰσδέξασθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Περσῶν ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ἔρομενος τὸν Κυαξάρην κατὰ τὴν Κύρου ἐπιστολὴν εἰ τι δέοιτο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπει διό ήφη δεῖσθαι, αὐθημε-
1. When this had been accomplished, he sent to Cyaxares and requested him to come to camp to hold a council of war concerning the disposition to be made of the forts which they had captured, and, after reviewing the army, to advise what steps he thought they ought to take next for the future conduct of the war. "But if he bids me," said he, "tell him that I would come and join camps with him."

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

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

5. ὁ δὲ Κναξάρης ἐπορεύετο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ σὺν τοῖς παραμείνασιν ἵππεύσι Μηδών. ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο ὁ Κύρος προσίνατα αὐτῶν, λαβὼν τοὺς τε τῶν Περσῶν ἱππεῶς, πολλοὺς ἦδη ὄντας, καὶ τοὺς Μηδοὺς πάντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους καὶ τοὺς Τρκανίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοὺς εὑπποτάτους τε καὶ εὐσπολτάτους ἀπήντα, ἐπιδεικνύς τῷ Κναξάρῃ τὴν δύναμιν.

6. ὁ δὲ Κναξάρης ἐπεὶ εἶδε σὺν μὲν τῷ Κύρῳ πολλοὺς τε καὶ καλοὺς κάναβος ἐπομένους, σὺν ἑαυτῷ δὲ ὀλύγυν τε καὶ ὀλύγου ἄξιαν θεραπέειν, ἀτείμων τι αὐτῷ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄχος αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕππου ὁ Κύρος προσῆλθεν ὡς φιλήσων αὐτὸν κατὰ νόμον, ὁ Κναξάρης κατέβη μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕππου, ἀπεστράφη δὲ καὶ ἐφίλησε μὲν οὐ, ἀκρυῶν δὲ φανερός ἦν.

7. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἀποστάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπαύεσθαι· αὐτῶς δὲ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Κναξάρου καὶ ἀπαγαγόν αὐτῶν τῆς ὀδοῦ ἔξω ὑπὸ φοινίκας πίνα, τῶν τε Μηδικῶν πίλων ὑποβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ καθίσας αὐτῶν καὶ παρακαθισάμενος εἶπεν ὅτι·

8. Ἐντε μοι, ἐφ', πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὡ θεῖε, τί μοι ὀργίζει καὶ τί χαλεπῶν ὀρὸν ὁπτω χαλεπῶς φέρεις;

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Κναξάρης ἀπεκρίνατο, "Ὅτι, ὡς Κύρῳ, δοκῶν γε δὴ ἐφ' ὅσον ἀνθρώπων μνήμην

1 πάντας γ', Edd.; παρόντας χι., Zonaras (those who were with him).
to Cyrus, for he heard that Cyrus was in that neighbourhood.

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

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

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

"Because, Cyrus," Cyaxares then made answer, "while I am supposed to be the scion of a royal
ἐφικνεῖται καὶ τῶν πάλαι προγόνων καὶ πατρὸς βασιλέως πεφυκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς νομιζό-
μενος εἶναι, ἐμαυτὸν μὲν ὅρῳ οὗτῳ ταπεινῶς καὶ ἀναξίως ἔλαυνοντα, σὲ δὲ τῇ ἐμῇ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει μέγαν τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ παρόντα. 
9. καὶ ταῦτα χαλεπῶν μὲν οἴμαι καὶ ὑπὸ πολεμίων 
pαθεῖν, πολὺ δ', ὅ Ζεῦ, χαλεπώτερον ύφ' ὄν 
ἥκιστα ἔχρην ταῦτα πεπονθέναι. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ 
dοκῶ δεκάκις ἀν κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύναι ἤδιον ἢ 
ὀφθηναι οὗτῳ ταπεινῶς καὶ ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐμοὺ 
ἀμελήσαντας καὶ ἐπεγγελώντας ἐμοὶ. οὐ γὰρ 
ἀγνοῦ τοῦτο, ἐφ']', ὅτι οὐ σὺ μου μόνον μείξων εἰ, 
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ δούλοι ἵσχυρότεροι ἐμοὶ ὑπαντι-
ἀξουσί μοι καὶ κατεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶν ὡστε 
dύνασθαι ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐμὲ κακὸς ἢ παθεῖν ὑπ' 
ἐμοῦ.
10. Καὶ ἄμα ταῦτα λέγων πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον 
ἐκρατεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Κύρον 
ἐπεσπάσατο ἐμπληθῆναι δακρύων τὰ ὄμματα. 
ἐπισχὼν δὲ μικρὸν ἔλεξε τοιάδε ὁ Κύρος:

'Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὁ Κυαξάρη, οὔτε λέγεις ἀληθῆ οὔτε ὁρθῶς γιγνώσκεις, εἰ οἷοι τῇ ἐμῇ 
παρουσίᾳ Μήδους κατεσκευάσθαι ὡστε ἱκανοὺς 
eῖναι σὲ κακῶς ποιῶν. 11. τὸ μέντοι σε θυμοῦ-
σθαι καὶ φοβεῖν1 αὐτοὺς οὐ2 θαυμάζω. εἰ μέντοι 
γε δικαῖος ἢ ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς χαλεπαίνεις, παρῆσο 
τοῦτο· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι Βαρέως ἀν φέροις ἄκοουν 
ἐμοὺ ἀπολογομενέον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὸ μέντοι ἄνδρα 
ἄρχοντα πάσιν ἄμα χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, 
tοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεὶ μέγα ἀμάρτημα εἶναι. ἀνάγκη

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

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

"Well, Cyaxares, in this you do not speak truly nor do you judge correctly, if you think that by my presence the Medes have been put in a position to do you harm; 11. but that you are angered and threaten them gives me no surprise. However, whether your anger against them is just or unjust, I will not stop to inquire; for I know that you would be offended to hear me speak in their defence. To me, however, it seems a serious error for a ruler to be angry with all his subjects at the same time; for, as
γάρ διὰ τὸ πολλοῦς μὲν φοβεῖν πολλοὺς ἐχθροῦς
ποιεῖσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸ πᾶσιν ἀμα χαλεπάνειν πᾶσιν
αὐτῶς ὀμόνοιαν ἐμβάλλειν. 12. δὲν ἔνεκα, εὔ Ὅστι,
ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ἀνεύ ἐμαυτοῦ τούτους, φοβοῦ-
μενος μὴ τι γένοιτο διὰ τὴν σὴν ὀργήν ὡ τι πάντας
ἡμᾶς λυπήσοι. ταύτα μὲν οὖν σὺν τοῖς θεώς ἐμοῦ
παρόντος ἀσφαλῶς ἔχει σοι.
Τὸ μέντοι σε νομίζεις ὡτ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι,
τοῦτο ἐγὼ πᾶν χαλεπῶς φέρω, εἰ ἀσκόν ὅσον
δύναμιν τοὺς φίλους ὡς πλείστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν
ἐπείτα τὰναντία τούτου δοκῶ ἐξεργάζεσθαι.
13. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, μὴ οὕτως εἰκῇ ἡμᾶς
αὐτῶς αἰτιώμεθα: ἀλλ', εἰ δυνατόν, σαφέστατα
κατίδωμεν ποιόν ἐστι τὸ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀδίκημα.
καὶ τὴν ἐν φίλους δικαιοτάτην ὑπόθεσιν ἔχω
ὑποτίθεναι· εἰν γάρ τί σε φανῶ κακὸν πεποιηκός,
ὁμολογῶ ἀδικεῖν· εἰν μέντοι μηδὲν φαίνομαι
κακὸν πεποιηκός μηδὲ βουληθείς, οὕτω καὶ σὺ
αὐτομολογήσεις μηδὲν ὡτ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι;
14. Ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, ἔφη.
'Εάν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἁγαθὰ σοι πεπραχὼς δῆλος
ὅ καὶ προθυμοῦμενος πράξαι ὡς ἐγὼ πλείστα
ἐδυνάμην, οὐκ ἀν καὶ ἐπαίνου σοι ἄξιος εἰνήν
μᾶλλον ἡ μέμψεως;
Δίκαιον γοῦν, ἔφη.
15. Ἀγε τούτων, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, σκοπῶμεν τὰ
ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένα πάντα καθ' ἐν ἐκαστὸν· οὕτω
γάρ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐσται ὡ τι τε αὐτῶν ἁγαθῶν
ἐστι καὶ ὡ τι κακὸν. 16. ἀρξόμεθα δ', ἔφη,
ἐκ τῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ καὶ σοὶ ἀρκούντως δοκεῖ
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a matter of course, threatening many makes many enemies, and being angry with all at the same time inspires them all with a common sense of wrong. 12. It was for this reason, let me assure you, that I did not let them come back without me, for I was afraid that in consequence of your anger something might happen for which we should all be sorry. With the help of the gods, therefore, you are secured against that by my presence.

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

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


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

"That is only fair," said he.

15. "Come, then," said Cyrus, "and let us consider all that I have done, all my acts one by one; for so it will be most clearly seen what is good and what is bad. 16. And let us begin, if you think it far enough back, with my assuming this command.
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έχειν. συ γάρ δήποτε ἐπεὶ ἡθου ἑπλοῦς πολε-μῶν ἡθροισμένους, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν χώραν ὀρμομένους, εὐθὺς ἐπεμπές πρὸς τὲ Περσῶν κοινὸν συμμάχους αὐτούμενος καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἰδίᾳ δεόμενος πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐγνώμενον, εἶ τινες Περσῶν ἵμεν. οὔκουν ἐγώ ἐπείσθην τὲ ταῦτα ὑπὸ σου καὶ παρεγενόμην ἀνδρὰς ἀγῶν σοι ὡς ἑνὶ δυνατὸν πλείστους τὲ καὶ ἀρίστους;

'Ηλθες γὰρ οὖν, ἐφη.

17. Ἐν τοῦτῳ τοίνυν, ἐφη, πρῶτον μοι ἐπὶ τὸτερὸν ἀδικίαν τινὰ μοῦ πρὸς σὲ κατέγνως ἡ μᾶλλον εὐεργεσίαν;

Δήλου, ἐφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, ὅτι ἐκ γε τούτων εὐεργεσίαν.

18. Τὸ γάρ, ἐφη, ἐπεὶ ὁ πολέμιοι ἔλθοι καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ἔδει πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐν τοῦτῳ κατενοήσας ποῦ με ἡ πόνου ἀποστάντα ἡ τινὸς κινδύνου φεισάμενον;

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δ', ἐφη, οὐ μὲν δή.

19. Τὸ γάρ, ἐπεὶ τῆς νίκης γενομένης σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμετέρας καὶ ἀναχορησάντων τῶν πολεμίων παρεκάλουν ἐγὼ σὲ ὅτις κοινῇ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἰδιόκοιμεν, κοινῇ δὲ τιμωροίμεθα, κοινῇ δὲ εἰ τὶ καλὸν κἀγαθὸν συμβαίνοι, τοῦτο καρποί-μεθα, ἐν τούτοις ἔχεις τινὰ μοῦ πλεονεξίαν κατηγορῆσαι;

20. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κυαξάρης πρὸς τούτῳ ἔσωγα· ὁ δὲ Κύρος πάλιν ἐλεγεν ὅδε. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πρὸς 1 οὐκοῦν Dindorf, Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant; οὐκοῦν MSS., Gemoll.

2 ἐπεὶ Schneider, Edd.; ἐπείδη yG2; εἰπὲ z; εἰπὲ μοι x.

3 τῆς Hertlein, Gemoll; not in MSS., most Edd.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. To this Cyaxares said nothing. So Cyrus went on again: "Well, seeing that it suits you better
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tóüto sówpán ἣδιόν σοι ἡ ἀποκρίνασθαι, τόδε γ', ἐφη, εἰπὲ εἰ τι ἁδικεῖσθαι ἐνόμισας ὅτι ἐπεὶ σοι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἰναι τὸ διώκειν, σὲ μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφηκα τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦτου μετέχειν, ἵππεας δὲ τῶν σῶν συμπέμψαι μοι ἐδεόμην σοι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἥδικον, ἀλλὸς τε καὶ πρόπαρσχῆκας ἐμαυτὸν σοι σύμμαχον, τούτ' αὐτὸ παρὰ σοῦ, ἐφη, ἐπιδεικάσθω.

21. Ἐπεὶ δ' αὐ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔσιγα ὁ Κνα-ξάρης, Ἀλλ' εἰ μηδὲ τοῦτο, ἐφη, βούλει ἀπο- κρίνασθαι, σὺ δὲ τοῦτον λέγε εἰ τι αὐ ἦδι- κον ὅτι σοῦ ἀποκριναμένον ἔμοι ὡς οὐκ ἂν βούλοιο, εὐθυμομενέοις ὅρων Μήδους; τοῦτου¹ παύσας αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζειν κινδυνεύσοντας ἰέναι, εἰ τι αὐ σοι δοκῶ τοῦτο χαλέπτων ποιῆσαι ὅτι ἀμελήσας τοῦ ὀργίζεσθαι σοι ἐπὶ τοῦτος πάλιν ἦτον σε οὐ ἦδη οὔτε σοι μείον ὃν δοῦναι οὐδὲν οὔτε ρᾶν Μήδους ἐπιταχθῆναι· τὸν γὰρ βουλό- μενον ὅτι ποιῆσαι ἦτησά σε δοῦναι μοι.

22. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτον τυχὼν παρὰ σοῦ οὖδὲν ἦν, εἰ μὴ τούτους πείσαμι. ἔλθων οὖν ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὖς ἔπεισα τούτους ἔχων ἐπορεύομην σοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αἰτίαι ἄξιον νομίζεις, οὔτ' ὃ τι ἂν διδός, ὡς οἰκε, παρὰ σοῦ δέχεσθαι ἀναίτιον ἔστιν.

23. Οὐκοῦν ἔξωρμήσαμεν οὕτως· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔξ- ἱλθομεν, τί ἡμῖν πεπραγμένον οὐ φανερὸν ἔστιν; οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλακα τῶν πολεμιῶν; οὐ τεθνάσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σὲ ἐλθόντων; ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε ξύντων ἐχθρῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ὁπλων

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

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

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

23. “Thus, then, we started; and does not every one know what we did when we were gone? Did we not capture the enemy’s camp? Are not many of those who came against you slain? Aye, and of the enemy still alive many have been deprived of
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ἐστέρηται, πολλοὶ δὲ ὦππων· χρήματά γε μὴν τὰ τῶν φερόντων καὶ ἀγόντων τὰ σα πρόσθεν
νῦν ὅρας τοὺς σοὺς φίλους καὶ ἔχοντας καὶ ἄγοντας, τὰ μὲν σοὶ, τὰ δ' αὖ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν
ἀρχήν. 24. τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον καὶ καλ-
λιστον, τὴν μὲν σὴν χώραν αὔξανομένην ὅρας,
τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων μειομένην. καὶ τὰ μὲν
τῶν πολεμίων φορίαν ἐχόμενα, τὰ δὲ σα τὰ
πρότερον εἰς τὴν Σύρων ἐπικράτειαν συγκαταρ-
ρυέντα 1 νῦν τάναντα σοι προσκεχωρηκότα: τοῦ-
των δὲ εἰ τι κακὸν σοι ἢ εἰ τι μὴ ἀγαθὸν σοι
μαθεῖν μὲν ἄγωγε βούλεσθαι οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποις ἂν
εἴπομι: ἀκούσαι μέντοι γε οὐδέν κωλύει. ἀλλὰ
λέγει δ' τι γνωσὸςκεις περὶ αὐτῶν.

25. ὦ μὲν δὴ Κύρος οὕτως εἰπὼν ἑπαύσατο·
ὁ δὲ Κυνάρης ἐλέξε πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε· Ἀλλ',
ὁ Κύρης, ὡς μὲν ταῦτα ἐν πεποίηκας κακὰ
ἐστιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως χρὴ λέγειν' εῦ γε μέντοι,
ἐφι, ἵσθι ὅτι ταῦτα τάγαθα τοιαῦτα ἐστιν οὐλ
ὅσῳ πλείονα φαίνεται, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἐμὲ
βαρύνει. 26. τὴν τε γὰρ χώραν, ἐφι, ἐγὼ ἄν
τὴν σὴν ἐβουλόμην τῇ ἐμῇ δυνάμει μείζω ποιεῖν
μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ὅραν οὕτως αὔξα-
νομένην: σοι μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιοῦντι καλά,
ἐμοὶ δὲ γέ ἐστὶ πη ταῦτα 2 ἀτιμλῶν φέροντα.

27. καὶ χρήματα οὕτως ἂν μοι δοκῶ ήδιον σοι
δωρεῖσθαι ἢ παρὰ σοῦ οὕτως λαμβάνειν ὡς σὺ

νῦν ἐμοὶ δίδως· τούτως γὰρ πλουτιζόμενος ὑπὸ

1 συγκαταρρυνέτα Hug; συγκυροῦντα xF (hurrenium); συγ-
katastasethenta AD, Dindorf, Breitenbach (demolished); συ-
telouventa Herwerden, Marchant, Gemoll (contributing).

2 ταῦτα Schneider, Edd.; ταῦτα yz; not in x.
their arms; many others of their horses; moreover, the belongings of those who before were robbing you and carrying off your property you now see in the hands of your friends and being brought in, some for you, some for those who are under your dominion. 24. But what is most important and best of all, you see your own territory increasing, that of the enemy diminishing; you see the enemy’s fortresses in your possession, and your own, which had before all fallen under the Assyrian’s power, now restored again to you. Now, I do not know that I can say that I should like to learn whether any one of these results is a bad thing or whether any one is not a good thing for you, but at any rate I have no objection to listening to what you have to say. So tell me what your judgment on the question is.”

25. When he had thus spoken, Cyrus ceased, and Cyaxares answered as follows: “Well, Cyrus, I do not see how any one could say that what you have done is bad; but still, let me tell you, these services of yours are of such a nature that the more numerous they appear to be, the more they burden me. 26. For as to territory, I should rather extend yours by my power than see mine thus increased by you; for to you it brings glory to do this, but to me these same things somehow bring disgrace. 27. And as for money, it would be more agreeable for me to bestow it in this way upon you than to receive it from you under such circumstances as those under which you now offer it. For in being thus enriched
σοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον αἰσθάνομαι οἷς πενέστερος γίγνο-
μαι. καὶ τοὺς γ’ ἐμοὺς ὑπηκόους ἴδων μικρά
γε ἀδικουμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ ἦττον ἂν δοκῶ λυπεῖ-
σθαι ἢ νῦν ὁρῶν ὅτι μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασιν
ὑπὸ σοῦ. 28. εἰ δὲ σοι, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκῶ ἁγιω-
μόνως ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ αὐτὰ ἂλλ’ εἰς
τῇ τρέψαις πάντα καταθέασαι οἷ司令ον ἑαυτοῦ.
τῇ γὰρ ἂν, εἰ τις κύνας, οὐ γὰρ τρέφεαι φυλακῆς
ἐνεκα σαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν τῶν σῶν, τοὺτος θεραπεύων
γνωριμωτέρους ἐαυτῷ ἢ σοὶ ποιήσειν, ἂρ’ ἂν
σε εὐφράναι τούτῳ τῷ θεραπεύματι; 29. εἰ δὲ
τούτῳ σοι δοκεῖ μικρὸν εἶναι, ἐκεῖνο κατανόησον,
eἰ τις τοὺς σὲ θεραπεύοντας, οὐ γὰρ καὶ φρούρας
καὶ στρατείας ἐνεκα κέκτησαι, τούτους οὕτω
διατιθῆναι ὡστ’ ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον ἢ σοῦ βούλεσθαι
εἶναι, ἂρ’ ἂν ἂντι ταύτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας χάριν
ἀυτῷ εἰδεῖς; 30. τί δὲ, τὸ μάλιστα ἀνθρώποι
ἀσπάζονται τε καὶ θεραπεύουσιν οἰκεῖοτάτα, εἰ
τις τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν οὕτω θεραπεύουσεν
ὡστε φιλεῖν αὐτὴν μᾶλλον ποιήσειν ἑαυτὸν ἢ
σέ, ἂρ’ ἂν σε τὴν εὐεργεσία ταύτη εὐφράναι;
πολλοῦ γ’ ἂν οἴμαι καὶ δέοι ἂλλ’ εὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι
πάντων ἂν μάλιστα ἄδικοίν τε τούτῳ ποιήσασ.
31. "Ἰνα δὲ εἴτω καὶ τὸ μάλιστα τῷ ἐμῷ
πάθει ἐμφερέσθαι εἰ τις οὕς σὺ ἡγαγες Πέρσας οὕτω
θεραπεύσεις ὡστε αὐτῷ ἢδιον ἐπεσθαι ἢ σοὶ,
ἀρ’ ἂν φίλον αὐτῶν νομίζως; οἴμαι μὲν οὐ,
ἀλλὰ πολεμιώστερον ἄν ἂν εἰ, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν κατακάνωι.
32. τί δ’, εἰ τις τῶν σῶν φίλον φιλοφρόνως σοι
eἰπόντος λαμβάνειν ὁπόσα ἐθέλοι εἰτὰ οὕτος. ¹

¹ εἰτὰ οὕτος Hug; εἰ γ’; έτ’ αὐτοὶ C; ετ’ αὐτῶς zE, Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; εἰτὰ Marchant, Gemoll.
by you, I feel even more wherein I am made poorer. And I think I should be less displeased to see my subjects actually wronged a little by you than to see, as I do, that they have received great benefits from you. 28. But,” he went on, “if it seems to you that it is unreasonable of me to take these things to heart, put yourself in my place and see in what light they appear to you. And tell me—if any one should pet your dogs, which you have been training for the protection of yourself and yours, and make them more familiar with himself than with you, would he please you with such petting? 29. Or if that seems to you a belittling comparison, think on this: if any one were to tamper with the attendants that you kept for your body-guard and for service in war, and so dispose them that they would rather be his than yours, would you be grateful to him for such kindness? 30. Again, let us take the object that men love most and most dearly cherish—suppose some one were to court your wife and make her love him more than yourself, would such kindness give you pleasure? Far from it, I think; for I am sure that he who should be guilty of such conduct would be doing you the greatest of all injuries.

31. “But to quote an example most nearly akin to my own case—if any one should so treat the Persians whom you have brought here as to make them more glad to follow him than you, would you consider him your friend? I trow not; but you would consider him more of an enemy than if he were to slay many of them. 32. Or again, if you in your kindness of heart were to tell one of your friends to take what-
τούτο ἀκούσας λαβὼν οὖχοτο ἀπαντα ὀπόσα δύνατο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν γε τοὺς σοὶς πλουτοῖς, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ μετρίοις ἔχοις χρῆσθαι, ἀρ’ ἂν δύναιο τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀμεμπτον φίλον νομίζειν;

33. Νῦν μέντοι ἐγώ, διʼ Κύρε, εἴ μὴ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ τοιαύτα ὑπὸ σοῦ δοκῶ πεπονθέναι. σὺ γὰρ ἄλληθῃ λέγεις· εἰπόντος ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας ἀγεῖν λαβὼν φόχου πᾶσαν μου τὴν δύναμιν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐρήμων κατέληπες· καὶ νῦν ἃ ἔλαβες τῇ ἐμῇ δυνάμει ἀγεῖς δὴ μοι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν αὐξεῖς [σὺν] 1 τῇ ἐμῇ ῥώμηι ἐγὼ δὲ δοκῶ οὐδὲν συναιτίος ὄν τῶν ἄγαθῶν παρέχειν ἐμαυτὸν ὀστεῖρα γυνὴ εὗ ποιεῖν, καὶ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὑπηκόοις σὺ μὲν ἀνήρ φαινεῖ, ἐγὼ δ’ οὐκ ἀξίους ἄρχης. 34. ταῦτα σοι δοκεῖ εὖεργετήματ’ εἶναι, διʼ Κύρε; εὖ ἵσθι ότι εἴ τι ἐμοὶ ἐκήδου, οὐδενὸς ἀν οὐτῶ με ἀπόστερεῖν ἐφυλάττων ὥς ἀξιώματος καὶ τιμῆς. τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ πλέον τὸ τὴν γῆν πλατύνεσθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀτιμάξεσθαι; οὐ γὰρ τοῦ ἐγὼ Μῆδων ἥρχον διὰ τὸ κρείττων αὐτῶν πάντων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ αὐτοῦς τούτους ἀξιοῦν ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῶν πάντα βελτίωνας εἶναι.

35. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἐφ’ ὅ θελε, εἴ τι κἀγὼ σοι πρότερον ἐχαρισάμην, καὶ σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ χάρισαι ὅ ἂν δεήθω σου· παῦσαι, ἐφ’ ὅ το νῦν εἶναι μεμφόμενός μου· ἐπείδαν δὲ πείραν ἠμῶν λάβης πῶς ἔχομεν πρὸς σέ, εὰν μὲν δὴ σοι φαίνεται τὰ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένα ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ

1 σὺν MSS., Hug; [σὺν] Hartmann, Gemoll.
ever of yours he wanted, and if he, accepting your offer, should make off with everything he could and enrich himself with what belonged to you, while you had not even enough left for moderate use, could you consider such a one a blameless friend?

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

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

35. "By the gods, uncle," said Cyrus, interrupting Cyaxares reconciled him before he had finished speaking, "if I have ever done you any favour before, please do me now the favour that I beg of you: desist from blaming me for the present, and when you have proof from us how we feel toward you, if it then appears that what I have done was done for your benefit, return
άγαθον πεπουλμένα, ἀσπαζόμενον τέ μού σε ἀντασπάζου με ευεργέτην τε νόμιζε, ἕαν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα, τότε μοι μέμφου.
36. Ἀλλ' ἵσως μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, καλῶς λέγεις· κάγω οὖτω ποιήσω.
Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἢ καλ φιλήσω σε;
Εἰ σὺ βουλεί, ἔφη.
Καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψει με ὁσπερ ἀρτί;
Οὐκ ἀποστρέψομαι, ἔφη.
Καὶ δ' ἐφίλησεν αὐτόν.
37. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Μηδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, πάσι γὰρ ἔμελεν ὁ τι ἐκ τούτων ἔσυντο, εὐθὺς ἦσθησάν τε καὶ ἐφαίδρυνθησαν. 
καὶ ὁ Κύρος δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπόποιον ἠγούντο, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κυαξάρῃ
οἱ Μηδοὶ εἶποντο, Κύρος γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὖτως ἐπένευσεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τούτοις.
38. Ἐπει δὲ ἀφικόντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ κατέστησαν τὸν Κυαξάρην εἰς τὴν κατε-
σκευασμένην σκηνήν, οἷς μὲν ἐτέτακτο παρε-
σκεύαζον τάπιτήδεια τῷ Κυαξάρῃ. 39. οἱ δὲ
Μηδοὶ ὁσον χρονὸν σχολὴν πρὸ δεῖπνου ἤγεν ὁ Κυαξάρης ἦσαν πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ
καθ' ἐαυτούς, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ὑπὸ Κύρου ἐγκέ-
λευστοί, δώρα ἄγοντες, μὲν τις οἰνοκόλον καλὸν, 
ὁ δ' ὁφοποίον ἀγαθὸν, ὁ δ' ἄρτοποιόν, ὁ δὲ μου-
σουργόν, ὁ δ' ἐκπώματα, ὁ δ' ἐσθήτα καλὴν. πᾶς 
δὲ τις ὃς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐν γέ τι ὧν εἰλήφει 
ἔωσεν αὐτῷ: 40. ὡστε τὸν Κυαξάρην μετα-

1 ὁ δ' ἐκπώματα Hug; ὁ δ' ἐκπώματα, ὁ δ' xy, Marchant, Gemoll; 
οἱ δ' ἐκπώματα ZV, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Sauppe, et al.

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my greeting when I greet you and consider me your benefactor; but if it seems the other way, then blame me."

36. "Well," said Cyaxares, "perhaps you are right after all; I will do so."
"Say then," said Cyrus, "may I kiss you, too?"
"If you please," said the other.
"And you will not turn away from me, as you did a little while ago?"
"No," said he.
So he kissed him.

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

38. And when they came to the camp and had lodged Cyaxares in the tent that had been made ready for him, they who had been detailed to do so supplied him with what he needed; 39. and as long as he had leisure before dinner, Cyaxares received calls from the Medes; some of them came of their own accord, but most of them went at the suggestion of Cyrus, taking presents with them—the one a handsome cup-bearer, another a fine cook, another a baker, another a musician, another a cup, another fine raiment; and every one of them, as a rule, presented him with at least one of the things that he had himself taken, 40. so that Cyaxares changed
γιγνώσκειν δός οὐτε ὁ Κύρος ἀφίστη αὐτοὺς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ οὐθ’ οἱ Μήδιοι ἦττον τι αὐτῷ προσέχουν τὸν νοῦν ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν.

41. Ἐσπεὶ δὲ δείπνου ὁρᾳ ἢ, καλέσας ὁ Κυαξάρης ἥξιον τὸν Κύρον διὰ χρόνου ἵδων ἂν αὐτὸν συνδειπνεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἔφη, Ἡ δὴ σὺ κέλευε, ὁ Κυαξάρης ἢ οὖχ ὅρας ὅτι οὐτοί οἱ παρόντες ὑφ’ ἦμων πάντες ἐπαιρόμενοι πάρεισιν; οὐκοῦν καλῶς ἂν πράττοιμι εἰ τούτων ἀμελῶν τὴν ἐμὴν ἥδονην θεραπεύειν δοκοίην. ἀμελείσθαι δὲ δοκοῦντες στρατιώται οἱ μὲν ἄγαθοι πολὺ ἄθυμοτεροί γίγνονται, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ πολὺ υβριστότεροι.

42. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅδον μακρὰν ἥκων δείπνει ἡδή· καὶ εἴ τινες σε τιμῶσιν, ἀντασπάζον καὶ εὐάχει αὐτοὺς, ἵνα σε καὶ θαρρήσωσιν ἐγὼ δ’ ἀπ’ ὅποιον ἔφθ’ ἀπέρ λέγω τρέφομαι. 43. αὐριον δ’, ἔφη, πρὸ ἀείρ’ ἐπὶ τὰς σᾶς θύρας παρέσονται οἱ ἐπικαθήσιοι, ὅπως βουλευσόμεθα πάντες σὺν σοὶ ὁ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκ τούτῳ. σὺ δ’ ἠμῶν ἐμβαλε βουλὴν παρόν περὶ τούτου πότερον ἐτύ δοκεῖ 3 στρατεύεσθαι ἡ καρός ἡδὴ διαλύειν τὴν στρατιάν.

44. Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης ἄμφι δείπνου εἰχεν, ὁ δὲ Κύρος συλλέξας τοὺς ἰκανωτάτους τῶν φίλων καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ συμπράττειν, εἰ τι δέοι, ἔλεγε τοιάδε: Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι, ὁ μὲν δὴ πρώτᾳ ηὐξάμεθα, πάρεστι σὺν θεοῖς. ὅπη γὰρ ἄν πορευόμεθα, κρατοῦμεν τῆς χώρας· καὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους

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

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

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

"My friends, with the help of the gods we have, you see, all that we prayed for at the first. For wherever we go, we are masters of the country. What is more, we see the enemy reduced, and our-
ὁρῶμεν μειομένους, ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς πλειονάς τε καὶ ἵσχυρότερους γιγαντιάνους. 45. εἰ δὲ ἡμῖν ἔτι ἐθελήσειαν οἱ νῦν προσγεγενημένοι σύμμαχοι παραμεῖναι, πολλῷ ἂν μᾶλλον ἄνυσαι δυναίμεθα καὶ εἰ τι βιάσασθαι καιρὸς καὶ εἰ τι πεῖσαι δέοι. ὅπως οὖν τὸ μένειν ὡς πλείστος συνδοκῆ τῶν συμμάχων, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἔμοι ἔργον ἡ καὶ ύμετέρον μηχανᾶσθαι, 46. ἀλλ’ ὅσπερ καὶ ὅταν μάχεσθαι δέχῃ, ὁ πλείστος χειρωσάμενος ἀλκιμωτατος δοξάζεται εἰναι, οὕτω καὶ ὅταν πεῖσαι δέχῃ, ὁ πλείστος ὁμογνώμονας ἡμῖν ποιήσας οὕτως δικαίως ἂν λεκτικώτατος τε καὶ πρακτικώτατος κρίνοιτο ἂν εἰναι. 47. μὴ μέντοι ὡς λόγον ἡμῖν ἐπιδειξόμενοι οἶον ἂν εἶπητε πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τοῦτο μελετᾶτε. ἀλλ’ ὡς τοὺς πεπεισμένους ύφ’ ἐκαστοῦ δῆλους ἐσομένους οἷς ἂν πράττωσιν οὕτω παρασκευάζεσθε. 48. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν, ἐφη, τούτων ἐπιμέλεσθε: ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως ἂν ἔχουτες τάπτετήδεια ὅσον ἂν ἔγωγε δύνομαι οἱ στρατιώται περὶ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι βουλεύωνται τοῦτον πειράσομαι ἐπιμέλεσθαι.
selves increased in both numbers and strength. 45. Now, if the allies we have gained would only stay on with us, we should be able to accomplish much more both by force, when occasion calls for it, and by persuasion, when that is needed; and it is not my business a whit more than it is yours to see to it that as many of the allies as possible agree to stay; 46. but just as, when we are called upon to fight, the one who conquers the greatest number has the glory of being considered the most valorous, so also when we are called upon to use persuasion, he that converts the greatest number to our opinion would justly be accounted at once the most eloquent and the most efficient. 47. Do not, however, aim at displaying to us the arguments that you will address to each one of them, but set to work with the feeling that those who are persuaded by any one of you will show what they are by what they do. 48. Do you, therefore, see to this. And I, for my part, will try to see to it, as far as I can, that the soldiers are supplied with all that they need, while they are deliberating about going on with the campaign."
1. Ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἡμέραν οὔτω διαγγάγοντες καὶ δευτεράδια πρὶν ἦκον ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξάρου θύρας πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐως οὖν ὁ Κυαξάρης ἐκοσμεῖτο, ἀκούον ὅτι πολὺς ὄχλος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις εἶχεν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ φίλοι τῷ Κύρῳ προσήγησαν οἱ μὲν Καδουσίους δεομένους αὐτοῦ μένειν, οἱ δὲ Ἕρκαντος, ὁ δὲ τις Σάκας, ὁ δὲ τις καὶ Γωβρύας. Ἄστικας δὲ Γαδάτας τὸν εὐνοῦχον προσήγησεν, δεόμενον τῷ Κύρῳ μένειν. 2. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Κύρος γυνώσκων ὅτι Γαδάτας πάλαι ἀπωλέσει τῷ φόβῳ μὴ λυθῆναι ἡ στρατιά, ἐπιγελάσας εἴπεν, Ὁ Γαδάτα, δῆλος εἰ, ἔφη, ὑπὸ Ἄστικας τοῦτο πεπεισμένος ταῦτα γυνώσκειν ἢ λέγεις. 3. καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας ἀνατείνας τὰς κείρας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπώμοσεν ἢ μὴ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄστικας πεπεισθεὶς ταῦτα γυνώσκειν; Ἀλλ' οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἦν ὑμεῖς ἀπέλθητε, ἔρρει τὰμα παντελῶς· διὰ ταῦτ', ἔφη, καὶ τούτῳ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς.
BOOK VI

I

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

4. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἀδίκως ἄρα ἐγώ Ἰστάσπαν τόνδε ² κατατιθῶμαι.

'Ἀδίκως μέντοι νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰστάσπας, ὁ Κῦρε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔλεγον τῷ Γαδάτᾳ τὸδε τοσοῦτον μόνον ὡς οὖν οἴνον τῇ σοι εἰπή στρατεύεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ὁ πατήρ σε μεταπέμπεται.

5. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος, Τῇ λέγεις; ἔφη· καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἐπολυμήσας ἐξενεγκεῖν, εἰτ' ἐγὼ ἐβουλόμην εἰτε μὴ;

Ναῦ μὰ Δί', ἔφη· ὅρω γὰρ σε ὑπερπιθυμοῦντα ἐν Πέρσας περὶ βλεπτὸν περιελθεῖν καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐπίδειξασθαι ἡ ἔκαστα διεπράζω.

'Ο δὲ Κύρος ἔφη, Σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖς οὐκαδε ἀπελθεῖν;

Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὁ Ἰστάσπας, οὐδ' ἀπειμί γε, ἀλλὰ μένων στρατηγήσω, ἐως ἄν ποιήσω Γαδάταν τούτου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου δεσπότην.

6. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα ἔπαιζον σπουδὴ πρὸς ἄλληλους.

'Εν δὲ τούτω Κυαξάρης σεμνῶς κεκοσμημένος ἔξηλθε καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου Μηδικοῦ ἐκαθέζετο. ὡς δὲ πάντες συνήλθον οὖς ἐδει καὶ σιωπὴ ἐγένετο, ὁ Κυαξάρης ἔλεγεν δόδε· 'Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ἵσως, ἐπειδὴ παρὼν τυχχάνω καὶ πρεσβύτερος εἰμι Κύρου, εἰκός ἄρχειν με λόγον. νῦν οὖν δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι καιρὸς περὶ τοῦτον πρῶτον διαλέγεσθαι

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

² Ἰστάσπαν τόνδε Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; Ἰστάσπου τοῦδε xzV, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hertlein; Ἰστάσπῃ γ'.
of my own accord, asking him if he knew what it was your intention to do with reference to disbanding the army."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτος μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Ὠτράκιος, Ἀνδρέας σύμμαχος, οὐκ οἶδα μὲν ἐγωγε ἢ τι δεὶ λόγων ὅπως αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα δεῖκνυσι τὸ κράτιστον. πάντες γὰρ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ὁμοῖο μὲν ὄντες πλεῖω κακὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ποιοῦμεν ἢ πάσχομεν· ὅτε δὲ χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἄλληλαν, ἐκεῖνοι ἡμῖν ἐχρόντο ὡς ἐκείνοις ἡ ἡδίστοι, ἡμῖν γε μὴν ὡς χαλεπῶτατον.

8. Ἐπὶ τούτω ὁ Καδούσιος εἶπεν, Ἦμεις δὲ τί ἂν λέγομεν, ἐφη, περὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντες ἐκαστοὶ χωρὶς εἶναι, ὅποτε γε οὐδὲ στρατευομένοις, ὡς ἐοίκε, χωρίζεσθαι συμφέρει; Ἦμεις γοῦν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον δίχα τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους στρατευόμενοι δίκην ἐδομέν ὡς καὶ ἰμεῖς ἐπίστασθε.

9. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ποτὲ φῆσας εἶναι Κύρου συγγενῆς ἐλεξε οἱπάπαδε· Ἐγὼ δ', ἐφη, ὁ Κυαξάρη, τοσοῦτον διαφέρομαι τοῖς πρόσθεν λέγονσιν· οὕτω μὲν γάρ φασιν ὅτι δεὶ μένοντας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὅτι ὅτε μὲν οἶκοι ἢ, ἐστρατευόμενην. 10. καὶ γὰρ ἐβούλθουν πολλάκις τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγομένων καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων φρουρίων ὡς ἐπιβουλευομένων πολλάκις πράγματα ἐξομοφυλακένας τε καὶ φρουρῶν· καὶ ταύτ' ἔπραττον τὰ ὧδε διαβαίνον. νῦν δ' ἐξομεν τὰ ἐκείνων φρούρια, οὗ φοβοῦμαι δὲ ἐκείνοις, εὐθε- χοῦμαι τὰ ἐκείνων καὶ πίνω τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

1 καιρὸς οἰκονομείος, Dindorf, Breitenbach; not in F; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
2 εἶναι MSS.; [εἶναι] Dindorf, Edd.
3 μὲν ὄντες Jacobs, Edd.; μένοντες MSS.; μὲν μένοντες D.
4 ἐξομεν E; ἐχοῦμεν C; ἐχομεν F; ἔχω μεν zV, most Edd.
question whether it is desirable to continue our campaign longer or at once to disband the armies. Any one, therefore, may express his opinion in regard to this question."

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

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

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

11. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν, Ἔγω δ', ὁ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, μέχρι μὲν τούτω ἐπαίνῳ τὴν Κύρου δεξιάν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ψεύδεται διὸ υπέσχετο· εἰ δ' ἀπεισίν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἀσσύριος ἀναπνεύσεται, οὐ τίνων ποινὰς ὃν τε ὑμᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀδικεῖν καὶ ὃν ἔμε ἐποίησεν· ἐγώ δὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει ἑκεῖνῳ πάλιν δῶσοι δίκην ὃτι ὑμῖν φίλος ἐγενόμην.

12. Ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι Κύρου εἶπεν, Ὡ τοιχός, οὐδὲ ἔμε λανθάνει ὃτι ἐὰν μὲν διαλύωμεν τὸ στρατεύμα, τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα ἀσθενεστέρα γίγνοντ' ἂν, τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων πάλιν αὐξησεται. ὅσοι τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ὅπλα ἀφῆρησαν, ταχὺ ἄλλα ποιήσουντα· ὅσοι τε ὕππους ἀπεστέρησαν, ταχὺ πάλιν ἀλλοις ὕππους κτήσουνται· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἔτεροι ἐφηβήσουσι [καὶ ἐπιγενήσονται]-2 ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ πάνυ ἐν τάχει πάλιν ἡμῖν πράγματα παρέχειν δυνήσονται.

13. Τὸ δὴ ἔγω Κακαῖρην ἐκέλευσα λόγον ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς στρατιᾶς; εἰ δὲ ὅτι φοβοῦμενος τὸ μέλλον. ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀντιπάλους προσιόντας οῖς ἠμένις, εἰ δὲ στρατευόμεθα, οὐ δυνησόμεθα μάχεσθαι. 14. προσ-έρχεται μὲν γὰρ δὴ που χειμών, στέγαι δὲ σε ἐκαὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς εἶσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶ Δι' ὧν ὕππους οὐδὲ

1 ἀναπνεύσεται Hertlein, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀναπνεύσεται MSS., earlier Edd.
2 καὶ ἐπιγενήσονται MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Schneider, later Edd.
their. Therefore, as life at home was warfare, while life here is a feast, I do not care to have this festal gathering break up.”

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

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

13. “Why then do you suppose I suggested to Cyaxares to bring up the question of disbanding the army? Let me tell you; it was because I feared for the future; for I see foes advancing against us that we shall never be able to cope with, if we go on campaigning in our present fashion. 14. For winter is coming, you know; and even granting that we have shelter for ourselves, still, by Zeus, there will
θεράπουσιν ούδὲ τῷ δῆμῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ἀνευ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυναόμεθα στρατεύεσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια ὅπου μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐλπίζαμεν ὡς ἡμῶν ἀνήλωται ὅποι δὲ μὴ ἄφημεθα, διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθαι ἀνακεκομισμένοι εἰςιν εἰς ἐρύματα, ὡστε αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ταύτα μὴ δύνασθαι λαμβάνειν. 15. τὸς οὖν οὕτως ἀγάθος ἢ τὸς οὕτως ἱσχυρὸς δς λιμῷ καὶ ρίγηι δύνατ' ἂν μαχόμενος στρατεύεσθαι; εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτω στρατευσόμεθα, ἐγὼ μὲν φημὶ χρησκαί ἐκόντας ἡμᾶς καταλύσαι τὴν στρατιάν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκοντα ὡς ἀρχαῖας ἐξε- λαθήναι. εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ἐτι στρατεύεσθαι, τὸδ' ἐγὼ φημὶ χρησκαὶ ποιεῖν, ὡς τὰχιστα πειράσθαι τὸν μὲν ἐκεῖνων ἄχυρων ὡς πλείστα παραπεῖν, ἡμῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς πλείστα ἄχυρὰ ποιεῖσθαι· εάν γὰρ ταῦτα γένηται, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια πλείω ἔξου- σιν ὅποτεροι ἄν πλείῳ δύνανται λαβώντες ἀπο- τίθεσθαι, πολυκήσονται δὲ ὅποτεροι ἄν ἡττος ὡσι. 16. νῦν δ' οὕτως διαφέρομεν τῶν ἐν τῷ πελάγει πλεύντων· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πλέουσι μὲν ἀεί, τὸ δὲ πεπλευσμένον οὔτε ὁκείοτερον τοῦ ἀπλεύστου καταλείπουσιν. εάν δὲ φρουρία ἡμῖν γένηται, ταῦτα δὴ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἀλληλοτρίῳσει τὴν χώραν, ἡμῖν δ' ὡς εὐδίαν μᾶλλον πάντες ἐσται.

17."Ο δ' ἵσως ἂν τινες ὑμῶν φοβηθεῖεν, εἰ δεῖσει πόρρω τῆς ἑαυτῶν φρουρεῖν, μηδὲν τούτῳ ὅκυρησθε. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπείπερ καὶ ὡς οἰκοθεν ἀποδημοῦμεν, φρουρήσειν ὑμῖν ἀναδεχόμεθα τὰ ἐγγύτατα χωρία τῶν πολεμίων, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ πρόσ-
be none for our horses or for our attendants or for the rank and file of the army; and without them we could not carry on the war. The provisions, wherever we have gone, we have consumed; and where we have not gone, the people out of fear of us have conveyed them into their strongholds, so that they have them themselves, and we cannot get them. 15. Who then is so valiant and so strong that he can prosecute a war while battling against hunger and cold? If, therefore, we propose to go on with the war as we have been doing, I maintain that we ought of our own free will to disband the army, rather than against our will to be driven out of the country by lack of means. But if we wish to go on with the war, this I say we must do: we must try as quickly as we may to get possession of as many as possible of their forts and build for ourselves as many as we can. For, if this is done, that side will have more provisions which is able to get and store up more, and those will be in a state of siege who are weaker. 16. As we are, we are not at all different from those who sail the seas: they keep on sailing continually, but they leave the waters over which they have sailed no more their own than those over which they have not sailed. But if we get fortresses, these will alienate the country from the enemy while everything will be smooth sailing for us.

17. "But perhaps some of you may fear that you will possibly have to do garrison duty far from your own country. You need have no hesitation on that score. For since we are far from home in any event, we will take it upon ourselves to do the garrison duty for you in the places nearest to the enemy; but those parts of Assyria which are on your
ορα ύμων αυτοῖς τής 'Ασσωρίας ἐκείνα κτάσθε καὶ ἔργαξεσθε. 18. εἶναι γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὰ πλησίουν αὐτῶν φρουροῦντες δυνόμεθα σώζεσθαι, ἐν πολλῆ ὡμεῖς εἰρήνη ἔσεσθε οἱ τὰ πρόσω αὐτῶν ἐχοντες· οὐ γὰρ οἱμα δυνήσονται τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐαυτῶν ὄντων ἀμελοῦντες τοῖς πρόσω ύμων ἐπιβουλεύειν.

19. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐρρήθη, οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνιστάμενοι συμπροθυμήσεσθαι ταῦτ’ ἔφασαν καὶ Κυναξάρης. Γαδάτας δὲ καὶ Γοββρύας καὶ τείχος ἐκάτεροι αὐτῶν, ἢν ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἱ σύμμαχοι, τειχεῖσθαι ἔφασαν, ἀστε καὶ ταῦτα φίλα τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπάρχειν.

20. Ὁ οὖν Κύρος ἐπει πάντας ἡώρᾳ προθύμους ὄντας πράττειν ὅσα ἔλεξε, τέλος εἰπεν, Εἴ τοινυπ περαίνειν βουλόμεθα ὅσα φαμὲν χρήναι ποιεῖν, ὅσ τάχιστ’ ἀν δέοι γενέσθαι μηχανὰς μὲν εἰς τὸ καθαίρειν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων τείχη, τέκτονας δὲ εἰς τὸ ἡμῶν ὑχρα πυργοῦσθαι.

21. Ἐκ τούτου ὑπέσχετο ὁ μὲν Κυναξάρης μηχανὴν αὐτὸς ποιησάμενος παρέξειν, ἄλλην δὲ Γαδάτας καὶ Γοββρύας, ἄλλην δὲ Γυγράνης· αὐτὸς δὲ Κύρος ἔφη δύο πειράσεσθαι ποιήσασθαι. 22. ἐπεί δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐδοξεῖν, ἐπορίζοντο μὲν μηχανοποιοῦσι, παρεσκευάζοντο δ’ ἐκαστοὶ ἐίς τὰς μηχανὰς δὲν ἔδει· ἀνδρὰς δ’ ἐπέστησαν οἴ εὐδόκουν ἐπιτηδεῖστατοι εἶναι ἀμφὶ ταῦτ’ ἔχειν.

23. Κύρος δ’ ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι διατριβὴ ἔσται ἀμφὶ ταῦτα, ἔκάθισε τὸ στράτευμα ἐνθα ὁ ετὸ

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

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

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

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

23. Since Cyrus realized that a long time would be required for the execution of these designs, he encamped with his army in a place which he thought
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υγιεινότατον εἶναι καὶ εὐπροσοδότατον ὅσα ἔδει προσκομίζεσθαι ὅσα τε ἐρυμνότητος προσεδεῖτο, ἐποιήσατο, ὡς ἐν ἁσφαλεῖ οἱ ἀεὶ μένοντες εἶνεν, εἰ ποτὲ καὶ πρόσω τῇ ἱσχύι ἀποστρατοπεδεύοντο.

24. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐρωτῶν οὖς ἤτοι μάλιστα εἰδέναι τὴν χώραν ὁπόθεν ἂν ὡς πλείστα ὠφελοῖτο τὸ στράτευμα, ἔξηγεν ἢ ἀεὶ εἰς προνομάς, ἀμα μὲν ὅπως ὅτι πλείστα λαμβάνοι τῇ στρατιᾷ τάπιτήδεια, ἀμα δ’ ὅπως μᾶλλον υγιαίνοιεν καὶ ἱσχύοιεν διαπονούμενοι ταῖς πορείαις, ἀμα δ’ ὅπως ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τὰς τάξεις ὑπομιμνήσκοιντο.

25. Ὡ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

'Εκ δὲ Βασιλιάνων οἱ αὐτόμολοι καὶ οἱ ἀλισκόμενοι ταύτ’ ἔλεγον ὅτι ὁ Ἀσσύριος οἴχοιτο ἐπὶ Λυδίας, πολλὰ τάλαντα χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἄγων καὶ ἄλλα κτήματα καὶ κόσμον παντοδαπῶν.

26. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὁχλος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔλεγεν ὡς ὑπεκτίθησον ἢ δὴ τὰ χρήματα φοβούμενος: ὁ δὲ Κύρος γυναώσκων ὅτι οἴχοιτο συστήσων εἰ τι δύνατο ἀντίπαλον ἑαυτῷ, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο ἐρρωμένως, ὡς μάχης ἢ τε δεῖσθαι ὡςτ’ ἔξεπτιμπλη μὲν τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἵππων, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τοὺς δὲ τινας καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων

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

25. Thus, then, Cyrus was occupied.

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

27. Κατεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ἄρματα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄρματων καὶ ἀλλοθεν ὁπόθεν ἐδύνατο. καὶ τὴν μὲν Τρωικὴν διφρεῖαν πρόσθεν οὖσαν καὶ τὴν Κυρηναίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἄρματηλασίαν κατέλυσε· τὸν γὰρ πρόσθεν χρόνον καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ καὶ Συρίᾳ καὶ Ἀραβία καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοὺς ἄρμασιν οὕτως ἔχρωντο ὡσπερ νῦν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι. 28. ἔδοξε δ’ αὐτῷ, ὁ κρατιστὸν εἰκὸς ἦν εἰναι τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅτι τῶν βελτίστων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρμασι, τοῦτο ἐν ἀκροβολιστῶν μέρει εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸ κρατεῖν οὐδὲν μέγαν [βάρος] ἑυμβάλλεσθαι. ἄρματα γὰρ τριακοσία τοὺς μὲν μαχημένους παρέχεται τριακόσιοι, ἦπποις δ’ οὕτω χρῶται διακόσιοι καὶ χιλιαίοι· ἡμῖνοι δ’ αὐτοῖς εἰς μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς οἰς μάλιστα πιστεύουσιν, οἱ βέλτιστοι· ἄλλοι δ’ εἰς τριακόσιοι οὕτωι, εἰς οὐδ’ ὄτιοι τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτουσι.

29. ταῦτην μὲν οὖν τὴν διφρεῖαν κατέλυσεν ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου πολεμιστήρια κατεσκευάσατο ἄρματα τροχοῖς τε ἵσχυροῖς, ὥς μὴ βαρίως συντρίβηται, ἂξοι τε μακροῖς· ἦττον γὰρ ἀνατρέπεται πάντα τὰ πλατέα· τὸν δὲ δίφρον τοῖς ἡμίόχοις ἐποίησεν ὁστερ πύργον ἵσχυρον ἤξυλον· ὑψὸς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν ἁγκώνων, ὡς δύνανται ἡμιοχείσθαι οἱ ἦπποι ὑπὲρ τῶν δίφρων· τοὺς δ’ ἡμίοχους

1 βάρος xz; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; μέρος yV, Dindorf; omitted by Bornemann, Breitenbach.
2 εἰς τριακόσιοι οὕτωι Schneider, Breitenbach, Hug, Marchant; εἰς τριακόσιους οὕτωι εἰς xz, Dindorf; εἰς τριακόσιους οὕτωι δὲ εἰς y.
also presented to him by his friends; for he accepted such gifts from every one and never refused anything, whether any one offered him a fine weapon or a horse.

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

Ἡσαύ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κάμηλοι πολλαὶ παρά τε τῶν φίλων συνειλεγμέναι καὶ αἱ 1 αἰχμάλωτοι πᾶσαι συνηθροεμέναι.

31. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν οὖτος συνεπεραίνετο.

Βουλόμενος δὲ κατάσκοπον των πέμψαι ἐπὶ Δυνάς καὶ μαθεῖν ὡς τι πράττοι ο Ἀσσύριος, ἐδοξεῖν αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι Ἄραστας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ φυλάττων τὴν καλὴν γυναῖκα. συνε-βεβηκεὶ γὰρ τῷ Ἄραστα τοιάδε᾽ ληφθεὶς ἔρωτι τῆς γυναίκος ἡγαγκάσθη προσενεγκεῖν λόγους αὐτῆς περὶ συνουσίας. 32. ἡ δὲ ἀπέφησε μὲν καὶ ἢν πιστὴ τῷ ἄνδρι καίπερ ἀπόντιν ἐφίλει γὰρ αὐτόν ἵσχυρός· οὐ μέντοι κατηγόρησε τοῦ Ἄράσπου πρὸς τὸν Κύρον, ὁκνοῦσα συμβαλεῖν φίλους ἄνδρας. 33. ἐπεὶ δὲ ο Ἄραστας δοκῶν ὑπηρετήσειν τῷ τυχεῖν ἀ ἐβουλεύον ἡπείλησε τῇ γυναικὶ ότι εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ἐκοῦσα, ἀκουσά ποιήσω ταύτα, ἐκ τούτου ἡ γυνὴ, ὡς ἐδεισε τὴν βίαν, ὀυκέτι κρύπτει, ἄλλα πέμπει τῶν εὐνούχων πρὸς τὸν Κύρον καὶ κελεύει λέξαι πάντα.

34. Ὅ δὲ ὡς ἦκουσεν, ἀναγελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ κρείττον τοῦ ἔρωτος φάσκοντι εἶναι, πέμπει Ἄρταβαζου σὺν τῷ εὐνόχῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτῷ

1 a) Dindorf, Edd.; not in MSS.
the drivers with mail, all except their eyes. 30. On both sides of the wheels, moreover, he attached to the axles steel scythes about two cubits long and beneath the axles other scythes pointing down toward the ground; this was so arranged with the intention of hurling the chariots into the midst of the enemy. And as Cyrus constructed them at that time, such even to this day are the chariots in use in the king’s dominions.

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

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

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

35. Ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος πρὸς τὸν Ἀράσπαν ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτὸν, παρακαταθήκην ὀνομάζων τὴν
γυναίκα, ἀσέβειάν τε αὐτοῦ λέγων ἀδικίαν τε
καὶ ἀκράτειαν, ὡστε τὸν Ἀράσπαν πολλὰ μὲν
dακρύειν ὑπὸ λύπης, καταδύσεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς
αισχύνης, ἀπολογισθέναι δὲ τῷ φόβῳ μὴ τι καὶ
πάθοι ὑπὸ Κύρου.

36. Ὅ οὖν Κύρος καταμαθὼν ταῦτα ἐκάλεσεν
αὐτὸν καὶ μόνος μόνῳ ἔλεξεν, Ὅρω σε, ἔφη, ὁ
Ἀράσπα, φοβοῦμενον τε ἐμὲ καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ
δεινῶς ἔχοντα. παύσαι οὖν τούτων ἐγὼ γὰρ
θεοῦς τε ἄκουόν ἐρωτος ἦττησθαι, ἀνθρώπους τε
οἶδα καὶ μάλα δοκοῦντας φρονίμους εἶναι ὅλα
πεπόνθασιν ὑπ’ ἔρωτος; καὶ αὐτὸς δ’ ἐμαυτοῦ
κατέγνωσεν μὴ ἄν καρτερῆσαι ὡστε συνόν καλοῖς
ἀμελείν αὐτῶν. καὶ σοὶ δὲ τούτων τὸν πράγματος
ἐγὼ αὐτὸς εἴμι· ἐγὼ γὰρ σε συγκαθεῖρξα τούτῳ
tῷ ἀμάχῳ πράγματι.

37. Καὶ ὁ Ἀράσπας ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ
σὺ μὲν, ὁ Κύρε, καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοιος εἰ οἰόσπερ
καὶ τάλλα, πρᾷδος τε καὶ συγχώμων τῶν ἀν-
θρωπίνων ἀμαρτημάτων· ἐμὲ δ’, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
ἀνθρώποι καταδύνουσι τῷ ἀχεί. ὡς γὰρ ὁ θρόος
dιῆλθε τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ ἔφη-
δονται μοι, οἱ δὲ φίλοι προσένετε συμβούλευο-
σιν ἐκποιῶν ἔχειν ἐμαυτόν, μὴ τι καὶ πάθω ὑπὸ
σοῦ, ὡς ἡδικηκότος ἐμοῦ μεγάλα.

38. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, ᾽Εὐ τοίνυν ἵσθι, ὁ

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

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

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

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

38. "Let me tell you then, Araspas," said Cyrus,
'Αράσπα, ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ δόξῃ οἶδας, εἰς καὶ τι ἐγὼ σοι ἐν καιρῷ ὄν γενομένην [ἀλ χρῆσιμος].

39. Εἰ τοίνυν, ἐφη, προστοιχίσαμενος ἐμὲ φεύγειν ἐθέλοις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔλθειν, οἴμαι ἂν σε πιστευθήναι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

'Εγωγε ναὶ μὰ Δὲ, ἐφη ὁ 'Αράσπας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων οἶδα ὃτι ὅσε σε πεφευγὼς λόγον ἂν παρέχομι.

40. Ἔλθοις ἂν τοίνυν, ἐφη, ἥμιν πάντα εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, οἴμαι δὲ καὶ λόγου καὶ βουλευμάτων κοινών ᾧ σε ποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ πιστεύειν, ὡστε μηδὲ ἐν σε λειληθέναι ἢν βουλόμεθα εἰδέναι.

Ὡς πορευομένου, ἐφη, ἕδη νυνί· καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ ἰσως ἐν τῶν πιστῶν ἐσται τὸ δοκεῖν με ὑπὸ σοῦ μελλήσαντά τι παθεῖν ἐκπεφευγέναι.

41. Ἡ καὶ δυνησεί ἀπολυπεῖν, ἐφη, τὴν καλὴν Πάνθειαν;

Δύο γὰρ, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρη, σαφῶς ἐχω ψυχάς· νῦν τούτῳ πεφιλοσοφήκα μετὰ τοῦ ἀδίκου σοφιστοῦ τοῦ Ἑρωτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μία γε οὖσα ἀμα ἀγαθή τε ἐστι καὶ κακή, οὐδὲ ἀμα καλῶν τε καὶ ἀισχρῶν ἔργων ἐρὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἀμα βούλεται τε καὶ οὐ βούλεται πράπτειν, ἄλλα δὴν ὤτι δύο ἐστον ψυχά, καὶ ὃταν μὲν ἡ ἀγαθή κρατή, τὰ καλὰ

1 ἀλ χρῆσιμος MSS. ; omitted by Weiske, Edd.
2 ταῦτα Stephanus, Edd. ; ταῦτα MSS.
“that by reason of this very report which people have heard in regard to you, you are in a position to do me a very great favour and to be of great assistance to our allies.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

42. Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ σοι δοκεῖ πορεύεσθαι, ἔφη
ὁ Κύρος, ὥς χρῆ ποιεῖν, ἵνα κακεῖνοις πιστότερος
ἡς ἐξάγγελλε τε αὐτοῖς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν, οὕτω τε
ἐξάγγελλε ὡς ἄν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ σοῦ λεγόμενα
ἐμποδῶν μᾶλιστ’ ἂν εἴη ὃν βούλονται πράττειν.
εἴη δ’ ἂν ἐμποδῶν, εἰ ἡμᾶς φαίης παρασκευάζεσθαι
ἐμβαλεῖν ποιὲ ἡς ἐκεῖνοις χώρας· ταύτα γὰρ
ἀκούοντες ἤττον ἂν παυτὶ σθένει ἀθροίζοντο,
ἐκαστὸς τις φοβούμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκὸ.
43. καὶ μένε, ἔφη, παρ’ ἐκεῖνοις ὅτι πλεῖστον
χρόνον ἂν γὰρ ἂν ποιῶσιν ὅταν ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν
ὡς, ταύτα μᾶλιστα καιρὸς ἡμῖν εἶδέναι ἔσται.
ἐνμεθύσετε δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκπεπτείσθαι ὅτι ἂν
δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι: ὅταν γὰρ σὺ ἀπελθῇς
εἰδέναι δοκῶν τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον οὕτω
tετάχθαι αὐτοῖς· μετατάττεσθαι γὰρ ἐκνήσουσι,
καὶ ὅν πῃ ἄλλῃ μετατάττωνται ἔξ ὑπογύνῳ,
ταράξουνται.

44. Ἀράσπας μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔξελθὼν καὶ συλ-
λαβὼν τοὺς πιστοτάτους θεράποντας καὶ εἰπὼν
πρὸς τινας ἢ φέτοι συμφέρειν τῷ πράγματι ὄχετο.
45. Ἡ δὲ Πάνθεια ὡς ἔσθετο οἰχόμενον τὸν
Ἀράσπαν, πέμψασα πρὸς τὸν Κύρον εἰπὲ, Μὴ

1 ποι. Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ποι. MSS., Dindorf,
Breitenbach.
one gains the ascendancy, what is wrong is attempted. And now, since she has taken you to be her ally, it is the good soul that has gained the mastery, and that completely."

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

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

45. When Panthea learned that Araspas had gone away, she sent word to Cyrus, saying: "Do not be
λυτοῦ, οὖν Κύρη, ὅτι Ἀράσπας οὐχεταί εἰς τοὺς πολέμιους. ἦν γὰρ ἐμὲ ἑάσης πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα, ἐγὼ σοι ἀναδέχομαι ἦξειν ποιῦ Ἀράσπου πιστότερον φίλον καὶ δύναμιν δὲ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ὁπόσην αὐτὸν δύνηται ἔχων παρέσται σοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος φίλος ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ δὲ νῦν βασιλεύων καὶ ἑπεχείρησε ποτὲ ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα διασπάσαι ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων ὑβριστὴν οὐν νομίζων αὐτὸν εὐ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ἂσμενος ἃν πρὸς ἄνδρα οἷος σὺ εἰ ἀπαλλαγεῖ. 46. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἔκελευεν πέμπτεν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἥ δ᾽ ἐπεμψεν. ὡς δ᾽ ἔγνω ὁ Ἀβραδάτας τὰ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς σύμβολα, καὶ τἀλλα δὲ ἰσθέτο ὡς εἶχεν, ἂσμενος πορεύεται πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ἵππους ἐχθῷ ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους. ὡς δ᾽ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Περσῶν σκοτοῦς, πέμπτε πρὸς τὸν Κύρον εἰπὼν δς ἦν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος εὐθὺς ἠγείρε κηλεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα. 47. ὡς δ᾽ εἰδέτην ἄλληλους ἥ γυνη καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας, ἰσπάζοντο ἄλληλους ὡς εἰκὸς ἐκ δυσελπίστων. ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ λέγει Η Πανθεία τοῦ Κύρου τὴν ὀσιότητα καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνη καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν κατοίκτισιν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀκούσας εἶπε, Τί ἄν οὖν ἔγω ποιῶν, ὁ Πανθεία, χάριν Κύρῳ ὑπέρ τε σοῦ καὶ ἐμαυτῷ ἀποδοίην;

Τί δὲ ἄλλο, ἔφη ἡ Πανθεία, ἡ πειρόμενος ὁμοίως εἶναι περὶ ἑκείνου οἰόσπερ ἑκείνος περὶ σὲ;

48. Ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὁ Ἀβραδάτας καὶ ὁς εἶδεν αὐτὸν, λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιάς εἶπεν, Ἀνθ᾽ ὃν σὺ εὐ πεποίηκας ἡμᾶς, ὁ Κύρη, οὐκ ἔχω τί μεῖζον εἶπὼ ὡ ὅτι φίλον σοι

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distressed, Cyrus, that Araspas has gone over to the enemy; for if you will allow me to send to my husband, I can guarantee you that a much more faithful friend will come to you than Araspas was. And what is more, I know that he will come to you with as many troops as he can bring. For while the father of the present king was his friend, this present king once even attempted to separate me from my husband. Inasmuch, therefore, as he considers the king an insolent scoundrel, I am sure that he would be glad to transfer his allegiance to such a man as you."

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

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

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

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

48. Later Abradatas went to Cyrus. When he saw him he took his right hand in his and said: "In return for the kindnesses you have done us, Cyrus, I do not know what more to say than that I offer
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εμαυτόν δίδωμι καὶ θεράποντα καὶ σύμμαχον καὶ ὃσα ἂν ὀρῷ σε σπουδάζοντα, συνεργῶς πειράσομαι ὧγνεσθαι ὡς ἂν δύναμαι κράτιστος.

49. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἔγὼ δὲ δέχομαι καὶ νῦν μὲν σε ἄφιμη, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν αὕτης δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἐμοὶ δεήσει σε σκηνοῦν σὺν τοῖς σοῖς τε καὶ ἐμοῖς φίλοις.

50. Ἐκ τοῦτον ὅρῳν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας σπουδάζοντα τὸν Κύρον περὶ τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα καὶ περὶ τοὺς τεθωρακισμένους ὑποποιοὺς τε καὶ ἵππεας, ἐπειρᾶτο συντελεῖν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ ἐκατόν ἄρματα ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ὄμοια ἐκεῖνοις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἡγησόμενος αὐτῶν ἔπι τοῦ ἄρματος παρεσκευάζετο. 51. συνεζεύξατο δὲ τὸ ἑαυτὸν ἄρμα τετράρρυμὸν τε καὶ ὑποποιοὶ ὀκτὼ. [ἡ δὲ Πάνθεια ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς χρημάτων χρυσοῦν τε αὐτῷ θώρακα ἐποιήσατο καὶ χρυσοῦν κράνος, ὡς τῶν δὲ καὶ περιβραχιόνια.] 2 τοὺς δὲ ὑποποιοὺς τοῦ ἄρματος χαλκοῖς πᾶσι προβλήματι κατεσκευάζατο.

52. Ἀβραδάτας μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττε. Κύρος δὲ ἴδων τὸ τετράρρυμον αὐτοῦ ἄρμα κατενόησεν ὅτι ὅλον τε εἰς καὶ ὀκτάρρυμον ποιήσατο, ὡστε ὀκτὼ ξεύγεσι βοῶν ἀγείν τῶν μυχανῶν τὸ κατωτάτῳ 3 οἴκημα· ἢ δὲ τούτῳ τριώρυγον 4

1 ἐκεῖνοις Hug, Gemoll; ἐκεῖνον MSS., most Edd. (for τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι).
2 ἢ δὲ . . . περιβραχιόνια MSS., omitted by Bornemann and Edd., as an obvious interpolation from VI. iv. 2.
3 κατωτάτω Buttmann, Edd.; κατωτάτων MSS.; omitted by Herverden, Marchant.
4 τριώρυγον Dindorf, Edd.; τριώρυγον(-i D)on y(13); τὸ τριώρυγον xAß.

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

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

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

52. Such was the work of Abradatas; and when Cyrus saw his chariot with four poles, he conceived the idea that it was possible to make one even with eight poles, so as to move with eight yoke of oxen the lowest story of his movable towers; including the wheels, this portion was about three fathoms
μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σὺν τοῖς τροχοῖς. 53. τοιοῦτοι δὲ πύργοι σὺν τάξει ἀκολουθοῦντες ἔδοκοιν
αὐτῷ μεγάλη μὲν ἐπικουρία γενέσθαι τῇ έαυτῶν
φάλαγγι, μεγάλη δὲ βλάβῃ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων
tάξει. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων καὶ περι-
dρόμους καὶ ἐπάλξεις· ἀνεβίβαζε δ' ἐπὶ τὸν
πύργον ἐκαστὸν ἄνδρας εἰκοσιοι.

54. Ἔπει δὲ πάντα συνειστήκει αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ
tους πύργους, ἐλάμβανε τὸν ἀγωγίου πεῖραν·
cαὶ πολὺ βάζων ἦγε τὰ ὀκτὼ ξεύγη τῶν πύργων
καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἄνδρας ἡ τὸ σκευοφορικὸν
βάρος ἐκαστὸν τὸ ξεύγος. σκευών μὲν γὰρ βάρος
ἀμφί τὰ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι τάλαντα ἦν ξεύγει·
tου δὲ πύργου, ὁσπέρ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς τῶν
ξύλων πάχος ἔχοντος, καὶ εἰκοσιοι ἄνδρῶν καὶ
ὀπλῶν, τούτων: ἐγένετο ἐλαττὸν ἡ πεντεκαίδεκα
τάλαντα ἐκατόστρ ξεύγει τὸ ἀγώγοιν.

55. Ὡς δὲ ἔγως εὔποροις οὕςαν τὴν ἀγωγὴν,
παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἄξων τοὺς πύργους σὺν τῷ
στρατεύματι, νομίζων τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ πλεονεξίαν
ἀμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ δικαίοςύνην εἶναι καὶ
ἐυδαιμονίαν.

II

1. Ἡθον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ χρήματα ἁγοντες καὶ ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ
ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἐπιστέλλει τοιάδε· Ἐγώ, ὁ Κύρη,
ὑδομαί ὅτι μοι ἐπήγγειλας δεν ἔδεον, καὶ βού-
λομαί σοι ξένοι εἰναι καὶ πέμπω σοι χρήματα·

1 τοῦτον Hutchison, Edd.; harum turrium Philelphus;
toûtois MSS.

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

54. Now when all the appurtenances of his towers were put together, he made an experiment of their draught; and the eight yoke of oxen drew the tower with the men upon it more easily than each individual yoke could draw its usual load of baggage; for the load of baggage was about twenty-five talents\(^1\) to the yoke; whereas the weight of the tower, on which the timbers were as thick as those of the tragic stage, together with the twenty men and their arms amounted to less than fifteen talents to each yoke of oxen.

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

II

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

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\(^1\) That is, about 1400 pounds; the Attic talent is equivalent to 55\(^\frac{1}{2}\) pounds avoirdupois.
καὶ ἄλλων δὲ, μεταμέμπτω. ἐπέσταλται δὲ τοῖς παρ᾿ ἐμοῦ ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἀν σὺ κελεύῃς.

2. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Κελεύω τούς ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μένοντας ἐνθα κατεσκηνώ· κατε φυλάττειν τὰ χρήματα καὶ ξῆν ὅπως ὑμῖν ἤδιστον· τρεῖς δὲ μοι ἐλθόντες ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ περὶ συμμαχίας, καὶ τάκει· μαθόντες ὃ τι ἀν λέγωσί τε καὶ ποιῶσιν, ὡς τάχιστα ἀπαγγείλατε ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ· κἀ̂ν ταῦτά μοι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσῃτε, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν χάριν εἰσομαι τούτου ἢ ὅτι χρήματα πάρεστε ἄγοντες. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν δούλοις ἐοικότες κατάσκοποι οὐδὲν ἄλλο δύνανται εἰδότες ἀπαγγέλλειν ἢ ὅσα πάντες ἱσοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ οἰότεροι ὑμῖς ἀνδρεῖς πολλάκις καὶ τὰ βουλευόμενα καταμανθάνουσιν.

3. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἰνδοὶ ἦδεος ἀκούσαντες καὶ ἔνισθέντες τότε παρὰ Κύρῳ, συσκευασάμενοι τῇ ύστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποσχόμενοι ἡ μὴν μαθόντες ὅσα ἀν δύνανται πλείστα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχουσιν ὡς δυνατὸν τάχιστα.

4. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὰ τε ἄλλα εἰς τὸν πολέμον παρεσκευάζετο μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ὡς δὴ ἀνήρ οὐδὲν μικρὸν ἐπινοῶν πράττειν, ἐπεμέλετο δὲ οὐ μόνον ὅν ἐδοξεῖ τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἄλλα καὶ ἐριν ἐνεβάλλει τίτοις ἀλλήλους τοῖς φίλοις ὅπως αὐτοὶ ἐκαστοὶ φανεύνται καὶ εὐσπλήττωσιν καὶ ἱππικότατοι καὶ ἀκουστικότατοι καὶ τοξικότατοι καὶ φιλοποιό-
am sending you the money, and if you need more, send for it. Moreover, my representatives have been instructed to do whatever you ask."

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

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

4. The rest of his preparations for war Cyrus now continued on a magnificent scale, for he was planning no mean enterprise; and he provided not only for that which his allies had agreed upon but he also inspired his friends to rivalry among themselves, in order that each complement might strive to show its men the best armed soldiers, the most skilled horsemen, the best marksmen with spear or bow, and the
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tatōi. 5. taúta dé éxeiργαζετο épí tás òhraς εξάγων kai týmōn tōn kraxíston ekαstā; kai
tōn áρχontas dé oūs éofra επιμελομένους tōn tōn ópωs oì aútōn 1 kράτιστοι ἔσονται στρατιῶταί,
kai tōntōn ἐπαινῶν tē paroμίνω καὶ χαριζόμενος
aútōis o tì dúyaito. 6. eì dé pote thesouν ποιοῦ
toi eōrthn áγων, kai ēn taútē òsa polēmōn énēka
mēlētōs tōn árbrwpoi tān tōn tōntōn ánghnās
épōie kai áblla tōs nukōs megaloprepōs édīdou,
kai ἡν πολλὴ eúthmía ēn tō σтратεύματi.

7. Tō dé Kūro σχεδόν tì hē δποτετελεσμένα
hē òsa ébouλετo ἔχων στρατεύεσθαι πλήν tōn
mēxanōn. kai γαρ oì Pérsai ἰππεῖς ekπλεο ἡδη
hēsan eis tōn mυρίων, kai tā ármata tā dρε-
Pανηφόρα, á te aútōs kataσκευάζειν, ekπλεο ἡδη
hēn eis tā ekatōn, á te Ἀβραάτας ὁ Σουήσios
ἐπεχειρησε κατασκευάζειν ὄμοια tōis Kúrou, kai
tauta ekπλεο hēn eis ēllal ekatōn. 8. kai tā
Μηδικā dé ármata ἑπετείκει Kūros Kναξάρηn eis
tōn aútōn tρόπον tōnto metaskeuάσαι ēk tῆς
Tρωκῆς kai Διβυκῆς διδρέοΥς, kai ekπλεο kai
tauta ἡν eis ēllal ekatōn. kai ἐπὶ tās kαμήλων
dē tεταγμένοι ἦσαν ándres dúdo ἐφ' ēkαστήν tούται,
καὶ ὁ μὲν πλεῖστος στρατὸς οὕτως εἶχε τὴν
γνώμην ὡς ἡδη παντελῶς κεκρατηκὼς καὶ οὐδὲν
dēn tā tōn polēmōn.

9. Ἐπεί δὲ οὕτω διακειμένων ἴδθον oι Ἰνδοὶ έκ
tōn polēmōn oûs ἑπετομφεὶ Kūros ἐπὶ κατασκο-
pῆν, kai ἐλεγον ὅτι Kρούσος μὲν ἄρσεων καὶ

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

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

9. While they were in this state of mind, the Indians that Cyrus had sent as spies to the enemy's camp returned with the report that Croesus had
στρατηγὸς πάντων ἢρημένος εἰς τῶν πολεμίων, δεδογμένον δὲ εἰς πᾶσι τοῖς συμμάχοις βασιλεύσι πάση τῇ δυνάμει ἐκαστον παρεῖναι, χρήματα δὲ εἰσφέρειν πάμπολλα, ταύτα δὲ τελεῖν καὶ μισθομένους οὐδὲ δύναντο καὶ δωρουμένους οὐδὲ δέοι, 10. ἦδη δὲ καὶ μεμισθωμένους εἶναι πολλοὺς μὲν Ἐρακίων μαχαιροφόρους, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ προσπήλειν, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἔλεγον ἐς δώδεκα μυριάδας σὺν ἀσπίσι ποδήρεσι καὶ δόραι μεγάλους, οἰάπερ καὶ νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ κοπίς: προσέτι δὲ καὶ Κυπρίων στράτευμα: παρεῖναι δὲ ἦδη Κίλλικας πάντας καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Δυκάονας καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ Καππαδόκας καὶ Ἀραβίους καὶ Φοίνικας καὶ σὺν τῷ Βαβυλώνιος ἄρχοντι τούς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἰώνας δὲ καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ σχεδοῦν πάντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἑποικοῦσας σὺν Κροίσῳ Ἰχαγκάσθαι ἑπεσθαι, πεπομφέναι δὲ Κροῖσον καὶ εἰς Δακεδαίμονα περὶ συμμαχίας: 11. συλλέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀμβρότα τὸν Πακτολοῦν ποταμὸν, προϊέναι δὲ μέλλειν αὐτοὺς εἰς Θόμβραρα, ἐνθα καὶ νῦν ὁ σύλλογος τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέα βαρβάρων τῶν κάτω [Συρίας], καὶ ἀγορὰν πᾶσι παρηγγέλθαι ἑνταῦθα κομίζειν.

Σχεδὸν δὲ τούτοις ταύτα ἔλεγον καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐπεμέλετο γὰρ καὶ τούτον ὁ Κύρος ὁπώς ἱλίσκοιτο παρ' ὅν ἔμελλε πεύσεσθαι τῷ ἐπεμπε δὲ καὶ δούλους ἐοικότας κατασκόπους ὡς αὐτομόλους.

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

The prisoners also told practically the same story as the Indian spies; for this was another thing that Cyrus always looked out for—that prisoners should be taken, from whom he was likely to gain some intelligence. And he used also to send out spies disguised as slaves to pretend that they were deserters from him.
12. Ὄς οὖν ταῦτα ἦκουσεν ὁ στρατὸς τοῦ Κύρου, ἐν φροντίδι τε ἐγένετο, ὡσπερ εἰκός, ἰσοφαίτεροι τε ἢ ὡς εἰώθεσαν διεφοίτων, [φαιδροὶ τε οὗ πάνυ ἐφαίνοντο,] ἐκυκλούντο τε καὶ μεστὰ ἢν πάντα ἀλλήλους ἐρωτῶντων περὶ τούτων καὶ διαλεγομένων.

13. Ὄς δὲ ἦσθετο ὁ Κύρος φόβον διαθέοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, συγκαλεῖ τοὺς τε ἀρχοντας τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ ψάντας ὁπόσων ἀθυμοῦντων ἔδοκεν βλάβη τις γύρωσθαι καὶ προθυμομένων ὑφέλεια. προείπε δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταισι, καὶ ἄλλος εἰ τις βούλοιτο τῶν ὀπλοφόρων προσίστασθαι ἀκουσάμενος τῶν λόγων, μὴ κωλύον. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

14. Ἀνδρες σύμμαχοι, ἐγὼ τοῖς ὑμᾶς συνεκάλεσα ἵδιῶν τινας ὑμῶν, ἐπεὶ αἱ ἀγγελίαι ἔθην ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, πάνυ ἐοικότας πεφοβημένους ἀνθρώποις. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι θαυμαστὸν εἶναι εἰ τις ὑμῶν ὅτι μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι συλλέγονται δέδοικεν, ὅτι δὲ ἠμεῖς πολὺ πλείους συνειλέγομεθα νῦν ἢ ὅτε ἐνικῶμεν ἐκεῖνος, πολὺ δὲ ἤμεινον σὺν θεοῖς παρεσκευάσμεθα νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν, ταῦτα δὲ ὅρωντες οὐθερρέετε.

15. Ὡς πρὸς θεῶν, ἐφή, τί δήτα ἄν ἐποιήσατε οἱ νῦν δεδοκότες, εἰ ἠγγελλών τινας τὰ παρ᾽ ἦμῶν νῦν ὅταν ταῦτα ἀντίπαλα ἦμῖν προσίστατα, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἢκουέτε, ἐφή, ὅτι οἱ πρότερον νικήσαντες ἦμᾶς οὕτω πάλιν ἐρχονται ἐχοντες ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἤν τότε νίκην ἐκτίσαντο· ἐπείτα δὲ οἱ

1 φαιδροὶ... ἐφαίνετο MSS., Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Hartmann.
2 προσίστασθαι Stephanus, Edd.; προσίστασθαι MSS.

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

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

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

15. "What in the name of heaven, pray, would you who are now afraid have done, if the situation were reversed and some one told you that these forces that we have now were coming against us? And what, if you heard, in the first place, that those who had defeated us before were coming again, their hearts full of the victory they then gained; and, in
τότε ἐκκούφαντες τῶν τοξότων καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν ἦς ἀκροβολίσεις νῦν οὕτωι ἔρχονται καὶ ἄλλοι ὡμὶ οἱ τούτοις πολλαπλάσιοι. 16. ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς ερ οὕτωι ὀπλισάμενοι τοὺς πεζοὺς τὸτ ἐνίκων, ὡν οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς αὐτῶν παρεσκευασμένοι π ος τοὺς ἰππέας προσέρχονται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τόξα ἀλ  ἀκόντια ἀποδεδοκιμάκασι, παλτὸν δὲ ἐν ἰσχυ ὡν ἐκαστος λαβὼν προσέλαινεν διανευόταται ὡς ἦ χειρὸς τὴν μάχην ποιησόμενος. 17. ἔτι δὲ ἀρμα σExiting text was cut off. Please provide the full text for the page to complete the translation.
the second place, that those who before made short work of the skirmishing lines of bowmen and spearmen were now coming and others like them many times their number; 16. and, in the third place, that, equipped in the same armour in which they were armed when their infantry defeated our infantry, they have cavalry now coming to meet our cavalry; that they have rejected the bow and the javelin, and that each man has adopted one heavy lance and is resolved to ride up and fight hand to hand? 17. And again, what would you have done, if you heard that chariots are coming which are not, as before, to stand still facing back as if for flight, but that the horses harnessed to the chariots are covered with mail, while the drivers stand in wooden towers and the parts of their body not defended by the towers are completely panoplied in breast-plates and helmets; and that scythes of steel have been fitted to the axles, and that it is the intention to drive these also into the ranks of the enemy? 18. Or again, if you heard that they have camels on which they will ride up to us, and a hundred horses could not endure the sight of any one of them? And again, that they are coming with towers, from which they will protect their comrades and by throwing missiles hinder us from fighting in a fair field? 19. If any one reported to you that this was the condition of things among the enemy, what would you, who are now so frightened, have done, seeing that you were terrified when the report came that Croesus had been elected commander-in-chief of the enemy—Croesus, who was a worse coward than the Syrians; for the Syrians fled because they were defeated in the battle, whereas Croesus, instead of standing by his allies, beat a hasty retreat when he saw that they
συμμάχους φεύγων ὣχετο· 20. ἔπειτα δὲ διαγγέλλεται δὴπον ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ πολέμιος οὐχ ἴκανοι ἥγούνται ὅμως εἶναι μάχεσθαι, ἀλλος δὲ μυσθοῦνται, ὡς ἀμείνοι μαχουμένους ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἢ αὐτοῖς. εἰ μέντοι τισὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαύτα ὑπά τεινά δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα φαύλα, τούτοις ἑγὼ φημὶ χρῆναι, ὁ ἄνδρες, ὑφεῖναι εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους· πολὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ὄντες πλείω ἄν ἡμᾶς ἢ παρόντες ὦφελοίεν.

21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Κύρος, ἀνέστη Χρυσάντας ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἔλεξεν δῶδε· Ὁ Κύρε, μὴ βαῦμαξε εἰ τινὲς ἑσκυθρώπασαν ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἀγγελλομένων· οὐ γὰρ φοβηθέντες οὕτω διετέθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἀχθεσθέντες· ὥσπερ γε, ἐφή, εἰ τινών βουλομένων τε καὶ οἰομένων ἡδὴ ἀριστήσειν ἐξάγγειλθείη τι ἐργὸν ὁ ἀνάγκη εὖ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐξεργάσασθαι, οὔδεις ἂν οἶμαι ἡσθείη ἀκούσας· οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡδῆ οἰόμενοι πλουτήσειν, ἐπεὶ ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι ἐστὶ περὶλοιπον ἐργὸν ὁ δὲ ἐξεργάσασθαι, συνεσκυθρωπᾶσαμεν, οὐ φοβοῦμενοι, ἀλλὰ πεποιηθῆσθαι ἂν ἡδὴ καὶ τούτο βουλόμενοι.

22. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ οὐ περὶ Συρίας μόνον ἀγωνιούμεθα, ὅποιν σύντος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατά ἐστι καὶ φοίνικες οἱ καρποφόροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ Λυδίας, ἐνθα πολὺς μὲν ὁμοιοὶ, πολλὰ δὲ σύκα, πολὺ δὲ ἐλαιον, θάλαττα δὲ προσκλύζει καθ ἣν πλείω ἔρχεται ἡ ὄσα τις ἐώρακεν ἀγαθὰ, ταῦτα,
were defeated? 20. And finally, you see, the report is brought that the enemy do not feel that they are strong enough to fight us by themselves, but are hiring others in the hope that these will fight for them more valiantly than they can for themselves. However, if there are any to whom the situation over there—such as it is—seems formidable, while our own condition seems contemptible, I say, men, that we ought to send them over to the enemy, for they would be much more useful to us over there than in our ranks."

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

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

"Ο μὲν οὖτος εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι πάντες ἥσθησάν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐπήνευσαν.

23. Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ὁ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ μοι ἕναν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς τάχιστα, ἐνα πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς φθάσωμεν ἀφικόμενοι, ἣν δυνώμεθα, δὴν τάπιτήδεια αὐτοῖς συνλέγεται· ἐπειτα δὲ ὅσῳ ἀνθάττων ἰὼμεν, τοσοῦτῳ μὲν τὰ παρόντα εὐρήσομεν αὐτοῖς, πλείω δὲ τὰ ἀπόντα. 24. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ οὖτω λέγω· εἰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλληγη πη γυνώσκει ἡ ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι ὡς ἰδὼν ἡμῖν, δίδασκέτω.

"Επεῖ δὲ συνηγόρευον μὲν πολλοὶ ὡς χρεῶν εἰθα ὁτι τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τούς πολεμίους, ἀντέλεγε δὲ οὐδείς, ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος ἔφεξεν λόγον τοιοῦτοι.

25. Ἀνδρεῖς σύμμαχοι, αἱ μὲν ψυχαὶ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα οἷς δεύσεις χρήσθαι ἐκ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν σὺν θεῷ παρεσκεύασται· νῦν δὲ τάπιτήδεια δεῖ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν συσκευάζεσθαι αὐτοῖς τε ἡμῖν καὶ ὅποιοις τετράποσι χρώμεθα μὴ μεῖον ἡ εἰκοσι τερεμῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ λογιζόμενοι εὐρίσκων πλέον ἡ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν ἐσομένην ὁδὸν, ἐν τῇ οὖντε εὐρήσωμεν τῶν ἑπταρεῖων· ἀνεσκευάσται γὰρ τὰ μὲν ύφʼ ἡμῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ἐδύναντο. 26. συσκευάζεσθαι οὖν χρή σίτου μὲν ἱκανῶν· ἀνευ γὰρ τούτου οὐτε μάχεσθαι οὔτε ζῆν δυνάμεθ' ἀνʼ οἶνον δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐκαστον ἔχειν

1 μάλιστα Dindorf, Edd.; τάχιστα MSS.
2 πλέον Dindorf4, Marchant, Gemoll; πλέον τον F, Dindorf3, Breitenbach; πλέον δὲ DG2.
longer vexed, but our courage rises to the highest point, with desire to come all the more quickly into the enjoyment of these good things in Lydia also."

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

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

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

25. "Friends and allies, our souls and bodies and the arms that we shall have to use have, with God's help, long since been made ready. And now for the march we must get together for ourselves and for the animals that we use provisions for not less than twenty days; for in reckoning it up, I find that there will be more than fifteen days' journey in which we shall find no provisions at all; for everything there has been made away with: the enemy took all that they could, and we have taken the rest. 26. Accordingly, we must put up and carry with us food enough; for without this we should be unable either to fight or to live. As for wine, each one ought to take along only enough to last till
χρῆ ὅσος ἰκανὸς ἐσται ἔθισαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ύδροποτεῖν· πολλὴ γὰρ ἐσται τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀοινος, εἰς ἣν οὐδὲ ἀν πάνω πολύν ὄλον συσκευασόμεθα, διαρκέσει. 27. ὡς οὖν μὴ ἔξαπλήνῃς ἀοινοι γενόμενοι νοσήμασι περιπτωμεν, ὅδε χρῆ ποιεῖν· ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ σίτῳ νῦν εὐθὺς ἀρχώμεθα πίνειν ὑδρῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἢδη ποιοῦντες οὐ πολύ μεταβαλοῦμεν. 28. καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἀλφιτοσιτεῖ, ὕδατι μεμαγμένην 1 ἀεὶ τὴν μάζαν ἐσθίει, καὶ ὅστις ἄρτοσιτεῖ, ὑδατι δεδευμένον τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ τὰ ἐφθαὶ δὲ πάντα μεθ’ ὕδατος τοῦ πλείστου ἐσκεύασται. μετὰ δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἀν οἶνον ἐπιπίνωμεν, οὐδὲν μεῖν ἤχουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἀναπαύσεται. 29. ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ μετὰ δειπνον ἀφαίρεῖν χρῆ, ἐως ἀν λάθωμεν ύδροποταί γενόμενοι. ἡ γὰρ κατὰ μικρὸν παράλλαξις πᾶσαν ποιεῖν φύσιν ὑποφέρειν τὰς μεταβολὰς· διδάσκει δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς, ἀπάγων ἡμᾶς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι ἰσχυρὰ θάλπη ἐκ τοῦ ἀλποὺς εἰς τὸν ἰσχυρὸν χειμῶνα· ὅν χρῆ μεμονεύνους εἰς ὁ δὲι ἐλθεῖν προειθεισμένους ἡμᾶς ἀφικνεῖσθαι.

30. Καὶ τὸ τῶν στρωμάτων δὲ βάρος εἰς ταπηθεῖσα καταδαπανάτε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια περιτεύοντα οὐκ ἀχρηστα ἐσται· στρωμάτων δὲ ἐνδειηθέντες μὴ δεήσητε ὡς οὐχ ἢδεικνας καθευδήσετε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐμὲ αἰτίασθε. ἐσθής μέντοι ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀθροιστέρα παρούσα, πολλὰ καὶ ὑμιᾶνοντι καὶ κάμῳντι ἐπικουρεῖ.

1 μεμαγμένην Hemsterhuys, Dindorf, Marchant, Gemoll; μεμιγμένην MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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

30. "For your heavy blankets you may substitute an equal weight of provisions; for excess of provisions will not be useless. And do not be afraid that you will not sleep soundly for want of your blankets; if you do not, I will take the blame. However, if any one has a generous supply of clothing with him, that will be of good service to him whether he be well or ill."
31. "Όψα δὲ χρή συνεσκευάσθαι ὅσα ἐστιν ὅξεα καὶ δρυμέα καὶ ἄλμυρά· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ σίτων τε ἄγει καὶ ἐπὶ πλέιστων ἄρκει. ὅταν δὲ ἐκβαίνωμεν εἰς ἀκέραια, ὅπου ἤδη εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς σίτου λαμβάνειν, χειρομύλας χρή αὐτόθεν παρασκευάσασθαι αἰς σιτοποιησόμεθα· τοῦτο γὰρ κοινότατον τῶν σιτοποιικῶν ὀργάνων.

32. Συνεσκευάσθαι δὲ χρή καὶ ὃν ἀσθενοῦντες δέονται ἀνθρώποι. τούτων γὰρ ὁ μὲν ὁγκὸς μικρότατος, ἢν δὲ τύχη τοιαύτη γένηται, μάλιστα δέχεσαι.

"Εχειν δὲ χρή καὶ ἰμάντας· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἵπποις ἰμάσων ἠρτηται· ὅπως κατα- τριβομένων καὶ ῥηγυμένων ἀνάγκη ἄργειν, ἢ ὁμήρις ἐπικρίζων.

"Οστις δὲ πεπαίδευται καὶ παλτὸν ξύσασθαι, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ξυνήλης μὴ ἐπίλαθεσθαι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ δρῖνην φέρεσθαι. 33. ὁ γὰρ λόγχην ἀκονοῦν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τι παρακολούθει. ἐπεστὶ γὰρ τοῖς αἰσχικοῖς λόγχην ἀκονόμακα κακῶν εἶναι.

"Εχειν δὲ χρή καὶ ξύλα περίπλεω 1 καὶ ἄρμασι καὶ ἀμάξαι· εὖ γὰρ πολλαῖς πράξεσι πολλὰ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ ἀπαγορεύοντα εἶναι. ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαίοτα ὁργανὰ ἐπὶ ταῦτα πάντα. 34. οὐ γὰρ πανταχοῦ χειροτέχνημα παραγίγγυονται· τὸ δὲ ἔφες ἤμεραν ἄρκεσον ὀλοκλήρως οὐ φθάνοι ποτήσαι. ἔχειν δὲ χρή καὶ ἅμην καὶ σμινυτίν καὶ ἂμαξαν ἐκάστην, καὶ κατὰ τὸν νεωτόφορον δὲ ἄξιν καὶ δρέπανον ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ

1 περίπλεω Dindorf, Marchant, Gemoll; περίπλεα MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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

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

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

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

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

35. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς τροφὴν δέοντα οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ὀπλοφόρων ἐξετάζετε τοὺς ὕψω ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ παρέναι ὅτου ἀν·τις τούτων ἐνδείκται· ἡμεῖς γὰρ τούτων ἐνδείκτες ἐσόμεθα. ἂ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ὑποξύγια κελεύω ἐχεῖν, ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν σκευοφόρων ἄρχοντες ἐξετάζετε, καὶ τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα κατασκευάζεσθαι ἀναγκάζετε.

36. Τρεῖς δ’ αὖ οἱ τῶν ὀδοποιῶν ἄρχοντες ἔχετε μὲν ἀπογεγραμμένους παρ’ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἀποδεδοκιμασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν σφενδονητῶν· τούτων δὲ χρῆ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν πέλεκυν ἔχοντας ἴμικόπον ἀναγκάζειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν σμιρνήν, τοὺς δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν σφενδονητῶν ἁμην· τούτους δὲ ἔχοντας ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν ἄμαξῶν καὶ ἱλασὶ πορεύεσθαι, ὅπως ἦν τι δη. ὀδοποιὰς, εὐθὺς ἐνεργοὶ ἦτε, καὶ ἐνώ ἦν τι δέομαι, ὅπως εἰδὼθεν δεῖ λαβόντα τούτοις χρήσθαι.

37. Ἀξίω δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στρατιωτικῇ ἡλικίᾳ σὺν τοῖς ὀργάνοις χαλκέας τε καὶ τέκτονας καὶ σκυτοτόμους, ὅπως ἂν τι δή καὶ τοιούτων τεχνῶν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, μηδὲν ἐλλείπηται. οὔτοι δὲ ὀπλοφόρου μὲν τάξεως ἀπολελύσονται, ἤ δὲ ἐπίστανται, τῷ βουλόμενῳ μισθοῦ ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἔσονται.

38. Ἡν δὲ τίς καὶ ἔμπορος βούληται ἔπεσθαι πολεῖν τι βουλόμενος, τῶν μὲν προειρημένων

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individually and often serviceable for the common good as well.

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

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

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

38. "And any merchant who wishes to accompany us, seeking a market for his wares, may do so; but if
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ήμερῶν τάπτιθεια ἔχειν ἢν τι πωλῶν ἀλήκηται, πάντων στερήσεται ἐπειδὰν δ' αὐται παρέλθωσιν αἱ ἡμέραι, πωλήσει ὅτις ἀν βούληται. ὡστε δ' ἂν τῶν ἐμπόρων πλείστην ἀγορὰν παρέχων φαίνεται, οὕτος καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δόρων καὶ τιμῆς τεῦξεται. 39. εἰ δὲ τις χρημάτων προσδείσθαι νομίζει εἰς ἐμπολήν, γνωστῆρας ἐμοὶ προσαγαγῶν καὶ ἐγγυητὰς ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι 1 σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, λαμβανεῖτο ὅν ἡμεῖς έχομεν.

'Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτα προαγορεύω· εἰ δὲ τῖς τι καὶ ἄλλο δέον ἐνορᾶ, πρὸς ἐμὲ σημαίνετω.

40. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀπίστευσας συσκευάζεσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ θύσομαι ἐπὶ τῇ ὀρμῇ· ὅταν δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς ἔχῃς, σημανοῦμεν. παρεῖναι δὲ χρή ἀπαντᾷς τὰ προειρημένα ἐχοῦτας εἰς τὴν τεταγμένην χώραν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἑαυτῶν. 41. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος τάξιν εὐτρεπσάμενος πρὸς ἐμὲ πάντες συμβάλλετε, ὅσα τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι χώρας καταμάθητε.

III

1. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταύτα οἱ μὲν συνεσκευάζοντο, ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐθύετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἢν, ὁρμάτο σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ τῇ

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

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

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

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

III

1. When they heard this they began to make ready for the march, and Cyrus proceeded to sacrifice; and when the omens of the sacrifice were favourable, he set out with the army. On the first day he left the
μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἔξεστατο πεδεύσατο ὡς δυνατὸν ἐγγύτατα, ὡς εἰ τις τὶ ἐπιελευσμένος εἶη, μετέλθου, καὶ εἰ τις τὶ ἐνδεόμενος γνοῖη, τούτῳ ἐπιπαρασκευᾶσαι.

2. Κυαξάρης μὲν οὖν τῶν Μήδων ἔχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος κατέμενεν, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ οἰκοτ ἔρημα εἶῃ. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐπορεύετο ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, τοὺς ἵππεας μὲν πρῶτους ἔχων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦτων διερευνητὰς καὶ σκοποὺς ἀεὶ ἀναβιβάζων ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσθεν εὐσκοπώτατα· μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἤγε τὰ σκευοφόρα, ὅπου μὲν πεδίνων εἴη, πολλοὺς ὀρμαθοὺς ποιούμενος τῶν ἀμαξῶν καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων· ὅπισθεν δὲ ἦ γαλαγεὶς ἐφετομένη, εἰ τί τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπολείποντο, οἱ προστυγχάνοντες τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπεμέλοντο ὡς μὴ κωλύοντο πορεύεσθαι. 3. ὃποι δὲ στενοτέρα εἴη ἡ ὁδὸς, διὰ μέσου ποιούμενοι τὰ σκευοφόρα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὀπλοφόροι· καὶ εἰ τί ἐμποδίζοι, οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα γιγνόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ αἱ τάξεις παρ' ἑαυταῖς ἔχουσαι τὰ σκευοφόρα· ἐπετετάκτο γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς σκευοφόροις κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους 1 τάξεων ἱέναι, εἰ μὴ τὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀποκωλύοι. 4. καὶ σημεῖον δὲ ἔχων ὁ τοῦ ταξιάρχου σκευοφόρος ἤγειτο γνωστῶν τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τάξεως· ὅστ' ἀθρόοι ἐπορεύοντο, ἐπεμέλοντό τε ἱσχυρῶς ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὡς μὴ ὑπολείποντο· καὶ οὕτω ποιούντων οὔτε ξητεῖν ἔδει ἄλληλους ἃμα τε παρόντα ἀπαντα καὶ σαύ-

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

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

5. Ὡς δὲ οἱ προϊόντες σκοποὶ ἔδοξαν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὅρᾶν ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνοντας καὶ χιλὼν καὶ ξύλα, καὶ ὑποζύγια δὲ ἔωρων ἔτερα τοιαύτα ἀγοῦτα, τὰ δὲ καὶ νεμόμενα, καὶ τὰ πρόσω αὐτοῖς ἄφορώντες ἐδόκοιν καταμανθάνειν μετεωριζόμενον ἢ καπνὸν ἢ κονιορτὸν, ἐκ τούτων πάντων σχεδὸν ἐγάμωσκον ὅτι εἰπὶ ποι πλησίον τὸ στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων. 6. εὐθὺς οὖν πέμπει τινὰ ὁ σκόπαρχος ἁγγελοῦντα ταῦτα τῷ Κύρῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκέλευσε μένοντας ἐπὶ ταῦτας ταῖς σκοπαῖς ὅ τι ἄν αἰὲ καὶνὸν ὄρῳσιν ἕξαγγέλλειν τάξιν ὃ ἔπεμψεν ἵππεών εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ἐκέλευσε πειραθῆναι συλλαβέων τινὰς τῶν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως σαφέστερον μάθοιεν τὸ ὅν. οἱ μὲν δὲ ταχθέντες τούτῳ ἐπραττοῦ.

7. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἀλλὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατεχόμεν, ὅπως παρασκευάσαντο ὅσα φεῖτο χρήμα πρὶν πάνω ὁμοῦ εἶναι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀριστῶν παρηγγυθησάν, ἔπειτα δὲ μένοντας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι τὸ παραγγελλόμενον προνοεῖν. 8. ἔπει δὲ ἡρίστησαν, συνεκάλεσε καὶ ἵππεών καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τῶν μηχανῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τοὺς ἁρχοντας καὶ τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν καὶ οὕτως μὲν συνήσαν. 9. οἱ δὲ καταδραμόντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον συλλαβοῦντες ἀνθρώπους ἡγαγοῦν. οἱ δὲ ληφθέντες ἀνερωτώμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου ἔλεγον

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

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

7. He himself halted the rest of the army there, so that they might make what preparations he considered necessary before they were in too close quarters. And he gave the word to take luncheon first and then to remain at their posts and be on the watch for orders. 8. So, when they had eaten, he summoned together the commanders of the cavalry, the infantry, and the chariot corps, and also the officers in charge of the engines, of the baggage train, and of the wagons, and they came. 9. And those who made the raid into the plain had captured some people and now brought them in; and the prisoners, when cross-questioned by Cyrus, said that
ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐλευ, προεληλυθότες ἐπὶ χιλῶν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ξύλα, παρελθόντες τὰς προφυλα-κάς· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ σπάνια πάντ' εἶναι. 10. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ταῦτα ἄκοινας, Πόσον δε, ἐφη, ἀπεστίν ἐνθέντε τὸ στράτευμα;
Οἱ δ' ἠλευγον, Ός δύο παρασάγγας.
'Επὶ τούτων ἦρετο ὁ Κύρος, 'Ημῶν δ', ἐφη, λόγος τις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς;
Ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἔφασαν, καὶ πολύς γε ὡς ἐγγὺς ἦδη εἴητε1 προσίστοντες.
Τί οὖν; ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ἢ καὶ ἔχαιρον ἄκοινον τοῖς ἱόνταις; τοῦτο δὲ ἐπήρετο τῶν παρόντων ἐνεκα.
Οὗ μὰ Δῆ, εἶτων ἐκεῖνοι, οὐ μὲν δὴ ἔχαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλα ἤμιστο.
11. Νῦν δ', ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, τὶ ποιοῦσιν;
'Εκτὰττονται, ἔφασαν· καὶ ἔχθες δὲ καὶ τρίτην ἥμεραν ταῦτὶ τούτ' ἐπραττον.
'Ο δὲ τάττων, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, τίς ἐστὶν;
Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, Αὐτός τε Κροϊσος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἐλλην τις ἀνήρ, καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τις Μηδος· οὗτος μὲν τοι ἐλέγετο φυγας εἰναι παρ' ὑμῶν.
Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, 'Αλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε, λαβεῖν μοι γένοιτο αὐτῶν ὡς ἐγώ βούλομαι.
12. 'Εκ τούτων τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευσαν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς παρόντας ὡς λέξιον τι ἀνήγετο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρῆν ἄλλος αὐτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοπάρχου, λέγων ὅτι ἱππέων τὰς μεγάλα ἑν τῷ πεδίῳ προφαίνοντο· καὶ ἥμεις μὲν, ἐφη, εἰκά-

1 eἰητε Dindorf3, Hug, Breitenbach; eἰητε Dindorf4, Marchant, Gemoll; ητε MSS.
they were from the camp and had come out after
fodder, passing out beyond their advanced guards,
while others had gone after fuel; for by reason of
the vast numbers of their army, everything was scarce.
10. On hearing this, Cyrus asked: "How far from
here is your army?"
"About two parasangs," they replied.
"Was there any talk about us over there?" Cyrus
then asked.
"Yes, by Zeus," they answered, "a great deal,
and to the effect that you were already close upon us
in your advance."
"Tell me, then," said Cyrus, "were they glad
when they heard we were coming?" This question
he asked for the benefit of the bystanders.
"No, by Zeus," they answered; "they were not
glad in the least, but were rather very much troubled."
11. "And what are they doing now?" asked
Cyrus.
"They are being marshalled in battle array," they
answered; "and yesterday and the day before they
were doing the same."
"And the marshal," said Cyrus, "who is he?"
"Croesus himself," they replied, "and with him a
Greek and some one else—a Mede; the latter,
however, was said to be a deserter from your side."
"Grant, O Zeus almighty," said Cyrus, "that it be
mine to get hold of him, as I desire!"
12. Then he ordered the prisoners to be led away,
and turned to the bystanders as if to say something.
But at that moment another messenger came from
the captain of the scouts with word that a large body
of cavalry was within sight on the plain. "And we
presume," he added, "that they are coming with the
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ξομεν ἐλαύνειν αὐτοὺς βουλομένους ἵδειν τόδε τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ταύτης ἄλλοι ὡς τριάκοντα ἵππεις συχνὸν προελαύνουσιν,1 καὶ μέντοι, ἐφη, κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς, ἵσως βουλομένους λαβεῖν, ἢν δύνανται, τὴν σκοπῆν· ἤμεῖς δὲ ἐσμὲν μία δεκάς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς σκοπῆς.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐκέλευσε τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄει ὄντων ἵππεων ἐλάσαντας ὑπὸ τὴν σκοπῆν ἀδήλους τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀτρεμίαν ἔχειν. Ἔταν δ’, ἐφη, ἡ δεκάς ἡ ἦμετέρα λέητη τὴν σκοπῆν, ἐξαισθάνοντες ἐπίθεσθε τοῖς ἀναβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν σκοπὴν. ὡς δὲ ὕμας μὴ λυπῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης τάξεως, ἀντέξεσθε σὺ, ἐφη, ὁ Ῥωσάπα, τὴν χιλιοστῶν τῶν ἵππεων λαβών καὶ ἐπιφάνηθι ἐναντίος τῇ τῶν πολεμίων τάξει. διώξεις 2 δὲ μηδαμὴ εἰς ἀφανείς, ἀλλ’ ὅπως αἱ σκοπαί σοι διαμένωσιν ἐπιμεληθείς πάριθ. ἢν δ’ ἄρα ἀνατείναντες τινες τὰς δεξιὰς προσελαύνωσιν ὕμιν, δέχεσθε φίλως τοὺς ἄνδρας.

14. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ῥωσάπας ἀπίων ὁπλίζετο· οἱ δ’ ὑπηρέται ἡλαυνόν εὐθὺς ὡς ἐκέλευσεν. ἀπαντὰ δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ δὴ ἐντὸς τῶν σκοπῶν σὺν τοῖς θεράπουσιν ὁ πεμφθεὶς πάλαι κατάσκοπος, ὁ φύλαξ τῆς Σουσίδος γυναικός. 15. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύρος ὡς ἠκουσεν, ἀναπηδήσας ἐκ τῆς ἐδρας ὑπῆντα τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεξιούτο· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὀσπερ εἰκὸς μηδέν εἰδότας 3 ἐκπεπληγμένου ἦσαν

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

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

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

14. Accordingly, Hystaspas went away and donned his armour; the men from Cyrus’s body-guard rode off at once, as he had ordered. And just within the picket line there met them, with his attendants, the man who had been sent some time since as a spy, the guardian of the lady of Susa. 15. So when Cyrus heard this, he sprang up from his seat, went to meet him, and welcomed him cordially; and the rest, knowing nothing of the facts, were naturally
τῷ πράγματι, ἔως Κῦρος εἶπεν, ᾿Ανδρεις φίλοι, ἢκεὶ ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ ἀριστος. νῦν γὰρ ἡδή πάντας ἀνθρώπους δεῖ εἰδέναι τὰ τούτου ἔργα. οὕτος οὖτε αἰσχρὸν ὑπηθεῖς οὐδενὸς φύκτεο οὐτ' ἐμὲ φοβηθεῖς, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πεμφθεῖς ὅπως ἡμῖν μαθῶν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων σαφῶς τὰ ὄντα ἐξαγγείλειεν. 16. ᾿Α μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ σοι ὑπεσχόμην, ὡς ᾿Αράσταρ, μέμνημαι τε καὶ ἀποδόσω σὺν τούτοις πάσιν. δίκαιον δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀπαντας, ὁ ᾿Ανδρες, τούτον τιμᾶν ὡς ἁγαθὸν ᾿Ανδρα. ἔπι γὰρ τῷ ᾿Ημητέρῳ ἁγαθῷ καὶ ἐκνιδούνευσε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπέσχει, ἥ ἐβαρούντο.

17. ᾿Εκ τούτου δὴ πάντες ἦσπαζον τὸν ᾿Αράσταρ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο. εἰπόντος δὲ Κῦρου ὅτι τούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἰ ᾿Αλίς, ᾿Α δὲ καιρὸς ἡμῖν εἰδέναι, ταῦτ’ ἐφη, διηγοῦ, ᾿ως ᾿Αράσταρ καὶ μηδὲν ἐλάττου τοῦ ᾿Αλφόδος μηδὲ μεῖον τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. κριῆτον γὰρ μείζω σοιθέντας μείονα ἰδεῖν ἢ μείον ἀκούσαντας ἵσχυρότερα εὐρύσκειν.

18. Καὶ μὴν, ἐφη ὁ ᾿Αράσταρ, ὡς ᾿Ανδρεῖος στατᾶ γε εἰδεῖν ὅποσον τὸ στράτευμά ἔστιν ἐπιίουν· συνεξεῖς αὐτὸν γὰρ παρὼν αὐτός.1

Σὺ μὲν ἄρα, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος μόνον οἴσθα, ὡς καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.

᾿Εγὼ μὲν ναὶ μὰ Δί, ἐφη ὁ ᾿Αράσταρ, καὶ ὡς διανοοῦνται τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι.

᾿Αλλ’ ὃμως, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῖν πρῶτον εἰπὲ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ.

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

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

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

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

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

"Good," said Cyrus; "still, tell us first, in round numbers, how many of them there are."
19. Ἐκείνου τοῖνυν, ἔφη, πάντες τεταγμένοι ἔπει τριάκοντα τὸ βάθος καὶ πεξοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς πλὴν τῶν Ἀγυπτίων ἔπέχουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα στάδια: πάνυ γάρ μοι, ἔφη, ἐμέλησεν ὡστε εἰδέναι ὅποσον κατεῖχον χωρίον.

20. Οἱ δὲ Ἀγυπτίωι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, πῶς εἰσὶν τεταγμένοι; ὅτι εἰσίς, Πλὴν τῶν Ἀγυπτίων.

Τούτους δὲ οἱ μνημαρχοὶ ἔταττον εἰς ἐκατόν πανταχῶ τὴν μυρίοστὸν ἐκάστην: τούτων γὰρ σφίσι καὶ οἴκου νόμον ἐφασαν εἰναι τῶν τάξεων. καὶ ὁ Κροίσος μέντοι μάλα ἀκῶν συνεχόρησεν αὐτοῖς οὕτω τάπτεσθαι. ἐβούλετο γὰρ ὅτι πλειοστὸν ὑπερφαλαγήσαι τοῦ σοῦ στρατεύματος.

Πρὸς τί δή, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τούτῳ ἐπιθυμῶν;

'Ὡς ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τῷ περιττῷ κυκλοσόμενος. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, 'Ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως ἂν εἰδεῖν εἰ οἱ κυκλούμενοι κυκλοθεῖν. 21. Ἀλλ᾽ ἂ μὲν παρὰ σοῦ καιρὸς μαθεῖν, ἀκηκόαμεν ὡμᾶς δὲ χρῆ, ὃ ἄνδρες, οὕτω ποιεῖν νῦν μὲν ἐπειδὰν ἐνθένδε ἀπέλθητε, ἐπισκέψασθε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ τὰ υμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπλα: πολλάκις γὰρ μικρὸν ἐνδεία καὶ ἄνηρ καὶ ἱππός καὶ ἀρμα ἀχρείου γίγνεται: αὐριων δὲ πρὸ, ἐως ἂν ἐγὼ θύσωμαι, πρῶτον μὲν χρῆ ἀριστήσαι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἱπποὺς, ὅπως ὁ

1 ἔπεχουσιν Leonclav, Edd.; ἐπέχουσιν D; οὕτως δ᾽ ἀμφή- χουσιν xAHV; οὗτος δ᾽ ἐπέχουσιν G; ἔχουσιν F.
2 οὕτως Brodaeus, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; οὕτως MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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19. "Well," he replied, "with the exception of the Egyptians, they are all drawn up thirty deep, both foot and horse, and their front extends about forty stadia; for I took especial pains to find out how much space they covered."  

20. "And how are the Egyptians drawn up?" asked Cyrus; "for you said 'with the exception of the Egyptians.'"

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

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

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

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

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


"Επειτα δὲ σὺ, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρσάμα, . . . 1 τὸ δεξίων κέρας ἔχε ὡσπέρ καὶ ἔχετε, 2 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μυριάρ-χοι ἦπερ νῦν ἔχετε· ὀμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγώνος ὄντος οὐδὲν ἄρματι καιρὸς ἐπιτοὺς μεταξευγνύναι. παραγγείλατε δὲ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις καὶ λοχαγοῖς ἐπὶ φάλαιγγος καθίστασθαι εἰς δύο ἐχοντας ἐκαστον τὸν λόχον. [ο δὲ λόχος ἢν ἐκαστος εἰκοσι τέταρτας.] 3

22. Καὶ τις εἰπε τῶν μυριάρχων, Καὶ δοκοῦμέν σοι, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρος, ἱκανὸς ἔχειν εἰς τοσοῦτοις τεταγμένοι πρὸς οὕτω βαθείαν φάλαιγγα;

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἰπεν, Αἱ δὲ βαθύτεραι φάλαιγγες ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων τί σοι, ἐφη, δοκοῦσιν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτειν ἢ τοὺς συμμάχους ὅφελεῖν; 23. έγὼ μὲν γὰρ, ἐφη, τοὺς εἰς ἑκατὸν τοσοῦτος ὀπλίτας εἰς μυρίους ἀν μᾶλλον βουλοῦμην τετάχθαι οὕτω γὰρ ἀν ἑλαχίστους μαχοίμεθα. ἐξ ὅσων μὲντοι ἐγὼ τὴν φάλαιγγα βαθὺν ὀικόμαι ὅλην ἐνεργὸν καὶ σύμμαχον ποι- σθεὶν αὐτὴν ἐαυτῇ. 24. ἀκοντιστάς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς θωρακοφόροις τάξω, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς τοὺς τοξότας. τούτους γὰρ πρωτοστάτας τί ἂν τίς 4 τάττοι, οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀμολογοῦσι μηδεμίαν μάχην ἂν ὑπομείναι ἐκ χειρὸς; προβεβλημένοι δὲ τοὺς

1 Ἀρσάμα, . . . , Pantazides, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll (the missing words would be something like τὸ ἀριστερὸν, σὺ δὲ, ὁ ἑκατόντα), Ἀράσαπα MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 καὶ ἔχετε Pantazides, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ ἔχεις καὶ Dindorf, Breitenbach; κατέχεις y.
3 ο δὲ . . . τέταρτας MSS., Edd.; seems an obvious gloss.
4 τί ἄν τίς Marchant; τοι ἄν τίς z; πώς ἄν τίς cod. Med.
fail in anything that it may be of importance for us to do in any exigency.

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

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

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

Dindorf, Breitenbach, Gemoll; ἐν τίς ξυύ; τίς ἄν Stephanus, Hug.
θωρακοφόρους μενοῦτι τε, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄκοιντίζουντες, οἱ δὲ τοξεύοντες, ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸσθεν πάντων λυμανοῦνται τοὺς πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ άν κακούργη τις τοις ἐναντίους, δῆλον ὅτι παντὶ τούτῳ τοὺς συμμάχους κοινῆσι. 25. τελευταίους μέντοι στῆσω τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι καλομένους. ὡσπερ γάρ οἰκίας οὔτε ἄνευ λιθολογήματος ὄχυρον οὔτε ἄνευ τῶν στέγης ποιοῦσων οὐδέν ὀφέλος, οὕτως οὐδὲ φάλαγγος οὔτε ἄνευ τῶν πρῶτων οὔτε ἄνευ τῶν τελευταίων, εἰ μὴ ἀγαθὸι ἔσονται, ὀφέλος οὐδέν.

26. Ἀλλ' ύμεῖς τι, ἐφη, ὡς παραγγέλσθω τάττεσθε, καὶ ύμεῖς οἱ τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τούτως ὀσαύτως τοὺς λόχους καθίστατε, καὶ ύμεῖς οἱ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πελτασταῖς ὀσαύτως.

27. Σὺ δέ, ὅς τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄρχεις, τελευταίους ἐχὼν τοὺς ἀνδραὶς παράγγελλε τοὺς σαυτοῦ ἐφορᾶν τε ἐκάστῳ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὸ δέον ποιοῦσιν ἐπικελεύειν, τοῖς δὲ μαλακυνομένους ἀπειλεῖν ἵσχυρος· ἂν δὲ τις στρέφηται προδιδόναι θέλουν, θανάτῳ θημοῦν. ἔργον γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῖς μὲν πρωτοστάταις ἀρρότειν τοὺς ἐπομένους καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ· ύμᾶς δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τεταγμένους πλείω φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς κακοῖς τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

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

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

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

28. "That is what you have to attend to. Now you, Euphratas, who are commander of the division in charge of the engines, manage to have the teams that draw the towers follow as close as possible behind
ἐφεται ὡς ἐγγύτατα τῆς φάλαγγος. 29. σὺ δ’, ὁ Δαούχε, ὃς ἄρχεις τῶν σκευοφόρων, ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις ἀγε πάντα τὸν τοιοῦτον στρατόν· οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται σου ἵσχυρὸς κολαζόντων τοὺς προϊόντας τοῦ καίρου ἡ λειτουργεῖ.

30. Σὺ δέ, ὁ Καρδούχε, ὃς ἄρχεις τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν αἱ ἄγουσι ταῖς γυναικαῖς, κατάστησον αὐτὰς τελευταίας ἐπὶ τοῖς σκευοφόροις. ἔπομενα γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πλῆθος δόξαν παρέξει καὶ ἐνεδρεύει ἡμῖν ἐξουσία ἔσται, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢν κυκλούσθαι πειρώνται, μείζω τὴν περιβολὴν ἀναγκάσθη ποιεῖσθαι ὅσος δ’ ἀν μείζον χωρίον περιβάλλωνται, τοσοῦτο ἀνάγκη αὐτοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους γίνεσθαι.

31. Καὶ ὡμείς μὲν οὕτω ποιεῖτε· σὺ δέ, ὁ Ἀρτάοξε καὶ Ἀρταγέρσα [τὴν] ἀρχίστων ἐκάτερος τῶν σὺν ὑμῖν πεζῶν ἐπὶ τούτους ἔχετε. 32. καὶ σὺ, ὁ Φαρυνχε καὶ Ἀσιαδάτα, τὴν τῶν ἵππων χιλιοστῶν ἡς ἐκάτερος ἄρχει ὑμῶν μὴ συγκατάττητε εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἀλλ’ ὅπλωσθεν τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ἐξοπλίσθητε καθ’ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· ἐπειτα πρὸς ἐμὲ ἤκετε σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔπεμψαν. οὕτω δὲ δεὶ ὑμᾶς παρεσκευάσθαι ὡς πρώτους δῆσθαι ἄγωνυξθαι.

33. Καὶ σὺ δέ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς καρμῆλιν αὐθάδων, ὅπισθεν τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ἐκτάττου ποιεῖ δ’ ὃ τι ἀν σοι παραγγέλλῃ Ἀρταγέρσης.

34. Ἡμεῖς δ’ οἱ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἴσχυσμεν διακληρωσάμενοι, ὁ μὲν λαχῶν ὑμῶν πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγας τὰ μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἑκατόν ἐξων ἐρματα

1 tois polemous Schneider, Edd.; tois polemou MSS.
the phalanx. 29. And you, Dauchus, who have command of the baggage-train, bring up all your division of the army next after the towers, and let your adjutants punish severely those who advance or fall behind further than is expedient.

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

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

33. "And you, the commander of the men on camels, take your position also behind the women's carriages and do whatever Artagersons commands you.

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

35. Κύρος μὲν οὖτω διέταττεν.

Ἀβραδάτας δὲ ὁ Σούσων βασιλεὺς ἔπει, Ἔγώ σοι, Κύρε, ἑθελούσιος ὑφίσταμαι τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀντίας φάλαγγος τὰξιν ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ τί σοι ἄλλο δοκεῖ.

36. Καὶ ὁ Κύρως ἀγασθεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ἐπήρετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρμασι Πέρσας, Ἡ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, ταῦτα συγχωρεῖτε; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ὦ καλὸν εἴη ταῦτα ὑφίσθαι, διεκλήρωσεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἔλαχεν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ἃπερ ὑφίστατο, καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους.

37. Τότε μὲν δὴ ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντες δὲν προείπον ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο καὶ φυλακᾶς καταστησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

IV

1. Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸ Κύρος μὲν ἔθυετο, ὁ δ’ ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀριστήσας καὶ σπουδᾶς ποιησάμενος ἐξωπλίζετο πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ καλοῖς χιτῶσι, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ καλοῖς θώραξι καὶ κράνεσιν ὀπλίζον δὲ καὶ ἱπποὺς προμετωπίδοις καὶ προστερνιδίοις καὶ τοὺς μὲν μονίππους παραμηριδίοις, τοὺς δ’ ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄρμασιν ὄντας παραπλευριδίοις. οὕστε ἦσπραπτε μὲν χαλκῷ, ἤνθει δὲ φοινικίσι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὰ.
line; of the other two hundred, one shall take its place in line upon the right flank of the army, the other on the left, and follow the phalanx each in single file."

35. Thus did Cyrus plan his order of battle.

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

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

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

IV

1. Early on the following day Cyrus was sacrificing, and the rest of the army, after breakfasting and pouring libations, proceeded to array themselves with many fine tunics and corselets and helms. And they armed their horses also with frontlets and breastplates; the saddle-horses also they armed with thigh-pieces and the chariot teams with side-armour. And so the whole army flashed with bronze and was resplendent in purple.
2. Καὶ τῷ Ἀβραδάτα δὲ τὸ τετράρρυμον ἀρμα καὶ ἱππῶν ὅκτω παγκάλως ἐκεκόσμητο. ἔπει δὲ ἐμελλε τὸν λυνοῦν θώρακα, δὲ ἐπιχώριος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐνδύσθησαί, προσφέρει αὐτῷ ἡ Πάνθεια χρυσὸν καὶ χρυσὸν κράνος καὶ περιβραχιόνια καὶ ψέλλα πλατέα περὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν χειρῶν καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυρῶν ποδήρη στολιστῶν τὰ κάτω καὶ λόφον ἵκακινθινοβαφῆ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησε τὰ λάθρα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκμετρησαμένη τὰ ἐκεῖνον ὅπλα. 3. ὁ δὲ ἱδὼν ἔθανε τ᾽ε καὶ ἐπήρετο τὴν Πάνθειαν. Οὐ δὴπο, ὦ γύναι, συγκόψασα τὸν σαυτῆς κόσμου τὰ ὅπλα μοι ἐποίησον;

Μὰ Δι, ἔφη ἡ Πάνθεια, οὐκοῦν τὸν γε πλείστον ἄξιον συ γὰρ ἔμοιγε, ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἅλλοις φανῆς οἰόστερ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς εἶναι, μέγιστος κόσμος ἐσεῖ.

Ταῦτα δὲ λέγονσα ἄμα ἐνέδυε τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ λαυθάνειν μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο, ἐλείμβετο δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ δάκρυα κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν.

4. Ἐπεῖ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὅν ἄξιοθέσα τὸ Ἀβραδάτας ὁπλίσθη τοῖς ὅπλοις τούτοις, ἐφανῆ μὲν κάλλιστος καὶ ἐλευθερώτατος, ἀτε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχοῦσης: λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ υφηνιόχου τὰς ἡμίας παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀναβησόμενος ἦδη ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα. 5. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἡ Πάνθεια ἀπογρηθεὶσα κελεύσασα τοὺς παρόντας πάντας ἐλέξεν, Ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Ἀβραδάτα, εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλη πώποτε γυνὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἁνεῖμα μεῖζον τῆς ἑαυτῆς ψυχῆς ἐτίμησεν, οἷμα σε γιγνώσκειν ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ μία τούτων εἰμί. τί οὖν ἐμὲ δεῖ καθ᾽ἐν ἐκαστοῦ λέγειν; τὰ γὰρ ἔργα οἷμα σοι πιθανόν

1 χρυσῶν supplied by Meyer, Edd.; not in MSS.

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

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

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

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

5. But at this moment Panthea bade all who stood near to retire and then she said: "Abradatas, if ever any woman loved her husband more than her own life, I think you know that I, too, am such a one. Why, then, should I tell of these things one by one? For I think that my conduct has given you better proof of
τερά παρεσχήσθαι τῶν νῦν ἂν¹ λεχθέντων λόγων. 6. ὅμως δὲ οὕτως ἔχουσα πρὸς σὲ ὡσπερ σὺ οἶσθα, ἐπομενῶ σοι τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλίαν ἡ μὴν ἐγὼ βούλεσθαι ἀν μετὰ σοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γενομένου κοινὴ γῆν ἐπιέσασθαι μᾶλλον ἡ ζην μετ' αἰσχυνομένου αἰσχυνομένης οὕτως ἐγὼ καὶ σὲ τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ἐμαυτὴν ἥξιοικα. 7. καὶ Κύρῳ δὲ μεγάλην τινά δοκῶ ἡμᾶς χάριν ὀφείλειν, ὅτι με αἰχμαλωτών γενομένην καὶ ἐξαρεβείσαιν ἑαυτῷ οὔτε με ὡς δούλην ἥξιοικε κεκτήθαι σὺντε ὡς ἐγενθέραν ἐν ἄτιμῳ ὀνόματι, διεφυλάξε τις ὡς σοὶ ὡσπερ ἀδελφοῦ γυναίκα λαβών. 8. πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅτε Ἀράστας ἀπέστη αὐτὸν ὁ ἔμε φυλάττων, ὑπεσχόμην αὐτῷ, εἰ με ἐάσειε πρὸς σὲ πέμψαι, ἢξειν αὐτῷ σὲ πολὺ Ἀράστου ἄνδρα καὶ πιστό- τερον καὶ ἀμείνονα.

9. Ἡ μὲν ταύτα εἰπεν ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀγα- σθείς τοῖς λόγοις καὶ θυγὸν αὐτής τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπηύξατο, Ἀλλ', ὁ Ζεῦ μέγιστε, δός μοι φανήναι ἅξιον μὲν Πανθελάς ἄνδρι, ἅξιον δὲ Κύρου φίλω τοῦ ἡμᾶς τιμήσαντος.

Ταύτ' εἴπων κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ ἀρματείου δίφρον ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα. 10. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνα- βάντος αὐτοῦ κατέκλεισε τὸν δίφρον ὁ υφνίοχος, οὗκ ἔχουσα ἡ Πάνθεια πῶς ἀν ἐτὶ ἄλλως ἀσπά- σατο αὐτόν, κατεφίλησε τὸν δίφρον· καὶ τῷ μὲν προῆ μη δο τὸ ἄρμα, ἢ δὲ λαθοῦσα αὐτοῦ συν- εφίπτετο, ἐως ἐπιστραφεῖς καὶ ἰδῶν αὐτήν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας εἴπε, Θάρρε, Πάνθεια, καὶ χαῖρε καὶ ἀπίθι ἡδή.

¹ αν supplied by Cobet, Hértlein, Gemoll ; not in MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant, Hug.
it than any words I now might say. 6. Still, with the affection that you know I have for you, I swear to you by my love for you and yours for me that, of a truth, I would far rather go down into the earth with you, if you approve yourself a gallant soldier, than live disgraced with one disgraced: so worthy of the noblest lot have I deemed both you and myself. 7. And to Cyrus I think we owe a very large debt of gratitude, because, when I was his prisoner and allotted to him, he did not choose to keep me either as his slave or as a freewoman under a dishonourable name, but took me and kept me for you as one would a brother’s wife. 8. And then, too, when Araspas, who had been charged with my keeping, deserted him, I promised him that if he would let me send to you, a far better and truer friend than Araspas would come to him, in you.”

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

As he said this, he mounted his car by the doors in the chariot-box. 10. And when he had entered and the groom closed the box, Panthea, not knowing how else she could now kiss him good-bye, touched her lips to the chariot-box. And then at once his chariot rolled away, but she followed after, unknown to him, until Abradatas turned round and saw her and said: “Have a brave heart, Panthea, and farewell! And now go back.”
11. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ αἱ θεράπαι ναι λαβοῦσαι ἀπήγγειν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν καὶ κατακλίναντες κατεκάλυψαν τῇ σκηνῇ. ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωποί, καλοῦ δύντος τοῦ θεάματος τοῦ τε Ἄβραδάτου καὶ τοῦ ἁρματος, καὶ πρόσβεν ἐδύ ναντο θεάσασθαι αὐτὸν πρὶν ἡ Πάνθεια ἀπῆλθεν.

12. Ὡς δὲ ἐκεκαλλυρήκει μὲν ὁ Κύρος, ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ παρετέκτοκτο αὐτῷ ὀσπερ παρήγγειλε, κατέχον σκόπας ἄλλας πρὸ ἄλλων συνεκάλεσε τοὺς ἠγεμόνας καὶ ἔλεξεν ὅτε. 13. Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ ὁ θεός ἡμῖν φαίνοντο σοι στέρι ὅτε τὴν πρόσβεν νίκην ἔδοσαν· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγώ βούλομαι ἀναμνήσας ὅν μοι δοκεῖτε μεμνημένους πολὺ ἄν εὐθυμότεροι εἰς τὸν ἄγωνα ἰέναι.

14. ἤσκηκατε μὲν γὰρ τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων, συντέταχθε δὲ καὶ συν τετάχθε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πολὺ πλεῖον ἣδη χρόνου ἡ οἰ πολέμιοι καὶ συνυποκήκατε μετ᾽ ἄλληλων· τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ πολλοὶ συνήτηται μεθ᾽ αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ ἀμάχητοι ἐκατέρων οἱ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἴσασιν ὅτι προδότας τοὺς παραστάτας ἔχουσι, ὡμεῖς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν ἢστε ὅτι μετ᾽ ἐθελῶντων τοῖς συμ μάχοις ἀρίγγειν μάχεσθε. 15. εἰκὸς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πιστεύοντας ἄλληλοις ὀμονῶς ἡμῶν ἡ μαχεῖται μένοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπιστοῦντας ἀναγκαῖον βουλεύουσαι πῶς ἄν ἐκαστὸι τάχιστα ἐκποδῶν γένοιτο.

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

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

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

16. Ἡμεν δή, ὁ ἀνδρες, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀρματα μὲν ἔχοντες ὁπλισμένα πρὸς ἀσπλα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ἱπποὺς ὁπλισμένους πρὸς ἀσπλους, ὡς ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι. 17. πεζοὶς δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἶς καὶ πρόσθεν μαχεῖσθε, Ἀλυπτεοὶ δὲ ὁμοίως μὲν ὁπλισμένους εἰσίν, ὁμοίως δὲ τεταγμένους τὰς τε γὰρ ἀσπίδας μείξους ἐχονσιν ἡ ὡς ποιεῖν τι καὶ ὁρὰν, τεταγμένου τε εἰς ἐκατὸν δήλον ὅτι κωλύσουσιν ἀλλήλους μάχεσθαι πλὴν πάνω ὄλυγον. 18. εἰ δὲ ὠθοῦντες ἐξώσειν πιστεύουσιν, ἵππων αὐτοῦς πρὸς ποτὲ δεχησί ἀντέχειν καὶ σιδήρῳ ὑφ' ἵππων ἵσχυριζόμενοι· ἂν δὲ τις αὐτῶν καὶ ἱππομείνῃ, πῶς ἄμα δυνησεῖται ἱππομαχεῖν τε καὶ φαλαγγομαχεῖν καὶ πυργομαχεῖν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἴμαν μὲν ἑπάρχουσι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους παῖοντες ἀμηχανεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι ποιῆσον γινήσωρν.

19. Εἰ δὲ τινος ἦτι ἐνδείκθαι δοκεῖτε, πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγετε· σὺν γὰρ θεοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπορήσομεν. καὶ εἰ μὲν τις εῖπεἰ τι βούλεται, λεξάτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ προσευξάμενοι οἰς ἐθύσαμεν θεοῖς ἐτέ ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις. 20. καὶ ἐκαστὸς ὠμὸν ὑπομιμησκέτω τοὺς μὲθ' αὐτῶν ἅπερ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπιδεικνύτω τις τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἑαυτὸν ἄξιον ἄρχής, ἄφοβον δεικνύς καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ λόγους.
16. "Therefore, my men, let us go against the enemy, to fight in a hand-to-hand encounter, with our chariots armed, against theirs unarmed; and our horses and riders in like manner armed, against theirs unarmed. 17. The infantry that you will fight against, you have fought before—all but the Egyptians; and they are armed and drawn up alike badly; for with those big shields which they have they cannot do anything or see anything; and drawn up a hundred deep, it is clear that they will hinder one another from fighting—all except a few.

18. But if they believe that by rushing they will rush us off the field, they will first have to sustain the charge of horses and of steel driven upon them by the force of horses; and if any of them should hold his ground, how will he be able to fight at the same time against cavalry and phalanxes and towers? And that he will have to do, for those upon our towers will come to our aid and raining their missiles upon the enemy will drive them to distraction rather than to fighting.

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

THE GREAT BATTLE

THE FALL OF SARDIS AND BABYLON
1. Οἱ μὲν δὴ εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπῆσαν πρὸς τὰς τάξεις· τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἁμφὶ αὐτῶν προσήνεγκαν οἱ θεράποντες ἐμφαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἔτι οὐσίν ἁμφὶ τὰ ἱερά. ο δὲ Κύρος ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐστηκὼς ἀπαρξάμενος ἡρίστα καὶ μετεδίδου ἀεὶ τῷ μάλιστα δεομένῳ καὶ σπείρας καὶ εὐξάμενος ἔπιε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπολέουν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτησάμενοι Δία πατρὸν ἡγεμόνα εἰναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππὸν καὶ τοὺς ἁμφὶ αὐτῶν ἐκέλευεν. 2. ὡπλισκένοι δὲ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κύρον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Κύρῳ ὤπλοις, χιτώσι ψωφικοῖς, θώραξι χάλκοις, κράνεσι χάλκοις, λύφοις λευκοῖς, μαχαίραις, παλτῷ κρανείνῳ ἐν ἕκαστος· οἱ δὲ ἱπποὶ προμετωπίδοι καὶ προστερνίδοι καὶ παραμηρίδοις χαλκοῖς· τὰ δ’ αὕτα ταῦτα παραμηρίδια ἢν καὶ τῷ ἄνδρὶ τοσοῦτον μόνων διέφερε τὰ Κύρου ὀπλα ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐκέχρισε τῷ χρυσοείδει χρώματι, τὰ δὲ Κύρου ὀπλα ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον ἔξελαμπεν.

1 παραμηρίδιοι Weiske, Edd.; παραπλευρίδιοι yG2; not in xzV.
BOOK VII

I

1. So when they had prayed to the gods they went back to their posts; and while Cyrus and his staff were still engaged with the sacrifice, their attendants brought them meat and drink. And Cyrus remained standing just as he was and first offered to the gods a part and then began his breakfast, and kept giving a share of it also from time to time to any one who most needed it. And when he had poured a libation and prayed, he drank; and the rest, his staff-officers, followed his example. After that, he prayed to ancestral Zeus to be their guide and helper and then mounted his horse and bade his staff do the same. 2. Now all Cyrus's staff were panoplied in armour the same as his: purple tunics, bronze corselets, bronze helmets with white plumes, and sabres; and each had a single spear with a shaft of cornel wood. Their horses were armed with frontlets, breast-pieces, and thigh-pieces of bronze; these served to protect the thighs of the rider as well. The arms of Cyrus differed from those of the rest in this only, that while the rest were overlaid with the ordinary gold colour, Cyrus's arms flashed like a mirror.
3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβη καὶ ἐστὶ ἀποβλέπων ἕπερ ἔμελλε πορεύεσθαι, βροντῇ δεξιᾷ ἐφθέγξατο· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἐφόμεθα σοι, δὲ Ζεὺς μέγιστε. καὶ ὅρματο ἐν μὲν δεξιᾷ ἔχουν Χρυσάνταν τὸν ὑπαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἀρσάμαν καὶ τοὺς πεζούς. 4. παρηγγύησε δὲ παρορᾶν πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον καὶ ἐν ἵσῳ ἔπεσθαι· ἢν δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ σημεῖον άλτος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀναταμένος. καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι τούτο τὸ σημεῖον τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ διαμένει.

Πρὶν δὲ ὅραν τοὺς πολέμιοις εἰς τρὶς ἀνέπαυσε τὸ στράτευμα. 5. ἔπει δὲ προεληλύθεσαν ὡς εἰκοσι στάδιοι, ἥρχοντο ἡδη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα ἀντιπροσώπου καθορᾶν. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ καταφανεὶ πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἔγενοντο καὶ ἐγνωσαν οἱ πολέμιοι πολὺ ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπερφαλαγγοῦντες, στήσαντες τὴν αὐτῶν φάλαγγα, οὐ γὰρ ἔστων ἀλλως κυκλούσθαι, ἐπέκαμπτον εἰς κύκλωσιν, ὡσπερ γάρμμα ἐκατέρωθεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν τὰξιν ποιῆσαντες, ὡς παντοθεν ἄμα μάχωντο. 6. ο δὲ Κυρος ὅραν ταύτα οὐδὲν τὸ μᾶλλον ἀφίστατο, ἀλλ' ὡσαύτως ἡγεῖτο.

Κατανοῶν δὲ ὡς πρόσω τὸν καμπτῆρα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐποιήσαντα περὶ δὲ κάμπτοντες ἀνέτεινον

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1 ἐν μὲν Dindorf, Edd.; μὲν ἐν MSS.
2 καθορᾶν Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; παρορᾶν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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

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

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

¹ Thus: Γ Π.
τὰ κέρατα, Ἑυνοεῖς, ἔφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐνθα τὴν ἑπικαμπῆν ποιοῦνται;

Πάνυ γε, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, καλὸς θαυμάζω γε- πολὺ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀποστάν τὰ κέρατα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος.

Ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ ἀπὸ γε τῆς ἡμετέρας.

7. Τί δὴ τούτο;

Δήλου ὅτι φοβοῦμενοι μὴ ἦν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν γένηται τὰ κέρατα τῆς φάλαγγος ἐτι πρόσω ὤσης, ἐπιθώμεθα αὐτοῖς.

'Επειτ', ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, πῶς δυνησοῦμαι ὁφελεῖν οἱ ἔτεροι τοὺς ἐτέρους οὕτω πολὺ ἀπέ- χοντες ἄλληλων;

'Αλλὰ δήλου, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὅτι ἴναι ἄν γένηται τὰ κέρατα ἀναβαίνοντα κατ᾽ ἀντιπέρας τῶν πλαγίων τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρατεύματος, στραφέντες ὡς εἰς φάλαγγα ἄμα πάντοθεν ἡμῖν προσίασιν, ὡς ἄμα πάντοθεν μαχούμενοι.

8. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, εὕ σοι δοκοῦσι βουλεύεσθαι;

Πρὸς γε ἃ ὀρὼς: πρὸς δὲ ἃ οὐχ ὀρὸς ἑτὶ κάκιον ἦ εἰ κατὰ κέρας προσήσαν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρσάμα, ἥγοι τὸ πεζὸ ἠρέμα ἀσπερ ἐμὲ ὀρᾶς: καὶ σὺ, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐν ὑψω τούτῳ τῷ ἱστικῷ ἔχων συμπαρέτην. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπειμι ἐκεῖσε ὅθεν μοι δοκεὶ καιρὸς εἶναι ἄρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης· ἀμα δὲ παριῶν ἐπισκέψομαι ἐκαστα πῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει. 9. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκεῖ γένωμαι, ὅταν ἡδὴ ὁμοῦ προσίόντες ἀλλήλοις γηγομέθα, παιᾶνα ἔξαρξο, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπείγεσθε. ἴναι δὲ ἃ ἴν ἴμεῖ εὐχειρῶμεν.
forward their wings in executing their flanking movement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Yes; to meet what they see. But in the face of what they do not see, it is even worse than if they were coming on in column. But do you, Arsamas," said he, "lead on your infantry slowly, just as you see me moving; and you, Chrysantas, follow along with the cavalry in an even line with him; meanwhile I shall go to the point where it seems to me most advantageous to open the battle; and at the same time, as I pass along, I will take observations and see how everything is with our side. 9. But when I reach the spot, and as soon as in our advance we are near enough together, I will begin the pæan, and then do you press on. And the moment we come to close
τοίς πολεμίοις, αἰσθήσεσθε μέν, οὐ γὰρ οἴμαι ὅλγος θόρυβος ἔσται, ὁρμήσεται δὲ τηνικαῦτα Ἀμαραῖας ἦδη σὺν τοῖς ἄρμασιν εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους: οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰρήσεται. ὥμας δὲ χρὴ ἐπεσθαί ἐχομένους ὅτι μάλιστα τῶν ἄρματόν. οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς πολεμίους τεταραγμένος ἐπιπεσούμεθα. παρέσομαι δὲ κάγῳ ἢ ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα διώκον τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἢν οἰ θεοί θέλωσι.

10. Ταῦτ' εἴποι καὶ σύνθημα παρεγγυήσας Ζεὺς σωτηρ καὶ ἱγεμόνι ἐπορεύετο. μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν ἄρματων καὶ τῶν θωρακοφόρων διαπορευόμενος ὅτατε προσβλέψει τινας τῶν ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι, τότε μὲν εἶπεν ἂν, ὁ ἄνδρες, ὡς ἢδυ ὑμῶν τὰ πρόσωπα θεάσασθαι. τοτ晚期 ἂν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀν ἐλεξεν, Ἄρα, ἐννοεῖτε, ἄνδρες, ὅτι ὁ νῦν ἄγων ἐστιν οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς τήμερον νίκης, ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ἢν νευκήκατε καὶ περὶ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας;

11. ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ἂν παριδὼν εἴπεν, ὁ ἄνδρες, τό ἀπὸ τοῦτο οὐδέν ποτε ἔτι θεοὺς αἰτιατέον ἔσται. παραδεδώκασι γὰρ ἶμιων πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ κτήσασθαι. ἄλλ' ἄνδρες ἂν ἀγαθοὶ γενώμεθα. 12. καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἂν τοιάδε: ὁ ἄνδρες, εἰς τίνα ποτ' ἂν καλλίωνα ἔρανον ἄλληλους παρακαλέσαμεν ἢ εἰς τὸν τόντλ; νῦν γὰρ ἐξεστιν ἀγαθοῖς ἄνδράςι γενομένους πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ ἄλληλοις εἰσενεγκεῖν. 13. καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ αὐτ', Ἐπίστασθε μέν,
quarters with the enemy, you will perceive it, for there will be no little noise, I presume; and at the same moment Abradatas will charge with his chariots upon the enemy's lines—for so he will be instructed to do—and you must follow him, keeping as close as possible behind the chariots. For in this way we shall best throw the enemy into confusion and then fall upon them. And I also shall be there as soon as I can, please God, to join in the pursuit."

10. When he had spoken these words, he passed along the lines the watchword, **Zeus our Saviour and Guide**, and rode on. And as he passed between the lines of chariots and heavy-armed infantry and bestowed a glance upon some of those in the lines, he would say: "What a pleasure it is, my friends, to look into your faces." And then again in the presence of others he would say: "I trust you remember, men, that in the present battle not only is to-day's victory at stake, but also the first victory you won and all our future success." 11. Before still others, as he passed along, he would remark: "For all time to come, my men, we shall never have any more fault to find with the gods; for they have given us the opportunity of winning many blessings. So let us prove ourselves valiant men." 12. Passing still others he said: "To what fairer common feast\(^1\) could we ever invite each other, my men, than to this one? For now by showing ourselves brave men we may each contribute many good things for our mutual benefit." 13. Passing others he would say: "I suppose

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\(^1\) A "common feast," *επάνος*, was a feast where all the participants contributed an equal share — a pic-nic. The *επάνος* might also be a society or club in which all the members contributed equally to some public cause.
οἶμαι, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὅτι νῦν ἄθλα· πρὸκειται τοῖς νικώσι μὲν διόκειν, παλείν, κατακαίνειν, ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν, καλὰ ἀκούειν, ἑλευθέροις εἶναι, ἀρχεῖν· τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς δῆλον ὅτι τάναττα τούτων. ὅστις οὖν αὐτὸν φιλεῖ, μετ' ἐμοῦ μαχέσθω· ἐγὼ γὰρ κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' αἰσχρόν ἔκων εἶναι προσήγομαι.

14. ὅποτε δ' αὐ γένοιτο κατὰ τινας τῶν πρόσθεν συμμαχεσάμενοι, εἰπέν ἂν, Πρὸς δὲ ήμᾶς, ὃ ἄνδρες, τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐπίστασθε γὰρ οἶλαν τε οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ήμέραν ἀγούσι καὶ οἶλαν οἱ κακοὶ.

15. Ὡς δὲ παριῶν κατὰ Ἀβραδάταν ἐγένετο, ἔστη· καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας παράδον τῷ υφηνύχῳ τὰς ἴμιας προσήλθησαν αὐτῷ· προσέδραμον δὲ καὶ ἅλλοι τῶν πλησίων τεταγμένοι καὶ παῖσιν καὶ ἀρματηλατῶν. ὃ δ' αὖ Κύρος ἐν τοῖς παραγεγενεῖ-μένοις ἔλεεν, Ὁ μὲν θεός, ὃ Ἀβραδάτα, ὡστερ σὺ ἡξίους, συνηξίωσε σε καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοὶ πρωτο-στάτας εἶναι τῶν συμμάχων· σὺ δὲ τοῦτο μέμνησο, ὅταν δέ τι σε ἡδή ἀγονίζεσθαι, ὅτι Πέρσαι οἱ τε θεασόμενοι ἦμᾶς ἔσονται καὶ οἱ ἐγώμενοι ἦμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔσοντες ἐρήμους ἦμᾶς ἀγονίζεσθαι.

16. Καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν καθ' ἦμᾶσ ἐμοῦνε δοκεῖ, ὃ Κὺρε, καλῶς ἔχειν· ἀλλὰ τὰ πλάγια λυπεῖ με, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κέρατα ἱσχυρὰ ὤρῳ ἀνατεινόμενα καὶ ἀρματη καὶ παντοδαπῆ στρατιᾶ· ἡμέτερον δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτοῖς ἀντιτέτακται ἢ ἀρματα· ὡστ' ἐγώγ', ἐφη, εἰ μὴ ἔλαχον τὴν τίννευς τν τάξειν, ήσχυνόμην ἂν εὐθαδε ὅν· οὔτω πολὺ μοι δοκῶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι.

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

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

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

17. “Well,” said Cyrus, “if your part is all right,
never fear for the others; for with the help of the
θεοὺς ἔρημα τῶν πολεμίων τὰ πλάγια ταῦτα ἀπο-
δείξω. καὶ σὺ μη πρότερον ἐμβαλλε τοῖς ἐναντίοις,
diamartúromai, πρὶν ἄν φεύγοντας τούτους οὔς νῦν
φοβεῖ θεάσῃ τοιαύτα ὁ ἐμεγαληγόρει, μελλοῦσθις
τῆς μάχης γύγνεσθαι: ἄλλως δὲ οὐ μᾶλα μεγαλη-
γόρος ἦν. "Ὅταν μέντοι ἴδης τούτους φεύγοντας,
ἐμε τῇ ἡδη παρεῖναι νόμιμε καὶ ὀρμα εἰς τοὺς
ἀνδρας: καὶ σὺ γὰρ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἐναντίοις κακί-
στοις ἀν χρήσαιο, τοῖς δὲ μετὰ σαυτοῦ ἀρίστοις.

18. Ἀλλ᾽ ἔως ἔτι σοι σχολή, ὦ Ἀβραδάτα, πάντως
παρελάσας παρὰ τὰ σαυτοῦ ἄρματα
παρακάλει τοὺς σὺν σοι εἰς τὴν ἐμβολὴν, τῷ μὲν
προσώπῳ παραθαρρύνω, ταῖς δὲ ἐκπύρων ἐπικου-
φίζων. ὅπως δὲ κράτιστοι φανεῖσθε τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἄρμασι, φιλονικῶν αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλλε: καὶ γὰρ, εἰ
ἐσθι, ἂν τάδε εἰ γένηται, πάντες ἔρουσι τὸ λοιπὸν
μηδὲν εἶναι κερδαλεώτερον ἀρετῆς.

"Ο μὲν δὴ Ἀβραδάτας ἀναβάς παρήλαυνε καὶ
tαῦτ᾽ ἔποιει.

19. Ὅ δ᾽ αὖ Κύρος παριδὼν ὡς ἐγένετο πρὸς τῶν
ἐυωνύμων, ἐνθὰ ὁ Στᾶσπας τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔχων ἤν
τῶν Περσῶν ἱππέων, ὁνυμάσας αὐτῶν ἐπεν, Ὡ
Στᾶσπα, νῦν ὅρας ἔργον τῆς σῆς ταχυεργίας:
νῦν γὰρ ἢν φθάσωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους κατακανοῦν-
tες, οὔδεὶς ἥμων ἀποθανεῖται.

20. Καὶ ὁ Στᾶσπας ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν, Ἀλλ᾽
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἢμῖν μελήσει, τοὺς δὲ
ἐκ πλαγίου σὺ ἄλλοις πρόσταξον, ὅπως μηδὲν
οὕτω σχολάξωσι.

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

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

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

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

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

"Why," said Cyrus, "I am going on to them myself. But remember this, Hystaspas, no matter to which of
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μήσο, ὅτι ἂν ἠμῶν ὁ θεὸς νίκην διδὼ, ἦν τί ποι μένη πολέμιον, πρὸς τὸ μαχόμενον αἰεὶ συμβάλλωμεν.

21. Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν προῆι. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλευρόν παριῶν ἐγένετο καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ταύτης ἀρμάτων, πρὸς τούτον ἔλεξεν, Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔρχομαι ὑμῖν ἑπικούρησιν, ἀλλ’ ὅποταν αἰσθησθεὶς ἡμᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένους κατ’ ἄκρον, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς πειρᾶσθε ἁμα διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν· πολὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ἔσεσθε ἐξω γενόμενοι ἢ ἐνδον ἄπολαμβάνομεν.

22. 'Επει δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο ὅπισθεν τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν, Ἀρταγέρσαν μὲν καὶ Φαρυνώχον ἐκεῖλεσθεν ἐχοντας τῆς τῶν πεζῶν χωλιστῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἰππέων μένειν αὐτοῦ. 'Επειδὰν δ’, ἔφη, αἰσθάνησθε ἐμοὶ ἐπιτιθεμένου τοῖς κατὰ τὸ δεξίον κέρας, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῖς καθ’ ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖτε· μαχεῖσθε δ’, ἔφη, πρὸς κέρας, ὁσπερ ἄσθενεστατον στράτευμα γίγνεται, φάλαγγα δ’ ἔχοντες, ὁσπερ ἄν ἱσχυρότατον εἴητε. καὶ εἰσὶ μέν, ὅσ ὀράτε, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπείς οἱ ἐσχατοὶ πάντως δὲ πρὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν καμήλων τάξιν, καὶ εὐ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ πρὶς μάχεσθαι γελοίους τοὺς πολεμίους θεάσετε.

23. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον παρῆι· ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος νομίσας ἢδη ἐγγύτερον εἶναι τῶν πολεμιῶν τὴν φάλαγγα σὺν ἦ αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο ἦ τὰ ἀνατευχόμενα κέρατα, ἢρε τοῖς κέρασι σημεῖον μηκέτι ἀνω πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ στραφῆναι. ὥς δ’ ἐστησαν ἄντια

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

21. Thus he spoke and passed on. And as he went along the flank, he came to the general in command of the chariots there and to him he said:

“Yes, I am coming to help you; but when you see us charging on the extremity of the enemy’s wing, then do you try at the same time to break through their lines; for you will be in a much securer position if you get clear through than if you are enclosed within their lines.”

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

23. When Cyrus had completed his round of the troops, he passed on to the right wing. And Croesus, thinking that the centre, which he commanded in person, was already nearer to the enemy than the wings that were spreading out beyond, gave a signal to his wings not to go out any further but to halt and face about. And when they had halted, and stood
πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Κύρου στράτευμα ὁρῶντες, ἐσήμηνεν αὐτοῖς πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. 24. καὶ οὕτω δὴ προσήσαν τρεῖς φάλαγγες ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα, ἥ μὲν μία κατὰ πρόσωπον, τὸ δὲ δύο, ἥ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξίον, ἥ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον· ὡστε πολὺν φόβου παρεῖναι πάση τῇ Κύρου στρατιᾷ. ὡσπερ γὰρ μικρὸν πλινθίον ἐν μεγάλῳ τεθέν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα πάντοθεν περείχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἱππεύσι καὶ ὀπλίταις καὶ πελτοφόροις καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἄρμασι πλὴν ἐξοπλισθέν. 25. δὲος δὲ ὡς ὁ Κύρος [ἐπεί] 2 παρήγγειλεν, ἐστράφησαν πάντες ἀντί- πρόσωποι τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ ἦν μὲν πολλὴ πανταχόθεν συνή ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον ὄγκεα· ἡνίκα δὲ ἔδοξε τῷ Κύρῳ καίρος εἶναι, ἐξήρχη παιάνα, συνεπήχησε δὲ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς. 26. μετὰ δὲ τούτο τῷ Ὁμυαλῷ τε ἅμα ἐπηλάλαξαν καὶ ἤξανίσταται ὁ Κύρος, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων λαβὼν πλαγίους τοὺς πολεμίους ὁμὸς αὐτοῖς τὴν ταχι- στὴν συνεμένην· οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ συντεταγμένοι ταχὺ ἐφείποντο, καὶ περιεπτύσσοντο ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν, ὡστε πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτειν φάλαγγι γὰρ κατὰ κέρας προσέβαλλεν· ὡστε ταχὺ ἰσχυρὰ φυγή ἐγένετο τοῖς πολεμίοις.

1 ós Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ MSS., earlier Edd.
2 ἐπεὶ MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
facing Cyrus's army, Croesus gave them the signal to advance against the foe. But Cyrus's army was encompassed by the enemy on every side, except the rear, with horsemen and hoplites, with targeteers and bowmen and chariots. Still, when Cyrus gave the command, they all turned and faced the enemy. And deep silence reigned on every hand because of their apprehension as to what was coming. Then, when it seemed to Cyrus to be just the right time, he began the paean and all the army joined in the chant. After it was finished, together they raised the battle-shout to Enyalius, and in that instant Cyrus dashed forward; and at once he hurled his cavalry upon the enemy's flank and in a moment he was engaged with them hand to hand. With a rapid movement the infantry followed him in good order and began to envelop the enemy on this side and on that, so that he had them at a great disadvantage; for he clashed with a phalanx against their flank; and as a result, the enemy soon were in headlong flight.

1 The point of Xenophon's simile is clear, when we recall the marble tiling of the temple roofs of his time; the situation was like this:
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

27. Ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο Ἀρταγέρσης ἐν ἔργῳ ὄντα τὸν Κύρον, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα, προεῖς τὰς καμήλους ὀσπερ Κύρος ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπποι αὐτὰς ἐκ πάνω πολλοὶ οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἐκφρονες γιγνόμενοι ἐφευγον, οἱ δ’ ἐξῆλλοντο, οἱ δ’ ἐνέππυττον ἀλλήλοις. τοιαύτα γὰρ πάσχουσιν ὑπποὶ ὑπὸ καμήλων. 28. ο δὲ Ἀρταγέρσης συντεταγμένοις ἔχων τοὺς μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ταραττομένους ἐπέκειτο· καὶ τὰ ἄρματα δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεξίον καὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἁμα ἐνέβαλλε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τὰ ἄρματα φεύγοντες ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ κέρας ἐπομένων ἀπέθυμησον, πολλοὶ δὲ τούτους φεύγοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρματων ἦλικοντο.

29. Καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας δὲ οὐκέτι ἐμελλεν, ἀλλ’ ἀναβοήσας, ὁ Ἀνδρες φίλοι, ἐπεσθε, ἔνιει οὐδὲν χειδομένους τῶν ὑππων, ἀλλ’ ἰσχυρόν ἐξαιμάττων τῷ κέντρῳ συνεξώρμησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀλλοὶ ἄρματηλάται. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρματα ἐφευγεν αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς, τὰ μὲν καὶ ἀναλαβόντα τους παραβάτας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπολυπόντα.

30. Ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀντικρὺ διάττων ἐστὶ τῶν Ἁγνυπτῶν φάλαγγα ἐμβάλλειν συνεισέβαλον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τεταγμένοι. πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀλλοθε δήλον ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχυρότερα φάλαγξς ἢ ὅταν ἐκ φίλων συμμάχων ἥθροισμένη ἢ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἔδηλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐταίροι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀμοτρά-

1 διάττων F, Hug, Marchant Gemoll; δι’ αὐτῶν xzDV, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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

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

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

1 Compare III. iii. 60; VI. i. 27.
πεζοὶ συνεισβάλλον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἡμῖν οὐ̑ς εἶδον υπομένοντας πολλῷ στήφει τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους, ἐξέκλιναν κατὰ τὰ φεύγοντα ἄρματα καὶ τούτοις ἐφείποντο. 31. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀβραδάταν ἢ μὲν ἐνέβαλλον, ἢτε οὖ δυναμένων διαχάσασθαι τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων διὰ τὸ μένειν τοὺς ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ὅρθοὺς τῇ ρύμῃ τῇ τῶν Ἰππών πᾶντες ἀνέτρεπτον, τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας κατηλώνων καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπλα καὶ Ἰπποῖς καὶ τροχοῖς. 1 ὅτου δὲ ἐπιλάβοντο τὰ δρέπανα, πάντα βία διεκόπτετο καὶ ὅπλα καὶ σῶματα. 32. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀδιηγήτῳ τούτῳ ταράχῳ ὑπὸ τῶν παιωνίδας τοὺς διαδέχομαι τῶν τροχῶν ἐκπίπτει ὁ Ἀβραδάτας καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν συνεισβάλλοντων, καὶ οὐδεὶς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἄνδρες ἀγάθοι γενόμενοι κατεκόπτησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι συνεπιστόμενοι, ἢ μὲν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ἐνέβαλε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ταύτη ἐπεισπεσόντες τεταραγμένους ἐφόνευον, ἢ δὲ ἀπαθεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, πολλοὶ δ᾽ οὕτως ἦσαν, ἔχορον ἐναντίον τοὺς Πέρσας. 33. Ἐνθα δὲ δεινὴ μάχη ἦν καὶ δοράτων καὶ ἔστων καὶ μαχαίρων ἐπιλειονέκτων μέντοι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις. τὰ τε γὰρ δόρατα ἱσχυρά καὶ μακρὰ ἦτι καὶ οὐν ἔχουσιν, αἱ τὲ ἄσπίδες πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν θωράκων καὶ τῶν γέρρων καὶ στεγάζουσι τὰ σώματα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄθεισθαι συνεργάζονται πρὸς τοὺς ὀμοίως ὦσαί.  

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

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

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

Then the Persians, following up the attack at the point where Abradatas and his men had made their charge, made havoc of the enemy in their confusion; but where the Egyptians were still unharmed—and there were many such—they advanced to oppose the Persians. 33. Here, then, was a dreadful conflict with spears and lances and swords: The Egyptians, however, had the advantage both in numbers and in weapons; for the spears that they use even unto this day are long and powerful, and their shields cover their bodies much more effectually than corselets and targets, and as they rest against the shoulder they are a help in shoving. So, locking their shields to-
σαντες συν τας ἁσπίδας ἐκόρουν καὶ ἐώθουν. 34. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι οὐκ ἔδυναντο ἀντέχειν, ἀτε ἐν ἀκραῖς ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ γέρρα ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχάζοντο πάλιντε καὶ παιόμενοι, ἔως ὑπὸ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐγένοντο. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον, ἐπαίοντο αὕτης οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ οὐκ εἶναι φεύγειν οὔτε τοὺς τοξότας οὔτε τοὺς ἀκοῦστάς, ἀλλ' ἀνατεταμένοι τὰς μαχαίρας ἡνάγκαζον καὶ το- βευέναι καὶ ἀκούσειν. 35. ήν δὲ πολὺς μὲν ἀνδρῶν φόνος, πολὺς δὲ κτύπους ὀπλῶν καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν, πολλή δὲ βοή τῶν μὲν ἀνακαλούντων ἀλλήλους, τῶν δὲ παρακελευομένων, τῶν δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλομένων.

36. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κύρος διόκων τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν παραγίγνεται. ὡς δ' εἴδε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐωσμένους, ἤλθεν τε καὶ γνώσει ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἂν θάττου σχοινή τοὺς πολεμίους τῆς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προοίμιον ἢ εἰ1 εἰς τὸ ὄπισθεν περιελάσειν αὐτῶν, παραγγείλας ἐπεσθαί τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ περιῆλθαν εἰς τὸ ὄπισθεν καὶ ἐισπεσόντες παλύσων ἀφορράτας2 καὶ πολλοὺς κατακαλώσων. 37. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς ἤσθοντο, ἐβάζον τε ὅτι ὄπισθεν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐστρέφοντο ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ φύρδην ἐμά- χοντο καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἰππεῖς, πεπτοκῶς δὲ τις ὑπὸ τῷ Κύρου ἰππὸ καὶ πατοῦμενος παλεύει εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸν ἰππόν αὐτοῦ· δὲ ἰππὸς πληγείς σφαδαίους ἀποσεῖται τὸν

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

36. At this juncture Cyrus came up in pursuit of the part that had been opposed to him; and when he saw that the Persians had been forced from their position, he was grieved; but as he realized that he could in no way check the enemy’s progress more quickly than by marching around behind them, he ordered his men to follow him and rode around to the rear. There he fell upon the enemy as they faced the other way and smote them and slew many of them. 37. And when the Egyptians became aware of their position they shouted out that the enemy was in their rear, and amidst the blows they faced about. And then they fought promiscuously both foot and horse; and a certain man, who had fallen under Cyrus’s horse and was under the animal’s heels, struck the horse in the belly with his sword. And the horse thus wounded plunged convulsively and threw Cyrus
Κύρον. 38. ἐνθα δὴ ἔγνω ἂν τις ὁσοῦ ἀξιον ἦτο τοῖς φιλείσθαι ἀρχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐνθὰς γὰρ ἀνεβόησαν τε πάντες καὶ προσπεσώντες ἐμάχοντο, ἑώθουν, ἑωθοῦντο, ἔπαιον, ἔπαιοντο. καταπηδήσας δὲ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ τῶν τοῦ Κύρου ὑπηρετῶν ἀναβάλλει αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἔαυτον ἱπποῦ. 39. ὡς δὲ ἀνέβη ὁ Κύρος, κατείδε πάντοθεν ἦδη παιομένους τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους· καὶ γὰρ Ἰστάσσας ἦδη παρῆν. σὺν τοῖς Περσῶν ἱππεύσι καὶ Χρυσάντας. ἀλλὰ τούτους ἐμβάλλεις μὲν οὐκέτι εἶα εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοξεύεις καὶ ἀκοντῖζεις ἐκέλευς.

'Ως δὲ ἐγένετο περιελαιώνων παρὰ τὰς μηχανάς, ἐδοξεν αὐτῷ ἀναβήναι ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων τινὰ καὶ κατασκέψασθαι εἰ πη καὶ ἀλλο τι μένοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μάχοιτο. 40. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβη, κατείδε μεστὸν τὸ πεδίον ἱππῶν, ἀνθρώπων, ἀρμάτων, φευγόντων, διωκόντων, κρατοῦντων, κρατούμενων· μένον δὲ οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἐτί ἐδώνατο κατείδειν πλὴρ τὸ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἣπτοροῦντο, πάντοθεν κύκλον πυρησάμενοι, ὅστε ὀρᾶσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐκάθηντο· καὶ ἐποίουν μὲν οὐδὲν ἐτί, ἐπασχοῦν δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ.

41. 'Ἀγαθείς δὲ ὁ Κύρος αὐτοῦς καὶ οἰκτείρων ὅτι ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀπώλυστο, ἀνεχώρισε1 πάντας τοὺς περιμαχομένους καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα ἐτί εἰα. πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτῶς κήρυκα ἐρωτῶν

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

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

41. And Cyrus, filled with admiration for their conduct and moved to pity for them that men as brave as they were should be slain, drew off all those who were fighting around the ring and allowed no one to fight any more. Then he sent a herald to them to ask whether they all wished to die for

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πότερα βουλούνται ἀπολέσθαι πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν προδεδωκότων αὐτοὺς ἢ σωθῆναι ἄνδρες ἄγαθοὶ
dοκοῦντες εἶναι.

Οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο, Πῶς δ' ἂν ἥμεις σωθείμενεν
ἀνδρὲς ἄγαθοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι;

42. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πάλιν ἔλεγεν, "Ὅτι ἥμεις ὦμᾶς
ὁρῶμεν μόνους καὶ μένοντας καὶ μάχεσθαι ἐθέλοντας.

"Αλλὰ τούντεθεν, ἐφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, τί
καλὸν ἂν ποιοῦντες σωθείμενεν;

Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος αὖ πρὸς τούτο εἶπεν, [Εἰ τῶν τε
συμμαχομένων μηδένα προδόντες σωθείατε] 1 Τὰ
τε ὄπλα παραδόντες φίλοι τε γενόμενοι τοῖς αἱρού-
μένοις ὑμᾶς σώσαι, ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι.

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

"Απεκρίνατο ὁ Κῦρος, Εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ πᾶσχειν.

"Επηρώτων πάλιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, Τίνα εὔφρενεσίαν;

Πρὸς τούτο εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, Μισθὸν μὲν ὑμῶν
dοῦν ἂν πλείονα ἡ νῦν ἑλαμβάνετε ὅσον ἂν χρόνον
πόλεμος ἡ εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης τῷ βουλομένῳ
ὑμῶν μένειν παρ' ἐμοὶ χώραν τε δῶσω καὶ πόλεις
καὶ γνωάκαις καὶ οἰκήτας.

44. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν
ἐπὶ Κροῖσον συντρατεύειν ἀφελείν σφίσιν ἐδε-
ήθησαν τοῦτο γὰρ μόνῳ γιγαντίας ἐφασαν·
tὰ δ' ἄλλα συνομολογήσαντες ἐδοσαν πίστιν καὶ
ἐλαβον.

1 Ei . . . σωθείατε MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll [If you could save your lives without betraying any of your friends].
those who had treacherously deserted them or to save their lives and at the same time be accounted brave men.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

44. On hearing this, the Egyptians begged to be excused from taking part in any campaign against Croesus, for with him alone, they said, they were acquainted; all other stipulations they accepted, and gave and received pledges of good faith.
XENOPHON

45. Καὶ οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι τε οἱ καταμελῶντες τότε ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλεῖ πιστοὶ διαμένουσι, Κύρος τε πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, τὰς μὲν ἄνω, αὖ ἔτι καὶ νῦν πόλεις Ἀιγυπτίων καλοῦνται, Δάρισαν δὲ καὶ Κυλλήνην παρὰ Κύμην πλησίον θαλάττης, ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ ἀπ’ ἐκείνων ἔχουσι.

Ταύτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι ὁ Κύρος ἦδη σκοταίος ἀναγαγὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Θυμβράροις.

46. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν πολεμίων Ἀιγύπτιοι μόνοι ηὐδοκίμησαν, τῶν δὲ σὺν Κύρῳ τὸ Περσῶν ἵππικον κράτιστον ἔδωξεν εἶναι· ὡστ’ ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει ἡ ὁπλίσις ἂν τότε Κύρος τοῖς ἵππεσι κατεσκέυασεν.

47. Ηὐδοκίμησε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ τὰ δρεπανήφορα ἀρματα· ὡστε καὶ τούτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει τὸ πολεμιστήριον τῷ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντι.

48. Αἱ μέντοι κάμηλοι ἔφόβουσαν μόνον τοὺς ἵππους, οὐ μέντοι κατέκαινον γε οἱ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἵππεῖς, οὔδ’ αὐτοὶ γε ἀπεθυμνηκόν υπὸ ἰππεόνιον ὑπὲρ ἰππεόνιον γὰρ ὑποσε ἑπέλαξε. 49. καὶ χρῆσιμον μὲν ἐδόκει εἶναι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε τρέφειν οὔτε ἔθελε καλὸς κάγαθὸς κάμηλον ὡστ’ ἐποχεῖσθαι, οὔτε μελετᾷν ὡς πολεμήσον ἀπὸ τούτων. οὔτω δὴ ἀπολαβοῦσαι πάλιν τὸ ἔαυτῶν σχῆμα ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις διάγονοι.

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

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

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

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

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

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

II

1. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρον δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλάκας καταστήσαμενοι, ὡσπερ ἔδει, ἔκοιμησαν. Κροίσσος μέντοι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεων ἐφευγε σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι τὰ δὲ ἄλλα φύλα ὡποὶ ἐδύνατο προσωτάτῳ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῆς ἐπὶ οἶκου ὁδοῦ ἔκαστος ἀπεχώρηε.

2. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεως ἦγε Κύρος. ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Σάρδεσι, τὰς τε μηχανὰς ἀνίστη ὡς προσβαλῶν πρὸς τὸ τείχος καὶ κλίμακας παρεσκευάζετο. 3. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν κατὰ τὰ ἀποτομώτατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι τοῦ Σαρδιανῶν ἔρυματος τῆς ἐπωνύμης νυκτὸς ἀναβιβάζει Χαλδαίους τε καὶ Πέρσας. ἡγήσατο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ Πέρσης δοῦλος γεγεννημένος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροτόλει τινὸς φρουρῶν καὶ καταμεμαθηκός κατάβασιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀνάβασιν τῇ αὐτῆς.

4. Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι εἴχετο τὰ ἂκρα, πάντες δὴ ἐφευγον οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὡποὶ ἐδύνατο ἔκαστος τῆς πόλεως. Κύρος δὲ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσῆγε εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παρῆγγειλεν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲνα κινεῖσθαι. 5. ὁ δὲ Κροίσσος κατακλευσάμενος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείως Κύρον ἐβόα· ὁ δὲ Κύρος τοῦ μὲν Κροίσσου φύλακας κατέληπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαγαγῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐχομένην ἄκραν ὡς εἴδε τοὺς μὲν Πέρσας φυλάττοντας τὴν ἄκραν, ὡσπερ ἔδει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Χαλδαίων ὑπλα ἔρημα, κατεδραμῆκεσαν γὰρ ἀρπασόμενοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν

1 ὡποὶ xzE, most Edd.; ὡπὶ Ρ.
1. When Cyrus and his men had finished dinner and stationed guards, as was necessary, they went to rest. As for Croesus and his army, they fled straight towards Sardis, while the other contingents got away, each man as far as he could under cover of the night on his way toward home.

2. When daylight came, Cyrus led his army straight on against Sardis. And as soon as he came up to the walls of the city, he set up his engines as if intending to assault it and made ready his scaling ladders. 3. But though he did this, in the course of the following night he sent some Chaldaeans and Persians to climb up by what was considered the most precipitous side of the Sardian citadel. The way was shown them by a Persian who had been the slave of one of the guards of the acropolis and had discovered a way down to the river and up again by the same route.

4. When it became known that the citadel was taken, all the Lydians immediately fled from the walls to whatever part of the city they could. And Cyrus at daybreak entered the city and gave orders that not a man of his should stir from his post. 5. But Croesus shut himself up in his palace and called for Cyrus. Cyrus, however, left behind a guard to watch Croesus, while he himself drew off his army to the citadel now in his possession; for he saw that the Persians were holding guard over it, as it was their duty to do, but that the quarters of the Chaldaeans were deserted, for they had run down into
οίκιών, ευθὺς συνεκάλεσεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ εἴπεν αὐτοῖς ἀπείναι ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὡς τάχιστα. 6. Ὅ γὰρ ἂν, ἐφη, ἀνασχοίμην πλεονεκτοῦντας ὅρῶν τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας. καὶ εὐ μὲν, ἐφη, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι παρεσκευαζόμην ἐγώ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμοὶ συστρατευομένους πάσι Χαλδαίοις μακαριστοῖς ποιήσαι νῦν δ', ἐφη, μὴ θαυμάζετε ἢν τις καὶ ἀπιούσιν ὑμῖν κρείττων ἐντύχῃ.

7. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἔδεισαν τε καὶ ἱκέτευσαν παύσασθαι ὁργιζόμενον καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀποδόσεων ἔφασαν. Ὅ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δέοιτο. Ἀλλ' εἴ με, ἐφη, βούλεσθε παύσασθαι ἄχθόμενον, ἀπόδοτε πάντα ὅσα ἐλάβετε τοῖς διαφυλάξασι τὴν ἀκραν. Ἰὼ γὰρ αἰσθάνομαι τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώται ὅτι πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ ἐντακτοὶ γενόμενοι, πάντα· μοι καλῶς ἔξει.

8. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Χαλδαῖοι οὕτως ἔποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύρος· καὶ ἔλαβον οἱ πειθόμενοι πολλὰ καὶ παντοία χρήματα. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος καταστρατοπεδεύσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, ὅπου ἐδόκει ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπλοῖς παρήγγειλε καὶ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

9. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἀγαγεῶν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Κροῖσον. Ὅ δὲ Κροῖσος ὡς εἴδε τὸν Κύρον, Χαίρε, ὃ δέσποτα, ἐφη, τὸ τούτο γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ ἔχειν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο δίδωσι σοι καὶ ἐμοὶ προσαγορεύειν.

10. Καὶ σύ γε, ἐφη, ὁ Κροῖσε, ἔπειτερ ἀνθρω-

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1 αὐτῷ F, Edd.; αὐτῷ xhDV.
the city to get plunder from the houses. He at once called their officers together and told them to leave his army with all speed. 6. "For," said he, "I could not endure to see men who are guilty of insubordination better off than others. And let me tell you," he added, "that I was getting ready to make you Chaldaeans who have been helping in my campaigns objects of envy in the eyes of all other Chaldaeans; but, as it is, you need not be surprised if some one who is your superior in strength should fall in with you, even as you go away."

7. When they heard this, the Chaldaeans were afraid; they besought him to lay aside his wrath and promised to give up their plunder. But he said he did not want it. "But," said he, "if you wish me to forget my displeasure, surrender all that you have taken to those who have not relaxed their guard of the citadel. For if the rest of the soldiers find out that those who have been obedient to orders are better off than the rest, everything will be as I wish."

8. The Chaldaeans, accordingly, did as Cyrus bade; and the obedient received a large amount of spoil of every description. And Cyrus encamped his men in that part of the city where he deemed it most convenient, ordering them to stay in their quarters and take luncheon there.

9. When he had attended to this, he ordered Croesus to be brought before him. And when Croesus saw Cyrus, he said: "I salute you, my sovereign lord; for fortune grants that henceforth you should bear this title and I address you by it."

10. "And I you, Croesus; for we are both men.
ποί γέ ἐσμεν ἀμφότεροι. ἀτάρ, ἐφη, ὦ Κροἴσε, ἀρ’ ἂν τί μοι ἐθελήσαις συμβουλεύσαι;

Καὶ βουλοίμην γ’ ἂν, ἐφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἀγαθόν τι σοι εὑρεῖν τούτο γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι ἀγαθὸν κάμοι γενέσθαι.

11. Ἀκούσον τούνν, ἐφη, ὦ Κροἴσε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὄραν τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλὰ πεπονηκότας καὶ
πολλὰ κεκινδυνευκότας καὶ ὑπὸ νομίζοντας πόλιν ἔχειν τὴν πλουσιωτάτην ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μετὰ Βαβυ-
λώνα, ἀξιόν ἀφεληθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας. γι-
γνώσκω γάρ, ἐφη, ὦτι εἰ μὴ τίνα καρπὸν λήψονται
τῶν πόλεων, οὐ δυνήσομαι αὐτοὺς πολλὴν χρόνον
πειθομένους ἔχειν. διαρπάσαι μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς
ἐφείναι τὴν πόλιν οὐ βουλομαι· τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν
νομίζω ἃν διαφθαρῆναι, ἐν τῇ ἅρπαγῇ εὐς οἶδ
ὅτι οἱ πονηρότατοι πλεονεκτήσειαν ἄν.

12. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὦ Κροἴσος ἔλεξεν, Ἄλλα
ἐμὲ, ἐφη, ἐασον λέξαι πρὸς σὺς ἂν ἐγὼ Λυδῶν
ἐλθὼν ὅτι διαπέπραγμαι παρὰ σοῦ μή ποιήσαι
ἀρπαγήν μηδὲ ἔλαθαί ἀφανισθῆναι παιδάς καὶ
γυναῖκας· ὑπεσχόμην δὲ σοι ἀντὶ τούτων ἡ μὴ
παρ’ ἐκόντων Λυδῶν ἔσεσθαι πάν οὐ τι καλὸν
κἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν. 13. ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα
ἀκούσωσιν, οἶδ’ ὦτι ἦξει σοι πᾶν ὦ τι ἐστὶν
ἐνθάδε καλὸν κτήμα ἄνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ
ὀμοῖως εἰς νέωτα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πάλιν σοι
πλήρης ἢ πόλις ἐσται· ἂν δὲ διαρπάσῃς, καὶ αἱ
tέχναι σοι, ἢς πηγάς φασί τῶν καλῶν εἶναι,
dιεφθαρμέναι ἐσονται. 14. ἐξέσται δὲ σοι ἰδόντι
ταῦτα ἐλθόντα ἐτι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἅρπαγῆς βουλεύ-

1 ἐλθὼ Hug, Marchant; (ἐ)θέλω MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe, Breitenbach; ἐλαμαί Gemoll.
But, Croesus," he added, "would you be willing to give me a bit of advice?"

"Aye, Cyrus," said he; "I wish I could find something of practical value to say to you. For that, I think, would prove good for me as well."

11. "Listen, then, Croesus," said he. "I observe that my soldiers have gone through many toils and dangers and now are thinking that they are in possession of the richest city in Asia, next to Babylon; and I think that they deserve some reward. For I know that if they do not reap some fruit of their labours, I shall not be able to keep them in obedience very long. Now, I do not wish to abandon the city to them to plunder; for I believe that then the city would be destroyed, and I am sure that in the pillaging the worst men would get the largest share."

12. "Well," said Croesus on hearing these words, "permit me to say to any Lydians that I meet that I have secured from you the promise not to permit any pillaging nor to allow the women and children to be carried off, and that I, in return for that, have given you my solemn promise that you should get from the Lydians of their own free will everything there is of beauty or value in Sardis. 13. For when they hear this, I am sure that whatever fair possession man or woman has will come to you; and next year you will again find the city just as full of wealth as it is now; whereas, if you pillage it completely, you will find even the industrial arts utterly ruined; and they say that these are the fountain of wealth. 14. But when you have seen what is brought in, you will still have the privilege of deciding about
σασθαί. πρῶτον δ’, ἐφη, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς θησαυροὺς πέμπε καὶ παραλαμβανόντων¹ οἱ σοὶ φύλακες παρὰ τῶν ἐμῶν φυλάκων.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαντὰ ὀυτῶ συνήγησε σωιείων ὁ Κύρος ὡσπερ ἔλεξεν ὁ Κροίσος.

15. Τάδε δέ μοι πάντως, ἐφη, ὁ Κροίσε, λέξον πῶς σοι ἀποβέβηκε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίου σοι γὰρ δὴ λέγεται πάνυ γε τεθεραπεύσθαι ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ σε πάντα ἐκείνη πειθόμενοι πράττειν.

16. Ἐβουλόμην ἄν, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρη, ὀυτῶς ἔχειν νῦν δὲ πάντα τὰναντία εὐθὺς ἕξ ἀρχής πράττων προσηνέχθην τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

Πώς δέ; ἐφη ὁ Κύρος; δίδασκε πάνυ γὰρ παράδοξα λέγεις.

17. "Ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν, ἐφη, ἀμελήσας ἔρωταν τὸν θεόν, εἶ τι ἐδεόμην, ἀπεπειρώμην αὐτοῦ εἰ δύνατο ἄληθευειν. τούτῳ δ’, ἐφη, μὴ ὅτι θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ καλοὶ κἀκεῖθεν, ἐπειδὰν γνώσιμοι ἀπιστοῦμεν, οὐ φιλοῦσι τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας.

18. ἐπεὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ καλὰ ἀτοπα ἐμοὶ ποιοῦντο, καὶ πρὸς τῶν Δελφῶν ἀπέχομοι, οὕτω δὴ πέμπω περὶ παιδῶν. 19. ὁ δέ μοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδ᾽ ἀπεκρίνατο· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγὼ πολλὰ μὲν πέμπων ἀναθῆμα χρυσά, πολλὰ δ’ ἀργυρά, πάμπολλα δὲ θύσιν ἐξιλασάμην ποτὲ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐδόκουν, τότε δὴ μοι ἀποκρινέται ἐρωτῶν τί ἄν μοι ποιῆσαντι παιδεῖς γένοιτο; ὁ δὲ εἰπεν ὅτι ἔσωντο. 20. καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐξεύσατο,
plundering the city. And first of all," he went on, "send to my treasuries and let your guards obtain from my guards what is there."

All this, accordingly, Cyrus agreed to have done as Croesus suggested.

15. "But pray tell me, Croesus," he resumed, "what has come of your responses from the oracle at Delphi? For it is said that Apollo has received much service from you and that everything that you do is done in obedience to him."

16. "I would it were so, Cyrus," he answered. "But as it is, I have from the very beginning behaved toward Apollo in a way contrary to all that he has advised."

"How so?" asked Cyrus; "please explain; for your statement sounds very strange."

17. "At first," he answered, "instead of asking the god for the particular favour I needed, I proceeded to put him to the test to see if he could tell the truth. And when even men, if they are gentlemen—to say nothing of a god—discover that they are mistrusted, they have no love for those who mistrust them. 18. However, as he knew even about the gross absurdities I was engaged in, far as I was from Delphi, I then sent to him to inquire if I should have male issue. 19. And at first he did not even answer me; but when I had at last propitiated him, as I thought, by sending many offerings of gold and many of silver and by sacrificing very many victims, then he did answer my question as to what I should do to have sons; and he said that I should have them. 20. And I had; for not even in this did he speak falsely; but those

1 See Index, s.v. Croesus, note.
XENOPHON

gενόμενοι δὲ οὐδὲν ὄνησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κωφὸς ὅν ἔδειξεν, ὁ δὲ ἅριστος γενόμενος ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ βίου ἀπώλετο. πιεζόμενος δὲ ταῖς περὶ τοὺς παῖδας συμφοραῖς πάλιν πέμπω καὶ ἑπερωτῶ τὸν θεὸν τί ἂν ποιῶν τὸν λοιπὸν βίον 'ευδαιμονεστάτα διατελέσαιμι· ὁ δὲ μοι ἀπεκρίνατο.

Σαυτὸν μιγνώσκων εὐδαίμων, Κροῖσε, περάσεις.

21. ἕγω δ' ἀκούσας τὴν μαντείαν ἡσθην· ἐνόμιζον γὰρ τὸ βραστὸν μοι αὐτὸν προστάξαντα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν δίδοναι. ἄλλους μὲν γὰρ μιγνώσκειν τοὺς μὲν οἶνον τ' εἶναι τοὺς δ' οὖ· ἅντον δὲ ὅστις ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ ἐνόμιζον ἀνθρωπὸν εἰδέναι.

22. Καὶ τὸν μετὰ ταύτα δὴ χρόνον, ἐως μὲν εἶχον ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλουν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς θάνατον ταῖς τύχαις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνεπείσθην ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Ασσυρίου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς στρατεύεσθαι, εἰς πάντα κίνδυνον ἠλθον· ἑσοῦσθη ὡς κακοὶ κακῶν οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὐδὲ τάδε τὸν θεὸν.

23. Νῦν δ' αὖ πάλιν ὑπὸ τε πλοῦτον τοῦ παρόντος διαθρυπτόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν μου προστάτην γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δώρων ὅν ἐδίδοσάν μοι καὶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, οἳ με κολακεύοντες ἔλεγον ὡς εἰ ἐγὼ ἐθέλοιμι ἀρχεῖν, πάντες ἂν ἐμοὶ πείθουσι καὶ μέγιστος ἂν ἔθην ἀνθρώπων,

1 καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δώρων . . . ἀνθρώπων bracketed by Gemoll.
that were born to me have been no joy to me. For the one has continued dumb until now, and the other, the better of the two, was killed in the flower of his youth. Then, overwhelmed by the afflictions I suffered in connection with my sons, I sent again and inquired of the god what I should do to pass the rest of my life most happily; and he answered me:

'Knowing thyself, O Croesus—thus shalt thou live and be happy.'

21. And when I heard this response, I was glad; for I thought that it was the easiest task in the world that he was laying upon me as the condition to happiness. For in the case of others, it is possible to know some; and some, one cannot know; but I thought that everybody knows who and what he himself is.

22. "For the succeeding years, as long as I lived at peace, I had no complaint to make of my fortunes after the death of my son. But when I was persuaded by the Assyrian king to take the field against you, I fell into every sort of danger. However, I was saved without having suffered any harm. Here again I have no fault to find with the god. For when I recognized that I was not your match in battle, with his help I got off in safety, both I and my men.

23. "And lately again, spoiled by the wealth I had and by those who were begging me to become their leader, by the gifts they gave me and by the people who flattered me, saying that if I would consent to take command they would all obey me and I should be the greatest of men—puffed up by

1 There is a reference to the famous inscription on the temple at Delphi—γνῶθι σεαυτόν.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

υπὸ τοιοῦτον δὲ λόγων ἀναφυσώμενος, ὡς εἴλουτό 
με πάντες οἱ κύκλῳ βασιλεῖς προστάτην τοῦ πο-
λέμου, ὑπεδεξάμην τὴν στρατηγίαν, ὡς ἰκανός ὄν 
μέγιστος γενέσθαι, ἀγνοῶν ἁρὰ ἐμαυτόν, 24. ὅτι 
σοὶ ἀντιπολεμεῖν ἰκανὸς ὄμην εἶναι, πρῶτον μὲν 
ἐκ θεῶν γεγονότι, ἐπειτ' ἐς δὲ διὰ βασιλέων πεφυ-
κότι, ἐπειτ' ὅ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρετὴν ἀσκούντι· τῶν δ' 
ἐμῶν προγόνων ἀκοῦο τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα 
ἀμα τε βασιλέα καὶ ἐλεύθερον γενέσθαι. ταῦτ' 
οὐν ἀγνοῆσας δικαίως, ἔφη, ἔχω τὴν δίκην.

25. Ἀλλὰ νῦν δή, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρη, γυνώσκω μὲν 
ἐμαυτόν· σοὶ δ', ἔφη, ἔτι δοκεῖς ἀληθεύειν τὸν 
Απόλλων τὸν ἐυδαιμόν ἑσομαι γυνώσκοι ἐμαυτόν; 
σὲ δὲ ἐρωτῶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἀριστ' ἄν μοι δοκεῖς 
eἰκάσαι τοῦτο ἐν τῷ παρόντι· καὶ γὰρ δύνασαι 
pοιῆσαι.

26. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔστη, Βουλήν μοι δὸς περὶ 
τοῦτον, ὁ Κροῖσε· ἐγὼ γὰρ σοι ἐννοῶ τὴν πρό-
σθεν εὐδαιμονίαν οἰκτεῖρο τὲ σε καὶ ἀποδίδωμι 
ἡδὴ γυναῖκα τε ἐχειν ἡν εἰχεσ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, 
ἀκοῦο γὰρ σοι εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς 
θεράποντας καὶ τραπεζαν σὺν οἴαπερ ἐξῆτε·

1 μάχας δέ σοι καὶ πολέμους ἀφαιρώ.

27. Μὰ Δία μηδὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κροῖσος, σοῦ 
ἔμοι ἔτι βουλεύον ἀποκρίνασθαι περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς 
eὐδαιμονίας· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡδὴ σοι λέγω, ἢν ταῦτά μοι 
ποιήσῃς ἢ λέγεις, ὅτι ἢν ἄλλοι τε μακαριωτάτην

1 ἐξῆτε Edd.; ἐξῄτε xzDv; ἔξητε F.
such words, when all the princes round about chose me to be their leader in the war, I accepted the command, deeming myself fit to be the greatest; but, as it seems, I did not know myself. 24. For I thought I was capable of carrying on war against you; but I was no match for you; for you are in the first place a scion of the gods and in the second place the descendant of an unbroken line of kings, and finally you have been practising virtue from your childhood on, while the first of my ancestors to wear a crown, I am told, was at the same time king and freedman. Therefore, as I was thus without knowledge, I have my just deserts.

25. “But, Cyrus,” said he, “I know myself now. But do you think Apollo’s declaration still holds true, that if I know myself I shall be happy? I ask you this for the reason that under the present circumstances it seems to me you can judge best; for you are also in a position to fulfil it.”

26. “You must give me time to consider this, Croesus,” Cyrus replied; “for when I think of your happiness hitherto, I am sorry for you, and I now restore to you your wife, whom you once had, your daughters (for I understand you have daughters), your friends, your servants, and the table that you and yours used to enjoy. But wars and battles I must forbid you.”

27. “In the name of Zeus,” said Croesus, “pray do not trouble yourself further to answer me in regard to my happiness; for I assure you even now that if you do for me what you say you will, I, too, shall have and enjoy that life which others have always

1 Gyges, the shepherd king of Lydia.
ένόμιζον εἶναι βιοτὴν καὶ ἐγὼ συνεγγυνωσκοῦν αὐτοῖς, ταύτην καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχων διάξω.

28. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Τής δὴ ᾲ ἔχων ταύτην τὴν μακριάν βιοτὴν;

'Η ἐμὴ γυνὴ, εἶπεν, ὁ Κύρε έκείνη γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν μαλακῶν καὶ εὐφροσυνῶν πασῶν ἔμοι τὸ ἱσον μετείχε, φροντίδων δὲ ὅπως ταύτα ἔσται καὶ πολέμου καὶ μάχης οὐ μετήν αὐτή. οὔτω δὴ καὶ σὺ δοκεῖς ἐμὲ κατασκευάξειν ὁστήρ εἰγό ἢν ἐφίλουν μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, ὡστε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα μοι δοκῶ χαριστήρια ὅφειλήσειν.

29. Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Κύρος τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἔθαμβασε μὲν τὴν εὐθυμίαν, ἤγε δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ὅποι καὶ αὐτὸς πορεύοντο, εἶτε ἄρα καὶ χρήσιμον τῇ νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι εἶτε καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον οὕτως ἡγούμενος.

III

1. Καὶ τὸτε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖς καλέσας ὁ Κύρος τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἔγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔταξε τοὺς θησαυροὺς παραλαμβάνειν, τοὺς δ' ἐκέλευσεν ὅπωσα παραδοθῆ Κροίοσ χρήματα, πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξελεύν ὅποι ἄν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγόνται, ἐπειτὰ τάλα χρήματα παραδεχομένους ἐν ξυγαστροῖς στήσαντας ἐφ' ἀμάξων ἐπισκευάζει καὶ διαλαχόντας τὰς ἀμάξας κομίζειν ὅπουπερ ἄν αὐτὸι

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considered most blissful; and I have agreed with them."

28. "And who is it," asked Cyrus, "that enjoys such a life of bliss?"

"My wife, Cyrus," said he. "For she always shared equally with me my wealth and the luxuries and all the good cheer that it brought, but she had no share in the anxieties of securing it nor in war or battle. So, then, you seem to be putting me in the same position as I did her whom I loved more than all the world, so that I feel that I shall owe Apollo new thank-offerings."

29. At hearing these words Cyrus wondered at his good spirits, and after that he always used to take Croesus with him wherever he went, whether, as may well have been, because he thought Croesus was of some service to him, or whether he considered that this was the safer course.

III

1. Such was their interview, and then they went to rest. And on the following day Cyrus summoned his friends and the general officers of his army. He appointed some of them to take charge of the treasures and others he ordered first to select from the valuables that Croesus delivered such a portion for the gods as the magi should designate; the rest they should then take into their own charge and put in chests, and these they should pack upon the wagons; they should then divide the wagons by lot and convey them whithersoever they themselves might go; then, when the time came, the treasure
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πορεύονται, ἵνα ὅποιον καίρος εἴῃ διαλαμβάνοιεν ἐκαστοῖς τὰ ἄξια. 2. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίοιν.

Ὅ δὲ Κύρος καλέσας τινὰς τῶν παρόντων ὕπηρετῶν, Ἔπιπατέ μοι, ἐφη, ἐώρακέ τις ὑμῶν Ἀβραδάτων; θαυμάζω γάρ, ἐφη, ὅτι πρόσθεν θαμίζων ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς νῦν οὐδαμοίν φαίνεται.

3.. Τῶν ὅσιν ὕπηρετῶν τις ἀπεκρίνατο δι᾽ Ὡδέσποτα, οὗ ζῇ, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανεν ἐμ-βαλὼν τὸ ἄρμα εἷς τοὺς Ἀμπντίους; οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πλην τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ ἐξέκλιναν, ὡς φασίν, ἐπεὶ τὸ στῆφος εἰδον τὸ τῶν Ἀμπντίων. 4. καὶ νῦν γε ἐφη, λέγεται αὐτοῦ ἡ γυνὴ ἀνελομένη τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ἐνθεμένη εἰς τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν, ἐν ἰαρῷ αὐτή ὁχείτω, προσκεκομικέναι αὐτὸν ἐνθάδε ποι ἐν τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν. 5. καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνοίχους καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ ὁρύττειν φασίν ἐπὶ λόφου των θήκην τῷ τελευτήσαντι τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα λέγουσιν ὡς κάθηται χαμαι κεκο-σμηκιαί δὲ εἰχε τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τοῖς γόναις.

6. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Κύρος ἐπαίσατο ἄρα τὸν μηρὸν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναπτήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππου λαβὼν χιλίους ἴππεας ἦλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος. 7. Γαδά-ταν δὲ καὶ Γαβρίαν ἐκέλευσεν τῷ δύναυτῳ λαβόντας καλὸν κόσμημα ἄνδρι φίλῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τετελευτηκότι μεταδόωσεν καὶ ὅστις εἰχε τὰς ἐπομένας αγέλας, καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἵππους ἐπί τούτῳ καὶ ἀμα πρόβατα πολλὰ ἐλαύνειν ὅποιον ἀν αὐτὸν πυνθάνηται ὅτα, ὡς ἐπισφαγειή τῷ Ἀβραδάτῳ.

1 ὅποι Priscian, Hug, Gemoll; ἄπη xG, Dindorf, Breiten- bach, Marchant; ὅποι γAHV.
should be divided, and each man should receive his share according to his deserts. 2. The officers, accordingly, proceeded to follow his instructions.

And when he had called to him certain of his aides who were present, Cyrus said: "Tell me, has any one of you seen Abradatas? For I wonder why, in view of the fact that he used often to come to us, he is now nowhere to be seen."

3. "Sire," answered one of the aides, "he is no longer alive, but he fell in the battle as he hurled his chariot against the ranks of the Egyptians, while the rest, they say, all but himself and his companions, turned aside when they saw the dense host of the Egyptians. 4. And even now his wife, I am told, has taken up his body for burial, placed it in the carriage in which she herself used to ride, and brought it to some place here by the River Pactolus. 5. And his eunuchs and servants, so they say, are digging a grave upon a certain hill for his dead body. But his wife, they say, has decked her husband with what she possessed and now sits upon the ground, holding his head in her lap."

6. Upon hearing this, Cyrus smote his thigh, mounted his horse at once, and rode with a regiment of cavalry to the scene of sorrow. 7. He left orders for Gadatas and Gobryas to follow him with the most beautiful ornaments they could get for the man, who had fallen beloved and brave. And he ordered those who had in charge the herds that were taken with the army to bring both cattle and horses and many sheep besides to the place where they should hear that he was, that he might sacrifice them in honour of Abradatas.
8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδε τὴν γυναῖκα χαμαλα καθημένην καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν κείμενον, ἐδάκρυσε τε ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ ἐπε, Φεῦ, ὧν ἁγαθὴ καὶ πιστὴ ψυχή, οἷχει δὴ ἀπολυτών ἡμᾶς; καὶ ἀμα ἐδεξιώτο αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ χείρ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐπηκολούθησεν· ἀπεκέκουστο γὰρ κοπίδι ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Ἡ δὲ ἤδον πολὺ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἡληγε· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀνωδύρατο καὶ δεξαμένη ἡ παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου ἐφίλησε τε τὴν χείρα καὶ πάλιν ὡς οἶδ᾽ τῇ ἤπειρῃμοσε, καὶ ἐπε, 10. Καὶ τάλλα τοι, ὦ Κύρε, οὕτως ἔχει· ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ σε ὅραν; καὶ ταύτα, ἔφη, οἶδ᾽ ὅτι δὲ ἐμὲ οὐχ ἤκιστα ἔπαθεν, ἵσως δὲ καὶ διὰ σὲ, ὦ Κύρε, οὐδὲν ἤττον. ἔγω τε ἡ γὰρ ἡ μόρα πολλὰ διεκέλευσεν αὐτόν ὅπως οὐκοὶ φίλοι αξίως γενήσοιτο· αὐτός τε οἶδ᾽ ὅτι οὕτος οὐ τοῦτο ἐνενοεῖ ὃ τι πείσοιτο, ἀλλὰ τί ἄν σοι ποιήσας χαρίσαι τε. καὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμέ- πτως τετελεύτηκεν, ἔγω δὲ ἡ παρακελεύσεως ἡ ἕσσα παρακάβθημαι.

11. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος χρόνον μὲν τινα σιωπῆ κατε- δάκρυσεν, ἐπειτα δὲ ἐφθανέγατο, Ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν δή, ὦ γάναι, ἔχει τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος· νικῶν γὰρ τετελεύτηκε· σὺ δὲ λαβοῦσα τοίδε ἐπικόσμει αὐτὸν τοῖς παρ᾽ ἔμοι· παρῆν δὲ ὁ Γαβρύας καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας πολὺν καὶ καλὸν κόσμον φέροντες· ἔπειτα δ᾽ ἔφη, ἵσθι δὴ ὅτι οὐδὲ τάλλα ἀτύμως ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μνήμα πολλοὶ χώσονσιν ἄξιος ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπισφαγήσεται αὐτῷ ὅσα εἰκὸς ἀνδρὶ ἁγάθῳ.

12. Καὶ σὺ δ', ἔφη, οὖκ ἔρημος ἔσει, ἀλλ' ἐγώ

1 γενήσοιτο F, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; λόγου φανείς xzV, Zonaras, Dindorf, Breitenbach (show himself a friend worth mentioning).
8. And when he saw the lady sitting upon the ground and the corpse lying there, he wept over his loss and said: “Alas, O brave and faithful soul, hast thou then gone and left us?” And with the words he clasped his hand, and the dead man’s hand came away in his grasp; for the wrist had been severed by a sabre in the hands of an Egyptian. 9. And Cyrus was still more deeply moved at seeing this; and the wife wept aloud; but taking the hand from Cyrus, she kissed it and fitted it on again as best she could and said: 10. “The rest of his limbs also you will find in the same condition, Cyrus; but why should you see it? And I am in no small degree to blame that he has suffered so, and you, Cyrus, perhaps not less than I. For it was I that, in my folly, urged him to do his best to show himself a worthy friend to you; and as for him, I know that he never had a thought of what might happen to him, but only of what he could do to please you. And so,” she said, “he has indeed died a blameless death, while I who urged him to it sit here alive!”

11. For some time Cyrus wept in silence and then he said aloud: “Well, lady, he indeed has met the fairest of ends, for he has died in the very hour of victory; but do you accept these gifts from me”—for Gobryas and Gadatas had come with many beautiful ornaments—“and deck him with them. And then, let me assure you that in other ways also he shall not want for honours, but many hands shall rear to him a monument worthy of us, and sacrifice shall be made over it, such as will befit a man so valiant.

12. “And you,” he continued, “shall not be left
13. Καὶ ἡ Πάνθεια εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ θάρρει, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρη, οὐ μὴ σε κρύψω πρὸς οὖν τινα βούλομαι ἀφικέσθαι.

14. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἶπὼν ἀργῆς, κατοικτεῖρων τήν τε γυναίκα οἴον ἄνδρον στέροντο καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα οἶαν γυναίκα καταλυπὼν οὐκέτ' ὅφειτο. ἦ δὲ γυνὴ τοὺς μὲν εὐνοῦχους ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστῆναι, ἐὼς ἂν, ἔφη, τόνδ' ἐγώ ἀδύρωμαι ὡς βούλομαι· τῇ δὲ τροφῇ εἰπε ταξιαίων, καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτή, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνῃ, περικαλύψαι αὐτήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν ἰματίῳ. ἦ δὲ τροφὸς πολλὰ ἱκετεύουσα μὴ ποιεῖν τούτο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἤνυστε ¹ καὶ χαλεπάνουσα ἑώρα, ἐκάθετο κλαίοντα. ἦ δὲ ἀκινάκην πάλαι παρεσκευασμένον σπασαμένη σφάττει ἑαυτήν καὶ ἐπιθείσα ἐπὶ τὰ στέρνα τοῦ ἄνδρος τήν ἑαυτῆς κεφαλήν ἀπέθανεν.

¹ ἦνυστε Dindorf, Edd.; ἦνυστε x2DV; ἦνυστε F.
friendless, but on account of your goodness and all your worth, I shall show you all honour; and besides, I will commend to you some one to escort you to the place where you yourself desire to go. Only let me know to whom you wish to be conducted.”

13. “Ah, Cyrus,” Panthea answered, “do not fear; I shall never hide from you who it is to whom I wish to go.”

14. When he had said this, Cyrus went away, his heart full of pity for the woman, as he thought what a husband she had lost, and for the man, that he must leave such a wife and never see her more. The lady then desired the eunuchs to retire, “until,” she said, “I have bewailed my husband here, as I desire.” But her nurse she told to stay with her, and she charged her to cover her and her husband, when she, too, was dead, with the same cloak. The nurse, however, pleaded earnestly with her not to do so; but when her prayers proved of no avail and she saw her mistress becoming angered, she sat down and burst into tears. Panthea then drew out a dagger, with which she had provided herself long before, and plunged it into her heart, and laying her head upon her husband’s bosom she breathed her last.

Then the nurse wailed aloud and covered them both, even as Panthea had directed.

15. When Cyrus heard what the woman had done, he was filled with dismay and hastened to the place to see if he could bring any help. And when the eunuchs, three in number, beheld what had occurred, they also, standing in the spot where she had ordered them to stand, drew their daggers and drove them into their own breasts.
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[Kαλὰ νῦν τὸ μνῆμα μέχρι τού νῦν τῶν εὐνοῦχων κεχώσθαι λέγεται· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ἄνω στήλῃ τοῦ ἄνδρος καὶ τῆς γυναῖκος ἐπυγεγράφη οὐκ ἔδωσα ὑμῖν τὴν στήλην καὶ ἐπυγεγράφη τὸ Xηπτοτχαν,,.] 1

16. Ἡ ἐν πάθει ἀγάθεις τῇ γυναικείᾳ καὶ κατολοφυράμενος ἀπῆκλει· καὶ τούτῳ πῶς θάκος ἐπεμεληθη ὡς τύχοιευ πάντων τῶν καλῶν, καὶ τὸ μνῆμα ὑπερμέγεθες ἐχώσθη, ὡς φασίν.

IV

1. Ἔκ τούτου στασιάζουτε οἱ Κάρες καὶ πολεμοῦντες πρὸς ἄλληλους, ἀτε τάς οἰκήσεις ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑυροῖς χωρίοις, ἐκάτεροι ἐπεκαλύφθη τῶν Κύρων. ὁ δὲ Κύρος αὐτὸς μὲν μένων ἐν Σάρδεσι μηχανάς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ κριόνως, ὡς τῶν μη πεθομένων ἔρειψαν τὰ τείχη. Ἦδούσιον δὲ ἀνδρὰ Πέρσην καὶ τάλλα ὄψιν ἀφρόνα ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ πάνω δὴ εὐχαριστεῖ, ἐπεὶ τὴν Καρίαν στράτευμα δοῦσαν· καὶ Κλίκες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι πάνω προθύμως αὐτῷ συνεστράτευσαν. 2. ὡς ένεκα ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπεμιστεύσαντες Πέρσην στρατάπτην ὤντες Κλίκων ὄντες Κυπρίων, ἄλλη ἑρκου τού ἑπικύρων βασιλείας ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μεντοῦ ἑλάμβανε καὶ στρατιάς ὑπότε δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπιγγέλλειν αὐτοῖς.

1 καὶ νῦν ... Xηπτοτχαν MSS.; omitted by Dindorf, omitted or bracketed by Edd.
[And now even to this day, it is said, the monument of the eunuchs is still standing; and they say that the names of the husband and wife are inscribed in Assyrian letters upon the slab above; and below, it is said, are three slabs with the inscription THE MACE-BEARERS.¹]

16. And when Cyrus drew near to the place of sorrow he marvelled at the woman; and having made lament over her, he went his way. He also took care that they should find all due honours, and the monument reared over them was, as they say, exceeding great.

IV

1. THEN the Carians fell into strife and civil war with one another; they were intrenched in strongholds, and both sides called upon Cyrus for assistance. So while Cyrus himself stayed in Sardis to make siege-engines and battering rams to demolish the walls of such as should refuse to submit, he entrusted an army to Adusius, a Persian who was not lacking in judgment generally and not unskilled in war, and who was besides a very courteous gentleman, and sent him into Caria; and the Cilicians and Cyprians also joined most heartily in this expedition.  2. Because of their enthusiastic allegiance he never sent a Persian satrap to govern either the Cilicians or the Cyprians, but was always satisfied with their native princes. Tribute, however, he did receive from them, and whenever he needed forces he made a requisition upon them for troops.

¹ Staff-bearers—apparently court officials, bearing a “staff” of office; mentioned again viii. i. 38; viii. iii. 15; Anab. i. vi. 11.
3. 'Ο δὲ Ἀδούσιος ἁγων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθραίαν ἠλθε, καὶ ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν Καράντ υπήγαγε πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐτοιμοὶ ὄντες δέχεσθαι εἰς τὰ τείχη ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ἀντιστασίαζόντων. ὁ δὲ Ὁδούσιος πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ταύτα ἐποίησε δικαιότερα τε ἐφ’ ἐπή λέγειν τοῦτον ὀποτέροις διαλέγουτο, λατρεῖν τε ἐφ’ ἐπη δεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους φίλους σφᾶς γενομένους, ὡς δὴ σύντως ἄν μᾶλλον ἐπιτεσσάρῳ ἀπαρασκεύασαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις. πιστά δὲ ἂν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Κάρας ὅμοιοι ἄδολως τε δέχεσθαι εἰς τὰ τείχη σφᾶς καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τῷ Κύρου καὶ Περσῶν αὐτὸς δὲ ὅμοιοι θέλειν ἄδολως εἰσίναι εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων. 4. τάχτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀμφοτέρους ἀλαρόν ἐκατέρων νῦκτα συνέθετο τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ εἰσήλασε τε εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ παρέλαβε τὰ ἐρύματα ἀμφοτέρων. ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθεξόμενος εἰς τὸ μέσον σὺν τῷ στρατιῶτα ἐκάλεσεν ἐκατέρων τους ἐπικαϊριοὺς. οἱ δὲ ἦδοντες ἀλλήλους ἠχθευόμενοι, νομίζοντες ξηραπατήσατο ἀμφότεροι. 5. ὁ μὲν οἶκος Ἀδούσιος ἐλέει τοῦ ἄνδρον

'Εγὼ υμῖν, οὗτος, ὅμοιος ἄδολως εἰσίναι εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπολών ὀποτέροις ὑμῶν, νομίζω ἐπὶ κακῷ εἰσέλθησαν Καράων∙ ἂν δὲ εἰρήνη ὑμῖν ποιήσω καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμφοτέροις τὴν γῆν, νομίζω υμῖν ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ παρεῖναι. υἱῶν οὖν ἥρ

1 δέχεσθαι Dindorf, Madvig, Edd.; δέχασθαι MSS.
2 ἐσῆλασε τῆς Hug (ἐσῆλασε Leonclav; εἰσῆλθε τῆς Cobet), Marchant, Gemoll; εἰσῆλθα τῷ V, Dindorf, Breitenbach; εἰσῆλθα τῷ x; εἰσῆλθεν y.
3. Adusius now set out for Caria at the head of his army; and there came to him representatives from both parties of the Carians, ready to receive him into their walls to the injury of the rival faction. But Adusius treated both sides alike: with whichever party he conferred, he said they were more in the right, but they must not let their opponents know that he and they had become friends, alleging that he would thus be more likely to fall upon those opponents unprepared. Moreover, he demanded from the Carians pledges of good faith and made them swear to receive him without treachery within their walls to the advantage of Cyrus and the Persians, and he himself consented to give his oath that he would without treachery enter their walls for the advantage of those who admitted him. 4. And when he had done this, he made appointments with both parties for the same night—each party without the other’s knowledge—and on that night he marched inside the walls and took possession of the strongholds of both. At day-break he took his stand with his army between the two and summoned the leaders of the two factions. And when they saw one another they were indignant, for they both thought they had been duped. 5. Adusius, however, addressed them as follows:

"Gentlemen, I gave you my oath that I would without treachery enter your walls for the advantage of those who admitted me. If, therefore, I destroy either party of you, I think that I have come in to the injury of the Carians; whereas, if I can secure peace for you and security for all to till the fields, I think I am here for your advantage. Now, therefore,
ἀπὸ τῆς ήμέρας ἐπιμέλησαν τοις ἄλληλοις φιλικῶς, ἔργαζον τοις γήν ἄδεως, διδόνα τοῖς τέκνα καὶ λαμβάναντα παρ᾽ ἄλληλοιν. ἤν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ἄδικεῖν τις ἐπιχειρή, τούτος Κύρος τοις Ἰμιᾶς πολέμου ἐνσόμεθα.

6. Ἐκ τούτου πύλαι μὲν ἀνεφημέναι ἦσαν τῶν τειχῶν, μεστὰ δὲ αἱ ὅδοι πορευμένων παρ᾽ ἄλληλους, μεστοὶ δὲ οἱ χώροι ἐργαζομένων ἐστὰς δὲ κοινὴ ἡ γούν, εἰρήνης δὲ καὶ εὐφροσύνης πάντα πλέα ἦν.

7. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκον παρὰ Κύρου ἐρωτώντες εἰ τι στρατιάς προσδέουσιν ἡ μηχανημάτων, ὅ δὲ Ἀδούσιος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἐξῆλθε ἀλλοστε χρήσθαι στρατιάς καὶ ἄμα ταῦτα λέγον ἀπήγε τὸ στράτευμα, φρουροὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις καταλυπών. οἱ δὲ Κάρες ἴκετεν μὲν εὐνοι αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἦθελε, προσέπεμψαν πρὸς Κύρου δεόμενοι πέμψαι Ἀδούσιον σφίσι σατράπην.

8. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεστάλκει 'Τστάσπαν στράτευμα ἄγοντα ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν περὶ Ἐλλήσιον τοῦτον ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν ὁ Ἀδούσιος, μετάγειαν αὐτὸν ἐκελευσθὲν ἦπερ ὁ 'Τστάσπας προφήτην, ὅπως μᾶλλον πείθοντο τῷ 'Τστάσπα, ἀπολύοντες ἀλλο στράτευμα προσιόν.

9. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἐλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ οἰκούντες πολλὰ δῶρα δόντες διεπράξαντο ὅτε εἰς μὲν τὰ τεῖχα βαρβάρους μὴ δέχεσθαι, δασμὸν δὲ ἀποφέρειν καὶ στρατεύειν ὅποι Κύρος ἐπαγγέλλοι.

1 ἀποφέρειν Zonaras, Edd.; ἦποφέρειν MSS.
from this day you must live together like friends, till your lands without fear of one another, and intermarry your children one party with the other; and if any one in defiance of these regulations attempts to make trouble, Cyrus, and we with him, will be that man’s enemies.”

6. After that, the gates of the city were opened, the streets filled up with people passing to and fro, and the farms with labourers; they celebrated their festivals together, and peace and joy reigned everywhere.

7. At this juncture messengers came to him from Cyrus to ask if he needed any more troops or engines; but Adusius answered that even the army he had with him was at the disposal of Cyrus to employ elsewhere. And with those words he started to lead back his army, leaving only garrisons upon the citadels. But the Carians pleaded with him to stay; and when he refused, they sent to Cyrus to petition him to send Adusius to be their satrap.

8. Cyrus had meanwhile sent off Hystaspas in command of an expedition against the Phrygia that lies along the Hellespont. So when Adusius returned, he directed him to march on in the direction Hystaspas had taken, that they might submit to Hystaspas more readily when they heard that another army was on the way.

9. Now the Greeks who dwelt by the sea gave many gifts and secured an agreement to the effect that while they should not receive the barbarians1 within their walls, they would yet pay tribute and serve under him in the field wherever Cyrus should direct.

1 “Barbarians,” from the Greek point of view; that is, Persians.
10. ὁ δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν βασιλεὺς παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς καθέξων τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καὶ οὐ πεισόμενοι καὶ παρήγγελλεν σύντως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίσταντο αὐτός οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ ἔρημος ἐγὼντο, τελευτῶν εἰς χείρας ἦλθεν Ἀστάςτα ζείγε τῷ Κύρῳ δίκη. καὶ ὁ Ἀστάςτας καταλίπτων ἐν ταῖς ἀκραίς ἱσχυρὰς Περσῶν φρουρὰς ἀπῆγε ἁγών σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς καὶ Φρυγῶν πολλοὺς ἕπτεάς καὶ πελταστάς.

11. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπέστηλεν Ἀδουσίῳ συμμίξαντα πρὸς Ἀστάςταν τοὺς μὲν ἐλομένους Φρυγῶν τὰ σφέτερα σὺν τοῖς ὑπλοῖς ἁγείν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμήσαντας πολεμεῖν τούτων ἀφελομένους τοὺς ἐπιπους καὶ τὰ ὁπλα σφενδόνας ἔχοντας πάντας κελεύειν ἐπεσθαί. 12. οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ταύτ᾽ ἐποίοιν.

Κῦρος δὲ ὠρμάτω ἐκ Σάρδεων, φρουρὰν μὲν πεζῆν καταλιπτῶν πολλὴν ἐν Σάρδεσι, Κροίσον δὲ ἔχων, ἁγών δὲ πολλάς ἁμάξας πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων. ἤκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Κροίσος γεγραμμένα ἔχων ἀκριβῶς ὡς ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἡν τῇ ἁμάξῃ καὶ διδοὺς τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ γράμματα εἴπε, Ταύτ᾽, ἐφ᾽ ἐχου, ο Ἀπα, εἴπει τὸν τὲ σοὶ ὅρθως ἀποδιδόντα ἄγει καὶ τὸν μῆ.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐλέξειν, Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καλῶς ποιεῖς, ὁ Κροίσο, προνοῶν ἐμοίγε μέντοι ἄξοις τὰ χρημάτα ὑπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὰ ἄξιοι εἰσιν· ὡστε ἦν τι καὶ κλέψωσι, τῶν ἑαυτῶν κλέψονται.

Καὶ ἁμα ταύτα λέγων ἐδώκε τὰ γράμματα τοῖς

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1 poieis xy, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἐποίεις ZVe, Dindorf, Sauppe, Breitenbach; ἐποίησες Zonaras.
10. But the king of Phrygia made preparations to keep possession of his forts and not to submit, and he gave orders to that effect. When, however, his subordinate officers deserted and he was left alone, he finally surrendered to Hystaspas on condition that Cyrus should be his judge and arbiter. And Hystaspas, leaving strong garrisons of Persians upon the citadels, went back with his own army reinforced with many Phrygian horsemen and peltasts.

11. Besides, Cyrus had given Adusius instructions to join Hystaspas and bring with them armed those Phrygians who had voluntarily taken their side, but to take their horses and arms away from those who had shown fight, and to make all such follow, armed with nothing but slings. 12. Accordingly, they were thus engaged in executing these orders.

But Cyrus, leaving behind a large garrison of foot-soldiers, started from Sardis in company with Croesus; and he took with him many wagons loaded with valuables of every sort. And Croesus also had come with an accurate inventory of what was in each wagon; and as he handed the lists to Cyrus he said: "From this, Cyrus, you may know who renders to you in full that of which he has charge and who does not."

13. "Aye, Croesus," answered Cyrus; "you do well to take this precaution. As far as I am concerned, however, those shall have charge of the valuables who also deserve to own them; so that if they embezzle anything, they will be embezzling from what is their own."

With these words, he gave the inventories to his
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φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχονσιν, ὡς εἰδείν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων οὐ τε σῶα 1 αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδοῖεν οὐ τε μή.

14. Ἡγεὶ δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οὗς μὲν ἐώρα καλλωπιζομένους καὶ ὑπολοι ως καὶ ἱππολοι καὶ ἁρμασι καὶ πάντα πειρωμένους ποιεῖν ὅ τι φοντο αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι, τούτως μὲν σὺν τοῖς ὑπολοίς· οὗς δὲ ἐώρα ἀχαρίτως ἐπομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἱππους αὐτῶν παρέδωκε Πέρσαις τοῖς πρώτοις συστρατευμένοις, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα κατέκαυσε· σφενδόνας δὲ καὶ τούτους ἡνάγκασεν ἔχοντας ἐπεσθαί. 15. καὶ πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀόπλους τῶν ὑποχειρίων γενομένων σφενδονάν ἡνάγκαζε μελετάν, νομίζων τοῦτο τὸ ὅπλον δουλικώτατον εἶναι· σὺν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλη δυνάμει μάλα ἔστω ἕνθα ἱσχυρῶς ὡφελοῦσι σφενδονῆται παρόντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ καθ’ αὐτοὺς οὐδ’ ἄν οἱ πάντες σφενδονῆται μείνειαν πάνυ ὄλγους ὡμόσε ἑνότας σὺν ὅπλοις ἀγχεμάχοις.

16. Προὶ δὲ τῆν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος κατεστρέφατο μὲν Φρύγας τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Φρυγίᾳ, κατεστρέφατο δὲ Καππαδόκας, ὑποχειρίους δ’ ἐποίησατο Ἀραβίους. ἐξόπλισε 2 δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων Περσῶν μὲν ἱππέας οὐ μείον τετρακισμυρίους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ

1 σῶα MSS., Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; σα Dindorf, Hug.
2 ἐξόπλισε xyG2, Hug, Marchant; ἐξόπλησε zG1V, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hertlein, Gemoll (he filled up the number).

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friends and officers, that they might be able to tell who of the overseers delivered everything safe and who of them failed.

14. He took with him also such of the Lydians as he saw taking a pride in the fine appearance of their arms and horses and chariots and trying to do everything that they thought would please him; these he permitted to retain their arms. But if he saw any following with bad grace, he turned their horses over to those Persians who had been the first to engage in his service; he had their arms burned, and these men, too, he required to follow with nothing but slings. 15. And of those who had been made subjects he required all who were unarmed to practise with the sling, for he considered this weapon to be the one most fitting for a slave. For in conjunction with other forces there are occasions when the presence of slingers is of very effective assistance, but by themselves alone not all the slingers in the world could stand against a very few men who came into a hand-to-hand encounter with them with weapons suited for close combat.

16. On the way to Babylon he subdued Greater Phrygia and Cappadocia and reduced the Arabians to submission. From all these he secured armour for not less than forty thousand Persian horsemen, and many horses taken from the prisoners he dis-
πάσι τοῖς συμμάχοις διέδωκε· καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφίκετο παμπόλλους μὲν ἱππεὰς ἔχον, παμπόλλους δὲ τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, σφενδονήτας δὲ ἀναριθμητοὺς.

V

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἦν ὁ Κῦρος, περιέστησε μὲν πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς περιήλαυνε τὴν πόλιν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις τε καὶ ἐπικαιρίοις τῶν συμμάχων. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεθεάσατο τὰ τείχη, ἀπάγει παρεσκενάσατο τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως· ἐξελθὼν δὲ τις αὐτόμολος εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιτίθεσθαι μέλλοιεν αὐτῷ, ὅπως ἀπάγοι τὸ στράτευμα· καταθεωμένοις γάρ, ἐφε, αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἄσθενης ἐδόκει εἶναι ἡ φάλαγξ· καὶ οὕτως θαυμαστῶν ἦν ὦτως ἐχειν· περὶ γάρ πολὺ τείχος κυκλομένοις ἁνάγκη ἦν ἐπ' ὀλίγων τὸ βάθος γενέσθαι τῆς φάλαγγα.

3. Ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ταύτα, στὰς κατὰ μέσον τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ παρῆγγειλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἐκατέρωθεν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀναπτύσσοντας τὴν φάλαγγα ἀπείνα σε παρὰ τὸ ἐστηκός τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐφος γένοιτο ἐκατέρωθεν τὸ ἄκρον κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον. 4. οὕτως οὖν ποιοῦντοι οἱ τε μένοντες

1 κυκλομένοις Bornemann, recent Edd.; κυκλομένους MSS., earlier Edd.
2 ὀλίγων Hertlein, Edd.; ὀλίγων MSS.

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tributed among all the divisions of his allies. And thus he arrived before Babylon with a great host of cavalry, and a great host of bowmen and spearmen, and a multitude of slingers that was beyond number.

V

1. When Cyrus appeared before Babylon he stationed his whole force about the city and then rode around it himself in company with his friends and the staff-officers of the allies; 2. but when he had taken a survey of the walls, he prepared to draw off his army from the city. But a deserter came out and told him that they were going to attack him as soon as he began to draw his army off. "For," the man went on, "your lines looked weak to those who observed them from the walls." And it was no wonder that they appeared so; for, encompassing walls of such extent, the lines necessarily had but little depth.

3. On hearing this, therefore, Cyrus took his place with his body-guard in the centre of his army and gave orders that the hoplites should fold back the phalanx from the extremity of either wing and move toward each other behind the main body, which had been halted, until each of the extreme wings should meet in a line with him, that is, in the centre. 2

4. By

1 See Index, s.v. Babylon, note.
2 See Appendix I.
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eὐθὺς θαρραλεώτεροι ἐγίγνοντο ἐπὶ διπλασίων τὸ βάθος γυνώμενοι, οἳ τ’ ἀπιόντες ὡσαύτως θαρραλεώτεροι· εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ μένοντες ἀντ᾽ ἄυτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγίγνοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκατέρωθεν συνήψαν τὰ ἅκρα, ἔστησαν ἵσχυρότεροι γεγενημένοι, οἳ τε ἀπεληλυθότες διὰ τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν, οἳ τ’ ἐμπροσθεν διὰ τοὺς ὁπίσθεν προσγεγενημένους. 5. ἀναπτυχθείσης δ’ οὖτω τῆς φάλαγγος ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρῶτους ἀρίστους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοὺς κακίστους τετάχθαι· η δ’ οὕτως ἔχουσα τάξις καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι ἐδόκει εὐ παρεσκευᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ φεῦγειν. καὶ οἱ ἅπεις δὲ καὶ οἱ γυμνῆτες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων ἀεὶ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοσοῦτο ὅσῳ ἡ φάλαγξ βραχυτέρα ἐγίγνετο ἀναδιπλουμένη. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω συνεπειράθησαν, ἀπῆσαν, ἔως μὲν ἐξικνεῖτο τὰ βέλη ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ πόδα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, στραφέντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὅλγα βῆματα προϊόντες μετεβάλλοντο· ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδα καὶ ἱσταντο πρὸς τὸ τείχος βλέποντες· ὅσῳ δὲ προσωτέρῳ ἐγίγνοντο, τόσῳ δὲ μανότερον μετεβάλλοντο. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεὶ ἐδόκοντο εἶναι, συνείρουν ἀπιόντες, ἐστ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐγένοντο.

¹ ἀντ᾽ supplied by Hertlein, Edi.; not in MSS.
² μετεβάλλοντο xyV, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Gemoll; μετεβάλλοντο z, Hug, Marchant.

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this manoeuvre the men that remained standing in their places were at once given more courage, for the depth of the line was thus doubled; and those who had fallen back were likewise rendered more courageous, for thus those troops which had been kept standing had now come to face the enemy, and not they. But when, as they marched in from both sides, the ends came together, they stood thus mutually strengthened—those who had shifted their position were supported by those in front of them, those in front by the men behind them. 5. And when the phalanx was thus folded back, the front ranks and the rear were of necessity composed of the most valiant men and the poorest were drawn up between them. And this arrangement of the lines seemed well adapted both for fighting and for keeping the men from flight; and the cavalry and the light-armed troops upon the wings were in each case brought as much nearer to the commander as the phalanx was shorter when doubled. 6. And when they had thus closed up, they retired backward as long as they were within range of the missiles from the wall; but when they were out of range, they would face about and go forward at first only a few steps and wheel to the left and stand facing the wall; and the further off they got, the less often did they thus wheel around; and when they seemed to be out of all danger, they marched off without stopping until they arrived at their tents.
7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεστράτοπεδεύσαντο, συνέκαλεσεν ὁ Κύρος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους καὶ ἐλέξειν, Ἀνδρεὶς σύμμαχοι, τεθεάμεθα μὲν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως μὲν ἄν τις τείχη οὕτως ἵσχυρὰ καὶ υψηλὰ προσμαχόμενος ἔλοι οὐκ ἐνοράν μοι δοκῶ. ὅσῳ δὲ πλείους ἀνθρωποὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσίν, ἐπείπερ οὐ μᾶχονται ἕξιόντες, τοσούτῳ ἂν θάττων λιμῷ αὐτοὺς ὑγιόμαι ἀλῶναι. εἰ μὴ τινὶ οὖν ἄλλον τρόπον ἔχετε λέγειν, τούτῳ πολιορκητέουσι φημὶ εἶναι τοὺς ἀνδρας.

8. Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάνθας εἶπεν, Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς, ἔφη, οὕτως οὐ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως βεῖ πλάτος ἔχων πλείον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια;

Ναὶ μᾶ Δλ', ἔφη ὁ Γαβρύας, καὶ βάθος γ' ὡς οὐδὲ ἄν δύο ἄνδρες ὁ ἄλλος ἐπὶ τὸν ἐτέρον ἑστηκὼς τοῦ ὑδατος ὑπερέχοιειν· ὅστε τὸ ποταμῷ ἐτι ἰσχυρότερα ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις ἡ τοῖς τείχεσι.

9. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος, Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἔωμεν ὅσα κρείττω ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως· διαμετρησάμενος δὲ χρῆ ὡς τάχιστα τὸ μέρος ἐκάστους ἡμῶν ὁρίττειν τάφρον ὡς πλατυτάτην καὶ βαθυτάτην, ὅπως ὅτι ἐλαχίστων ἡμῶν τῶν φυλάκων δέη.

10. Οὕτω δὴ κύκλῳ διαμετρήσας περὶ τὸ τείχος, ἀπολιπτῶν ὅσον τύρσεις μεγάλαις ἀπὸ τοῦ

1 ἐκάστου Madvig, Breitenbach, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἐκάστου xzFV, Dindorf; ἐκάστου D.

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7. When they had encamped, Cyrus called together his staff-officers and said: “Friends and allies, we have viewed the city on every side. But I am sure I cannot see how any one could take by storm walls so massive and so high; but the more men there are in the city, the sooner they can, I think, be brought by famine to capitulate, seeing that they will not come out and fight. Therefore, unless you have some other method to suggest, I propose that we use this method of laying siege to those gentlemen.”

8. “But,” said Chrysantas, “does not this river flow through the midst of the city? And it is more than two stadia in width.”

“Aye, by Zeus,” said Gobryas, “and its depth is such that two men, one standing on the other’s shoulders, would not reach the surface of the water, so that the city is better defended by the river than by its walls.”

9. “Chrysantas,” Cyrus answered, “let us not trouble ourselves with that which is beyond our powers; but we must apportion the work among ourselves as quickly as possible, to each contingent its proper share, and dig a ditch as wide and as deep as possible, so that we may require only as many men on guard as are absolutely indispensable.”

10. Accordingly, he took measurements in a circle round about the city, leaving just enough room by the river for the erection of large towers, and began
ποταμοῦ, ὃρυττεν ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τοῦ τείχους τάφρον ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀνέβαλλον πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ. 11. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πύργους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φικοδόμει, φολιξὶ θεμελώσας οὐ μείον ἢ πλεθριαῖοι—εἰς γὰρ καὶ μεῖζον ἢ τοσοῦτοι τὸ μῆκος πεφυκότες· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πιεζόμενοι οἱ φολικεῖς ὑπὸ βάρους ἀνω κυρτοῦται, ὡσπερ οἱ ὄνοι οἱ κανθήλιοι. 12. τούτοι δὲ ὑπετίθει τούτον ἐνεκα [ὅπως οἱ μάλιστα έόλκοι πολιορκήσειν παρασκευαζόμενοι], ὡς εἶ καὶ διαφύγοι οἱ ποταμὸς εἶς τὴν τάφρον, μὴ ἀνέλοι τοὺς πύργους. ἀνίση ὅδε καὶ ἀλλοις πολλοῖς πύργους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμβολάδος γῆς, ὡποὺ ὅτι πλεῖστα φυλακτήρια εἶναι.

13. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτ᾽ ἐποίουν· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει κατεγέλαυν τῆς πολιορκίας, ὡς ἔχοντες τάπιτηδεία πλέον ἢ εἰκοσιν ἑτῶν.

'Ακούσας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Κύρος ὑπὸ στράτευμα κατένεμε δώδεκα μέρη, ὡς μήνα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔκαστον τὸ μέρος φυλάξῃ. 14. οἱ δὲ αὐ Βαβυλώνιοι ακούσαντες ταύτα πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον κατεγέλαυν, ἐνυποκεφεῖν εἰ σφᾶς Φρύγες καὶ Λυδίαι καὶ Ἁράβαιοι καὶ Καππαδόκαι φυλάξουν, οὐς σφίσων ἐνόμιζον πάντας εὐμεινεστέρους εἶναι ἢ Πέρσας.

15. Καὶ αἱ μὲν τάφροι ἢδη ὀρφυρυμέναι ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐπειδὴ ἐορτήν τοιαύτην ἐν τῇ Βαβυλώνῃ ἦκοςεν εἶναι, ἐν ἡ πάντες Βαβυλώνιοι ὅλην τὴν νύκτα πύνουσι καὶ κωμάξουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα συνεσκότασε, λαβών πολλοὺς

1 ὡς . . . παρασκευαζόμενο MSS.; bracketed by Breitenbach, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; Dindorf brackets τούτους . . . πύργους.
on either side of the city to dig an immense trench; and the earth from it they threw up on their own side of the ditch. 11. First of all, he began to build towers by the river, laying his foundations with the trunks of date-palms not less than a hundred feet long—and they grow even taller than that. And they were good material for this purpose, for it is a well known fact that date-palms, when under heavy pressure, bend upward like the backs of pack-asses. 12. These he used as “mud-sills,” in order that, even if the river should break into his trench above, it might not carry his towers away. And he erected many other towers besides upon the breast-works of earth, so that he might have as many watch-towers as possible.

13. Thus, then, his men were employed, while the enemy upon the walls laughed his siege-works to scorn, in the belief that they had provisions enough for more than twenty years.

Upon hearing of this, Cyrus divided his army into twelve parts as if intending each part to be responsible for sentry duty during one month of each year; 14. but the Babylonians, in their turn, when they heard of that, laughed much more scornfully still, at the thought of Phrygians and Lydians and Arabians and Cappadocians keeping guard against them, for they considered all these to be more friendly to them than to the Persians.

15. At last the ditches were completed. Then, when he heard that a certain festival had come round in Babylon, during which all Babylon was accustomed to drink and revel all night long, Cyrus took a large number of men, just as soon as it was dark, and
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ἀνθρώπους ἀνεστόμωσε τὰς τάφρους πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν. 16. ὁς δὲ τούτο ἐγένετο, τὸ ὤδερ κατὰ τὰς τάφρους ἔχωρει ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁδὸς πορεύσιμος ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο.

17. Ὡς δὲ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οὕτως ἐπορσύνετο, παρηγγύησεν ὁ Κύρος Πέρσαις χιλιάρχοις καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππεῶν εἰς δύο ἄγοντας τὴν χίλιοιστῶν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλούς συμμάχους κατ᾽ οὐράν τούτων ἔπεσθαι ἤπερ πρὸς ἅπερ τεταγμένους. 18. οἱ μὲν δὲ παρῆσαν, ὁ δὲ καταβιβάσας εἰς τὸ ξηρὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππείς, ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι εἰ πορεύσιμον εἴη τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 19. ἑπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆγγειλαν ὅτι πορεύσιμον εἴη, ἐνταῦθα δὴ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἱππεῶν ἔλεξε τοιάδει.

20. Αὐρήσε, ἐφι, φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς ἡμῖν παρακεχώρηκε τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁδὸν. ἡμεῖς δὲ θαρροῦμεν εἰσίωμεν μηδὲν φοβοῦμενοι εἴσω, ἐννοοῦμενοι ὅτι οὕτως ἐφ᾽ ὦς νῦν πορευσόμεθα ἐκεῖνοι εἰς εἴς ὑπὸ ἡμεῖς καὶ συμμάχους πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἔχοντας καὶ ἐγγερισθοῦσας ἀπαντας καὶ νῆφοντας καὶ ἔξωπλησμένους καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐνικῶμεν· 21. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἴμεν ἐν ο眼界 οὐ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν καθεῦδουσι, πολλοὶ δ᾽ αὐτῶν μεθύσουσι, πάντες δ᾽ ἀσύντακτοι εἴσω: ὅταν δὲ αἰσθηταί ἡμᾶς ἐνδού ὑποτα τοῦ μᾶλλον ἡ νῦν ἄχρεοι ἐσονται ὑπὸ τού ἐκπεπλήκται.

22. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐννοεῖται, ὁ δὴ λέγεται φοβερὸν εἶναι τοῖς εἰς πόλιν εἰσιοῦσι, μὴ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη ἀναβάντες βάλλωσιν ἐνθεῖν καὶ ἐνθεῖν, 268
opened up the heads of the trenches at the river. 16. As soon as that was done, the water flowed down through the ditches in the night, and the bed of the river, where it traversed the city, became passable for men.

17. When the problem of the river was thus solved, Cyrus gave orders to his Persian colonels, infantry and cavalry, to marshal their regiments two abreast and come to him, and the rest, the allies, to follow in their rear, drawn up as before. 18. They came, according to orders, and he bade his aides, both foot and horse, get into the dry channel of the river and see if it was possible to march in the bed of the river. 19. And when they brought back word that it was, he called together the generals of both infantry and cavalry and spoke as follows:

20. "My friends," said he, "the river has made way for us and given us an entrance into the city. Let us, therefore, enter in with dauntless hearts, fearing nothing and remembering that those against whom we are now to march are the same men that we have repeatedly defeated, and that, too, when they were all drawn up in battle line with their allies at their side, and when they were all wide awake and sober and fully armed; 21. whereas now we are going to fall upon them at a time when many of them are asleep, many drunk, and none of them in battle array. And when they find out that we are inside the walls, in their panic fright they will be much more helpless still than they are now.

22. "But if any one is apprehensive of that which is said to be a source of terror to those invading a city—namely, that the people may go up
τούτο μάλιστα θαρρεῖτε ήν γὰρ ἀναβώσι τινες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχομεν σῶμα προσωπικοί τοῖς Ῥήγαροις. εὐφλεκτα δὲ τὰ πρόθυρα αὐτῶν, φοίνικος μὲν αἱ θύραι πεποιημέναι, ἀσφάλτῳ δὲ ὑπεκκαύματι κεχριμέναι. 1 23. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄν πολλὴν δᾶδα ἔχομεν, ἢ ταχῶ πολὺ πῦρ τέξεται, πολλὴν δὲ πῖτταν καὶ στυππεῖον, ἢ ταχῶ παρακαλεῖ πολλὴν φλόγα· ὡστε ἀνάγκην εἶναι ἢ φεύγειν ταχὺ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων ἢ ταχὺ κατακεκαύσθαι.

24. 'Αλλ' ἄγετε λαμβάνετε τὰ ὁπλα· ἰργήσομαι δὲ ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. ἡμεῖς δ', ἐφη, ὁ Γαδάτα καὶ Γωβρύα, δεῖκνυτε τὰς ὁδοὺς· ἵστε γὰρ· ὅταν δ' ἐντὸς γενώμεθα, τὴν ταχύστην ἄγετε ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία.

25. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφασαν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη βαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἀκλειστοὶ αἱ πύλαι αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου εἶεν ὡς ἐν κόμῳ· δειπνεῖ 2 γὰρ ὁ πόλις πᾶσα τῇ δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ. φυλακὴ μέντοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐνευξόμεθα· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ τε- ταγμένη.

Ούκ ἄν μέλλειν 3 δειοὶ, έφη ο Κῦρος, ἀλλ' οἶναι, ἵνα ἀπαρασκευῶς ὡς μάλιστα λάβωμεν τοὺς ἀνδρας.

26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐρρήθη, ἐπορεύοντο· τῶν δὲ ἀπαντῶντοι οἱ μὲν ἀπεθνησκοῦν παῖδες, οἱ δὲ ἐφευγον πάλιν εἰσώ, οἱ δὲ ἐβόων· οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Γωβρυαν συνεβόων αὐτοῖς, ὡς κομμασταί

1 κεχριμέναι Cobet, most Edd.; κεχρισμέναι MSS., Breitenbach.
2 ὡς ... δειπνεῖ Hug; ὡς ... δοκεῖ xzV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; κομμάτεις Stephanus, Marchant, Gemoll.
3 ἄν μέλλειν Muret, Edd.; ἄμελεῖν z; ἄν ἀμελεῖν xy.
on the house-tops and hurl down missiles right and left, you need not be in the least afraid of that; for if any do go up upon their houses, we have a god on our side, Hephaestus. And their porticoes are very inflammable, for the doors are made of palm-wood and covered with bituminous varnish which will burn like tinder; 23. while we, on our side, have plenty of pine-wood for torches, which will quickly produce a mighty conflagration; we have also plenty of pitch and tow, which will quickly spread the flames everywhere, so that those upon the house-tops must either quickly leave their posts or quickly be consumed.

24. "But come, to arms! and with the help of the gods I will lead you on. And do you, Gadatas and Gobryas, show the streets, for you are familiar with them. And when we get inside the walls, lead us by the quickest route to the royal palace."

25. "Aye," answered Gobryas and his staff, "in view of the revelry, it would not be at all surprising if the gates leading to the palace were open, for all the city is feasting this night. Still, we shall find a guard before the gates, for one is always posted there."

"We must lose no time, then," said Cyrus. "Forward, that we may catch the men as unprepared as we can."

26. When these words were spoken, they advanced. Babylon falls And of those they met on the way, some fell by their swords, some fled back into their houses, some shouted to them; and Gobryas and his men shouted
ἄντες καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰόντες ἢ ἐδύναντο [ὡς] τάχιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγένοντο. 27. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Γωβρύᾳ καὶ Γαδάτα τεταγμένοι κεκλειμέναι εὑρίσκουσι τὰς πύλας τοῦ βασιλείου· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς φύλακας ταχθέντες ἐπεισπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς πίνουσι πρὸς φῶς πολὺ, καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρόντο αὐτοῖς. 28. ὡς δὲ κραυγῇ καὶ κτύπος ἐγγύνετο, αἰσθόμενοι οἱ ἐνδον τοῦ θορύβου, κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως σκέψασθαι τί εἰς τὸ πράγμα, ἐκθέουσι τινὲς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας. 29. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῶν Γαδάταν ὡς εἶδον τὰς πύλας χαλώσας εἰσπίπτουσι καὶ τοῖς πάλιν φεύγουσιν εἶσω ἐφετέρους καὶ πάλιν τελευτήσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ ἢδη ἐστηκότα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσπασμένον δὲν εἶχεν ἀκινάκην εὑρίσκουσι. 30. καὶ τούτον μὲν οἱ σὺν Γαδάτα καὶ Γωβρύᾳ ἐχειροῦντο· καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦν ἀπέθανον, ὁ μὲν προβαλόμενος τι, ὁ δὲ φεύγων, ὁ δὲ γε καὶ ἀμυνόμενος στὸ ἐδύνατο. 31. ὁ δὲ Κύρος διέπεμπε τὰς τῶν ἱππέων τάξεις κατὰ τὰς ὤδους καὶ προεῖπεν όσοι μὲν ἔξω λαμβάνοιες κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις κηρύττειν τοὺς Συρίστι ἐπισταμένους ἐνδον μένειν· εἰ δὲ τὸς ἔξω λιπθείη, ὅτι θανάτοσιν. 32. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτ', ἐποίον. Γαδάτας δὲ καὶ Γωβρύας ἔκοι καὶ θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτον προσεκύνουν, ὅτι τετιμορημένοι ἦσαν τὸν ἀνόσιον βασιλέα, ἐπείται δὲ Κύρου κατεφίλουν καὶ χείρας

1 ὡς MSS.; [ὡς] Hug, Etonensis 1613, Edd.
back to them, as if they were fellow-revellers. They advanced as fast as they could and were soon at the palace. 27. And Gobryas and Gadatas and their troops found the gates leading to the palace locked, and those who had been appointed to attack the guard fell upon them as they were drinking by a blazing fire, and without waiting they dealt with them as with foes. 28. But, as a noise and tumult ensued, those within heard the uproar, and at the king’s command to see what the matter was, some of them opened the gates and ran out. 29. And when Gadatas and his men saw the gates open they dashed in in pursuit of the others as they fled back into the palace, and dealing blows right and left they came into the presence of the king; and they found him already risen with his dagger in his hand. 30. And Gadatas and Gobryas and their followers overpowered him; and those about the king perished also, one where he had sought some shelter, another while running away, another while actually trying to defend himself with whatever he could.

31. Cyrus then sent the companies of cavalry around through the streets and gave them orders to cut down all whom they found out of doors, while he directed those who understood Assyrian to proclaim to those in their houses that they should stay there, for if any one should be caught outside, he would be put to death.

32. While they were thus occupied, Gadatas and Gobryas came up; and first of all they did homage to the gods, seeing that they had avenged themselves
καὶ πόδας, πολλὰ δακρύοντες ἀμα χαρᾶ [καὶ εὐφραίνομενοι].

33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἦσθοντο οἱ τὰς ἀκρας ἐχοντες ἐαλωκυιὰν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τεθυκότα, παραδίδασι καὶ τὰς ἀκρας. 34. ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὰς μὲν ἀκρας εὐθὺς παρελάμβανε καὶ φοιυράρχους τε καὶ φρουρούς εἰς ταῦτας ἀνέπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ τεθυκότας θάπτει τοῖς προσόχουσιν τοὺς δὲ κῆρυκας κηρύττειν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφέρειν πάντας τὰ ὁπλα. Βαβυλωνίους ὅπου δὲ ληφθῆσοιτο ὁπλα ἐν οἰκία, προηγόρευεν ὡς πάντες οἱ ἐνδὸν ἀποθανοῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπέφερον, ὁ δὲ Κύρος ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὰς ἀκρας κατέθετο, ὡς εἴῃ ἑτοιμα, εἰ τί ποτε δέοι χρῆσθαι.

35. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐπέπρακτο, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς μάγους καλέσας, ὡς δοριαλώτου τῆς πόλεως οὐσης ἄκροβνια τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τεμένῃ ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελεῖν: ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ οἷκιας διεδίδου καὶ ἀρχεῖα τούτως οὔσσηρ κοινώνας ἐνόμιζε τῶν καταπτραγμένων οὐτῶ δὲ διένεμεν οὔσσερ ἐδέδοκτο τὰ κράτιστα τοῖς ἀρίστοις. εἰ δὲ τις οἷοντο μεῖον ἔχειν, διάδασκει προσεύχοντας ἐκέλευεν.

36. Προεῖπε δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς δασμοὺς ἀποφέρειν καὶ θεραπεύειν τούτως οῖς ἐκαστοί αὐτῶν ἔδοθησαν. Πέρας δὲ τοὺς κοινώνας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὦσοι

1 καὶ εὐφραίνομενοι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Lincke, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
upon the wicked king, and then they kissed [Cyrus's hands and his feet with many tears of joy.

33. And when day dawned and those in possession of the citadels discovered that the city was taken and the king slain, they surrendered the citadels, too.

34. And Cyrus at once took possession of the citadels and sent up to them guards and officers of the guards. As for the dead, he gave their relatives permission to bury them. He furthermore ordered the heralds to make proclamation that all Babylonians deliver up their arms; and he ordered that wherever arms should be found in any house, all the occupants should be put to the sword. So they delivered up their arms and Cyrus stored them in the citadels, so that they might be ready if he ever needed them for use.

35. When all this was finished, he first called the magi and requested them, inasmuch as the city had been taken by the sword, to select sanctuaries and the first fruits of the booty for the gods. Next he distributed the private houses and official residences among those whom he considered to have had a share in what had been achieved; and he made the division in the way that had been decided upon—the best to the most meritorious. And if any one thought he had less than he should, he bade him come and explain his reasons for thinking so.

36. He ordered the Babylonians, moreover, to go on tilling their lands, to pay their tribute, and to serve those to whom they had severally been assigned; and he directed the Persians who had shared in the expedition and as many of the allies as chose
μένειν ἥροιντο παρ' αὐτῷ ὡς δεσπότας ὃν ἐλαβον προηγόρευε διαλέγεσθαι.

37. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ Κύρος ἦδη κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς βασιλεῖ ἤγείτο πρέπειν, ἐδοξεν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σὺν τῇ τῶν φίλων γνώμῃ ποιήσαι, ὡς ὅτι ἦκιστα ἄν ἐπιφθόνως στάνοισ τε καὶ σεμνὸς φανείη. ὡδὲ οὖν ἐμηχανάτο τούτο. ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ στάς ὅπου ἐδόκει ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι προσεδέχετο τὸν βουλόμενον λέγειν τι καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ἀπέπεμπεν. 38. οἱ δ' ἀνθρωποὶ ὡς ἐγνώσαν ὅτι προσδέχοιτο, ἦκιν ἀμήχανοι τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ ὡθομένων περὶ τούτῳ προσελθεῖν μηχανῆ τε πολλῆ καὶ μάχη ἦν. 39. οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται ὡς ἐδύναντο διακρίναντες προσέσαν.1

1 Ὅποτε δὲ τις καὶ τῶν φίλων διωσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον προφανείη, προτείνων ὁ Κύρος τὴν χείρα προσήγετο αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐτως ἔλεγεν: Ἄνδρες φίλοι, περιμένετε, ἐως ἂν2 τὸν ὄχλον διωσόμεθα· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ θ' ἵσυχιαν συγγενησόμεθα. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι περιέμενον, δ' ὁ ὄχλος πλείων καὶ πλείων ἐπέρρει, ὡστ' ἐφθάσαν εσπέρα γενομένη πρὸ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν σχολάσαι [καὶ]3 συγγενέσθαι. 40. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει, Ἡρα,4 ἐφη, δ' ἄνδρες, νῦν μὲν [καὶρος]5 διαλυθήναι αὐρίον δὲ πρὸ ἔλθετε· καὶ γὰρ εὐώ βούλομαι ὑμῖν τι διαλεχθῆναι.

1 προσέσαν Stephanus, Edd.; προσήσαν MSS.
2 ἂν Hertlein, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
3 καὶ MSS., Edd.; bracketed by Gemoll.
4 "Ἡρα Cobet, most Edd.; Ἡρα or Ἡρα MSS., Breitenbach.
5 καὶρος MSS.; omitted by Cobet, Edd.
to remain with him to address those who had fallen to their share as a master would his servants.

37. After this, Cyrus conceived a desire to establish himself as he thought became a king, but he decided to do it with the approval of his friends, in such a way that his public appearances should be rare and solemn and yet excite as little jealousy as possible. So he adopted the following plan: at day-break he would take his station in a place that seemed to him to be adapted to the purpose and there receive all who had any matter to bring before him, give them an answer, and send them away. 38. But when people learned that he was holding audience, they came in an unmanageable throng, and as they crowded up to get in there was no end of trickery and contention. 39. And his attendants would admit them, making the best discrimination they could.

But whenever any of his personal friends managed to push their way through the throng and catch his eye, Cyrus would stretch out his hand, draw them up to him, and say: "Just wait, friends, until we get rid of the crowd, and then we will enjoy each other's company quietly." So his friends would wait, but the throng would stream in greater and greater, so that evening would set in before he had leisure to share his friends' company. 40. So Cyrus would say: "Gentlemen, it is now time to separate; come tomorrow morning; for I, too, have something to talk over with you."
'Ακούσαντες ταύτα οἱ φίλοι ἀσμενοί ψχοντο· ἀποθέοντες, δίκην δεδωκότες ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαῖων. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

41. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ μὲν Κῦρος παρῆν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χαρίον, ἀνθράπων δὲ πολὺ πλεῖον πλῆθος περιεστήκει βουλομένων προσέναι, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ὃ οἱ φίλοι παρῆσαν. ὁ οὖν Κῦρος περιστησάμενος τῶν Ἐστοφόρων Περσῶν κύκλων μέγαν εἶπε μηδένα παρίεναι ἢ τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ ἄρχοντας τῶν Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων.

42. ἔτει δὲ συνήλθον οὕτω, ἔλεξεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτοῖς τοιάδε: Ἀνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχοιμεν μέμψασθαι τὸ μή σοιλὶ μέχρι τούτῳ πάντα ὡσα ἡ ἕχομεθα καταπε- πραχέναι. εἰ μὲντοι τοιοῦτοι ἔσται τὸ μεγάλα πράττειν ὡστε μὴ οἶνον τ' εἴναι μήτε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν σχολὴν ἔχειν μήτε μετὰ τῶν φίλων εὐφρανθήναι, ἐγὼ μὲν χαίρειν ταύτην τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν κελεύω.

43. ἐνενοήσατε γὰρ, ἐφη, καὶ χθές δήπο λοί ἐσθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἄκουειν τῶν προσιτῶν τοὺς ἐλήξαμεν πρόσθεν ἐσπέρας· καὶ νῦν ὅρατε τούτους ἄλλους πλείονας τῶν χθές παρόντας ὡς πράγματα ἡμῶν παρέξοντας. 44. εἰ οὖν τις τούτως ὑφέξει ἐαυτόν, λογίζομαι μικρὸν μὲν τι ὑμῖν μέρος ἐμοῦ μετεσό- μενον, μικρὸν δὲ τι ἐμοὶ ὑμῶν· ἐμαυτοῦ μέντοι σαφῶς οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδ' ὑποῦν μοι μετέσται.

45. Ἐτι δ', ἐφη, καὶ ἄλλο ὄρῳ γελοῖον πράγμα, ἐγὼ γὰρ δήπο οὖν μὲν ἄσπερ εἰκὸς διάκειμαι· τούτων δὲ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἢ τινα ἢ οὐδένα.

1 παρόντας yG, Edd.; παρόντων xAHV.
Upon hearing this, his friends gladly departed, running from his presence, for they had paid the penalty for ignoring all the wants of nature. Thus then they went to rest.

41. On the following day, Cyrus went to the same place and long before his friends came, there was a much greater crowd of people standing there desiring audience with him. So Cyrus stationed a large circle of Persian lancers about him and gave orders that no one should be admitted except his friends and the officers of the Persians and the allies. 42. And when they had come together, Cyrus addressed them as follows: “Friends and allies, we cannot possibly find any fault with the gods that all that we wished for so far has not been fulfilled. However, if great success is to have such consequences that a man is not to be able to have some leisure for himself nor time to enjoy himself with his friends, I am ready to bid farewell to that sort of happiness. 43. For yesterday, too, you saw, of course, that although we began at dawn to give audience to those who came to see us, we did not get through before evening; and now you see that these others, who are here in greater numbers than came yesterday, will give us even more trouble. 44. If, therefore, one is to sacrifice oneself to such affairs, I reckon that you will have but a small part in my society or I in yours; while in myself I know that I shall certainly have no part at all.

45. “I see also,” he went on, “still another absurd feature in all this: while my affection for you is, as you know, what it naturally ought to be, of these
οἶδα, καὶ οὕτω πάντες οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσίν ὃς, ἂς νικόσιν ὑμᾶς ὠθοῦντες, πρῶτεροι ἄν
βούλονται ὑμῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ διαπραξόμενοι. ἐγώ δὲ ἥξιον τοὺς τοιούτους, εἰ τίς τι ἐμοῦ δέοιτο,
θεραπεύεις ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους δεομένους προσαγωγῆς.

46. Ἰσως ἂν οὖν εἴποι τις, τί δήτα οὖς οὕτως ἔξ ἄρχης παρεσκευασμένη, ἄλλα παρεῖχόν ἐν τῷ
μέσῳ ἐμαυτῷ. ὅτι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοιαῦτα ἐγνωρικὸν ὅντα. ὥς μὴ ὑστερίζειν δέου τὸν ἄρ-
χοντα μήτε τῷ εἴδεναι ἄ δει μήτε τῷ πράττειν
ἀν καιρὸς ἄ τοὺς δὲ σπανίος ἱδεῖν στρατηγοῦς
πολλὰ ἐνομίζων δὲν δεῖ πραξθῆναι παριέναι.

47. Νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ φιλοπουνώτατος πόλεμος
ἀναπέπαυται, δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ ἀναπαύ-
σισῶς τινὸς ἄξιοῦν τυγχάνειν. ὥς οὖν ἐμοῦ ἀπο-
ροῦντος δ' τι ἄν τύχοιμι ποιών ὡστε καλῶς ἔχειν
tά τε ἡμέτερα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡν ἡμᾶς δεῖ
ἐπιμέλεσθαι, συμβούλευετό τι τις ὁρά συμφο-
ρώτατον.

48. Κύρους μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν ἀνίσταται δ' ἐπ'
ἀυτῷ Ἀρτάβαζος δ' συγγενεῖς ποτε φήσας εἶναι
καὶ εἶπεν, Ἡ καλῶς, ἡφη, ἐποίησας, ο Ἀρτάβαζος, ἄρ
κα ἄν τὸν λόγον. ἐγώ γὰρ ἔτι νέον μὲν οὕτως
σοῦ πάντα ἀρξάμενος ἐπεθύμων φίλος γενέσθαι,
ὅρων δὲ σε οὐδὲν δεομένου ἐμοῦ κατάκκουν σοι
προσέιναι. 49. ἐπεῖ δ' ἐτύχες ποτε καὶ ἐμοῦ δεη-
θεὶς [προσόμως] 2 ἐξαγγείλαι πρὸς Μήδους τὰ

1 οἶδα z, Edd.; γνωρίζων y; εἶδον x.
2 προσόμως MSS., earlier Edd.; [προσόμως] Hug, later Edd.
who stand about here I know few or none; and yet all these have made up their minds that if they can get ahead of you in crowding in, they will obtain what they wish from me before you can. Now what I expected all such to do, if any one wanted anything from me, was to get into favour with you as my friends and ask you for an introduction.

46. "Perhaps some one may ask why I did not adopt this arrangement in the beginning instead of making myself accessible to all. It was, I answer, because I realized that the demands of war made it necessary for a commander not to be behind others in finding out what he ought to know nor in doing what it is expedient that he should do. And I thought generals who were seldom to be seen often neglected much that needed to be done.

47. "But now that this most toilsome war is really over, it seems to me that I, too, am entitled to find some relaxation of spirit. So, while I am in doubt as to what I could do to harmonize our interests and those of the others for whom we must care, let any one who sees what is to the best advantage give me a word of counsel."

48. Thus Cyrus spoke. After him Artabazus arose—the man who had once claimed to be his kinsman—and said: "I am very glad, Cyrus, that you have opened this discussion. For when you were still a lad, I was very anxious even from the first to be a friend of yours; but when I saw that I could be of no use to you, I shrank from approaching you. 49. But when you once happened to need even my services to publish among the Medes the concession
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παρὰ Κναξάρου, ἔλογιζόμην, εἰ ταῦτα προθύμως σοι συνλάβομι, ὡς οίκεϊς τὲ σοι ἐσοίμην καὶ ἐξέσοιτό μοι διαλέγεσθαι σοι ὅποσον χρόνου βουλοίμην. κάκεινα μὲν δὴ ἐπράξθη ὡστε σε ἐπανείν.

50. Μετὰ τούτῳ Ἦρκανοι μὲν πρῶτοι φίλοι ἦμῖν ἐγένοντο καὶ μᾶλα πεινώσας συμμάχων ὡστε μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις περιεφέρομεν αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶντες. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἔπει ἐάλῳ τὸ πολέμου στρατόπεδου, οὐκ οἴμαι σχολή σοι ἢν ἄμφος ἐμὲ ἐχεῖν καὶ ἐγὼ σοι συνεγίγνωσκον. 51. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Γαβρίας ἦμῖν φίλος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐχαίρω καὶ ἄνθις Γαδάτας καὶ ἡδὲ ἔργον σοῦ ἢν μεταλαβεῖν ἐπεί χρείας καὶ Σάκαί καὶ Καδούσιοι σύμμαχοι ἐγεγένηστο, θεραπεύειν εἰκότως ἐδεί τούτοις καὶ γὰρ οὕτω σὲ ἐθεράπευον.

52. Ὡς δὲ ἠλθομεν πάλιν ἐνθεν ἀφροθημεν, ὄρον σε ἄμφω ἱπποὺς ἔχοντα, ἄμφω ἄρματα, ἄμφω μηχανας, ἡγούμην ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τούτων σχολάσας, τότε σε καὶ ἄμφος ἐμὲ ἐξειν σχολήν. ὡς γε μεντοι ἠλθεν ἡ δεινή ἀγγελία τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς συνλέγεσθαι, ἐγίγνωσκον ὅτι ταῦτα μέγιστα εἶνεν ἐδὲ ταῦτα καλῶς γένοιτο, εὐ ἡδη ἔδοκον εἰδέναι ὅτι πολλὴ ἐσοίτου ἀφθονία τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ ἡ ἡ ἡ ἡ ἡ ἡ ἡ τῆς συνουσίας.

53. Καὶ νῦν δὴ νευκηκαμέν τε τῆς μεγάλης μάχης καὶ Σάρδεις καὶ Κροίσου ὑποχείριον ἔχομεν καὶ Βαβυλῶνα ήρήκαμεν καὶ πάντας κατεστράμ-

1 τῆς MSS., Breitenbach; omitted by Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
2 πάντας καὶ, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; πάντας z, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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obtained from Cyaxares, I reasoned that, if I gave you my earnest support in this, I then might be your intimate friend and talk with you as much as I pleased. Now that particular commission was executed in such a way as to call for your approval.

50. "After that, the Hyrcanians were the first to become our friends, and at a time, too, when we were very hungry for allies, so that in our affection for them we all but carried them around in our arms. And after that, when the enemy's camp was taken, you did not have any time to concern yourself about me, I suppose, and I did not blame you. 51. Next, Gobryas became our friend, and I was glad; and then Gadatas; and then it was hard work to get any share of your attention. When, however, both the Sacians and the Cadusians had become our allies, you must needs show them proper attention, for they also were attentive to you.

52. "When we came back to the place from which we had started, I saw you busy with horses and chariots and engines, but I thought that as soon as you had leisure from these distractions you would have some time to think of me. Still, when the terrible news came that the whole world was assembling against us, I realized that that was a matter of paramount importance; but if it should turn out successfully, then at last I thought I might be sure that the intercourse between me and you would be unstinted.

53. "And now we have won the great battle and have Sardis and Croesus in subjection; we have taken Babylon and subjugated everything; and yet
μεθα, καὶ μᾶ τὸν Μίθρην ἐγώ τοι ἐχθὲς, εἰ μὴ πολλοῦς διεπτύκτευσα, οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην σοι προσέλθειν. ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι ἐδεξιῶσο με καὶ παρὰ σοί ἐκέλευσας μένειν, ἦδη περίβλεπτος ἦν, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἄστιτος καὶ ἀπότομος διημέρευνον. 54. νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν ἔσται πη ὅπως οἱ πλείστων ἄξιοι γεγενημένοι πλείστον σου μέρος μεθέξομεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάλιν αὐτ ἐγώ ἐθέλω παρὰ σοῖ ἐξαγγέλλειν ἀπείναι πάντας ἀπὸ σοῦ πλῆ πόλη ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξ ἄρχῆς φίλων.

55. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγέλασε μὲν ὁ Κύρος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ: Χρυσάντας δ' ἀνέστη ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἔλεξεν ὅδε: 'Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρόσθεν, ὁ Κύρη, εἰκότως ἐν τῷ φανερῷ σαντὸν παρεῖξε, δι' ἂ τε αὐτὸς εἶπας 1 καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἡμᾶς σοι μᾶλιστα ἦν θεραπευτέον. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεκα παρῆμεν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔδει ἀνακτᾶσθαι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, ὅπως ὅτι ἡδίστα συμπονεῖν καὶ συγκινδυνεῖν ἡμῶν ἐθέλοιεν. 56. νῦν δ' ἔπει οὐ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μόνον ἄρχεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλος 2 ἀνακτᾶσθαι δύνασαι οὕς καιρὸς εἰς, ἢδη καὶ οἰκίας σε τυχεῖν ἄξιον· ἢ τί ἀπολαύσασι ἄν τῆς ἄρχης, εἰ μόνος ἀμοιρος εἰς ἐστίας, οὐ οὔτε ὁσιώτερον χωρίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὔτε ἢδιον οὔτε οἰκειότερον ἐστιν οὐδέν; ἐπειτα δ', ἐφη, οὐκ ἂν οἴει καὶ ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνεσθαι,
yesterday, by Mithras, if I had not fought my way through the crowd with my fists, I vow I could not have got near you. However, when you took me by the hand and bade me stay by you, I was the object of all envious eyes, for having spent a whole day with you—without a thing to eat or drink. 54. If, therefore, it can now be so arranged that we, who have proved ourselves most deserving, shall have the largest share of your company, well and good; if not, I am ready once again to make a proclamation in your name to the effect that all shall keep away from you, except us who have been your friends from the beginning."

55. At this Cyrus laughed as did many others. Then Chrysantas, the Persian, rose and spoke as follows: "Well, Cyrus, it was hitherto quite proper for you to make yourself approachable, for the reasons you have yourself assigned and also because we were not the ones whose favour you most needed to win; for we were with you for our own sakes. But it was imperative for you in every way to win the affections of the multitude, so that they might consent to toil and risk their lives with us as gladly as possible. 56. But now, seeing that you do not hold your power by this method alone but are in a position in still other ways to win the hearts of those whom it is of advantage for you to win, it is meet that you should now have a home. Else what enjoyment would you have of your power, if you alone were to have no hearth and home of your own? For there is no spot on earth more sacred, more sweet, or more dear than that. And finally," he said, "do you not think that we also should be ashamed to see you
εἰ σὲ μὲν ὅρφευν ἔξω καρτεροῦντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν οἰκίαις εἴημεν καὶ σοῦ δοκοίημεν πλεονεκτεῖν;

57. Ἐπει δὲ Χρυσάντας ταύτα ἔλεξε, συνηγόρευον αὐτῷ κατὰ ταύτα¹ πολλοὶ. ἐκ τούτου δὴ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ βασιλεία, καὶ τὰ ἐκ Σάρδεων χρῆματα ἐνταῦθα οἱ ἄγοντες ἀπέδοσαν. ἐπει δὲ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Κύρος, πρῶτον μὲν Ἐστία ἔθυσεν, ἕπειτα Διὸ βασιλεῖ καὶ εἶ τινὶ ἄλλῳ θεῷ οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο.

58. Ποιήσας δὲ ταύτα... τάλλα ἦδη ἡρχετο διοικεῖν. ἐννοοῦν δὲ τὸ αὐτοῦ πράγμα ὅτι ἐπιχειροῦσα μὲν ἄρχειν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρασκευάζοιτο δὲ οἰκεῖν ἐν πόλει τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν φανερῶν, αὐτῇ δ' οὕτως ἔχοι αὐτῷ ὡς πολεμωτάτη ἄν γένοιτο ἀνδρὶ πόλις, ταύτα δὴ λογιζόμενος φυλακῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἥγησατο δεῖσθαι.

59. γινοὺς δ' ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἀνθρώποι εὐχειροτότεροί εἰσιν ἡ ἐν σύμων καὶ ποτός καὶ λουτρός καὶ κοίτη καὶ ὑπνό, ἐσκότει τίνας ἂν ἦν τούτως περὶ ἑαυτὸν πιστοτάτους ἔχοι. ἐνόμισε δὲ μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ πιστοὺς ἀνθρώποι ὅστις ἄλλον μᾶλλον φιλήσοι τοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς δεομένου. 60. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔχοντας παῖδας ἡ γυναῖκας συναρμοτούσας ἡ παιδικὰ ἔγχυν φύσει ² ἡναγκάσθαι ταύτα μάλιστα φιλεῖν· τοὺς δ' εὐνούχους ὅρων πάντων τούτων στερομένους ἥγησατο τούτους ἂν περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι οὕτως δύναιντο πλουτίζειν μάλιστα αὐτοὺς καὶ βοηθεῖν, εἰ τι ἄδικοιντο, καὶ τιμᾶς

¹ ταῦτα Muretus, Edd.; ταῦτα MSS.
² φύσει MSS., Edd.; φύσει ἂν Hug.
living in discomfort, out of doors, while we ourselves lived in houses and seemed to be better off than you?"

57. When Chrysantas had finished his speech, many supported him in the same tenor. After that, Cyrus moved into the royal palace, and those who had charge of the treasures brought from Sardis delivered them there. And after he took possession, Cyrus sacrificed first to Hestia, then to sovereign Zeus, and then to any other god that the magi suggested.

58. This done, he began at once to organize the rest of his court. And as he considered his own situation, that he was undertaking to hold sway over many people, and preparing to dwell in the greatest of all famous cities, and that that city was as hostile to him as a city could be to any man—as he reflected on this, he decided that he needed a body-guard.

59. And as he realized that men are nowhere an easier prey to violence than when at meals or at wine, in the bath, or in bed and asleep, he looked around to see who were the most faithful men that he could have around him at such times; and he held that no man was ever faithful who loved any one else better than the one who needed his protection. 60. Those, therefore, who had children or congenial wives or sweethearts, such he believed were by nature constrained to love them best. But as he observed that eunuchs were not susceptible to any such affections, he thought that they would esteem most highly those who were in the best position to make them rich and to stand by them, if ever they were wronged,
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'περιάπτειν αὐτοῖς τούτοις δ' ευεργετοῦντα ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἂν ἤγειτο δύνασθαι. 61. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄδοξοι ὄντες οἱ εὐνοοῦχοι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεσπότου ἐπικούρου προσδέονται: οὖδεις γὰρ ἂν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἄξιώσεις εὐνοοῦχον πλέον ἔχειν ἐν παντὶ, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο κρεῖττον ἀπείρογοι δεσπότη δὲ πιστῶν ὄντα οὐδὲν κωλύει πρωτεύειν καὶ τὸν εὐνοοῦχον. 62. ὦ δὲ ἄν μᾶλλον τις οἰκείας, ἀνάλ-κιδας τοὺς εὐνοούχους γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲ τούτο ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ. ἔτεκμαιρετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἴσων ὅτι οὐ τε ὑβρισταλ ἦπειρ αἰκεμόμενοι τοῦ μὲν δάκνειν καὶ ὑβρίζειν ἀποπαύονται, πολεμικοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον γίγνονται, οὐ τε ταὐροὶ ἐκτεμνό-μενοι τοῦ μὲν μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν υφίειν, τοῦ δὲ ἵσκησιν καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οὐ στερίσκονται, καὶ οἱ κύνες δὲ ὡσαύτως τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπειν τοὺς δεσπότας ἀποπαύονται ἐκτεμνόμενοι, φυλάττειν δὲ καὶ εἰς θήραν οὐδέν κακίους γίγνονται. 63. καὶ οὐ γε ἂνθρωποι ὡσαύτως ἥρμεστεροι γίγνονται στερισκόμενοι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, οὐ μέντοι ἀμελέστεροι γε τῶν προσταταμένων, οὐδὲ ἦττον τι ἱππικοῦ, οὐδὲ ἦττον τι ἀκοπτιστικοῦ, οὐδὲ ἦττον ϕιλότιμον. 64. κατάδηλοι δὲ εὐγνωμον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς θήραις ὅτι ἔσωθον τὸ φιλο-νικοῦν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. τοῦ δὲ πιστῶν εἶναι ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ τῶν δεσποτῶν μάλιστα βάσανον ἐδίδοσαν οὐδένες γὰρ πιστότερα ἔργα ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐν ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς συμφοραῖς τῶν εὐνοούχων. 65. εἰ δὲ

1 τούτοις Pantazides, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; τούτοις MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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and to place them in offices of honour; and no one, he thought, could surpass him in bestowing favours of that kind. 61. Besides, inasmuch as eunuchs are objects of contempt to the rest of mankind, for this reason, if for no other, they need a master who will be their patron; for there is no man who would not think that he had a right to take advantage of a eunuch at every opportunity unless there were some higher power to prevent his doing so; but there is no reason why even a eunuch should not be superior to all others in fidelity to his master. 62. But he did not admit what many might very easily be inclined to suppose, that eunuchs are weaklings; and he drew this conclusion also from the case of other animals: for instance, vicious horses, when gelded, stop biting and prancing about, to be sure, but are none the less fit for service in war; and bulls, when castrated, lose somewhat of their high spirit and unruliness but are not deprived of their strength or capacity for work. And in the same way dogs, when castrated, stop running away from their masters, but are no less useful for watching or hunting. 63. And men, too, in the same way, become gentler when deprived of this desire, but not less careful of that which is entrusted to them; they are not made any less efficient horsemen, or any less skilful lancers, or less ambitious men. 64. On the contrary, they showed both in times of war and in hunting that they still preserved in their souls a spirit of rivalry; and of their fidelity they gave the best proof upon the fall of their masters, for no one ever performed acts of greater fidelity in his master’s misfortunes than eunuchs do. 65. And if it is thought with some
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τι ἀρα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἱσχύος μειοῦσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ὁ σίδηρος ἀνίσοι τους ἄσθενεῖς τοῖς ἱσχυροῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὴ γυμνόσκων ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν πάντας τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἑαυτὸν σῶμα θεραπευτήρας ἐποιήσατο εὐνούχοις.

66. Ἡγησάμενος δὲ οὖν ἰκανὴν εἶναι τὴν φυλακὴν ταύτην πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δυσμενῶς ἔχοντων, ἐσκόπει τίνας τῶν ἄλλων ἄν πιστοτάτους περὶ τὸ βασιλείου φύλακας λάβοι. 67. εἰδὼς οὖν Πέρσας τοὺς οίκοι κακοβιωτάτους μὲν ὄντας διὰ πενίαν, ἐπιπονώτατα δὲ ζῶντας διὰ τῆς τῆς χώρας τραχύτητα καὶ διὰ τὸ αὐτοργοῦ εἶναι, τούτους ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἂν ἀγαπᾶν τὴν παρ' ἑαυτῷ διάιταν. 68. λαμβάνει οὖν τούτους μυρίους δορυφόρους, οὲ κύκλῳ μὲν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐφύλαττον περὶ τὰ βασιλεία, ὅποτε ἐπὶ χώρας ἐγ' ὑπὸτε δὲ ἔξοι ποι, ἐνθεϊ καὶ ἐνθεὶ τεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο.

69. Νομίσας δὲ καὶ Βαβυλώνος ὅλης φύλακας δεῖν εἶναι ἰκανούς, εἴτ' ἐπιδημῶν αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοι εἴτε καὶ ἀποδημῶν, κατέστησε καὶ ἐν Βαβυλώνι φρουρῶν ἰκανούς· μισθὸν δὲ καὶ τούτως Βαβυλωνίους ἔταξε παρέχειν, βουλήμενος αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀμηχανωτάτους εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ ταπεινώτατοι καὶ εὐκαθεκτότατοι εἶνεν.

70. Ἀὐτὴ μὲν δὴ ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν τε φυλακὴ καὶ ἡ ἐν Βαβυλώνι τότε κατασταθεῖσα καὶ νῦν ἔτι οὔτως ἔχουσα διαμένει, σκοτῶν δ' ὅπως ἄν καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἀρχὴ κατέχοιτο καὶ ἀλλη ἐτι προσγήγοροτο,

1 ποι: Schneider, most Edd.; ποι MSS., Breitenbach.
justice that they are inferior in bodily strength, yet on the field of battle steel makes the weak equal to the strong. Recognizing these facts, he selected eunuchs for every post of personal service to him, from the door-keepers up.

66. But, as he deemed this guard insufficient in view of the multitude of those who bore him ill-will, he looked around to see whom he could find among the rest who would be the most trustworthy guards about the palace. 67. Now he knew that the Persians on account of their poverty lived in the greatest privation at home and were accustomed to a life of the hardest toil, because their country was rugged and they had to work with their own hands; so he believed that they would especially welcome life with him. 68. Accordingly, he took from among them ten thousand spearmen, who kept guard about the palace day and night, whenever he was in residence; but whenever he went away anywhere, they went along drawn up in order on either side of him.

69. And since he considered that all Babylon, too, stood in need of adequate protection, whether he himself happened to be at home or abroad, he stationed there also an adequate garrison, and he arranged that the Babylonians should furnish the money for their wages, for it was his aim that this people should be as destitute of resources as possible, so that they might be as submissive and as easily restrained as possible.

70. This guard that he then established about himself and in the city of Babylon is maintained on the same footing even to this day. And as he studied how his whole empire might be held together and at
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ηγήσατο τοὺς μισθοφόρους τούτους οὕς τοσοῦτον βελτίωνας τῶν ὑπηκόων εἶναι ὡσον ἐλάπτονας·
touς δὲ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἐγύγνωσκε συνεκτέου εἶναι, οὗτον σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ κρατεῖν παρέσχον,
cal ἐπιμελητέον ὅπως μὴ ἀνήσουσι· tὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀσκήσεως. 71. ὅτως δὲ μὴ ἐπιτάττειν
ἀυτοῖς δοκοῦν, ἀλλὰ γρόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῦτα ἀριστα εἶναι οὕτως ἐμμένοιεν τε καὶ ἐπιμελεῖντο
tῆς ἀρετῆς, συνελέξε τοὺς τε ὀμοτίμους καὶ πάντας ὁπόσοι ἐπικαίριοι ἦσαν καὶ ἄξιοχρεώτατοι
ἀυτῷ ἑδοκοῦν κοινοῦλο εἶναι καὶ πόνων καὶ ἀγαθῶν. 72. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήθθην, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς
μεγίστη σάρκισ ὅτι ἐδοσαν ἡμῖν τυχεῖν ὅν ἐνομί
ζομεν ἀξιοὶ εἶναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἔχομεν καὶ
γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ οὕτως ταῦτα ἐργα
ζομενοι θρέψουσιν ἡμᾶς· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ οἰκίας
καὶ ἐν ταύταις κατασκευᾶς. 73. καὶ μηδεὶς γε
ὑμὸν ἔχον ταῦτα νομισάτω ἀλλήλῳ ἔχειν·
vομὸς γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπους ἀίδιος ἐστιν, ὅταν
πολεμοῦντων πόλεις ἄλοδ, τῶν ἐλόντων εἰναι καὶ
τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.
οὐκοιν ἀδικία γε ἔξετε ὅ τι ἂν ἔχητε, ἀλλὰ
φιλανθρωπία ὅν ἀφαιρήσεσθε, ἥν τι ἐάτε ἔχειν
ἀυτοὺς.

74. Τὸ μέντοι ἐκ τούδε οὕτως ἐγὼ γυνώσκω
ὅτι εἰ μὲν τρεψόμεθα ἐπὶ ῥαδιούργιαν καὶ τὴν
τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡσυχασείαν, οὐ νομίζουσι

1 οὐ MSS., Edd.; δεῖν Gemoll (they must be as much braver
as they are fewer).
2 μὴ ἀνήσουσι Muretus, Edd.; μηνόσως MSS.
the same time enlarged, he reflected that these mercenaries were not so much better men than those he had made subject as they were inferior in number; and he realized that the brave men, who with the aid of the gods had brought him victory, must be kept together and that care must be exercised that they should not abandon their practice of virtue. 71. But in order that he might not seem to be issuing orders to them, but that they also might of themselves recognize that this was the best course for them and so abide in virtue and cultivate it, he collected the peers and all who were men of influence, together with such as seemed to him most worthy sharers of his toil and its rewards; 72. and when they had come together he addressed them as follows:

"Friends and allies, thanks be above all to the gods that they have vouchsafed to us to obtain all that we thought we deserved. For now we are in possession of broad and fertile lands and of subjects to support us by tilling them; we have houses also and furniture in them. 73. And let not one of you think that in having these things he has what does not belong to him; for it is a law established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of the inhabitants thereof belong to the captors. It will, therefore, be no injustice for you to keep what you have, but if you let them keep anything, it will be only out of generosity that you do not take it away.

74. "As for the future, however, it is my judgment that if we turn to idleness and the luxurious self-indulgence of men of coarse natures, who count toil
τὸ μὲν πονεῖν ἀθλιότητα, τὸ δὲ ἀπόνως βιοτεύειν εὐδαιμονιάν,1 ταχὺ ἡμᾶς φημὶ ὠλγοῦ ἄξιους ἢμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐσεσθαι καὶ ταχὺ πάντων τῶν ἁγαθῶν στερῆσθαι. 75. οὐ γὰρ τοῖ τὸ ἄγαθοῦς ἀνδρᾶς γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἀρκεῖ ὅστε καὶ διατελεῖν, ἢν μὴ τις αὐτοῦ διὰ τέλους ἐπιμέληται· ἄλλα ὀσπερ καὶ ἀλλαὶ τέχναι ἀμεληθεῖσαι μείονος ἄξιαι γίγνονται καὶ τὰ σώματά γε τὰ εὐ ἔχοντα, ὅποταν τις αὐτὰ ἀνὴ ἐπὶ ραδιούργιαι, πονηρῶς πάλιν ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια καὶ ἡ ἀλκῆ, ὅποταν τις αὐτῶν ἀνὴ τὴν ἄσκησιν, ἐκ τούτου εἰς τὴν πονηρίαν πάλιν τρέπεται. 76. οὐκοι δεῖ ἀμελεῖν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ το αὐτίκα ἢδυ προϊναι αὐτοῖς.2 μέγα μὲν γὰρ οἱμαὶ ἔργον καὶ τὸ ἁρχῇ καταπράξαι, πολυ δ' ἔτι μείζον τὸ λαβόντα διασώσασθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ λαβοῖ τολλάκισ τὸ τόλμαν μόνον παρασχομένῳ ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ λαβόντα κατέχειν οὐκετὶ τούτο ἄνευ σωφρο- σύνης οὐδ' ἄνευ ἐγκρατείας οὐδ' ἄνευ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἑγγένεται.

77. "Α χρή γεγυνώσκοντας νῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἁσκεῖν τὴν ἁρετὴν ἢ πρὶν τάδε τάγαθα κτήσασθαι, εἰς εἰδότας ὅτι ὅταν πλεῖστα τις ἔχῃ, τότε πλεῖστοι καὶ φθονοῦσι καὶ ἐπιβουλεῦουσι καὶ πολέμιοι γίγνονται, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ παρ' ἄκοντων τὰ τε κτήματα καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ὀσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχῃ.

Τοὺς μὲν οὖν θεοὺς οἴσθαι χρή σὺν ἦμῖν ἐσεσθαι: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεῦσαντες ἀδίκους ἐχο-

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1 εὐδαιμονίαν Weeklein, Marchant, Gemoll; ἱδρυπάθειαν MSS., earlier Edd.
2 αὐτοὺς Edd.; αὑτοὺς MSS.
misery and living without toil happiness, we shall soon be of little account in our own eyes and shall soon lose all the blessings that we have. 75. For, to have quitted yourselves once like valiant men does not, we know, assure the perpetuity of valour, unless you devote yourselves to it to the end; but, just as skill in other arts retrogrades if neglected, and as bodies, too, that were once in good condition change and deteriorate as soon as the owners relax into idleness, so also self-control and temperance and strength will take a backward turn to vice as soon as one ceases to cultivate them. 76. Therefore, we dare not become careless nor give ourselves up to the enjoyment of the present moment; for, while I think it is a great thing to have won an empire, it is a still greater thing to preserve it after it has been won. For to win falls often to the lot of one who has shown nothing but daring; but to win and hold—that is no longer a possibility without the exercise of self-control, temperance, and unflagging care.

77. "Recognizing all this, we ought to practise virtue even more than we did before we secured these advantages, for we may be sure that the more a man has, the more people will envy him and plot against him and become his enemies, particularly if, as in our case, he draws his wealth and service from unwilling hands.

"We must, therefore, believe that the gods will be on our side; for we have not come unjustly into
μεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβουλευθέντες ἐτιμωρησάμεθα. 78. τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο κράτιστον ἥμων αὐτοῖς παρασκευαστέον· τοῦτο δ' ἦστι τὸ βελτίωνας ὀντας τῶν ἀρχομένων ἄρχεῖν ἄξιον. θάλπους μὲν οὖν καὶ ψύχους καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ πόνων καὶ ὑπνοῦ ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῖς δούλοις μεταδιδόντας· μεταδιδόντας γε μέντοι πειρᾶσθαι δεῖ ἐν τούτοις πρῶτον βελτίωνας αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι. 79. πολεμικής δ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ μελέτης παντάπασιν οὐ μεταδοτέον τοῦτοις, οὐσίωνα ἐργάτας ἠμετέρους καὶ δασμοφόρους βουλόμεθα καταστήσασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς δεῖ τούτοις τοῖς ἀσκήμαις πλεονεκτεῖν, γιγνώσκοντας ὅτι ἐλευθερίας ταῦτα ὀργανα καὶ εὐδαιμονίας οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπέδειξαν· καὶ ὥσπερ γι' ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ὀπλά ἀφηρήμεθα, οὕτως ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς δεῖ μήποτ' ἐρήμους ὀπλών γίγνεσθαι, εἰδότας ὅτι τοὺς ἅλε ἐγγυτάτω τῶν ὀπλῶν οὕσι τούτους καὶ οἰκειότατά ἦστιν ἄν βούλωνται.

80. Εἰ δὲ τις τοιαύτα ἐνυοῦσται, τῇ δήτα ἡμῶν ὄφελος καταπράξει ἃ ἐπεθυμούμεν, εἰ ἔτι δεχθεὶ καρτερεῖν καὶ πεινῶντας καὶ δυσώντας καὶ πονοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμελομένους, ἐκεῖνο ἔδωκε καταμαθῆς ὅτι τοσούτῳ τὰ γὰρ μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει ὅσοι ἀν μᾶλλον προποιήσασι τις ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἦτοι· ἢ τις γὰρ πόνοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· ἂνεν δὲ τοῦ δεόμενον τυγχάνειν τινὸς οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τούτῳ πολυτελῶς παρασκευασθεῖν ἃν ὅσθ' ἦδο εἶναι.

81. Εἰ δὲ ὁι μὲν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποι ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ὁ δαίμων ἡμῶν ταῦτα συμπαρασκεύασκεν,

1 ἦ V corr. Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἦν Dindorf, Breitenbach; εἶν y; ἤπειροι xxe.

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our possessions through plotting against others, but plotted against we have avenged ourselves. 78. But that which is next in importance after the favour of the gods we must get for ourselves—namely, we must claim the right to rule over our subjects only on the ground that we are their betters. Now the conditions of heat and cold, food and drink, toil and rest, we must share even with our slaves. But though we share with them, we must above all try to show ourselves their betters in such matters; 79. but the science and practice of war we need not share at all with those whom we wish to put in the position of workmen or tributaries to us, but we must maintain our superiority in these accomplishments, as we recognize in these the means to liberty and happiness that the gods have given to men. And just as we have taken their arms away from them, so surely must we never be without our own, for we know that the nearer to their arms men constantly are, the more completely at their command is their every wish.

80 "But if any one is revolving in his mind any such question as this—'of what earthly use it is to us to have attained to the goal of our ambitions if we still have to endure hunger and thirst, toil and care'—he must take this lesson to heart: that good things bring the greater pleasure, in proportion to the toil one undergoes beforehand to attain them; for toil gives a relish to good things; and nothing, however sumptuously prepared, could give pleasure unless a man get it when he needs it.

81 "Now if God has helped us to obtain that which men most desire, and if any one will so order these
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ος δ' ἀν ἡδίστα ταῦτα φαίνοιτο αὐτὸς τις αὑτῷ [ταῦτα] 1 παρασκευάσει, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνήρ τοσοῦτοι πλεονεκτήσει τῶν ἐνδεεστέρων βίου ὡς πεινήσας τῶν ἡδίστων σίτων τεῦξεται καὶ διφήσας τῶν ἡδίστων ποτῶν ἀπολαύσεται καὶ δεηθεὶς ἀναπαύσεως ὡς ἡδίστον ἀναπαύσεται.

82. Ὡς ἕνεκα φῆμι χρῆναι τὴν ἐπιταθῆναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν, ὅπως τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἢ ἄριστον καὶ ἡδίστον ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ ὅπως τοῦ πάντων χαλεπωτάτου ἀπεροῦ γενόμεθα. οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν τάγαθα οὕτω χαλεπὸν ὀσπερ τὸ λαβόντα στερηθῆναι λυπήρον.

83. Ἐνώνησατε δὲ κάκεινο τίνα πρόφασιν ἔχοντες ἂν προσιόμεθα 2 κακίονες ἢ πρόσθεν γενέσθαι. πότερον ὅτι ἄρχομεν; ἄλλ' οὖ δήποτε τῶν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων πονηρότερον προσήκει εἶναι. ἄλλ' ὅτι εὐδαιμονέστεροι δοκοῦμεν ὑπὸ τὴν πρότερον εἶναι; ἔπειτα τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ φίσει τῆς τὴν κακίαν ἐπιπρέπειν; ἄλλ' ὅτι ἐπεὶ κεκτήμεθα δούλους, τούτους κολάσομεν, 3 ἂν πονηρὸν ὥσιν; 84. καὶ τὶ προσήκει αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ πονηροῦ πονηρίας ἐνεκα ἡ βλακείας ἄλλους κολάζειν;

Ἐννοεῖτε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι τρέφεις μὲν παρασκευάσμεθα πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων οἰκῶν φύλακας καὶ τῶν σωμάτων αἰσχρὸν δὲ τῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη, εἰ δὲ ἄλλους μὲν δορυφόρους τῆς σωτηρίας οἰσόμεθα χρῆναι τυγχάνειν, αὐτοῖ

1 ταῦτα MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [ταῦτα] Brown, Hug, Marchaut, Gemoll.
2 προσιόμεθα Schneider, most Edd.; προσιέμεθα xzV, Breitenbach; προειología (-ω Δ)μεθα γ.
3 κολάσομεν D, Edd.; κολάσωμεν xzFV.
results for himself that they shall give as great pleasure as possible, such a man will have this advantage over those who are not so well supplied with the means of living: when hungry he will enjoy the most dainty food, and when thirsty he will enjoy the finest drinks, and when in need of rest he will find it most refreshing.

82. "Wherefore I maintain that we should now strain every nerve after manliness, so that we may enjoy our success in the best and most delightful manner and have no experience in that which is hardest of all. For failure to obtain good things is not so hard as the loss of them, when once obtained, is painful.

83. "And think of this also: what excuse should we offer for allowing ourselves to become less deserving than before? That we are rulers? But, you know, it is not proper for the ruler to be worse than his subjects. Or that we seem to be more fortunate than before? Will any one then maintain that vice is the proper ornament for good fortune? Or shall we plead that since we have slaves, we will punish them, if they are bad? 84. Why, what propriety is there in any one's punishing others for viciousness or indolence, when he himself is bad?

"And think also on this: we have made arrangements to keep many men to guard our homes and our lives; and how would it be otherwise than base in us to think that we have a right to enjoy security protected by other men's spears, while we ourselves
Δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐ δορυφορήσομεν; καὶ μὴν εὗ 
γε δεὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη φυλακὴ 
τουαῦτη οὐλ αὐτῶν τινα κἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν· τοῦτο 
γὰρ δεὶ συμπαραμαρτεῖν· τῷ δ’ ἄρετης ἑρήμῳ 
οὐδὲ ἄλλο καλὸς ἔχειν οὐδὲν προσήκει.

85. Τι οὖν φημὶ χρήναι ποιεῖν καὶ ποῦ τὴν 
ἀρετὴν ἄσκειν καὶ ποῦ τὴν μελέτην ποιεῖσθαι; 
οὐδὲν κανονὶ, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐρώτησαν ἄλλως 
ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχεῖοι οἱ ὀμότιμοι 
διάγονοι, οὐτως καὶ ἡμᾶς φημὶ χρήναι 
ἑυθάδε ὄντας τοὺς ὀμοτίμους πάνθε 
διασπερ ἐκακεὶ ἐπειθὲσθε 
καὶ ἡμᾶς τε ἐμὲ ὀρῶντας κατανοεῖν 
παρὸντας ὅπο ἐπιμελέσομεν 
οὐ δεὶ διάξοι, ἐγὼ τε ἡμᾶς κατα- 


1 πάνθε 
Dindorf 4, Hug; πάντα ἄπερ Stephanus, Dindorf 2, Marchant, Gemoll; πάντας ἄπερ MSS., Breitenbach.
2 oί xy, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; oίς 2V, Dindorf, Breitenbach (to whomsoever of us sons may be born).
do not take up the spear for our own defence? And yet we must be fully aware that there is no such safeguard as for a man to be good and brave himself; this guard must be ever at our side. But if a man lack virtue, neither is it fitting that aught else be well with him.

85. "What, then, do I propose that we should do, wherein practise virtue, and where apply the practice? I have nothing new to tell you, my men; but just as in Persia the peers spend their time at the government buildings, so here also we peers must practise the same things as we did there; you must be in your places and watch me to see if I continue to do what I ought, and I will watch to see the same in you, and whomsoever I see pursuing what is good and honourable, him will I honour. 86. And as for our boys, as many as shall be born to us, let us educate them here. For we ourselves shall be better, if we aim to set before the boys as good examples as we can in ourselves; and the boys could not easily turn out bad, even if they should wish to, if they neither see nor hear anything vicious but spend their days in good and noble pursuits."
BOOK VIII

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE

THE DEATH OF CYRUS
1. Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὖτως εἴπεν· ἀνέστη δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ Χρυσάντας καὶ εἶπεν ὅδε: Ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μὲν δή, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοτε κατενόησα ὅτι ἄρχων ἄγαθὸς οὐδὲν διαφέρει πατρὸς ἄγαθον· οὔ τε γὰρ πατέρες προνοοῦσι τῶν παιδῶν ὅπως μήποτε αὐτοὺς τἀγαθὰ ἐπιλείψει, Κύρος τέ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν συμβουλεύειν ἡμῖν ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστ' ἀν εὐδαιμονοῦντες διατελοίμεν· δ' δὲ μοι δοκεῖ ἐνδεέστερον ἢ ὡς ἔχρην δηλῶσαι, τούτῳ ἐγώ πειράσομαι τοὺς μὴ εἰδότας διδάξαι. 2. Εὐνοθεσατε γὰρ δὴ τὸς ἀν πόλεις πολεμία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων ἀλοίπη· τὸς δ' ἀν φιλία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων διαφυλαχθεῖν· ποίον δ' ἀν ἀπειθοῦντων στράτευμα νῖκης τύχοι· πῶς δ' ἀν μᾶλλον ἐν μάχαις ἦττωντο ἄνθρωποι ἢ ἐπειδὰν ἀρξοῦνται ἱδία ἑκαστὸς περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας βουλεύεσθαι· τὸ δ' ἀν ἄλλο ἄγαθον τελεσθεῖν ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων τοῖς κρείττοσι· ποῖα δὲ πόλεις νομίμως ἄν οἰκήσειαν ἢ ποίοι οίκοι σωθεῖσαν· πῶς δ' ἀν νῆς ὧν ποις δεῖ ἀφίκοινο.
BOOK VIII

I

1. Such was Cyrus’s address; and after him Chrysantas rose and spoke as follows: “Well, gentlemen, I have noticed often enough before now that a good ruler is not at all different from a good father. For as fathers provide for their children so that they may never be in want of the good things of life, so Cyrus seems to me now to be giving us counsel how we may best continue in prosperity. But there is one thing that he has not stated so clearly, it seems to me, as he should have done, and that I will try to present to any who do not know about it. 2. Bethink you, then, of this: what city that is hostile could be taken or what city that is friendly could be preserved by soldiers who are insubordinate? What army of disobedient men could gain a victory? How could men be more easily defeated in battle than when they begin to think each of his own individual safety? And what possible success could be achieved by such as do not obey their superiors? What state could be administered according to its laws, or what private establishments could be maintained, and how could ships arrive at their destination?
3. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂ ν ἀγαθὰ ἔχομεν διὰ τὸ ἄλλο μᾶλλον κατεπράξαμεν ἢ διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι; διὰ τούτο γὰρ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταχὺ μὲν ὅποι ἐδει παρεγιγνόμεθα, ἀθρόοι δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπόμενοι ἀνυπόστατοι ἦμεν, τῶν δ’ ἐπιταχθέντων οὐδὲν ἡμιτελὲς κατελείπομεν. εἰ τοῖς μέγιστοις ἀγαθοῖς τὸ πειθαρχεῖν φαίνεται εἰς τὸ καταπράττειν τὰ ἀγαθά, οὕτως εὖ ἦστε ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ εἰς τὸ διασώζειν ἄ δεὶ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἔστι.

4. Καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ ἡμῶν ἡρχον μὲν οὐδενὸς, ἡρχοντο δὲν ἂ ν δεῖ κατεσκεύασθε οὕτω πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὡστε ἄρχετε οἱ μὲν πλείωνοι, οἱ δὲ μειῶνοι. ὥσπερ τοῖς αὐτῶι ἂξιώσετε ἄρχειν τῶν ὑφ’ ὑμῖν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ πειθόμεθα οίς ἂν ἡμᾶς καθήκη. τοσοῦτον δὲ διαφέρειν δεῖ τῶν δούλων ὅσον οἱ μὲν δούλοι ἄκοντες τοῖς δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσιν, ἡμᾶς δ’, εἴπερ ἂξιοῦμεν ἑλεύθεροι εἶναι, ἐκόντας δὲ ποιεῖν ὁ πλεῖστον ἄξιον φαίνεται εἶναι. εὐρήσετε δ’, ἐφη, καὶ ἐνθα ἂνευ μοναρχίας πόλεων οἰκεῖται, τὴν μάλιστα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐθέλουσαν πείθεσθαι ταύτῃ ἦκιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκαζομένῃ ὑπακούειν.¹

5. Παρῴμεν τε οὖν, ὥσπερ Κύρος κελεύει, ἐπὶ τόδε τὸ ἄρχειον, ἀσκῶμεν τε δὲ ὅν μάλιστα δυνησόμεθα κατέχειν ἢ δεῖ, παρέχωμεν τε ἡμᾶς αὐτῶις χρῆσθαι Κύρος ὅ τι ἂν ἴη. καὶ τούτῳ γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι οὐ λή δυνηστείς Κύρος

¹ ὑπακούειν MSS., most Edd.; ἁκούειν Cobet, Hug.
3. “And as for us, how have we secured the good things we now have, except by obedience to our commander? For by that course we always quickly reached our required destination, whether by day or by night, and following our commander in close array we were invincible, and we left half done none of the tasks committed to us. If, therefore, obedience to one’s commander is, as it seems, the first essential to achieving success, then you may be sure that this same course is the first essential to ensuring its permanence.

4. “Heretofore, you know, many of us had no command but were under command; but now all of you here are so situated that you have command, some of larger, some of smaller divisions. Therefore, as you yourselves will expect to exercise authority over those under your command, so let us also give our obedience to those whom it is our duty to obey. And we must distinguish ourselves from slaves in this way, that, whereas slaves serve their masters against their wills, we, if indeed we claim to be free, must do of our own free will all that seems to be of the first importance. And you will find that among states, even when the government is not a monarchy, that state which most readily obeys its officers is least likely to be compelled to submit to its enemies.

5. “Let us, therefore, present ourselves before our ruler’s headquarters yonder, as Cyrus bids; let us devote ourselves to those pursuits by which we shall best be able to hold fast to that which we ought, and let us offer ourselves for whatever service Cyrus may need us for. And this trust will not be abused, for we may be sure that Cyrus will never be able to
εὑρεῖν ὁ τι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ χρῆσται, ἡμῖν δὲ ὦ, ἐπείπερ τὰ γε αὐτὰ ἡμῖν συμφέρει καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπε Χρυσάντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἀνίσταντο πολλοὶ καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων συνεργοῦντες· καὶ ἔδοξε οὗτος ἐντύμοις ἄει παρεῖναι ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς χρήσθαι ὃ τι ἀν θεύληται, ἡσὺ ἀφείη Κύρος. ὡς δὲ τότε ἔδοξεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιούσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς βασιλεῖς ὄντες, θεραπεύουσι τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων θύρας. 7. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δεδήλωται Κύρος καταστησάμενος εἰς τὸ διαφυλάττειν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσαις τὴν ἄρχην, ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνων βασιλεῖς νόμιμα ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελεῦσι ποιούντες. 8. οὕτω δὲ ἔχει καὶ ταῦτα ὁσπερ καὶ τάλλα· ὅταν μὲν δ’ ἐπιστάτης βελτίων γένηται, καθαρώτερον τὰ νόμιμα πράττεται· ὅταν δὲ χείρων, φαυλότερον.

Ἔφοιτων μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Κύρου οἱ ἐντέμοι σὺν τοῖς ὑππούς καὶ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς, συνδόξαν πάσιν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν συγκαταστρεφόμενων τὴν ἄρχην.

9. Κύρος δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τάλλα καθίστη ἄλλους ἐπιμελητάς, καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ καὶ προσόδων ἀποδεκτήρες καὶ δαπανημάτων δοτήρες καὶ ἔργων ἐπιστάται καὶ κτημάτων φύλακες καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν διαίταν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιμεληταί· καὶ ὑππούς δὲ καὶ κυνῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καθίστη ὁδὸς ἐνόμιζε καὶ ταῦτα τὰ βοσκήματα βέλτιστ᾽ ἀν παρέχειν αὐτῷ χρήσθαι.
find anything in which he can employ us for his own advantage and not equally for ours; for we have common interests and we have common enemies."

6. When Chrysantas had finished this address, many others also both of the Persians and the allies rose to support him. They passed a resolution that the nobles should always be in attendance at court and be in readiness for whatever service Cyrus wished until he should dismiss them. And as they then resolved, so even unto this day those who are the subjects of the great king in Asia continue to do—they are constantly in attendance at the court of their princes. 7. And the institutions which Cyrus inaugurated as a means of securing the kingdom permanently to himself and the Persians, as has been set forth in the foregoing narrative, these the succeeding kings have preserved unchanged even to this day. 8. And it is the same with these as with everything else: whenever the officer in charge is better, the administration of the institutions is purer; but when he is worse, the administration is more corrupt.

 Accordingly, the nobles came to Cyrus's court with their horses and their spears, for so it had been decreed by the best of those who with him had made the conquest of the kingdom.

9. Cyrus next appointed officers to have charge of the various departments; for example, tax-collectors, paymasters, boards of public works, keepers of his estates, and stewards of his commissary department. He appointed also as superintendents of his horses and hounds those who he thought would keep these creatures in a condition most efficient for his use.
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10. Ὅσο δὲ συμφύλακας τῆς ευδαιμονίας οἱ θητο χρήναι ἔχειν, τούτους ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστοι ἔσοιντο οὐκέτι τούτου την ἐπιμέλειαν ἄλλους προσέτατεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνόμιζε τούτο ἔργον εἶναι. ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ τι μάχης ποτὲ δεήσοι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ παραστάτας καὶ ἐπιστάτας ληπτέον εἴη, σὺν οἷσπερ οἱ μέγιστοι κίνδυνοι καὶ ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἰππέων ἐγγυνωσκεν ἐκ τούτων καταστατέον εἶναι. 11. εἰ δὲ δέοι καὶ στρατηγῶν που ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, ἦδει ὅτι ἐκ τούτων πεμπτέον εἴη καὶ πόλεων δὲ καὶ ὅλων ἑθνῶν φύλαξ καὶ στατάπαις ἦδει ὅτι τούτων τισίν εἴη χρηστέον καὶ πρέσβεις γε τούτων τινῶν πεμπτέουν, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς μέγιστοις ἠγείτο εἰναι εἰς τὸ ἄνευ πολέμου τυγχάνειν δὲν δέοιτο.

12. Μὴ ὅντων μὲν οὖν οἶων, δεὶ δὲ ὅπως αἱ μέγισται καὶ πλείονται πράξεις ἐμελλόν εἶναι, κακῶς ἠγείτο τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔξειν. εἰ δ' οὕτω εἰλὲν οἴων δέοι, πάντα ἐνόμιζε καλῶς ἐσεσθαι. ἐνέδυ μὲν οὖν οὕτω γνοὺς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐνόμιζε δὲ τὴν αὐτήν καὶ αὐτῷ ἀσκησιν εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς. οὐ γὰρ ὁτὲ οἶων τε εἶναι μὴ αὐτόν τινα ὄντα οἶων δὲ ἄλλους παρορμᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔργα.

13. Ὡς δὲ ταύτα διευνόθη, ἠγήσατο σχολῆς
10. But he did not in the same way leave to others the precaution of seeing that those whom he thought he ought to have as his associates in establishing the permanence of his success should be the ablest men available, but he considered that this responsibility was his own. For he knew that if ever there should be occasion for fighting, he would then have to select from their number men to stand beside and behind him, men in whose company also he would have to meet the greatest dangers; from their number likewise he knew that he would have to appoint his captains both of foot and of horse.

11. Besides, if generals should be needed where he himself could not be, he knew that they would have to be commissioned from among that same number. And he knew that he must employ some of these to be governors and satraps of cities or of whole nations, and that he must send others on embassies—an office which he considered of the very first importance for obtaining without war whatever he might want.

12. If, therefore, those by whom the most numerous and most important affairs of state were to be transacted were not what they ought to be, he thought that his government would be a failure. But if they were all that they ought to be, he believed that everything would succeed. In this conviction, therefore, he took upon himself this charge; and he determined that the same practice of virtue should be his as well. For he thought that it was not possible for him to incite others to good and noble deeds, if he were not himself such as he ought to be.

13. When he had arrived at this conclusion, he
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πρῶτον δεῖν, εἴ μέλλοι δυνήσεσθαι τῶν κρατίστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν προσόδον ἄμελειν οὐχ οἴνος τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, προνοοῦν δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τελεῖν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο εἰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν, τὸ δὲ πολλῶν κτημάτων ὅταν ἄμφι ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἔχειν ὤδει ὅτι ἀσχολεῖν παρέξου τῆς τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

14. Οὕτω δὴ σκοπῶν, ὅπως ἂν τὰ τε οἰκονομικὰ καλῶς ἔχοι καὶ ἡ σχολὴ γένοιτο, κατενόησεν πώς τὴν στρατιωτικὴν σύνταξιν. ὥς γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ δεκάδαρχοι μὲν δεκαδέων ἐπιμέλονται, λοχαγοὶ δὲ δεκαδάρχων, χιλιάρχοι δὲ λοχαγῶν, μυρίαρχοι δὲ χιλιάρχων, καὶ οὕτως οὔτεις ἀτημέλητος γίγνεται, οὐδὲ ἢν πάνω πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ὄσι, καὶ ὅταν ὁ στρατηγὸς βούληται χρήσασθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀρκεῖ ἢν τοῖς μυρίαρχοις παραγγείλῃ.

15. ὀσπερ οὖν ταῦτ’ ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύρος συνεκεφαλαιώσατο τὰς οἰκονομικὰς πράξεις. ὡστε καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐγένετο ὅλογος διαλεγομένῳ μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἀτημέλητος ἔχειν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἢδη σχολῆν ἤγε πλεῖον ἢ ἄλλος μᾶς οἰκίας καὶ μᾶς νεώς ἐπιμελέσθαι.

Οὕτω δὴ καταστησάμενος τὸ αὐτὸν ἐδίδαξε καὶ τούς περὶ αὐτὸν ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει χρῆσθαι.

16. Τὴν μὲν δὴ σχολὴν οὕτω κατεσκευάσατο αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν, ἦρχετο δὲ ἐπιστατεῖν

1 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι MSS., most Edd.; ἐπιμέλεσθαι Hug.
thought, first of all, that he needed leisure if he were to be able to confine his attention to affairs of paramount importance. He decided, then, that it was out of the question for him to neglect the revenues, for he foresaw that there would necessarily be enormous expenses connected with a vast empire; and on the other hand, he knew that for him to be constantly engaged in giving his personal attention to his manifold possessions would leave him with no time to care for the welfare of the whole realm.

14. As he thus pondered how the business of administration might be successfully conducted and how he still might have the desired leisure, he somehow happened to think of his military organization: in general, the sergeants care for the ten men under them, the lieutenants for the sergeants, the colonels for the lieutenants, the generals for the colonels, and thus no one is uncared for, even though there be many brigades; and when the commander-in-chief wishes to do anything with his army, it is sufficient for him to issue his commands only to his brigadier-generals. 15. On this same model, then, Cyrus centralized the administrative functions also. And so it was possible for him, by communicating with only a few officers, to have no part of his administration uncared for. In this way he now enjoyed more leisure than one who has care of a single household or a single ship.

When he had thus organized his own functions in the government, he instructed those about him to follow the same plan of organization.

16. In this way, then, he secured leisure for himself and for his ministers; and then he began to
τοῦ εἶναι οἶνος δεῖ τοὺς κοινῶνας. πρῶτον μὲν ὁπόσοι ὄντες ἴκανοι ἄλλων ἔργαζομένων τρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, τούτους ἐπεξήγητει, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν παρὸντας οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλειν οὕτε κακὸν οὕτε αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν πράττειν καὶ διὰ τὸ παρ’ ἄρχοντι εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι ὄρφον ἂν ὁ τι πράττοιερ ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίστων· οὐ δὲ μὴ παρεῖν, τούτους ἥγειτο ἢ ἄκρατεῖα τινὶ ἢ ἄδικα ἢ ἀμελεῖα ἀπείναι.

17. Τούτῳ οὖν πρῶτον διηγησόμεθα ὡς προσηγμάκαζε τοὺς τοιούτους παρεῖναι. τῶν γὰρ παρ’ ἑαυτῷ μάλιστα φίλων ἐκέλευσεν ἂν τινα λαβέιν τὰ τοῦ μη ἄρχοντος, φάσκουντα λαμβάνειν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ οὖν τούτῳ γένοιτο, ἦκον ἂν εὐθὺς οἱ στερόμενοι ὡς ἡδικημένοι. 18. ὁ δὲ Κύρος πολὺν μὲν χρόνον οὐκ ἐσχόλαζε τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπακούειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκούσειν αὐτῶν, πολὺν χρόνον ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν διαδικασίαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν ἡγεῖτο προσεθήχεων αὐτοὺς θεραπεύειν, ἦττον δὲ ἔχθρῶς ἢ εἰ αὐτὸς κολάζων ἦνάγκαζε παρεῖναι.

19. Ἔις μὲν τρόπος διδασκαλίας ἢν αὐτῷ οὗτος τοῦ παρεῖναι· ἄλλος δὲ τὸ τὰ πάστα καὶ κερδαλεώτατα τοῖς παροῦσι προστάττειν· ἄλλος δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ποτε τοῖς ἀποῦσι νέμειν. 20. ὁ δὲ δὴ
take measures that his associates in power should be such as they ought to be. In the first place, if any of those who were able to live by the labours of others failed to attend at court, he made inquiry after them; for he thought that those who came would not be willing to do anything dishonourable or immoral, partly because they were in the presence of their sovereign and partly also because they knew that, whatever they did, they would be under the eyes of the best men there; whereas, in the case of those who did not, come he believed that they absented themselves because they were guilty of some form of intemperance or injustice or neglect of duty.

17. We will describe first, therefore, the manner in which he obliged all such to come; he would direct some one of the best friends he had at court to seize some of the property of the man who did not present himself and to declare that he was taking only what was his own. So, whenever this happened, those who lost their effects would come to him to complain that they had been wronged. 18. Cyrus, however, would not be at leisure for a long time to give such men a hearing, and when he did give them a hearing he would postpone the trial for a long time. By so doing he thought he would accustom them to pay their court and that he would thus excite less ill-feeling than he would if he compelled them to come by imposing penalties.

19. That was one of his methods of training them to attend. Another was to give those who did attend the easiest and the most profitable employment; and another was never to distribute any favours among those who failed to attend. 20. But the
μέγιστος τρόπος τῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, εἰ τούτων μηδέν τις ὑπακούει, ἀφελόμενος ἀν τούτον ἀ ἔχωι ἄλλῳ ἐδίδον ὅν φέτο [δύνασθαι] 1 ἂν ἐν τῷ δέοντι παρεῖναι καὶ οὕτως ἐγγύνετο αὐτῷ φίλος χρήσιμος ἀντὶ ἀχρήστου. ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ νῦν βασίλευς, ἣν τις ἀπῆ οίς παρεῖναι καθήκει.

21. Τούς μὲν δὴ μὴ παροῦσιν οὕτω προσεφέρετο τοὺς δὲ παρέχοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ κἀγαθὰ ἐπαίρειν, ἐπείπερ ἄρχον ἡν ἑαυτῶν, εἰ ἑαυτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδεικνύειν πειράτο τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πάντων μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον τῇ ἁρετῇ. 22. αἰσθάνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐδοκεῖ καὶ διὰ τοὺς γραφομένους νόμους βελτίως γυγιομένους ἀνθρώπους· τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα βλέποντα νόμον ἀνθρώπως ἐνόμισεν, ὅτι καὶ τάττειν ἰκανός ἐστὶ καὶ ὁρῶν τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ κολάξειν.

23. Οὕτω δὴ γυγιόσκοιν πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μᾶλλον ἐκπονοῦντα ἐπεδείκνυν ἑαυτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὐδαιμονέστερος ἦν καὶ τὸτε πρῶτον καταστάθησαν οἱ μάγοι. . . 2 ὕμνεῖν τε ἂεὶ ἁμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ θύειν ἀν ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οἷς οἱ μάγοι θεοὺς εὐποιεῖν. 24. οὕτω δὴ τὰ τότε καταστάθηντα ἦτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῷ ἂεὶ ὄντι βασιλεῖ. ταύτ' οὔν πρῶτον ἐμμοῦντο αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι, νομίζοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἐσεσθαι, ἥν θεραπεύωσι τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡσπερ ὁ

1 δύνασθαι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [δύνασθαι] Nitsche, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
2 Lacuna discovered by Hug, adopted by Marchant, Gemoll (ἐκ τούτου δὲ αὐτὸς ἐρχετο—and in consequence of this he himself began).
surest way of compulsion was this: if a man paid no
attention to any of these three methods, he would
take away all that he had and give it to some one
else who he thought would present himself when he
was wanted; and thus he would get a useful friend
in exchange for a useless one. And the king to-day
likewise makes inquiries if any one absents himself
whose duty it is to be present.

21. Thus, then, he dealt with those who failed
to attend at court. But in those who did present
themselves he believed that he could in no way more
effectively inspire a desire for the beautiful and the
good than by endeavouring, as their sovereign, to set
before his subjects a perfect model of virtue in his
own person. 22. For he thought he perceived that
men are made better through even the written law,
while the good ruler he regarded as a law with eyes
for men, because he is able not only to give com-
mandments but also to see the transgressor and
punish him.

23. In this conviction, he showed himself in the (1) religion,
first place more devout in his worship of the gods,
now that he was more fortunate; and then for the
first time the college of magi was instituted . . .
and he never failed to sing hymns to the gods
at daybreak and to sacrifice daily to whatsoever
deities the magi directed. 24. Thus the institutions
established by him at that time have continued in
force with each successive king even to this day. In
this respect, therefore, the rest of the Persians also
imitated him from the first; for they believed that
they would be more sure of good fortune if they
revered the gods just as he did who was their
eυδαιμονέστατός τε ὅν καὶ ἀρχῶν. καὶ Κύρῳ δὲ ἦγοῦντο ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἀρέσκειν. 25. ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὴν τῶν μεθ’ αὐτοῦ εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, λογιζόμενος ὡσπερ οἱ πλείον αἱροῦμενοι μετὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἡσεβηκέναι τι δοκοῦντων. πρὸς δὲ τῶν έλογίζετο ὡς εἰ πάντες οἱ κοινῶνες θεοσεβεῖς εἰεν, ἦττον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔθελειν περί τε ἀλλήλους ἀνόσιων τι ποιεῖν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτόν, εὐεργέτης νομίζων εἰναι τῶν κοινῶνων. 26. ἐμφανίζων δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ὅτι περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖτο μηδένα μήτε φίλον ἄδικειν μήτε σύμμαχον, ἀλλὰ τὸ δικαίον ἱσχύρως ὅρων, μᾶλλον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φετ’ ἃν τῶν μὲν αἰσχρῶν κερδῶν ἀπέχεσθαι, διὰ τὸ δικαίον δὲ ἔθελειν πορεύεσθαι. 27. καὶ αἰδοὺς δ’ ἂν ἴγειτο μᾶλλον πάντας ἐμπιμπλάναι, εἰ αὐτὸς φανερὸς εἶπ’ πάντας οὕτως αἰδούμενος ὡς μήτε εἰπεῖν ἂν μήτε ποιῆσαι μηδέν αἰσχρόν. 28. ἐτεκμαίρετο δὲ τούτῳ οὕτως ἔξειν ἐκ τοῦδε μὴ γάρ ὅτι ἄρχοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐς οὐ φοβοῦνται, μᾶλλον τοὺς αἰδουμένους αἰδοῦντα τῶν ἀναιδῶν οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ γυναῖκας δὲ ὡς αἱ αἰδουμέναις αἰσθάνονται, ἀνταδείσθαι μᾶλλον έθέλουσιν ὄροντες.

29. Τὸ δ’ αὖ πείθεσθαι οὕτω μάλιστ’ ἂν φήτο ἐμμονον εἰναι τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, εἰ τοὺς ἀπροφασίστως πειθομένους φανερὸς εἰη μᾶλλον τιμῶν τῶν τὰς μεγίστας ἀρετὰς καὶ ἐπιπονωτάτας δο-
sovereign and the most fortunate of all; and they thought also that in doing this they would please Cyrus. 25. And Cyrus considered that the piety of his friends was a good thing for him, too; for he reasoned as they do who prefer, when embarking on a voyage, to set sail with pious companions rather than with those who are believed to have committed some impiety. And besides, he reasoned that if all his associates were god-fearing men, they would be less inclined to commit crime against one another or against himself, for he considered himself their benefactor; 26. and if he made it plain how important he held it to be to wrong no one of his friends or allies, and if he always paid scrupulous regard to what was upright, others also, he thought, would be more likely to abstain from improper gains and to endeavour to make their way by upright methods. 27. And he thought that he should be more likely to inspire in all respect for others, if he himself were seen to show such respect for all as not to say or do anything improper. 28. And that this would be the result he concluded from the following observation: people have more respect for those who have such respect for others than they have for those who have not; they show it toward even those whom they do not fear—to say nothing of what they would show toward their kings; and women also whom they see showing respect for others they are more inclined to look upon in turn with respect.

29. And again, obedience he thought would be most deeply impressed upon his attendants, if he showed that he honoured those who unhesitatingly obeyed more than those who thought they exhibited

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κούστων παρέχεσθαι. γυγνώσκων δ’ οὕτω καὶ ποιῶν διετέλει.

30. Καὶ σωφροσύνην δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδεικνύος μᾶλλον ἔποιει καὶ ταύτην πάντας ἀσκεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ ὁρῶσιν, φ’ μάλιστα ἔξεστιν ὑβρίζειν, τούτων σωφρονοῦντα, οὕτω μᾶλλον οἳ γε ἀσθενεστέροι ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν ὑπερσεκόντως ποιοῦντες φανεροὶ εἶναι. 31. [διήρει δὲ αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην τῇδε, ὡς τοὺς μὲν αἰδουμένους τὰ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ αἰσχρὰ φεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ σωφρονὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ.] 32. καὶ ἐγκράτειαν δὲ οὕτω μάλιστ’ ἄν φεῦτο ἀσκεῖσθαι, εἰ αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύοι ἕαυτόν μη ὑπὸ τῶν παραντικῶν ἢδονῶν ἐλκόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ προπονεῖν ἐθέλουντα πρῶτον σὺν τῷ καλῷ τῶν εὐφροσύνων.

33. Τουγαροῦν τοιοῦτος ὑπὸ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πολλὴν μὲν τῶν χειρόνων εὐταξίαν, ὑπεικόντων τοῖς ἁμείνοσι, πολλὴν δ’ αἰδῶ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἐπέγνωσι δ’ ἄν ἐκεῖ οὐδένα οὔτε ὅργιζομενον κραυγὴν οὔτε χαίροντα ὑβριστικὸ γέλωτι, ἀλλὰ ἰδον ἄν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσον τῷ ὑντί εἰς κάλλος ζήν.

34. Τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ ποιοῦντες καὶ ὁρῶντες ἐπὶ θύραις διήγον. τῆς πολεμικῆς δ’ ἑνεκα ἀσκήσεως ἐπὶ θῆραν ἔξηγε ν οὐστερ ἀσκεῖν ταύτα φητο χρήμα, ταύτην ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅλως ἀρίστην

1 αὐτοῦ Edd.; αὐτοῦ MSS.
2 διήρει . . . ἀφανεὶ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Nitsche, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

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the greatest and most elaborate virtues. And thus he continued throughout to judge and to act.

30. And by making his own self-control an example, (5) temperance he disposed all to practise that virtue more diligently. For when the weaker members of society see that one who is in a position where he may indulge himself to excess is still under self-control, they naturally strive all the more not to be found guilty of any excessive indulgence. 31. [Moreover, he distinguished between considerateness and self-control in this way: the considerate are those who avoid what is offensive when seen; the self-controlled avoid that which is offensive, even when unseen.] 32. And he thought that temperance could be best inculcated, if he showed that he himself was never carried away from the pursuit of the good by any pleasures of the moment, but that he was willing to labour first for the attainment of refined pleasures.

33. To sum up, then, by setting such an example Cyrus secured at court great correctness of conduct on the part of his subordinates, who gave precedence to their superiors; and thus he also secured from them a great degree of respect and politeness toward one another. And among them you would never have detected any one raising his voice in anger or giving vent to his delight in boisterous laughter; but on seeing them you would have judged that they were in truth making a noble life their aim.

34. Such was what they did and such what they witnessed day by day at court. With a view to training in the arts of war, Cyrus used to take out hunting those who he thought ought to have such practice, for he held that this was altogether the best

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άσκησις πολεμικῶν ἐναι, καὶ ἱππικής δὲ ἀληθε- στάτην. 35. καὶ γὰρ ἑπόχους ἐν παντοδαποῖς χορίοις αὐτὴ μάλιστα ἀποδείκνυσι διὰ τὸ θη- ρίοις φεύγουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν ἐνεργοὺς αὐτὴ μάλιστα ἀπεργάζεται διὰ τὴν τοῦ λαμβάνεις φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν. 36. καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν δὲ καὶ πόνους καὶ ψυχή καὶ θάλπη καὶ λιμὸν καὶ δίψος δύνασθαι φέρειν ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα προσείθειξε τοὺς κοινῶνας. καὶ νῦν δ’ ἔτι βασίλειος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ βασίλεα ταῦτα ποιοῦντες διατελοῦσιν.

37. "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔρετο προσήκειν οὔτει ἄρχης ὅστις μὴ βελτίων εἶν τῶν ἄρχομένων καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις πᾶσι δήλου, καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ἄσκων τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πολὺ μάλιστα αὐτὸς ἐξέπονει καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς τέχνας καὶ [τὰς]1 μελέτας. 38. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι θῆραν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐξῆγεν, ὅποτε μὴ μένειν ἀνάγκη τις εἰς αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ὁπότε ἀνάγκη εἰς, οἷκοι θῆρα τὰ ἐν τοῖς παραδείσοις θηρία τρεφόμενα καὶ οὐτ’ αὐτὸς ποτὲ πρὶν ἱδρώσαι δείπνων ἥρειτό οὕτε ἱπποὺς ἀγμανάστους οὕτων ἐνέβαλλε συμπαρε- κάλει δὲ καὶ εἰς ταυτὶ τὴν θῆραν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν σκηπτούχους. 39. τουγαροῦν πολὺ μὲν αὐτὸς διέφερεν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις, πολὺ δὲ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον, διὰ τὴν ἀεὶ μελέτην. παρά- δειγμα μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἑαυτὸν παρεῖχετο.

Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐσίων μάλιστα

1 τὰς MSS., Dindorf3, Breitenbach; [τὰς] Dindorf4, Hert- lein, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

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training in military science and also the truest in horsemanship. 35. For it is the exercise best adapted to give riders a firm seat in all sorts of places, because they have to pursue the animals wherever they may run; and it is also the best exercise to make them active on horseback because of their rivalry and eagerness to get the game. 36. By this same exercise, too, he was best able to accustom his associates to temperance and the endurance of hardship, to heat and cold, to hunger and thirst. And even to this day the king and the rest that make up his retinue continue to engage in the same sport.

37. From all that has been said, therefore, it is evident that he believed that no one had any right to rule who was not better than his subjects; and it is evident, too, that in thus drilling those about him he himself got his own best training both in temperance and in the arts and pursuits of war. 38. For he not only used to take the others out hunting, whenever there was no need of his staying at home, but even when there was some need of his staying at home, he would himself hunt the animals that were kept in the parks. And he never dined without first having got himself into a sweat, nor would he have any food given to his horses without their having first been duly exercised; and to these hunts he would invite also the mace-bearers in attendance upon him. 39. The result of all this constant training was that Excellence encouraged him and his associates greatly excelled in all manly exercises. Such an example did he furnish by his own personal conduct.

And besides this, he used to reward with gifts and
órφη τὰ καλὰ διώκοντας, τούτους καὶ δόρους
καὶ ἄρχαῖς καὶ ἔδραῖς καὶ πάσας τιμαῖς ἐγέραρεν
ὅστε πολλὴν πάσι φιλοτιμίαν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁπως
ἐκαστὸς ὅτι ἀριστος φανήσοιτο Κύρῳ.

40. Καταμαθεῖν δὲ τοῦ Κύρου δοκοῦμεν ὡς ὦ
τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐνόμιζε χρήναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν
ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν, τῷ βελτίωνας αὐτῶν εἶναι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγοντεύειν φέτο χρήναι αὐτοῖς.
στολὴν τῇ γονίῳ ἐκλετο τῇ Μηδικῇ αὐτὸς τε
φορεῖν καὶ τοὺς κοινῶνας ταύτην ἔπεισεν ἐν
δύσθαι· αὕτη γὰρ αὐτῷ συγκρύπτειν ἐδόκει εἰ
τῆς τι ἐν τῷ σόματι ἐνδεες ἔχοι, καὶ καλλι
στους καὶ μεγάλους ἐπιδεικνύοι τοὺς φορώντας.

41. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματα τοιαῦτα ἔχουσιν ἐν
οῖς μάλιστα λαθεῖν ἐστι καὶ ὑποτιθεμένους τι,
ἂντε δοκεῖν μελζους εἶναι ἡ εἰσὶ. καὶ ὑποχρέσθαι
dὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς προσέτο, ὡς εὐοφθαλμότεροι
φαινοντο ἡ εἰσί, καὶ ἐντρίβεσθαι, ὡς εὐχροώτεροι
ὁρῶντο ἡ πεφύκασιν.

42. Ἐμελέτησε δὲ καὶ ὡς μὴ πτύοντες μηδὲ
ἀπομυττόμενοι φανεροὶ εἶνεν, μηδὲ μεταστρεφόμενοι
ἐπὶ θέαν μηδενός, ὡς οὐδὲν θαυμάζοντες. πάντα
dὲ ταύτα φέτο φέρειν τι εἰς τὸ δυσκαταφρονητο
tέρους φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους.

43. Ὅσι μὲν δὴ ἄρχειν φέτο χρήναι, δὲ ἐαυτοῦ
οὕτω κατεσκεύασε καὶ μελέτη καὶ τῷ σεμνῶς
προετάναι αὐτῶν· ὥσι δὲ αὐτοὶ κατεσκεύαζεν εἰς τὸ
δουλεύειν, τούτους οὕτε μελεταῦν τῶν ἐλευθερίων
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positions of authority and seats of honour and all sorts of preferment others whom he saw devoting themselves most eagerly to the attainment of excellence; and thus he inspired in all an earnest ambition, each striving to appear as deserving as he could in the eyes of Cyrus.

40. We think, furthermore, that we have observed in Cyrus that he held the opinion that a ruler ought to excel his subjects not only in point of being actually better than they, but that he ought also to cast a sort of spell upon them. At any rate, he chose to wear the Median dress himself and persuaded his associates also to adopt it; for he thought that if any one had any personal defect, that dress would help to conceal it, and that it made the wearer look very tall and very handsome. 41. For they have shoes of such a form that without being detected the wearer can easily put something into the soles so as to make him look taller than he is. He encouraged also the fashion of pencilling the eyes, that they might seem more lustrous than they are, and of using cosmetics to make the complexion look better than nature made it.

42. He trained his associates also not to spit or to wipe the nose in public, and not to turn round to look at anything, as being men who wondered at nothing. All this he thought contributed, in some measure, to their appearing to their subjects men who could not lightly be despised.

43. Those, therefore, who he thought ought to be in authority he thus prepared in his own school by careful training as well as by the respect which he commanded as their leader; those, on the other hand, whom he was training to be servants he did
πόνων οὐδένα παρόρμα ὀνθ’ ὧπλα κεκτήσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν ἐπεμέλετο δὲ ὅπως μὴτε ἀστιτοὶ μὴτε ἀποτοί ποτε ἐσοιντο ἐλευθερίων ἔνεκα μελετημάτων. 44. καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε ἐλαύνοιεν τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἱππεύσιν εἰς τὰ πεδία, φέρεσθαι σὺτον εἰς θῆραν τούτως ἐπέτρεπε, τῶν δὲ ἐλευθέρων οὐδενί. καὶ ὅποτε πορεία εἰ, ἤγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ὕδατα ὅσπερ τὰ ὑποξύγια. καὶ ὅποτε δὲ ὀρὰ εἷς ἀρίστου, ἀνέμενεν αὐτοὺς ἐστε ἐμφάγοιεν τι, ὡς μὴ βουλιμῳβεῖν ὀστε καὶ οὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ὅσπερ οἱ ἀριστοὶ πατέρα ἐκάλουν, ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο αὐτῶν [ὅπως ἀναμφίλογος αἰεὶ ἀνδράποδα διατελοῖεν].

45. ὦ μὲν δὴ ὧλη Περσῶν ἀρχή οὐτω τὴν ἀσφάλειαν κατεσκεύαζεν. ἐαυτῷ δὲ ὅτι μὲν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν καταστραφέντων κίνδυνος εἰ, παθεῖν τι ἰσχυρῶς ἐθάρρηκα. καὶ γὰρ ἄνάλκιοις ἤγεύτο εἶναι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσυντάκτους οὐτας ἔφρα, καὶ πρὸς τούτων οὐδ’ ἐπλησίαζε τούτων οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ὦτε νυκτός οὐτε ἡμέρας. 46. οὔς δὲ κρατίστους τε ἤγεύτο καὶ ὀπλισμένους καὶ ἀθρόους οὐτας ἔφρα —καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἥδει ἰππεῶν ἤγεμόνας οὐτας, τοὺς δὲ πεζῶν πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φρουράματα ἔχουτας ἰσθάνετο ὡς ἰκανοὺς οὐτας ἀρχεῖν καὶ τοῖς φύλαξι δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐτοὶ μάλιστα

1 ὅπως . . . διατελοῖεν MSS., most Edd.; bracketed by Cobet, Hug.

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not encourage to practise any of the exercises of freemen; neither did he allow them to own weapons; but he took care that they should not suffer any deprivation in food or drink on account of the exercises in which they served the freemen. 44. And he managed it in this way: whenever they were to drive the animals down into the plains for the horsemen, he allowed those of the lower classes, but none of the freemen, to take food with them on the hunt; and whenever there was an expedition to make, he would lead the serving men to water, just as he did the beasts of burden. And again, when it was time for luncheon, he would wait for them until they could get something to eat, so that they should not get so ravenously hungry. And so this class also called him "father," just as the nobles did, for he provided for them well [so that they might spend all their lives as slaves, without a protest].

45. Thus he secured for the whole Persian empire the necessary stability; and as for himself, he was perfectly confident that there was no danger of his suffering aught at the hands of those whom he had subdued. And the ground of his confidence was this—that he believed them to be powerless and he saw that they were unorganized; and besides that, not one of them came near him either by night or by day. 46. But there were some whom he considered very powerful and whom he saw well armed and well organized; and some of them, he knew, had cavalry under their command, others infantry; and he was aware that many of them had the assurance to think that they were competent to rule; and these not only came in very close touch with his guards but
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ἐπιλησίαξον, καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ τούτων πολλοὶ πολλάκις συνεμάγνυσαν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν, ὦ τι καὶ χρῆσθαι ἐμελλεῖν αὐτοῖς· ὑπὸ τούτων οὖν καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν αὐτῶν μάλιστα παθεῖν τι κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους.

47. Σκοπῶν οὖν ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀκίνδυνα γένοιτο, τὸ μὲν περιελέσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἀπολέμους ποιῆσαι ἀπεδοκίμασε, καὶ ἄδικον ἡγούμενος καὶ κατάλυσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτην νομίζων· τὸ δὲ αὐ μὴ προσέλεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἀπιστοῦντα φανερὸν εἶναι ἄρχην ἡγήσατο πολέμου. 48. ἐν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων ἔγνω καὶ κράτιστον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κάλλιστον, εἰ δύνατο ποιῆσαι τὸς κράτιστος ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους ἢ ἄλληλοις. ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἡμῖν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι.

II

1. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ διὰ πάντως ἀεὶ τοῦ χρόνου φιλανθρωπίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἐδύνατο μάλιστα ἐνεφάνιζεν, ἡγούμενος, ὡσπερ οὖν ῥαδιῶν ἐστὶν φιλέιν τοὺς μισεῖν δοκοῦντας οὐδὲ εὐνοεῖν τοῖς κακοῖς, οὔτω καὶ τοὺς γνωσθέντας ὡς φιλοῦσι καὶ εὐνοοῦσιν, οὔκ ἀν δύνασθαι μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλεῖσθαι ἡγούμενον.

2. Ἐως μὲν οὖν χρήμασιν ἀδυνατώτερος ἦν εὐεργετεῖν, τῷ τε προνοεῖν τῶν συνόντων καὶ τῷ
many of them came frequently in contact with Cyrus himself, and this was unavoidable if he was to make any use of them—this, then, was the quarter from which there was the greatest danger that something might happen to him in any one of many ways.

47. So, as he cast about in his mind how to remove any danger that might arise from them also, he rejected the thought of disarming them and making them incapable of war; for he decided that that would be unjust, and besides he thought that this would be destruction to his empire. On the other hand, he believed that to refuse to admit them to his presence or to show that he mistrusted them would lead at once to hostilities. 48. But better than any of these ways, he recognized that there was one course that would be at once the most honourable and the most conducive to his own personal security, and that was, if possible, to make those powerful nobles better friends to himself than to one another. We shall, therefore, attempt to explain the method that he seems to have taken to gain their friendship.

II

1. In the first place, then, he showed at all times as great kindness of heart as he could; for he believed that just as it is not easy to love those who seem to hate us, or to cherish good-will toward those who bear us ill-will, in the same way those who are known to love and to cherish good-will could not be hated by those who believe themselves loved.

2. During the time, therefore, when he was not yet quite able to do favours through gifts of money,
προπονεῖν καὶ τῶν συνηθόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φανερὸς εἶναι, συνάχθόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς κακοῖς, τούτοις ἐπειράτο τὴν φίλιαν θηρεύειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ὡστε χρήμασιν εὐεργετεῖν, δοκεῖ ἦμιν γρῶναι πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εὐεργέτημα ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δαπάνης ἐπιχαριτώτερον ἢ σῖτων καὶ ποτῶν μετάδοσις. 3. τούτῳ δ’ οὕτω νομίσας πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν συνέβαζεν ὡς ὁς αὐτὸς σιτίστατο σῖτοις, τούτοις ὁμοία ἀεὶ παρατίθοιτο αὐτῷ ἰκανὰ παμπόλλως ἀνθρώποις· ὅσα δὲ παρατεθεῖσα, ταῦτα πάντα, πλὴν ὁι αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σύνδεσθαινοι χρήσαιτο, διεδίδον οἶδ’ ἄλοιπος τῶν φίλων ὑμήμιν ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἢ φιλοφροσύνην διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ τούτοις οὗς ἀγασθεὶς ἢ ἐν φυλακαῖς ἢ ἐν θεραπείαις ἢ ἐν αἰστησιωθοῖν πράξεισιν, ἐνοχμαινόμενος ὃτι οὐκ ἄν λανθάνοιεν χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι.

4. Ἔτυμα δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὡς ὁπότε τινὰ ἔπαινεσθει· καὶ τῶν πάντων δὲ σιτίον τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν ἐπετίθετο, οἴμονος δόσσας καὶ τοῖς κυσὶν ἐμποιεῖν τινα καὶ τοῦτο εὑροιαν. ει δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι τινὰ βούλοιτο τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ τούτοις ἐπιμεπεν ἀπὸ τραπέζης· καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἐτί οἶς ἀν ὀρόσι πεμπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέζης, τούτους πάντες μᾶλλον θεραπεύοναι, νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἐντίμους εἶναι καὶ ἰκανοὺς δια-
he tried to win the love of those about him by taking
forethought for them and labouring for them and
showing that he rejoiced with them in their good
fortune and sympathized with them in their mishaps;
and after he found himself in a position to do
favours with money, he seems to us to have recog-
nized from the start that there is no kindness which
men can show one another, with the same amount of
expenditure, more acceptable than sharing meat and
drink with them. 3. In this belief, he first of all
arranged that there should be placed upon his own
table a quantity of food, like that of which he
himself regularly partook, sufficient for a very large
number of people; and all of that which was served
to him, except what he and his companions at table
consumed, he distributed among those of his friends
to whom he wished to send remembrances or good
wishes. And he used to send such presents around
to those also whose services on garrison duty or in
attendance upon him or in any other way met with
his approval; in this way he let them see that he
did not fail to observe their wish to please him.
4. He used also to honour with presents from his
table any one of his servants whom he took occasion
to commend; and he had all of his servants' food
served from his own table, for he thought that this
would implant in them a certain amount of good-will,
just as it does in dogs. And if he wished to have
any one of his friends courted by the multitude, to
such a one he would send presents from his table.
And that device proved effective; for even to this
day everybody pays more diligent court to those to
whom they see things sent from the royal table; for
they think that such persons must be in high favour
πράττειν, ἢν τι δέωνται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ οὐ τούτων μόνων ἐνεκά τῶν εἰρημένων εὐφραίνει τὰ πεμπό-
μενα παρά βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἱδονῇ
πολὺ διαφέρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέζης.
5. καὶ τούτῳ μέντοι οὕτως ἔχειν οὐδὲν τι θαυ-
μαστόν ὄστερ γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι διαφε-
ρόντως ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσιν ἐξειργασμέναι
εἰσί, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ παρὰ βασιλεῖς
οῖτα πολὺ διαφέροντος ἐκπεπόνηται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ
ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσι κλίνην,
θύραν, ἄροτρον, τράπεζαν, πολλάκις δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς
οὕτως καὶ οἶκονομεῖ, καὶ ἀγαπᾷ ἢν καὶ οὕτως
ἰκανοῦ αὐτὸν τρέφειν ἐργοδότας λαμβάνῃ ἀδύ-
νατον οὐν πολλὰ τεχνώμενον ἀνθρώπων πάντα
καλῶς ποιεῖν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσι διὰ τὸ
πολλοὺς ἐκάστου δεῖσθαι ἀρκεῖ καὶ μῖα ἐκάστῳ
tέχνη εἰς τὸ τρέφεσθαι: πολλάκις δὲ οὐδὲ ὅλη
μία: ἀλλ' ὑποδήματα ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεῖα, ὁ δὲ
γυναικεῖα: ἔστι δὲ ἐνθα καὶ ὑποδήματα ὁ μὲν
νευρορραφῶν μόνων τρέφεται, ὁ δὲ σχῆμαν, ὁ δὲ
χιτῶνας μόνων συντέμνων, ὁ δὲ γε τούτων οὖν ὑπὸ
ποιῶν ἀλλὰ συντιθεῖς ταῦτα. ἀνάγκη οὖν τὸν
ἐν βραχυτάτῳ διατρίβουσι ἐργῷ τούτῳ καὶ
ἀριστα δὴ ἡ ἄναγκασθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν.
6. Τὸ αὐτὸ τούτῳ πέπονθε καὶ τὰ ἁμφί
τὴν διαιταν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς κλίνην στρών-\nυσι, τράπεζαν κοσμεῖ, μάττει, ὡς αἴλοτε ἀλ-

1 δὴ ἡ ἄναγκασθαι Hertlein, Sauppe, Hug, Marchant; διηναγ-
κάσθαι xzV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; διενεγκάσθαι y; δύνασθαι
Gemoll.
and in a position to secure for them anything they may want. Moreover, it is not for these reasons only that that which is sent by the king gives delight, but the food that is sent from the king’s board really is much superior in the gratification also that it gives. 5. That this, however, should be so is no marvel. For just as all other arts are developed to superior excellence in large cities, in that same way the food at the king’s palace is also elaborately prepared with superior excellence. For in small towns the same workman makes chairs and doors and plows and tables, and often this same artisan builds houses, and even so he is thankful if he can only find employment enough to support him. And it is, of course, impossible for a man of many trades to be proficient in all of them. In large cities, on the other hand, inasmuch as many people have demands to make upon each branch of industry, one trade alone, and very often even less than a whole trade, is enough to support a man: one man, for instance, makes shoes for men, and another for women; and there are places even where one man earns a living by only stitching shoes, another by cutting them out, another by sewing the uppers together, while there is another who performs none of these operations but only assembles the parts. It follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that he who devotes himself to a very highly specialized line of work is bound to do it in the best possible manner.

6. Exactly the same thing holds true also in reference to the kitchen: in any establishment where one and the same man arranges the dining couches, lays the table, bakes the bread, prepares now one sort of dish
λοία ποιεῖ, ἀνάγκη οἶμαι τούτῳ, ὡς ἂν ἕκαστον προχωρῇ, οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅπου δὲ Ἰκανὸν ἐργον ἐνὶ ἐξειν κρέα, ἀλλὰ ὄπταν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἱχθὺν ἔψειν, ἀλλὰ ὄπταν, ἀλλὰ ἄρτους ποιεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ τούτους παντοδαπούς, ἀλλ’ ἀρκεῖ εἰς ἐν εἴδος εὐδοκιμοῦν παρέχῃ, ἀνάγκη οἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα πολὺ διαφέροντως ἐξειργάσθαι ἕκαστον.

7. Τῇ μὲν δὴ τῶν σίτων θεραπεῖα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν πολὺ ὑπερβάλλετο πάντας· ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι θεραπεύον πολὺ ἐκράτει, τούτῳ νῦν διηγήσομαι· πολὺ γὰρ διενεχοῦς ἀνθρώπων τῷ πλείστας προσόδους λαμβάνειν πολὺ ἐν τῇ πλέον διήνεγκε τῷ πλείστα ἀνθρώπων δωρεῖσθαι· κατηρίζε μὲν οὖν τούτῳ Κύρος, διαμένει δ’ ἐν τῷ καὶ νῦν τοῖς βασιλεύσιν ἡ πολυδωρία. 8. τίνι μὲν γὰρ φίλοι πλουσιώτεροι οὐτες φανεροὶ ἡ Πέρσῶν βασιλεύει; τίς δὲ κοσμῶν κάλλιον φαίνεται στολαῖς τούς περὶ αὐτὸν 1 ἡ βασίλευς; τίνος δὲ δώρα γυνώσκεται ὡσπερ ἕνα τῶν βασιλέως, ψεύδα καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ὑποιχρουσώων; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐξεστὶν ἐκεῖ ταῦτα ἐχεῖν ὥς ἄν μὴ βασιλεύς δῷ. 9. τίς δ’ ἄλλος λέγεται δώρων μεγέθει ποιεῖν αἴρείσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀντ’ ἄδελφῳ καὶ ἀντὶ πατέρῳ καὶ ἀντὶ παῖδων; τίς δ’ ἄλλος ἐδυνάσθη ἐχθροὺς ἀπέχοντας πολιτῶν μηνῶν ὡς τιμωρεῖσθαι ὡς Περσῶν βασιλεύσι; τίς δ’ ἄλλος καταστρεψάμενος αρχὴν ὑπὸ

1 αὐτὸν Edd.; αὐτὸν MSS.
and now another, he must necessarily have things go as they may; but where it is all one man can do to stew meats and another to roast them, for one man to boil fish and another to bake them, for another to make bread and not every sort at that, but where it suffices if he makes one kind that has a high reputation—everything that is prepared in such a kitchen will, I think, necessarily be worked out with superior excellence.

7. Accordingly, Cyrus far surpassed all others in the art of making much of his friends by gifts of food. And how he far surpassed in every other way of courting favour, I will now explain. Though he far exceeded all other men in the amount of the revenues he received, yet he excelled still more in the quantity of presents he made. It was Cyrus, therefore, who began the practice of lavishly giving, and among the kings it continues even to this day.

8. For who has richer friends to show than the Persian king? Who is there that is known to adorn his friends with more beautiful robes than does the king? Whose gifts are so readily recognized as some of those which the king gives, such as bracelets, necklaces, and horses with gold-studded bridles? For, as everybody knows, no one over there is allowed to have such things except those to whom the king has given them. 9. And of whom else is it said that by the munificence of his gifts he makes himself preferred above even brothers and parents and children? Who else was ever in a position like the Persian king to punish enemies who were distant a journey of many months? And who, besides
τῶν ἀρχομένων πατὴρ καλούμενος ἀπέθανεν ἢ Κύρος; τούτο δὲ τούνομα δῆλον ὅτι εὐεργετούντος ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφαιρομένου. 10. κατεμάθομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς βασιλέως καλούμενους ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ βασιλέως ὅτα ὅλῳ ἄλλῳ ἐκτήσατο ἢ τῷ δωρεῖσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς γὰρ ἀπαγγείλαντας ὅσα καίρος αὐτῷ εἴη πεπύσθαι μεγάλως εὐεργετῶν πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὀστακουστεῖν καὶ διοπτεύειν τὰ ἄν αγγείλαντες ὁφελήσειαν βασιλέα. 11. ἐκ τούτου δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ ἐνομίσθησαν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ πολλὰ ὅτα. εἰ δὲ τις οἴεται ἐνα αἵρετον εἶναι ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλεία, ὅπῃ ὅρθῶς οἴεται ὁλγα γὰρ εἷς ὁ ἢ ἂν ἰδοι καὶ εἰς ἀκούσειε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσπερ ἀμελεῖν ἂν παρηγγειλμένοι 1 εἴη, εἰ ἐν τούτῳ προστεταγμένοι εἴη· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄντων γυνώσκοιν ὀφθαλμὸν ὅντα, τούτοις ἄν εἴδειν ὅτι φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ. ἀλλ' ὅν τούτως ἔχει, ἄλλα τοῦ φύσικον ἀκούσαί τι ἢ ἰδεῖν ἀξίων ἐπιμελείας παντὸς βασιλείας ἀκούει. 12. οὕτω δὴ πολλὰ μὲν βασιλέως ὅτα, πολλοὶ δ' ὀφθαλμοὶ νομίζονται καὶ φοβοῦνται πανταχοῦ λέγειν τὰ μὴ σύμφορα βασιλεία, ὅσπερ αὐτοῦ ἀκούοντος, καὶ ποιεῖν ὅ μὴ σύμφορα, ὅσπερ αὐτοῦ παρόντος. οὐκοῦν ὅπως μην ἠγέρηται ἄν τις ἐτόλμησε πρὸς τινα περὶ Κύρου φλαύρον τι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ πᾶσι καὶ ὥσι βασιλεῶς τοῖς δὲι παροῦσιν οὕτως ἕκαστος διέκειτο. τὸ δὲ οὕτω

1 παρηγγειλμένον Weekherlin, Dindorf 4, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; παραγγελ(λ)όμενον MSS., Dindorf 3, Breitenbach.
Cyrus, ever gained an empire by conquest and even to his death was called "father" by the people he had subdued? For that name obviously belongs to a benefactor rather than to a despoiler. 10. Moreover, we have discovered that he acquired the so-called "king's eyes" and "king's ears" in no other way than by bestowing presents and honours; for by rewarding liberally those who reported to him whatever it was to his interest to hear, he prompted many men to make it their business to use their eyes and ears to spy out what they could report to the king to his advantage. 11. As a natural result of this, many "eyes" and many "ears" were ascribed to the king. But if any one thinks that the king selected one man to be his "eye," he is wrong; for one only would see and one would hear but little; and it would have amounted to ordering all the rest to pay no attention, if one only had been appointed to see and hear. Besides, if people knew that a certain man was the "eye," they would know that they must beware of him. But such is not the case; for the king listens to anybody who may claim to have heard or seen anything worthy of attention. 12. And thus the saying comes about, "The king has many ears and many eyes"; and people are everywhere afraid to say anything to the discredit of the king, just as if he himself were listening; or to do anything to harm him, just as if he were present. Not only, therefore, would no one have ventured to say anything derogatory of Cyrus to any one else, but every one conducted himself at all times just as if those who were within hearing were so many eyes and ears of the king. I do not know what better
διακείσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ὃ τι ἂν τις αἰτιάσατο μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι μεγάλα ἦθελεν ἀντὶ μικρῶν εὐεργετεῖν.

13. Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ μεγέθει δώρων ὑπερβάλλειν πλουσιώτατον ὅντα ὑπὲρ θαυμαστῶν· τὸ δὲ τῇ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν φίλων βασιλεύοντα περιγύρνεσθαι, τούτῳ ἄξιολογότερον. ἐκεῖνος τούτων λέγεται κατάδηλος εἶναι μηδενὶ ἂν οὗτος αἰσχυνθεῖς ἦττόμενος ὡς φίλων θεραπεῖα. 14. καὶ λόγος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπομημονωῦται ὡς λέγοι παραπλήσια ἡργα εἶναι νομέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ· τὸν τε γὰρ νομέα χρῆναι ἐφ᾽ εὐδαίμονα τὰ κτήμα ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἢ δὴ προβάτων εὐδαίμονια, τὸν τε βασιλέα ὡς αὐτῶς εὐδαίμονας πόλεις καὶ ἀνθρώπους ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. οὔδὲν οὖν θαυμαστὸν, εἰπερ ταῦτην εἶχε τὴν γνώμην, τὸ φιλονίκως ἔχειν πάντων ἀνθρώπων θεραπείᾳ περιγύρνεσθαι. 15. καλὸν δ᾽ ἐπίδειγμα καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται Κύρος ἐπιδείξαι Κροίσῳ, ὅτε ἐνοικήθει αὐτοῦ ὡς διὰ τὸ πολλὰ διδόναι πένης ἐσοφτο, ἐξὸν αυτῷ θησαυροὺς χρυσὸν πλείστους ἐνὶ γε ἄνδρὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καταθέσθαι.

Καὶ τὸν Κύρον λέγεται ἐρέσθαι, Καὶ πόσα ἦν ἢδὲ οἷς μοὶ χρῆματα εἶναι, εἰ συνελέγον χρυσίον ὡσπερ σὺ κελεύεις ἐξ ὅτου ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ εἶμι;

16. Καὶ τὸν Κροῖσον εἰπεῖν πολὺν τινα ἀριθμὸν. Καὶ τὸν Κύρον πρὸς ταῦτα, ᾿Αγε δὴ, φάναι, ὡ
reason any one could assign for this attitude toward him on the part of people generally than that it was his policy to do large favours in return for small ones.

13. That he, the richest man of all, should excel in the munificence of his presents is not surprising; but for him, the king, to exceed all others in thoughtful attention to his friends and in care for them, that is more remarkable; and it is said to have been no secret that there was nothing wherein he would have been so much ashamed of being outdone as in attention to his friends. 14. People quote a remark of his to the effect that the duties of a good shepherd and of a good king were very much alike; a good shepherd ought, while deriving benefit from his flocks, to make them happy (so far as sheep can be said to have happiness), and in the same way a king ought to make his people and his cities happy, if he would derive benefits from them. Seeing that he held this theory, it is not at all surprising that he was ambitious to surpass all other men in attention to his friends.

15. And, among other proofs, Cyrus is said to have given Croesus one splendid practical demonstration of the correctness of this theory, when the latter warned him that by giving so much away he would make himself poor, whereas he was in a position to lay up in his house more treasures of gold than any other man.

"And how much gold, pray," Cyrus is said to have asked, "do you think I should have by this time, if I had been amassing it, as you propose, ever since I have been in power?"

16. Croesus named some large sum.

"Well, then, Croesus," said Cyrus in reply, "send

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ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

Κροίσε, σύμπεμψον ἄνδρα σὺν 'Τστάσπα τοιταί' 1 ὅτι σὺ πιστεύεις μάλιστα. σὺ δὲ, ὁ 'Τστάσπα, ἔφη, περιέλθων πρὸς τοὺς φίλους λέγε αὐτοῖς ὅτι δέομαι χρυσίου πρὸς πράξιν τινα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὑπὲρ προσδέομαι· καὶ κέλευε αὐτοὺς ὅπως ἄν ἐκαστὸς δύναιτο πορίζαι μοι χρήματα γράψαντας καὶ κατασημηναμένους δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιστολήν τῷ Κροίσου θεράπουντι φέρειν.

17. Τάιτα δὲ ὅσα ἔλεγε καὶ γράψας καὶ σημηνάμενος ἐδίδον τῷ 'Τστάσπα φέρειν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· ἐνέγραψε δὲ πρὸς πάντας καὶ 'Τστάσπαν ὃς φίλον αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιήλθε καὶ ἤνεγκεν ὁ Κροίσον θεράπου τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ὁ δὴ 'Τστάσπας εἶπεν, Ἡ Κύρε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἔμοι ἡδὴ χρῆ ὅσ πλούσιον χρῆσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ ἔχων πάρειμι δῷ διὰ τὰ σὰ γράμματα.

18. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Εἰς μὲν τοῖς καὶ οὕτως ἡδὴ θησαυρὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ Κροίσε· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταθεὶ καὶ λογίσαι πόσα ἐστὶν έτοίμα χρήματα, ἢν τι δέομαι χρῆσθαι.

Δέγεται δὴ λογιζόμενος ὁ Κροίσος πολλαπλάσια εὑρεῖν ἢ ἐφη Κύρῳ δὲν εἴναι ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἡδῆ, εἰ συνέλεγεν. 19. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸτε φανερὸν ἐγένετο, εἶπεν λέγεται ὁ Κύρος, Ὁρᾶς, φάναι, ὁ Κροίσε, ὅσ εἰσί καὶ ἔμοι θησαυροί; ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν κελεύεις με παρ' ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς συλλέγοντα φθονεῖσθαι τε δι' αὐτοὺς καὶ μισεῖσθαι, καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῖς ἑφιστάντα μισθοφόρους τού-

1 τοιτά Hertlein, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; τοιτά MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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along with Hystaspas here a man in whom you have most confidence. And you, Hystaspas," said he to him, "go the round of my friends and tell them that I need money for a certain enterprise; for, in truth, I do need more. And bid them write down the amount they could each let me have, and affix their seals to each subscription, and give it to Croesus's messenger to deliver here."

17. And when he had written down what he had said, he sealed the letter and gave it to Hystaspas to carry to his friends. And he included in it also a request that they all receive Hystaspas as his friend.

And when he had made the round and Croesus's messenger had brought in the subscriptions, Hystaspas said: "King Cyrus, you should treat me also henceforth as a rich man; for, thanks to your letter, I have come back with a great number of presents."

18. "Even in this man, Croesus," said Cyrus, "we have one treasure-house already. But as for the rest of my friends, look over the list, and add up the amounts, and see how much money is ready for me, if I need any for my use."

Then Croesus is said to have added it up and to have found that there was many times as much subscribed as he had told Cyrus he should have in his treasury by this time, if he had been amassing it. 19. And when this became apparent, Cyrus is said to have remarked: "Do you observe, Croesus, that I, too, have my treasures? But you are proposing to me to get them together and hoard them in my palace, to put hired watchmen in charge of everything and to trust to them, and on account of those hoards to be envied and hated. I, on the
τοις πιστεύειν· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φίλους πλουσίους ποιῶν τούτους μοι νομίζω θησαυροὺς καὶ φύλακας ἀμα ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν πιστοτέρους εἶναι ἢ εἰ φρονοῦς μισθοφόρους ἐπεστησάμην. 20. καὶ ἄλλο δὲ σοι ἐρῶ· ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὁ Κροῖσε, ὁ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ δόντες εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐποίησαν ὁμοίως πέντες πάντας, τούτον μὲν οὐδ αὐτὸς δύναμαι περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἀπληστὸς κἀγὼ ὤσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι χρημάτων. 21. τῇ δὲ γε μέντοι διαφέρειν μοι δοκῶ τῶν πλείστων ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἀρκοῦντων περιττὰ κτήσωνται, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κατορύπτουσι, τὰ δὲ καταστῆσον, τὰ δὲ ἀριθμοῦντες καὶ μετροῦντες καὶ ἕσπερες καὶ διαφύγουσι, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐμοὶ ἐκτένων πλείω ἢ δύνανται βίας, διαρριζόμεθα γὰρ ἄν, οὔτ’ ἀπειρίζωνται πλείω ἢ δύνανται βίας, ἀποπνιγόμεθα γὰρ ἄν, ἀλλὰ τὰ περιττὰ χρημάτα πράγματα ἐξοφύλωσεν: 22. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπηρετῶ μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ὑμεταρχομαι αἰὲ πλείονον ἐπειδὰν δὲ κτήσωμαι, ἀν ἰδοὺ τε περιττὰ ὄντα τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀρκοῦντων, τούτους τὰ τ’ ἐνδείας τῶν φιλῶν ἐξακούμαι καὶ πλοῦτις καὶ ἐνεργεῖτον ἀνθρώπους εὐνοιαν ἐκ αὐτῶν κτῶσαι καὶ ἕκλεισαι καὶ ἐκατορχήθη οὐτε καταστήσεται οὐτε ὑπερπληροῦνται λυμαίνεται, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἰδοὺ ἀν πλείον ἢ, τοσοῦτος καὶ μεῖζων καὶ καλλίων καὶ κουφοτέρα βίας

1 ἰδοὺ xV, Edd.; εἰδώ yz (know).
2 ἐξακούμαι F, Edd.; ἐξακούμαι xz (I come to the relief of); ἐξακούμαι D.
other hand, believe that if I make my friends rich I shall have treasures in them and at the same time more trusty watchers both of my person and of our common fortunes than any hired guards I could put in charge. 20. And one more thing I must tell you: even I cannot eradicate from myself that passion for wealth which the gods have put into the human soul and by which they have made us all poor alike, but I, too, am as insatiate of wealth as other people are. 21. However, I think I am different from most people, in that others, when they have acquired more than a sufficiency, bury some of their treasure and allow some to decay, and some they weary themselves with counting, measuring, weighing, airing, and watching; and though they have so much at home, they never eat more than they can hold, for they would burst if they did, and they never wear more than they can carry, for they would be suffocated if they did; they only find their superfluous treasure a burden. 22. But I follow the leading of the gods and am always grasping after more. But when I have obtained what I see is more than enough for my needs, I use it to satisfy the wants of my friends; and by enriching men and doing them kindnesses I win with my superfluous wealth their friendship and loyalty, and from that I reap as my reward security and good fame—possessions that never decay or do injury from overloading the recipient; but the more one has of good fame, the greater and more attractive and lighter to
γίγνεται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας αὐτὴν κουφοτέρον παρέχεται.

23. "Ὅπως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰδής, ἐφη, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐγὼ οὐ τοὺς πλείστα ἔχοντας καὶ φυλάττοντας πλείστα εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἥγουμαι· οἱ γὰρ τὰ τείχη φυλάττοντες οὕτως ἂν εὐδαιμονεστάται εἰσάντα πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι φυλάττοντι· ἀλλ’ ὃς ἂν κτᾶσθαι τε πλείστα δύνηται σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ χρήσθαι δὲ πλείστοις συν τῷ καλῷ, τούτων ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονεστάτον νομίζω [καὶ τὰ χρήματα].

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ φανερὸς ἢν ὁσπερ ἐλεγε καὶ πράττων.

24. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κατανοῆσας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἂν μὲν ψυχαίνοντες διατελῶσι, παρασκευάζονται ὅπως ἔξουσι τὰ πιτήδεια καὶ κατατίθενται τὰ χρήσιμα εἰς τὴν τῶν ψυχαίνοντων δίαιταν ὅπως δὲ ἂν ἁρθευθῶσι τὰ σύμφορα παρέσται, τούτων οὐ πάνυ ἐπιμελομένους ἐόρα· ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκπονήσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς τε ἱεροὺς τοὺς ἀρίστους συνεκομίσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ τελεῖν ἐθέλειν καὶ ὁπόσα ἡ ὁργάνα χρήσιμα ἐφῃ τις ἄν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἢ φάρμακα ἢ σῦτα ἢ ποτά, οὐδὲν τούτων ὃ τι οὐχὶ παρασκευάζασα ἐθησαυρίζει παρ’ αὐτῷ. 25. καὶ ὅποτε δὲ τὰς ἁρθευθέσεις τῶν θεραπεύεσθαι ἐπικαιρώς, ἐπεσκόπει καὶ παρεῖχε πάντα ὅτου ἔδει. καὶ τοῖς

1 καὶ τὰ χρήματα MSS.; bracketed by Schneider, Weiske, Edd.
2 ὁσπερ Hertlein, Edd.; καὶ MSS.
3 καὶ τοὺς τε ἱεροὺς Hug; καὶ ἱεροὺς τε γ’, Marchant, Gemoll; τοὺς τε ἱεροὺς xxV, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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bear it becomes, and often, too, it makes those who bear it lighter of heart.

23. "And let me tell you, Croesus," he continued, "I do not consider those the happiest who have the most and keep guard of the most; for if that were so, those would be the happiest who keep guard on the city walls, for they keep guard of everything in the city. But the one who can honestly acquire the most and use the most to noble ends, him I count most happy."

And it was evident that he practised what he preached.

24. Besides this, he had observed that most people in days of health and strength make preparations that they may have the necessaries of life, and they lay up for themselves what will serve to supply the wants of healthy people; but he saw that they made no provision at all for such things as would be serviceable in case of sickness. He resolved, therefore, to work out these problems, and to that end he spared no expense to collect about him the very best physicians and surgeons and all the instruments and drugs and articles of food and drink that any one of them said would be useful—there were none of these things that he did not procure and keep in store at his palace. 25. And whenever any one fell sick in whose recovery he was interested, he would visit him and provide for him whatever was needed. And he was grateful to the physicians.
ιατροίς δὲ χάριν ἤδει, ὅποτε τις λάθατο τίνα τῶν παρ' ἐκείνου λαμβάνων.

26. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τοιαύτα πολλὰ ἐμηχανάτο πρὸς τὸ πρωτεύειν παρ’ ὦς ἐβούλετο ἕαυτὸν φιλεῖσθαι.

Ὡν δὲ προηγούμενε τε ἄγωνας καὶ ἄθλα προωτίθει, φιλονικίαις ἐμποιεῖν βουλόμενος περὶ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἔργων, ταῦτα τῷ μὲν Κύρῳ ἔπαινον παρέδεχεν ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο ὅπως ἀσκοῦτο ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῖς μέντοι ἄριστοις οἱ ἄγωνες οὕτωι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἔριδας καὶ φιλονικίαις ἐνέβαλλον.

27. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁσπερ νόμοιν κατεστήσατο ο Κύρος, ὡσα διακρίσεως δέοιτο εἶπε δίκη εἶπε ἀγωνίσματι, τοὺς δειμένους διακρίσεως συντρέχειν τοῖς κριταῖς. δήλου οὖν ὅτι ἐστοχάζοντο μὲν οἱ ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τι ἀμφότεροι τῶν κρατίστων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα φίλων κριτῶν· ὁ δὲ μὴ νικῶν τοῖς μὲν νικῶσιν ἐφθόνει, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἕαυτὸν κρίνοντας ἐμέσει· ὁ δ’ αὖ νικῶν τῷ δικαλῷ προσεποιεῖτο νικῶν, ὅστε χάριν οὔδενι ἤγειτο ὀφείλειν.

28. Καὶ οἱ πρωτεύειν δὲ βουλόμενοι φιλία παρὰ Κύρῳ, ὁσπερ ἀλλοὶ ἐν πόλει, καὶ οὕτωι ἐπεφθόνως πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, ὡσθ’ οἱ πλείους ἐκποδῶν ἐβούλοντο ὁ ἐτερος τῶν ἐτερον γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συνέπραξαν ἀν τι ἀλλήλους ἄγαθον.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δεδῆλωται ὡς ἐμηχανάτο τοῖς κρατίστοις αὐτῶν μᾶλλον πάντας φιλεῖν ἢ ἀλλήλους.
also, whenever any of them took any of his medical stores and with them effected a cure.

26. These and many other such arts he employed in order to hold the first place in the affections of those by whom he wished to be beloved.

And the games, in which Cyrus used to announce contests and to offer prizes from a desire to inspire in his people a spirit of emulation in what was beautiful and good—these games also brought him praise, because his aim was to secure practice in excellence. But these contests also stirred up contentions and jealousies among the nobles.

27. Besides this, Cyrus had made a regulation that was practically a law, that, in any matter that required adjudication, whether it was a civil action or a contest for a prize, those who asked for such adjudication must concur in the choice of judges. It was, therefore, a matter of course that each of the contestants aimed to secure the most influential men as judges and such as were most friendly to himself. The one who did not win was always jealous of those who did, and disliked those of the judges who did not vote in his favour; on the other hand, the one who did win claimed that he had won by virtue of the justice of his cause, and so he thought he owed no thanks to anybody.

28. And those also who wished to hold the first place in the affections of Cyrus were jealous of one another, just like other people (even in republics), so that in most cases the one would have wished to get the other out of the way sooner than to join with him in any work to their mutual interest.

Thus it has been shown how he contrived that the most influential citizens should love him more than they did each other.
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III

1. Νῦν δὲ ἡδη διηγησόμεθα ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐξῆλασε Κύρος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐξελάσεως ἡ σεμινότης ἤμων δοκεῖ μία τῶν τεχνῶν εἶναι τῶν μεμηχανημένων τὴν ἄρχην μὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῆς ἐξελάσεως εἰσκαλέσας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων διεδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς Μηδικὰς στολὰς· καὶ τὸτε πρῶτον Πέρσαι Μηδικὴν στολὴν ἐνέδυσαν· διαδεόντως τε ἀμα τάδε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς οτι ἐλάσαι βουλοίτο εἰς τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔξηρημένα καὶ θύσαι μετ' ἐκείνων. 2. Πάρεστε οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας κοσμηθέντες ταῖς στολαῖς ταύταις πρὶν ἦλιον ἀνατέλλειν, καὶ καθίσασθε ὡς ἀν ύμῖν Φεραύλας ὁ Πέρσης ἔξαγγειλη παρ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἐπειδὰν, ἔφη, ἔγω ἡγῶμαι, ἔπεσθε ἐν τῇ ῥηθείσῃ χώρᾳ. ἦν δ' ἀρα τῶν δοκῇ ύμῶν ἄλλῃ κάλλιον εἶναι ἢ ως ἀν νῦν ἐλαύνωμεν, ἐπειδὰν πάλιν ἐλθόμεν, διδασκότω με· ὅπη γὰρ ἂν κάλλιστον καὶ ἀριστον ύμῖν 1 δοκῇ εἶναι, ταύτῃ ἐκαστα δεὶ καταστήσασθαι.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις διεδωκε τὰς καλλιστὰς στολὰς, ἐξέφερε δὴ καὶ ἄλλας Μηδικὰς στολὰς, παμπόλλας γὰρ παρεσκευάσατο, οὐδὲν φειδόμενος οὐτὲ πορφυρίδων οὐτὲ ὀρφυνῶν οὐτε φοινικίδων οὐτε καρυκίων ἰματίων· νεῖμας δὲ τούτων τὸ μέρος ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τούτοις κοσμεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους, ὡσπερ, ἔφη, ἔγω ὑμᾶς κοσμῶ.

1 ύμῖν EDG, Edd.; ἢμῖν CFAHV.
III

1. Next we shall describe how Cyrus for the first time drove forth in state from his palace; and that is in place here, for the magnificence of his appearance in state seems to us to have been one of the arts that he devised to make his government command respect. Accordingly, before he started out, he called to him those of the Persians and of the allies who held office, and distributed Median robes among them (and this was the first time that the Persians put on the Median robe); and as he distributed them he said that he wished to proceed in state to the sanctuaries that had been selected for the gods, and to offer sacrifice there with his friends. 2. "Come, therefore, to court before sunrise, dressed in these robes," said he, "and form in line as Pheraulas, the Persian, shall direct in my name; and when I lead the way, follow me in the order assigned to you. But if any one of you thinks that some other way would be better than that in which we shall now proceed, let him inform me as soon as we return, for everything must be arranged as you think best and most becoming."

3. And when he had distributed among the noblest the most beautiful garments, he brought out other Median robes, for he had had a great many made, with no stint of purple or sable or red or scarlet or crimson cloaks. He apportioned to each one of his officers his proper share of them, and he bade them adorn their friends with them, "just as I," said he, "have been adorning you."
4. Καὶ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν, Σὺ δὲ, ὃ Κῦρε, ἐφη, πότε κοσμήσει; ο ὁ ἀπεκρίνατο, Οὐ γὰρ νῦν, ἐφη, δοκῶ ύμῶν αὐτὸς κοσμεῖσθαι ύμᾶς κοσμῶν; ἀμέλει, ἐφη, ἢν δύνωμαι ύμᾶς τοὺς φίλους εὑ ποιεῖν, ὅποιαν ἂν ἔχων στολὴν τυχχάνω, ἐν ταύτῃ καλὸς φαινοῦμαι.
5. Ὅτω δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀπελθόντες μεταπεμπόμενοι τοὺς φίλους ἐκόσμησον ταῖς στολαῖς.
Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος νομίζων Φεραύλαν τὸν ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ συνετῶν εἶναι καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ εὐτακτὸν καὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀμέλη, ὅσ ποτε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι ἐκαστὸν κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν συνεῖπε, τούτον δὴ καλέσας συνέβουλεύετο αὐτῷ πός ἄν τοῖς μὲν εὐνοίς κάλλιστα ἴδεῖν ποιοῖ τὴν ἐξέλασιν, τοῖς δὲ δυσμενέσι φοβερώτατα.
6. ἔπει δὲ σκοπούντων αὐτῶν ταῦτα συνέδοξεν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Φεραύλαν ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἄν οὕτω γένηται αὐριον η ἐξέλασις ῥυπέρ ἐδοξε καλῶς ἔχειν. Εἰρήκα δὲ, ἐφη, ἐγὼ πάντας πείθεσθαι σοι περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐξέλασις τάξεως· ὅπως δ' ἄν ἢδον παραγγέλλοντός σου ἀκούσωσι, φέρε λαβὼν, ἐφη, χιτῶνας μὲν τουτοῦτο τοῖς τῶν δορυφόρων ἡγεμόσι, κασᾶς 1 δὲ τούσδε τοὺς ἐφυππίουν τοῖς τῶν ἐπτέων ἡγεμόσι, ὅς δ' ἂν τῶν ἀρμάτων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἄλλους τούσδε χιτῶνας.
Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐφερε λαβὼν· 7. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ἐπει

1 κασᾶς Brodæus, Edd.; καλέσας MSS.
4. "And you, Cyrus," asked one of those present, "when will you adorn yourself?"

"Why, do I not seem to you to be adorned myself when I adorn you?" he answered. "Be sure that if I can treat you, my friends, properly, I shall look well, no matter what sort of dress I happen to have on."

5. So they went away, sent for their friends, and adorned them with the robes.

Now Cyrus believed Pheraulas, that man of the common people, to be intelligent, to have an eye for beauty and order, and to be not indisposed to please him; (this was the same Pheraulas who had once supported his proposal that each man should be honoured in accordance with his merit;) so he called him in and with him planned how to arrange the procession in a manner that should prove most splendid in the eyes of his loyal friends and most intimidating to those who were disaffected. 6. And when after careful study they agreed on the arrangement, he bade Pheraulas see that the procession take place on the morrow exactly as they had decided was best. "And I have issued orders," said he, "that everybody shall obey you in regard to the ordering of the procession; but, in order that they may the more readily follow your directions, take these tunics here and give them to the officers of the lancers, and these cavalry mantles here to the commanders of the horse; and give the officers of the chariot forces also these other tunics."

So he took them and carried them away. 7. And when the officers one after another saw him, they
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'Ídœivn avtón, ἔλεγον, Μέγας δὴ σύγε, ὦ Φεραύλα, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἥμων προστάξεις ἀν δὲν ποιεῖν.

Οὐ μὰ Δῆ', ἔφη ὁ Φεραύλας, οὔ μόνον γε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συσκευοφορήσω· νῦν γοῦν φέρω τάδε δύο κασᾶ, τῶν μὲν σοί, τῶν δὲ ἄλλω· σὺ μέντοι τούτων λαβὲ ὁπότερον βούλει.

8. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ μὲν λαμβάνων τῶν κασῶν τοῦ μὲν φθόνου ἐπελέξατο, εὐθὺς δὲ συνεβουλεύετο αὐτῷ ὁπότερον λαμβάνον; ὁ δὲ συμβουλεύσας ἃν ὁπότερος βελτίων εἶ ὡς καὶ εἰπὼν, 'Ἡν μον κατηγορήσῃς ὅτι αἱρεσίν σοι ἔδωκα, εἰς αὐθεν ὅταν διακονῶ, ἐτέρῳ χρῆσει μοι διακόνῳ, ὁ μὲν ὁ Φεραύλας οὔτω διαδοὺς ἡ ἐτάχθη εὐθὺς ἐπεμέλετο τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐξέλασιν ὅπως ὃς κάλλιστα ἐκάστα ἔξοι.

9. 'Ηνίκα δ' ἡ ὑστεραῖα ἢκε, καθαρὰ μὲν ἡν πάντα πρὸ ἡμέρας, στοῖχοι δὲ εἰστήκεσαν ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τῆς ὀδοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἱστανται ἡ ἂν βασιλεὺς μέλλῃ ἐλαύνειν; δὴ ἐντὸς οὐδεὶ ἐστιν εἰσινει τῶν μὴ τετιμημένων μαστυγοφόροι δὲ καθέσασαν οὐ ἔπαιν, εἴ τις ἅντιλη.

'Εστασαν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους ἐμπροσθεν τῶν πυλῶν εἰς τέταρας, δισδίλιοι δ' ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν πυλῶν. 10. καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ πάντες παρῆσαν καταβεβηκότες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν, καὶ διειρκότες τὰς
would say: "You must be a great man, Pheraulas, seeing that you are to command even us what we must do."

"No, by Zeus," Pheraulas would answer; "not only not that, so it seems, but I am even to be one of the porters; at any rate, I am now carrying these two mantles here, the one for you, the other for some one else. You, however, shall have your choice."

8. With that, of course, the man who was receiving the mantle would at once forget about his jealousy and presently be asking his advice which one to choose. And he would give his advice as to which one was better and say: "If you betray that I have given you your choice, you will find me a different sort of servant the next time I come to serve." And when Pheraulas had distributed everything as he had been instructed to do, he at once began to arrange for the procession that it might be as splendid as possible in every detail.

9. When the next day dawned, everything was in order before sunrise; rows of soldiers stood on this side of the street and on that, just as even to this day the Persians stand, where the king is to pass; and within these lines no one may enter except those who hold positions of honour. And policemen with whips in their hands were stationed there, who struck any one who tried to crowd in.

First in order, in front of the gates stood about four thousand lancers, four deep, and two thousand on either side the gates. 10. And all the cavalry-men had alighted and stood there beside their horses, and they all had their hands thrust through
χειρὰς διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὡσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ διείρουσιν, ὅταν ὅρα βασιλέως. ἔστασαν δὲ Πέρσαι μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ὡσαύτως τὰ ἡμίσεα ἐκατέρωθεν.

11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεπετάνυντο αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου πύλαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἤγουν τῷ Δίῳ ταύροι πάγκαλοι εἰς τέτταρας καὶ οἱ σὺ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἔξηγοῦντο· πολὺ γὰρ ὁποῖοι Πέρσαι χρῆμα τοῖς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μᾶλλον τεχνίταις χρήσθαι ἢ περὶ τάλλα. 12. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς βοῦς ὕπποι ἤγουν θύμα τῷ Ἡλίῳ· μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐξήγητο ἄρμα λευκὸν χρυσόξυνγον ἐστεμμένων Δίῳ ἱερῶν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἡλίου ἄρμα λευκὸν, καὶ τούτῳ ἐστεμμένων ὡσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλο τρίτου ἄρμα ἐξήγητο, φοινικίσι καταπεπταμένοι οἱ ὕπποι, καὶ πῦρ ὁπίσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐπʼ ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἀνδρεὶς ὑποντο φέροντες.

13. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἦδη αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν προκαθόρισε ὁ Κῦρος ἐφ’ ἄρματος ὀρθῆν ἔχων τὴν τιάραν καὶ χιτώνα πορφυρῶν μεσόλευκον, ἄλλω δ’ οὐκ ἔξεστι μεσόλευκον ἔχειν, καὶ περὶ τοὺς σκέλεσιν ἀναξυρίδας ὑσιγιβραφεῖς, καὶ κάνδων ὀλοτρόφυρον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ διάδημα περὶ τῇ τιάρᾳ· καὶ οἱ συνγενεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σημεῖον ἔχουσιν, καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔχουσι. 14. τὰς δὲ χειρὰς ἔξω τῶν χειρίδων
the sleeves of their doublets, just as they do even to this day when the king sees them. The Persians stood on the right side of the street, the others, the allies, on the left, and the chariots were arranged in the same way, half on either side.

11. Then, when the palace gates were thrown open, there were led out at the head of the procession four abreast some exceptionally handsome bulls for Zeus and for the other gods as the magi directed; for the Persians think that they ought much more scrupulously to be guided by those whose profession is with things divine than they are by those in other professions. 12. Next after the bulls came horses, a sacrifice for the Sun; and after them came a chariot sacred to Zeus; it was drawn by white horses with a yoke of gold and wreathed with garlands; and next, for the Sun, a chariot drawn by white horses and wreathed with garlands like the other. After that came a third chariot with horses covered with purple trappings, and behind it followed men carrying fire on a great altar.

13. Next after these Cyrus himself upon a chariot appeared in the gates wearing his tiara upright, a purple tunic shot with white (no one but the king may wear such a one), trousers of scarlet dye about his legs, and a mantle all of purple. He had also a fillet about his tiara, and his kinsmen also had the same mark of distinction, and they retain it even now.

14. His hands he kept outside his sleeves. The Persians were obliged, in the presence of the king, to thrust their hands inside the sleeves of their doublets in token of their submission to royalty; moreover, with the hands thus withdrawn, no act of violence was possible. Cyrus, the Younger, is said to have had two of his kinsmen executed for their failure to observe this regulation. (Hellenica II. i. 8.)
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eίχε. παρατηρεῖ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡνίοχος μέγας μὲν, μείων δ' ἐκείνου εἶτε καὶ τῷ ὄντι εἶτε καὶ ὅπωσον· μεῖξων δ' ἐφάνη πολὺ Κύρος.

Ἰδόντες δὲ πάντες προσεκύνησαν, εἶτε καὶ ἅρξαι τινές κεκελευσμένου εἶτε καὶ ἐκπλαγέντες τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ τῷ δόξαι μέγαν τε καὶ καλῶν φανῆναι τοῦ Κύρου. πρόσθεν δὲ Περσῶν οὖνδεις Κύρων προσεκύνει.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προῆμε τὸ τοῦ Κύρου ἄρμα, προηγούντο μὲν οἱ τετρακισχίλιοι δορυφόροι, παρείποντο δὲ οἱ δισκίλιοι ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἀρματος· ἔφευγον δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν σκηντοῦχοι ἐφ' ἱππών κεκοσμημένοι σὺν τοῖς παλτοῖς ἀμφί τοὺς τριακοσίους. 16. οἱ δ' αὐτῷ τῷ Κύρῳ τρεφόμενοι ἵπποι παρῆγοντο χρυσοχάλινοι, ράβδωτοι ἰματίους καταπεπταμένους, ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων δισκίλων ἔστροφον ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἱππεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι γειόμενοι μῦροι, εἰς ἕκατον πανταχὺ τεταγμένου ἤγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ἀρματάτας. 17. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων μύρων ἄλλου Περσῶν ἱππείς τεταγμένοι ωσαύτως, ἢγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν 'Τστάςπας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἄλλου μῦρων ωσαύτως, ἢγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Δατάμας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τοσοῦτοι 1 ἄλλοι, ἢγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Γαδάτας· 18. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Μηδοὶ ἱππεῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρμενίων, μετὰ δὲ τούτων 'Τρκάνων, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Καδούσιων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Ὁκάι· μετὰ δὲ τούς ἵππεις ἀρματα ἐπὶ τεταρτῶν τεταγμένα, ἢγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ἀρταβάτας Περσῆς.

1 τοσοῦτοι: Hertlein, Hug; not in MSS. or most Edd.
him rode a charioteer, who was tall, but neither in reality nor in appearance so tall as he; at all events, Cyrus looked much taller.

And when they saw him, they all prostrated themselves before him, either—because some had been instructed to begin this act of homage, or because they were overcome by the splendour of his presence, or because Cyrus appeared so great and so goodly to look upon; at any rate, no one of the Persians had ever prostrated himself before Cyrus before.

15. Then, when Cyrus’s chariot had come forth, the four thousand lancers took the lead, and the two thousand fell in line on either side of his chariot; and his mace-bearers, about three hundred in number, followed next in gala attire, mounted, and equipped with their customary javelins. 16. Next came Cyrus’s private stud of horses, about two hundred in all, led along with gold-mounted bridles and covered over with embroidered housings. Behind these came two thousand spearmen, and after them the original ten thousand Persian cavalry, drawn up in a square with a hundred on each side; and Chrysantas was in command of them. 17. Behind them came ten thousand other Persian horsemen arranged in the same way with Hystaspas in command, and after them ten thousand more in the same formation with Datamas as their commander; following them, as many more with Gadatas in command. 18. And then followed in succession the cavalry of the Medes, Armenians, Hyrcanians, Cadusians, and Sacians; and behind the cavalry came the chariots ranged four abreast, and Artabatas, a Persian, had command of them.
19. Πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πάμπολλοι ἀνθρώποι παρείποντο ἐξω τῶν σημείων, δεόμενοι Κύρου ἄλλος ἄλλης πράξεως. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν σκηπτούχων τινάς, οἱ παρείποντο αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἕνεκα τοῦ διαγελλείν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τις τι αὐτοῦ δεότο, διδάσκειν τῶν ἵππαρχων τινὰ ὅ τι τις βουλοίτο, ἐκείνους δὲ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπώντες εὐθὺς κατὰ τοὺς ἱππείς ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο τίνι ἐκατός προσίοι.

20. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος οὖς ἐβούλετο μάλιστα θεραπεύεσθαι τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τούτους πέμπων τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑκάλει καθ’ ἕνα ἐκατόν καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς οὕτως: "Ἡν τις ὑμᾶς διδάσκῃ τι τούτων τῶν παρεπομένων, οὐ μὲν ἂν μηδὲν δοκῇ ὑμῖν λέγειν, μὴ προσέχετε αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ὅσοὶ δὲ ἄν δικαίων δεῖσθαι δοκῇ, εἰσαγγέλλετε πρὸς ἐμέ, ἵνα κοινὴ βουλευόμενοι διαπράττωμεν αὐτοῖς.

21. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι, ἐπεὶ καλέσθειν, ἀνὰ κράτος ἑλαίνοντες ὑπόκουν, συναύξοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ὅτι σφόδρα πείθοντο. Δαίφερνης δὲ τις ἦν σολοικότερος ἀνθρώπος τῷ πρόπῳ, ὅς φεῦ, εἰ μὴ ταχύ ὑπακοῦει, ἐλευθερώτερος ἄν φαινεσθαι. 22. αἰσθόμενος οὖν δὲ Κύρος τούτο, πρὶν προσελθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διαλεχθῆναι αὐτῷ, ὑποπέμψας τινὰ τῶν σκηπτούχων εἰπεῖν

1 αὐτὸν Edd.; αὐτὸν MSS.
19. And as he proceeded, a great throng of people followed outside the lines with petitions to present to Cyrus, one about one matter, another about another. So he sent to them some of his mace-bearers, who followed, three on either side of his chariot, for the express purpose of carrying messages for him; and he bade them say that if any one wanted anything of him, he should make his wish known to some one of his cavalry officers and they, he said, would inform him. So the people at once fell back and made their way along the lines of cavalry, each considering what officer he should approach.

20. From time to time Cyrus would send some one to call to him one by one those of his friends whom he wished to have most courted by the people, and would say to them: "If any one of the people following the procession tries to bring anything to your attention, if you do not think he has anything worth while to say, pay no attention to him; but if any one seems to you to ask what is fair, come and tell me, so that we may consult together and grant the petition."

21. And whenever he sent such summons, the men would ride up at full speed to answer it, thereby magnifying the majesty of Cyrus's authority and at the same time showing their eagerness to obey. There was but one exception: a certain Daiphernes, a fellow rather boorish in his manners, thought that he would show more independence if he did not obey at once. 22. Cyrus noticed this; and so, before Daiphernes came and talked with him, he sent one of his mace-bearers privately to say that he had no
ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἦτι δέοιτο· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐκάλει. 23. ὡς δ’ ὁ ὅστερον κληθεὶς αὐτοῦ πρότερος αὐτῷ προσηλάσεν, ὁ Κῦρος καὶ Ἰπποῦν αὐτῷ ἔδωκε τῶν παρεπομένων καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῶν σκηπτούχων τινὰ συναπαγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ὅποιο 1 κελεύσει. τοῖς δὲ ᾿Ιδούσιν ἑντιμῶν τι τούτῳ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ πλείονες ἐκ τούτου αὐτῶν θεράπευον ἀνθρώπων.

24. ᾿Επεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὰ τεμένη, ἔθυσαν τῷ Διῳ καὶ ὁλοκαύτησαν τοὺς ταύρους· ἔπειτα τῷ Ῥηλῷ καὶ ὁλοκαύτησαν τοὺς Ἰπποῦς· ἔπειτα Γη σφάξαντες ὡς ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ μάγοι ἐποίησαν ἐπειτα δὲ ἤρωσι τοῖς Συρίαν ἔχουσι. 25. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου ἐδείξε τέρμα ὡς ἐπὶ πέντε σταδίων χωρίου, καὶ εἶπε κατὰ φύλα ἀνά κράτος ἑνταῦθα ἀφεῖναι τοὺς Ἰππούς. σὺν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πέρσαις αὐτὸς ἦλασε καὶ ἐνίκα πολὺ μάλιστα γὰρ ἐμεμελήκη αὐτῷ ἰππικῆς· Μήδων δὲ ᾿Αρτάβαζος ἐνίκα· Κῦρος γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰππόν ἐδεδώκει· Σύρων δὲ τῶν ἀποστάτων Ἰπποῦν ἔδεδόκει· Τύρκων δὲ τῶν ἀποστάτων 2 ὁ Γαδάτας· ᾿Αρμενίων δὲ Τιγράνης· Ῥκανίων δὲ ὁ νῖός τοῦ ἰππάρχου· Σαλὼν δὲ ᾿Ιδιώτης ἀνὴρ ἀπέλυσεν ἄρα τῷ Ἰππῷ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰπποῦς ἔγγυς τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ ὅρμου. 26. ἐνθα δὴ λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος ἐρέσθαι τῶν νεανίσκων εἰ δέξατ’ ᾧν βασιλεῖαν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰπποῦ.
Τὸν δ’ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι Βασιλείαν μὲν οὐκ

1 ὅποι Dindorf, most Edd.; ὅποι yz, Breitenbach; ὅποι x.
2 τῶν ἀποστάτων Madvig, recent Edd.; ὁ προσταταῖν xzV, Dindorf, τῶν πάντων y.

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more need of him; and he did not send for him again.
23. But when a man who was summoned later than Daïphernes rode up to him sooner than he, Cyrus
gave him one of the horses that were being led in
the procession and gave orders to one of the mace-
bearers to have it led away for him wherever he
should direct. And to those who saw it it seemed
to be a mark of great honour, and as a consequence
of that event many more people paid court to that
man.

24. So, when they came to the sanctuaries, they
performed the sacrifice to Zeus and made a holocaust
of the bulls; then they gave the horses to the flames
in honour of the Sun; next they did sacrifice to the
Earth, as the magi directed, and lastly to the tutelary
heroes of Syria. 25. And after that, as the locality
seemed adapted to the purpose, he pointed out a
goal about five stadia distant and commanded the
riders, nation by nation, to put their horses at full
speed toward it. Accordingly, he himself rode with
the Persians and came in far ahead of the rest, for he
had given especial attention to horsemanship. Among
the Medes, Artabazus won the race, for the horse
he had was a gift from Cyrus; among the Assyrians
who had revolted to him, Gadatas secured the first
place; among the Armenians, Tigranes; and among
the Hyrcanians, the son of the master of the horse;
but among the Sacians a certain private soldier with
his horse actually outdistanced the rest by nearly
half the course. 26. Thereupon Cyrus is said to have
asked the young man if he would take a kingdom
for his horse.

"No," answered he; "I would not take a king-

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ἀν δεξαίμην, χάριν δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καταθέσθαι
dεξαίμην ἂν.

27. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ δεῖξαί σοι
ἐθέλω ἐνθα κἀν μῦν βάλης, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτως
ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ.

Πάντως τοίνυν, ὁ Σάκας ἔφη, δεῖξόν μοι· ὡς
βαλῶ γε ταύτῃ τῇ βόλῳ, ἔφη ἀνελόμενος.

28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Κύρος δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ ὅπου
ήσαν πλείστοι τῶν φίλων· ὁ δὲ καταμῦν ἤσι
τῇ βόλῳ καὶ παρελαυνοῦντος Φεραύλα τυγχάνειν;
ἐτυχε γὰρ ὁ Φεραύλας παραγγέλλων τι τακτὸς
παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου· βληθεὶς δὲ οὐδὲ μετεστράφη,
ἀλλ’ ὧχετο ἔφ’ ὅπερ ἐτάχθη.

29. Ἀναβλέψας δὲ ὁ Σάκας ἔρωτὰ τίνος
ἔτυχεν.

Οὐ μὰ τῶν Δῆ, ἔφη, οὐδενὸς τῶν παρόντων.
’Ἀλλ’ οὔ μὲντοι, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος, τῶν γε
ἀποστασιῶν.

Ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, σύγχε ἐκεῖνον τοῦ
παρὰ τὰ ἀρματα παχὺ ελαύνοντος τῶν ἱππῶν.
Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οὔδὲ μεταστρέφεται;

30. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔφη, Μαυρόμενος γὰρ τὸς
ἐστιν, ός ἐοικεν.

’Ακούσας ὁ νεανίσκος ὧχετο σκεφθόμενος τις
eίς· καὶ εὐρίσκει τὸν Φεραύλαν γῆς τε κατάπλευσι
τὸ γένειον καὶ ἀιματός· ἔρρυν ἑκ τῆς ῥινὸς βληθέντι· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, ἤρετο
αὐτὸν εἰ βληθεὶς.

1 ἔρρυν zDGH, most Edd.; ἔρρυς x, Gemoll (was still
flowing); ἔρρυς F.
dom for him, but I would take the chance of laying up a store of gratitude with a brave man."

27. "Aye," said Cyrus, "and I will show you where you could not fail to hit a brave man, even if you throw with your eyes shut."

"All right, then," said the Sacian; "show me; and I will throw this clod here." And with that he picked one up.

28. And Cyrus pointed out to him the place where most of his friends were. And the other, shutting his eyes, let fly with the clod and hit Pheraulas as he was riding by; for Pheraulas happened to be carrying some message under orders from Cyrus. But though he was hit, he did not so much as turn around but went on to attend to his commission.

29. The Sacian opened his eyes and asked whom he had hit.

"None of those here, by Zeus," said Cyrus.

"Well, surely it was not one of those who are not here," said the youth.

"Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "it was; you hit that man who is riding so fast along the line of chariots yonder."

"And why does he not even turn around?" said the youth.

30. "Because he is crazy, I should think," answered Cyrus.

On hearing this, the young man went to find out who it was. And he found Pheraulas with his chin covered with dirt and blood, for the blood had flowed from his nose where he had been struck; and when he came up to him he asked him if he had been hit.
31. Ὅ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ὡς ὄρας.
Δίδωμι τοῖς νυν σοι, ἐφι, τούτων τὸν ἵππουν. Ὅ δ᾽ ἐπηρετο, Ἀντὶ τοῦ;
ELY τοῦτον δὴ διηγεῖτο ὁ Σάκας τὸ πράγμα, καὶ τέλος εἶπε, Καὶ οיךαί γε σύν ἡμαρτηκέναι ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθὸ.  
32. Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἀν, εἰ ἐσωφρόνεις, ἢ ἔμοι ἐδίδους· νῦν δὲ καγὼ δέξομαι. ἔπευχόμαι δὲ, ἔφη, τοὺς θεοῖς, οὔπερ με ἐποίησαν βληθήναι ὑπὸ σοῦ, δοῦναὶ μοι ποιῆσαι μὴ μεταμέλειν σοι τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς. καὶ νῦν μὲν, ἐφι, ἀπέλα, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ἵππον, αὕθιος δ᾽ ἐγὼ παρέσομαι πρὸς σὲ. 
Οἱ μὲν δῆ οὗτο διηλλάξαντο. 
Καδυσιόν ὑμᾶς ἐνίκα Ῥαθίνης.  
33. Ἀφεῖ γε καὶ τὰ ἄρματα καθ᾽ ἐκαστον τοῖς δὲ μικῶσι πάσιν ἐδίδου βοῶσ τε, ὅτως ἄν θύσαντες ἐστιν οτοῦ, καὶ ἐκπώματα, τὸν μὲν οὖν βοῶν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ νικητήριον τῶν ὅ ἐκπωμάτων τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος Φεραύλα ἔδωκεν, ὅτι καλὸς ἔδωξεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου ἐλασιν διατάξας. 
34. Οὗτο δὴ τότε ὑπὸ Κῦρον κατασταθέεσα ἡ βασιλείως ἐλασις οὗτως ἐτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει,1 πλην τὰ ἱερά ἄπεστιν, ὅταν μὴ θύῃ. 
Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα τέλος εἶχεν, ἀφικνοῦνται πάλιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν, οἷς μὲν ἐδόθησαν οἰκίας, καὶ οἶκιας, οἷς δὲ μὴ, ἐν τάξει.

1 οὗτο δὴ ... διαμένει: Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; οὗτο δὴ η (ἡ not in y) τότε ὑπὸ Κ. κ. ἐλασις (ἡ ι. γ.) οὗτος ἐτι κ. ν. διαμένει ἡ βασιλείως ἐλασις xzyv (but οὗτο . . . ἐλασις is not in G; ἡ βασιλείως ἐλασις is not in D).
31. "As you see," he answered. 
"Well then," said the other, "I will make you a present of this horse."
"What for?" asked Pheraulas.
Then the Sacian related the circumstances and finally said: "And in my opinion, at least, I have not failed to hit a brave man."
32. "But you would give him to a richer man than I, if you were wise," answered Pheraulas. "Still, even as it is, I will accept him. And I pray the gods, who have caused me to receive your blow, to grant me to see that you never regret your gift to me. And now," said he, "mount my horse and ride away; I will join you presently."
Thus they made the exchange.
Of the Cadusians, Rhathines was the winner.
33. The chariots also he allowed to race by divisions; to all the winners he gave cups and cattle, so that they might sacrifice and have a banquet. He himself, then, took the ox as his prize, but his share of the cups he gave to Pheraulas because he thought that that officer, as grand marshal, had managed the procession from the palace admirably.
34. The procession of the king, therefore, as thus instituted by Cyrus, continues even so unto this day, except that the victims are omitted when the king does not offer sacrifice.
When it was all over, they went back to the city to their lodgings—those to whom houses had been given, to their homes; those who had none, to their company’s quarters.
35. Καλέσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας τῶν Σάκων τῶν δόντα τῶν ἔππον ἐξενίζε, καὶ τάλλα τε παρεῖχεν ἐκπλεώ, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, τὰ ἐκπώματα αὐτῷ ἅ ἐλαβε παρὰ Κύρου ἐμπιμπλας προὔτω καὶ ἐδωρείτο.

36. Καὶ ὁ Σάκας ὅρων πολλήν μὲν καὶ καλήν στρωμνήν, πολλήν δὲ καὶ καλὴν κατασκευήν, καὶ οἰκέτας δὲ πολλούς, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Φεραύλα, ἢ καὶ οἰκοι τῶν πλούσιων ἡσθα;

37. Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπε, Ποιὼν πλούσιον; τῶν μὲν οὖν σαφῶς ἀποχειροβιώτων. ἐμὲ γάρ τοι ὁ πατὴρ τὴν μὲν τῶν παιδῶν παιδείαν γλάσχρως αὐτὸς ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τρέφων ἔπαιδευεν ἐπεὶ δὲ μειράκιοι ἐγενόμην, οὐ δύναμεν τρέφειν ἄργον, εἰς ἁγρόν ἀπαγαγόν ἐκέλευσεν ἐργαζεσθαι. 38. Εὐθα δὴ ἐγὼ ἀντέτρεφον ἐκείνον, ἐως ἔξη, αὐτὸς σκάπτων καὶ σπέιρων καὶ μάλα μικρὸν γῆδιον, οὐ μέντοι πονηρόν γε, ἀλλὰ πάντων δικαίωτατον ὁ τι γὰρ λάβοι σπέρμα, καλῶς καὶ δικαῖως ἀπεδίδον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τόκον οὐδὲν τι πολύν ἢ δὲ ποτε ὑπὸ γενναιότητος καὶ διπλάσια ἀπέδωκεν ὅν ἐλαβεν. οἰκοι μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὑπὸ σίφω τῆς ἀντα τὰ πάντα ἅ ὁρᾶς Κύρος μοι ἐδωκε.

39. Καὶ ὁ Σάκας εἶπεν, Ὡ μακάριε σὺ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐκ πένητος πλούσιος

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1 ἀποχειροβιώτων zED, most Edd.; ἀποχειροβιώτων CF, Hug.
35. Pheraulas invited to his house the Sacian also, who had given him his horse, and entertained his new friend there and made bountiful provision for him in every way; and when they had dined, he filled up the cups that he had received from Cyrus, drank to his health, and then gave him the cups.

36. And when the Sacian saw the many beautiful coverlets, the many beautiful pieces of furniture, and the large number of servants, he said: “Pray tell me, Pheraulas, were you a rich man at home, too?”

37. “Rich, indeed!” answered Pheraulas; “nay rather, as everybody knows, one of those who lived by the labour of their hands. To be sure, my father, who supported us by hard labour and close economy on his own part, managed to give me the education of the boys; but when I became a young man, he could not support me in idleness, and so he took me off to the farm and put me to work. 38. And there, as long as he lived, I, in turn, supported him by digging and planting a very little plot of ground. It was really not such a very bad plot of ground, but, on the contrary, the most honest; for all the seed that it received it returned fairly and honestly, and yet with no very great amount of interest. And sometimes, in a fit of generosity, it would even return to me twice as much as it received. Thus, then, I used to live at home; but now everything that you see has been given to me by Cyrus.”

39. “What a happy fellow you must be,” said the Sacian, “for every reason, but particularly because from being poor you have become rich. For you
γεγένησαί· πολὺ γὰρ οἷμαι σε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἢδιον πλούτειν ὅτι πεινήσας χρημάτων ἐπλούτησας. ¹

40. Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας ἐίπεν, Ἡ γὰρ οὕτως, ο Σάκα, ὑπολαμβάνεις ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν τοσοῦτο ήδιον ξῶ διὸ πλείω κέκτημαι; οὐκ οἶσθα, ἐφη, ὅτι ἔσθιο μὲν καὶ πίνω καὶ καθεύδω οὐδ’ ὤτιον νῦν ἢδιον ἢ τότε ὅτε πένης ἦν. ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα πολλὰ ἐστι, τοσοῦτον κερδαίων, πλείῳ μὲν φυλάττειν δει, πλείῳ δὲ ἄλλοις διανέμειν, πλειόνων δὲ ἐπιμελήμενον πράγματα ἔχειν. 41. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἐμὲ πολλοὶ μὲν οὐκέταί σετον αἰτοῦσι, πολλοὶ δὲ πιεῖν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἰμάτια· οἱ δὲ ιατρῶν δέουνται· ἢκεί δὲ τις ἢ τῶν προβάτων λευκωμένα φέρων ἢ τῶν βοῶν κατακεκρημνισμένα ἢ νόσοιν φάσκων ἐμπεπτωκέναι τοῖς κτήνεσιν ὡστε μοι δοκῶ, ἐφη ὁ Φεραύλας, νῦν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐχεῖν πλείῳ λυπεῖσθαι ἢ πρὸσθεν διὰ τὸ ὀλύγα ἔχειν.

42. Καὶ ὁ Σάκας, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἐφη, ὅταν σῶα ² ἢ, πολλὰ ὅρων πολλαπλάσια ἐμοὶ ἐν- φραίνει.

Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας ἐίπεν, Οὔτοι, ὁ Σάκα, οὕτως ἢδ’ ἐστι τὸ ἔχειν χρήματα ὡς ἀνιαρόν τὸ ἀπο- βάλλειν. γνώσει δ’ ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πλουτοῦντων οὐδεὶς ἀναγκάζεται ὕφ’ ἢδουὴς ἀγρυπνεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀποβάλλοντων τι ὄψει οὐδένα δυνάμενον καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης.

43. Μὰ Δῆ, ἐφη ὁ Σάκας, σωδ’ γε τῶν λαμ- βανόντων τι νυστάζοντα οὐδένα ἀν ὕδος ὕφ’ ἢδουης.

¹ ἐπλούτησας Hertlein, recent Edd.; ἐπιπλούτηκας MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
² σῶα MSS., Marchant, Gemoll; σά Dindorf, Hug.
must enjoy your riches much more, I think, for the very reason that it was only after being hungry for wealth that you became rich."

40. "Why, do you actually suppose, my Sacian friend," answered Pheraulas, "that the more I own, the more happily I live? You are not aware," he went on, "that it gives me not one whit more pleasure to eat and drink and sleep now than it did when I was poor. My only gain from having so much is that I am obliged to take care of more, distribute more to others, and have the trouble of looking after more than I used to have. 41. For now many domestics look to me for food, many for drink, and many for clothes, while some need doctors; and one comes to me with a tale about sheep attacked by wolves, or of oxen killed by falling over a precipice, or to say that some disease has broken out among the cattle. And so it looks to me," said Pheraulas, "as if I had more trouble now through possessing much than I used to have from possessing little."

42. "But still, by Zeus," said the Sacian, "when everything is going well, you must at the sight of so many blessings be many times as happy as I."

"The pleasure that the possession of wealth gives, my good Sacian," said Pheraulas, "is not nearly so great as the pain that is caused by its loss. And you shall be convinced that what I say is true: for not one of those who are rich is made sleepless for joy, but of those who lose anything you will not see one who is able to sleep for grief."

43. "Not so, by Zeus," said the Sacian; "but of those who get anything not one could you see who gets a wink of sleep for very joy."
44. Ἀλήθη, ἔφη, λέγεις· εἰ γάρ τοι τὸ ἔχειν οὕτως ὁσπέρ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἦδυ ἦν, πολὺ ἄν διέ-
θερον εὐδαιμονία οἱ πλοῦσιοι τῶν πενήτων. καὶ ἀνάγκη δὲ τοῦ ἔστιν, ἔφη, ὁ Σάκα, τὸν πολλὰ
ἔχοντα πολλαὶ καὶ δαπανῶν καὶ εἰς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς
φίλους καὶ εἰς ξένους· ὡστις οὐν ἰσχυρῶς χρήμα-
σιν ἤδεται, εὐ ἱσθι τούτον καὶ δαπανῶντα ἰσχυρῶς
ἀνιάσθαι.

45. Ναὶ ἡ Δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Σάκας· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγνω
τούτων εἰμὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν τούτο νομίζω
τὸ πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλαὶ καὶ δαπανῶν.

46. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Φεραύλας,
οὐχὶ σύγει αὐτίκα μᾶλα εὐδαιμονέν εγένος καὶ ἔμε
εὐδαιμονα ἐποίησας; λαβὼν γὰρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα
πάντα κέκτησο, καὶ χρῶ ὅπως βούλει αὐτοῖς·
ἔμε δὲ μηδὲν ἀλλο ἢ ὁσπέρ ξένου τρέφε, καὶ ἐτι
εὐτελέστερον ἢ ξένου· ἀρκέσει γὰρ μοι ὁ τι ἂν
καὶ σὺ ξένης τούτων μετέχειν.

47. Παίξεις, ἔφη ὁ Σάκας.

Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας ὁμόσας εἶπεν ἢ μὴν σπουδὴ
λέγειν. καὶ ἀλλα γέ σοι, ὁ Σάκα, προσδιατράφο-
μαι παρὰ Κύρου, μήτε θύρας τὰς Κύρου θε-
πεύειν μήτε στρατεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν πλοῦτῶν
οἰκοι μένε; ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσω καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ
ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ· καὶ εάν τι ἀγαθὸν προσλαμβάνω διὰ
tὴν Κύρου θεραπείαν ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ στρατείας τινός,
οίσω πρὸς σέ, ἵνα ἐτι πλεῖόνων ἄρχης· μόνον, ἔφη,
ἔμε ἀπόλυσον ταύτης τῆς ἐπιμελείας· ἢν γὰρ ἔγω

1 Ναἰ added by Hertlein, recent Edd.; not in MSS., earlier
Edd.

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44. "True," said the other; "for, you see, if having were as pleasant as getting, the rich would be incomparably happier than the poor. But, you see, my good Sacian, it is also a matter of course that he who has much should also spend much both in the service of the gods and for his friends and for the strangers within his gates. Let me assure you, therefore, that any one who takes inordinate pleasure in the possession of money is also inordinately distressed at having to part with it."

45. "Aye, by Zeus," answered the Sacian; "but I am not one of that sort; my idea of happiness is both to have much and also to spend much."

46. "In the name of the gods, then," said Pheraulas, "please make yourself happy at once and make me happy, too! Take all this and own it and use it as you wish. And as for me, you need do no more than keep me as a guest—aye, even more sparingly than a guest, for I shall be content to share whatever you have."

47. "You are joking," said the Sacian.

But Pheraulas assured him with an oath that he was really in earnest in what he proposed. "And I will get you other favours besides from Cyrus, my Sacian—exemption from attending at court and from serving in the field; you may just stay at home with your wealth. I will attend to those other duties for you as well as for myself; and if I secure anything more of value either through my attendance upon Cyrus or from some campaign, I will bring it to you, so that you may have still more wealth at your command. Only deliver me from this care. For if you
σχολήν ἄγω ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐμοὶ τὲ σὲ οἴμαι πολλὰ καὶ Κύρῳ χρήσιμον ἐσεσθαι.

48. Τούτων οὔτω ῥηθέντων ταῦτα συνέθεντο καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἥγειτο εὐδαίμων γεγενήθαι, ὦτι πολλῶν ἢρχε χρημάτων. ὁ δ' αὐτὸ ἐνόμιζε μακαριώτατος εἶναι, ὦτι ἐπίτροπον ἔχοι, σχολήν παρέχοντα ἑ τι ἂν αὐτῷ ἤδυ ᾐ.

49. Ἡν δὲ τοῦ Φεραύλα ὁ τρόπος φιλέταιρός τε καὶ θεραπεύειν οὐδὲν ἢδυ αὐτῷ οὔτως ἑδόκει εἶναι οὐδ' ὀφέλιμον ὡς ἀνθρώπους. καὶ γὰρ βέλτιστον πάντων τῶν ἡμῶν ἥγειτο ἀνθρώπουν εἴναι καὶ εὐχαριστότατον, ὦτι ἑώρα τοὺς τε ἐπαινούμενος ὑπὸ τίνος ἀντεπαινοῦντας τούτους προθύμους τοῖς τε χαριζομένοις πειρωμένους ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι, καὶ οὕς γνοίεν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντας, τούτοις ἀντευνοῦντας, καὶ οὕς εἰδεῖεν φιλοῦντας αὐτοὺς, τούτους μισεῖν οὐ δυναμένους, καὶ γνωέας δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀντιθεραπεύειν πάντων τῶν ἡμῶν ἐθέλοντας καὶ ἱωντας καὶ τελευτήσαντας τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα ζῶα καὶ ἀχαριστότερα καὶ ἀγνωμονεστερα ἀνθρώπων ἐγύγωσκεν εἶναι. 50. οὕτω δὴ ὁ τε Φεραύλας ὑπερήδετο ὦτι ἔξεσοιτο αὐτῷ ἀπαλλαγέντες τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἐπιμελείας ἀμφὶ τοὺς φίλους ἔχειν, ὁ τε Σάκας ὦτι ἐμελλε πολλὰ ἔχων πολλοῖς χρήσεσθαι. ἐφίλει δὲ ὁ μὲν Σάκας τὸν Φεραύλαν, ὦτι προσέφερέ τι ἄει· ὁ δὲ τὸν Σάκαν, ὦτι παραλαμβάνειν πάντα

1 παρέχοντα xzV, Edd.; παρέξοντα y.
will relieve me of its burden, I think you will do a
great service also to Cyrus as well as to myself."

48. When they had thus talked things over to-
gether, they came to an agreement according to this
last suggestion and proceeded to act upon it. And
the one thought that he had been made a happy man
because he had command of great riches, while the
other considered himself most blessed because he
was to have a steward who would give him leisure to
do only whatever was pleasant to him.

49. Now, Pheraulas was naturally a "good fellow,"
and nothing seemed to him so pleasant or so useful
as to serve other people. For he held man to be
the best and most grateful of all creatures, since he
saw that when people are praised by any one they
are very glad to praise him in turn; and when any
one does them a favour, they try to do him one in
return; when they recognize that any one is kindly
disposed toward them they return his good-will; and
when they know that any one loves them they cannot
dislike him; and he noticed especially that they strive
more earnestly than any other creature to return the
loving care of parents both during their parents' life-
time and after their death; whereas all other crea-
tures, he knew, were both more thankless and more
unfeeling than man. 50. And so Pheraulas was
greatly delighted to think that he could be rid of
the care of all his worldly goods and devote himself
to his friends; and the Sacian, on his part, was
delighted to think that he was to have much and
enjoy much. And the Sacian loved Pheraulas
because he was always bringing him something
more; and Pheraulas loved the Sacian because he
XENOPHON

orgetowne kai aei pleioiws epimeleomevne oudeun mal-
lojou autiws ascholiavan pareixe.
Kai outoj men de outrw diynoun.

IV

1. Ousas de kai o Kyros vikhtirma estiwv
ekalesse tov filow ou malist' auton auvzein te
boulomeno fainerol hevan kai timontes einoikow-
tata. suneekalesse de autoid kai 'Artabazou tov
Mhdon kai Tigranyv tov 'Armenion kai tov
'Trkanion upparxhov kai Gobryavan. 2. Gadaata
de tov skpetoukhv hrxhen autif, kai he kevivos
diekosemen h pvasa evoud dianeta kadevsteka
kal opote men sundevpovin tinis, oud' ekabize
Gadaata, all' etemelato' opote de autol elen,
kai sundevtpnev' hseto gay autif sunvov' anti de
touton pollois kai megalois etymato upo tov
Kyrov, dia de Kyrov kai ut' allon.

3. Ovs de' hlycon oi kalhenteis eti to deiption,
oiv ouo evtuhen ekaston ekabizev, all' di men
malista etima, parad twn aristeran cheibra, oves
enpevouleuoteeras taqth svasi h tis deziav, tov
de deuteron parad twn dezia, tov de triton palin
parad twn aristeran, tov de tetaartov parad twn
deziav' kai h' plievon osw, oswtovos. 4. sa-
phnizesthai de' wos ekaston etima dia1 tovtro edhkei

1 dia Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS.,
other Edd.

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was willing to take charge of everything; and
though the Sacian had continually more in his
charge, none the more did he trouble Phraulas
about it.
Thus these two continued to live.

IV

1. When Cyrus had sacrificed and was celebrating a royal banquet his victory with a banquet, he invited in those of his friends who showed that they were most desirous of magnifying his rule and of honouring him most loyally. He invited with them Artabazus the Mede, Tigranes the Armenian, Gobryas, and the commander of the Hyrcanian horse. 2. Now Gadatas was the chief of the mace-bearers, and the whole household was managed as he directed. Whenever guests dined with Cyrus, Gadatas did not even take his seat, but attended upon them. But when they were by themselves, he would dine with Cyrus, for Cyrus enjoyed his company. And in return for his services he received many valuable presents from Cyrus himself and, through Cyrus's influence, from others also.

3. So when invited guests came to dinner, he did not assign them their seats at random, but he seated on Cyrus's left the one for whom he had the highest regard, for the left side was more readily exposed to treacherous designs than the right; and the one who was second in esteem he seated on his right, the third again on the left, the fourth on the right, and so on, if there were more. 4. For he thought it a good plan to show publicly how much regard he had
αυτῷ ἀγαθῶν εἶναι, ὥστε ὑπὸν μὲν οὖν οὖνται ἄνθρωποι τὸν κρατιστεύοντα μὴ τε κηρυχθήσεσθαι μὴ τε ἀθλα λήψεσθαι, δὴ λοί εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα οὐ φιλονίκως πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες· ὅπου δὲ μάλιστα πλεονεκτῶν ὁ κράτιστος φαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα προθυμότατα φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πάντες.

5. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος δὲ οὕτως ἐσαφήνειζε μὲν τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας παρ' ἑαυτῷ, εὐθὺς ἀρξάμενος εἰς ἔδρας καὶ παραστάσεως. οὐ μέντοι ἀθάνατον τὴν ταχθεῖσαν ἔδραν κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ νόμιμον ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἁγαθὸς ἔργοις προβήναι εἰς τὴν τιμωτέραν ἔδραν, καὶ εἰ γίνεται ἡμοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκακίαν, ἀνακρίνεις εἰς τὴν ἀτιμωτέραν. τὸν δὲ πρωτεύοντα εἰς ἔδρα ἔχοντα μὴ οὕτω πλείστα καὶ ἁγαθὰ ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ Κύρου γενόμενα οὕτως ἐτι καὶ νῦν διαμένοντα αἰσθανόμεθα.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνουν, ἐδόκει τῷ Γωβρύᾳ τὸ μὲν πολλὰ ἐκαστὰ εἶναι οὐδὲν τι θαυμαστὸν παρ' ἄνδρι πολλῶν ἅρχοντι· τὸ δὲ τὸν Κύρον οὕτω μεγάλα πράττοντα, εἰ τῇ ἡδίν δόξει λαβεῖν, μηδὲν τούτων μόνον καταδαπανῶν, ἀλλ' ἔργον ἔχειν δεόμενον τούτων κοιμωνεῖν τοὺς παρόντας, pol· λάκις δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων ἔστιν οἷς ἔσω νέμπουν ταῦτα αὐτὸν οἷς ἁγιεῖς τύχοι. 7. ὡστε ἐπεὶ ἐδειπνήκεσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ πολλὰ ὄντα διεσπέρασιν ὁ Κύρος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης,

1 δεόμενον zV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; τὸν δεόμενον y, Cobet; αὐτὸν δεόμενον Richards, Gemoll; τῶν δεόμενων x; αὐτὸν ἐδόμενον (when he was about to eat) Marchant.
2 τοὺς παρόντας MSS., most Edd.; [τοὺς π.] Cobet, Hug.
3 λοιπὰ added by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS., other Edd.

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for each one, because where people feel that the one who merits most will neither have his praise proclaimed nor receive a prize, there is no emulation among them; but where the most deserving is seen to receive the most preferment, there all are seen to contend most eagerly for the first place.

5. Accordingly, Cyrus thus made public recognition of those who stood first in his esteem, beginning even with the places they took when sitting or standing in his company. He did not, however, assign the appointed place permanently, but he made it a rule that by noble deeds any one might advance to a more honoured seat, and that if any one should conduct himself ill he should go back to one less honoured. And Cyrus felt it a discredit to himself, if the one who sat in the seat of highest honour was not also seen to receive the greatest number of good things at his hands. And we observe, furthermore, that this custom introduced in the time of Cyrus continues in force even to our own times.

6. Now, when they were at dinner, it struck Gobryas as not at all surprising that there was a great abundance of everything upon the table of a man who ruled over wide domains; but what did excite his wonder was that Cyrus, who enjoyed so great good fortune, should never consume by himself any delicacy that he might receive, but took pains to ask his guests to share it, and that he often saw him send even to some of his friends who were not there something that he happened to like very much himself. 7. And so when the dinner was over and Cyrus had sent around to others all that was left from the meal—and there was a great deal left—Gobryas
εἰπεν ἄρα ὁ Γωβρύας, Ἀλλ', ἐγώ, ὦ Κῦρε, πρόσθεν μὲν ἡγούμην τούτῳ σε πλείστον διαφέρειν ἀνθρώπων τῷ στρατηγικῶτατον εἰναι· νῦν δὲ θεούς δείκνυμι ἃ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πλέον σε διαφέρειν φιλανθρωπία ἡ στρατηγία.

8. Αὐτὴ Δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐπιδείκνυμαι τὰ ἐργα πολὺ ἡδιον φιλανθρωπίας ἡ στρατηγίας.

Πῶς δή; ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας.

"Ὅτι, ἔφη, τὰ μὲν κακῶς ποιοῦντα ἀνθρώπους δεῖ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, τὰ δὲ εὖ.

9. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἔπει ὑπέπινου, ἢρετο ὁ Τοστάσπας τὸν Κῦρον, Ἀρ ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἀχθεσθείης μοι, εἰ σε ἐροίμην ὁ βούλομαι σου πυθέσθαι;

Ἀλλὰ ναι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, τοῦναντίον τούτου ἀχθοίμην ἃν σοι, εἰ αἰσθοίμην σιωπῶντα ἃ βούλων ἐρέσθαι.

Δέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, ἢδη πῶποτε καλέσαντός σου οὐκ ἤλθον;

Εὐφήμει, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.

Ἀλλ’ ὑπακούων σχολῆ ὑπήκουσα;

Ὅδε τούτο.

Προστάξθεν δὲ τι ἢδη σοι οὐκ ἔπραξα;

Οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι, ἔφη.

"Ὁ δὲ πράπτοιμι, ἔστιν ὃ τι πῶποτε οὐ προθύμως ἢ οὐχ ἡδομένως πράπτοντά με κατέγνως;

Τούτο δὴ πάντων ἥκιστα, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.
could not help remarking: “Well, Cyrus, I used to think that you surpassed all other men in that you were the greatest general; and now, I swear by the gods, you seem actually to excel even more in kindness than in generalship.”

8. “Aye, by Zeus,” answered Cyrus; “and what is more, I assure you that I take much more pleasure in showing forth my deeds of kindness than ever I did in my deeds of generalship.”

“How so?” asked Gobryas.

“Because,” said he, “in the one field, one must necessarily do harm to men; in the other, only good.”

9. Later, when they were drinking after their meal, Hystaspas asked: “Pray, Cyrus, would you be displeased with me, if I were to ask you something that I wish to know from you?”

“Why, no; by the gods, no,” he answered; “on the contrary, I should be displeased with you if I found that you refrained from asking something that you wished to ask.”

“Tell me, then,” said the other, “did I ever fail to come when you sent for me?”

“Hush!” said Cyrus.

“Or, obeying, did I ever obey reluctantly?”

“No; nor that.”

“Or did I ever fail to do your bidding in anything?”

“I make no such accusation,” answered Cyrus.

“And is there anything I did that you found me doing otherwise than eagerly or cheerfully?”

“That, least of all,” answered Cyrus.

1 The Greek says: “Speak words of good omen”—i.e., preserve auspicious silence.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

10. Τίνος μὴν ἐνεκα, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Κῦρε, Χρυσάνταν ἐγγαρφας ὡστε εἰς τὴν τιμωτέραν ἐμοῦ χώραν ἱδρυθήναι;
"Ἡ λέγω; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.
Πάντως, ἔφη ὁ 'Τστάσπας.
Καὶ σὺ αὐχεῖ νὰ ἄχθησῃ 1 μοι ἀκούον τάληθή;
11. Ἡ θήσομαι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἣν εἰδῶ ὅτι οὖν ἄδικούμαι.
Χρυσάντας τοίνυν, ἔφη, οὖτοσι πρῶτον μὲν οὐ κλήσιν ἀνέμενεν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν καλεῖσθαι παρῆν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐνεκα: ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ τὸ κελευόμενον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃ τι αὐτὸς γνοίη ἀμείνων εἶναι πεπραγμένον ἡμῖν τούτῳ ἔπραττεν. ὅπωτε δὲ ἐπείν τι δέοι εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους, ἄ μὲν ἐμὲ φησιν πρέπειν λέγειν ἐμοὶ συνεβούλευν. ὃ δὲ ἐμὲ αἰσθοῖτο βουλόμενον μὲν εἰδέναι τοὺς συμμάχους, αὐτὸν δὲ με αἰσχυνόμενον περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγειν, ταῦτα οὖτος λέγων ὃς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο· ὡστ' ἐν γε τούτοις τί κωλύει αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμοῦ ἐμοὶ κρείττονα εἶναι; καὶ ἐαυτὸ μὲν ἄει φησι πάντα τὰ παρόντα ἄρκειν, ἐμὸ δὲ ἄει φανερὸς ἐστὶ σκοπῶν τί ἀν προσγενόμενον ὑνήσειν, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἐμοῖς καλοῖς πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ ἀγάλλεται καὶ ἤδεται.
12. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ 'Τστάσπας ἔπει, Νὴ τὴν "Ηραν, ὁ Κῦρε, ἤδομαι γε ταῦτά σε ἐρωτήσας.
Τί μάλιστα; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος.

1 ἄχθησε: most Edd.; ἄχθεσθήσῃ (ο minValue) MSS., Breitenbach.

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10. "Then why, in heaven's name, Cyrus," he said, "did you put Chrysantas down for a more honourable place than mine?"

"Am I really to tell you?" asked Cyrus.

"By all means," answered Hystaspas.

"And you, on your part, will not be angry with me when you hear the truth?"

11. "Nay rather," said he, "I shall be more than glad, if I find that I am not being slighted."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "in the first place, Chrysantas here did not wait to be sent for, but presented himself for our service even before he was called; and in the second place, he has always done not only what was ordered but all that he himself saw was better for us to have done. Again, whenever it was necessary to send some communication to the allies, he would give me advice as to what he thought proper for me to say; and whenever he saw that I wished the allies to know about something, but that I felt some hesitation in saying anything about myself, he would always make it known to them, giving it as his own opinion. And so, in these matters at least, what reason is there why he should not be of more use to me even than I am myself? And finally, he always insists that what he has is enough for him, while he is manifestly always on the lookout for some new acquisition that would be of advantage to me, and takes much more pleasure and joy in my good fortune than I do myself."

12. "By Hera," said Hystaspas in reply, "I am glad at any rate that I asked you this question, Cyrus."

"Why so, pray?" asked Cyrus.
"Οτι κάγω πειράζομαι ταύτα ποιεῖν· ἐν μόνοι, ἐφη, ἀγνοῶ, πῶς ἂν εἴην δήλος χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἁγαθοῖς· πῶτερον κροτεῖν δεῖ τῷ χείρε ἢ γελᾶν ἢ τί ποιεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος εἶπεν, Ὄρχεῖσθαι δεῖ τῷ Περσικών.

'Επὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο. 13. Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου ὁ Κύρος τὸν Γωβρύαν ἐπήρετο, Ἐιπέ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, νῦν ἂν δοκεῖς ἡδιον τῶντες τῷ τήν θυγατέρα δοῦναι ἢ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἡμῖν συνεγένευον;

Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Γωβρύας, κάγῳ τάληθη λέγω;
Νὴ Δὲ, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ὡς ψεύδοις γε οὐδεμία ἐρώτησις δεῖται.

Εὐ τοίνυν, ἐφη, ἵσθι ὅτι νῦν ἂν πολὺ ήδιον.
'Η καὶ ἔχοις ἂν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰπεῖν διότι;
14. Ἐγγωγε.

Δέγγε δὴ.

"Οτι τότε μὲν ἐώρων τοὺς πόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους εὐθύμωσ αὐτοὺς φέροντας, νῦν δὲ ὅρω αὐτοὺς τάγαθα σωφρόνως φέροντας. δοκεὶ δὲ μοι, ὁ Κύρε, χαλεπώτερον εἶναι εὐρεῖν ἄνδρα τάγαθα καλῶς φέροντα ἢ τὰ κακά· τὰ μὲν γὰρ

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"Because I too shall try to do as he does," said he. "Only I am not sure about one thing—I do not know how I could show that I rejoice at your good fortune. Am I to clap my hands or laugh or what must I do?"

"You must dance the Persian dance,"¹ suggested Artabazus.

At this, of course, there was a laugh. 13. But, as the banquet proceeded, Cyrus put this question to Gobryas: "Tell me, Gobryas," said he, "would you be more ready to consent now to give your daughter to one of my friends here than you were when first you joined us?"

"Well," answered Gobryas, "shall I also tell the truth?"

"Aye, by Zeus," answered Cyrus; "surely no question calls for a falsehood."

"Well, then," he replied, "I should consent much more readily now, I assure you."

"And would you mind telling us why?" asked Cyrus.

"Certainly not."

"Tell us, then."

14. "Because, while at that time I saw them bear toils and dangers with cheerfulness, now I see them bear their good fortune with self-control. And to me, Cyrus, it seems harder to find a man who can bear good fortune well than one who can bear misfortune well; for it is the former that engenders

¹ What the "Persian dance" was is not known; hence we miss the whole point of the joke. Obviously, however, it was a dance with many gesticulations. At all events, Artabazus introduces his jest about the dance only to cut short the maudlin talk of Hystaspas.
υβριν τοις πολλοῖς, τὰ δὲ σωφροσύνην τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμποιεῖ.

15. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἡκουσάς, ὁ Τστάστα, Γωβρύου τὸ ρῆμα;

Ναὶ μᾶ Δῆ, ἔφη· καὶ ἐὰν πολλὰ τοιαύτα γε λέγη, πολὺ μᾶλλον με τῆς θυγατρὸς μνηστήρα λήφεται ἢ ἐὰν εκπώματα πολλὰ μοι ἐπιδεικνύῃ.

16. Ἡ μήν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, πολλὰ γε μοι ἐστὶ τοιαύτα συγγεγραμμένα, διὸ ἐγὼ σοι ὅλον ἐκθένσθω, ἢν τὴν θυγατέρα μου γυναίκα λαμβάνῃς· τὰ δὲ εκπώματα, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι μοι φαίνει, οὐκ οἴδ᾽ εἰ Χρυσάντα τοντῷ ἔπει, καὶ τὴν ἔδραν σου ὑφήρπασε.

17. Καὶ μὲν δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὁ Τστάστα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ παρόντες, ἢν ἐμοὶ λέγητε, ὅταν τις ὑμῶν γαμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσῃ, γνώσεσθε ὁποῖος τις κἀγὼ συνεργὸς ὑμῶν ἔσομαι.

18. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν, Ἡν δὲ τις ἐκδοῦναι βούληται θυγατέρα, πρὸς τίνα δὲ λέγειν;

Πρὸς ἐμέ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ τοῦτο πάνιν γάρ, ἔφη, δεινὸς εἰμι ταύτην τὴν τέχνην.

Ποιαν; ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας.

19. Τὸ γνῶναι ὁποῖος ἂν γάμος ἐκάστῳ συναρμόσειε.

Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἔφη, Δέγε δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ποιάν τινά μοι γυναίκα οὔει συναρμόσειν κάλλιστα.

20. Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, μικράν· μικρὸς γάρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰ· εἰ. δὲ μεγάλην γαμεῖς, ἢν ποτε θεοὺς

1 τουτῷ Hertlein, later Edd.; τούτῳ MSS., earlier Edd.
arrogance in most men; it is the latter that inspires
in all men self-control."

15. "Hystaspas, did you hear that saying of
Gobryas?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered; "and if he has
many such things to say, he will find me a suitor for
his daughter's hand much sooner than he would
if he should exhibit to me a great number of
goblets."

16. "I promise you," said Gobryas, "that I have
a great number of such saws written down, and I
will not begrudge them to you, if you get my
daughter to be your wife. But as to the goblets,"
said he, "inasmuch as you do not seem to appreciate
them, I rather think I shall give them to Chrysantas
here, since he also has usurped your place at table."

17. "And what is more, Hystaspas—yes, and you
others here," said Cyrus, "if you will let me know
whenever any one of you is proposing to marry, you
will discover what manner of assistant I, too, shall
be to you."

18. "And if any one has a daughter to give
in marriage," said Gobryas, "to whom is he to
apply?"

"To me," said Cyrus; "for I am exceedingly
skilled in that art."

"What art?" asked Chrysantas.

19. "In knowing what sort of match would suit
each one of you."

"Tell me, then, for heaven's sake," said Chrysantas,
"what sort of wife you think would suit me best."

20. "In the first place," said he, "she must be
small; for you are small yourself; and if you marry
a tall woman and wish to kiss her when she is

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αὐτὴν ὠρθὴν φιλῆσαι, προσάλλεσθαι σε δεήσει ὤσπερ τὰ κυνάρια.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, ἕφη, ὀρθῶς προνοεῖσθαι καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’ ὀπωσδιεύθυν ἄλητικὸς εἰμί.

21. Ἐπειτα δ’, ἕφη, σιμῆ ἂν σοι ἵσχυρῶς συμφέροι.

Πρὸς τί δὴ αὐ τοῦτο;

"Οτι, ἕφη, σὺ γρυπός εἰ; πρὸς οὖν τὴν σιμότητα σάφ’ ἵσθι ὅτι ἡ γρυπότητα ἄριστ’ ἂν προσαρμόσειε.

Δέγεισ, σὺ, ἕφη, ὡς καὶ τῷ εὗ δεδειπνηκότι ὄσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ἄδειπνος ἂν συναρμόττοι.\[1\]

Ναὶ μὰ Δ’, ἕφη ὁ Κύρος τῶν μὲν γὰρ μεστῶν γρυπῆς ἢ γαστήρ γίγνεται, τῶν δὲ ἄδειπνων σιμῆ.

22. Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἐφη, Ψυχρὸν δ’ ἂν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, βασιλεῖ ἔχουσ’ ἂν εἰπεῖν πολλὰ τις συνοίσει;

Ἕνταῦθα μὲν δὴ ὧ τε Κύρος ἐξέγελάσε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμοίως.

23. Γελώντων δὲ ἀμα εἴπεν ὁ Τισάσπας, Πολύγ’, ἕφη, μάλιστα τούτου σε, ὁ Κύρε, ζηλῶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

Τίνος; ἕφη ὁ Κύρος.

"Οτι δύνασαι καὶ ψυχρὸς ἂν γέλωτα παρέχειν. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, "Ἐπειτα οὐκ ἂν πρίατο γε παμπόλλου ὦστε σοι ταῦτ’ εἰρήσθαι, καὶ

\[1\] συναρμόττοι Dindorf, most Edd.; συναρμόζοι xy, Sauppe; συναρμόζοι z.
standing up straight, you will have to jump for it, like a puppy."

"You are quite right in that provision for me," said he; "and I should never get my kiss, for I am no jumper at all."

21. "And in the next place," Cyrus went on, "a snub-nosed woman would suit you admirably."

"Why so?"

"Because," was the answer, "your own nose is so hooked; and hookedness, I assure you, would be the very proper mate for snubbiness."

"Do you mean to say also," said the other, "that a supperless wife would suit one who has had a good dinner, like me now?"

"Aye, by Zeus," answered Cyrus; "for the stomach of one who has eaten heartily bows out, but that of one who has not eaten bows in."

22. "Then, in heaven's name," said Chrysantas, "could you tell us what sort of wife would suit a frigid king?" 1

At this, of course, Cyrus burst out laughing, as did also all the rest.

23. "I envy you for that, Cyrus," said Hystaspas while they were still laughing, "more than for anything else in your kingdom."

"Envy me for what?" asked Cyrus.

"Why, that, frigid as you are, you can still make us laugh."

"Well," said Cyrus, "and would you not give a great deal to have made these jokes and to have

1 On the principle of opposites just described, the man who is ψυχρός ("frigid," "cold-blooded") should have a wife who is θερμή. In § 23 ψυχρός is used in another sense—"frigid" or "dull" in his humour.
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ἀπαγγελθῆναι παρ’ ἦ εὐδοκιμεῖν βούλει ὁτι ἀστεῖος εἰ;

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω διεσκόπτετο.

24. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τυγράνη μὲν ἐξῆνεγκε γυναικεῖον κόσμον, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῇ γυναικῇ δοῦναι, ὅτι ἄνδρεῖς συνεστρατεύετο τῷ ἄνδρι, Ἅρταβάζῳ δὲ χρυσοῦν ἐκπώμα, τῷ δὲ Τρκανίῳ ἵπποι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐδωρήσατο. Σοὶ δὲ, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, δῶσον ἄνδρα τῇ θυγατρί.

25. Οὐκοῦν ἐμὲ, ἔφη ο̄ Τστάσπας, δῶσεις ἵνα καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα λάβω.

'Η καὶ ἔστι σοι, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οὐσία ἄξια τῶν τῆς παιδὸς;

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη, πολλαπλασίων μὲν οὖν χρημάτων. Καὶ ποῦ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἔστι σοι αὕτη ἡ οὐσία;

'Ενταύθα, ἔφη, ὅπουτερ καὶ σὺ κάθησαι φίλοι ὑμεῖς ἔμοι.

'Αρκεῖ μοι, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν, Δίδου, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρη· δέχομαι γάρ.

26. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ Τστάσπου δεξιὰν ἐδωκε τῷ Γωβρύᾳ, ὁ δὲ ἐδέξατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐδωκε δῶρα τῷ Τστάσπα, ὅπως τῇ παιδὶ πέμψειε· Χρυσάντων δὲ ἐφίλησε προσαγαγόμενος.

27. Καὶ ὁ Ἅρταβάζῳ εἶπε, Μᾶ Δί', ἔφη,
them reported to the lady with whom you wish to have the reputation of being a witty fellow?"

Thus, then, these pleasantries were exchanged.

24. After this he brought out some articles of feminine adornment for Tigranes and bade him give them to his wife, because she had so bravely accompanied her husband throughout the campaigns; to Artabazus he gave a golden goblet and to the Hyrcanian a horse and many other beautiful presents. "And you, Gobryas," he said, "I will present with a husband for your daughter."

25. "You will please present him with me, then, will you not," said Hystaspar, "that so I may get the collection of proverbs?"

"Ah, but have you property enough to match the girl's fortune?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered, "and several times over."

"And where is this property of yours?" asked Cyrus.

"Right there," said he, "in your chair; for you are a friend of mine."

"I am satisfied," said Gobryas; and at once stretching out his right hand he added: "Give him to me, Cyrus; I will accept him."

26. And Cyrus took Hystaspar by the right hand and placed it in the hand of Gobryas, and he received it. And then Cyrus gave Hystaspar many splendid gifts to send to the young lady. But Chrysantas he drew to himself and kissed him.

27. "By Zeus, Cyrus," cried Artabazus, "the cup
Ὁ Κῦρε, οὐχ ὁμοίου γε χρυσοῦ ἐμοί τε τὸ ἐκτωμα δέδωκας καὶ Χρυσάντα τὸ δώρον.
'Αλλὰ καὶ σοι, ἐφη, δῶσο.
'Ἐσπήρετο ἐκεῖνος, Πότε;
Εἰς τριακοστὸν ἐφη, ἔτος.
'Ὡς ἀναμενούντος, ἐφη,1 καὶ οὐκ ἀποθανομένου οὕτω παρασκευάζον.
Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔληξεν ἡ σκηνή· ἐξαισταμένων δ' αὐτῶν ἔξανέστη καὶ ὁ Κῦρος καὶ συμπροϋπερψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας.

28. Τῇ δὲ ὕστεραλι τοὺς ἑθελονταίους συμμάχους γενομένους ἀπέπεμπεν οὐκαδε ἐκάστους, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ἐβούλοντο παρ' αὐτῷ τούτοις δὲ χώραν καὶ οἰκους ἔδωκε, καὶ νῦν ἐτί ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν καταμεινάντων τότε ἀπόγονου πλείστοι δ' εἰσὶ Μιήδων καὶ 'Τρκανίων· τοῖς δ' ἀπευξοῦν δωρησάμενος πολλὰ καὶ ἀμέμπτους ποιησάμενος καὶ ἀρχοντας καὶ στρατιώτας ἀπεπέμψατο.

29. 'Εκ τούτου δὲ διέδωκε καὶ τοὺς περὶ έαυτὸν στρατιώτας τὰ χρήματα ὅσα ἐκ Σάρδεων ἔλαβε· καὶ τοῖς μὲν μυριάρχους καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπηρέταις ἐξαίρετα ἐδίδον πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστω, τὰ δὲ ἅλλα διένειμε· καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐκάστῳ δοὺς τοῦ μυριάρχων ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς διανέμειν ὡσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνοις διένεμεν. 30. ἐδίδοσαν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἅλλα χρήματα ἄρχων2 ἄρχοντας τοὺς υφ' ἐαυτῷ δοκιμάζων· τὰ δὲ τελευταία οἱ ἐξάδεκχοι τοὺς υφ' ἐαυτοῖς ἱδιώτας δοκιμάζαντες πρὸς τὴν

1 ἐφη yz, Edd.; ἐτί x (I shall still be waiting).
2 ἄρχων MSS., Edd.; <ἐκάστος> ἄρχων Gemoll.
which you have given me is not of the same gold as
the present you have given Chrysantas!"

"Well," said he, "I will give you the same gift."

"When?" asked the other.

"Thirty years from now," was the answer.

"I shall wait for it, then," said he, "and not die
before I get it; so be getting ready."

And thus that banquet came to an end. And as
they rose to depart, Cyrus also rose and escorted
them to the doors.

28. On the following day he dismissed to their
several homes all those who had volunteered to be
his allies, except such as wished to settle near him.
To those who stayed he gave houses and lands which
even to this day are in the possession of their
descendants; these, moreover, were mostly Medes
and Hyrcanians. And to those who went home he
gave many presents and sent both officers and
privates well contented on their way.

29. Next he divided also among his own soldiers
the spoil that he had obtained at Sardis. To the
generals and to his own aides-de-camp he gave the
choicest portions—to each, according to his merit—
and then distributed the rest; and in assigning to the
generals their proper portions he left it to their dis-
cretion to distribute it as he had distributed to them.

30. And they apportioned all the rest, each officer
examining into the merits of his subordinate officers;
and what was left to the last, the corporals, inquiring
into the merits of the private soldiers under their
άξιαν ἐκάστῳ ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ οὕτω πάντες εἰλήφεσαν τὸ δίκαιον μέρος.

31. Ἔπει δὲ εἰλήφεσαν τὰ τότε δοθέντα, οἱ μὲν τινὲς ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ Κύρου τοιάδε· Ἡπειροι αὐτὸς γε πολλά ἔχει, ὡς αὐτοὶ γε καὶ ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ τοσάυτα δέδωκεν.

Οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, Πούσια πολλὰ ἔχει; οὐχ ὁ Κύρος τρόπος τοιῶντος οἷος χρηματίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διδοὺς μᾶλλον ἡ κτώμενος ἕδεται.

32. Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ὁ Κύρος τούτους τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς δόξας τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ συνέλεξε τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους ἀπαντάς καὶ ἑλέξεν δὲ· Ὁ ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐώρακα μὲν ἡ ἀνθρώπους οἱ βούλονται δοκεῖν πλεῖον κεκτήσθαι ἡ ἐχουσιν, ἐλευθερώτεροι ἁν οἰόμενοι οὕτω φαίνεσθαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκούσιν, ἡφῇ, οὕτοι θεαματικοί οὐ βούλονται ἐφέλκεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ πολλὰ δοκοῦντα ἔχειν μή κατ’ ἄξιαν τῆς οὕσιας φαίνεσθαι ὡφελοῦντα τοὺς φίλους ἀνελευθερίαν ἐμοῦν γε δοκεῖ περάστεν.

33. Εἰςὶ δ’ αὖ, ἡφῇ, οὐ λεληθέναι βούλονται ὅσα ἄν ἔχωσιν· πονηροὶ οὖν καὶ οὕτοι τοῖς φίλοις ἐμοῦνε δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι ταῦτα πολλάκις δεόμενοι οὕκ ἐπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ φίλοι τοῖς ἑταίροις, ἀλλὰ τητῶνται.

34. Ἀπλουστάτου δὲ μοι, ἡφῇ, δοκεὶ εἶναι τὸ

1 τητῶνται Dindorf, Edd.; ἠττᾶνται xX; ἀπατῶνται yVG².
command, gave to each according to his deserts. And so all were in receipt of their fair share.

31. And when they had received what was then given them, some spoke concerning Cyrus in this vein: "He must be keeping an abundance himself, one would think, seeing that he has given so much to each one of us."

"Abundance, indeed!" some others would say; "Cyrus is not of the sort to make money for himself; he takes more pleasure in giving than in keeping."

32. And when Cyrus heard of these remarks and opinions about himself, he called together his friends and all his staff-officers and addressed them as follows: "My friends, I have in my time seen fellows who wished to have the reputation of possessing more than they had, for they supposed that they would thus be thought fine gentlemen; but to me," said he, "it seems that such persons bring upon themselves the very reverse of what they wish. For if any man enjoy the reputation of having great wealth and do not appear to help his friends in a manner worthy of his abundance—that, it seems to me at least, fixes upon him the stigma of being a mean sort."

33. "On the other hand," he continued, "there are some who wish to keep it a secret how much they do possess. It seems to me, then, that these also are mean toward their friends. For oftentimes their friends are in need and, because they are ignorant of the truth, they say nothing to their comrades about their difficulties, and really suffer want.

34. "To me, however," he went on, "it seems,

1 Ἐλευθέριος and ἀνελευθέρια have both a double meaning: (1) of free or mean extraction, and (2) of free (liberal) or miserly character.
τὴν δύναμιν φανερῶν ποιήσαντα ἐκ ταύτης ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ καλοκαγαθίας. καὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἐφη, βούλομαι ὑμῖν ὅσα μὲν οἶδον τ᾽ ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν τῶν ἐμοί ὄντων δεῖξαι, ὡστε δὲ μη ὦν τε ἰδεῖν, διηγησάσθαι.

35. Ταῦτα εἰσάγω τὰ μὲν ἐδείκνυεν ἕνα πολλά καὶ καλὰ κτήματα: ὑπὲρ δὲ κείμενα ὡς μὴ ῥάδια εἶναι ἰδεῖν διηγεῖτο· τέλος δὲ ἐπεν ὅδε. 36. Ταῦτα, ἐφη, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ἀπαντά δεὶ ὑμᾶς οὖν ὡς μᾶλλον ἐμὰ ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ὑμέτερα· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἐφη, ταῦτα άθροίζω ὅπως αὐτὸς καταδαπανήσω ὅπως αὐτὸς κατατρίψω· οὗ γάρ ἄν δυναῖμην ἄλλ᾽ ὅπως ἔχω τῷ τε ἂν καλὸν τι ὑμῶν ποιοῦντι διδόναι καὶ ὅπως, ἢν τις ὑμῶν τινὸς ἐνδείξαται νομίσῃ, πρὸς ἔμε ἐλθὼν λάβῃ οὔ ἂν ἐνδείξης τυγχάνῃ ὅν.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶλέχθη.

V

1. Ἡνίκα δὲ ἥδη αὐτῶν ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ὡς καὶ ἀποδημεῖν, συνεσκευάζετο τὴν εἰς Πέρσας πορείαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρῆγγειλεν· επεὶ δ᾽ ἐνόμισεν ἰκανὰ ἔχειν ὃν ὥστε δεήσεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀνεξεύγυνε. 2

2. Διηγησόμεθα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πολὺς στόλος ὃν εὐτάκτως μὲν ἀνεσκευάζετο, ταχὺ δὲ κατεχω-
the most straightforward way for a man to let the extent of his means be known and to strive in proportion to them to show himself a gentleman. And so I wish to show you all that I have, as far as it is possible for you to see, and to give you an account of it, in so far as it is impossible for you to see it."

35. With these words, he showed them many splendid possessions and gave them an account of those that were so stored away as not to be easily viewed. And in conclusion he said: 36. "All this, my friends, you must consider mine no more than your own; for I have been collecting it, not that I might spend it all myself or use it up all alone (for I could not), but that I might on every occasion be able to reward any one of you who does something meritorious, and also that, if any one of you thinks he needs something, he might come to me and get whatever he happens to want."

Such was his speech.

V

1. When it seemed to him that affairs in Babylon were sufficiently well organized for him to absent himself from the city, he began to make preparations for his journey to Persia and issued instructions to the others accordingly. And as soon as he had got together in sufficient quantity, as he believed, everything that he thought he should need, he started at once.

2. We will relate here in how orderly a manner his train packed up, large though it was, and how quickly they reached the place where they were
ρίζετο ὅπου δέοι. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν στρατοπεδεύηται βασιλεύς, σκηνᾶς μὲν δὴ ἔχοντες πάντες οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα στρατεύονται καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος.

3. Εὐθὺς δὲ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζε Κύρος, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπέβλεπον ἵστασθαι τὴν σκηνὴν· ἐπειτα ἐτάξε πρῶτον μὲν πόσον δεῖ ἀπολυπόντας σκηνὰν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς· ἐπειτα συνοπτοῦσι τὴν χώραν ἀπεδείξε τὴν δεξιὰν, ὁψοποιοί δὲ τὴν ἀριστεράν, ὑποποίοι δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν, ὑποζύγιοι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν ἀριστεράν· καὶ τὰλλα δὲ διετέτακτο ὡστε εἰδέναι ἐκαστὸν τὴν ἐναυτὸν χώραν καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ τόπῳ.

4. "Ὅταν δὲ ἀνασκευάζωνται, συντίθησι μὲν ἐκαστὸς σκέυη οἴσπερ τέτακται χρῆσθαι, ἀνατίθενται δ’ αὐτὸ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰ υποζύγια· ὁσθ’ ἀμα μὲν πάντες ἔρχονται οἱ σκευασώναι ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγμένα ἅγεων, ἀμα δὲ πάντες ἀνατιθέσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναυτὸν ἐκαστὸς. οὔτω δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος ἀρκεῖ μᾶ τε σκηνὴ καὶ πᾶσαις ἀνηρῆσαι.

5. Ὡςαύτως οὔτως ἔχει καὶ περὶ κατασκευῆς· καὶ περὶ τοῦ πεποιηθῆσαι δὲ τάπιτυδεια πάντα ἐν καρπὸ ὡςαύτως διατίτακται ἐκάστοις τὰ ποιητεία· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος ἀρκεῖ εἰνὶ τε μέρει καὶ πᾶσιν πεποιηθῆσαι.

6. "Οἴσπερ δὲ οἱ περὶ τὰπιτυδεια θεράποντες χώραν εἰχον τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐκαστοί, οὔτω καὶ οἱ ὅπλοφοροι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει χώραν τε εἰχον τὴν τῇ ὁπλίσει ἐκάστη ἐπιτυδεῖαν, καὶ ἓδεσαν ταύτην ὅποια ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀναμφισβήτητον πάντες κατεχολικώντο. 7. καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἥγετο ὁ Κύρος καὶ ἐν ὅικια εἶναι ἐπιτυδευμα τὴν εὐθηνιστικήν.
due. For wherever the great king encamps, all his retinue follow him to the field with their tents, whether in summer or in winter.

3. At the very beginning Cyrus made this rule, that his tent should be pitched facing the east; and then he determined, first, how far from the royal pavilion the spearmen of his guard should have their tent; next he assigned a place on the right for the bakers, on the left for the cooks, on the right for the horses, and on the left for the rest of the pack-animals. And everything else was so organized that every one knew his own place in camp—both its size and its location.

4. And when they come to pack up again, every one gets together the things that it is his business to use and others in turn pack them upon the animals, so that the baggage-men all come at the same time to the things they were appointed to transport, and all at the same time pack the things upon their several animals. Thus the amount of time needed for striking a single tent suffices for all.

5. The unpacking also is managed in this same manner; and in order to have all the necessaries ready at the right time, each one has assigned to him likewise the part that he is to do. In this way the time required for doing any one part is sufficient for getting all the provisions ready.

6. And just as the servants in charge of the provisions had each his proper place, so also his soldiers had when they encamped the places suitable to each sort of troops; they knew their places, too, and so all found them without the slightest friction.

7. For Cyrus considered orderliness to be a good thing to practise in the management of a household.
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μοσύνην· ὤταν γὰρ τὸς τοῦ δήται, δῆλον ἐστὶ ὅπου δὲ ἐλθόντα λαβεῖν· πολὺ δὲ ἐτί κάλλιον ἐνόμιζε τὴν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν φύλων εὐθημοσύνην εἶναι, ὅσῳ τε ἐξυπερήκοι οἱ καυρὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ χρῆσεων καὶ μείζω τὰ σφάλματα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστεριζόντων ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν καυρῷ παραγενόμενων πλείστον ἄξια πλεονεκτήματα ἐφορά γνωρίμενα ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς· διὰ ταῦτα σὺν καὶ ἐπεμέλετο ταύτης τῆς εὐθημοσύνης μᾶλλον.

8. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ κατετίθετο τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὡς ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἐχυρωτάτης ὀυσίας· ἐπειτὰ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πιστοτάτους ὦσπερ εἰώθει περὶ ἐαυτοῦ εἰχε, τούτων δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ ἐχομένους ἐπέειν τ' εἴχε καὶ ἀρματηλάτας. 9. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἐχυρᾶς ἐνόμιζε χώρας δεῖδαι, ὅτι σὺν οῖς μάχονται ὄπλοις οὐδὲν πρόχειρον ἔχοντες τούτων στρατοπεδεύονται, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου δέονται εἰς τὴν ἐξόπλισιν, εἰ μέλλουσι χρησίμως ἐξείν.

10. Ἐν δὲ χιλία δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπέσων πελτασταίς χώρα ἦν· τοξυτῶν δὲ αὐτῶν χώρα ἡ πρόσθεν ἦν καὶ ὅπως ἐν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐπέσων. 11. ὀπλίται δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μεγάλα γέρρα ἔχοντας κύκλῳ πάντων ἐγένε ὦσπερ τείχος, ὅπως καὶ ἐν δεοί τι ἐνσκευάζονται τοὺς ἐπέπεας, οἱ μονιμωτατοί πρόσθεν ὄντες παρέχοιοι αὐτοῖς ἀσφάλῃ τὴν καθόπλισιν.

12. Ἐκάθευδον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τάξι νόον πελτασταὶ καὶ ὁπλίται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τοξοταί,

1 πλεονεκτήματα Schneider, recent Edd.; τὰ κτήματα ZV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; ταῦτα (tα D) κτήματα xy.

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also; for whenever any one wants a thing, he then knows where he must go to find it; but he believed that orderliness in all the departments of an army was a much better thing, inasmuch as the chances of a successful stroke in war come and go more quickly and the losses occasioned by those who are behindhand in military matters are more serious. He also saw that the advantages gained in war by prompt attention to duty were most important. It was for this reason, therefore, that he took especial pains to secure this sort of orderliness.

8. Accordingly, he himself first took up his position in the middle of the camp in the belief that this situation was the most secure. Then came his most trusty followers, just as he was accustomed to have them about him at home, and next to them in a circle he had his horsemen and charioteers; 9. for those troops also, he thought, need a secure position, because when they are in camp they do not have ready at hand any of the arms with which they fight, but need considerable time to arm, if they are to render effective service.

10. To the right and left from him and the cavalry was the place for the targeteers; before and behind him and the cavalry, the place for the bowmen. 11. The hoplites and those armed with the large shields he arranged around all the rest like a wall, so that those who could best hold their ground might, by being in front of them, make it possible for the cavalry to arm in safety, if it should be necessary.

12. Moreover, he had the peltasts and the bowmen sleep on their arms, like the hoplites, in order that,
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όπως καὶ ἐκ νυκτῶν, εἰ δέοι τι, ὡσπερ καὶ οἱ ὀπληται παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶ παλείν τοὺς εἰς χείρας ἱόντα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοξόται καὶ οἱ ἀκοντισταῖ, εἰ· τινες προσίοιεν, ἔξ ἐτοίμου ἀκοντίζοιεν καὶ τοξεύοιεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀπλητῶν.

13. Εἰχον δὲ καὶ σημεία πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς· οἱ δὲ υπηρέται ὡσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἱ σώφρονες ἵσασι μὲν καὶ τῶν πλείστων τὰς οἰκήσεις, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἐπικαίριων, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδιοι τάς τε χώρας τὰς τῶν ἥγεμόνων ἡπίσταντο οἱ Κύρου υπηρέται καὶ τὰ σημεία ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ἐκάστοις ἤν· ὡστε ὅτου δέοιτο Κύρος, οὐκ ἐξήτουν, ἀλλὰ τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐφ᾽ ἐκαστὸν ἔθεον. 14. καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινὴ ἐκαστὰ εἶναι τὰ φύλα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἤν δῆλα καὶ ὅποτε τις εὔτακτοι καὶ εἰ τις μὴ πράττοι τὸ προστατόμενον. οὕτω δὴ ἐχόντων ἡγείτο, εἰ τις καὶ ἐπίθοιτο νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας, ὡσπερ ἄν εἰς ἐνέδραν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους ἐμπίπτειν.

15. Καὶ τὸ τακτικὸν δὲ εἶναι οὐ τοῦτο μονον ἡγείτο εἰ τις ἐκτείναε φάλαγγα εὐπόρως δύναιτο ἢ βαδύναι ἢ ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα καταστήσαι ἢ ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἢ ἀριστερᾶς ἢ ὀπισθεν ἐπιφανέντων πολεμίων ὀρθῶς ἐξελίξαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διασπάν

1 [οἱ σώφρονες] Hug.
if there should be occasion to go into action even at night, they might be ready for it. And just as the hoplites were prepared to do battle if any one came within arm's reach of them, so these troops also were to be ready to let fly their lances and arrows over the heads of the hoplites, if any one attacked.

13. And all the officers had banners over their tents; and just as in the cities well-informed officials know the residences of most of the inhabitants and especially those of the most prominent citizens, so also in camp the aides under Cyrus were acquainted with the location of the various officers and were familiar with the banner of each one; and so if Cyrus wanted one of his officers, they did not have to search for him but would run to him by the shortest way. 14. And as every division was so well distinguished, it was much more easy to see where good order prevailed and where commands were not being executed. Therefore, as things were arranged, he believed that if any enemy were to attack him either by night or by day, the attacking party would fall into his camp as into an ambuscade.

15. He believed also that tactics did not consist solely in being able easily to extend one's line or increase its depth, or to change it from a long column into a phalanx, or without error to change the front by a counter march according as the enemy came up on the right or the left or behind; but he considered

1 "We learn from Aelian (Tact. 27) that this was either a countermarch by files (κατὰ ζυγὸν), in which the wings only changed places, or a countermarch by companies (κατὰ λόχων or στίχων) when the whole line turned and the rearguard marched in front, so that there was a change of front as well as of wings. The object of the last-named movement was to put τοὺς κρατίστους [the best men] forward." (Holden.)
οπότε δέοι τακτικὸν Ἰμέντο, καὶ τὸ τιθέναι γε τὸ μέρος ἐκαστοῦ ὅπου μάλιστα ἐν ὠφελείᾳ ἂν εἴη, καὶ τὸ ταχύνειν δὲ ὅπου φθάσαι δέοι, πάντα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τακτικὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐνόμισεν εἶναι καὶ ἐπεμέλειτο τούτων πάντων ὅμοιος.

16. Καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς πορείαις πρὸς τὸ συμπάπτων ἀδιατάττων ἐπορεύετο, ἐν δὲ τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὀσπερ ἑρηταί κατεχόμεθα.

17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι γίγνονται κατὰ τὴν Μηδικὴν, τρέπεται ὁ Κύρος πρὸς Κυαξάρην. ἔπει δὲ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος εἰπε τῷ Κυαξάρῃ ὅτι οἶκος αὐτῶ ἔχθρη- μένος εἰν ἐν Βασιλείῳ καὶ ἄρχεια, ὅπως ἔχει καὶ ὅταν ἐκείσε ἐλθῇ εἰς οἰκεία κατάγεσθαι ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἅλλα δώρα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ καλά. 18. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ταῦτα μὲν ἐδέχετο, προσέπιευξε δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα στέφανον τε χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλλα φέρουσαν καὶ στρέπτον καὶ στολὴν Μηδικὴν ὡς δυνάτον καλλιστήν. 19. καὶ ἡ μὲν δὴ παῖς ἐστεφάνου τοῦ Κύρου, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης εἰπε, Δίδωμι δὲ σοι, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρε, καὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην γυναῖκα, ἐμὴν οὕσαν θυγατέρα· καὶ ὁ σὸς δὲ πατὴρ ἔγημε τὴν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἓς σὺ ἐγένου· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἦν σὺ πολλάκις παῖς ὅπως ὁτε παρ' ἡμῖν ἔσθα ἐτιθε- νήσω καὶ ὅποτε τις ἐρωτήσῃ αὐτὴν τῆς γαμοῦτο, ἐλεγεν ὁτι Κύρῳ ἐπιδίδωμι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐγὼ καὶ φερνὴν Μηδίαν τὴν πᾶσαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστι μοι ἁρρῆν παῖς γυνής.

20. Ὁ μὲν οὖτως εἰπεν· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο,
it also a part of good tactics to break up one's army into several divisions whenever occasion demanded, and to place each division, too, where it would do the most good, and to make speed when it was necessary to reach a place before the enemy—all these and other such qualifications were essential, he believed, to a skilful tactician, and he devoted himself to them all alike.

16. 'And so on his marches he always proceeded giving out his orders with a view to existing circumstances; but in camp his arrangements were made, for the most part, as has been described.

17. As they continued their march and came near to Media, Cyrus turned aside to visit Cyaxares. And when they had exchanged greetings, the first thing Cyrus told Cyaxares was that a palace had been selected for him in Babylon, and official headquarters, so that he might occupy a residence of his own whenever he came there; and then he also gave him many splendid presents. 18. Cyaxares accepted them and then introduced to him his daughter, who brought him a golden crown and bracelets and a necklace and the most beautiful Median robe that could be found. 19. As the princess placed the crown on Cyrus's head, Cyaxares said, "And the maiden herself, my own daughter, I offer you as well, Cyrus, to be your wife. Your father married my father's daughter, whose son you are. This is she whom you used often to pet when you came to visit us when you were a boy. And whenever anybody asked her whom she was going to marry, she would say 'Cyrus.' And with her I offer you all Media as a dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue."

20. Thus he spoke, and Cyrus answered: "Well,
'Αλλ’, ο Κυξάρη, τὸ τε γένος ἐπαινῶ καὶ τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὰ δόρα: βούλομαι δέ, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γυώμη καὶ τῇ τῆς μητρὸς ταυτὰ σοι συναινέσαι.

Εἰπε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ο Κῦρος, ὅμως δὲ τῇ παιδί πάντα ἐδωρήσατο ὅποσα φέτο καὶ τῷ Κυξάρῃ χαριεῖσθαι. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσας εἰς Πέρσας ἐπορεύετο.

21. 'Επεὶ δὲ ἔπι τοῖς Περσῶν ὀρίοις ἐγένετο πορευόμενος, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατέλυεν, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπορεύετο, ἱερεία μὲν ἄγων ὡς πᾶσι Πέρσαις ἰκανὰ θύεων τε καὶ ἐστίασθαι δῶρα δὲ ἤγεν οἷα μὲν ἔπρεπε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, οἷα δὲ ἔπρεπεν ἀρχαίς καὶ γεραιτέροις καὶ τοῖς ὀμοτίμοις πᾶσιν ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πᾶσι Πέρσαις καὶ Περσίσιν ὀσαπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι δίδωσιν ὑταντερ ὀφίκηται βασιλείας εἰς Πέρσας.

22. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνελεξε Καμβύσης τοὺς γεραιτέρους Περσῶν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, οὕτε τῶν μεγάτων κύριοι εἰσὶ παρεκάλεσε δὲ καὶ Κῦρον, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιαδέ: Ἀνδρεις Πέρσαι καὶ σὺ, ο Ἐρε, ἐγὼ ἀμφότερος ὑμῖν εἰκότως εὖνοις εἰμί: ὑμῶν μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς, σὺ δὲ, ο Κῦρε, παῖς ἐμὸς εἰ. δίκαιος οὖν εἰμὶ, ὅσα γιγνώσκεις δοκῶ ἀγαθὰ ἀμφότεροις, ταύτα εἰς τὸ μέσον λέγειν.

23. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρελθόντα ὑμεῖς μὲν Κῦρον ἡνζήσατε στράτευμα δόντες καὶ ἁρχοντα τούτον αὐτὸν καταστήσαντες, Κῦρος δὲ ἤγομένους τούτου σὺν θεοὶς εὐκλεεῖς μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὁ Πέρσαι, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησεν, ἐντίμους δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ.
Cyaxares, I heartily approve of your family and your
daughter and your gifts. And I desire, with the
approval of my father and mother, to accept your
offer."

Thus Cyrus answered; but still he made the young
lady presents of everything that he thought would
please Cyaxares as well as herself. And when he
had done so, he proceeded on his way to Persia.

21. And when, as he continued his journey, he
came to the boundaries of Persia, he left the main
body of his army there, while he went on with his
friends to the capital; and he took along animals
enough for all the Persians to sacrifice and make
a feast, and brought with him such gifts as were
appropriate for his father and mother and his friends
besides and such as were suitable for the authorities
and the elders and all the peers. And he gave
presents also to all the Persians, men and women,
such as even to this day the great king bestows
whenever he comes to Persia.

22. Then Cambyses assembled the Persian elders
and the highest of the chief magistrates; he called
in Cyrus also and then addressed them as follows:
"Toward you, my Persian friends, I cherish, as is
natural, feelings of good-will, for I am your king;
and no less toward you, Cyrus, for you are my son.
It is right, therefore, that I should declare frankly
to you what I think I recognize to be for the good
of both.

23. "In the past you advanced the fortunes
of Cyrus by giving him an army and placing him in
command of it. And at its head Cyrus has with the
help of the gods given you, Persians, a good report
among all men and made you honoured throughout
πάση τῶν δὲ συστρατευσαμένων αὐτῷ τούς μὲν ἀρίστους καὶ πεπλούτικε, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς μυσθὸν καὶ τροφῆν παρεσκεύακεν ἵππικοῦ δὲ καταστήσας Περσῶν πεποίηκε Πέρσας καὶ πε-δίων εἶναι μετουσίαν.

24. Ἡν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐτω γιγνώ-σκετε, πολλῶν καὶ ἄγαθῶν αὐτῶν ἄλληλοις ἐσεσθε· εἰ δὲ ἢ σύ, ὁ Κύρη, ἑπαρθείς ταῖς παρ-ούσαις τύχαις ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ Περσῶν ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ ὁσπερ τῶν ἄλλων, ἢ ύμεῖς, ὁ πο-λῖται, φθονήσαντες τούτῳ τῇς δυνάμεως κατα-λύειν πειράσεσθε τούτον τῆς ἄρχης, εὑ ἵστε ὅτι ἐμποδοῦν ἄλληλοις πολλῶν καὶ ἄγαθῶν ἐσεσθε. 25. ὡς οὖν μὴ ταῦτα γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ τάγαθα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐφη, θύσαντας ὑμᾶς κοινῆ καὶ θεοῦς ἐπιμαρτυραμένους συνθέσθαι, σὲ μέν, ὁ Κύρη, ἢν τις ἐπιστρατεύηται χώρα Περσίδο ή Περσῶν νόμους διασπάν πειρᾶται, βοηθήσειν παντὶ σθένει, ὑμᾶς δὲ, ὁ Πέρσαι, ἢν τις ἢ ἄρχης Κύρου ἐπι-χειρή καταπαύειν ἢ ἀφίστασθαι τις τῶν ὑπο-χειρίων, βοηθήσει καὶ υμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ Κύρρη καθ' ὃ τι ἂν οὖτος ἐπαγγέλλῃ.

26. Καὶ ἐως μὲν ἂν ἐγὼ ζῶ, ἐμὴ γίγνεται ἢ ἂν Πέρσας βασιλεία· ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ τελευτήσω, δῆλον ὅτι Κύρου, ἢ την ζῆ. καὶ ὅταν μὲν οὖτος ἀφίσταται εἰς Πέρσας, ὅσιοι δὲ υἱῶν ἐχοι τούτον θύειν τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ ύμῶν ἀπερ νῦν ἐγὼ θύω· ὅταν δ' οὖτος ἐκδημοῦ ἦ, καλῶς ἂν οἴμαι ύμῖν ἐχείν εἰ ἐκ τοῦ

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all Asia. Of those who went with him on his campaigns he has enriched the most deserving and to the commoners he has given wages and support; and by establishing a Persian cavalry force he has made the Persians masters also of the plains.

24. "If, therefore, you continue to be of the same mind also in the future, you will be the cause of much good to each other. But, Cyrus, if you on your part become puffed up by your present successes and attempt to govern the Persians as you do those other nations, with a view to self-aggrandizement, or if you, fellow-citizens, become jealous of his power and attempt to depose him from his sovereignty, be sure that you will hinder one another from receiving much good. 25. And that this may not befall you, but the good, it seems best to me for you to perform a common sacrifice and to make a covenant, first calling the gods to witness. You, Cyrus, on your part, must covenant that if any one sets hostile foot in Persia or attempts to subvert the Persian constitution, you will come to her aid with all your strength; and you, Persians, on your part, are to covenant that if any one attempts to put an end to Cyrus's sovereignty or if any one of his subjects attempts to revolt, you will come to your own rescue as well as Cyrus's in whatsoever way he may call upon you.

26. "As long as I live, the Persian throne continues to be mine own. But when I am dead, it will, of course, pass to Cyrus if he survives me. And as often as he comes to Persia, it should be a sacred custom with you that he sacrifice on your behalf even as I do now. And when he is away, it might be well for you, I think, that that one of our family who seems


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γένους ὃς ἂν δοκῇ ὑμῖν ἀριστος εἶναι, οὕτος τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελοῖ.

27. Ταῦτα εὐπόντος Καμβύσου συνέδοξε Κύρῳ
tε καὶ τοῖς Πέρσῳ τέλεσι καὶ συνθέμενοι ταῦτα
tότε καὶ θεοὺς ἑπιμαρτυράμενοι οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐτι
dιαμένουσι ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἄλληλους Πέρσαι τε
cαὶ βασιλεῖς. τοῦτων δὲ πραξάντων ἀπῆλε ὁ
Κύρος.

28. Ὁς δὲ ἀπὸν ἐγένετο ἐν Μηδίας, συνδόξαν
tῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρί γαμεῖ τὴν Κναξάρου
θυγατέρα, ἣς ἐτι καὶ νῦν λόγος ὡς παγκάλῃς
γενομένης. [ἐνοι δὲ τῶν λογοποιῶν λέγουσιν ὡς
τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφὴν ἐγήμεν ἀλλὰ γραῦς ἂν
cαὶ παντάπασι ἡν ἡ παῖς.] ¹ γήμας δὲ εὐθὺς
ἐχον ἀνεξεύγυνεν. ²

VI

1. Ἡπεὶ δὲ ἐν Βασυλῶν ἦν, ἐδόκει αὐτῷ σα-
tράπας ἦδη πέμπτεν ἐπὶ τὰ κατεστραμμένα ἑθή.
tοὺς μέντοι ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις φρουράρχως καὶ τοὺς
χιλιάρχους τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυλακῶν ὥς
ἀλλο ἡ ἐαυτοῦ ἐβούλετο ἀκούειν ταῦτα δὲ
προεοράτο ἐνοῦν ὡς εἰ τὰς τῶν σατράπων ὑπὸ
πλοῦτον καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐξυβρίσεις καὶ
ἐπιχειρήσεις μὴ πείθεσθαι, εὐθὺς ἀντιπάλους
ἐχον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. 2. ταῦτ' οὖν βουλόμενος
πράξαι ἐγὼ συγκαλέσαι πρῶτον τοὺς ἑπικαί-

¹ ἐνοι . . . παῖς MSS.; omitted by Dindorf, Edd.
² ἀνεξεύγυνεν MSS., most Edd.; ἀνεξεύγυν Hug.

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to you the most worthy should perform that sacred office."

27. When Cambyses had finished speaking, Cyrus and the Persian magistrates accepted his proposal. And as they then covenanted, with the gods as their witnesses, so the Persians and their king still continue to this day to act toward one another. And when this had all been completed, Cyrus took his departure.

28. When, on his way back, he came to Media, Cyrus wedded the daughter of Cyaxares, for he had obtained the consent of his father and mother. And to this day people still tell of her wonderful beauty. [But some historians say that he married his mother's sister. But that maid must certainly have been a very old maid.] And when he was married he at once departed with his bride for Babylon.

VI

1. When he arrived in Babylon, he decided to send out satraps to govern the nations he had subdued. But the commanders of the garrisons in the citadels and the colonels in command of the guards throughout the country he wished to be responsible to no one but himself. This provision he made with the purpose that if any of the satraps, on the strength of the wealth or the men at their command, should break out into open insolence or attempt to refuse obedience, they might at once find opposition in their province. 2. In the wish, therefore, to secure this result, he resolved first to call together his
ρίους καὶ προειπεῖν, ὅπως εἰδεῖεν ἐφ' οἷς ἦσαν ἱόντες· ἐνόμιζε γὰρ οὕτω ῥᾶν φέρειν ἀν αὐτοὺς· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατασταίη τις ἀρχῶν καὶ αἰσθάνοιτο ταῦτα, χαλεπῶς ἀν ἔδοκοιν αὐτῷ φέρειν, νομίζοντες δὲ ἑαυτῶν ἀπιστίαν ταῦτα γενέσθαι. 3. οὕτω δὴ συλλέξας λέγει αὐτοῖς τοιάδει·

"Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι, εἰςδὴ ἦμιν ἐν ταῖς καταστραμμέναις πόλεσι φρουρὸι καὶ φρούραρχοι, οὓς τότε κατελήμνουμ· καὶ τούτοις ἐγὼ προστάξας ἀπῆλθον ἅλλο μὲν μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὰ δὲ τειχὶς διασώξειν. τούτους μὲν οὖν οὐ παύσω τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ καλῶς διαπεφυλάχασι τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἅλλους δὲ σατράπας πέμψει μοι δοκεῖ, οἵτινες ἄρξουσι τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων καὶ τῶν δασμῶν λαμβάνοντες τοῖς τε φρουροῖς δώσοντι μισθὸν καὶ ἅλλο τελοῦσιν ὅ τι ἂν δέχῃ. 4. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε μενόντων ὑμῶν, οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ πράγματα παρέχω πέμπων πράξοντάς τι ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, χῶρας γενέσθαι καὶ οἰκους ἐκεῖν, ὅπως δασμοφορηταὶ τε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο, ὅταν τε ἰσωσὶν ἐκεῖσε, εἰς οἴκεια ἔχωσι κατάγεσθαι."

5. Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἔδωκε πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων κατὰ πάσας τὰς καταστραφείσις πόλεις οἰκους καὶ ὑπηκόους· καὶ νῦν εἰςδὴ ἂν ἄπογονοις τῶν τότε λαβόντων αἱ χώραι καταμένουσαι ἄλλαι ἐν ἄλλῃ γῆ· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἰκοῦσι παρὰ βασιλεῖ.
chief officers and inform them in advance, so that when they went they might know on what understanding they were going; for he believed that if he did so, they would take it more kindly; whereas he thought that they might take it ill, if any of them discovered the conditions after being installed as satraps, for then they would think that this policy had been adopted from distrust of them personally. 3. And so he called them together and spoke as follows:

"My friends, we have in the subjugated states garrisons with their officers, whom we left behind there at the time; and when I came away I left them with orders not to trouble themselves with any business other than to hold the forts. These, therefore, I will not remove from their positions, for they have carried out my instructions faithfully; but I have decided to send satraps there, besides, to govern the people, receive the tribute, pay the militia, and attend to any other business that needs attention. 4. I have further decided that any of you who remain here, and to whom I may occasionally give the trouble of going on business for me to those nations, shall have lands and houses there; so that they may have tribute paid to them here and, whenever they go there, they may lodge in residences of their own."

5. Thus he spoke, and to many of his friends he gave houses and servants in the various states which he had subdued. 'And even to this day those properties, some in one land, some in another, continue in the possession of the descendants of those who then received them, while the owners themselves reside at court.
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6. Δεὶ δὲ, ἐφη, τοὺς ἱόντας σατράπας ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰς χώρας τοιούτους ἦμασκοπεῖν οὗτες ὅ τι ἂν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἑκάστῃ καὶ ὅ ἀγαθὸν ἦ, μεμνημόνευσον καὶ δεύρο ἀποπέμπτειν, ὅσα μετήχωμεν καὶ οἱ ἐνθάδε ὄντες τῶν πανταχοῦ γυνομένων ἀγαθῶν καὶ γὰρ ἂν τί που δεισόν γίγνηται, ἦμιν ἔσται ἁμυντέον.

7. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τότε μὲν ἔπαυσε τὸν λόγον, ἐπειτα δὲ οὐς ἑγίγνωσκε τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρήμενοι ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἴναι, ἐκλεξάμενοι αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἑπιτηδειοτάτους εἶναι ἐπεμπε σατράπας εἰς Ἀραβίαν μὲν Μεγάβυζον, εἰς Κατ-παδοκίαν δὲ Ἀρταβάταν, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἀρτακάμαι, εἰς Λυδίαν δὲ καὶ Ἰωνίαν Χρυσάνταν, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ Ἀδούσιον, ὅπερ ἦτοῦντο, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τῇ παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Αἰολίδα Φαρνούχον. 8. Κυλλίας δὲ καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Παφλαγόνων οὐκ ἔπεμψε Πέρσας σατράπας, ὅτι ἐκῶνες ἑδόκουν συστρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Βαβυ-λῶνα· δασμοὺς μέντοι συνετάζειν ἀποφέρειν καὶ τούτους.

9. 'Ως δὲ τότε Κύρος κατεστήσατο, οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλέως εἰσίν αἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀκραίς φυλακαί καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι τῶν φυλακῶν ἐκ βασιλέως εἰσὶ καθεστηκότες καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἀπογεγραμ-μένοι.

10. Προεύπτε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις σα- τράπαις, ὅσα αὐτῶν ἐόροις ποιοῦνται, πάντα μιμεῖσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν ἢπείας καθιστάναι ἐκ τῶν συνεπιστομένων Περσῶν καὶ συμμάχων καὶ

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6. "And then," Cyrus resumed, "we must take care that those who go as satraps to such countries shall be men of the right sort, who will bear in mind to send back here what there is good and desirable in their several provinces, in order that we also who remain here may have a share of the good things that are to be found everywhere. And that will be no more than fair; for if any danger threatens anywhere, it is we who shall have to ward it off."

7. With these words he concluded his address on that occasion; and then he chose out from the number of his friends those whom he saw eager to go on the conditions named and who seemed to him best qualified, and sent them as satraps to the following countries: Megabyzus to Arabia, Artabatas to Cappadocia, Artacamas to Phrygia Major, Chrysantas to Lydia and Ionia, Adusius to Caria (it was he for whom the Carians had petitioned), and Pharnuchus to Aeolia and Phrygia on the Hellespont.

8. He sent out no Persians as satraps over Cilicia or Cyprus or Paphlagonia, because these he thought joined his expedition against Babylon voluntarily; he did, however, require even these nations to pay tribute.

9. As Cyrus then organized the service, so is it even to this day: the garrisons upon the citadels are immediately under the king's control, and the colonels in command of the garrisons receive their appointment from the king and are enrolled upon the king's list.

10. And he gave orders to all the satraps he sent out to imitate him in everything that they saw him do: they were, in the first place, to organize companies of cavalry and charioteers from the Persians.
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άρματηλάτας· ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν γῆν καὶ ἄρχεια λάβωσιν, ἀναγκάζειν τούτους ἐπὶ θύρας ἔναι καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐπιμελομένους παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ σατράπῃ χρῆσθαι, ἢν τι δέχται· παιδεύειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς γυνομένους παίδας ἐπὶ θύραις, 1 ὁσπερ παρ' ἀυτῷ· ἔξαγεν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τὸν σατράπην τοὺς ἀπὸ θυρῶν καὶ ἀσκεῖν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἑαυτῷ τὰ πολέμικά.

11. Ὡς δ' ἂν ἐμοὶ, ἐφή, κατὰ λόγου τῆς δυνάμεως πλείστα μὲν ἀρματα, πλείστους δὲ καὶ ἄριστους ἱππεῶς ἀποδεικνύῃ, τούτου ἐγὼ ὡς ἁγαθὸν σύμμαχον καὶ ὡς ἁγαθὸν συμφύλακα Πέρσαις τε καὶ ἐμοὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τιμήσω. ἔστων δὲ παρ' ὡμὲν καὶ ἑδραις 2 ὁσπερ παρ' ἐμοὶ οἱ ἄριστοι προτειμημένοι, καὶ τράπεζα, ὁσπερ ἡ ἐμή, τρέφουσα μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ὡς φίλοις μεταδιδόναι ἰκανὸς κεκοσμημένη καὶ ὡς τὸν καλὸν τι ποιοῦντα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιγεγραίρειν.

12. Κτάσθε δὲ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ θηρία τρέφετε, καὶ μήτε αὐτοῦ ποτὲ ἄνευ πόνου σῖτον παραθήσθε μὴτε ὑποτις ἄγυμνάτους χόρτον ἐπιβάλλετε. οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην ἐγὼ ἐσι ἄν ἄνθρωπις ἀρετῆ τὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἁγαθὰ διασώζειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐμὲ μὲν ἁγαθῶν οὐτα σὺν ἁγαθοῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐμοὶ ὑμῖν ἐπίκουρον εἶναι. ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁμοίως αὐτούς ἁγαθοὺς οὐνας σὺν ἁγαθοῖς τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι.

13. Βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς καὶ τούτῳ κατανοῆσαι ὅτι τούτων ὃν νῦν ὑμῖν παρακελεύσμαι οὐδὲν τοῖς

1 θύραις Reiske, Edd.; θύρας MSS.
2 ἑδραί Stephanus, Edd.; ἑδρας MSS.
who went with them and from the allies; to require as many as received lands and palaces to attend at the satrap's court and exercising proper self-restraint to put themselves at his disposal in whatever he demanded; to have the boys that were born to them educated at the local court, just as was done at the royal court; and to take the retinue at his gates out hunting and to exercise himself and them in the arts of war.

11. "And whoever I find has the largest number of chariots to show and the largest number of the most efficient horsemen in proportion to his power," Cyrus added, "him will I honour as a valuable ally and as a valuable fellow-protector of the sovereignty of the Persians and myself. And with you also, just as with me, let the most deserving be set in the most honourable seats; and let your table, like mine, feed first your own household and then, too, be bountifully arrayed so as to give a share to your friends and to confer some distinction day by day upon any one who does some noble act.

12. "Have parks, too, and keep wild animals in them; and do not have your food served you unless you have first taken exercise, nor have fodder given to your horses unless they have been exercised. For I should not be able with merely human strength single-handed to ensure the permanence of the fortunes of all of you; but as I must be valiant and have those about me valiant, in order to help you; so you likewise must be valiant yourselves and have those about you valiant, in order to be my allies.

13. "Please observe also that among all the directions I am now giving you, I give no orders to
δουλοὺς προστάττων. ἃ δὲ ύμᾶς φημι χρήναι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς πειρώμαι πάντα πράττειν. ὥσπερ δὲ ἕγω ύμᾶς κελεῦν ἐμὲ μμειθαι, οὕτω καὶ ύμεῖς τοὺς υφ’ ύμῶν ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας μμεῖθαι ύμᾶς διδάσκετε.

14. [Ταῦτα δὲ Κύρου οὕτω τότε τάξαντος ἕτι καὶ νῦν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ φυλακαὶ ὁμολόγοι φυλάττουνται, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀρχώντων θύραι ὁμολόγοι θεραπεύονται, πάντες δὲ οἱ οἴκοι καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ ὁμολόγοι ὀκοῦνται, πᾶσι δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν παρόντων ἔδρας προτετίμηνται, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ πορείαι συντεταγμέναι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰσὶ, πᾶσαι δὲ συγκεφαλαιούντα πολιτικαὶ νεκραῖαι εἰς ὀλίγους ἐπιστάτας.] 2

15. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁς χρῆ ποιεῖν ἑκάστους καὶ δύναμιν ἑκάστῳ προσθείς ἐξέπεμπτε, καὶ προεύπευ ἀπασὶ παρασκευάσθαι ὡς εἰς νέωτα στρατεύμα ἐσομένης καὶ ἀποδείξας ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἅρματων.

16. Κατευνησαμεν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ὅτι Κύρου κατάρξαντος, ὡς φασὶ, καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένει ἑφοδευέται γὰρ ἄνηρ καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκατον στράτευμα ἔχων, ὡς ἢ μὲν τις τῶν στατραπῶν ἐπικουρίας δέχεται, ἐπικουρῇ, ἢν δὲ τις ὑβρίζῃ, σωφρονίζῃ, ἢν δὲ τις ἡ δασμῶν φορᾶς ἀμελῇ ἢ τῶν ἔνοικων φυλακῆς ἢ ὁπως ἡ χώρα ἐνεργῇ ἢ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τεταγμένων παραλίπῃ, ταῦτα πάντα κατευ-

1 πολιτικαὶ Eichler, recent Edd.; πολλαὶ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 ταῦτα . . . ἐπιστάτας MSS., most Edd.; bracketed by Lincke, Hug.

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slaves. I try to do myself everything that I say you ought to do. And even as I bid you follow my example, so do you also instruct those whom you appoint to office to follow yours.”

14. [And as Cyrus then effected his organization, even so unto this day all the garrisons under the king are kept up, and all the courts of the governors are attended with service in the same way; so all households, great and small, are managed; and by all men in authority the most deserving of their guests are given preference with seats of honour; all the official journeyings are conducted on the same plan and all the political business is centralized in a few heads of departments.]

15. When he had told them how they should proceed to carry out his instructions, he gave each one a force of soldiers and sent them off; and he directed them all to make preparations, with the expectation that there would be an expedition the next year and a review of the men, arms, horses, and chariots.

16. We have noticed also that this regulation is still in force, whether it was instituted by Cyrus, as they affirm, or not: year by year a man makes the circuit of the provinces with an army, to help any satrap that may need help; to humble any one that may be growing rebellious, and to adjust matters if any one is careless about seeing the taxes paid or protecting the inhabitants, or to see that the land is kept under cultivation, or if any one is neglectful of anything else that he has been ordered to attend to; but if he cannot set it right, it is his business to
τρεπτίζῃ ἢν δὲ μὴ σύνηται, βασιλεὶ ἀπαγγέλλη·
ὁ δὲ ἀκούων βουλεύεται περὶ τού ἀτακτοῦντος.
καὶ οἱ πολλάκις λεγόμενοι ότι βασιλέως ύδως
καταβαινει, βασιλέως ἀδελφός, βασιλέως ὁφθαλ-
μός, καὶ ἐντετυ σὺν ἐκφανόμενοι, οὕτωι τῶν ἐφόδων
εἰσίν· ἀποτρέπεται γὰρ ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ὀπόθεν ἄν
βασιλεὺς κελεύῃ.

17. Κατεμάθομεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλο μηχάνημα
πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἄρχης, εἰς οὐ ταχέως ἐπιθά-
νετο καὶ τὰ πάμπολυ ἀπέχοντα ὅπως ἔχου.
σκεψάμενοι γὰρ πόσην ἄν όδὸν ἱππος κατανύτοι
tῆς ἡμέρας ἐλαυνόμενος ὡστε διαρκεῖν, ἐπούησατο
ἱππόνας τοσούτοι διαλείποντας καὶ ἱπποὺς ἐν
αὐτοῖς κατέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους τούτων,
καὶ ἀνδρὰ ἐφ᾽ ἐκάστῳ τῶν τόπων ἔταξε τὸν
ἐπιτήδειον παραδέχεσθαι τὰ φερόμενα γράμματα
καὶ παραδίδονας καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς ἀπει-
ρηκότας ἱπποὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἄλλους πέμ-
πειν νεαλεῖς. 18. ἔστι δ᾽ ὡτε οὐδὲ τὰς νύκτας
φασὶν ἱστασθαι ταῦτην τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ
ἡμερινῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῶν νυκτερινῶν διαδέχεσθαι.
τούτων δὲ οὕτω γυμνομένων φασὶ τινὶς θάττον
τῶν γεράνων ταῦτην τὴν πορείαν ἀνύτευνει δὲ
tοῦτο ψεύδονται, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι γε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
πεζῶν πορείαν αὐτὴ ταχύτητι, τούτῳ εὐδηλον.
ἀγαθὸν δὲ ὧς τάχιστα ἐκαστὸν αἰσθανόμενον ὡς
tάχιστα ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῆλθεν ὁ ἐνιαυτός, συνήγειρε
στρατίων εἰς Βαβυλόνα, καὶ λέγεται αὐτῷ γενέ-
σθαι εἰς δώδεκα μὲν ἱππέων μυριάδας, εἰς δισκύλια

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report it to the king, and he, when he hears of it, takes measures in regard to the offender. And those of whom the report often goes out that “the king’s son is coming,” or “the king’s brother” or “the king’s eye,” these belong to the circuit commissioners; though sometimes they do not put in an appearance at all, for each of them turns back, wherever he may be, when the king commands.

17. We have observed still another device of Cyrus to cope with the magnitude of his empire; by means of this institution he would speedily discover the condition of affairs, no matter how far distant they might be from him: he experimented to find out how great a distance a horse could cover in a day when ridden hard but so as not to break down, and then he erected post-stations at just such distances and equipped them with horses and men to take care of them; at each one of the stations he had the proper official appointed to receive the letters that were delivered and to forward them on, to take in the exhausted horses and riders and send on fresh ones. 18. They say, moreover, that sometimes this express does not stop all night, but the night-messengers succeed the day-messengers in relays, and when that is the case, this express, some say, gets over the ground faster than the cranes. If their story is not literally true, it is at all events undeniable that this is the fastest overland travelling on earth; and it is a fine thing to have immediate intelligence of everything, in order to attend to it as quickly as possible.

19. Now, when the year had gone round, he collected his army together at Babylon, containing, it is said, about one hundred and twenty thousand
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dὲ ἃρματα δρεπανηφόρα, πεζῶν· δὲ εἰς μυριάδας ἔξηκοντα. 20. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτα συνεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ, ὥρμα δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἐν ἑ ἴλεγεται καταστρέψασθαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅσα Συρίαν ἐκβάντι οἴκει μέχρι Ἕρυθρᾶς θαλάττης. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἡ εἰς Ἀγγυπτὸν στρατεία λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ καταστρέψασθαι Ἀγγυπτον.

21. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὴν ἄρχην ὁρίζειν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἡ Ἐρυθρὰ θάλαττα, πρὸς ἀρκτον δὲ ὁ Ἐυξείως πόντος, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ Κύπρος καὶ Ἀγγυπτός, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιοπία. τούτων δὲ τὰ πέρατα τὰ μὲν διὰ θάλπος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ψύχος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ύδωρ, τὰ δὲ δὲ ἀνυδρίαν δυσ-σκηντα. 22. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τὴν διαίτην ποιησάμενος, τὸν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν χειμῶνα χρόνον διήγεν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἑπτὰ μῆνας· αὐτὴ γάρ ἀλευνὴ ἡ χώρα· τὸν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔχος τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν Σοῦσοις· τὴν δὴ ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους δύο μῆνας ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις· οὕτω δὴ ποιοῦσιν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐν ἀρμῳθ' θάλπης καὶ ψύχῃ διάγειν ἀεί.

23. Οὕτω δὲ διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὡς πᾶν μὲν ἔθνος μειονεκτεῖν ἐδόκει, εἰ μή Κύρος πέμψειν ὁ τι καλὸν αὐτῶι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡ φύσιο τῇ τρέφοι τῇ τεχνῆτο, πάσα δὲ πόλις ὡσαίτως, πᾶς δὲ ἰδιώτης πλοῦσιος ἄν φέτω γενέσθαι, εἰ τι Κύρος χαρίσαιτο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύρος λαμβάνων παρ' ἐκάστων ἄν ἀφθονίαν εἶχον οἱ διδόντες ἀντεδίδου ἢν σπανίζονται αὐτοὺς αἰσθάνοιτο.
horse, about two thousand scythe-bearing chariots and about six hundred thousand foot. 20. And when these had been made ready for him, he started out on that expedition on which he is said to have subjugated all the nations that fill the earth from where one leaves Syria even to the Indian Ocean. His next expedition is said to have gone to Egypt and to have subjugated that country also.

21. From that time on his empire was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia. The extremes of his empire are uninhabitable, on the one side because of the heat; on another because of the cold, on another because of too much water, and on the fourth because of too little. 22. Cyrus himself made his home in the centre of his domain, and in the winter season he spent seven months in Babylon, for there the climate is warm; in the spring he spent three months in Susa, and in the height of summer two months in Ecbatana. By so doing, they say, he enjoyed the warmth and coolness of perpetual spring-time.

23. People, moreover, were so devoted to him that those of every nation thought they did themselves an injury if they did not send to Cyrus the most valuable productions of their country, whether the fruits of the earth, or animals bred there, or manufactures of their own arts; and every city did the same. And every private individual thought he should become a rich man if he should do something to please Cyrus. And his theory was correct; for Cyrus would always accept that of which the givers had an abundance, and he would give in return that of which he saw that they were in want.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

VII

1. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος προκεχωρηκότος, μάλα δὴ προσβύτης ὁ μὲν Κύρος ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Πέρσας τὸ ἔξοδον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. καὶ τὸ μὲν πατήρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ πάλαι δὴ ὀσπερ εἰκός ἐτετελευτήκεσαν αὐτῷ: ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐθύμησε τὰ νομιζόμενα ἑρᾳ καὶ τοῦ χροὸν ἡγήσατο Πέρσαις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὰ δώρα πᾶσι διέδωκεν ὀσπερ εἰώθει.

2. Κοιμηθεὶς δ’ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ὁ ναρ εἰδε τοιόνδε: ἐδοξέεν αὐτῷ προσελθὼν κρείττων τις ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων εἰπεῖν, Συσκεβάζων, ὁ Κύρε: ἤδη γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἀπε. τοῦτο δὲ ἴδων τὸ ὁναρ ἐξηγήσατο καὶ σχεδόν ἐδόκει εἰδέναι ὅτι τοῦ βιῶν ἡ τελευτή παρείη. 3. εὐθὺς οὖν λαβῶν ἑρεία ἔθυνε Διό τε πατράφω καὶ Ἰλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρων, ὁς Πέρσαι θύουσιν, δὸν ἐπευχόμενοι, Ζεὺ πατρῴε καὶ Ἰλίῳ καὶ πάντως θεοί, δέχεσθε τάδε καὶ τελεστήρια πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πράξεων καὶ χαριστήρια ὅτι ἐσημαίνετε μοι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν σύναγωγαῖς συμελοῦς καὶ ἐν οἰκωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φήμαις ἐντῷ ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν καὶ ἐν σῶ τι ἐχρῆν. πολλῇ δ’ ὑμῶν χάρις ὅτι κάτω ἐγιγνωσκόν την ὑμετέραν ἐπιμελείαν καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐυτυχίαις ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἐφρόνησα. αὐτοῦμαι δ’ ὑμᾶς δοῦναι καὶ νῦν παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πατρίδι εὐδαιμ.
VII

1. When his life was far spent amid such achievements and Cyrus was now a very old man, he came back for the seventh time in his reign to Persia. His father and his mother were in the course of nature long since dead; so Cyrus performed the customary sacrifice and led the Persians in their national dance and distributed presents among them all, as had been his custom.

2. As he slept in the palace, he saw a vision: a figure of more than human majesty appeared to him in a dream and said: "Make ready, 1 Cyrus; for thou shalt soon depart to the gods." When the vision was past, he awoke and seemed almost to know that the end of his life was at hand. 3. Accordingly, he at once took victims and offered sacrifice in the high places to ancestral Zeus, to Helius, and to the rest of the gods, even as the Persians are wont to make sacrifice; and as he sacrificed, he prayed, saying: "O ancestral Zeus and Helius and all the gods, accept these offerings as tokens of gratitude for help in achieving many glorious enterprises; for in omens in the sacrifice, in signs from heaven, in the flight of birds, and in ominous words, ye ever showed me what I ought to do and what I ought not to do. And I render heartfelt thanks to you that I have never failed to recognize your fostering care and never in my successes entertained proud thoughts transcending human bounds. And I beseech of you that ye will now also grant prosperity and happiness to my children, my wife, my friends, and my country,

1 Literally "Be packing up"; cf. Varro, de R.R. I. 1: annus octogesimus admonet me ut sarcinas colligam antequam proficiscar e vita.
μονίαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ οἴόντερι αἰῶνα δεδώκατε, τοιαύτην καὶ τελευτήν δοῦναι.

4. Ὅ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα ποιῆσας καὶ οἶκαδε ἐλθὼν ἔδοξεν ἡδέως ἀναπαύσεσθαι ἡμῖν καὶ κατεκλίνη. ἔπει δὲ ὁρὰ ἢν, οἱ τεταγμένοι προσιόντες λούσασθαι αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσον. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ηδέως ἀναπαύσετο. οἱ δὲ αὐ τεταγμένοι, ἔπει ὁρὰ ἢν, δείπνον παρετίθεσαν τῷ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σῖτον μὲν οὐ προσέτο, διψὴν δὲ ἐδόκει, καὶ ἐπιεῖν ἡδέως.

5. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ συνέβαινεν αὐτὸν ταῦτὰ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ, ἐκάλεσε τούς παίδας: οἱ δὲ ἐτυχὼν συνηκολουθηκότες αὐτῷ καὶ ὄντες ἐν Πέρσαις: ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὰς Περσῶν ἀρχὰς: παρόντων δὲ πάντων ἦρχετο τοιούθεν ὁ λόγος.

6. Παῖδες ἐμοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες φίλοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἢ ἡ πάρεστιν ἐκ πολλῶν τούτο σαφῶς γνωρίσκω. ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ, ὅταν τελευτήσω, ὅσ περὶ εὐδαίμονος ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάντα. ἐγὼ γὰρ παῖς τε ὡς ἐν παισί νομιζόμενα καλὰ δοκῶ κεκαρπῶσθαι, ἔπει τε ἡθησα, τὰ ἐν νεανίσκους, τελείος τε ἀνήρ γενόμενος τὰ ἐν ἀνδράσι σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ τὲ προῖόντι ἀεὶ συναυξανομένην ἐπιγνώσοικεν ἐδόκουν καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν, ὡστε καὶ τούμον γὴρας οὐδεπώ ποτε ἡσθόμην τῆς ἐμῆς νεότητος ἀσθενέστερον γυνώμενον, καὶ οὔτ' ἐπιχειρήσας οὔτ' ἐπιθυμήσας οἶδα ὅτον ἦτίχασα.

1 ἀναπαύσεσθαι: Stephanus, most Edd.; ἀναπαύσασθαι xxV, Hug, Breitenbach; ἀναπαύσεσθαι y.

2 κατεκλίνη: Cobet, most Edd.; κατεκλίθη MSS., Breitenbach.

3 ταῦτα: Zeune, recent Edd.; ταῦτα ταῦτα F; ταῦτα xxDV, Dindorf, Breitenbach.
and to me myself an end befitting the life that ye
have given me."

4. Then after he had concluded his rites and come
home, he thought he would be glad to rest and so
lay down; and when the hour came, those whose
office it was came in and bade him go to his bath.
But he told them that he was resting happily.
And then again, when the hour came, those whose
office it was set dinner before him. But his
soul had no desire for food, but he seemed thirsty
and drank with pleasure.

5. And when the same thing befell him on the
next day and the day after that, he summoned his
sons; for they had accompanied him, as it chanced,
and were still in Persia. He summoned also his
friends and the Persian magistrates; and when they
were all come, he began to speak as follows:

6. "My sons, and all you my friends about me,
the end of my life is now at hand; I am quite sure
of this for many reasons; and when I am dead, you
must always speak and act in regard to me as of one
blessed of fortune. For when I was a boy, I think I
plucked all the fruits that among boys count for the
best; when I became a youth, I enjoyed what is
accounted best among young men; and when I
became a mature man, I had the best that men can
have. And as time went on, it seemed to me that
I recognized that my own strength was always
increasing with my years, so that I never found
my old age growing any more feeble than my
youth had been; and, so far as I know, there is
nothing that I ever attempted or desired and yet
failed to secure.
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7. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐπείδοι δὴ ἐμοῖ εὐδαι-

μονας γενομένους, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ὑπ’ ἐμοῖ δουλωθέντας καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πρόσθεν ἰδιωτεύ-

ουσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἦν προτετιμημένην καταλείπω-

δυν τ’ ἐκτησάμην οὐδὲν [οἶδα] ¹ ὃ τι οὐ διεσωσάμην. 

καὶ τὸν μὲν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐπιταττον οὕτως ὡς περ ἡχὸμην: φόβος δὲ μοι συμπαραμαρτῶν μὴ τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιτιντο χρόνῳ ἡ ἱδοιμι ἡ ἄκουσαιμι ἡ 

πάθοιμι χαλεπόν, οὕτω εἰα τελέως με μέγα φρονείν 

οὐδ’ εὐφραίνωσθαι ἐκπεπταμένους.

8. Νῦν δ’ ἦν τελευτήσω, καταλείπω μὲν ὡμᾶς, 

ὁ παῖδες, ζῶντας οὕτως ἔδοσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ γενε-

σθαι: καταλείπω δὴ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους εὐδαι-

μονοῦντας: 9. ὥστε τῶς οὕτω ἄν ἔγω δικαίως 

μακαριζόμενος τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον μνήμης τυχ-

χάνοιμι;

Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν με ἣδη σαφὴνίσαντα 

καταλυτεῖν, ὅσ ἂν μὴ ἀμφιλοχος γενομένη πράγ-

ματα ύμῶν παράσχη. ἐγὼ δ’ οὖν ² φιλῶ μὲν 

ἀμφοτέρους ύμᾶς ὁμοίως, ὁ παῖδες: τὸ δὲ προ-

βουλευεῖν καὶ τὸ ἥγεισθαι ἐφ’ ὃ τι ἂν καὶ ῥαῦ 

εἶναι, τούτο προστάτω τῷ προτέρῳ γενομένῳ καὶ 

πλεοῦντα κατὰ τὸ εἰκός ἐμπείρω. 10. ἐπαιδεύθην 

dὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει τῆς ἔμης τε καὶ 

ὑμετέρας πατρίδος, τόις πρεσβυτέροις οὐ μόνον 

ἀδελφοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας καὶ ὀδοὺ καὶ θάκων 

καὶ λόγων ὑπείκειν, καὶ ύμᾶς δὲ, ὁ παῖδες, οὕτως 

εἰς ἀρχῆς ἑπαίδευον, τοὺς μὲν γεραιτέρους προτι-

¹ οἶδα MSS., Dindorf ³, Breitenbach; [οἶδα] Dindorf ⁴, Hug, 

Marchant, Gemoll.

² δ’ οὖν Hertlein, recent Edd.; δὲ νῦν xzVe, Dindorf, 

Breitenbach; οὖν y.

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7. "Moreover, I have lived to see my friends made prosperous and happy through my efforts and my enemies reduced by me to subjection; and my country, which once played no great part in Asia, I now leave honoured above all. Of all my conquests, there is not one that I have not maintained. Throughout the past I have fared even as I have wished; but a fear that was ever at my side, lest in the time to come I might see or hear or experience something unpleasant, would not let me become overweeningly proud or extravagantly happy.

8. "But now, if I die, I leave you, my sons, whom the gods have given me, to survive me, and I leave my friends and country happy; 9. and so why should I not be justly accounted blessed and enjoy an immortality of fame?

"But I must also declare my will about the disposition of my throne, that the succession may not become a matter of dispute and cause you trouble. Now, I love you both alike, my sons; but precedence in counsel and leadership in everything that may be thought expedient, that I commit to the first born, who naturally has a wider experience. 10. I, too, was thus trained by my country and yours to give precedence to my elders—not merely to brothers but to all fellow-citizens—on the street, in the matter of seats, and in speaking; and so from the beginning, my children, I have been training you also to honour your elders above yourselves and to
μὰν, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων προτετιμήσθαι· ὥς οὖν παλαιὰ καὶ εἰθυσμένα καὶ ἐννομα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀποδέχεσθε. 11. καὶ σὺ μέν, ὁ Καμβύση, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχε, θεῶν τε διδόντων καὶ ἐμοῦ ὅσον ἐν ἔμοι.

Σοι δ', ὁ Ταναξάρη, σατράπην εἶναι δίδωμι Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τρίτων Καδουσίων· ταύτα δὲ σοι δίδωσι νομίζω ἀρχὴν μὲν μείζω καὶ τούνομα τῆς βασιλείας τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καταλείπειν, εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ σοι ἀλυποτέραν. 12. ὁποίας μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφροσύνης ἐνδεχὴς ἐσεὶ οὐχ ὅρω· ἀλλὰ πάντα σοι τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθρώπων εὐφραίνειν παρέσται. τὸ δὲ δυσκαταπρακτοτέρων τε ἐραί καὶ τὸ πολλὰ μεριμνάν καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἥσυχίαν ἔχειν κεντριζόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὰ μᾶλλον συμπαραμάρτειν, ἃ σάφει ἔσθι τοῦ εὐφραίνεσθαι πολλάς ἀσχολίας παρέχει.

13. Ὅλοθα μὲν οὖν καὶ σὺ, ὁ Καμβύση, ὅτι οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασώζον ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλευόντων ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον. πιστοὺς δὲ μὴ νόμιζε φύεσθαι ἀνθρώπους· πᾶσι γὰρ ἃν οἱ αὐτοὶ πιστοὶ φαίνοντο, ὅσπερ καὶ τὰλα τὰ περικότα πᾶσι τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνεται· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πιστοὺς τίθεσθαι δὲ ἑκαστὸν ἑαυτῷ· ἢ δὲ κτῆσις αὐτῶν ἔστιν οὐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ. 14. εἰ ὁμιὴν καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς πειράσει συμφύλακας τῆς βασιλείας

1 τοῦ Schneider, recent Edd.; τῷ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
be honoured above those who are younger. Take what I say, therefore, as that which is approved by time, by custom, and by the law. 11. So you, Cambyses, shall have the throne, the gift of the gods and of myself, in so far as it is mine to give.

"To you, Tanaoxares, I give the satrapy of Media, Armenia, and, in addition to those two, Cadusia. And in giving you this office, I consider that I leave to your older brother greater power and the title of king, while to you I leave a happiness disturbed by fewer cares; 12. for I cannot see what human pleasure you will lack; on the contrary, everything that is thought to bring pleasure to man will be yours. But to set one's heart on more difficult undertakings, to be cumbered with many cares, and to be able to find no rest, because spurred on by emulation of what I have done, to lay plots and to be plotted against, all that must necessarily go hand in hand with royal power more than with your station; and, let me assure you, it brings many interruptions to happiness.

13. "As for you, Cambyses, you must also know that it is not this golden sceptre that maintains your empire; but faithful friends are a monarch's truest and surest sceptre. But do not think that man is naturally faithful; else all men would find the same persons faithful, just as all find the other properties of nature the same. But every one must create for himself faithfulness in his friends; and the winning of such friends comes in no wise by compulsion, but by kindness. 14. If, then, you shall endeavour to make others also fellow-guardians of
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ποιεῖσθαι μηδαμόθεν πρότερον ἀρχού ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμόθεν γενομένου. καὶ πολίται τοῦ ἀνθρωποῦ ἀλλοδαπῶν οἰκείοτεροι καὶ σύσσυτοι ἀποσκήνων. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπέρματος φύντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρὸς τραφέντες καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐξηθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων ἀγαπώμενοι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα προσαγορεύοντες, πῶς οὐ πάντων οὗτοι οἰκείοτατοι; 15. μὴ οὖν ἃ ὁ θεὸς ψήγηνται ἀγαθὰ εἰς οἰκείοτητα ἀδελφοῖς μάταια ποτὲ ποιήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖτε ἄλλα φιλικὰ ἔργα καὶ οὕτως ἄει ἀνυπέρβλητος ἄλλοις ἔσται ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλία. ἕαυτοῦ τοῦ κήδεται ὁ προνοοῦν ἀδελφοῦ τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ ἀδελφὸς μέγας ὡν οὕτω καλὸν ὡς ἄδελφο; τίς δ' ἄλλος τιμήσεται δι' ἄνδρα μέγα δυνάμενον οὕτως ὡς ἄδελφος; τίνα δὲ φοβησεται τις ἀδικεῖν ἄδελφον μεγάλου οὕτως οὕτως ὡς τὸν ἄδελφον; 16. Μήτε οὖν θάττων μηδείς σοῦ τοῦτο ὑπακούετω μήτε προθυμότερον παρέστως οὐδεὶ γὰρ οἰκείοτερα τὰ τοῦτον οὕτε ἀγαθὰ οὕτε δεινὰ ἢ σοὶ. ἐννῦει δὲ καὶ τάδε τίνι χαρισάμενος ἐξπίσαι αὖ μειζόνων τυχεῖν ἢ τοῦτο; τίνι δ' ἂν βοηθήσας ἰσχυρότερον σύμμαχον ἀντιλάβοις; τίνα δ' αἰσχιον μὴ φιλεῖν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφὸν; τίνα 430
your sovereignty, make a beginning nowhere sooner than with him who is of the same blood with yourself. Fellow-citizens, you know, stand nearer than foreigners do, and messmates nearer than those who eat elsewhere; but those who are sprung from the same seed, nursed by the same mother, reared in the same home, loved by the same parents, and who address the same persons as father and mother, how are they not the closest of all? 15. Do not you two, therefore, ever make of no effect those blessings whereby the gods have led the way to knitting close the bonds between brothers, but do you build at once upon that foundation still other works of love; and thus the love between you will always be a love that no other men can ever surpass. Surely he that has forethought for his brother is taking care for himself; for to whom else is a brother’s greatness more of an honour than to a brother? And who else will be honoured by the power of a great man so much as that man’s brother? And if a man’s brother is a great man, whom will any one so much fear to injure as that man’s brother?

16. “Therefore, Tanaoxares, let no one more readily than yourself yield obedience to your brother or more zealously support him. For his fortunes, good or ill, will touch no one more closely than yourself. And bear this also in mind: whom could you favour in the hope of getting more from him than from your brother? Where could you lend help and get in return a surer ally than you would find in him? Whom would it be a more shameful thing for you not to love than your own brother? And who is there in all the world whom
δὲ ἀπάντων κάλλιον προτιμᾶν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφὸν; μόνον τοι, ὁ Καμβύς, πρωτεύοντος ἀδελφοῦ παρ’ ἀδελφῷ οὐδὲ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφικμεῖται. ¹

17.'Ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶν, ὁ παῖδες, τιμᾶτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ τι καὶ τοῦ ἐμοὶ χαράξεσθαι μέλει ύμῖν: οὐ γὰρ δὴπο τούτῳ γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι ὡς οὐδὲν ἐτί ἐγὼ ἐσομαι, ² ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτῆσον οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν τοῦ τῆς γ’ ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἐσφάτε, ἀλλ’ οἷς διεπράττετο, τούτως αὐτὴν ὡς οὕτων κατεφορᾶτε. 18. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄδικα παθόντων ψυχὰς οὕτω κατενοήσατε οἷς μὲν φόβους τοῖς μιαφόνοις ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἷς δὲ παλαμανίαις τοῖς ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσι; τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἐστί ἂν δοκεῖτε, εἰ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ κύριαι ἦσαν; 19. οὕτως ἐγώγε, ὁ παῖδες, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πῶς ἐπείσθην ὡς ἡ ψυχή ἐστι μὲν ἂν ἐν θυσίᾳ σώματι ἥ, ἢ, ὅταν δὲ τούτου ἀπαλαγητί, τεθυμηκέν ὅρῳ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὰ θυσία σώματα ὅσον ἂν ἐν αὐτῶς χρόνον ἢ ἡ ψυχή, ξώντα παρέχεται. 20. οὐδὲ γε ὅπως ἀφρόν οὖσαι ἡ ψυχή, ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἀφρόνος σώματος δίχα γένεται, οὐδὲ τούτο πε- πειράμαι: ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἀκρατῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ὁ νοῦς ἐκκριθή, τότε καὶ φρονιμώτατον αὐτὸν εἰκὸς εἶναι. διὰλυμένου δὲ ἀνθρώπου δὴλα ἐστίν ἕκαστα ἡπιόντα πρὸς τὸ ὀμφυλοῦ πλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς: αὕτη δὲ μόνη οὕτε παροῦσα οὕτε ἀπεισοῦσα ὁρᾶται.

¹ ἐφικμεῖται Dindorf, Edd.; ἀφικμεῖται MSS.
² ἢι ἐγὼ ἐσομαι x, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; εἰ μὲ ἐγὼ ἢι xzVe, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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it would be a more noble thing to prefer in honour than your brother? It is only a brother, you know, Cambyses, whom, if he holds the first place of love in his brother's heart, the envy of others cannot reach.

17. "Nay by our fathers' gods I implore you, my sons, honour one another, if you care at all to give me pleasure. For assuredly, this one thing, so it seems to me, you do not know clearly, that I shall have no further being when I have finished this earthly life; for not even in this life have you seen my soul, but you have detected its existence by what it accomplished. 18. Have you never yet observed what terror the souls of those who have been foully dealt with strike into the hearts of those who have shed their blood, and what avenging deities they send upon the track of the wicked? And do you think that the honours paid to the dead would continue, if their souls had no part in any of them? 19. I am sure I do not; nor yet, my sons, have I ever convinced myself of this—that only as long as it is contained in a mortal body is the soul alive, but when it has been freed from it, is dead; for I see that it is the soul that endues mortal bodies with life, as long as it is in them. 20. Neither have I been able to convince myself of this—that the soul will want intelligence just when it is separated from this unintelligent body; but when the spirit is set free, pure and untrammelled by matter, then it is likely to be most intelligent. And when man is resolved into his primal elements, it is clear that every part returns to kindred matter, except the soul; that alone cannot be seen, either when present or when departing.
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21. 'Εννοήσατε δ', ἑφη, ὅτι ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θανάτω οὐδέν ἐστιν ὑπνοι. ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆ τὸτε δήποτε θειότατη καταφαίνεται καὶ τότε τί τῶν μελλόντων προοράτοτε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, μάλιστα ἑλευθεροῦται.

22. Εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα ἀσπέρ ἐγὼ οἶμαι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καταλείπει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταδύομενοι ποιεῖτε ἃ ἐγὼ δεόμαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ σώματι συναποθηκεύει, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς γε τοὺς ἀεὶ οὕτας καὶ πάντα ἑφορῶντας καὶ πάντα δυναμένους, οὗ καὶ τήρην τὴν τῶν ὅλων τάξεων συνεχουσιν ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἀγνηρατον ἔκαλε καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ὑπὸ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους ἀδιήγητον, τούτους φοβοῦμενοι μὴ ποτε ἀσβέσας μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόσιον μήτε ποιήσητε μήτε βουλεύσητε.

23. Μετὰ μέντοι θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένος τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπιγυνόμενον αἴδεετε· οὐ γάρ ἐν σκότῳ ὑμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ' ἐμφανῆ πᾶσιν ἀνάγκη ἂεὶ ζην τὰ ύμετέρα ἕργα· ἢ ἂν μὲν καθαρὰ καὶ ἐξω τῶν ἁδικῶν φαίνηται, δυνατός ὑμᾶς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπως ἀναδέξεις· εἰ δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἁδικόν τι φρονήσετε, ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον ἕναι ἀποβαλεῖτε· οὔτε γάρ ἂν ἔτι πιστεύεις δύναιτο ὑμῖν, οὔτε εἰ πάνω προθυμοῖτο, ἰδὼν ἁδικοῦμενον τὸν μάλιστα φίλα προσήκοντα.

24. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἴκανος διδάσκων οἶχος χρῆ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγεγεινμένων μανθάνετε· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀρίστη

1 ἀγνηρατον F, Photius, Edd.; ἀγνηρατον χζV; ἀγρατον D.
21. "Consider again," he continued, "that there is nothing in the world more nearly akin to death than is sleep; and the soul of man at just such times is revealed in its most divine aspect and at such times, too, it looks forward into the future; for then, it seems, it is most untrammelled by the bonds of the flesh.

22. "Now if this is true, as I think it is, and if the soul does leave the body, then do what I request of you and show reverence for my soul. But if it is not so, and if the soul remains in the body and dies with it, then at least fear the gods, eternal, all-seeing, omnipotent, who keep this ordered universe together, unimpaired, ageless, unerring, indescribable in its beauty and its grandeur; and never allow yourselves to do or purpose anything wicked or unholy.

23. "Next to the gods, however, show respect also to all the race of men as they continue in perpetual succession; for the gods do not hide you away in darkness, but your works must ever live on in the sight of all men; and if they are pure and untainted with unrighteousness, they will make your power manifest among all mankind. But if you conceive any unrighteous schemes against each other, you will forfeit in the eyes of all men your right to be trusted. For no one would be able any longer to trust you—not even if he very much desired to do so—if he saw either of you wronging that one who has the first claim to the other's love.

24. "Now, if I am giving you sufficient instructions as to what manner of men you ought to be one towards the other—well and good; if not, then
διδασκαλία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διαγεγένηται φίλοι μὲν γονεῖς παισί, φίλοι δὲ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελ-
φοὶς· ἦδη δὲ τινὲς τούτων καὶ ἐναντία ἄλληλοις ἔπραξαν· ὅποτέροις ἄν σοιν αἰσθάνησθε τὰ πραγ-
θέντα συνενεγκόντα, ταῦτα δὴ αἱροῦμενοι ὅρθως ἄν βουλεύοισθε.

25. Καὶ τούτων μὲν ἵσως ἦδη ἄλις.
Τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν σῶμα, δὲ παῖδες, οὕτως τελευτῆσον, μήτε ἐν χρυσῷ θήτη μήτε ἐν ἀργυρῷ μήτε ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, ἄλλα τῇ γῇ ὡς τάχιστα ἀπόδοτε. τί γὰρ τούτου μακαριώτερον τὸν γῇ μισθῆται, ἢ πάντα μὲν τὰ καλά, πάντα δὲ τάγαθα φύει τε καὶ τρέ-
φει; ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλάνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ νῦν ἦδεως ἃν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ εὐερ-
γετοῦντος ἀνθρώπων.

26. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦδη, ἔφη, ἐκλείπτειν μοι φαί-
νεται ἡ ψυχὴ ὅθενπερ, ὡς ἐοικε, πάσιν ἀρχεται ἀπολέστωσα. εἰ τις οὖν ὑμῶν ἡ δεξίας βούλεται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀψασθαι ἢ ὅμμα τοῦμον ξώντος ἐτί προσιδεῖν ἐθέλει, προσίτω· ὅταν δὲ ἐγὼ ἐγκαλύ-
ψωμαι, αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, δὲ παῖδες, μηδεῖς ἐτὶ ἀν-
θρώπων τοῦμον σῶμα ἱδέτω, μηδὲ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς.

27. Πέρσας μέντοι πάντας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα τοῦμον παρακαλεῖτε συνηθη-
σομένους ἐμοὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄσφαλεὶ ἦδη ἔσομαι, ὡς μηδὲν ἄν ἐτι κακῶν παθεῖν, μήτε ἣν μετὰ τοῦθεν γένωμαι μήτε ἣν μηδὲν ἐτι στ. ὅποσοι δὲ ἄν
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you must learn it from the history of the past, for this is the best source of instruction. For, as a rule, parents have always been friends to their children, brothers to their brothers; but ere now some of them have been at enmity one with another. Whichever, therefore, of these two courses you shall find to have been profitable, choose that, and you would counsel well.

25. "But of this, perhaps, enough.

"Now as to my body, when I am dead, my sons, lay it away neither in gold nor in silver nor in anything else, but commit it to the earth as soon as may be. For what is more blessed than to be united with the earth, which brings forth and nourishes all things beautiful and all things good? I have always been a friend to man, and I think I should gladly now become a part of that which does him so much good.

26. "But I must conclude," he said; "for my soul seems to me to be slipping away from those parts of my body, from which, as it appears, it is wont to begin its departure. So if any one wishes to take my hand or desires to look into my face while I yet live, let him come near; but after I have covered myself over, I beg of you, my children, let no one look upon my body, not even yourselves.

27. "Invite, however, all the Persians and our allies to my burial, to joy with me in that I shall henceforth be in security such that no evil can ever again come nigh me, whether I shall be in the divine presence or whether I shall no longer have any being; and to all those who come show all the courtesies that are usual in honour of a man.
Chapter VIII can be considered only as a later addition to Xenophon’s work—a bit of historical criticism in a review accompanying the book reviewed. It spoils the perfect unity of the work up to this chapter: Cyrus is born, grows to manhood, completes his conquests, establishes his kingdom, organizes the various departments of his empire, dies. Some violent opponent of Medic influence in Athens could not

VIII

[1. Οτι μὲν δὴ καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ ἢ Κύρου βασιλείᾳ ἐγένετο αὐτὴ ἑαυτή μαρτυρεῖ. ὁρίσθη γὰρ πρὸς ἑώ μὲν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάττῃ, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ Κύπρῳ καὶ Αἰγύπτῳ, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιοπίᾳ, τοσαύτῃ δὲ γενομένη μιὰ γνώμη τῇ Κύρου ἐκυβερνάτο, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τε τοὺς ὑπ’ ἑαυτῷ ὦσπερ ἑαυτοῦ παιδᾶς ἔτιμα τε καὶ ἐθεράπευεν, οἵ τε ἄρχομενοι Κύρου ὃς

1 ἐνεκαλύψατο Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; συνεκαλύψατο MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

2 Chapter viii came under the suspicion of Valckenaer first;
that has been blessed of fortune, and then dismiss them.

28. "Remember also this last word of mine," he said: "if you do good to your friends, you will also be able to punish your enemies. And now farewell, my children, and say farewell to your mother as from me. And to all my friends, both present and absent, I bid farewell."

After these words, he shook hands with them all, covered himself over, and so died.

leave all this glorification of Persian institutions unchallenged, and so in this appendix he has supplied an account of the degeneracy of the descendants of the virtuous Persians of the earlier day.

The chapter is included here in accord with all the manuscripts and editions. But the reader is recommended to close the book at this point and read no further.

VIII

[1. That Cyrus's empire was the greatest and most glorious of all the kingdoms in Asia—of that it may be its own witness. For it was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia. And although it was of such magnitude, it was governed by the single will of Cyrus; and he honoured his subjects and cared for them as if they were his own children; and they, on their part, it is rejected by most Edd.; it is defended by Cobet, Eichler, Marchant.
πατέρα ἐσέβομαι. 2. ἐπεὶ μὲν τοις Κύρος ἐτελευτήσεν, εὐθὺς μὲν αὐτῷ οἱ παῖδες ἐστασίαζον, εὐθὺς δὲ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη ἀφίσταντο, πάντα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ἐτρέπετο. ὡς δὲ ἄληθῆ λέγω ἀφίσομαι διδάσκων ἐκ τῶν θείων.

Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πρότερον μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐσχάτα πεποιηκόσιν εἶτε ὀρκουσὶν ὀμόσειαν, ἡμπέδουν, εἶτε δεξιάς δοῖεν, ἐβεβαίωσιν. 3. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοιούτοι ἦσαν καὶ τοιαύτην δόξαν εἶχον οὐδὲ ἄν εἰς αὐτοῖς ἐπίστευσαν, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ νῦν πιστεύει οὐδὲ εἰς ἑτε, ἐπεὶ ἐγνώσται ἡ ἀσέβεια αὐτῶν. οὕτως οὐδὲ τότε ἐπίστευσαν ἄν οἱ τῶν σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντων στρατηγοῖ; νῦν δὲ δὴ τῇ πρόσθεν αὐτῶν δόξῃ πιστεύσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν ἐαυτός, καὶ ἀναχθέντες πρὸς βασιλέα ἀπετμήθησαν τὰς κεφαλὰς. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συστατευσάντων βαρβάρων ἄλλοι ἄλλαις πίστεωι ἐξαπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

4. Πολὺ δὲ καὶ τάδε χείρονες νῦν εἰσὶ. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τις ἡ διακινδυνεύσει πρὸ βασιλέως ἡ πόλις ἡ ἔθνος ὑποχείριον ποιήσειεν ἡ ἄλλο τι καλὸν ἡ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῶ διαπράξειεν, οὕτω ἦσαν οἱ τιμῶμενοι. νῦν δὲ καὶ ἦν τις ὡσπερ Μιθραδάτης τὸν πατέρα Ἀριστοκράτῳ προδοῦς, καὶ ἦν τις

1 ἐπίστευσαν Hug, Gemoll; ἐπίστευεν MSS., other Edd.

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reverenced Cyrus as a father. 2. Still, as soon as Cyrus was dead, his children at once fell into dissension, states and nations began to revolt, and everything began to deteriorate. And that what I say is the truth, I will prove, beginning with the Persians’ attitude toward religion.

I know, for example, that in early times the kings and their officers, in their dealings with even the worst offenders, would abide by an oath that they might have given, and be true to any pledge they might have made. 3. For had they not had such a character for honour, and had they not been true to their reputation, not a man would have trusted them, just as not a single person any longer trusts them, now that their lack of character is notorious; and the generals of the Greeks who joined the expedition of Cyrus the Younger would not have had such confidence in them even on that occasion. But, as it was, trusting in the previous reputation of the Persian kings, they placed themselves in the king’s power, were led into his presence, and had their heads cut off. And many also of the barbarians who joined that expedition went to their doom, some deluded by one promise, others by another.

4. But at the present time they are still worse, as the following will show: if, for example, any one in the olden times risked his life for the king, or if any one reduced a state or a nation to submission to him, or effected anything else of good or glory for him, such an one received honour and preferment; now, on the other hand, if any one seems to bring some advantage to the king by evil-doing, whether as Mithradates did, by betraying his own father Ario-
δισέντερης την γυναίκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς τῶν φίλων παῖδας ὁμήρους παρὰ τῷ Αιγυ-πτῖῳ ἐγκαταλύσας καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους ὀρκουσ̃ παραβὰς βασιλεῖ δόξη τῷ σύμφορον ποιῆσαι, οὐτοὶ εἰσὶ ν τὰ μεγίστας τιμαῖς γεραιόμενοι.

5. Ταῦτα οὖν ὅραστε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσέβες καὶ τὸ ἀδικον τετραμμένοι εἰςίν· ὅτειοι τινὲς γὰρ ἄν οἱ προστάται δοῦτε, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ὑπ’ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίγνονται. ἄθεμιστότεροι δὴ νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν ταῦτα γεγένηται.

6. Εἰς γε μὴν χρήματα τῇδε ἀδικώτεροι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκότας, ἀλλ’ ἢδη τοὺς οὐδὲν ἠδικηκότας συμπλημβάνοντες ἀναγκάζουσι πρὸς οὐδὲν δίκαιον χρήματα ἀποτίνειν· ὅστε οὐδὲν ἤττον οἱ πολλὰ ἔχειν δοκοῦντες τῶν πολλὰ ἠδικηκότων φοβοῦνται· καὶ εἰς χεῖρας οὐδ’ οὕτωι ἐθέλονσι τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἰέναι. οὐδὲ γε ἄθροίζε-σθαι εἰς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν θαρροῦσι. 7. τουγαρ-οῦν ὅστις ἀν πολεμῆ αὐτοῖς, πάσιν ἐξεστιν ἐν τῇ χώρα αὐτῶν ἀναστρέφεσθαι ἄνευ μάχης ὅπως ἄν βούλωνται διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ μὲν θεοὺς ἀσέ-βειαν, περὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικίαν. αἱ μὲν δὴ γνῶμαι ταῦτῃ τῷ παντὶ χείρος νῦν ἢ τῷ παλαιῶν αὐτῶν.

8. Ὡς δὲ οὖν τῶν σώματος ἐπιμέλειον ὅσπερ πρόσθεν, νῦν αὐτοῦ διηγήσομαι. νόμι-μον γὰρ δὴ ἂν αὐτοῖς μήτε πτύειν μήτε ἀπομύτ-τεσθαι. δὴλον δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ τοὺ ἐν τῷ σώματι
barzanes, or as a certain Rheomithres did, in violating his most sacred oaths and leaving his wife and children and the children of his friends behind as hostages in the power of the king of Egypt\(^1\)—such are the ones who now have the highest honours heaped upon them.

5. Witnessing such a state of morality, all the inhabitants of Asia have been turned to wickedness and wrong-doing. For, whatever the character of the rulers is, such also that of the people under them for the most part becomes. In this respect they are now even more unprincipled than before.

6. In money matters, too, they are more dishonest in this particular: they arrest not merely those who have committed many offences, but even those who have done no wrong, and against all justice compel them to pay fines; and so those who are supposed to be rich are kept in a state of terror no less than those who have committed many crimes, and they are no more willing than malefactors are to come into close relations with their superiors in power; in fact, they do not even venture to enlist in the royal army. 7. Accordingly, owing to their impiety toward the gods and their iniquity toward man, any one who is engaged in war with them can, if he desire, range up and down their country without having to strike a blow. Their principles in so far, therefore, are in every respect worse now than they were in antiquity.

8. In the next place, as I will now show, they do not care for their physical strength as they used to do. For example, it used to be their custom neither to spit nor to blow the nose. It is obvious that they

\(^1\) Tachos; see Index, s.v. Ariobarzanes.
ύγροι φειδόμενοι ἐνόμισαν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι διὰ πόνων καὶ ἱδρῶτος τὰ σώματα στερεοῦσθαι. νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴ πτύειν μηδὲ ἀπομύττεσθαι ἐτί διαμένει, τὸ δὲ ἐκποιεῖν οὐδαμοῦ ἐπιτηδεύεται. 9. καὶ μὴν πρόσθεν μὲν ἢν αὐτοῖς μονοσιτεῖν νόμιμον, ὅπως ὅλῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ χρόνῳ εἰς τὰς πράξεις καὶ εἰς τὸ διαπονεῖσθαι. νῦν γε μὴν τὸ μὲν μονοσιτεῖν ἐτί διαμένει, ἄρχομενοι δὲ τοῦ σίτου ἥνικαπερ οἱ προφάτατα ἀριστῶντες μέχρι τοῦτον ἐσθλοῦντες καὶ πίνοντες διάγουσιν ἑστεπερ οἱ ὁψιάτατα κοιμώμενοι.

10. Ἡν δὲ αὐτοῖς νόμιμον μηδὲ προχοίδας εἰσφέρεσθαι εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, δήλον ὅτι νομίζοντες τὸ μὴ ὑπερπίνειν ἥττον ἄν καὶ σώματα καὶ γνώμας σφάλλειν· νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴ εἰσφέρεσθαι ἐτί αὖ διαμένει, τοσοῦτον δὲ πίνουσιν ὡστε ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσφέρειν αὐτοὶ ἐκφέρονται, ἐπειδὰν μηκέτι δύνονται ὁρθούμενοι ἐξείναι.

11. Ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκειν ἢν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώριον τὸ μεταξὺ τορευομένους μὴτε ἐσθένειν μὴτε πίνειν μὴτε τῶν διὰ ταύτα ἀναγκαῖον μηδὲν ποιοῦντας φανερῶς εἰναι· νῦν δὲ αὖ τὸ μὲν τοῦτον ἀπέχεσθαι ἐτί διαμένει, τὰς μέντοι πορείας οὕτω βραχείας ποιοῦνται ὡς μηδὲν ἄν ἐτί θαυμάσαι τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

12. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ θῆραν πρόσθεν μὲν τοσαυτάκις ἐξήσαν ὡστε ἄρκειν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἵπποις γυμνάσια τὰς θήρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξης

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observed this custom not for the sake of saving the moisture in the body, but from the wish to harden the body by labour and perspiration. But now the custom of refraining from spitting or blowing the nose still continues, but they never give themselves the trouble to work off the moisture in some other direction. 9. In former times it was their custom also to eat but once in the day, so that they might devote the whole day to business and hard work. Now, to be sure, the custom of eating but once a day still prevails, but they begin to eat at the hour when those who breakfast earliest begin their morning meal, and they keep on eating and drinking until the hour when those who stay up latest go to bed.

10. They had also the custom of not bringing pots into their banquets, evidently because they thought that if one did not drink to excess, both mind and body would be less uncertain. So even now the custom of not bringing in the pots still obtains, but they drink so much that, instead of carrying anything in, they are themselves carried out when they are no longer able to stand straight enough to walk out.

11. Again, this also was a native custom of theirs, neither to eat nor drink while on a march, nor yet to be seen doing any of the necessary consequences of eating or drinking. Even yet that same abstinence prevails, but they make their journeys so short that no one would be surprised at their ability to resist those calls of nature.

12. Again, in times past they used to go out hunting so often that the hunts afforded sufficient exercise for both men and horses. But since Ar-
ὅ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἢττος τοῦ οἶνου ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ὁμοίως οὔτ' αὐτοὶ ἔξησαν οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξηγον ἐπὶ τὰς θῆρας. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τινὲς φιλότουνοι γενόμενοι σὺν¹ τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἰππεύσι θαμὰ θηρῷ,² φθονοῦντες αὐτοῖς δῆλοι ἦσαν καὶ ὡς βελτίωνας αὐτῶν ἐμίσουν.

13. Ἀλλὰ τοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὸ μὲν παιΔεύσατε ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐτι διαμένει· τὸ μέντοι τὰ ἰππικὰ μανθάνει καὶ μελετάν ἀπέσβηκε διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὅτιν ἂν ἀποфαυόμενου εὐδοκιμοῖεν, καὶ ὅτι γε οἱ παῖδες ἀκούοντες ἐκεῖ πρόσθεν τὰς δίκας δικαίωσις δικαζομένας ἐδόκοι τὰς μανθάνειν δικαίωτη, καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ἀνέστραπται· σαφῶς γὰρ ὀρῶσι νικῶντας ὅποτεροι ἂν πλεῖον διδῶσιν. 14. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φυμέων ἐκ τῆς γῆς τάς δυνάμεις οἱ παῖδες πρόσθεν μὲν ἐμάνθων, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ὠφελέμοις χρόνῳ, τῶν δὲ βλαβερῶν ἀπέχοντο· νῦν δὲ ἔοικας ταῦτα διδασκομένοις, ὡς ὅτι πλεῖστα κακοποίοις· οὐδ' ἄλλῳ γοῦν πλείους ἢ ἐκεί οὔτ' ἀποθνήσκουσιν οὔτε διαφθέρονται ὑπὸ φαρμάκων.

15. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θρυπτικῶτεροι πολὺ νῦν ἢ ἐπὶ Κύρου εἰσὶ· τότε μὲν γὰρ ἔτι τῆ ἐκ Περσῶν παιδεία καὶ ἐγκρατεία ἐχρῶντο, τῆ δὲ Μῆδων στολὴ καὶ ἄβροτη· νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν καρτερίαν περιορῶσιν ἀποσβενυμένην, τῆ δὲ τῶν Μῆδων μαλακίαν διασώζονται.

¹ σὺν Dindorf, Hug; [kal] σὺν Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ σὺν MSS. (except Med. 55. 19).
² ἀμὴν θηρῷ Dindorf, Edd.; ἀμὴν θηρῷ xyGV; μαρτυρῶν ΑΗε.
taxerxes and his court became the victims of wine, they have neither gone out themselves in the old way nor taken the others out hunting; on the contrary, if any one often went hunting with his friends out of sheer love for physical exertion, the courtiers would not hide their jealousy and would hate him as presuming to be a better man than they.

13. Again, it is still the custom for the boys to be educated at court; but instruction and practice in horsemanship have died out, because there are no occasions on which they may give an exhibition and win distinction for skill. And while anciently the boys used there to hear cases at law justly decided and so to learn justice, as they believed—that also has been entirely reversed; for now they see all too clearly that whichever party gives the larger bribe wins the case.

14. The boys of that time used also to learn the properties of the products of the earth, so as to avail themselves of the useful ones and keep away from those that were harmful. But now it looks as if they learned them only in order to do as much harm as possible; at any rate, there is no place where more people die or lose their lives from poisons than there.

15. Furthermore, they are much more effeminate now than they were in Cyrus's day. For at that time they still adhered to the old discipline and the old abstinence that they received from the Persians, but adopted the Median garb and Median luxury; now, on the contrary, they are allowing the rigour of the Persians to die out, while they keep up the effeminacy of the Medes.
16. Σαφηνέσαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ τὴν θρύψιν αὐτῶν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς εὐνάς οὐ μόνον ἀρκεῖ μαλακῶς ὑποστορύθησαι, ἀλλὰ ἡδη καὶ τῶν κλινῶν τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ δαπίδων τιθέασιν, ὡς μὴ ἀντερείδῃ τὸ δάπεδον, ἀλλὰ ὑπείκοσιν αἱ δαπίδες. καὶ μὴν τὰ πεπτόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὡσα τε πρόσθεν εὐρητο, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφῄρηται, ἀλλὰ τε αἰεὶ καινὰ ἐπιμικρύνονται. καὶ ὅσα γε ὀσάυτως καὶ γὰρ καινοποιητὰς ἀμφοτέρων τούτων κέκτηται.

17. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι οὐ μόνον κεφαλὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ πόδας ἀρκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐσκεπάσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἄκρας ταῖς χερσὶ χειρίδας δασείας καὶ δακτυλίθρας ἔχουσιν. ἐν γε μὴν τῷ θέρει οὐκ ἀρκοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οὖθεν αἱ τῶν δένδρων οὖθεν αἱ τῶν πετρῶν σκιαὶ, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταύταις ἐπέρασε σκιὰς ἀνθρώπους μηχανώμενοι αὐτοῖς παρεστάσασι.

18. Καὶ μὴν ἐκπόμαται ἢν μὲν ὡς πλείστα ἔχοσι, τούτῳ καλλοποίονται ἢν δὲ ἐξ ἀδικοῦ φανερῶς ἡ μεμηχανημένα, οὐδὲν τούτῳ αἰσχύνονται. πολὺ γὰρ ἦνξηται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀδικία τε καὶ αἰσχροκέρδεια.

19. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν ἢν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῖς μὴ ὀρᾶσαί τεξῆ πορευομένοις, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἐνεκα ἢ τοῦ ὡς ἐπιπεπώκοτος γέγραφαν. νῦν δὲ στρώματα πλείω ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπτού τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν εὐνών. οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἐπιμεῖας οὕτως ὡσπερ τοῦ μαλακῶς καθήσαται ἐπιμεῖλονται. 20. τὰ γε μὴν πολεμικὰ πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως νῦν τῷ παντὶ

1 δαπίδων Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug; ταπίδων xyV, Merchant, Gemoll; ταπήτων G; ταπίδων ΔΗ.
16. I should like to explain their effeminacy more in detail. In the first place, they are not satisfied with only having their couches upholstered with down, but they actually set the posts of their beds upon carpets, so that the floor may offer no resistance, but that the carpets may yield. Again, whatever sorts of bread and pastry for the table had been discovered before, none of all those have fallen into disuse, but they keep on always inventing something new besides; and it is the same way with meats; for in both branches of cookery they actually have artists to invent new dishes.

17. Again, in winter they are not satisfied with having clothing on their heads and bodies and legs, but they must have also sleeves thickly lined to the very tips of their fingers, and gloves besides. In summer, on the other hand, they are not satisfied with the shade afforded by the trees and rocks, but amid these they have people stand by them to provide artificial shade.

18. They take great pride also in having as many cups as possible; but they are not ashamed if it transpire that they came by them by dishonest means, for dishonesty and sordid love of gain have greatly increased among them.

19. Furthermore, it was of old a national custom not to be seen going anywhere on foot; and that was for no other purpose than to make themselves as knightly as possible. But now they have more coverings upon their horses than upon their beds, for they do not care so much for knighthood as for a soft seat. 20. And so is it not to be expected that in military prowess they should be wholly

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χείρους ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσίν; οἷς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ ἑπιχώριον εἶναι ὑπῆρχε τοὺς μὲν τὴν γῆν ἔχοντας ἀπὸ ταύτης ἱππότας παρέχεσθαι, οὐ δὲ καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο εἰ δέοι στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φιοροῦντας πρὸ τῆς χώρας μισθοφόρους εἶναι νῦν δὲ τοὺς τε θυρωροὺς καὶ τοὺς στιστοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὄψων καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ λουτροχόους καὶ παρατιθέντας καὶ ἀναίροντας καὶ κατακομβῶντας καὶ ἀνυστάτας, καὶ τοὺς κοσμητάς, οὐ ὑποχρίονσι τε καὶ ἐντρίβουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τάλλα ῥυθμίζουσι, τούτους πάντας ἱππέας οἱ δυνάσται πεποίηκασιν, ὡς μισθοφόρωσι αὐτοῖς. 21. πλήθος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτων φαίνεται, οὐ μέντοι ὄφελός γε οὔδεν αὐτῶν εἰς πόλεμον δηλοῦ δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γυνόμενα· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν βάρον οἱ πολέμοι ή οἱ φίλοι ἀναστρέφονται. 22. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κύρος τοῦ μὲν ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀποπαύσας, θωρακίσας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἰπποὺς καὶ ἐν παλτῶν ἐκάστῳ δοὺς εἰς χεῖρα ὁμόθεν τὴν μάχην ἐποιεῖτο· νῦν δὲ οὕτω ἀκροβολίζονται ἐτὶ οὖτε εἰς χεῖρας συνάντες μάχονται. 23. καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἔχουσι μὲν γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ σαγάρεις ὅσπερ οἱ ἦτο Κύρου τὴν μάχην ποιησάμενοι· εἰς χεῖρας δὲ ἑναὶ οὖν οὕτω ἐθέλουσιν.

24. Οὔτε γε τοῖς δρεπανηφόροις ἄρμασιν ἐτὶ χρῶνται ἐφ' ὧν Κύρος αὐτὰ ἐποιήσατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τιμαῖς αὐξήσας τοὺς ἤνιοχοὺς καὶ ἀγαστοὺς. 1

1 οἱ Nitsche, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS., other Edd.
2 ἀγαστοὺς Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀγαθοὺς MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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inferior to what they used to be? In times past it was their national custom that those who held lands should furnish cavalrymen from their possessions and that these, in case of war, should also take the field, while those who performed outpost duty in defence of the country received pay for their services. But now the rulers make knights out of their porters, bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, bath-room attendants, butlers, waiters, chamberlains who assist them in retiring at night and in rising in the morning, and beauty-doctors who pencil their eyes and rouge their cheeks for them and otherwise beautify them; these are the sort that they make into knights to serve for pay for them. 21. From such recruits, therefore, a host is obtained, but they are of no use in war; and that is clear from actual occurrences: for enemies may range up and down their land with less hindrance than friends. 22. For Cyrus had abolished skirmishing at a distance, had armed both horses and men with breastplates, had put a javelin into each man's hand, and had introduced the method of fighting hand to hand. But now they neither skirmish at a distance any longer, nor yet do they fight in a hand-to-hand engagement. 23. The infantry still have their wicker shields and bills and sabres, just as those had who set the battle in array in the times of Cyrus; but not even they are willing to come into a hand-to-hand conflict.

24. Neither do they employ the scythed chariot any longer for the purpose for which Cyrus had it made. For he advanced the charioteers to honour and made them objects of admiration and so had
ποιήσας εἰχε τοὺς εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἐμβαλνύντας· οἱ δὲ νῦν οὔδε γυνώσκοντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρμασιν οἴονται σφίσιν ὤμολος τοὺς ἀνασκήτους τοῖς ἡσκηκόσιν ἔσεσθαι. 25. οἱ δὲ ὄρμωσι μὲν, πρὶν δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες ἐκπιτοιποιοῦσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐξάλλονται, ὅστε ἀνευ ἰνῶχων γυνώμενα τά ξεύγη πολλάκις πλείω κακὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἡ τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖ. 26. ἔπει μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὶ γυνώσκοντοι οὐα σφίσι τὰ πολεμιστήρια ὑπάρχει, ὑφιενταὶ, καὶ οὔδεὶς ἐτε ἀνευ Ἐλλήνων εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταται, οὔτε ὅταν ἀλλήλοις πολεμῶσιν οὔτε ὅταν οἱ Ἐλληνες αὐτοὶς ἀντιστρατεύονται· ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἐγνώκασι μεθ᾽ Ἐλλήνων τοὺς πολέμους ποιεῖσθαι.

27. Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ οἴμαι ἀπερ ὑπεθέμην ἀπειργάσθαι μοι. φημὶ γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄσπεστέρους περὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνοσιωτέρους περὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδικωτέρους περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ ἀνανδροτέρους τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν ἀποδεδείξθαι. εἰ δὲ τις τάναντια ἐμοὶ γυνώσκοι, τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶν εὑρήσει αὐτὰ μαρτυροῦντα τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις.

1 ἄκοντες Muretus, Edd.; ἡκόντες MSS.
men who were ready to hurl themselves against even a heavy-armed line. The officers of the present day, however, do not so much as know the men in the chariots, and they think that untrained drivers will be just as serviceable to them as trained charioteers. 25. Such untrained men do indeed charge, but before they penetrate the enemy's lines some of them are unintentionally thrown out, some of them jump out on purpose, and so the teams without drivers often create more havoc on their own side than on the enemy's. 26. However, inasmuch as even they understand what sort of material for war they have, they abandon the effort; and no one ever goes to war any more without the help of Greek mercenaries, be it when they are at war with one another or when the Greeks make war upon them; but even against Greeks they recognize that they can conduct their wars only with the assistance of Greeks.

27. I think now that I have accomplished the task that I set before myself. For I maintain that I have proved that the Persians of the present day and those living in their dependencies are less reverent toward the gods, less dutiful to their relatives, less upright in their dealings with all men, and less brave in war than they were of old. But if any one should entertain an opinion contrary to my own, let him examine their deeds and he will find that these testify to the truth of my statements.]
APPENDIX I

The manoeuvre is not quite clear because Xenophon assumes that his readers will take it for granted where the light-armed troops ("the poorest") will be stationed. The first position is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cavalry and light-armed</th>
<th>Hoplites (1)</th>
<th>Hoplites (2)</th>
<th>Cyrus and his body-guard</th>
<th>Hoplites (3)</th>
<th>Hoplites (4)</th>
<th>Cavalry and light-armed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The poorest&quot; (1)</td>
<td>&quot;The poorest&quot; (2)</td>
<td>&quot;The poorest&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;The poorest&quot; (3)</td>
<td>&quot;The poorest&quot; (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second position is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cavalry and light-armed</th>
<th>Hoplites (2)</th>
<th>Cyrus and his body-guard</th>
<th>Hoplites (3)</th>
<th>Cavalry and light-armed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The poorest&quot; (2)</td>
<td>&quot;The poorest&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;The poorest&quot; (3)</td>
<td>&quot;The poorest&quot; (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;The poorest&quot; (1)</th>
<th>&quot;The poorest&quot; (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
APPENDIX II

To make clearer the relations between Xenophon's kings in Babylon and those of Bible story and the Babylonian inscriptions, the following tables of succession are added (the vertical lines denote sonship):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nabopolassar</th>
<th>Ναβοπολάδσαρος</th>
<th>Nabu-apal-usur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(625–604 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebuchadnezzar</td>
<td>Ναβουχοδωνόσαρος</td>
<td>Nabu-kuduri-usur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(604–561 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evil Merodach</td>
<td>'Αμιλμαροβδόκος</td>
<td>Amil-Marduk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(561–559 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neriglissar¹</td>
<td>Νηριγλισσόρος</td>
<td>Nergal-shar-usur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(559–556 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laboscarchod</td>
<td>Λαβασσοδρασκος</td>
<td>Labashi-Marduk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(556 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabonidus</td>
<td>Λαβώνητος</td>
<td>Nabu-naid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(558–538 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belshazzar</td>
<td>Βαλτάσαρος</td>
<td>Bel-shar-usur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(slain 539 or 538 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Bel protect the king)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship between Xenophon's "old king" and "young king" and the historical succession is not clear. His "old king" is slain in the first battle and can, therefore, be neither Nabonidus nor Belshazzar (for both (?)

¹ Neriglissar was brother to Evil-Merodach.
APPENDIX II

were in Babylon at its fall), but ought to be Labashi-Marduk. But if Labashi-Marduk were the "old king," the "young king" would be Nabonidus, and Nabonidus was not the "son" of his predecessor. By the "old king" Xenophon probably means Nabonidus, and by the "young king" Belshazzar, though the chronology is not in order, for Nabonidus was not slain in that earlier battle. There seems to be an inextricable snarl, in any case.

Cyrus's line, tabulated from his genealogy given by himself on his famous clay cylinder found in the ruins of his palace, from Xenophon's statements, and from well-known facts of history, is as follows:—

```
Zeus Danae Cepheus
      ______  ______
     |        |
Perseus Andromeda
    |        |
Phraortes
   |        |
Cyaxares (684-584 B.C.)
      |        |
Astyages (584-550 B.C.)
        |        |
 Amytis Mandane Cyaxares (?) Cambyses I Arsames
   |        |        |
Caassandane Daughters of Cyaxares
      |        |
Smerdis (Mardiya) Cambyses II Atossa Darius I
   |        |        |
 (Hardiya) (529-522) (558-520 B.C.)

Xerxes
(486-465)
```

For the sake of further comparison the following striking parallels to Xenophon's story are added from two official documents of the kings themselves, discovered in the ruins of their palace:—
APPENDIX II

I. The Nabu-naid Chronicle: "6th year. [His troops] he collected and marched against Cyrus, King of Anshan, to conquer him. . . . The troops of Astyages rebelled against him, and, taking him prisoner, they handed him over to Cyrus. Cyrus went to Ecbatana, the royal city. The silver, gold, possessions, property . . . of Ecbatana they carried away as spoil, and he brought (it) to Anshan . . .

"9th year . . . In Nisan, Cyrus, King of Parsu, mustered his troops and crossed over the Tigris below Arbela. In Iyyar . . . he slew its king (and) took away its possessions. He stationed his own garrison there. After this time his garrison remained there with that of the king . . .

"17th year . . . In the month Tammuz, when Cyrus gave battle in Opis (and) on the river Salsallat to the troops of Akkad, the people of Akkad he subdued (?). Whenever the people collected themselves, he slew them. On the fourteenth day Sippar was taken without battle. Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day, Gobryas, the governor of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Nabonidus, because of his delay, was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end of the month, the shields of Gutium surrounded the gates of Esagila. No weapons were brought into Esagila and the other temples, and no standard was advanced. On the third day of Marcheshvan Cyrus entered Babylon. The harine lay down before him. Peace was established for the city. Cyrus proclaimed peace to all Babylon. He appointed Gobryas, his governor, governor in Babylon . . . On the night of the eleventh day of Marcheshvan, Gobryas against . . . (and) he killed the son of the king."

II. The Cylinder of Cyrus, now in the British Museum:
"He [Marduk] searched through all lands, he saw him [Cyrus], and he sought the righteous prince, after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. Cyrus, King of Anshan, he called by name; to sovereignty over the whole world he appointed him. The country of Qutu,
APPENDIX II

all the Ummmān-manda, he made submissive to him. As for the Black-headed People, whom he [Marduk] caused his [Cyrus’s] hands to conquer, in justice and right he cared for them. Marduk, the great lord, guardian of his people, looked with joy on his pious works and his upright heart; he commanded him to go to his city, Babylon, and he caused him to take the road to Babylon, going by his side as a friend and companion. His numerous troops, the numbers of which, like the waters of a river, cannot be known, in full armour, marched at his side. Without skirmish or battle he permitted him to enter Babylon. He spared his city Babylon in (its) calamity. Nabonidus, the king, who did not reverence him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, all Sumer, and Akkad, nobles and governors, prostrated themselves before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his sovereignty, showed happiness in their faces. The lord, who by his power brings the dead to life, who with (his) care and protection benefits all men—they gladly did him homage, they heeded his command. I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters (of the world), son of Cambyses, the great king, King of Anshan; grandson of Cyrus, the great king, King of Anshan; great grandson of Teisipis, the great king, King of Anshan, of ancient seed-royal, whose reign Bel and Nabu love, whose sovereignty they regard necessary to their happiness. When I made my gracious entrance into Babylon, with joy and rejoicing I took up my lordly residence in the royal palace. Marduk, the great lord, [granted] me favour among the Babylonians, and I gave daily care to his worship. My numerous troops marched peacefully into Babylon. In all Sumer and Akkad, the noble race, I permitted no unfriendly treatment. I gave proper attention to the needs of Babylon and its cities . . . the servitude, which was not honourable, was removed from them. I quieted their sighing (and) soothed their sorrow. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced over my
APPENDIX II

[pious] deeds, and he graciously blessed me, Cyrus, the king who worships him, and Cambyses, my own son, and all my troops, while we, in his presence, and with sincerity, gladly lauded his exalted [divinity]. All the kings dwelling in royal halls, of all quarters (of the world) . . . brought me their heavy taxes and in Babylon kissed my feet . . . I collected all their people and restored (them) to their dwelling-places . . .”

  1 The translations are from Assyrian and Babylonian Literature, Selected Translations, by Robert F. Harper. New York: D. Appleton and Co.
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Aegyptian. See Egyptian.

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Aeolian, belonging to Aeolis, serving perforce under Croesus, vi. ii. 10.

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Arabia [arabāya=the level country], not the Arabian peninsula, but the land along the left bank of the Euphrates in southern Mesopotamia; subject to Assyria, i. v. 2; joins the Assyrian, ii. i. 5; subdued by Cyrus, i. i. 4; vii. iv. 16; its war chariots, vi. i. 27; a satrapy, viii. vi. 7. See Arabian.

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Ariobarzanes [Ariyavarsana], satrap of Lydia, Ionia, and Phrygia; revolts from Artaxerxes Mnemon.
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Artabazus (I.), a Median noble, his ruse to get a kiss, i. iv. 27–28; iv. i. 22; vii. v. 43; aids Cyrus, iv. i. 22–24; v. i. 24–26; speaks for continuing the war, vi. i. 9–10; rebukes Araspas for his behaviour towards Panthea, vi. i. 34–35; claims a share of Cyrus's attention, vii. v. 48–54; wins the horse-race against the Medes, viii. iii. 25; at Cyrus's banquet, viii. iv. 1, 12, 24, 27. Known only from the Cyropaedia. (II.), a Persian (?) in command of the light-armed troops, v. iii. 38. Artabazus is a frequently occurring name in Persian history. The first Artabazus known is the general who conducted the retreat from Plataea and later (B.C. 477–468) became satrap of Dascyleum.

Artacamas, ruler of greater Phrygia, ii. i. 5; satrap, viii. vi. 7. Possibly a vassal prince; Phrygia had no independent king at the time of Cyrus, but was a dependent of Lydia after the death of the last Midas, about 691 B.C.

Artageres, an infantry colonel, vi. iii. 31; vii. i. 22; in the battle, vii. i. 27, 28.

Artaxerxes [Arthashatra = possessor of exalted power], Mnemon, king of Persia (B.C. 404–358(?)), son of Darius II, and brother of the younger Cyrus (q.v.), viii. viii. 12.


Asia, the continent, iv. ii. 2; iv. iii. 2; iv. v. 16; iv. vi. 11; v. i. 8; vi. i. 27; viii. v. 23; viii. vii. 7; western Asia Minor, r. i. 4; ii. i. 5; vii. ii. 10; vii. ii. 11; viii. i. 6.

Asiaticus, a cavalry colonel, vii. iii. 32.

Asiatic, pertaining to Asia; Greeks, tributary to Cyrus, i. i. 4; vii. iv. 9.
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Assyria [Ashshur—the well watered plain, Athura], the country lying mainly along the east bank of the middle Tigris, west of Media and Mesopotamia and extending up into the plemented country bordering on Armenia, I. iv. 16; II. i. 5; II. iv. 17; VI. i. 17; plans world conquest, I. v. 2; invaded by Cyrus, III. iii. 22 ff.; its wealth, V. ii. 12; conquered, I. i. 4; VII. v. 53. With the destruction of Nineveh at the hands of the older Cyaxares and Nabopolassar (B.C. 607–6), Assyria, as an independent nation, had ceased to exist. By Assyria, Xenophon means the land governed by the kings of Babylon, i.e. Assyria and Babylonia.

Assyrian, belonging to Assyria, V. iv. 1; an inhabitant of Assyria, III. iii. 43; IV. v. 50; VI. ii. 10; the king of Assyria (i.e. Babylonia); (1) the old king (see Appendix), I. iv. 10; I. v. 2; II. i. 5; II. iv. 7, 8; IV. v. 40; a good king, IV. vi. 2; at war with Media, II. iv. 7; III. iii. 26; exhorts his troops, III. iii. 43–45; defeated, III. iii. 63; slain in battle (B.C. 561), IV. i. 8; (2) the young king, as crown-prince, makes a foray into Media, I. iv. 16–24; defeated by the boy Cyrus, I. iv. 17–24; succeeds to the throne, IV. vi. 2; murders Gobryas’s son, IV. vi. 3–5; emasculates Gadatas, V. ii. 28; v. iv. 1; his offence against Panthea, VI. i. 45; defeated in

Gadatas’s province, V. iv. 4–8; starts for Lydia, VI. i. 25; defeated in the great battle, VII. i. 5–45; slain (B.C. 538), VII. v. 30; his wickedness, V. ii. 27; v. iv. 35; VII. v. 32; his cowardice, V. iii. 6. See Assyria.

Astyages [Istu-vegu], son of the elder Cyaxares, king of Media (B.C. 554–550) and grandfather of Cyrus, I. ii. 1; III–iv.; III. i. 10; IV. ii. 10; his personal appearance, I. iii. 2; absolute despot, I. iii. 18; his excesses in eating and drinking, I. iii. 4–5, 10–11; father of the younger Cyaxares, I. v. 2, 4; his death, I. v. 2.

Augury, the importance of, I. vi. 1–3, 23, 44; III. iii. 22; method of observing, II. i. 1. See also Omen.

Babylon [Hebrew, Babel; Babylonian, bab-il=the gate of God; Old Persian, Ba-šrus], the capital of Babylonia, II. i. 5; v. ii. 29; v. iii. 5; v. iv. 15, 24, 34, 41; VI. i. 25; VI. ii. 10; VII. v. 1; its wealth, V. ii. 8; VII. ii. 11; its size, V. ii. 30; VII. v. 4; its strength, VII. v. 7; 8; the goal of Cyrus, V. ii. 31, 37; VII. iv. 16; VIII. vi. 8; captured (B.C. 539), VII. v. 15–34, 53; made Cyrus’s winter residence, VII. v. 57; VIII. v. 1; VIII. i. 10, 22; garrisoned, VII. v. 69.

Babylonia, the rich valley between the lower Euphrates and Tigris, the centre of oriental power.

1 The walls of Babylon, according to Herodotus, were 40 miles in circumference, 335 feet high, 85 feet wide at the top, and were broken by 100 gates—25 on each side. His account and Xenophon’s are in keeping with the documents of Nebuchadnezzar himself, who says in the Babylon, the Winckler, and the Grotesend Inscriptions: “The great walls of Babylon I set in order, and I built the wall of its moat mountain-high with burned brick and bitumen and threw it around the city for protection... In the upper... of the city gate of Ishtar from the bank of the Euphrates up to the city gate, for the protection of the sides of the city I built with bitumen and burned brick a mighty citadel, and I laid its foundation at the water’s edge in the depth of clear water. I raised its turrets mountain-high and skillfully strengthened the watch-tower and thus protected Babylon.”
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subdued by Cyrus, i. i. 4. Babylonia is strictly not a geographical, but a political-historical designation, and is often used interchangeably with Assyria (cf. ii. i. 5)

Babylonian, an inhabitant of Babylonia, i. i. 4; v. iv. 41; of Babylon, vii. v. 14, 34, 36

Bactria [bāxtrī], a land on the western slopes of the Himalayas, iv. v. 56; subdued by Assyria, i. v. 2 (not historical); governed by Cyrus, i. i. 4

Bactrian, a native of Bactria, i. i. 4; i. v. 2; the king of Bactria, a friend of AbraDatas, v. i. 3

Bees, devotion of to their queen, v. i. 24

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Black Sea, the northern boundary of Cyrus’s empire, vii. vi. 21; viii. vii. 1

Cadusia, the land of the Cadusians (q.v.), a satrapy under Tannoaxares, viii. vii. 11

Cadusians, a semi-civilized tribe in the mountains of Media Atropate on the south-west coast of the Caspian Sea, enemies of Assyria, v. ii. 26; v. iii. 22; in Cyrus’s army, v. iii. 22, 38, 42; v. iv. 13; vii. v. 51; their disastrous foray, v. iv. 15–18, 22; they beg Cyrus to continue the war, vi. i. 1, 8; in Cyrus’s procession, viii. iii. 18, 32

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Capital punishment, beheading, iv. ii. 32; viii. vii. 3

Cappadocia [Katpadhuca = the land of goodly steeds], a vast country including the entire northeastern corner of Asia Minor from the Black Sea to the Taurus mountains, and from the Halys to Armenia, i. v. 2; joins the Assyrian, ii. i. 5; subdued by Cyrus, i. i. 4; vii. iv. 16; a satrapy, vii. vi. 7. See Cappadocians

Cappadocians, natives of Cappadocia, i. i. 4; i. v. 3; iv. ii. 31; in the Assyrian army, vi. ii. 10; in Cyrus’s army, vii. v. 14. See Cappadocia

Carduchas [lit. a Carduchian (see Anabasis), or Kurd], commander of the women’s carriage-train, vi. iii. 30

Caria, the southwest corner of Asia Minor, iv. v. 56; vii. iv. 1, 3; brought under the sway of Cyrus, i. i. 4; vii. iv. 3–7; a satrapy, viii. vi. 7. See Carians

Carians, the people of Caria, i. i. 4; i. v. 3; ii. i. 5; at civil war, vii. iv. 1–5; loyal to Cyrus, vii. iv. 7. See Caria

Caýster, a river of Asia, emptying into the sea at Ephesus, ii. i. 5

Caýstru Pedium, “Caýsterfield,” a town on the Caýster, ii. i. 5

Centaur, the mythical monster, half man and half horse, of Greek story, iv. iii. 17–22
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Chaldaea, a mountainous country between Armenia and the Black Sea, iii. ii. 7; at war with Armenia, iii. i. 34; iii. ii. 4; subdued by Cyrus, iii. ii. 1-17; reconciled to Armenia, iii. ii. 17-25.

Although confused by the earlier Greek writers and most modern scholars with the Chaldeans of Babylonia (in scripture), there was no connection, as is shown by the later Greek use of Ἀλλαχία, by an entirely different form in the Armenian writings, and by the form Haldi instead of Haldū in their own writings. See Chaldaeans

Chaldaeans, the people of Chaldaea, a nomad tribe in the mountains on the borders of Armenia, iii. i. 34; iii. ii. 4; a martial folk, iii. ii. 7; conquered in battle, iii. ii. 10; poor, iii. ii. 7; join Cyrus, iii. ii. 25, 26; go to India, iii. ii. 27; iii. iii. 1; scale the walls of Sardis, vii. ii. 3; their insubordination, vii. ii. 5-8. See Chaldaeans

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Cilicians, natives of Cilicia, i. i. 4; i. v. 3; ii. i. 5; in the Assyrian army, vi. ii. 10; join Cyrus’s army, vii. iv. 1. See Cilicia

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1 Herodotus (i. 46-48) tells how Croesus put the various oracles to the test to see if they could tell the truth. He sent various envoys out from

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Cyllene, a coast city of Aeolis, assigned to the Egyptians, vii. i. 45

Cyme, an Aeolian city on the coast of Mysia, colonized by Achaeans, assigned to the Egyptians, vii. i. 45

Cyprian, an inhabitant of Cyprus, i. i. 4; in the Assyrian army, vi. ii. 10; in Cyrus's army against Caria, vii. iv. 1. See Cyprus

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Cyrene, the most important Hellenic city in Africa (founded by a colony from Thera, B.C. 651); its war chariots, vi. i. 27; vi. ii. 8

Cyrus [Persian, Kurush; Babylonian, Kurash; Hebrew, Koresh] the Great, king of Persia (B.C. 560-529), i. i. 3; descended from the gods, i. ii. 1; iv. i. 24; vii. ii. 24; his personal appearance, i. ii. 1; i. iv. 27-28; iii. i. 41; v. i. 26; viii. iii. 13, 14; son of Cambyses and Mandane, i. ii. 1; boyhood, visits his grandfather, i. iii. iv; recounts his experience as boy judge, i. iii. 16 17; makes friends, i. iv. 1 4; learns to ride and to hunt, i. iv. 5-10; his first battle, i. iv. 16-24; returns to Persia, i. iv. 26 ff.; enters the class of young men, i. v. 1; of mature men, i. v. 4; his first command, i. v. 5 ff.

Sardis on the same day to go to the various oracular shrines and ordered each one on the hundredth day thereafter to inquire of the oracle to which he went how Croesus was employed at the precise moment of their enquiry. The Pythian prophetess replied in hexameter verse: "I know the number of the grains of sand and of the drops in the sea; I understand the dumb and hear the man who speaks not. A smell reaches my nostrils of a hard-shelled tortoise boiled with lamb's flesh in a vessel of bronze—bronce is below and bronze is above." Croesus was cooking just such a stew and, amazed at the knowledge of the Delphian oracle, accepted it as infallible.

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