NOTE ON ILLUSTRATION

(For the story see pp. 337-365.)

The Illustration reproduces (by kind permission of the Master and Fellows) a page from a manuscript Apocalypse in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which is perhaps the finest example of the English art of its time, viz. the middle of the thirteenth century. It is one of the very few representations of the story of St. John and the Robber which occur in mediaeval art. The inscriptions, in Anglo-French, explain the scenes quite adequately.

Picture 1 (top of page).—Here is how St. John asks for the youth, and how he is in the forest with the robbers.

On label (St. John says to the Bishop) Restore me him whom I entrusted to you, and, by the witness of the Holy Church which you govern, I demand of you the youth whom I commended to you. (The Bishop says) He is dead. Verily he is dead to God; for he is gone away full of all mischief, and in the end he is become a wicked robber, and now he is in the mountain with a great company of robbers and hath taken the mountain for to spoil and to kill and to rob the people.

Picture 2.—Here is how the youth fled, and how St. John gallops after him and calls him gently.

(St. John: says) Fair son, why dost thou flee from thy father? Wherefore dost thou flee from an old man unarmed? Have pity on thyself and have no fear, for thou canst still have hope of life. Fair son, stay!

Picture 3.—Here is how St. John kisses the youth's right hand, and how he baptizes him, and how he leads him back to the Church from whence he had gone out.

1 This Apocalypse has recently (1900) been edited for the Roxburghe Club by the Provost of King's.
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INTRODUCTION

Xenophon, the son of a knightly family of Athens—general, historian, philosopher, essayist—was born probably about 429 B.C. But there is a story, not very well authenticated, that his life was saved by Socrates in the battle of Delium (424 B.C.), and that this marked the beginning of his attachment to his great master. If this story be true, the date of his birth can hardly be placed later than 444 B.C.

Our chief interest in his career centres about his participation in the Expedition of the Younger Cyrus (401 B.C.); the Anabasis, his own account of that brilliant failure, gives him his chief claim to a high place among the great names in historical literature; and his successful conduct of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand gives him his high rank among the world’s great generals and tacticians.

When he arrived once more in a land of Hellenic civilization, he found that his revered master Socrates had been put to death by his purblind countrymen, that the knights, to whose order he belonged, were in great disfavour, that there was no tie left to bind him to his home; and so, with the remnant of the
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troops that he had brought safe back to Hellas, he joined the Spartan king Agesilaus as he was starting for the conquest of the East, and with him fought against his own native city at Coronea (394 B.C.) From that date he lived, an exile from Athens, at Scillus, among the hills beyond the Alpheus from Olympia. And there he wrote the Anabasis, the Cyropaedia, the Essays on Agesilaus, The Spartan Constitution, Horsemanship, Hunting, and most of his other books. He died at Corinth some time after 357 B.C.

Xenophon's works have been roughly classified under three categories: history, philosophy, and miscellaneous essays. The Cyropaedia, however, can scarcely be made to fit into any one of these three groups. It is historical, but not history; it has much Socratic dialogue, but it is not philosophy; it has discussions of many questions of education, ethics, politics, tactics, etc., but it is not an essay. It is biographical, but it is not biography; it contains also, in the episode of Panthea and Abradatas, one of the most charming love stories in literature. We may best call it an historical romance—the western pioneer in that field of literature.

Like all his followers in the realm of historical fiction, Xenophon allows himself many liberties with the facts of history. The constitution of Persia, as set forth in the Cyropaedia, is no oriental reality; it is the constitution of Sparta, which, in his admiration
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for Agesilaus and Clearchus and the Spartan discipline, he has transfigured and set up as the model of his idealized constitutional monarchy. His Persians worship heroes, go crowned with garlands into battle, send a watchword up and down the lines as they prepare for battle, sing a paean as they enter the fight, and do many other things that real Persians never, Spartans always, did. The simple fare and dress of the Persians smack much more of the austere life of the Eurotas Valley than of the luxurious East. Even the education of the Persian youth is identically the education of young Spartans; and in the teacher of Tigranes no one can fail to recognize Socrates himself. So, too, Cyrus's invincible battle lines are not the wavering, unwieldy hordes of orientals, easily swept away by the Grecian phalanx like chaff before the strong south-wind, but the heavy, solid masses of Sparta; and his tactics on the march and in the fury of battle are not the tactics of a "barbarian" king, but those of the consummate tactician who led the famous Ten Thousand Greeks from Asia back to Hellas.

Actual violence to historical facts is sometimes committed. For example, Media was subdued by force (and treachery) in the lifetime of Astyages (550 B.C.), not voluntarily ceded to Cyrus by Cyaxares as the dowry of his daughter; Cyaxares himself, the son of Astyages, is unknown, save through Xenophon's story; it seems most probable that he is
INTRODUCTION

wholly unhistorical. The conquest of Egypt, ascribed to Cyrus, was in reality accomplished by his son and successor, Cambyses. The beautiful account of the peaceful passing of Cyrus is wholly out of accord with the well-established record of his violent death in the battle against the Massagetae (529 B.C.).

This exhausts the tale of serious divergences from historical accuracy. There is much, on the other hand, that has been overlooked by the critics, though it is of prime importance for the history and the conditions of the orient in Xenophon's own times. The account he gives us of the Armenians and Chaldaeans, for example, affords us information, more full and more valuable than we have from any other source. Xenophon knew his Herodotus and Ctesias, of course, and probably other earlier historians whom we cannot identify; and he drew at will from those sources such facts as he needed for the earlier history of the East. But of far more value to us is the wealth of material gathered by him on his memorable march through Asia and the flood of light that in the Cyropædia he throws on contemporary peoples and manners and customs in the orient.

As a work of art, the Cyropædia brings together and sums up the results of nearly all of Xenophon's literary activity. The Anabasis and the events that led to its composition furnish the background of geography, history, and custom; the Memorabilia and the discipleship to Socrates contribute the
INTRODUCTION

Socratic method in the discussions of ethics, tactics, generalship, and statesmanship; the Agesilaus and The Spartan Constitution afford the basis for the ideal state that might have been constructed on Greek soil after the pattern of the kingdom of Cyrus; the essays on Horsemanship and Hunting find full illustration in every book of the Cyropædia; the views set forth in the Oeconomicus on the social status of women and the ideal relations of married life and the home have their practical realization again in the story of Panthea and Abradatas.

The title of the Cyropædia (The Education of Cyrus) is misleading. In its scope it includes the whole life and career of the great conqueror. The first book covers the period of his boyhood and youth, and only one chapter of that has to do strictly with his education. In the remaining seven books the theme is not his own education but his campaigns of conquest and his training of others as soldiers and citizens in his new empire. But the first book, in dealing with the education of Cyrus, really answers the supreme questions of government—how to rule and how to be ruled—and therefore gives its name to the whole; for that problem is the real theme of the work.

The spirit of the book is Hellenic throughout—a picture of the East with a dash of local colour, but dominated by the civilization in which Xenophon was reared and the ideals that he had learned to cherish.
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The corner-stone of his idealized Persian constitution, "equality of rights before the law" (I. iii. 18), and the "boasted equal freedom of speech" (I. iii. 10) are transferred bodily from the democracy of Athens to the uncongenial environment of an oriental despotism. And yet his chief purpose in writing the story of Cyrus was to give his people a picture of an ideal monarchy with an ideal monarch, guided by Socratic principles and carrying out the author's political and philosophical ideals. In the Cyropaedia the didactic element dominates both the history and the fiction; and the hero is an ideaistic composite portrait of Socrates, the younger Cyrus, Clearchus, Agesilaus, and Xenophon himself. However it may have been received at Athens, it is only natural that such a book should have been extremely popular among the Romans, and that Cato and Cicero should have found in it teachings that appealed strongly to them for the upbuilding of an empire founded on the majesty of the law and on justice and righteousness, and that the younger Scipio should have had it "always in his hands" as his vade mecum.

In point of literary merit, it stands first among the writings of Xenophon. His hero, though he has been criticised as being a little too good, has the same qualities of greatness, goodness, gentleness, and justice that are given to him by the great prophets of Israel. "The Lord God of heaven" has given him "all the kingdoms of the earth" (II. Chron. xii
INTRODUCTION

xxxvi. 23; Ezra, i. 1-2); and the greatest of Messianic seers finds in Xenophon's hero "the Lord's anointed" (the Messiah), and makes Jehovah say of him (Is. xliv. 28; xlv. 1): "He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure ... whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him."
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The most important manuscripts of Xenophon are ascribed to three families, x, y, and z. The following are cited in the notes:

x{C Parisinus C Paris Fourteenth century
E Etonensis Eton Fifteenth century
D Bodleianus Oxford Fifteenth century
y{F Erlangensis Erlangen Fifteenth century
R Bremensis Bremen Fifteenth century
A Parisinus A Paris Fifteenth century
z{G Guelferbytanus Wolfenbüttel Fifteenth century
H Escorialensis Escorial Twelfth century
V Vaticanus Rome Twelfth century
m Ambrosianus (I.)

\( \pi_2 \) Fragmenta Oxyrrhynci

\( \text{v. 7-14; III.} \) Milan Third century

\( \text{iii. 44-45) } \) Milan Tenth century

The earliest printed edition of Xenophon is the Latin version of Francis Philellus, 1476.

The Princeps of the Greek text was published by Giunta at Florence in 1516 (second edition, 1527), printed from a good manuscript now lost. The title-page runs: τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ δὲ τῷ βιβλῳ ἐξοφορωτος Κύρου Παυδείας βιβλία ἢ κ.τ.λ. Ηας in hoc libro continentur: Xenophontis Cyripedias Libri VIII.; Anabaseos Libri VII.; Apomnemoneumaton; de Venatione; de Re Equestri; de Equis Alendis; Lacedaemoniorum Respublica; Atheniensium Respublica; Oeconomica; Hieron; Symposium; de Graecorum Gestis Libri VII. In aedibus P. Juntae: Florentiae, 1516.


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xv
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XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA

BOOK I

THE BOYHOOD OF CYRUS
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ

Α

I

1. "Εννοιά ποθ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ὅσαι δημοκρατίαι κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλως πως θουλομένων πολιτευόμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, ὅσαι τ' αὐ̃ς μοναρχίαι, ὅσαι τε ὄλγαρχίαι ἀνήρηνται ἥδη ὑπὸ δήμων, καὶ ὅσοι τυραννεῖν ἐπίχειρήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐ̃τῶν καὶ ταχὺ πάμπαν κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅποσονον χρόνον ἀρχοντες διαγένωνται, βανμάζονται ὡς σοφοὶ τε καὶ εὐτυχεῖς ἄνδρες γεγενημένοι. πολλοὺς δ' ἔδοκοκθεν καταμεμαθηκέναι καὶ ἐν ἴδιοις οἶκοις τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας καὶ πλείονας οἰκέτας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πάνυ¹ ὄλγους, καὶ ὅμως ὅπου τοῖς ὄλγοις τούτοις πάνυ τι δυναμένους χρῆσθαι πειθομένοις² τοὺς δεσπότας.

¹ πάνυ Edd.; πάνυ τι yG; πάντη xΑΗΡ.
² πειθομένοις found only in FG; [πειθομένοις] Sauppe, Dindorf, Hertlein; πειθομένοις [τοὺς δεσπότας] Hirschig, Gemoll.
XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA

BOOK I

1. The thought once occurred to us how many republics have been overthrown by people who preferred to live under any form of government other than a republican, and again, how many monarchies and how many oligarchies in times past have been abolished by the people. We reflected, moreover, how many of those individuals who have aspired to absolute power have either been deposed once for all and that right quickly; or if they have continued in power, no matter for how short a time, they are objects of wonder as having proved to be wise and happy men. Then, too, we had observed, we thought, that even in private homes some people who had rather more than the usual number of servants and some also who had only a very few were nevertheless, though nominally masters, quite unable to assert their authority over even those few.
2. "Ετι δὲ πρὸς τούτους ἐνενούμεν ὅτι ἄρχοντες μὲν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ βουκόλοι τῶν βοῶν καὶ οἱ ἱππο-φορβοὶ τῶν ὕππων, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ καλούμενοι νομεῖς ὅν ἂν ἐπιστατῶσι ζώων εἰκότως ἄν ἄρ-χοντες τούτων νομίζουντο· πᾶσας τούν ταύτας τὰς ἀγέλας ἐδοκούμεν ὅρὰν μᾶλλον ἐθελούσας πείθεσθαι τοῖς νομεύσαι ἢ τοὺς ἄνθρωπους τοῖς ἄρχονσι. πορεύονταί τε γὰρ αἱ ἀγέλαι ἢ ἂν αὐταῖς εὐθύνωσιν οἱ νομεῖς, νέμονται τε χωρία ἐφ’ ὅτι ἂν αὐτάς ἐπάγωσιν, ἀπέχονται τε ὅτι ἂν αὐτὰς ἀπείργωσι· καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τοῖς τοῖς γενομένοις ἢ αὐτῶν ἐδώσι τοὺς νομέας χρήσθαι οὕτως ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλωσιν. ἢτι τούν τοιαύτας εὐδεμίαν τόποτε ἀγέλην ἡσθήμεθα συντάσσαν ἐπὶ τὸν νομέα οὕτε ὅσ μὴ πείθεσθαι οὕτε ὅσ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ καρπῷ χρήσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπώτερα εἰσὶν αἱ ἀγέλαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἢ τοῖς ἄρχονσι τε καὶ ἀφελούμενοι ἢ τοὺς ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἐπ’ οὐδένας μᾶλλον συνίστανται ἢ ἐπὶ τούτους οὓς ἂν αἴσθωνται ἄρχειν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιχειροῦντας.

3. "Οτε μὲν ὅταν ἐνενούμεθα, οὕτως ἐγιγνόσκομεν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὃς ἄνθρωπος πεφυκότι πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ῥαπὸν εἰς ζώων ἢ ἄνθρώπων ἄρχειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνενοήσαμεν ὅτι Κύρος ἔγενετο Πέρσης, ὃς παμπόλλος μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἐκτήσατο πειθο-μένους ἑαυτῷ, παμπόλλας δὲ πόλεις, πάμπολλα δὲ ἔθνη, ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἴναγκαζόμεθα μετανοεῖν μὴ οὕτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὕτε τῶν χαλεπῶν ἔργων ἡ τὸ ἄνθρωπον ἄρχειν, ἢ τις ἐπισταμένως τοῦτο πράττῃ. Κύρῳ γοῦν ἔσμεν ἐθελήσαντας πείθεσθαι.
2. And in addition to this, we reflected that cowherds are the rulers of their cattle, that grooms are the rulers of their horses, and that all who are called herdsmen might properly be regarded as the rulers of the animals over which they are placed in charge. Now we noticed, as we thought, that all these herds obeyed their keepers more readily than men obey their rulers. For the herds go wherever their keeper directs them and graze in those places to which he leads them and keep out of those from which he excludes them. They allow their keeper, moreover, to enjoy, just as he will, the profits that accrue from them. And then again, we have never known of a herd conspiring against its keeper, either to refuse obedience to him or to deny him the privilege of enjoying the profits that accrue. At the same time, herds are more intractable to strangers than to their rulers and those who derive profit from them. Men, however, conspire against none sooner than against those whom they see attempting to rule over them.

3. Thus, as we meditated on this analogy, we were inclined to conclude that for man, as he is constituted, it is easier to rule over any and all other creatures than to rule over men. But when we reflected that there was one Cyrus, the Persian, who reduced to obedience a vast number of men and cities and nations, we were then compelled to change our opinion and decide that to rule men might be a task neither impossible nor even difficult, if one should only go about it in an intelligent manner. At all events, we know that people obeyed Cyrus willingly, although some of them were distant from him a
καί γὰρ τοι τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων, καὶ τῶν πατρίως ἀρχὰς παρειληφότοιν καὶ τῶν δὲ ἐαυτῶν κτησιμένων, ὥσθ᾽ ὁ μὲν Σκύθης καὶ περὶ παμπόλλων. \[\text{[Footnote]}\] δυτικών ἄλλος μὲν οὔθεν δύνατ' ἀν ἔθνους ἐπάρξαι, ἀγαπάω δὲ ἀν εἰ τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχον διαγένοιτο, καὶ ὁ Ἱραξ Ἰωάκην καὶ ὁ Ἰλλυριὸς Ἰλλυρίων, καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὅσαῦτως ἔθνη ἀκούομεν τὰ γονὶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἔτοι καὶ νῦν αὐτόνων εἶναι λέγεται \[\text{[Footnote]}\] καὶ λελύθοιτο ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων. Κύρος δὲ παραλαβὼν ὅσαῦτως οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνη αὐτόνων ὅντα ὀρμηθεῖς σὺν ὀλέγῃ Περσῶν στρατιά ἐκόντων μὲν ἡγήσατο Μήδων, ἐκόντων δὲ Ἰτρακίων, κατεστρέφατο δὲ Σύρων, Ασσυρίων, Ἀραβίων, Καππαδόκας, Φρύγων ἀμφιτέρους, Λυδίων, Κάρας, Φοῖνικας, Βαβυλωνίων, ἦρε δὲ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Κιλίκων, ὅσαῦτως δὲ Σακῶν καὶ Παλαιγών καὶ Μαγαδιδῶν, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ παμπόλλων ἔθνων, ὅν οὐδ᾽ ἀν τὰ ὅνοματα ἔχου τις εἰπεῖν, ἐπήρξε δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καταβὰς δ᾽ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων.

\[\text{[Footnote]}\] παμπόλλων DFG; πολλῶν xAH.

\[\text{[Footnote]}\] λέγεται MSS.; [λέγεται] Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, omitting the colon after ἀκούομεν.
journey of many days, and others of many months; others, although they had never seen him, and still others who knew well that they never should see him. Nevertheless they were all willing to be his subjects.

4. But all this is not so surprising after all, so very different was he from all other kings, both those who have inherited their thrones from their fathers and those who have gained their crowns by their own efforts; the Scythian king, for instance, would never be able to extend his rule over any other nation besides his own, although the Scythians are very numerous, but he would be well content if he could maintain himself in power over his own people; so the Thracian king with his Thracians, the Illyrian with his Illyrians, and so also all other nations, we are told. Those in Europe, at any rate, are said to be free and independent of one another even to this day. But Cyrus, finding the nations in Asia also independent in exactly the same way, started out with a little band of Persians and became the leader of the Medes by their full consent and of the Hyrcanians by theirs; he then conquered Syria, Assyria, Arabia, Cappadocia, both Phrygias, Lydia, Caria, Phoenicia, and Babylonia; he ruled also over Bactria, India, and Cilicia; and he was likewise king of the Sacians, Paphlagonians, Magadidae, and very many other nations, of which one could not even tell the names; he brought under his sway the Asiatic Greeks also; and, descending to the sea, he added both Cyprus and Egypt to his empire.
5. Καὶ τοῦν τούτων τῶν ἠθῶν ἦρξεν οὔτε αὐτῷ ὁμογλώττων ὄντων οὔτε ἄλληλοις, καὶ ὁμος ἐδυνάσθη ἐφικέσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην γῆν τῷ ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ φόβῳ, ὡστε καταπλῆξαι πάντας καὶ μηδένα ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐδυνάσθη δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν τοσαύτην τοῦ αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ὡστε αἰ̈ τῇ αὐτοῦ γνώμῃ ἄξιον κυβερνᾶσθαι, ἀνηρτήσατο δὲ τοσαῦτα φύλα ὦσα καὶ διελθεῖν ἐργὸν ἐστὶν, ὦτοι ἄκρητα τοῖς πορεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων, ἢν τε πρὸς ἑω ἢν τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἢν τε πρὸς ἀρκτον ἢν τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν.

6. Ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ ὣς ἄξιον ὄντα θαυμάζεσθαι τούτων τῶν ἄνδρας ἐσκεφάλημα τῆς ποτ’ ὄν γενέαν καὶ ποιαν τινὰ φύσιν ἔχαν καὶ ποία τινὶ παιδεῖας παιδευθεῖς τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων. ὥσα οὖν καὶ ἐπιθύμησθαι καὶ ἱσθήσεαι δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτῶν, ταῦτα πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι.

II

1. Πατρὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσου Περσῶν βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Καμβύσης οὗτος τοῦ Περσειδῶν γένους ἦν· οἱ δὲ Περσεῖδαι ἀπὸ Περσέως κλῆσονται· μητρὸς δὲ ὁμολογεῖται Μανδάνης γενέσθαι· ἢ δὲ Μανδάνη αὐτὴ

1 ἐδυνάσθη MSS., except γRΓ, which have ἐδυνῄσθη.
2 τοῦ πάντας MSS., except D, which omits πάντας; [πάντας]
Gemoll, Marchant.
CYROPAEDIA, I. i. 5–ii. 1

5. He ruled over these nations, even though they did not speak the same language as he, nor one nation the same as another; for all that, he was able to cover so vast a region with the fear which he inspired, that he struck all men with terror and no one tried to withstand him; and he was able to awaken in all so lively a desire to please him, that they always wished to be guided by his will. Moreover, the tribes that he brought into subjection to himself were so many that it is a difficult matter even to travel to them all, in whatever direction one begin one’s journey from the palace, whether toward the east or the west, toward the north or the south.

6. Believing this man to be deserving of all admiration, we have therefore investigated who he was in his origin, what natural endowments he possessed, and what sort of education he had enjoyed, that he so greatly excelled in governing men. Accordingly, what we have found out or think we know concerning him we shall now endeavour to present.

II

1. The father of Cyrus is said to have been Cambyses, king of the Persians: this Cambyses belonged to the stock of the Persidae, and the Persidae derive their name from Perseus. His mother, it is generally agreed, was Mandane; and
'Αστυάγους ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μῆδων γενομένου¹ βασιλέως. φύναι δὲ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται καὶ ἄδεται ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εἴδος μὲν κάλλιστος, ψυχήν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος καὶ φιλομαθήστατος καὶ φιλοτιμώτατος, ὡστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀνατλῆναι, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομείναι τοῦ ἐπανεἰσθαι ἕνεκα.

2. Φύσις μὲν δὴ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοιαύτην ἔχων διαμυνήμενεται ἐπαιδεύθη γε μὴν ἐν Περσῶν νόμοις ὁποῖοι δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι ἀρχεσθαι τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιμελήμενοι οὐκ ἔνθεντερ ἐν² ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσιν ἄρχονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται πόλεις ἀφεῖσαι παιδεύειν ὅπως τις ἐθέλει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας, καὶ αὐτοὶς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὅπως ἐθέλουσι διάγειν, ἔπειτα προστάτουσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ κλέπτειν μηδὲ ἄρπάζειν, μὴ βία εἰς οἰκίαν παρεῖναι, μὴ παῖειν ὅν μὴ δικαίον, μὴ μοιχεύειν, μὴ ἀπειθεῖν ἄρχοντι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαύτα ὥστατος: ἥν δὲ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνῃ, ζημίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν. 3. οἱ δὲ Περσικοὶ νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμέλειονται ὅπως τὴν ἁρχὴν μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται οἱ πολῖται οἷοι πονηροῦ τινος ἢ αἰσχροῦ ἔργου ἐφίεσθαι. ἐπιμελοῦνται δὲ ὁδε.

'Ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔλευθερα ἁγορὰ καλομενή, ἐνθὰ ταὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τᾶλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποίηται. ἐντεύθεν τὰ μὲν όνων καὶ οἱ ἁγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλιὰ ἀπελλάλανται

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¹ γενομένου xAHR, Hug, Marchant; not in other MSS., Gemoll, Breitenbach.

² οὐκ ἔνθεντερ ἐν Hertlein, Edd.; οὐκ ἔρθεν δὲντερ (δέν τιν F) yG; οὐχ ὠμοίως γὰρ xAHRD².
this Mandane was the daughter of Astyages, sometime king of the Medes. And even to this day the barbarians tell in story and in song that Cyrus was most handsome in person, most generous of heart, most devoted to learning, and most ambitious, so that he endured all sorts of labour and faced all sorts of danger for the sake of praise.

2. Such then were the natural endowments, physical and spiritual, that he is reputed to have had; but he was educated in conformity with the laws of the Persians; and these laws appear in their care for the common weal not to start from the same point as they do in most states. For most states permit every one to train his own children just as he will, and the older people themselves to live as they please; and then they command them not to steal and not to rob, not to break into anybody's house, not to strike a person whom they have no right to strike, not to commit adultery, not to disobey an officer, and so forth; and if a man transgress any one of these laws, they punish him.

3. The Persian laws, however, begin at the beginning and take care that from the first their citizens shall not be of such a character as ever to desire anything improper or immoral; and the measures they take are as follows.

They have their so-called "Free Square," where the royal palace and other government buildings are located. The hucksters with their wares, their cries, and their vulgarities are excluded from this and relegated to another part of the city, in order


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eis allon topon, ois mē mognietai h touton tūrβη tē tōn pēpaiđeuμēnōn eukosμiā. 4. dihretai de aoutē h ἀγορα h peri tā ārχeiā tēttara mēρη tōutōn dē ēstinv en mēn paiσiv, en de efīβois, alllo tēlēiōs āndrāσiv, alllo tois uper tā stratēūσiμa ētē yegouσi. vōμo dē eis tās ēanτōn x̌ārαs ēkαstoī touτōn pāreisiv, ois mēn paiδes ēma tē ħmera kai ois tēleisoi āndres, ois de γeraiteroi ἐνiκ ān ēkāσtou prōkōρē, plēn en tais tētaγmēνais ħmerais, ēn ais āutous deī pαreίnai. ois dē efīβois kai koim翁taī peri tā ārχeiā sōn tois γυμηνικois ὀπλois plēn tōn yegamēkōtowν oūtou dē ouτe ēpιζητoυνται, hū mē prōrrηθη pαreίnai, ouτē ποllάκiαs ēpτeivai kalōn.

5. 'Arχontes dē ef' ēkāσtou touτou tōn meρōn eisi dōδeka. dōδeka γαρ kal Pērsōn phυlai dihērntai. kal ēπi mēn tois paiσiν ēk tōn γeraiterōn ἕρημενoi eisiv ou ān dokōσi tōus paiδas beltιστουσ apodeiκνūnai: ēπi de tois efīβois ēk tōn tēleisōn āndrōn ou ān aŭ tōus efīβous beltιστουσ dokōσi pαrέχειν ēπi de tois tēleisoi āndrāσiv ou ān dokōσi pαrέχειν āutous μάλιστα tā tētaγmēνa poiouνταs kai tā pαραγγελλόμενα ὑπὸ tῆς μεγίστης ἄρχης. eisī de kal tōn γεραιτερων pροστάται ἕρημενοι, ois pροστατεύουσιν,1 ὅπωσ kal ouτοι tā kαθηκοντα απτοτελωσιν. ē de ēkāσtη ἕλικια pροστέτακται poihein δηγησόμεθα, ὡς μαλλων δηλων γένηται ἢ επιμελούνται ὡς ἄν beltιστοι eivn ois pολίται.


12
that their tumult may not intrude upon the orderly life of the cultured. 4. This square, enclosing the government buildings, is divided into four parts; one of these belongs to the boys, one to the youths, another to the men of mature years, and another to those who are past the age for military service. And the laws require them to come daily to their several quarters—the boys and the full-grown men at daybreak; but the elders may come at whatever time it suits each one's convenience, except that they must present themselves on certain specified days. But the youths pass the night also in light armour about the government buildings—all except those who are married; no inquiry is made for such, unless they be especially ordered in advance to be there, but it is not proper for them to be absent too often.

5. Over each of these divisions there are twelve officers, for the Persians are divided into twelve tribes. To have charge of the boys, such are chosen from the ranks of the elders as seem likely to make out of the boys the best men; to have charge of the youths, such are chosen from the ranks of the mature men as seem most likely on their part to develop the youths best; to preside over the mature men, those are selected who seem most likely to fit them best to execute the orders and requirements of the highest authorities; and of the elders also chiefs are selected who act as overseers to see that those of this class also do their duty. And what duties are assigned to each age to perform we shall now set forth, that it may be better understood what pains the Persians take that their citizens may prove to be the very best.

1 I.e. a Council of Elders, under the presidency of the king.
6. Οἱ μὲν δὴ παῖδες εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτῶντες διάγουσι μανθάνοντες δικαιοσύνην· καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔχονται ὀσπερ παρ’ ἡμῖν ὅτι γράμματα μαθησόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν διατελοῦσι τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας δικάζοντες αὐτοῖς. ἤγγινε ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ καὶ παισὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀσπερ ἀνδράσιν ἐγκλήματα καὶ κλοπῆς καὶ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ κακολογίας καὶ ἄλλων οἴων δὴ εἰκός. οὐδὲ δὲ ἂν γνώσει τούτων τι ἄδικοντας, τιμωροῦνται. 7. κολάζουσι δὲ καὶ δῦν ἀδίκως ἐγκαλοῦντα εὐρισκόσι. δικάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκλήματος οὐ ἔνεκα ἀνθρωποῦ μισοῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους μάλιστα, δικάζονται δὲ ἡκιστα, ἀγαριστίας, καὶ δῆν γνώσι δυνάμενον μὲν χάριν ἀποδίδοναι, μὴ ἀποδίδοντα δὲ, κολάζουσι καὶ τούτων ἱσχυρῶς. οἶονται γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαριστους καὶ περὶ θεοὺς αὐτὸν μάλιστα ἀμελῶς ἵχειν καὶ περὶ γονέας καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους. ἐπεσθαὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀγαριστίᾳ ἡ ἀναισχυνία· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἀισχρὰ ἡγεμόν. 8. Διδάσκουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ σωφροσύνην μέγα δὲ συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν σωφρονεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὁρῶσιν ἀνὰ πάσαν ἡμέραν σωφρόνους διάγοντας. διδάσκουσι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πείθεσθαι τοὺς ἁρχοῦσι· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τούτο συμβάλλεται ὅτι ὁρῶσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πειθομένους τοὺς ἁρχοῦσιν ἱσχυρῶς. διδάσκουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκράτειαν γαστρὸς καὶ πτοτοῦ· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τούτο συμβάλλεται ὅτι ὁρῶσι

1 ὧτι Cobet, Edd.; οἱ τὰ MSS.
2 δὲ ἡκιστα MSS., except xDGR which have δὲ οὐχ ἡκιστα.
3 διδάσκουσι . . . ἱσχυρῶς not in xAHR.
6. The boys go to school and spend their time in learning justice; and they say that they go there for this purpose, just as in our country they say that they go to learn to read and write. And their officers spend the greater part of the day in deciding cases for them. For, as a matter of course, boys also prefer charges against one another, just as men do, of theft, robbery, assault, cheating, slander, and other things that naturally come up; and when they discover any one committing any of these crimes, they punish him; 7. and they punish also any one whom they find accusing another falsely. And they bring one another to trial also charged with an offence for which people hate one another most but go to law least, namely, that of ingratitude; and if they know that any one is able to return a favour and fails to do so, they punish him also severely. For they think that the ungrateful are likely to be most neglectful of their duty toward their gods, their parents, their country, and their friends; for it seems that shamelessness goes hand in hand with ingratitude; and it is that, we know, which leads the way to every moral wrong.

8. They teach the boys self-control also; and it greatly conduces to their learning self-control that they see their elders also living temperately day by day. And they teach them likewise to obey the officers; and it greatly conduces to this also that they see their elders implicitly obeying their officers. And besides, they teach them self-restraint in eating and drinking; and it greatly conduces to this also that they see that their elders do not leave their
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tούς πρεσβυτέρους οὓς πρόσθεν ἀπίόντας γαστρὸς ἔνεκα πρὶν ἄν ἀφὼσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὅτι οὐ παρὰ μητρὶ συνοῦνται οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ὅταν οἱ ἄρχοντες σημῆνωσι. φέρονται δὲ οἴκοθεν σῖτον μὲν ἄρτον, ὅψον δὲ κάρδαμον, πιεῖν δὲ, ἥν τις διψῇ, κόθωνα, ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρύσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἡ μανθάνουσι καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν.

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἡ ἐξ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἵδιν ἀπὸ γενέας οἱ παῖδες ταῦτα πράττοντων, ἐκ τοῦτον δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται.

9. Οὗτοι δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐφήβοι διάγωσιν ὡδε. δέκα ἐτη ἄφοι ὄν ἐκ παίδων ἐξέλθοσι κοιμῶνται μὲν περὶ τὰ ἄρχεια, ὅσπερ προειρήκαμεν, καὶ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῆς πόλεως καὶ συνφροσύνης. δοκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ ἡλικία μάλιστα ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι· παρέχουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑαυτοῖς τοίς ἁρχουσι χρήσθαι ἢν τι δεισωτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. καὶ ὅταν μὲν δὲ, πάντες μένουσι περὶ τὰ ἄρχεια· ὅταν δὲ ἔξη βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θήραν, ἐξάγει τὴν ἡμύσειαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ἡ ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις τοῦ μηνός. ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἔξιόντας τόξα καὶ παρὰ τὴν φαρέτραν ἐν κολεφι κοπίδα. ἡ σάγαριν, ἐτὶ δὲ γέρρουν καὶ παλτὰ δύο, ὅστε τὸ μὲν ἀφεῖναι, τῷ δὲ, ἦαν δέ, ἐκ χειρὸς χρήσθαι. 10. διὰ τούτο

1 πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι DFGVπ, Edd.; πρὸ δὲ τούτων xAHR.
2 ἐξάγει . . . φυλακῆς xAHR; τὰς ἡμίσειας φυλακᾶς καταλείπει DFGV.
posts to satisfy their hunger until the officers dismiss them; and the same end is promoted by the fact that the boys do not eat with their mothers but with their teachers, from the time the officers so direct. Furthermore, they bring from home bread for their food, cress for a relish, and for drinking, if any one is thirsty, a cup to draw water from the river. Besides this, they learn to shoot and to throw the spear.

This, then, is what the boys do until they are sixteen or seventeen years of age, and after this they are promoted from the class of boys and enrolled among the young men.

9. Now the young men in their turn live as follows: B. Youths for ten years after they are promoted from the class of boys they pass the nights, as we said before, about the government buildings. This they do for the sake of guarding the city and of developing their powers of self-control; for this time of life, it seems, demands the most watchful care. And during the day, too, they put themselves at the disposal of the authorities, if they are needed for any service to the state. Whenever it is necessary, they all remain about the public buildings. But when the king goes out hunting, he takes out half the garrison; and this he does many times a month. Those who go must take bow and arrows and, in addition to the quiver, a sabre or bill 1 in its scabbard; they carry along also a light shield and two spears, one to throw, the other to use in case of necessity in a hand-to-hand encounter. 10. They provide for such hunting out

1 The oriental bill was a tool or weapon with a curved blade, shorter than a sabre and corresponding very closely to the Spanish-American machete.
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dè δημοσίᾳ τού θηράν ἐπιμέλονται, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁσπερ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἡγεμόνων ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς τε θηρὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλεται 1 ὅπως ἂν θηρῶσιν, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γὰρ πρὸ ἀνίστασθαι ἑδίζει καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ ἀνέχεσθαι, γυμνάζει δὲ καὶ ὀδοιπορίας καὶ δρόμους, ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τοξεύσαι θηρίων καὶ ἀκοντίσαι ὅπου ἂν παραπίπτῃ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη θήγεσθαι ὅταν τι τῶν ἁλκίμων θηρίων ἀνθιστήται: παῖειν μὲν γὰρ δῆπον δεῖ τὸ ὁμόσε γιγνόμενον, φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ὅστε οὐ ράδιον εὑρεῖν τί ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ ἀπεστὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ παρόντων.

11. Ἐξήρχονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἀριστον ἰχῶντες πλεῖον μὲν, ός τὸ εἰκός, τῶν παῖδων, τάλλα δὲ ὅμοιον. καὶ θηρώντες μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἀριστήσειαν, ἂν δὲ τῇ δεήσῃ ἡ θηρίων ἕνεκα ἐπικαταμείναι ἡ ἄλλως ἐθελήσωσι διατρῆσαι περὶ τὴν θήραν, τὸ οὖν ἀριστὸν τούτῳ δεινοχάντας τὴν υπεραίαν αὐθηρώσι μέχρι δεύτερον, καὶ μίαν ἀμφότερον τῷ ἡμέρα λογίζονται, ὅτι μᾶς ἡμέρας σῖτον δαπανώση. τούτῳ δὲ ποιοῦσι τοῦ ἑδίζεσθαι ἑνεκα, ἵνα εἶναι τι καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δεήσῃ, δύνασται τούτῳ ποιεῖν. καὶ ὅψον δὲ τούτῳ ἔχου-

1 ἐπιμέλεται: Dindorf, Hug; ἐπιμελεῖται MSS., most Edd.
of the public treasury; and as the king is their leader in war, so he not only takes part in the hunt himself but sees to it that the others hunt, too. The state bears the expense of the hunting for the reason that the training it gives seems to be the best preparation for war itself. For it accustoms them to rise early in the morning and to endure both heat and cold, and it gives them practice in taking long tramps and runs, and they have to shoot or spear a wild beast whenever it comes in their way. And they must often whet their courage when one of the fierce beasts shows fight; for, of course, they must strike down the animal that comes to close quarters with them, and they must be on their guard against the one that threatens to attack them. In a word, it is not easy to find any quality required in war that is not required also in the chase.

11. When they go out hunting they carry along a lunch, more in quantity than that of the boys, as is proper, but in other respects the same; but they would never think of lunching while they are busy with the chase. If, however, for some reason it is necessary to stay longer on account of the game or if for some other reason they wish to continue longer on the chase, then they make their dinner of this luncheon and hunt again on the following day until dinner time; and these two days they count as one, because they consume but one day's provisions. This they do to harden themselves, in order that, if ever it is necessary in war, they may be able to do the same. Those of this age have for relish the game that they kill;

1 The Greeks ate but two meals a day: the first (ἄρωστον, déjeuner) toward midday, the other (δεῖπνον, diner) toward sun-down.
σιν οἱ τηλικοῦτοι δι τὸ ἄνθράσσωσιν εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ κάρδαμον. εἰ δὲ τις αὐτοὺς οἴεται ἢ ἐσθένει ἄνδρος, ὅταν κάρδαμον μόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, ἢ πίνειν ἄνδρος, ὅταν ὑδρὼ πένωσιν, ἀναμνησθῆτω πῶς μὲν ἦδο μᾶζα καὶ ἄρτος πεινῶντι φαγεῖν, πῶς δὲ ἦδο ὑδρὼ πιεῖν διψῶντι.

12. Αἱ δ' αὐτές μένουσιν φυλαὶ διατρίβουσι μελετῶσαι τὰ τε ἅλλα τὰ παιδεῖς ὄντες ἐμαθὼν καὶ τοξεὺσιν καὶ ἀκοντίσιν, καὶ διαγωνιζόμενοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἄλλους διατελοῦσιν. εἰς δὲ καὶ δημοσίους τούτων ἁγῶνες καὶ ἁθλα προτίθεται ἐν ᾗ δ' ἄν τῶν φυλῶν πλείοντοι ὡςι διημονέστατοι καὶ ἀνδρικώτατοι καὶ εὐποιοῦσι καὶ πολιταῖ καὶ τιμῶσιν ὁμόν τὸν υἱὸν ἀρχοντα αὐτῶν, ἅλλα καὶ ὅσις αὐτῶς παιδας ὄντας ἐπαίδευσε. χρώνας δὲ τοῖς μένουσι τῶν ἐφήβων αἰ ἄρχαι, ἡμι τῇ φρουρῆσαι δεήσῃ ἢ κακοῦργος ἐρευνήςῃ ἡ ληστὰς ὑποδραμεῖν ἢ καὶ ἅλλο τῷ ὅσι ἰσχύς ἢ τάχους ἐργα ἐστὶ.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐφήβοι πράττοντος. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διατελέσσωσιν, ἐξέρχονται εἰς τοὺς πελεῖους ἄνδρας. 13. ἄφ' οὖ δ' ἄν ἐξέλθωσιν χρόνου οὕτως αὐτοὶ αὖ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη διάγωσιν ὅτε πρῶτον μὲν ὁσπερ οἱ ἐφήβοι παρέχουσιν ἐαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρήσθαι, ἡμι τῇ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὡσα φρονοῦντων τὴ ἤδη ἐργα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐτὶ δυναμένων. ἢν δὲ ποιεῖ τῇ στρατεύεσθαι, τόξα

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1 Before ἐργα XAHR have ἅλλα.
2 After χρόνου YG add ὅ ὁν ἐφήβων.
3 τοῦ Dindorf; τοῦ MSS.
if they fail to kill any, then cresses. Now, if any one
thinks that they do not enjoy eating, when they
have only cresses with their bread, or that they do not
enjoy drinking when they drink only water, let him
remember how sweet barley bread and wheaten
bread taste when one is hungry, and how sweet water
is to drink when one is thirsty.

12. The divisions remaining at home, in their turn,
pass their time shooting with the bow and hurling
the spear and practising all the other arts that they
learned when they were boys, and they continually
engage in contests of this kind with one another.
And there are also public contests of this sort,
for which prizes are offered; and whatever division
has the greatest number of the most expert, the
most manly, and the best disciplined young men,
the citizens praise and honour not only its present
chief officer but also the one who trained them when
they were boys. And of the youths who remain
behind, the authorities employ any that they may
need, whether for garrison duty or for arresting
criminals or for hunting down robbers, or for any
other service that demands strength or dispatch.

Such, then, is the occupation of the youths. And
when they have completed their ten years, they are
promoted and enrolled in the class of the mature
men. 13. And these, in turn, for twenty-five years C. Mature
after the time they are there enrolled, are occupied
as follows. In the first place, like the youths, they
are at the disposal of the authorities, if they are
needed in the interest of the commonwealth in any
service that requires men who have already attained
discretion and are still strong in body. But if it is
μὲν οἱ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένοι οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ παλτὰ στρατεύονται, τὰ δὲ ἀγχέμαχα ὅπλα καλούμενα, θώρακά τε περὶ τοῖς στέρνουσι καὶ γέρρον ἐν τῇ ἄριστερᾷ, οἴονπερ γράφονται οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ μάχαιραν ἡ κοπίδα. καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ δὲ πᾶσαι ἐκ τούτων καθιστανται πλὴν οἱ τῶν παιδῶν διδάσκαλοι.

Ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιστὶ ἐτη διατελέσωσιν, εἶπαν μὲν ἄν οὕτω πλειόν τι γεγονότες ἢ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἑτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς· ἐξέρχονται δὲ τηνικαύτα εἰς τοὺς γεραίτερους οὖνας τε καὶ καλουμένους.

14. Οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι οὕτω στρατεύονται μὲν οὐκέτι ἐξω τῆς ἐαυτῶν, οἷοι δὲ μένοντες δικάζουσι τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἱδία πάντα. καὶ θανάτου δὲ οὕτω κρίνουσιν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὕτω πάσας αἰροῦνται καὶ ἢν τις ἢ ἐν ἐφήβωσιν ἢ ἐν τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἑλλάτη τὶ τῶν νομίμων, φαίνουσι μὲν οἱ φύλαρχοι ἑκαστοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βουλόμενος, οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι ἀκούσαντες ἐκκρίνουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς ἀτιμὸς διατελεῖ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον.

15. "Ἰνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πολιτεία, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι· νῦν γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἀν δηλωθεῖν διὰ τὰ προειρημένα. λέγονται μὲν γὰρ Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι.
necessary to make a military expedition anywhere, those who have been thus educated take the field, no longer with bow and arrows, nor yet with spears, but with what are termed "weapons for close conflict"—a corselet about their breast, a round shield upon their left arm (such as Persians are represented with in art), and in their right hands a sabre or bill. From this division also all the magistrates are selected, except the teachers of the boys.

And when they have completed the five-and-twenty years, they are, as one would expect, somewhat more than fifty years of age; and then they come out and take their places among those who really are, as they are called, the "elders."

14. Now these elders, in their turn, no longer perform military service outside their own country, but they remain at home and try all sorts of cases, both public and private. They try people indicted for capital offences also, and they elect all the officers. And if any one, either among the youths or among the mature men, fail in any one of the duties prescribed by law, the respective officers of that division, or any one else who will, may enter complaint, and the elders, when they have heard the case, expel the guilty party; and the one who has been expelled spends the rest of his life degraded and disfranchised.

15. Now, that the whole constitutional policy of the Persians may be more clearly set forth, I will go back a little; for now, in the light of what has already been said, it can be given in a very few words. It is said that the Persians number about one hundred and twenty thousand men;¹

¹ This number is meant to include the nobility only, the so-called "peers" (δυστιμοι), and not the total population of Persia.
τούτων δ' οὐδεὶς ἀπελήλαται νόμῳ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι πᾶσι Πέρσαις πέμπειν τοὺς ἔαντῶν παιδας εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης διδασκαλεία. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι τρέφειν τοὺς παῖδας ἄργουντας πέμποντοι, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι οὐ πέμπονσιν. 1 οἱ δ' ἂν παιδευθῶσι παρὰ τοῖς δημοσίοις διδασκάλοις, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις νεανισκεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ διαπαιδευθείσιν οὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔξεστιν. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις διατελέσωσι τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντες, ἔξεστι τούτοις εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἀνδρας συναλλάξεσθαι 2 καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τιμῶν μετέχειν, οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ διαγένωται 3 ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις, οὐκ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐ ἐν τοῖς τελείους διαγένωται ἄνεπίληπτοι, οὗτοι τῶν γεραίτερων γίγνονται. οὗτῳ μὲν δὴ οἱ γεραίτεροι διὰ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἐληλυθότες καθίστανται· καὶ ἡ πολιτεία αὐτή, ἢ οὕτως χρώμενοι βέλτιστοι ἂν εἴναι.

16. Καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι ἐμένει μαρτύρια καὶ τῆς μετρίας διαίτης αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐκπονείσθαι τῇ διαιτῇ, αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστι Πέρσαις καὶ τὸ πτέειμ 4 καὶ τὸ ἀπομύττεσθαι καὶ τὸ φύσης μεστοὺς φαίνεσθαι, αἰσχρὸν δὲ ἔστι καὶ τὸ ἱόντα ποιο 5 φανερὸν γενέσθαι ἢ τοῦ οὐρήσταν ένεκα ἢ καὶ ἀλλου τινὸς τοιοῦτος. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτη μετρία ἐχρωντο

1 οἱ δὲ . . . πέμπονσιν not in CF.
2 συναλλάξεσθαι yHV; συναλλάξεσθαι (to associate with) xAGR.
3 ἂν μὴ διαγένωται yEGV; ἂν αὐ ἐν τοῖς παισι μὴ (μὴ is not in C) διατελέσωσιν ἢ ἐν CAHR.
4 πτέειμ Cobet, Edd.; ἀποπτέειν MSS,
5 τοί Heindorf, Edd.; τού MSS.
and no one of these is by law excluded from holding offices and positions of honour, but all the Persians may send their children to the common schools of justice. Still, only those do send them who are in a position to maintain their children without work; and those who are not so situated do not. And only to such as are educated by the public teachers is it permitted to pass their young manhood in the class of the youths, while to those who have not completed this course of training it is not so permitted. And only to such among the youths as complete the course required by law is it permitted to join the class of mature men and to fill offices and places of distinction, while those who do not finish their course among the young men are not promoted to the class of the mature men. And again, those who finish their course among the mature men without blame become members of the class of elders. So, we see, the elders are made up of those who have enjoyed all honour and distinction. This is the policy by the observance of which they think that their citizens may become the best.

16. There remains, even unto this day evidence of their moderate fare and of their working off by exercise what they eat: for even to the present time it is a breach of decorum for a Persian to spit or to blow his nose or to appear afflicted with flatulence; it is a breach of decorum also to be seen going apart either to make water or for anything else of that kind. And this would not be possible for them, if they did not lead an
καὶ τὸ ύγρὸν ἐκπονοῦντες ἀνήλισκον, ὥστε ἄλλη πη ἀποχωρεῖν.
Ταύτα μὲν δὴ κατὰ πάντων Περσῶν ἔχομεν λέγειν· οὖ δὲ ἔνεκα ὁ λόγος ὀρμήθη, νῦν λέξομεν τὰς Κύρου πράξεις ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ παιδὸς.

III

1. Κύρος γὰρ μέχρι μὲν δώδεκα ἐτῶν ἢ ὅλῳ πλεῖον ταύτη τῇ παιδείᾳ ἐπαιδεύθη, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁλίκων διαφέρον ἐφαίνετο καὶ εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μανθάνειν ἢ δέοι καὶ εἰς τὸ καλῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἐκαστα ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου μετεπέμψατο Ἀστυάνγης τῇν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν παίδα αὐτῆς· ἰδεῖν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει, ὅτι ἢκονεν αὐτοῦ καλὸν κάγαθον εἶναι. ἔρχεται δὲ αὐτὴ τε Ἡ Μανδάνη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν Κύρον τὸν υἱὸν ἔχουσα.

2. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο τάχιστα καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Κύρος τὸν Ἀστυάνγην τῆς μητρὸς πατέρα δυτα, εὐθὺς δὲ παῖς φύσει φιλόστοργος ὄν ἡσπάζετο τε αὐτὸν ὅσπερ ἀν εἰ τις πάλαι συντεθραμμένος καὶ πάλαι φιλῶν ἡσπάζειτο, καὶ ὅρων δὴ αὐτὸν κεκοσμημένου καὶ φθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῆ καὶ χρώματος ἐντρίψει καὶ κόμαις προσθέτοις, ἦ δὴ νόμιμα ἦν ἐν Μήδους· ταύτα γὰρ πάντα Μηδικά ἑστι, καὶ οἱ πορφυροὶ χείλες καὶ οἱ κάνδυες καὶ οἱ στρεπτοὶ οἱ περὶ τῇ δέρῃ καὶ τὰ ψέλια τὰ1 περὶ ταῖς χερσίν,

1 τὰ E, Edd.; not in any other MS.
abstemious life and throw off the moisture by hard work, so that it passes off in some other way.

This, then, is what we have to say in regard to the Persians in general. Now, to fulfil the purpose with which our narrative was begun, we shall proceed to relate the history of Cyrus from his childhood on.

III

1. Such was the education that Cyrus received until he was twelve years old or a little more; and he showed himself superior to all the other boys of his age both in mastering his tasks quickly and in doing everything in a thorough and manly fashion. It was at this period of his life that Astyages sent for his daughter and her son; for he was eager to see him, as he had heard from time to time that the child was a handsome boy of rare promise. Accordingly, Mandane herself went to her father and took her son Cyrus with her.

2. As soon as she arrived and Cyrus had recognized in Astyages his mother's father, being naturally an affectionate boy he at once kissed him, just as a person who had long lived with another and long loved him would do. Then he noticed that his grandfather was adorned with pencillings beneath his eyes, with rouge rubbed on his face, and with a wig of false hair—the common Median fashion. For all this is Median, and so are their purple tunics, and their mantles, the necklaces about their necks, and the bracelets on their wrists,
ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τοῖς οὖκοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολὺ καὶ ἐσθῆτες φαυλότεραι καὶ διαναιεύ υπελέστεραι· ὅραν δὴ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πάππου, ἐμβλέπων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν, Ὡμήτερ, ὡς καλός μοι ὁ πάππος. ἔρωτάσσει δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς πότερος καλλίων αὐτῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὁ πατήρ ἦ νότος, ἀπεκρίνατο ἄρα ὁ Κύρος, Ὡμήτερ, Περσῶν μὲν πολὺ καλλιστος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, Μήδον μὲντοι ὅσων ἐώρακα ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πολὺ οὕτος ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος καλλιστος.

3. Ἀντασσαξόμενος δὲ ὁ πάππος αὐτὸν καὶ στολήν καλὴν ἐνέδυσε καὶ στρεπτοῖς καὶ ψελλοῖς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐκόσμε, καὶ εἰ ποι ἐξελάύνοι, ἐφ’ ὕπποι χρυσοχαλίνων περιῆγεν, ὀσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰώθει πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀτε παῖς ὁν καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλότιμος ἢδετο τῇ στολῇ, καὶ ἤθεοειν μανθάνον ὑπερέχαιρεν. ἐν Πέρσαις γὰρ διὰ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ τρέφειν ἤπποις καὶ ἤθεοειν ἐν ὀρεινῇ οὐσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἤπποι πάνν σπάνιον ἦν.

4. Δευτερών δὲ δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ, βουλόμενος τὸν παῖδα ὡς ἢδιοτα δευτερών, ἴνα ἤπτοι τὰ οἰκάδε ποθοῖ, προσήγαγεν αὐτῷ καὶ παραψίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐμβάμματα καὶ βρώματα. τὸν δὲ Κύρον ἔφασεν λέγειν, Ὡμῖππο, ὀσα πράγματα ἔχεις ἐν τῷ δεύτερῳ, εἰ ἀνάγκη σοι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ λεκάρια ταύτα διατείνειν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἀπογεύσεσθαι τούτων τῶν παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων.
while the Persians at home even to this day have much plainer clothing and a more frugal way of life. So, observing his grandfather’s adornment and staring at him, he said: “Oh mother, how handsome my grandfather is!” And when his mother asked him which he thought more handsome, his father or his grandfather, Cyrus answered at once: “Of the Persians, mother, my father is much the handsomest; but of the Medes, as far as I have seen them either on the streets or at court, my grandfather here is the handsomest by far.”

3. Then his grandfather kissed him in return and gave him a beautiful dress to wear and, as a mark of royal favour, adorned him with necklaces and bracelets; and if he went out for a ride anywhere, he took the boy along upon a horse with a gold-studded bridle, just as he himself was accustomed to go. And as Cyrus was a boy fond of beautiful things and eager for distinction, he was pleased with his dress and greatly delighted at learning to ride; for in Persia, on account of its being difficult to breed horses and to practise horsemanship because it is a mountainous country, it was a very rare thing even to see a horse.

4. And then again, when Astyages dined with his daughter and Cyrus, he set before him dainty side-dishes and all sorts of sauces and meats, for he wished the boy to enjoy his dinner as much as possible, in order that he might be less likely to feel homesick. And Cyrus, they say, observed: “How much trouble you have at your dinner, grandfather, if you have to reach out your hands to all these dishes and taste of all these different kinds of food!”
Τί δέ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, οὐ γὰρ πολὺ σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κάλλουν τόδε τὸ δείπνον τοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις;
Τὸν δὲ Κῦρον πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκρίνασθαι [λέγεται].1 Ὡκε, ὁ πάππε, ἄλλα πολὺ ἀπλουστέρα καὶ εὐθυτέρα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἢ ὁδὸς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμπλήσθημαι ἡ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ κρέας τὸ τοῦτο ἄγει, ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰς μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν στεύδετε, πολλοῦς δὲ τίνας ἑλυγμοὺς ἀνοί καὶ κάτω πλανώμενοι μόλις ἀφικνεῖσθε ὅποι ἡμεῖς πάλαι ἤκομεν.
5. Ἀλλ’, ὁ παῖ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, οὐκ ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα περιπλανώμεθα· γενόμενος δὲ καὶ σύ, ἔφη, γνώσει ὅτι ἥδεα ἐστὶν.
Ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ, φάναι τὸν Κῦρον, ὅρδ, ὁ πάππε, μυστατόμενον ταῦτα τὰ βρόματα.
Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην ἐπερέσθαι, Καὶ τίνι δὴ σὺ τεκμαίρόμενος, ὁ παῖ, λέγεις;
5 Ὅτι σὲ, φάναι, ὅρδ, ὅταν μὲν τοῦ ἄρτου ἄψι, εἰς οὐδὲν τὴν χειρὰ ἀποψώμενον, ὅταν δὲ τοῦτων τινὸς θύγης, εὐθὺς ἀποκαταίρει τὴν χειρὰ εἰς τὰ χειρόμακτρα, ὡς πάνω ἀχθόμενος ὅτι πλέα σοι ἀπ’ αὐτὸν ἐγένετο.
6. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν, Εἰ τοῖνυν οὖντω γυνώσκεις, ὁ παῖ, ἄλλα κρέα γε εὐωχοῦ, ἵνα νεανίας οἴκαδε ἀπέλθης. ἂμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντα πολλὰ αὐτῷ παραφέρειν καὶ θήρεια2 καὶ τὸν ἥμερων.
Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον, ὑπὲι ἑώρα πολλὰ τὰ κρέα, εἰπεῖν, Ἡ καὶ δίδως, φάναι, ὁ πάππε, πάντα

1 [λέγεται] Cobet, Edd.; λέγεται MSS.
2 θήρεια C, Edd.; θηρία all other MSS.
"Why so?" said Astyages. "Really now, don't you think this dinner much finer than your Persian dinners?"

"No, grandfather," Cyrus replied to this; "but the road to satiety is much more simple and direct in our country than with you; for bread and meat take us there; but you, though you make for the same goal as we, go wandering through many a maze, up and down, and only arrive at last at the point that we long since have reached."

5. "But, my boy," said Astyages, "we do not object to this wandering about; and you also," he added, "if you taste, will see that it is pleasant."

"But, grandfather," said Cyrus, "I observe that even you are disgusted with these viands."

"And by what, pray, do you judge, my boy," asked Astyages, "that you say this?"

"Because," said he, "I observe that when you touch bread, you do not wipe your hand on anything; but when you touch any of these other things you at once cleanse your hand upon your napkin, as if you were exceedingly displeased that it had become soiled with them."

6. "Well then, my boy," Astyages replied to this, "if that is your judgment, at least regale yourself with meat, that you may go back home a strong young man." And as he said this, he placed before him an abundance of meat of both wild and domestic animals.

And when Cyrus saw that there was a great quantity of meat, he said: "And do you really
ταύτα μοι τὰ κρέα ὅ τι ἂν βούλωμαι αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι;
Νὴ Δία, φάναι, ὥ παῖ, ἐγώγε σοι.
7. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν Κύρον λαβόντα τῶν κρεῶν διαδίδοναι τοῖς ἄμφι τὸν πάππον θεραπευταῖς, ἐπιλέγοντα ἐκάστῳ, Σοὶ μὲν τοῦτο ὅτι προθύμως με ὑπεύθειν διδάσκεις, σοὶ δ' ὅτι μοι παλτὸν ἐδώκας· νῦν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔχω· σοὶ δ' ὅτι τὸν πάππον καλὸς θεραπεύεις, σοὶ δ' ὅτι μου τὴν μητέρα τιμᾶς· τοιαῦτα ἐπολεί, ἐῶς διεδίδου πάντα ἡ ἔλαβε κρέα.
8. Σάκα δὲ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, τῷ οἶνοχῷ, ὃν ἐγὼ μᾶλλον τιμῶ, οὐδὲν δίδως; ὁ δὲ Σάκας ἀρα καλὸς τε1 ὅν ἐτύγχανε καὶ τιμῆν ἔχων προσάγειν τοὺς δειμένους Ἀστυάγους καὶ ἀποκοιλισθεῖν οὐς μὴ καρδὸς αὐτῷ δοκοῖ εἶναι προσάγειν.
Καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἐπερέσθαι προπέτῳ ὅς ἂν παῖς μηδέπο ὑποπτήσσων, Διὰ τὸ δὴ, ὥ πάππε, τοῦτον οὐτῶ τιμᾶς;
Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην σκώψαντα εἰπεῖν, Οὐχ ὦρᾶς, φάναι, ὡς καλῶς οἶνοχοι καὶ εὐσχημόνως; οἳ δὲ τῶν βασιλέως τούτων οἶνοχοί κομψῶς τε οἶνοχοῦσι καὶ καθαρεῖς ἐγχέουσι καὶ διδάσκο οἷς τρις δακτύλοις ὀχοῦντες τὴν φιάλην καὶ προσφέροντες ὅς ἄν ένδοειν τὸ ἐκπομα εὐληπτύ- τατα τῷ μέλλοντι πίνειν.
9. Κέλευσον δὴ, φάναι, ὥ πάππε, τὸν Σάκαν καὶ ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τὸ ἐκπομα, ἵνα καγὼ καλῶς σοι πιεῖν ἐγχέας ἀνακτήσωμαι σε, ἣν δύνωμαι.

1 τε γ ν, Edd.; γε πzR.
mean to 'give me all this meat, grandfather, to dispose of as I please?'

"Yes, by Zeus," said he, "I do."

7. Thereupon Cyrus took some of the meat and proceeded to distribute it among his grandfather's servants, saying to them in turn: "I give this to you, because you take so much pains to teach me to ride; to you, because you gave me a spear, for at present this is all I have to give; to you, because you serve my grandfather so well; and to you, because you are respectful to my mother." He kept on thus, while he was distributing all the meat that he had received.

8. "But," said Astyages, "are you not going to give any to Sacas, my cupbearer, whom I like best of all?" Now Sacas, it seems, chanced to be a handsome fellow who had the office of introducing to Astyages those who had business with him and of keeping out those whom he thought it not expedient to admit.

And Cyrus asked pertly, as a boy might do who was not yet at all shy, "Pray, grandfather, why do you like this fellow so much?"

And Astyages replied with a jest: "Do you not see," said he, "how nicely and gracefully he pours the wine?" Now the cupbearers of those kings perform their office with fine airs; they pour in the wine with neatness and then present the goblet, conveying it with three fingers, and offer it in such a way as to place it most conveniently in the grasp of the one who is to drink.

9. "Well, grandfather," said he, "bid Sacas give me the cup, that I also may deftly pour for you to drink and thus win your favour, if I can."
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ 
Καὶ τὸν κελεύσαι δοῦναι. λαβόντα δὲ τὸν 
Κύρον οὐτὸν μὲν δὴ εὐ κλύσαι τὸ ἐκπώμα ὀστερ 
τὸν Σάκαν ἑώρα, οὐτὸ δὲ στήσαντα τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον σπουδαίος καὶ εὐσχημόνως ποὺς προσ-
ενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐνδοῦναι τὴν φιάλην τῷ πάππῳ ὧδε 
τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγει πολὺν γέλωτα 
παρασχεῖν. καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸν Κύρον ἐκχελά-
σαντα ἀναπηδήσαι πρὸς τὸν πᾶππου καὶ φι-
λοῦντα ἰμα εἰπεῖν, ὩΣ Σάκα, ἀπόλολας· ἐκβαλὼ 
σε ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς· τὰ τῇ γὰρ ἄλλα, φάναι, σοῦ 
κάλλιον οἰνοχοῆσῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐκπίομαι αὐτὸς τὸν 
οἶνον. 
Οἱ δὲ ἀρὰ τῶν βασιλέων οἰνοχόοι, ἐπειδὰν 
διδῶσι τὴν φιάλην, ἀρύσαντες ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῷ 
κυάθῳ εἰς τὴν ἀριστεράν χεῖρα ἐγχεάμενοι κα-
ταρροφοῦσι, τοῦ δὴ εἶ φάρμακα ἐγχέοιεν ¹ 
μὴ 
λυστελεῖν αὐτοῖς. 
10. Ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔπισκόπτων, 
Καὶ τὶ δὴ, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρη, τᾶλλα μιμοῦμενος τὸν 
Σάκαν οὐκ ἀπερρόφησας τοῦ οἴνου; 
"Οτι, ἔφη, νὴ Δία ἐδεδοκίειν μὴ ἐν τῷ κρατῆρ 
φάρμακα μεμυγμένα εἰς. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε εἰστίασας 
σὺ τῶν φίλων ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις, σαφῶς 
κατέμαθον φάρμακα ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐγχέαντα. 
Καὶ πῶς δὴ σὺ τοῦτο, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, κατέγρως; 
"Οτι νὴ Δὶ ὑμᾶς ἐώρων καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις 
καὶ τοῖς σώμασι σφαλλομένους. πρῶτον μὲν 
γὰρ ὅ οὐκ ἔστε ἦμᾶς τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα 
αὐτοὶ ἐποιεῖτε. πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἀμα ἐκεκρά-
γετε, ἐμαυθάνετε δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλληλων, ἤδετε 

¹ ἐγχέοιεν yER; ἐγχέοιεν 2C.

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And he bade him give it. And Cyrus took the cup and rinsed it out well, exactly as he had often seen Sacas do, and then he brought and presented the goblet to his grandfather, assuming an expression somehow so grave and important, that he made his mother and Astyages laugh heartily. And Cyrus himself also with a laugh sprang up into his grandfather’s lap and kissing him said: “Ah, Sacas, you are done for; I shall turn you out of your office; for in other ways,” said he, “I shall play the cupbearer better than you and besides I shall not drink up the wine myself.”

Now, it is a well known fact that the kings’ cupbearers, when they proffer the cup, draw off some of it with the ladle, pour it into their left hand, and swallow it down—so that, if they should put poison in, they may not profit by it.

10. Thereupon Astyages said in jest: “And why, pray, Cyrus, did you imitate Sacas in everything else but did not sip any of the wine?”

“Because, by Zeus,” said he, “I was afraid that poison had been mixed in the bowl. And I had reason to be afraid; for when you entertained your friends on your birthday, I discovered beyond a doubt that he had poured poison into your company’s drink.”

“And how, pray,” said he, “did you discover that, my son?”

“Because, by Zeus,” said he, “I saw that you were unsteady both in mind and in body. For in the first place you yourselves kept doing what you never allow us boys to do; for instance, you kept shouting, all at the same time, and none of you heard anything that the
δὲ καὶ μίλα γελοίως, οὐκ ἀκροώμενοι δὲ τοῦ ἄδοντος ὁμώνυμε ἀριστα ἄδειν λέγων δὲ ἐκαστος ὕμων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ρώμην, ἔπειτ' εἰ ἀνασταίητε ὀρχησόμενοι, μὴ ὅπως ὄρχεῖσθαι ἐν ρυθμῷ, ἀλλ' οὖδ' ὀρθοῦσθαι ἐδύνασθε. ἔπελεύσθη δὲ παντάπασι σὺ τε ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἦσθα, οὐ τε ἀλλ' ὅτι σὺ ἀρχων. τότε γὰρ δὴ ἔγονε καὶ πρῶτον κατέμαθον ὅτι τούτ' ἅρ' ἦν ἡ ἱστηρια ὁ ὑμεῖς τότ' ἐποιεῖτε· οὐδέποτε γοῦν ἐσιωπᾶτε.

11. Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης λέγει, Ὅ δὲ σὸς πατήρ, ὦ παῖ, πίνων οὐ μεθύσκεται; Οὐ μὰ Δί, ἔφη.

'Αλλὰ πώς ποιεῖ;

Διψῶν παῦται, ἀλλ' δὲ κακὸν οὐδὲν πάσχειν οὐ γὰρ, οἴμαι, ὦ πάππε, Σάκας αὐτῷ οἴνοχοι.

Καὶ ἡ μήτηρ εἶπεν, 'Αλλὰ τί ποτε σὺ, ὦ παῖ, τῷ Σάκα οὖτω πολεμεῖς;

Τὸν δὲ Κύρον εἶπεῖν, "Ὅτι νὰ Δία, φάναι, μισῶ αὐτῶν· πολλάκις γὰρ με πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐπιθυμοῦντα προσδραμεῖν οὖτος οἱ μιαρῶτατος ἀποκολύει. ἀλλ' ἱκετεύω, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, δὸς μοι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἄρξαι αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἴπεῖν, Καὶ πώς ἄν ἀρξαίς αὐτοῦ;

Καὶ τὸν Κύρον φάναι, Στὰς ἄν ὄσπερ οὖτος ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ, ἔπειτα ὅποτε βούλοιτο παριέναι ἐπ' ἀριστον, λέγομι ἄν ὅτι οὖτω δυνατὸν τῷ ἀρίστῳ ἑντυχεῖν σπουδάξει γὰρ πρὸς τινας· εἴθ' ὅποτε ἥκοι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, λέγομι ἄν ὅτι 36
others were saying; and you fell to singing, and in a most ridiculous manner at that, and though you did not hear the singer, you swore that he sang most excellently; and though each one of you kept telling stories of his own strength, yet if you stood up to dance, to say: nothing of dancing in time, why, you could not even stand up straight. And all of you quite forgot—you, that you were king; and the rest, that you were their sovereign. It was then that I also for my part discovered, and for the first time, that what you were practising was your boasted 'equal freedom of speech'; at any rate, never were any of you silent."

11. "But, my boy," Astyages said, "does not your father get drunk, when he drinks?"

"No, by Zeus," said he.

"Well, how does he manage it?"

"He just quenches his thirst and thus suffers no further harm; for he has, I trow, grandfather, no Sacas to pour wine for him."

"But why in the world, my son," said his mother, "are you so set against Sacas?"

"Because, by Zeus," Cyrus replied, "I don't like him; for oftentimes, when I am eager to run in to see my grandfather, this miserable scoundrel keeps me out. But," he added, "I beg of you, grandfather, allow me for just three days to rule over him."

"And how would you rule over him?" said Astyages.

"I would stand at the door," Cyrus replied, "just as he does, and then when he wished to come in to luncheon, I would say, 'You cannot interview the luncheon yet; for it is engaged with certain persons.' And then when he came to dinner, I would say, 'It
λούτας· εἰ δὲ πάνυ σπουδάζου φαγεῖν, εἴποιμι ἂν ὅτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἔστιν· ἐὼς παρατείναι μι τοῦτον ὁσπερ οὗτος ἐμὲ παρατείνει ἀπὸ σοῦ καλῶν.

12. Τοσαῦτας μὲν αὐτῶς εὐθυμίας παρεῖχεν ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖπνῳ· τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας, εἰ τινὸς αἴσθοιτο δεύμενον ἢ τὸν πάππον ἢ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφὸν, χαλεποῦν ἢν ἄλλον φθάσαι τούτῳ ποιήσαντα· ὥ τι γὰρ δύνατο ὁ Κύρος ὑπερέχαιρεν αὐτοῖς χαριζόμενος.

13. Ἐπει δὲ ἡ Μανδάνη παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπιώσατα πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐδείκτω αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀστυάγης καταλιπεῖν τὸν Κύρον. ἦ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι βούλειτα μὲν ἄπαντα τῷ πατρὶ χαρίζεσθαι, ἀκοῦτα μὲντοί τὸν παῖδα χαλεποῦν εἶναι νομίζειν καταλιπεῖν.

14. Ἐνθα δὲ ὁ Ἀστυάγης λέγει πρὸς τὸν Κύρον, Ἡμιν παῖ, ἂν μένης παρ’ ἐμοί, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρ’ ἐμὲ εἰσόδου σοι ὁ Σάκας ἀρξεί, ἄλλα ὅποταν βούλη εἰσίναι ως ἐμε, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔσται· καὶ χάριν σοι εἰσόμαι ὅσῳ ἂν πλεονάκις εἰσίς ὥς ἐμε. ἔπειτα δὲ ὅποιος τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρῆσει καὶ ἄλλος ὅπος ἄν βούλη, καὶ ὅποταν ἀπίθανος, ἔχων ἄπει οὕς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλησι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν τῷ δεῖπνῳ ἐπὶ τῷ μετρίως σοι δοκοῦν ἔχειν ὅποιαν βούλει όδόν πορεύσετε. ἔπειτα τά τε νῦν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία δίδωμι σοι καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά συνελέξω, ὅ σο ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἰππευέναι μάθης, ὁμαξωσι, καὶ τοξεύων καὶ ἀκοντίζων καταβάλεις ὁσπερ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες. καὶ παιδάς δέ σοι ἐγώ συμπαίστοράς παρέξω, καὶ ἄλλα ὅποτα ἂν βούλη λέγων πρὸς ἐμὲ οὐκ ἀτυχήσεις.
is at the bath.' And if he were very eager to eat, I would say, 'It is with the ladies.' And I would keep that up until I tormented him, just as he torments me by keeping me away from you.'

12. Such amusement he furnished them at dinner; and during the day, if he saw that his grandfather or his uncle needed anything, it was difficult for any one else to get ahead of him in supplying the need; for Cyrus was most happy to do them any service that he could.

13. But when Mandane was making preparations to go back to her husband, Astyages asked her to leave Cyrus behind. And she answered that she desired to do her father's pleasure in everything, but she thought it hard to leave the boy behind against his will.

14. Then Astyages said to Cyrus: "My boy, if you will stay with me, in the first place Sacas shall not control your admission to me, but it shall be in your power to come in to see me whenever you please, and I shall be the more obliged to you the oftener you come to me. And in the second place you shall use my horses and everything else you will; and when you go back home, you shall take with you any of them that you desire. And besides, at dinner you shall go whatever way you please to what seems to you to be temperance. And then, I present to you the animals that are now in the park and I will collect others of every description, and as soon as you learn to ride, you shall hunt and slay them with bow and spear, just as grown-up men do. I will also find some children to be your playfellows; and if you wish anything else, just mention it to me, and you shall not fail to receive it."
15. 'Επεὶ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἡ μήτηρ διηρύτα τὸν Κύρον πότερον βούλοντο μένειν ἢ ἀπιέναι. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ εἶπεν ὅτι μένειν βούλοντο. ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς διὰ τι εἰπεῖν λέγεται; "Οὐκ οίκου μὲν τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ εἰμὶ καὶ δοκῶ κράτιστος εἶναι, ὁ μήτηρ, καὶ ἀκοπτώζων καὶ τοξεύων, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι ἰππεύων ἦττον εἰμὶ τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ τοῦτο εὖ ἱσθι, ὁ μήτηρ, ἐφη, ὅτι ἐμὲ πάνω ἄνισα. ἂν δὲ με καταλίπῃς ἐνθάδε καὶ μάθω ἰππεύων, ὅταν μὲν ἐν Πέρσαις ὅ, οἶμαι σοι ἕκεινος τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πεζικά βαδίσως νυκήσειν, ὅταν δ' εἰσ Μήδους ἔλθω, ἐνθάδε πειράσομαι τῷ πάππῳ ἀγαθῶν ἰππεύων κράτιστος ὅν ἰππεύω συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ.

16. Τὴν δὲ μητέρα εἰπεῖν, Τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, ὁ παῖ, πῶς μαθήσαι ἐνθάδε ἐκεῖ ὅντων σοι τῶν διδασκάλων;
Καὶ τὸν Κύρον φάναι, Ἀλλ', ὁ μήτηρ, ἀκριβῶς ταῦτά γε οἶδα.
Πῶς σὺ οἶδα; τὴν Μανδάνη εἰπεῖν.
"Οτι, φάναι, ὁ διδάσκαλός με ὡς ἥδη ἀκριβοῦντα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἄλλοις καθίστη δικάζειν. καὶ τοίνυν, φάναι, ἐπὶ μᾶ τοτε δίκη πληγαὶ ἔλαβον ὡς οὐκ ὅρθως δικάζας.
17. ἂν δὲ ἡ δίκη τοιαύτη, πῶς μέγας μικρὸν ἔχων χιτώνα παῖδα μικρὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα χιτώνα ἐκδύσας αὐτοῦ τὸν μὲν ἐαυτοῦ ἐκείνον ἡμφίεσε, τὸν δ' ἐκείνου αὐτὸς ἐνέδυ. ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτοι δικάζων ἔχων βέλτιον εῖναι ἀμφοτέροις τὸν ἀρμόττοντα ἐκάτερον χιτώνα ἔχειν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
15. When Astyages had said this, his mother asked Cyrus whether he wished to stay or go. And he did not hesitate but said at once that he wished to stay. And when he was asked again by his mother why he wished to stay, he is said to have answered: "Because at home, mother, I am and have the reputation of being the best of those of my years both in throwing the spear and in shooting with the bow; but here I know that I am inferior to my fellows in horsemanship. And let me tell you, mother," said he, "this vexes me exceedingly. But if you leave me here and I learn to ride, I think you will find, when I come back to Persia, that I shall easily surpass the boys over there who are good at exercises on foot, and when I come again to Media, I shall try to be a help to my grandfather by being the best of good horsemen."

16. "But, my boy," said his mother, "how will you learn justice here, while your teachers are over there?"

"Why, mother," Cyrus answered, "that is one thing that I understand thoroughly."

"How so?" said Mandane.

"Because," said he, "my teacher appointed me, on the ground that I was already thoroughly versed in justice, to decide cases for others also. And so, in one case," said he, "I once got a flogging for not deciding correctly. 17. The case was like this: a big boy with a little tunic, finding a little boy with a big tunic on, took it off him and put his own tunic on him, while he himself put on the other's. So, when I tried their case, I decided that it was better for them both that each should keep the tunic that fitted him. And thereupon the master flogged me,
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με ἐπαισεν ὁ διδάσκαλος, λέξας ὁ ὅπτε μὲν τοῦ ἀρμόττουτος εἶναι κριτῆς, οὐτώ δέοι ποιεῦν, ὅποτε δὲ κρίναι δέοι ποτέρου ὁ χιτῶν εἶη, τοῦτ', ἐφη, σκεπτέον εἶναι τὶς κτῆσις δικαία ἐστὶ, πότερα τὸν βίαν ἀφελόμενον ἔχειν ἢ τὸν ποιησάμενον ἢ πριάμενον κεκτήσθαι ἐπει δ', ἐφη, τὸ μὲν νόμμων δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀνομον βλανον, σὺν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευεν ἀεὶ τὸν δικαστὴν τὴν ψήφων τίθεσθαι. οὕτως ἐγὼ σοι, ὁ μήτερ, τὰ γε δίκαια παντάπασιν ἡδὴ ἀκριβῶς ἢν δὲ τι ἀρα προσδέωμαι, ὁ πάππος με, ἐφη, οὕτως ἐπιδιδάξει.

18. 'Αλλ' οὐ ταυτά, ἐφη, ὁ παί, παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις δίκαια ὁμολογεῖται. οὕτως μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν Μήδοις πάντων ἕαυτῶν δισπότην πεποίηκεν, ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τὸ ἱσον ἔχειν δίκαιον νομίζεται. καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ πρῶτος ² τὰ τεταγμένα μὲν ποιεῖ τῇ πόλει, τὰ τεταγμένα δὲ λαμβάνει, μέτρων δὲ αὐτῷ οὐχ ἢ ψυχὴ ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. ἄπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολεῖ μαστυγούμενος, ἐπειδὰν οἴκοι ἦς, ³ ἃν παρὰ τοῦτον μαθῶν ἡκῆς ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλεί αὐτῷ τὸ τυραννικόν, ἐν ὃ ἐστι τὸ πλείον οἰς αὐτῷ πάντων ἔχειν.

'Αλλ' ὁ γε σὸς πατὴρ, εἴπεν ο Κύρος, δεινοτερός ἐστιν, ὁ μήτερ, διδάσκειν μειὼν ἡ πλείον ἔχειν· ὁ οὖχ ὁρᾶς, ἐφη, οτι καὶ Μήδους ἀπαντᾶς δεδίδαχεν αὐτῷ μειὼν ἔχειν; ⁴ ὥστε θάρρει, ὡς

1 λέξας zER; λέγων yC.
2 ὁ σὸς πατήρ πρῶτος Schneider, Hug; ὁ πρῶτος πατήρ C; ὁ σὸς πρῶτος πατὴρ yzER, Marchant; πρῶτος ὁ σὸς πατήρ Gemoll.
3 ἦς Heindorf; ἦς or εἴης MSS.
4 ὁ οὖχ . . . ἔχειν not in xx,
saying that when I was a judge of a good fit, I should do as I had done; but when it was my duty to decide whose tunic it was, I had this question, he said, to consider—whose title was the rightful one; whether it was right that he who took it away by force should keep it, or that he who had had it made for himself or had bought it should own it. And since, he said, what is lawful is right and what is unlawful is wrong, he bade the judge always render his verdict on the side of the law. It is in this way, mother, you see, that I already have a thorough understanding of justice in all its bearings; and,” he added, “if I do require anything more, my grandfather here will teach me that.”

18. “Yes, my son,” said she; “but at your grandfather’s court they do not recognize the same principles of justice as they do in Persia. For he has made himself master of everything in Media, but in Persia equality of rights is considered justice. And your father is the first one to do what is ordered by the State and to accept what is decreed, and his standard is not his will but the law. Mind, therefore, that you be not flogged within an inch of your life, when you come home, if you return with a knowledge acquired from your grandfather here of the principles not of kingship but of tyranny, one principle of which is that it is right for one to have more than all.”

“But your father, at least,” said Cyrus, “is more shrewd at teaching people to have less than to have more, mother. Why, do you not see,” he went on, “that he has taught all the Medes to have less than himself? So never fear that your father, at any rate,
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δ' γε σ'ος πατὴρ οὖτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα οὖτ' ἐμὲ πλεονεκτεῖν μαθόντα ἀποτέμψει.

IV

1. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐλάλει ὁ Κύρος τέλος δὲ ἡ μὲν μῆτηρ ἀπῆλθε, Κύρος δὲ κατέμενε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐτρέφετο. καὶ ταχὺ μὲν τοὺς ἡλικιώτας συνεκέκρατο ὡστε οἴκειως διακεῖσθαι, ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἀνήρτητο, προσιῶν καὶ ἐνδήλως ὅλων ὅτι ἐσπάζετο αὐτῶν τοὺς νὲιζεῖς, ὡστε εἰ τι τοῦ βασιλέως δέοιτο, τοὺς παιδὰς ἐκέλευον τοῦ Κύρου δεῖσθαι διαπράξασθαι σφίσιν, ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὁ τι δέοιτο αὐτοῦ οἱ παιδεῖς, διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο διαπράπττεσθαι. 2. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὁ τι δέοιτο αὐτοῦ ὁ Κύρος οὐδέν ἐθύματο ἀντέχειν μὴ οὐ χαρίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ οὐδέποτε ἀπέλευσε τὸν πάππον οὐδὲ κλαίον ποτὲ ἐπαύετο, ἀλλὰ δήλως ἦν πάσιν ὅτι ὑπερεφοβεῖτο μὴ οἱ οἱ πάπποι ἀποθάνῃ καὶ γὰρ ἐκ νυκτὸς εἰ τινος δέοιτο Ἀστυάγης, πρῶτος ἦσθαντο Κύρος καὶ πάντων ἀοκνότατα ἀνεπήδα ὑπηρετήσων ὁ τι οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι, ὡστε παντάπασιν ἀνεκτήσατο τὸν Ἀστυάγην.

3. Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἵσως πολυλογότερος, 1 ἀμα μὲν διὰ τὴν παιδείαν, ὅτι ἡμαγκάζετο ὕπο τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ διδόναι λόγου ὧν ἐποίει καὶ λαμβάνει παρ' ἄλλων, ὡπότε δικάζοι, ἐτί δὲ καὶ διὰ

1 πολυλογότερος χζ.Κ.; π. ἡ παιδικαὶ ὃς ἄνηθος ἄν γ. 44
will turn either me or anybody else out trained under him to have too much."

IV

1. In this way Cyrus often chattered on. At last, however, his mother went away, but Cyrus remained behind and grew up in Media. Soon he had become so intimately associated with other boys of his own years that he was on easy terms with them. And soon he had won their fathers' hearts by visiting them and showing that he loved their sons; so that, if they desired any favour of the king, they bade their sons ask Cyrus to secure it for them. And Cyrus, because of his kindness of heart and his desire for popularity, made every effort to secure for the boys whatever they asked. 2. And Astyages could not refuse any favour that Cyrus asked of him. And this was natural; for, when his grandfather fell sick, Cyrus never left him nor ceased to weep but plainly showed to all that he greatly feared that his grandfather might die. For even at night, if Astyages wanted anything, Cyrus was the first to discover it and with greater alacrity than any one else he would jump up to perform whatever service he thought would give him pleasure, so that he won Astyages's heart completely.

3. He was, perhaps, too talkative, partly on account of his education, because he had always been required by his teacher to render an account of what he was doing and to obtain an account from others whenever he was judge; and partly also because of
τὸ φιλομαθῆς εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀνηρώτα πῶς ἔχοντα τυγχάνοι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐρωτήτο, διὰ τὸ ἀγχίνους εἶναι ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνετο, ὡστ’ ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἡ πολυλογία συνελέγετο αὐτῷ· ἄλλ’ ὀσπερ γὰρ ἐν σώματι, ὅσιοι νέοι ὄντες μέγεθος ἔλαβον, ὄμως ἐμφαίνεται τὸ νεαρὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ κατηγορεῖ τὴν ὀλγοετίαν, οὕτω καὶ Κύρον ἐκ τῆς πολυλογίας οὐθ’ ἀπλότης καὶ φιλοστοργία, ὡστ’ ἐπεθὺμει ἂν τὰς ἐτι πλείω αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν ἢ σωπῶντι παρεῖναι.

4. Ὡς δὲ προῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ χρόνος σὺν τῷ μεγέθει εἰς ὅσα τοῦ πρόσηβθον γενέσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τοὺς μὲν λόγους μανοτέρους ἔχοντο καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἰσουχαίτερα, αἰδοὺς δὲ ἐνεπίμπλατο, ὡστε καὶ ἐρυθραίνεσθαι ὅποτε συντυχάνοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τὸ σκυλακόδες τὸ πᾶσιν ὄμοιοις προσπίπτειν οὐκέθ’ ὄμοιοις προπετές ἐίχεν. οὕτω δὴ ἰσουχαίτερος μὲν ἦν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνουσίαις πάμπαν ἐπίχαρις. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα διαγωνίζονται πολλάκις ἡλικεῖς πρὸς ἄλληλους, οὐχ ἄ κρείττων ἓδει ὁ, ταῦτα προνεκλεῖτο τοὺς συνόντας, ἄλλ’ ἀπερ εὐ ἕδει ἐαυτὸν ἥττονα ὅντα, ἐξῆρξε; φάσκων κάλλιον αὐτῶν ποιήσειν, καὶ κατῆρξεν ἥδη ἀναπηδῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἦππους ἡ διατοξευόμενος ἡ διακοντισόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἦπ-

1 προπετές xΑΗΡ; προπετῆς yG; [προπετές] Cobet, Hug.
2 ἐξῆρξε yR; ταῦτα ἐξῆρξε xz, Gemoll.
his natural curiosity, he was habitually putting many questions to those about him why things were thus and so; and because of his alertness of mind he readily answered questions that others put to him; so that from all these causes his talkativeness grew upon him. But it was not unpleasant; for just as in the body, in the case of those who have attained their growth although they are still young, there yet appears that freshness which betrays their lack of years, so also in Cyrus's case his talkativeness disclosed not impertinence but naïveté and an affectionate disposition, so that one would be better pleased to hear still more from his lips than to sit by and have him keep silent.

4. But as he advanced in stature and in years to the time of attaining youth's estate, he then came to use fewer words, his voice was more subdued, and he became so bashful that he actually blushed whenever he met his elders; and that puppy-like manner of breaking in upon anybody and everybody alike he no longer exhibited with so much forwardness. So he became more quiet, to be sure, but in social intercourse altogether charming. The boys liked him, too; for in all the contests in which those of the same age are wont often to engage with one another he did not challenge his mates to those in which he knew he was superior, but he proposed precisely those exercises in which he knew he was not their equal, saying that he would do better than they; and he would at once take the lead, jumping up upon the horses to contend on horseback either in archery or in throwing the spear, although he was not yet a
πων οὖν πάνυ ἐποχος ὤν, ἦττώμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἐαντὶ μάλιστα ἐγέλα.

5. Ὡς δ’ οὖν ἀπεδίδρασεν ἐκ τοῦ ἡπτὰσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ ἡπτότο, ἀλλ’ ἐκαλινδεῖτο ἐν τῷ πειράσθαι αὐθείς βέλτιον ποιεῖν, ταχῦ μὲν εἰς τὸ ἵσον ἄφικε τῇ ἵππικῇ τοῖς ἥλιοι, ταχῦ δὲ παρῆι διὰ τὸ ἔραν τοῦ ἐργοῦ, ταχῦ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ϑηρίᾳ ἀνηλώκει διάκων καὶ βάλλων καὶ κατακαίμων, ὡστε ὁ Ἀστυάγης οὐκέτ’ εἶχεν αὐτῷ συλλέγειν ϑηρία. καὶ ὁ Κύρος αἰσθόμενος ὅτι βουλόμενος οὐ δύναιτό οἱ ξάντα πολλὰ παρέχειν, ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν, Ὡς πάππε, τί σε δεῖ ϑηρία ξητοῦντα πράγματ’ ἔχειν; ἀλλ’ ἔδων ἐμὲ ἐκπέμπῃ ἐπὶ θήραν σὺν τῷ θείῳ, νομίζω ὅσα ἂν ἴδω ϑηρία, ἐμοὶ ταῦτα τρέφεσθαι.

6. ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ σφόδρα ἔξεναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν οὐκέτ’ ὁμοίως λιπαρεῖν ἐδύνατο ὁσπερ παῖς ὦν, ἀλλ’ οἰκηρότερον προσῇ. καὶ ἄ πρόσθεν τῷ Σάκα ἐμέμφετο ὅτι οὐ παρῆε αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πάππον, αὐτὸς ἠδὴ Σάκας ἐαυτῷ ἐγγυνετο’ οὐ γὰρ προσῄει, εἰ μὴ ἵδοι εἰ καιρὸς εἶη, καὶ τοῦ Σάκα ἐδεῖτο πάντως σημαινεῖ ἄντῳ ὥποτε ἐγχωροίῃ [καὶ ὅποτε καιρὸς εἶη]. ὡστε ὁ Σάκας ὑπερέφιλε ήδη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες.

7. Ἐπεῖ δ’ οὖν ὠγον ὁ Ἀστυάγης σφόδρᾳ αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα ἔξω θηράν, ἐκπέμπει αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ θείῳ καὶ φύλακας συμπέμπει ἐφ’ ἵππων

1 καὶ . . . ἐν bracketed by Zeune, Hug, Gemoll, Marchant.
good rider, and when he was beaten he laughed at himself most heartily.

5. And as he did not shirk being beaten and take refuge in refusing to do that in which he was beaten, but persevered in attempting to do better next time, he speedily became the equal of his fellows in horsemanship and soon on account of his love for the sport he surpassed them; and before long he had exhausted the supply of animals in the park by hunting and shooting and killing them, so that Astyages was no longer able to collect animals for him. And when Cyrus saw that notwithstanding his desire to do so, the king was unable to provide him with many animals alive, he said to him: “Why should you take the trouble, grandfather, to get animals for me? If you will only send me out with my uncle to hunt, I shall consider that all the animals I see were bred for me.”

6. But though he was exceedingly eager to go out hunting, he could no longer coax for it as he used to do when he was a boy, but he became more diffident in his approaches. And in the very matter for which he found fault with Sacas before, namely that he would not admit him to his grandfather—he himself now became a Sacas unto himself; for he would not go in unless he saw that it was a proper time, and he asked Sacas by all means to let him know when it was convenient. And so Sacas now came to love him dearly, as did all the rest.

7. However, when Astyages realized that he was exceedingly eager to hunt out in the wilds, he let him go out with his uncle and he sent along some older men on horseback to look after him, to keep
πρεσβυτέρους, ὁπως ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωρίων φυλάττοιεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶ τῶν ἀγρίων τι φανεῖ θηρίων. ὁ οὖν Κύρος τῶν ἐπομένων προσήμων ἐπινεάντεο πολιος οὐ χρῆ θηρίους πελάξειν καὶ ποία χρῆ θαρροῦντα διώκειν. οἱ δ’ ἔλεγον στὶ ἄρκτοι τε πολλοὺς ἤδη πλησίασαντας διέφθειραν καὶ κάτροι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις, αἱ δὲ ἔλαφοι καὶ δορκάδες καὶ οἱ ἀγριοὶ οἶες καὶ οἱ οὕοι οἱ ἀγριοὶ ἁσινεῖς εἰσιν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, τὰς δυσχωρίας στὶ δέοι φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ τὰ θηρία: πολλοὺς γὰρ ἤδη αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἱπποῖς κατακρημνισθήναι.

8. Καὶ ο Κύρος πάυτα ταῦτα ἐμάνθανε προθύμως· ὡς δὲ εἰδὲν ἔλαφον ἐκπηδήσασαν, πάντων ἐπιλαβόμενος ὃν ἦκουσεν ἐδίωκεν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὄρῳ ή ὅπη ἔφευγε. καὶ πῶς διαπηδὸν αὐτῷ ο ἱππὸς πύπτει εἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικρὸν κάκείων ἐξετραχήλωσεν. οὔ μην ἀλλ’ ἐπέμεινεν ὁ Κύρος μόλις ποις, καὶ ὁ ἱππὸς ἔξανέστη. ὡς δ’ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἦλθεν, ἀκοντίσας καταβάλλει τὴν ἔλαφον, καλὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ μέγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὅτι ὑπερέχαρεν οἱ δὲ φύλακες προσελάσαντες ἐλοιδοροῦν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλεγον1 εἰς οἶον κίνδυνον ἔλθοι, καὶ ἔφασαν κατερεῖν αὐτοῦ. οὗ οὖν Κύρος εἰστήκει καταβεβηκώς, καὶ ἀκούὼν ταῦτα ἦμιατο. ὡς δ’ ἦσθετο κραυγῆς, ἀνεπτύχησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππὸν ὄσπερ ἐνθουσίων, καὶ ως εἰδεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου κάτρον προσφερόμενον, ἀντίος ἐλαινεὶ καὶ διατεινάμενος εὐστόχως2 βάλλει εἰς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ κατέσχε τὸν κάτρον.

1 καὶ ἔλεγον bracketed by Cobet, Hug, Marchant.
2 εὐστόχως yR; εὐτόχως (successfully) xz.
him away from dangerous places and guard him against wild beasts, in case any should appear. Cyrus, therefore, eagerly inquired of those who attended him what animals one ought not to approach and what animals one might pursue without fear. And they told him that bears and boars and lions and leopards had killed many who came close to them, but that deer and gazelles and wild sheep and wild asses were harmless. And they said this also, that one must be on one's guard against dangerous places no less than against wild beasts; for many riders had been thrown over precipices, horses and all.

8. All these lessons Cyrus eagerly learned. But when he saw a deer spring out from under cover, he forgot everything that he had heard and gave chase, seeing nothing but the direction in which it was making. And somehow his horse in taking a leap fell upon its knees and almost threw him over its head. However, Cyrus managed, with some difficulty, to keep his seat, and his horse got up. And when he came to level ground, he threw his spear and brought down the deer—a fine, large quarry. And he, of course, was greatly delighted; but the guards rode up and scolded him and told him into what danger he had gone and declared that they would tell of him. Now Cyrus stood there, for he had dismounted, and was vexed at being spoken to in this way. But when he heard a halloo, he sprang upon his horse like one possessed and when he saw a boar rushing straight toward him, he rode to meet him and aiming well he struck the boar between the eyes and brought him down.
9. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἡδὴ καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῷ ἐλεοδορεῖτο, τῆν θρασύτητα ὅρων. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ λοιδορομένου ὁμοί ἐδέιτο ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐλαβεῖ, ταῦτα ἔσσαι εἰσκομίσαντα δούναι τῷ πάππῳ. τὸν δὲ θείον εἰπεὶν φασιν, ἈΛΧ ἂν αὐθητῇ ὅτι ἐδίωκες, οὐ συλ μόνον λοιδορήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοὶ, ὅτι σε εἰσών. 
Καὶ ἂν βούληται, φάναι αὐτῶν, μαστυγωσάτω, ἐπειδὰν γε ἐγὼ δῶ αὐτῷ. καὶ σὺγε, ὁ τι βούλει, ἐφη, ὁ θείε, τιμωρησάμενος ταῦτα ὁμοί χάρισαι μοι. 
Καὶ ὁ Κυνάξρης μέντοι τελευτῶν εἶπε, Ποιεί ὅπως βούλειν σὺ γὰρ νῦν γε ἡμῶν ἔοικας βασιλεύς εἶναι.
10. Οὔτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος εἰσκομίσας τὰ θηρία ἐδίδου τε τῷ πάππῳ καὶ ἐλεγεῖν ὅτι αὐτός ταῦτα θηράσεις ἐκείνῳ. καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια ἔπεδείκνυ μὲν οὐ, κατέθηκε δὲ ἡματωμένα ὅπου ἕτο τὸν πάππον ὤψεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ἀρα εἶπεν, ἈΛΧ, ὁ παῖ, δέχομαι μὲν ἐγὼ γε ήδέως ὅσα σὺ δίδος, οὐ μέντοι δέομαι γε τοῦτων οὐδενὸς, ὡστε σε κηδεμούειν. 
Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐφη, Εἰ τοῦτω μὴ σὺ δέει, ἰκέτευω, τῷ πάππῳ, ἔμοι δὸς αὐτά, ὅπως τοῖς ἡλικιώτατοις ἐγὼ διαδώ. ἉΛΧ, ὁ παῖ, ἐφη ὁ Ἀστυάγης, καὶ ταῦτα λαβῶν διαδίδουν, ὅτι σὺ βούλει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπως ἐθέλεις. 
11. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος λαβὼν ἐδίδου τε ἄρας τοῖς

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1 δ τι βούλει Hug, Marchant; εἰ βούλει MSS.; but yRC have δ τι βούλει after τιμωρησάμενος.
2 ἄρας xzR, ἄρα y (accordingly).
9. This time, however, his uncle also reproved him, for he had witnessed his foolhardiness. But for all his scolding, Cyrus nevertheless asked his permission to carry home and present to his grandfather all the game that he had taken himself. And his uncle, they say, replied: "But if he finds out that you have been giving chase, he will chide not only you but me also for allowing you to do so."

"And if he choose," said Cyrus, "let him flog me, provided only I may give him the game. And you, uncle," said he, "may punish me in any way you please—only grant me this favour."

And finally Cyaxares said, though with reluctance: "Do as you wish; for now it looks as if it were you who are our king."

10. So Cyrus carried the animals in and gave them to his grandfather, saying that he had himself taken this game for him. As for the hunting spears, though he did not show them to him, he laid them down all blood-stained where he thought his grandfather would see them. And then Astyages said: "Well, my boy, I am glad to accept what you offer me; however, I do not need any of these things enough for you to risk your life for them."

"Well then, grandfather," said Cyrus, "if you do not need them, please give them to me, that I may divide them among my boy friends."

"All right, my boy," said Astyages, "take both this and of the rest of the game as much as you wish and give it to whom you will."

11. So Cyrus received it and took it away and
παισὶ καὶ ἀμα ἐλεγεν, Ὦ παιδε, ὡς ἀρα ἐφλυνο-
μεν ὅτε τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἐθηρὼμεν
ὅμων ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ εἶναι οἴνπερ εἰ τις δεδεμένα
ξύπ θηρίη. πρώτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ χορῷ
ἡ, ἐπειτὰ λεπτὰ καὶ ψωραλέα, καὶ τὸ μὲν
αὐτῶν χολὸν ἦν, τὸ δὲ κολοβῶν τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς
ὀρεσὶ καὶ λειμῶσι θηρία ὡς μὲν καλά, ὡς δὲ
μεγάλα, ὡς δὲ λυπαρὰ ἐφαινετο. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἔλαφοι
ὀσπερ πτιναι ἢλλουτο πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, οἱ δὲ
κάπροι ὀσπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας φασὶ τοὺς ἄνδρείους
όμοσε ἐφέροντο. ὅπο δὲ τῆς πλατύτητος οὐδὲ
ἀματεῖν οἶν τ̄ ἢ αὐτῶν καλλῶ δή, ἐφη,
ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ καὶ τεθνηκότα εἰναι ταῦτα ἣ ξύτα
ἐκεῖνα τὰ περιφκοδομημένα. ἀλλ' ἀρα ἂν, ἐφη,
ἀφεῖν καὶ υμᾶς οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ θήραν;
Καὶ ἰαδίως γ' ἂν, ἐφασαν, εἰ 'Αστυάγης κελεύοι.
12. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἴπε, Τῆς οὖν ἂν ἦμιν 'Α-
στυάγει μηνθείη;
Τῆς γὰρ ἂν, ἐφασαν, σοῦ γε ἰκανώτερος πείσαι;
'Αλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δί, ἐφη, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς τω
ἄνθρωπος γεγένημαι: οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶδ' τ' εἰμὶ λέγειν
ἐγγεῖν οὐδ' ἀναβλέπειν πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐκ τοῦ
ἴσου ἐτὶ δύναμαι. ἦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδίδω, δέ-
δουκα, ἐφη, μὴ παντάπασι βλαξτις καὶ ἠλίθιος
γένωμαι: παιδάριον δ' ὁν δεινότατος λαλεῖν
ἐδόκων εἰναι.
Καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς εἴπουν, Πονηρὸν λέγεις τὸ πρόγμα,
εἰ μηδ' ὑπὲρ ἴμων ἂν τι δέῃ δυνῆσει πράττειν,

1 τὸν Δία ξηθ.: τὸν Ἑραν γ (the weakling swears by Hera).
2 δεινότατος Leonclavius, Edd.; deinotaton MSS.
proceeded to distribute it among the boys, saying as he did so: "What tomfoolery it was, fellows, when we used to hunt the animals in the park. To me at least, it seems just like hunting animals that were tied up. For, in the first place, they were in a small space; besides, they were lean and mangy; and one of them was lame and another maimed. But the animals out on the mountains and the plains—how fine they looked, and large and sleek! And the deer leaped up skyward as if on wings, and the boars came charging at one, as they say brave men do in battle. And by reason of their bulk it was quite impossible to miss them. And to me at least," said he, "these seem really more beautiful, when dead, than those pent up creatures, when alive. But say," said he, "would not your fathers let you go out hunting, too?"

"Aye, and readily," they said, "if Astyages should give the word."

12. "Whom, then, could we find to speak about it to Astyages?" said Cyrus.

"Why," said they, "who would be better able to gain his consent than you yourself?"

"No, by Zeus," said he, "not I; I do not know what sort of fellow I have become; for I cannot speak to my grandfather or even look up at him any more, as I used to do. And if I keep on at this rate," said he, "I fear I shall become a mere dolt and ninny. But when I was a little fellow, I was thought ready enough to chatter."

"That's bad news you're giving us," answered the boys, "if you are not going to be able to act for us
XENOPHON

άλλ’ άλλου τινὸς τὸ ἐπὶ σὲ¹ ἀνάγκη ἔσται δεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς.

13. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐδήχθη, καὶ συγῆ ἀπελθὼν διακελευσάμενος ἐαυτῷ τολμᾶν εἰσῆλθεν,
ἐπιβουλεύσας ὡς ἄν ἀλυπότατα εἴποι πρὸς τὸν πάππον καὶ διαπράξειεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν ὧν ἔδεοντο. ἦρξατο οὖν ὁδὲ. Εἴπε μοι, ἐφη, ὁ πάππος, ἦν τις ἀποδρά σε τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ λάβῃς αὐτῶν, τί αὐτῷ χρῆσαι;

Τί ἄλλο, ἐφη, ἡ δήσας ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκάσω;

"Ἡν δὲ αὐτόματος πάλιν ἐλθη, πῶς ποιήσεις;

Τί δέ, ἐφη, εἰ μὴ μαστυγώσας γε, ἵνα μὴ αὖθις τοῦτο πούῇ, ἐξ ἀρχῆς χρῆσομαι;

"Ὡρα ἂν, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, σοι παρασκευάζεσθαι εἰς ὅσα μαστυγῶσαι γε, ὡς βουλεύομαι γε ὅπως σε ἀποδρῶ λαβῶν τοὺς ἡλικιωτας ἐπὶ θήραν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης, Καλῶς, ἐφη, ἐποίησας προ-

ευτῶν ἐνδοθὲ γὰρ, ἐφη, ἀπαγορεύω σοι μὴ κινεῖσθαι. χαρίει γὰρ, ἐφη, εἰ ἑνεκα κρεαδίων τῇ θυγατρὶ τῶν παίδα ἀποβουκολήσαμε.

14. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐπείθετο μὲν καὶ ἐμενεν,² ἀνιαρὸς δὲ καὶ σκυθρωτὸς ὄν σιωπῆ διή-

γεν. ὁ μέντοι Ἀστυάγης ἐπεὶ ἐγνὼ αὐτὸν λυποῦ-

μενον ἰσχυρῶς, βουλόμενον αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ἐξάγει

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¹ ἐπὶ σὲ xz, Edd.: ἐπὶ σοι yRC² (in your power).
² ἐμενεν F, Edd.; ἐμενεν all MSS. except F.
in case of need, and we shall have to ask somebody else to do your part."

13. And Cyrus was nettled at hearing this and went away without a word; and when he had summoned up his courage to make the venture, he went in, after he had laid his plans how he might with the least annoyance broach the subject to his grandfather and accomplish for himself and the other boys what they desired. Accordingly, he began as follows: "Tell me, grandfather," said he, "if one of your servants runs away and you catch him again, what will you do to him?"

"What else," said he, "but put him in chains and make him work?"

"But if he comes back again of his own accord, what will you do?"

"What," said he, "but flog him to prevent his doing it again, and then treat him as before?"

"It may be high time, then," said Cyrus, "for you to be making ready to flog me; for I am planning to run away from you and take my comrades out hunting."

"You have done well to tell me in advance," said Astyages; "for now," he went on, "I forbid you to stir from the palace. For it would be a nice thing, if, for the sake of a few morsels of meat, I should play the careless herdsman and lose my daughter her son."

14. When Cyrus heard this, he obeyed and stayed at home; he said nothing, but continued downcast and sulky. However, when Astyages saw that he was exceedingly disappointed, wishing to give him pleasure, he took him out to hunt; he had got the
ἐπὶ θήραν, καὶ πεζοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἵππεας συμπλήσας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ συνελάσας εἰς τὰ ἵππα σιμάχτω χωρία τὰ θηρία ἐποίησε μεγάλην θήραν. καὶ βασιλικῶς δὴ παρὼν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευε μηδένα βάλλειν, πρὶν Κύρος ἐμπληθεῖν θηρῶν. οὔ δὲ Κύρος οὐκ εἶνα καλύτευ, ἀλλ' Εἰ βούλει, ἔφη, οὐ πάπτε, ἡδέως με θηρᾶν, ἀφεῖ τοὺς κατ' ἐμὲ πάντας δίωκειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὅπως ἔκαστος κράτιστα δύνατο.

15. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυνάγης ἀφίησι, καὶ στὰς ἐθεάτῳ ἀμιλλωμένους ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ φιλονικοῦντας καὶ διώκοντας καὶ ἀκοινίζοντας. καὶ Κύρων ἤδετο οὐ δυναιμένως συγάν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σκύλαι γενναίως ἀνακλάζοντι, ὅποτε πλησιάζοι θηρίως, καὶ παρακαλοῦντι ὀνομαστὶ ἔκαστον. καὶ τού μέν καταγελῶντα αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἡμφραίνετο, τὸν δὲ τινα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα [αὐτῶν ἡσθάνετο] 1 οὐδ' ὀπωσιδοὺν φθονερῶς. τέλος δ' οὐν πολλὰ θηρία ἔχουν ὁ Ἀστυνάγης ἀπήει. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἡσθη τῇ τότε θηρᾷ ὡστε αἰεὶ ὅποτε οἶνον τ' εἶνανεξεῖν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ἅλλους τε πολλοὺς παρελάβανε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, Κύρου ἔνεκα.

Τὸν μὲν δὴ πλείστὸν χρόνον οὕτω διῆγεν ὁ Κύρος, πάσιν ἡδονής μὲν καὶ ἁγαθοῦ τινος συναίτιος ὁν, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενός. 2

16. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ πέντε ἡ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γενο-
μένου αὐτοῦ ὁ νύς τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως γαμεῖν μέλλων ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτὸς θηρᾶσαι εἰς τούτον τὸν χρόνου. ἀκούων οὖν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίων

1 αὐτῶν ἡσθάνετο MSS.; bracketed by Herwerden, Edd.
2 οὐδενός ξζΡ, Marchant; οὐδενί γ', Gemoll.
boys together, and a large number of men both on foot and on horseback, and when he had driven the wild animals out into country where riding was practicable, he instituted a great hunt. And as he was present himself, he gave the royal command that no one should throw a spear before Cyrus had his fill of hunting. But Cyrus would not permit him to interfere, but said: "If you wish me to enjoy the hunt, grandfather, let all my comrades give chase and strive to outdo one another, and each do his very best."

15. Thereupon, Astyages gave his consent and from his position he watched them rushing in rivalry upon the beasts and vying eagerly with one another in giving chase and in throwing the spear. And he was pleased to see that Cyrus was unable to keep silence for delight, but, like a well-bred hound, gave tongue whenever he came near an animal and urged on each of his companions by name. And the king was delighted to see him laugh at one and praise another without the least bit of jealousy. At length, then, Astyages went home with a large amount of game; and he was so pleased with that chase, that thenceforth he always went out with Cyrus when it was possible, and he took along with him not only many others but, for Cyrus's sake, the boys as well.

Thus Cyrus passed most of his time, contriving some pleasure and good for all, but responsible for nothing unpleasant to any one.

16. But when Cyrus was about fifteen or sixteen years old, the son of the Assyrian king, on the eve of his marriage, desired in person to get the game for that occasion. Now, hearing that on the frontiers
τοῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς Μήδων πολλὰ θηρία εἶναι ἀθήρευτα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐξελθεῖν. ὅπως οὖν ἀσφαλῶς θηρίῳ, ἱππεῖς τε προσέλαβε πολλοὺς καὶ πελταστάς, οὗτοις ἐμελλον αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν λασίων τὰ θηρία ἐξελάνει εἰς τὰ ἐργάσιμα τε καὶ ἐνήλατα. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὅπου ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ φρούρια καὶ ἡ φυλακή, ἐνταῦθα ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο, ὥς πρὸ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θηράσων.

17. Ἠδῆ δὲ ἐσπέρας γενομένης ἡ διαδοχή τῇ πρόσθεν φυλακῇ ἐρχεται ἐκ πόλεως καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ πολλή στρατιὰ παρεῖναι δύο γὰρ ὁμοῦ ἦσαν φυλακαῖ, πολλοὺς τε αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἔχων ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς. ἐβουλεύσατο οὖν κράτιστον εἶναι λειτατήσαι ἐκ τῆς Μηδικής, καὶ λαμπρότερον τέ ἀν φανῆναι τὸ ἔργον τῆς θῆρας καὶ ἱερείων ἄν πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν ἐνόμιζε γενέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἤγε τὸ στρατεύμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς κατέλυμεν ἀδρόνιστοι ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἱπποὺς προσελάσας πρὸς τὰ τῶν Μήδων φρούρια, τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἔχων μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνταῦθα κατέμεινεν, ὡς μὴ βοηθοῖν οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μήδων ὑπὶ τοὺς καταθέοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιτη- δείους ἀφῆκε κατὰ φυλάς ἄλλους ἄλλοσσε καταθεῖν, καὶ ἐκέλευεν περιβαλλόμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἐπιτυχο- χάνοι ἐλαύνειν πρὸς ἑαυτῶν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐπράττων. 18. σημανθέντων δὲ τῷ Ἀστυναγεί ὅτι πολέμωι εἶσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐξεβοήθει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰ ὄρια σὺν τοῖς περὶ
of Assyria and Media there was plenty of game that because of the war had not been hunted, he desired to go out thither. Accordingly, that he might hunt without danger, he took along a large force of cavalry and targeteers, who were to drive the game out of the thickets for him into country that was open and suitable for riding. And when he arrived where their frontier-forts and the garrison were, there he dined, planning to hunt early on the following day.

17. And now when evening had come, the relief-corps for the former garrison came from the city, both horse and foot. He thought, therefore, that he had a large army at hand; for the two garrisons were there together and he himself had come with a large force of cavalry and infantry. Accordingly, he decided that it was best to make a foray into the Median territory and he thought that thus the exploit of the hunt would appear more brilliant and that the number of animals captured would be immense. And so, rising early, he led his army out; the infantry he left together at the frontier, while he himself, riding up with the horse to the outposts of the Medes, took his stand there with most of his bravest men about him, to prevent the Median guards from coming to the rescue against those who were scouring the country; and he sent out the proper men in divisions, some in one direction, some in another, to scour the country, with orders to capture whatever they came upon and bring it to him.

So they were engaged in these operations. 18. But when word was brought to Astyages that there were enemies in the country, he himself sallied forth to
αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ νῖος αὐτοῦ ὁσάυτως σὺν τοῖς παρατυχούσι ἵπποταῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλους δὲ ἐσῆμαινε πᾶσιν ἐκβοθεῖν. ὡς δὲ εἶδον πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν Ἀσσυρίων συντεταγμένους καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας ἥσυχιαν ἔχοντας, ἔστησαν καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι.

'Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὁπῶς ἐκβοθοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πασσοῦ, ἐκβοθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτον τότε ὅπλα ἐνδός, οὐποτε οἰόμενος· οὕτως ἐπεθύμει αὐτοῖς ἐξοπλίσασθαι· μάλα δὲ καλὰ ἦν καὶ ἀρμόττοντα αὐτῷ ἂ ὁ πάππος περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπετοίητο. οὕτω δὲ ἐξοπλισάμενος προσήλασε τῷ ἵππῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐθαύμασε μὲν τίνος κελεύσαντος ἠκού, ὡμοὶ δὲ ἐίπεν αὐτῷ μένειν παρ' ἑαυτόν.

19. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὡς εἶδε πολλοὺς ἵππεας ἀντίον, ἤρετο, ὁ οὕτω, ἔφη, ὁ πάππος, πολέμιοι εἰσιν, οὐ ἐφεστήκασί τοῖς ὅπποις ἦρεμα;
Πολέμιοι μέντοι, ἔφη.
'Ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἔφη, οἱ ἐλαύνοντες;
Κάκεινοι μέντοι.

Νη τὸν Δι’, ἔφη, ὁ πάππος, ἀλλ’ οὕν πονηροὶ γε φαινόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ πονηρῶν ἱππαρίων ἁγουσιν ἡμῶν τὰ χρήματα· οὐκοῦν χρῆ ἐλαύνειν τινὰς ἡμῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς.
'Αλλ’ οὐχ ὀρᾶς, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, ὡς τὸ στῆφος τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐστηκε συντεταγμένον; οὐ ἦν ἐπ’
the frontier in person with his body-guard, and likewise his son with the knights that happened to be at hand marched out, while he gave directions to all the others also to come out to his assistance. But when they saw a large number of Assyrian troops drawn up and their cavalry standing still, the Medes also came to a halt.

When Cyrus saw the rest marching out with all speed, he put on his armour then for the first time and started out, too; this was an opportunity that he had thought would never come—so eager was he to don his arms; and the armour that his grandfather had had made to order for him was very beautiful and fitted him well. Thus equipped he rode up on his horse. And though Astyages wondered at whose order he had come, he nevertheless told the lad to come and stay by his side.

19. And when Cyrus saw many horsemen over against them, he asked: “Say, grandfather,” said he, “are those men enemies who sit there quietly upon their horses?”

“Yes, indeed, they are,” said he.

“Are those enemies, too,” said Cyrus, “who are riding up and down?”

“Yes, they are enemies, too.”

“Well then, by Zeus, grandfather,” said he, “at any rate, they are a sorry looking lot on a sorry lot of nags who are raiding our belongings. Why, some of us ought to charge upon them.”

“But don’t you see, my son,” said the king, “what a dense array of cavalry is standing there in
εκείνους ἡμεῖς ἐλαύνομεν, ὑποτεμοῦνται ἦμᾶς πάλιν [ἐκεῖνοι].\(^1\) ἦμιν δὲ οὕτω ἡ ἱσχύς πάρεστιν. Ἀλλ' ἦν σὺ μένης, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνης τοὺς προσβοηθοῦντας, φοβήσονται οὗτοι καὶ οὐ κινήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἄγοντες εὐθὺς ἀφήσουσι τὴν λείαι, ἑπειδὰν ἴδωσι τινὰς ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνομεν.

20. Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἔδοξε τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυνάγει. καὶ ἀμα θαυμάζων ὡς καὶ ἐφρόνει καὶ ἐγρηγόρει κελεύει τὸν ὕδιν λαβόντα τάξιν ἵππων ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τούς ἄγοντας τὴν λείαι. Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τοῦσδε, ἦν ἐπὶ σὲ κινώνται, ἐλώ,\(^2\) ὅστε ἀναγκασθῆσονται ἡμῖν προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν.

Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κυαξάρης λαβὼν τῶν ἔρρωμένων ἵππων\(^3\) τε καὶ ἄνδρῶν προσελαύνει. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὡς εἴδεν ὀρμωμένους, ἔξορμὰ, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἤγετό ταχέως, καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἰέντι ἐφείτετο, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἄπελεῖπτοντο. ὅσο δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς πελάζοντας οἱ λεπιλατοῦντες, εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ χρῆματα ἐφευγον. 21. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρου ὑπετέμνοντο, καὶ οὐς μὲν κατελάμβανον εὐθὺς ἐπαυσον, πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Κύρος, ὁσοὶ δὲ παραλάξαντες αὐτῶν ἐφθασαν, κατόπιν τούτους ἔδιωκον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ἀλλ' ἤρουν τινὰς αὐτῶν.

"Ὡσπερ δὲ κύων γενναῖος ἀπειρός ἀπρονοήτως φέρεται πρὸς κάπρον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐφέρετο,

1 ἐκεῖνοi MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe; bracketed by Hug, Merchant; ἐνθέδε Gemoll.
2 ἐλώ y, Edd.; ἐλᾶσω xxR.
3 ἵππων F, Edd.; ἵππεων xxDR.
line? If we charge upon those over there, these in turn will cut us off; while as for us, the main body of our forces has not yet come."

"But if you stay here," said Cyrus, "and take up the reinforcements that are coming to join us, these fellows will be afraid and will not stir, while the raiders will drop their booty, just as soon as they see some of us charging on them."

20. It seemed to Astyages that there was something in Cyrus's suggestion, when he said this. And while he wondered that the boy was so shrewd and wide-awake, he ordered his son to take a division of the cavalry and charge upon those who were carrying off the spoil. "And if," said he, "these others make a move against you, I will charge upon them, so that they will be forced to turn their attention to us."

So then Cyaxares took some of the most powerful horses and men and advanced. And when Cyrus saw them starting, he rushed off and soon took the lead, while Cyaxares followed after, and the rest also were not left behind. And when the foragers saw them approaching, they straightway let go their booty and took to flight. 21. But Cyrus and his followers tried to cut them off, and those whom they caught they at once struck down, Cyrus taking the lead; and they pursued hard after those who succeeded in getting past, and they did not give up but took some of them prisoners.

As a well-bred but untrained hound rushes recklessly upon a boar, so Cyrus rushed on, with regard
μόνον ὧρὸν τὸ παίειν τὸν ἀλησκόμενον, ἀλλὰ δὴ οὐδὲν προνοῶν.

Οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ὡς ἐώρων πονοῦντας τοὺς σφετέρους, προυκίνησαν τὸ στίφος, ὡς πανσομένους τοὺ διωγμοῦ, ἐπεὶ σφάς ἰδοιεν προορμήσαντας. 22. ὁ δὲ Κύρος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἄνειε, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς χαρμονῆς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θείον ἐδίωκε καὶ ἵσχυραν τὴν φυγήν τοὺς πολεμίους κατέχων ἐποίει, καὶ ὁ Κυαζάρης, μεντοὶ ἐφείπτο, ἵσωσ καὶ οἰσχυνόμενος τὸν πατέρα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἐλπιντο, προνυμότεροι ὄντες ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰς τὸ διώκειν καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνω πρὸς τοὺς ἐναιτόνοις ἄλκιμοι ὄντες.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ὡς ἔωρα τοὺς μὲν ἀπρονοήτως διώκοντας, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰθρόους τε καὶ τεταγμένους ὑπαιτῶντας, δείσας περὶ τε τοῦ νῖνο καὶ τοῦ Κύρου μὴ εἰς παρεσκευασμένους ἀτάκτως ἐμπεσόντες πάθοιεν τι, ἤγειτο εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.

23. Οἱ δ’ αὖ πολέμοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Μήδους προκινηθέντας, διατεινάμενοι οἱ μὲν τὰ παλτὰ οἱ δὲ τὰ τόξα εἰστήκεσαν, ὡς αὖ, ἐπειδὴ εἰς τόξευμα ἀφίκοντο, στηρισμένους, ὡσπερ τὰ πλείστα εἰόθεσαν ποιεῖν. μέχρι γὰρ τοσοῦτον, ὅπτε ἑγγύτατα γένοιτο, προσήλαιμον ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἤκροβλίζοντο πολλάκις μέχρι ἔστερας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρων τοὺς μὲν σφετέρους φυγήν εἰς ἐαυτοὺς φερομένους, τοὺς δ’ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρον ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀμοῦ ἀγομένους, τὸν δὲ Ἀστυάγην σὺν τοῖς ἅπποις

1 ἄνειε y, Edd. ; ἄνειες xzR.
2 ὡς αὖ, ἐπειδὴ Haug ; ὡς δὴ, ἐπειδὴ Marchant, Gemoll ; ὡς αὖ ἐπειδὴ yRC ; ἀλλ’ xz.
for nothing but to strike down every one he overtook and reckless of anything else.

The enemy, however, when they saw their comrades hard pressed, advanced their column in the hope that the Medes would give up the pursuit on seeing them push forward. 22. But none the more did Cyrus give over, but in his battle-joy he called to his uncle and continued the pursuit; and pressing on he put the enemy to headlong flight, and Cyaxares did not fail to follow, partly perhaps not to be shamed before his father; and the rest likewise followed, for under such circumstances they were more eager for the pursuit, even those who were not so very brave in the face of the enemy.

But when Astyages saw them pursuing recklessly and the enemy advancing in good order to meet them, he was afraid that something might happen to his son and Cyrus, if they fell in disorder upon the enemy in readiness for battle, and straightway he advanced upon the foe.

23. Now the enemy on their part, when they saw the Medes advance, halted, some with spears poised, others with bows drawn, expecting that the other side would also halt, as soon as they came within bow-shot, just as they were accustomed generally to do; for it was their habit to advance only so far against each other, when they came into closest quarters, and to skirmish with missiles, oftentimes till evening. But when they saw their comrades rushing in flight toward them, and Cyrus and his followers bearing down close upon them, and Astyages with his cavalry getting already within
 Xenophon

εντὸς γυνόμενον ἦδη τοξεύματος, ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ
φεύγουσιν ὅμοιων διώκοντας ἀνὰ κράτος.

"Ηροῦν δὲ πολλοὺς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοςκομένους
ἐπαινοῦ ἢ δπους καὶ ἄυδρας, τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας
κατέκαιουν· καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐστησαν πρὸς
τοὺς πεζοῦς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐγένοντο. ἐνταῦθα
μέντοι δείσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐνέδρα τις μελζών ὑπείη,
ἐπέσχον.

24. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀνήγεν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, μάλα χαὶ-
ρων καὶ τῇ ἱπποκρατίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Κύρον οὐκ ἔχοιν ὃ
tι χρὴ λέγειν, αἰτίων μὲν ὑντα εἰδὼς τοῦ ἔργου,
μανόμενον δὲ γυγνόσκον τῇ τόλμῃ. καὶ γὰρ τότε
ἀπιόντων οἴκαδε μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἐκεῶν οὐδὲν
ἀλλὸ ἢ τοὺς πεπτωκότας περιελαύνων ἔθεοτο, καὶ
μόλις αὐτὸν ἀφελκύσαντες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταχθέντες
προσήγαγον τῷ Ἀστυάγει, μάλα ἐπὶ προσθεὶν
ποιοῦμεν τοὺς προσάγοντας, ὡτι ἑώρα τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον τοῦ πάππου ἡγρομένου ἐπὶ τῇ θέα τῇ
αὐτοῦ.

25. Ἐν μὲν δὴ Μῆδος ταύτα ἐγεγένητο, καὶ οὐ τὲ
ἀλλοι πάντες τὸν Κύρον διὰ στόματος εἶχον καὶ ἐν
λόγῳ καὶ ἐν φίλοις, ὁ τε Ἀστυάγης καὶ πρόσθεν
τιμῶν αὐτὸν τότε ὑπερεξεπέπληκτο ἐπὶ αὐτῷ.
Καμβύςὶς δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κύρου πατὴρ ἦδετο μὲν πυν-
θανόμενος ταύτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκουσεν ἔργα ἄνδρος ἡγὴ
dιαχειριζόμενον τὸν Κύρον, ἀπεκάλει δὴ, ὡπως τὰ
ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπιχώρια ἐπιτελοῦντο. καὶ ὁ Κύρος δὲ
ἐνταὐθα λέγεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀπείναι βούλομαι, μὴ
ὁ πατὴρ τι ἄχθουτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μέμφοντο. καὶ τῷ

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

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bow-shot, they broke and fled with all their might from the Medes who followed hard after them.

The Medes caught up with many of them; and those whom they overtook they smote, both men and horses; and the fallen they slew. Nor did they stop, until they came up with the Assyrian infantry. Then, however, fearing lest some greater force might be lying in ambush, they came to a halt.

24. Then Astyages marched back, greatly rejoicing over the victory of his cavalry but not knowing what to say of Cyrus; for though he realized that his grandson was responsible for the outcome, yet he recognized also that he was frenzied with daring. And of this there was further evidence; for, as the rest made their way homeward, he did nothing but ride around alone and gloat upon the slain, and only with difficulty did those who were detailed to do so succeed in dragging him away and taking him to Astyages; and as he came, he set his escort well before him, for he saw that his grandfather's face was angry because of his gloating upon them.

25. Such was his life in Media; and Cyrus was not only on the tongues of all the rest both in story and in song, but Astyages also, while he had esteemed him before, was now highly delighted with him. And Cambyses, Cyrus's father, was pleased to learn this. But when he heard that Cyrus was already performing a man's deeds, he summoned him home to complete the regular curriculum in Persia. And Cyrus also, we are told, said then that he wished to go home, in order that his father might not feel any displeasure nor the state be disposed to
'Αστυάγει δὲ ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον ἀποπέμπτειν αὐτῶν.

Ἐνθα δὴ ἱπποὺς τε αὐτῷ δοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμει λαβεῖν καὶ ἄλλα συσκευάσας πολλὰ ἐπεμπεῖ καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἁμα ἐλπίδας ἔχων μεγάλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνδρὰ ἔσεσθαι ἰκανοῦ καὶ φίλους ὀφελεῖν καὶ ἐχθροὺς ἀνίὰν. ἀπίωντα δὲ τὸν Κύρον προὔπεμπον ἀπαντεῖ καὶ παῖδες [καὶ ἥλικες]1 καὶ ἀνδρεῖς καὶ γέροντες ἐφ' ἱππῶν καὶ Ἀστυάγης αὐτός, καὶ οὐδένα ἔφασαν ὄντων οὐ δακρύσατ' ἀποστρέφεσθαι. 26. καὶ Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸν λέγει τῷ σὺν πολλῶν δακρύσων ἀποχωρῆσαι. πολλὰ δὲ δώρα διαδοῦναλ φασιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἥλικιωταῖς διὸν Ἀστυάγης αὐτῷ ἐδεδώκει, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἢν εἶχε στολὴν τὴν Μηδικήν ἐκδύναν δοῦνα των [δήλον ὅτι τοῦτῳ] 2 δὲ μάλιστα ἡσπάζετο. τοὺς μεντο λαβόντας καὶ δεξαμένους τὰ δώρα λέγεται Ἀστυάγης ἀπενεγκείν, Ἀστυάγην δὲ δεξάμενον Κύρο ἀποτέμψαι, τὸν δὲ πάλιν τε ἀποπέμψαι εἰς Μηδικὸς καὶ εἰπεῖν, Εἰ βοῦλει, ὅ πάππε, ἐμὲ καὶ πάλιν ἠναίρετο ὡς καὶ μην αἰσχυνύμενον, ἐξ ἐξειν εἰ τῷ τι ἐγὼ δεδώκα. Ἀστυάγην δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα πούσησαι ὅστερ Κύρος ἐπέστειλεν.

27. Εἰ δὲ δὲ καὶ παιδικὸν λόγον ἐπιμνησθῆναι, λέγεται, ὅτε Κύρος ἀπῆκε καὶ ἀπηλλάττοντο ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων, τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλούντας τῷ στόματι ἀποπέμπεσθαι αὐτὸν νόμῳ Περσικῷ καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐτὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι Πέρσαι; ἀνδρὰ δὲ τινὰ τῶν

1 [καὶ ἥλικες] Hug; καὶ ἥλικες Gemoll; καὶ παῖδες Marchant.
criticise; and Astyages, too, thought it expedient to send him home.

So he let him go and not only gave him the horses that he desired to take, but he packed up many other things for him because of his love for him and also because he cherished high hopes that his grandson would be a man able both to help his friends and to give trouble to his enemies. And everybody, both boys and men, young and old, and Astyages himself, escorted him on horseback as he went, and they say that there was no one who turned back without tears. 26. And Cyrus also, it is said, departed very tearfully. And they say that he distributed as presents among his young friends many of the things that Astyages had given to him; and finally he took off the Median robe which he had on and gave it to one whom he loved very dearly. It is said, however, that those who received and accepted his presents carried them to Astyages, and Astyages received them and returned them to Cyrus; but Cyrus sent them back again to Media with this message: "If you wish me ever to come back to you again, grandfather, without having to be ashamed, permit those to whom I have given anything to keep it." And when Astyages heard this, he did as Cyrus's letter bade.

27. Now, if we may relate a sentimental story, we are told that when Cyrus was going away and they were taking leave of one another, his kinsmen bade him good-bye, after the Persian custom, with a kiss upon his lips. And that custom has survived, for so the Persians do even to this day. Now a certain
Μήδον μάλα καλὸν κάγαθον οὖντα ἐκπεπτλῆχθαι πολὺν τινα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ Κύρου, ἦνικα δὲ ἐώρα τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλοῦντας αὐτῶν, ὑπολειφθηναι· ἐπεὶ δ’ οἱ ἅλλοι ἀπῆλθον, προσελθεῖν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ εἴπειν, Ἐμὲ μόνον οὐ γυνώσκεις τῶν συγγενῶν, ὦ Κῦρε;

Τί δὲ, εἴπειν τὸν Κύρον, ἢ καὶ σὺ συγγενῆς εἶ;

Μάλιστα, φάναι.

Ταῦτ’ ἄρα, εἴπειν τὸν Κύρον, καὶ ἐνεώρας 1 μοι πολλάκις γὰρ δοκῶ σε γυνώσκειν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα.

Προσελθεῖν γὰρ σοι, ἔφη, ἀεὶ βουλόμενος ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑσχυνόμην.

'Αλλ’ οὖν ἔδει, φάναι τὸν Κύρον, συγγενῆ γε ὅντα· ἄμα δὲ προσελθόντα φιλήσαι αὐτῶν.

28. Καὶ τὸν Μῆδον φιληθέντα ἔρεσθαι, ὁ Καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις νόμος ἐστὶν οὕτος συγγενεῖς φιλεῖν;

Μάλιστα, φάναι, ὅταν γε ἰδὼσιν ἄλληλοις διὰ χρόνου ἦ ἀπίσσοι ποι ἄτ’ ἄλληλων.

"Ωρα ἄν εἴη, ἔφη ὁ Μῆδος, μάλα πάλιν σε φιλεῖν ἐμέ· ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ, ὡς ὅρᾶς, ἕδη.

Οὗτο καὶ τὸν Κύρον φιλήσαντα πάλιν ἀποπέμπειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. καὶ ὅδον τε οὗτο πολλὴν διηνύσθαι 2 αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν Μῆδον ἦκειν πάλιν

1 ἐνεώρας y, Edd.; ἐνορᾶς xz R.
2 διηνύσθαι R, Edd.; διερύσθαι xz; διεληλύσθαι y.
Median gentleman, very noble, had for some considerable time been struck with Cyrus's beauty, and when he saw the boy's kinsmen kissing him, he hung back. But when the rest were gone, he came up to Cyrus and said: "Am I the only one of your kinsmen, Cyrus, whom you do not recognize as such?"

"What," said Cyrus, "do you mean to say that you, too, are a kinsman?"

"Certainly," said he.

"That is the reason, then, it seems," said Cyrus "why you used to stare at me; for if I am not mistaken, I have often noticed you doing so."

"Yes," said he, "for though I was always desirous of coming to you, by the gods I was too bashful."

"Well, you ought not to have been—at any rate, if you were my kinsman," said Cyrus; and at the same time he went up and kissed him.

28. And when he had been given the kiss, the Mede asked: "Really, is it a custom in Persia to kiss one's kinsfolk?"

"Certainly," said he; "at least, when they see one another after a time of separation, or when they part from one another."

"It may be time, then, for you to kiss me once again," said the Mede; "for, as you see, I am parting from you now."

And so Cyrus kissed him good-bye again and went on his way. But they had not yet gone far, when the Mede came back with his horse in a
ΧΕΝΩΦΟΝ

ιδροῦντι τῷ ἔπτως· καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἴδοντα, Ἄλλ' ἦ, φάναι, ἐπελάθην τι δὲν ἦσσον ξυπνῆιν;
Μᾶ Δία, φάναι, Ἀλλ' ἦκω διὰ χρόνου.
Καὶ τὸν Κύρον εἰπεῖν, Νη Δῆ, ὡ σύγγενες, δὲν ὀλίγον ἔγε
Ποίου ὀλίγου; εἰπεῖν τὸν Μήδον, οὐκ οἶδα, φάναι, ὁ Κῦρε, ὅτι καὶ ὁ σος σκαρδαμύττω χρόνον,
pάνω πολύς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐχ ὁρῶ σε τότε ἡτοι 
τοιοῦτον ὄντα;
Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν Κύρον γελάσαι τε ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν δακρύσων καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἀπίστοι, ὅτι παρέσται αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον χρόνου, ὡστε ἄραν ἐξέσται κἂν βούληται ἀσκαρδαμυκτι.

V

1. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Κύρους οὗτος ἀπελθὼν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐνιαυτὸν λέγεται ἐν τοῖς παισίει ἔτι γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ παῖδες ἐσκοττων αὐτὸν ὡς ἰδυπαθεῖν ἐν Μήδοις μεμαθηκοῖς ἦκον· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐσθίοντα αὐτὸν ἑώρων ὡσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδεις καὶ πίνοντα, καὶ εἴ ποτ' ἐν ἐορτῇ εἰσέχει γένοιτο, ἐπιδιδόντα μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ μέρους ἦσσανοντο ἢ προσδέομενον, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ταλλὰ κρατιστεύοντα αὐτὸν ἑώρων ἐαυτῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάλιν ὑπέπτησον αὐτῷ οἱ ἥλικες.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ διελθὼν τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην ἡδὴ εἰσήλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἔφηβους, ἐν τούτοις αὐ ἐδόκει
lather. And when Cyrus saw him he said: “Why, how now? Did you forget something that you intended to say?”

“No, by Zeus,” said he, “but I have come back after a time of separation.”

“By Zeus, cousin,” said Cyrus, “a pretty short time.”

“Short, is it?” said the Mede; “don’t you know, Cyrus,” said he, “that even the time it takes me to wink seems an eternity to me, because during that time I do not see you, who are so handsome?”

Then Cyrus laughed through his tears and bade him go and be of good cheer, for in a little while he would come back to them, so that he might soon look at him—without winking, if he chose.

V

1. Now when Cyrus had returned, as before narrated, he is said to have spent one more year in the class of boys in Persia. And at first the boys were inclined to make fun of him, saying that he had come back after having learned to live a life of luxurious ease among the Medes. But when they saw him eating and drinking with no less relish than they themselves, and, if there ever was feasting at any celebration, freely giving away a part of his own share rather than asking for more; and when, in addition to this, they saw him surpassing them in other things as well, then again his comrades began to have proper respect for him.

And when he had passed through this discipline and had now entered the class of the youths, among these
κρατιστεύειν καὶ μελετῶν ἂς χρῆν ἦν καὶ καρτερῶν καὶ αἰδούμενος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ πειθόμενος τοὺς ἀρχοὺς.

2. Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ μὲν Ἀστυάγης ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις ἀποθνῄσκει, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς, τῆς δὲ Κύρου μητρὸς ἀδελφός, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε τῇ Μήδῳ.

Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατεστραμμένος μὲν πάντας Σύρους, φύλον πάμπολυ, ὑπῆκοον δὲ πεποιημένος τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα, ὑπηκόους δὲ ἔχων ἡδὴ καὶ Τρκανίους, πολυπολίκους δὲ καὶ Βακτρίους, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ τοὺς Μήδους ἄσθενείς ποιήσει, πάντων γε τῶν πέριξ ῥάδως ἄρξειν ἱσχυρότατον γὰρ τῶν ἐγγόνων φύλων τοῦτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι. 3. οὖτω δὴ διαπέμπει πρὸς τὸν ὑπ' αὐτὸν πάντας καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κασπάδοκον καὶ πρὸς Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ πρὸς Παφλαγόνας καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ πρὸς Κάρας καὶ Κίλικας, τὰ μὲν καὶ διαβάλλων τοὺς Μήδους καὶ Πέρσας, λέγων ὡς μεγάλα τ' εἴη ταῦτα ἔθνη καὶ ἱσχυρά καὶ συνεστηκότα εἰς ταύτο, καὶ ἐπηγαμίας ἀλλήλους πεποιημένους εἶν, καὶ κυνεύσουσιν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς φθάσας ἄσθενοςοι, ἔπει ἐν ἑκατον τῶν ἑυθονίων ταῖς καταστρέφοσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις πειθόμενοι συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ δώροις καὶ χρήμασιν ἀναπειθόμενοι πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοιαύτα ἤν αὐτῷ.

4. Κυαξάρης δὲ [ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς] ἐπελήγαθάνει τὴν τ' ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὴν παρασκευήν

1 χρῆν Zeune, Edkl.; χρῆ MSS.
2 δ... παῖς MSS., Dindorf; bracketed by Hug, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach, et al.
in turn he had the reputation of being the best both in attending to duty and in endurance, in respect toward his elders and in obedience to the officers.

2. In the course of time Astyages died in Media, and Cyaxares, the son of Astyages and brother of Cyrus's mother, succeeded to the Median throne.

At that time the king of Assyria had subjugated all Syria, a very large nation, and had made the king of Arabia his vassal; he already had Hyrcania under his dominion and was closely besetting Bactria. So he thought that if he should break the power of the Medes, he should easily obtain dominion over all the nations round about; for he considered the Medes the strongest of the neighbouring tribes. 3. Accordingly, he sent around to all those under his sway and to Croesus, the king of Lydia, to the king of Cappadocia; to both Phrygias, to Paphlagonia, India, Caria, and Cilicia; and to a certain extent also he misrepresented the Medes and Persians, for he said that they were great, powerful nations, that they had intermarried with each other, and were united in common interests, and that unless some one attacked them first and broke their power, they would be likely to make war upon each one of the nations singly and subjugate them. Some, then, entered into an alliance with him because they actually believed what he said; others, because they were bribed with gifts and money, for he had great wealth.

4. Now when Cyaxares heard of the plot and of the warlike preparations of the nations allied against
τῶν συνισταμένων ἐφ’ ἑαυτόν, αὐτὸς τε εὐθέως ὡσα ἐδύνατο ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο καὶ εἰς Πέρσας ἐπεμπε πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς Καμβύσην τὸν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντα καὶ βασιλεύοντα ἐν Πέρσασι. ἐπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κύρου, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ πει- ράσθαι ἄρχοντα ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἰ τινὰς πέμποι στρατιώτας τὸ Περσῶν κοινὸν. ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κύρος διατετελέκως τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις δέκα ἔτη ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἤν.

5. Οὕτω δὴ δεξαμένου τοῦ Κύρου οἱ βουλεύοντες γεραιτεροὶ αἱροῦνται αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς εἰς Μῦδος στρατιᾶς. ἔδοσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προσελέσθαι διακο- σίους τῶν ὀμοτίμων, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ τέτταρας ἔδωκαν προσελέσθαι καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῶν ὀμοτίμων· γίγνονται μὲν δὴ οὕτω ξίλῳ· τῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτων ἐκάστῳ ἔταξαν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Περσῶν δέκα μὲν πελταστὰς προσελέσθαι, δέκα δὲ σφενδονήτας, δέκα δὲ τοξότας· καὶ οὕτως ἔγινοντο μῦρῳ μὲν τοξόται, μῦροι δὲ πελτασταί, μῦροι δὲ σφενδονήται· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οἱ ξίλαι ὑπῆρχον. τοσαύτη μὲν δὴ στρατιὰ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐδόθη.

6. Ἐπει δὲ ἡρέθη τάχιστα, ἠρχετο πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν· καλλιεργήσαμεν δὲ τότε προσηρεῖτο τοὺς διακοσίους· ἐπει δὲ προσείλοντο καὶ σύντοι δὴ τούς τέτταρας ἐκαστοῖς, συνέλεξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπε τότε πρῶτον ἐν αὐτοῖς τάδε·

7. Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι, ἐγὼ προσειλόμην 1 μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον δοκιμάσας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ παιδῶν δρόν

1 προσειλόμην γR, Hug; προσειλόμην γx, other Edd.
him, without delay he made what counter preparations he could himself and also sent to Persia both to the general assembly and to his brother-in-law, Cambyses, who was king of Persia. And he sent word to Cyrus, too, asking him to try to come as commander of the men, in case the Persian state should send any troops. For Cyrus had by this time completed his ten years among the youths also and was now in the class of mature men.

5. So Cyrus accepted the invitation, and the elders in council chose him commander of the expedition to Media. And they further permitted him to choose two hundred peers to accompany him, and to each one of the two hundred peers in turn they gave authority to choose four more, these also from the peers. That made a thousand. And each one of the thousand in their turn they bade choose in addition from the common people of the Persians ten targeteers, ten slingers, and ten bowmen. That made ten thousand bowmen, ten thousand targeteers, and ten thousand slingers—not counting the original thousand. So large was the army given to Cyrus.

6. Now as soon as he was chosen, his first act was to consult the gods; and not till he had sacrificed and the omens were propitious, did he proceed to choose his two hundred men. And when these also had chosen each his four, he called them all together and then addressed them for the first time as follows:

7. "My friends, I have chosen you not because I now see your worth for the first time, but because

1 The "peers," or "equals-in-honour," were so called because they enjoyed equality of rights in matters of education, politics, and offices of honour and distinction. See Index, s.v.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΛΕΙΔ. Μάλα, της θείας βουλής, που συνίσταται, και το πλήρες του σιωπήματος, ούτως έγινε τότε τό πέντε παρεκάλεσα δηλώσαμεν, ούτως Βούλιοι.

8. Εγώ γὰρ κατευθύναμεν δοτι οἱ πρόγονοι χειρόνες μὲν ἡμῶν ὦδεν ἐγένοντο, ἀσκούντες γοῦν κακεῖνοι διετέλεσαν ἀπερ ἐργα ἀρετῆς νομίζετειν. οὔ τι μέντοι προσεκτήσαντες τοιοῦτοι ὠντες ἢ τῶν Περσῶν κοινῷ ἀγαθῶν ἢ αὐτοῖς, τοῦτ' οὐκέτι δύναμαι ἰδεῖν. Ἐ. καίτοι ἐγὼ οἷοι συνείλεον ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ὡς μηδὲν πλεῖον ἔχωσιν οἱ ἐσθλοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν πονηρῶν, ἀλλὰ οἱ τε τῶν παραντική ἡδονῶν ἀπεχόμενοι οὐχ ἦνα μηδέποτε εὐφρανθῶσι, τοῦτο πρᾶττουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσο διὰ ταύ- την τὴν ἐγκράτειαν πολλαπλάσια εἰς τὸν ἑπετα χρόνον εὐφρανούμενοι οὕτω παρασκεύομαι, οι τε λέγουσιν προθυμοῦμενοι δεινοὶ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἦνα εὐ λέγουσι μηδέποτε παύσωσιν, τοῦτο μελετῶ- σιν, ἀλλ' ἔλπιζοντες τὸ λέγειν εὐ πείθοντες ἀνθρώπους πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ διαπράξε- σθαι. οἱ τε αὐτὰ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀσκούντες οὗτος μηδέποτε παύσωσιν, τοῦτ' ἐκπονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι πολὺν μὲν ὃλον, πολλὰν δὲ εὐδαιμο- νίαν, μεγάλας δὲ τιμὰς καὶ ἐαυτοῖς καὶ πόλει περιάψειν.

10. Εἰ δὲ τινες ταῦτα ἐκπονησάντες πρὶν τινα καρπόν ἄπτ' αὐτῶν κομίσασθαι περιεῖδον αὐτοὺς γῆρα ἀδυνάτους γενόμενοις, ὥμοιον ἔμοιγεν δοκοῦσι

1 διαπράξεσθαι myzgxyR, Edd.; διαπράξεσθαι xyzR.
2 οἵ τε αὖ μὴ, Edd.; καὶ ό ταῦτα xxR.
I have observed that from your boyhood on you have been zealously following out all that the state considers right and abstaining altogether from all that it regards as wrong. As for myself, I wish to make known to you why I have not hesitated to assume this office and why I have invited you to join me.

8. "I have come to realize that our forefathers were no whit worse than we. At any rate, they also spent their time in practising what are considered the works of virtue. However, what they gained by being what they were, either for the commonwealth of the Persians or for themselves, I can by no means discover. 9. And yet I think that no virtue is practised by men except with the aim that the good, by being such, may have something more than the bad; and I believe that those who abstain from present pleasures do this not that they may never enjoy themselves, but by this self-restraint they prepare themselves to have many times greater enjoyment in time to come. And those who are eager to become able speakers study oratory, not that they may never cease from speaking eloquently, but in the hope that by their eloquence they may persuade men and accomplish great good. And those also who practise military science undergo this labour, not that they may never cease from fighting, but because they think that by gaining proficiency in the arts of war they will secure great wealth and happiness and honour both for themselves and for their country.

10. "But when men go through all this toil and then allow themselves to become old and feeble before they reap any fruit of their labours, they
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πεπονθέναι οἶνον εἴ τ' ἔη φεροῦσα ἁγάθος προθυμηθεὶς γενέσθαι καὶ εὖ σπείρων καὶ εὖ φυτεύων, ὅποτε καρποῦσθαι ταύτα δέοι, ἐφ' ἴν τὸν καρπὸν ἀσυγκόμιστον εἰς τὴν γῆν πάλιν καταρρεῖν. καὶ εἴ τ' ἔη ἄσκετής πολλὰ πονήσας καὶ ἀξιόνικος γενόμενος ἀναγόνωστος διατελέσειν, οὐδ' ἂν οὗτός μοι δοκεῖ δικαίως ἀναίτιος εἶναι ἀφροσύνῃς. 11. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, δὲ ἄνδρες, μὴ πάθωμεν ταύτα, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ σύνισμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ παίδων ἀρξάμενοι ἁσκηταὶ ὄντες τῶν καλῶν κἀκαθόν ἔργων, ἱκάνον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους, οὗς ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι ἰδιώτας ὄντας ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ πω οὗτοι ἰκανοὶ εἰσὶν ἀγωνισταί, οὐ ἂν τοξεύσαι καὶ ἀκοπτῆσαι καὶ ἐπιπέδωσιν ἐπιστημόνως, ἢν δὲ πονήσας δὲ, τούτῳ λείποις, ἀλλ' οὗτοι ἰδιῶται εἰσὶ κατὰ τοὺς πόνους· οὐδὲ γε οἰτινες ἀγρυπνῆσαι δέον ἥττωνται τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἰδιῶται κατὰ τὸν ψυχον· οὐδὲ γε οἱ ταύτα μὲν ἰκανοί, ἀπαίδευτοι δὲ ὡς χρῆ καὶ συμμάχοι καὶ πολεμίους χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι δῆλον ὡς τῶν μεγίστων παιδευμάτων ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν.

12. Ὁμεῖς δὲ νυκτὶ μὲν δῆτον ὄσαπερ ὦ ἄλλοι ἡμέρα δύνασθ' ἂν ἡρήσθαι, πόνους δὲ τοῦ ἔη ἢδεως ἐγεμόνας νομίζετε, λιμῷ δὲ ὄσαπερ ὕψο διαχρήσθε, ὑδροποιᾶν δὲ ράπου τῶν λεόντων φέρετε, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων καὶ πολεμικῶτατον

1 δύνασθ' ἂν xzR, Edd.; δύνασθε m y (you can).
seem to me at least to be like a man who, anxious to become a good farmer, should sow and plant well but, when harvest-time came, should permit his crop to fall back again to the ground ungathered. And again, if an athlete after long training and after getting himself in condition to win a victory should then persist in refusing to compete, not even he, I ween, would rightly be considered guiltless of folly. 11. But, fellow-soldiers, let us not make this mistake; but, conscious that from our boyhood on we have practised what is good and honourable, let us go against the enemy, who, I am sure, are too untrained to contend against us. For those men are not yet valiant warriors, who, however skilful in the use of bow or spear and in horsemanship, are still found wanting if it is ever necessary to suffer hardship; such persons are mere tiros when it comes to hardships. Nor are those men valiant warriors, who are found wanting when it is necessary to keep awake; but these also are mere tiros in the face of sleep. Nor yet are those men valiant warriors, who have these qualifications but have not been taught how they ought to treat comrades and how to treat enemies, but it is evident that they also are unacquainted with the most important branches of education.

12. "Now you, I take it, could make use of the night just as others do of the day; and you consider toil the guide to a happy life; hunger you use regularly as a sauce, and you endure drinking plain water more readily than lions do, while you have stored up in your souls that best
κτήμα εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς συγκεκόμησθε· ἐπαινούμενοι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἡ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπασι χαίρετε. τοὺς δ’ ἐπαίνου ἐραστάς ἀνάγκη 1 διὰ τοῦτο πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ἦδεως ὑποδύεσθαι. 2

13. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λέγω περὶ ύμῶν ἄλλη γνωστικικά, ἐμαυτὸν ἐξαπατῶ. ὅ τι γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβιβασεῖς παρ’ ύμών, εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἔλλειπον ἤξει. ἀλλὰ πιστεύω τοι τῇ πείρᾳ καὶ τῇ ύμῶν εἰς ἐμὲ εὐνοία καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων ἀνοίᾳ μὴ ψεύσειν με ταῦτα τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας. ἀλλὰ θαρροῦντες ὅρμωμεθα, ἔπειδὴ καὶ ἐκποδῶν ἦμιν γεγένηται τὸ δόξαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἄδικοις ἐφίεσθαι. ὅν γὰρ ἔρχονται μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι ἀρχοντες ἄδικων χειρῶν, καλοῦσι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐπικούρους οἱ φίλοι· τί οὖν ἔστω ἡ τοῦ ἀλέξασθαι δικαιότερον ἢ τοῦ τοῖς φίλοις ἀρίστειν κάλλιον;

14. Ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεινο οἶμαι ύμᾶς θαρρεῖν, τὸ μὴ παρημεληκότα με τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ποιεῖσθαι· πολλὰ γὰρ μοι συνόντες ἐπίστασθε οὐ μόνον τὰ μεγάλα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μικρὰ πειρόμενον ἀεὶ ἀπὸ θεῶν ὀρμᾶσθαι.

Τέλος εἰπε, Τί δει ἐτι λέγειν; ἀλλ’ ύμεῖς μὲν τοὺς άνδρας ἐλόμενοι καὶ ἀναλαβόντες καὶ τάλλα παρασκευασάμενοι ἰτε εἰς Μήδους· ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πρόειμι δή, ὃπως τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ως τάχιστα μαθῶν οἶα ἔστι παρασκευά-
of all possessions and the one most suitable to war: I mean, you enjoy praise more than anything else; and lovers of praise must for this reason gladly undergo every sort of hardship and every sort of danger.

13. "Now if I say this concerning you while I believe the contrary to be true, I deceive myself utterly. For if any of these qualities shall fail to be forthcoming in you, the loss will fall on me. But I feel confident, you see, both from my own experience and from your good-will toward me and from the ignorance of the enemy that these sanguine hopes will not deceive me. So let us set out with good heart, since we are free from the suspicion of even seeming to aim unjustly at other men's possessions. For, as it is, the enemy are coming, aggressors in wrong, and our friends are calling us to their assistance. What, then, is more justifiable than to defend oneself, or what more noble than to assist one's friends?

14. "This, moreover, will, I think, strengthen your confidence: I have not neglected the gods as we embark upon this expedition. For you have been with me enough to know that not only in great things but also in small I always try to begin with the approval of the gods.

"What more need I add?" he said in closing. "Choose you your men and get them together, and when you have made the necessary preparations come on to Media. As for myself, I will first return to my father and then go on ahead of you, to learn as soon as possible what the plans of the enemy are and to make what preparations I may require, in
ξωμαι ο τι άν δεωμαι, διπως ος καλλιστα συν θεοι 
αγονιζωμεθα.
Οι μεν δη ταυτα επραττον.

VI

1. Κυρος δε έλθων οικαδε και προσευξάμενος
'Εστια πατρόα και Διλ πατρόφω και τοις αλλοις
θεοις ώρματο έπι την στρατειαν, συμπρούπεμπε
dε αυτων και ο πατηρ. έπει δε έξω της οικιας
εγενοντο, λεγονταί αστραπαλ και βρονταλ αυτω
αλοιοι γενεσθαι. τοιτων δε φανετων ουδεν άλλο
ετι οιωνιζομενοι επορευόντο, ως ουδενα άν λυσαντα
τα του μεγιστον θεου σημεια. 2. προϊντα δε τη
Κυρο το πατηρ ήρχετο λόγου τοιούδε.

"Ω παι, οτι μεν οι θεοι ίλεφ τε και ευμενεις
πεμπουσι σε και εν ιεροις δηλον και εν ουρανοις
σημειοις γυνωσκεις δε και αυτος. έγω γαρ σε
tαυτα επιτηδεις εδιδαξάμην, διπως μη δι αλλων
ερμηνευν τα των θεων συμβουλιας συνιείς, άλλα
αυτος και ορων τα ώρατα και άκοινων τα 
ακουστα 
γυνωςκοι και μη έπι μαντεσιν εις, ει βουλοιντο
σε εξαπαταν έτερα λεγοντες ή τα παρα των θεων
σημαινομενα, μηδε αυ, ει ποτε άρα άνευ μαντεως

1 ουδένα άν λυσαντα GR, Marchant, Breitenbach; ουδένα άν
λυσαντα ΧΑΗ (no one would fail to see); ουδεν άλλο αδσαντα
D (for ΛΥΣΑΝΤΑ); ουδένα λυσαντα Dindorf; ουδένα άγνοησαντα
Gemoll (no one would fail to understand).

2 συνιείς Pantazides, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach; 
συν(e)ίς MSS., Dindorf, et al.
order that with God's help we may make as good a
fight as possible."

They, for their part, proceeded to do as he had
said.

VI

1. Now, when Cyrus had gone home and prayed to
ancestral Hestia, ancestral Zeus, and the rest of the
gods, he set out upon his expedition; and his father
also joined in escorting him on his way. And when
they were out of the house, it is said to have thundered
and lightened with happy auspices for him; and when
this manifestation had been made, they proceeded,
without taking any further auspices, in the convic-
tion that no one would make void the signs of the
supreme god. 2. Then, as they went on, his father
began to speak to Cyrus on this wise:

"My son, it is evident both from the sacrifices and
from the signs from the skies that the gods are
sending you forth with their grace and favour; and
you yourself must recognize it, for I had you taught
this art on purpose that you might not have to learn
the counsels of the gods through others as inter-
preters, but that you yourself, both seeing what is to
be seen and hearing what is to be heard, might
understand; for I would not have you at the mercy
of the soothsayers, in case they should wish to
deceive you by saying other things than those
revealed by the gods; and furthermore, if ever you
should be without a soothsayer, I would not have
you in doubt as to what to make of the divine
γενοιο, ἀποροὶ θεῖοι σημεῖος ὁ τι χρόφο, ἀλλὰ γυνώσκων διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμβουλεύομενα, τούτως πείθοιο.

3. Καὶ μὲν δ’, ὁ πάτερ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὡς ἂν ἰλεφ οἱ θεοὶ οὔτε ἦμῖν συμβουλεύειν ἐθέλωσιν, ὅσον δύναμαι κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον διατελῶ ἐπιμελόμενος. μέμνημαι γάρ, ἔφη, ἀκούσας ποτέ σου ὅτι εἰκότως ἂν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν πρακτικότερος εἰθ’ ὡσπερ καὶ παρ’ ἀνθρώπων ὅστις μὴ ὅποτε ἐν ἀπόροις εἴη, τότε κολακεύοι, ἀλλ’ ὅτε τὰ ἁριστὰ πράττοι, τότε μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν μεμνημένοι καὶ τῶν φίλων δ’ ἐφησθα χρὴναι ὡσαύτως οὕτως ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

4. Οὐκοῦν νῦν, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, διά γ’ ἐκεῖνας τὰς ἐπιμελείας ἤδιον μὲν ἔρχει πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δεησόμενος, ἐπιτίθεις δὲ μᾶλλον τεύξεσθαι ὅτι ἂν δὲ, ὅτι συνειδέναι σαντῷ δοκεῖς οὐπόστοι ἁμελήσας αὐτῶν;

Πάνω μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὁ πάτερ, ὡς πρὸς φίλους μοι ὅτας τοὺς θεοὺς οὕτω διάκειμαι.

5. Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, μέμνημαι ἐκεῖνα ἀ ποτε ἐδόκει ἦμῖν ὡς ἂπερ δεδόκασιν οἱ θεοὶ μαθόντας ἀνθρώπους βέλτιον πράττειν ἢ ἀνεπιστήμονας αὐτῶν ὅτας καὶ ἐργαζόμενους μᾶλλον ἀνύτειν ἢ ἀργούντας καὶ ἐπιμελομένους ἀσφαλεστερον διάγειν1 ἢ ἀφυλακτοῦντας, τούτων πέρι2 παρέχοντας οὖν τοιοῦτος ἐαυτοὺς οἴους δεῖ, οὕτως ἦμῖν ἐδόκει δεῖν καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι τὰγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν;

6. Ναὶ μὰ Δε’, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, μέμνημαι μέν-

1 [ἀρ] διάγειν Stephanus, Edd.; ἄν διάγειν MSS.
2 πέρι Madvig, Hug; not in MSS.
revelations, but by your soothsayer's art I would have you understand the counsels of the gods and obey them."

3. "Aye, father," said Cyrus, "as you have taught me, I always try to take care, as far as I can, that the gods may be gracious unto us and willingly give us counsel; for I remember," said he, "having once heard you say that that man would be more likely to have power with the gods, even as with men, who did not fawn upon them when he was in adversity, but remembered the gods most of all when he was in the highest prosperity. And for one's friends also, you said, one ought always to show one's regard in precisely the same way."

4. "Well, my son," said he, "and owing to that very regard do you not come to the gods with a better heart to pray, and do you not expect more confidently to obtain what you pray for, because you feel conscious of never having neglected them?"

"Yes, indeed, father," said he; "I feel toward the gods as if they were my friends."

5. "To be sure," said his father; "and do you remember the conclusion which once we reached—that as people who know what the gods have granted fare better than those who do not; as people who work accomplish more than those who are idle; as people who are careful live more securely than those who are indifferent; so in this matter it seemed to us that those only who had made themselves what they ought to be had a right to ask for corresponding blessings from the gods?"

6. "Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus; "I do indeed
τοι τοιαύτα ἀκούσας σου· καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη με
πείθεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ· καὶ γὰρ οἶδα σε λέγοντα ἅει
ός οὓδε θέμις εἰ ἀιτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὗτε
ιππεύειν μὴ μαθόντας ἑπομαχοῦντας νικάν, οὗτε
μὴ ἑπισταμένους τοξεύειν τοξεύοντας κρατεῖν τῶν
ἐπισταμένων, οὔτε μὴ ἑπισταμένους κυβερνάν
σώζειν εὐχεσθαι ναὸς κυβερνῶντας, οὐδὲ μὴ
σπείροντάς γε σῖτον εὐχεσθαι καλὸν αὐτοίς
φύεσθαι, οὐδὲ μὴ φυλαττομένους γε ἐν πολέμῳ
σωτηρίαν αἰτεῖσθαι· παρὰ γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν
θεσμοὺς πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα ἐιναί τοὺς δὲ ἀθέμιτα
εὐχομένους ὁμοίως ἐφησθα εἰκὸς ἐιναι παρὰ θεῶν
ἀτυχεῖν ὀσπερ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπρακτεῖν
τοὺς παράνομα δεομένους.

7. Ἐκείνων δὲ, ὡς παλί, ἐπελάθου ἢ ποτε ἐγὼ
καὶ σὺ ἐλογιζόμεθα ὡς ἴκανον εἰς καὶ καλὸν ἄνδρι
ἐργον, εἰ τις δύνατο ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὄπως ἂν αὐτός
τε καλὸς κἀγαθὸς δοκίμως γένοιτο καὶ τάπιτήθεια
αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ οἰκέται ἴκανος ἔχοιεν; τὸ δὲ,
tούτου μεγάλου ἐργον ὄντος, οὕτως ἐπιστασθαί
ἀνθρώπων ἀλλῶν προστατεύειν ὃπως ἔξουσι
πάντα τάπιτήθεια ἐκπλεω καὶ ὃπως ἔσονται
πάντες οἴους δεῖ, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν δῆτον ἥμιν
ἔφαινετο εἰναί.

8. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὡς πάτερ, μέμνημαι
καὶ τοῦτο σου λέγοντος· συνεδόκει σοι καὶ ἐμοὶ
ὑπερμέγεθες εἰναί ἔργον τὸ καλὸς ἄρχειν καὶ
νῦν γ', ἔφη, ταῦτα μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ὅταν πρὸς
αὐτὸ τὸ ἄρχειν σκοπὸν λογίζωμαι. ὅταν μέντοι
remember hearing you say so, and all the more because I could not help but agree with what you said. For I know that you always used to say that those who had not learned to ride had no right to ask the gods to give them victory in a cavalry battle; and those who did not know how to shoot had no right to ask to excel in marksmanship those who did know how; and those who did not know how to steer had no right to pray that they might save ships by taking the helm; neither had those who did not sow at all any right to pray for a fine crop, nor those who were not watchful in war to ask for preservation; for all that is contrary to the ordinances of the gods. You said, moreover, that it was quite as likely that those who prayed for what was not right should fail of success with the gods as that those who asked for what was contrary to human law should be disappointed at the hands of men.”

7. “But, my son, have you forgotten the discussion you and I once had—that it was a great task and one worthy of a man, to do the best he could not only to prove himself a truly good and noble man but also to provide a good living both for himself and his household? And while this was a great task, still, to understand how to govern other people so that they might have all the necessaries of life in abundance and might all become what they ought to be, this seemed to us worthy of all admiration.”

8. “Yes, by Zeus, father,” said he, “I do remember your saying this also; and I agreed with you, too, that it was an exceedingly difficult task to govern well; and now,” said he, “I hold this same opinion still, when I consider the matter and think of the principles of governing. When I look at other people,
γε πρὸς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἴδων κατανοήσω ὅλοι ὑπερήφανοιοί ἔσται, πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ αἰσχρόν εἶναι τὸ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς ὑποπτῆξαι καὶ μὴ ἐθέλειν λέναι αὐτοῖς ἀνταγωνισμένος· οὐς, ἔφη, ἔγω αἰσθάνομαι ἄρξαμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων τούτων ἠγουμένους δεῖν τὸν ἀρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν τῷ καὶ πολυτελέστερον δειπνεῖν καὶ πλέον ἔχειν ἑυδογ χρυσόν καὶ πλείονα χρόνον καθεύδειν καὶ πάντα ἀπονότερον τῶν ἀρχομένων διάγειν. ἔγω δὲ οἶμαι, ἔφη, τὸν ἀρχοντά σὺ τῷ ῥάδιουργεῖν χρῆναι διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ τῷ προνοεῖν καὶ φιλοπονεῖν.1

9. Ἀλλά τοι, ἔφη, ὃ παί, ἐνιά ἐστιν ἃ σὺ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀγωνιστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, διὸ τὸ ῥάδιον εὐποροὺς περιγενέσθαι. 

αὐτικα δὴ ποὺ οἴσθα ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐξει τᾶττήθεια ἡ στρατιά, καταλελύστει2 σου ἡ ἀρχή.

Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, Κυαξάρης φησὶ παρέξειν τοὺς ἐνεπεύθεν ἰούσι πᾶσιν ὀπόσιν ἄν ὅσι.

Τούτων δὴ σὺ, ἔφη, ὃ παί, πιστεύων ἔρχει τοῖς παρὰ Κυαξάρον χρήμασιν;

"Ἐγγὺ," ἔφη ὁ Κύρος.

Τί δὲ, ἔφη, οἴσθα ὀπόσα αὐτῶ ἐστί;

Μὰ τὸν Δι’, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, σὺ μὲν δῆ.
however, and observe what sort of men those are who, in spite of their character, continue to rule over them, and what sort of opponents we are going to have, it seems to me an utter disgrace to show any respect for such as they are and not to wish to go to fight them. To begin with our own friends here," he continued, "I observe that the Medes consider it necessary for the one who governs them to surpass the governed in greater sumptuousness of fare, in the possession of more money in his palace, in longer hours of sleep, and in a more luxurious manner of life, in every respect, than the governed. But I think," he added, "that the ruler ought to surpass those under his rule not in self-indulgence, but in taking forethought and willingly undergoing toil."

9. "But let me tell you, my boy," said the other, "there are some instances in which we must wrestle not against men but against actual facts, and it is not so easy to get the better of these without trouble. For instance, you doubtless know that if your army does not receive its rations, your authority will soon come to naught."

"Yes, father," said he; "but Cyaxares says that he will furnish supplies for all who come from here, however many they be."

"But, my son," said he, "do you mean to say that you are marching out trusting to the funds at the command of Cyaxares?"

"Yes, I do," said Cyrus.  "But say," said his father, "do you know how much he has?"

"No, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "I know nothing about it."
"Ομως δὲ τούτοις πιστεύεις τοῖς ὕδηλοις; ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν μὲν σοι δεήσει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα νῦν ἀνάγκη δαπανᾶν ἐκείνου, οὐ γιγνώσκεις; ¹

Γυγνώσκω, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος.

"Ἡν οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπιλίπη αὐτὸν ἡ δαπάνη ἢ καὶ ἐκών ψεύστηται, πῶς σοι ἔξει τὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς; Δῆλον οτι οὐ καλῶς. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ὁ πάτερ, σὺ εἰ ἔνορὰς τινα πόρον καὶ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἂν προσγενόμενον, ἔως ἐτι ἐν φιλίᾳ ἔσμεν, λέγε.

10. Ἐρωτᾶς, ἔφη, ὃ παῖ, ποῦ ἂν ἀπὸ σοῦ πόρος προσγένοιτο; ἀπὸ τίνος δὲ μᾶλλον εἰκός ἔστι πόρον γενέσθαι ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ δύναμιν ἔχοντος; σὺ δὲ πεζῆν μὲν δύναμιν ἐνδέεις ἐχων ἐρχεῖ άνθ' ἢς οἶδ' ὅτι πολλαπλασίαν ἄλλην οὐκ ἂν δέξαιο, ἵππικὸν δὲ σοι, ὅπερ κράτιστον, ὁ Μῆδων σύμμαχον ἔσται. ποῖον οὖν ἔθνος τῶν πέριξ οὗ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενον ὑμῖν ὑπηρετήσεις καὶ φοβούμενον μὴ τι πάθῃ; ἡ χρή σε κοινή σὺν Κυαζάρη σκοπεῖσθαι μήποτε ἐπιλίπη τι ύμᾶς ἂν δεῖ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔθους δὲ ἔνεκα μηχανᾶσθαι προσόδου πόρον. τόδε δὲ πάντων μάλιστα μοι μέμνησο μηδέποτε ἀναμένειν τὸ πορίζεσθαι τάπιτηδεία ἐστ' ἂν ἡ χρεία σε ἀναγκάσῃ· ἀλλ' ὅταν μάλιστα εὐπορῆς, τότε πρὸ τῆς ἀπορίας μηχανῶ. καὶ γὰρ τεύξει

¹ ἐκείνον, οὐ γιγνώσκεις Η, Hug, Marchant, Breitenbach; αὐτὸν, οὐ γ., yπ, Gemoll; ἐκείνο οὐ γ. xAGR, Dindorf.

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“And do you nevertheless trust to these uncertainties? And do you not know that you will need many things and that he must now have many other expenses?”

“Yes,” said Cyrus, “I do.”

“Well, then,” said he, “if his resources fail or if he play you false on purpose, how will your army fare?”

“Evidently not very well; but father,” said he, “if you have in mind any means that I might find at my own command for obtaining supplies, tell me about it, while we are still in a friendly country.”

10. “Do you ask me, my son,” said he, “where you might yourself find means? Where might you better look to find the means of obtaining supplies than to the one who has an army? Now you are marching out from here with a force of infantry which you would not exchange, I am sure, for any other though many time as large; and you will have for cavalry to support you the Median horse, the best cavalry troops in the world. What nation, then, of those around do you suppose will refuse to serve you, both from the wish to do your side a favour, and for fear of suffering harm? And therefore in common with Cyaxares you should take care that you may never be without any of the things you need to have, and as a matter of habit, too, contrive some means of revenue. And above all I beg you to remember this: never postpone procuring supplies until want compels you to it; but when you have the greatest abundance, then take measures against want. And this is most expedient; for you will obtain more from those upon whom you
μᾶλλον παρ’ ὃν ἄν δέῃ μῆ ἄπορος δοκῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐτί ἀναίτιος ἐσεἰ παρὰ τοὺς σαντοῦ στρατιώταις· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπ’ ἄλλων αἰδοὺς τεῦξει, καὶ ἢν τινας βούλῃ ἢ εὐ ποιῆσαι τῇ δυνάμει ἡ κακῶς, μᾶλλον ἐως ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ δέοντα οἱ στρατιώται ὑπηρετήσουσι σοι, καὶ πειστικωτέρους, σάφ’ ἵσθι, λόγους δυνήσει τότε λέγειν ὀταντέρ καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι μάλιστα δύνη καὶ εὐ ποιεῖν ἴκανὸς ὄν καὶ κακῶς.

11. Ἀλλ’, ἔφη, δ’ πάτερ, ἄλλως τέ μοι καλῶς δοκεῖς ταῦτα λέγειν πάντα, καὶ ὅτι ὅν μὲν νῦν λέγονται λήψεσθαι οἱ στρατιώται, οὐδέπου αὐτῶν ἐμοὶ τούτων χάριν εἰσεταί ἰσασί γὰρ ἐφ’ ὦς αὐτῶς Καμαζάρης ἐπάγεται ἡ συμμάχους· ὁ τί δ’ ἂν πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους λαμβάνῃ τίς, ταῦτα καὶ τιμῆς νομιμότητι καὶ χάριν τούτων εἰκός εἰ- δεναι τῷ διδόντι. τὸ δ’ ἔχουσα δύναμιν ἂ ἐστι μὲν φίλους εὐ ποιοῦντα ἀντωφελεῖσθαι, ἐστι δὲ ἐχθροὺς [ἔχουσα] ἐπιράσθαι τίσασθαι, ἐπειτ’ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ πορίζεσθαι, οἷον τί, ἔφη, ἢττὸν τι τοῦτο εἰναι αἰσχρόν ἢ εἰ τις ἔχων μὲν ἀγροῦς, ἔχων δὲ εὐγάτας οἷς ἂν ἑργάζοιτο, ἐπειτ’ ἔσῃ τὴν ἠργοῦσαν ἀνωφέλητον εἰναι; ὡς 3 γ’ ἐμοῦ, ἔφη, μηδέποτε ἀμελήσωντος τοῦ τάπτιθείναι τοῖς στρατιώταις συμπληκτάσθαι μήτ’ ἐν φίλᾳ μήτ’ ἐν πολεμίᾳ οὕτως ἔχε τὴν γνώμην.

1 ἐπάγεται: Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἐγέται MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.
3 ὡς MSS.; “ὡς Edd., as if Cambyses spoke here.
make demands, if you do not seem to be in want, and besides you will thus be blameless in the eyes of your own soldiers; in this way, furthermore, you will command more respect from others also, and if you wish to do good or ill to any one with your forces, your soldiers will serve you better as long as they have what they need. And let me assure you that the words you say will have more more power to convince, when you can abundantly prove that you are in a position to do both good and ill."

11. "Well, father," said he, "it seems to me that you are right in all you say, both on other grounds and also because not one of my soldiers will be grateful to me for that which according to the agreement he is to receive; for they know on what terms Cyaxares is having them brought as his allies. But whatever any one receives in addition to what has been agreed upon, that he will consider as a reward, and he will probably be grateful to the giver. But for a man to have an army with which he may do good to his friends and get help in return and try to punish his enemies, and for him then to neglect to make due provision for it, do you think," said he, "that this is in any way less disgraceful than for a man to have fields and labourers to work them and after all to let his land lie idle and unprofitable? But," he added, "I, at any rate, shall not fail to provide supplies for my men, whether in a friendly or in a hostile land—you may be certain of that."
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12. Τι γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, τῶν ἄλλων, ἃν ἐδοκεὶ ποθὲ ἦμιν ἀναγκαίον εἶναι μὴ παραμελεῖν, ἢ μέμνησαι;

Εὔ1 γάρ, ἔφη, μέμνημαι ὅτε ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς σὲ ἦλθον ἐπὶ ἀργύριον, ὅπως ἀποδοθῇ τῷ φάσκοντι στρατηγεῖν με πεπαιδευκέναι, σὺ δὲ ἀμα διδοὺς μοι ἐπηρώτας ὡδὲ πως, Ἀρά γε, εἶπας, ὦ παῖ, ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς καὶ οἰκονομίαις τί σοι ἐπεμνήσθη ὁ ἀνήρ ὢ τὸν μισθὸν φέρεις; οὐδὲν μέντοι ἤττον οἱ στρατιῶται τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δέονται ἢ οἱ ἐν οἶκῳ οἰκεῖται. ἔπει δ' ἐγὼ σοι λέγον τάληθ' ἐίπον ὅτι οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν περί τοῦτον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἐπήρου με πάλιν εἰ τί μοι ὑγιείας πέρι ἡ ρώμης ἔλεξεν, ὡς δέσσον καὶ τούτων ὁσπερ καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπιμέλεσθαι. 13. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπέφησα, ἐπήρου με αὐ τάλιν εἰ τινας τεχνὰς ἐδίδαξεν, αἰ2 τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων κράτισται3 ἂν σύμμαχοι γένοιτο. ἀποφήσαντος δὲ μου καὶ τούτῳ ἀνέκρινας αὐ σὺ καὶ τόδε εἰ τί μ' ἐπαιδευσεν ὡς ἂν δύνασθη στρατιὰ προθυμίαν ἐμβάλειν, λέγων ὅτι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρει ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ προθυμία ἀθυμίας. ἔπει δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἄνευνον, ἠλεγχες αὐ σὺ εἰ τινα λόγον ποιήσαντο διδάσκασιν περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν, ὡς ἂν τις μάλιστα μηχανῶτο. 14. ἔπει δὲ καὶ τούτῳ παντάπασιν ἄρρητον ἐφαίνετο, τέλος δὴ μ'. ἐπήρου ὅ τι ποτὲ διδάσκασιν

1 eδ Jacob, Hug, Gemoll; οὐ MSS. Dindorf, Marchant, Breitenbach.
2 αὶ Pantazides, most Edd.; αἱς xx, Dindorf, et al.
3 κράτισται Hertlein, most Edd.; κράτιστοι MSS., Dindorf, et al.

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12. "Well then, my boy," said his father, "tell me, do you remember the other points which, we agreed, must not be neglected—eh?"

"Yes," said he, "I remember well when I came to you for money to pay to the man who professed to have taught me to be a general; and you, while you gave it me, asked a question something like this: 'Of course,' you said, 'the man to whom you are taking the pay has given you instruction in domestic economy as a part of the duties of a general, has he not? At any rate, the soldiers need provisions no whit less than the servants in your house.' And when I told you the truth and said that he had given me no instruction whatever in this subject, you asked me further whether he had said anything to me about health or strength, inasmuch as it would be requisite for the general to take thought for these matters as well as for the conduct of his campaign.

13. And when I said 'no' to this also, you asked me once more whether he had taught me any arts that would be the best helps in the business of war. And when I said 'no' to this as well, you put this further question, whether he had put me through any training so that I might be able to inspire my soldiers with enthusiasm, adding that in every project enthusiasm or faintheartedness made all the difference in the world. And when I shook my head in response to this likewise, you questioned me again whether he had given me any lessons to teach me how best to secure obedience on the part of an army. 14. And when this also appeared not to have
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στρατηγίαν φαίη με διδάσκειν. κάνῳ δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι τὰ τακτικά. καὶ σὺ γελάσας ἠξῆλθες μοι παρατιθέεις ἑκαστὸν τί εἰη ὁφελος στρατιὰ τακτικῶν ἀνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τί δ᾽ ἀνευ τοῦ ἡγείαιν, τί δ᾽ ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπιστάσσειν τὰς ἡρμῆνες εἰς πόλεμον τέχνας, . . . τί δ᾽ ἀνευ τοῦ πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ μοι καταφανὲς ἐποίη-

σας ὅτι μικρὸν τι μέρος εἰη στρατηγίας τὰ τακτικά, ἐπερομένου μου εἰ τι τούτων σὺ με
didάξαι ἰκανός εἰης, ἀπίνοτα με ἐκέλευσας τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς νομίζομενοι ἀνδράσι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πυθέσθαι τῇ ἑκαστα τούτων γίγνεται. 15. ἐκ
toῦτον δὴ συνῆη τούτω ἐγώ, οὐς μάλιστα φρονί-
mous περὶ τοῦτων ἦκουν εἶναι. καὶ περὶ μὲν
troφῆς ἐπείσθην ἰκανόν εἶναι ὑπάρχον ὃ τι
Κναξάρης ἔμελλε παρέξειν ἡμῖν, περὶ δὲ ἡγείαις,
ἀκούν καὶ ὄρῳ ὅτι καὶ πόλεις αἱ χρήζουσαι

γείαιν ἱατροὺς αἴροῦνται καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ
tῶν στρατιωτῶν ἑνεκεν ἱατροὺς ἐξάγουσιν, οὔτω
cαὶ ἔγω ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦτῳ ἐγενόμην, εὑρὼς
tοῦτον ἐπεμελήθην, καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ,
pάνω ἰκανοὺς τὴν ἱατρικὴν τέχνην ἐξειν μετ'
ἐμαυτοῦ ἀνδρας.

16. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ πατὴρ ἐπευ, Ἑλλ',
ὁ παῖ, ἔφη, οὕτω μὲν οὕς λέγεις, ὅσπερ

ἰματίων ῥαγέντων εἰσὶ τινὲς ἀκεστάλ, οὕτω καὶ
οἱ ἱατροὶ, ὅταν τινὲς νοσήσωσι, τότε ἱενται
toῦτος; σοι δὲ τοῦτο μεγαλοπρεπεστέρα ἔσται

1 A lacuna, from which something like τί δ᾽ ἀνευ τοῦ προθυ-

μιαν ὑχείν is lost, Poppo, Gemoll, Marchant.

2 ἀκεστάλ ἡ, Photius, Cobet, Breitenbach, Gemoll, Mar-

chant; ἣπισταὶ καὶ, Dindorf, et al.

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been discussed at all, you finally asked me what in
the world he had been teaching me that he pro-
fessed to have been teaching me generalship. And
thereupon I answered, 'tactics.' And you laughed
and went through it all, explaining point by point,
as you asked of what conceivable use tactics could
be to an army, without provisions and health, and
of what use it could be without the knowledge
of the arts invented for warfare and without obedi-
ence. And when you had made it clear to me
that tactics was only a small part of generalship,
I asked you if you could teach me any of those
things, and you bade me go and talk with the
men who were reputed to be masters of military
science and find out how each one of those
problems was to be met. 15. Thereupon I joined
myself to those who I heard were most proficient
in those branches. And in regard to provisions—
I was persuaded that what Cyaxares was to furnish
us was enough if it should be forthcoming; and
in regard to health—as I had always heard and
observed that states that wished to be healthy
elected a board of health, and also that generals for
the sake of their soldiers took physicians out with
them, so also when I was appointed to this position,
I immediately took thought for this; and I think,"
he added, "that you will find that I have with me
men eminent in the medical profession."

16. "Yes, my son," said his father in reply to this,
"but just as there are menders of torn garments, so
also these physicians whom you mention heal us
when we fall sick. But your responsibility for
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η τῆς ὕγιειας ἐπιμέλεια: τό γάρ ἄρχην μὴ κάμνειν τῷ στράτευμα, τὸντο σοι δεῖ μέλειν.

Καὶ τίνα δὴ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, ὦδὸν ἵνα τούτῳ πράττειν ἰκανὸς ἔσομαι;

Ἡν μὲν δήπου χρόνον τινὰ μέλλης ἐν τῷ αὐτῶ μένειν, ὕγιεινον πρῶτον δεῖ στρατοπέδου μη ἀμέλησαι τούτων δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις, εἶναις μελήσῃ σοι. καὶ γὰρ λέγοντες οὐδὲν παύονται ἀνθρώποι περί τινὸς νοσηρῶν χωρίων καὶ περί τῶν ὕγιεινῶν μάρτυρες δὲ σαφεῖς ἐκατέρως αὐτῶν παρίσταται τα τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρώματα. ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ τὰ χωρία μόνον ἀρκέσει σκέφασθαι, ἀλλὰ μνήμησθι σὺ πῶς πειραὶ σαντοῦ ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως ὑγιαίνῃς.

17. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Πρῶτον μὲν νὴ Δία πειρώμαι μηδὲ ποτὲ ὑπερπλήσασθαι δύσφορον γάρ ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκπονῶ τὰ εἰσίοντα οὕτω γάρ μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε υγίεια μᾶλλον παραμένειν καὶ ἰσχύς προσγενέσθαι.

Οὗτῳ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὃ παῖ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεῖ ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

Ἡ καὶ σχολή, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, ἕσται σωματικῶς τοῖς στρατιώταις;

Οὗ μὰ Δι', ἔφη ὁ πατήρ, οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη. δεῖ γὰρ δήπου στρατιῶν, εἰ μέλλει πράξειν τὰ δέοντα, μηδέποτε παύεσθαι ἢ τοῖς πολέμοις κακὰ πορσύνουσαν ἢ ἐαυτῇ ἀγαθά· ὡς χαλεπὸν μὲν καὶ ἕνα ἀνθρώπον ἄργον τρέφεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ ἐτί χαλεπότερον, ὃ παῖ, οἶκον ὅλον, πάντων δὲ χαλεπῶτατον στρατιῶν ἄργου τρέφειν, πλεῖστα τε γὰρ τὰ ἐσθίοντα ἐν στρατιᾷ καὶ ἀπ' ἐλαχίστων ὀρμῶμενα καὶ οἷς ἂν λάβῃ
health will be a larger one than that: you must see to it that your army does not get sick at all."

"And pray what course shall I take, father," said he, "that I may be able to accomplish that?"

"In the first place, if you are going to stay for some time in the same neighbourhood, you must not neglect to find a sanitary location for your camp; and with proper attention you can not fail in this. For people are continually talking about unhealthful localities and localities that are healthful; and you may find clear witnesses to either in the physique and complexion of the inhabitants; and in the second place, it is not enough to have regard to the localities only, but tell me what means you adopt to keep well yourself."

17. "In the first place, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "I try never to eat too much, for that is oppressive; and in the second place, I work off by exercise what I have eaten, for by so doing health seems more likely to endure and strength to accrue."

"That, then, my son," said he, "is the way in which you must take care of the rest also."

"Yes, father," said he; "but will the soldiers find leisure for taking physical exercise?"

"Nay, by Zeus," said his father, "they not only can, but they actually must. For if an army is to do its duty, it is absolutely necessary that it never cease to contrive both evil for the enemy and good for itself. What a burden it is to support even one idle man! It is more burdensome still to support a whole household in idleness; but the worst burden of all is to support an army in idleness. For not only are the mouths in an army very numerous but the supplies they start with are exceedingly limited,
δαψιλέστατα χρώμενα, ὡστε οὗτοι ἄργειν δεῖσθαι στρατιάν.

18. Λέγεις σὺ, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, ὡς ἐμὸλ δοκεῖ, ὡσπερ οὗδὲ γεωργῷ ἄργοι οὐδὲν ὄφελος, οὗτος οὗδὲ στρατηγῷ ἄργοντος οὗδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι.

Τὸν δὲ γε ἐργάτην στρατηγὸν ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἀναδέχομαι, ἣν μὴ τις θεὸς βλάπτῃ, ἀμα καὶ τάπιτηδεια μάλιστα ἐχοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποδείξειν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀριστα ἐχοντας παρασκευάσειν.

'Αλλ' μέντοι, ἔφη, τὸ γε μελετᾶσθαι ἕκαστα τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων, ἄγωνας ἂν τίς μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, προευτων ἐκάστοις καὶ άθλα προτείθεις μάλιστ' ἂν ποιεῖν εὐ ἄσκεισθαι ἕκαστα, ὡστε 1 ὅποτε δέοιτο ἕχειν ἂν παρασκευασμένοις χρῆσθαι.

Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἔφη, ὃ παῖ· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσας, σάφ' ἵσθι, ὡσπερ χοροὺς τὰς τάξεις ἄει τὰ προσήκοντα μελετώσας θεάσει.

19. 'Αλλ' μὴν, ὦ Κύρος ἔφη, εἰς γε τὸ προθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν στρατιώτας οὐδὲν μοι δοκεῖ ἰκανώτερον εἶναι ἢ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐλπίδας ἐμποιεῖν ἀνθρώποις.

'Αλλ', ἔφη, ὃ παῖ, τοῦτο γε τοιοῦτὸν ἔτην οἰόντερ εἰ τις κύνας ἐν θῆρα ἀνακαλοῖτο ἁεὶ τῇ κλήσει ἦπερ ὅταν τὸ θηρίον ὀρᾶ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον προθύμως εῦ οἶδ' ὅτι ἔχει ὑπακοουόσας· ἢν δὲ πολλάκις ψεύδηται αὐτάς, τελευτάσαι οὖδ' ὅπωτεν ἄληθῶς ὁρῶν καλῆ πείθομαι αὐτῶ. οὔτω καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων


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and they use up most extravagantly whatever they get, so that an army must never be left idle."

18. "Methinks you mean, father," said he, "that just as a lazy farmer is of no account, so also a lazy general is of no account at all."

"But at any rate, as regards the energetic general," said his father, "I can vouch for it that, unless some god do cross him, he will keep his soldiers abundantly supplied with provisions and at the same time in the best physical condition."

"Yes," said Cyrus; "but at all events, as to practice in the various warlike exercises, it seems to me, father, that by announcing contests in each one and offering prizes you would best secure practice in them, so that you would have everything prepared for use, whenever you might need it."

"Quite right, my son," said he; "for if you do that you may be sure that you will see your companies performing their proper parts like trained sets of dancers."

19. "In the next place," said Cyrus, "for putting enthusiasm into the soldiers nothing seems to be more effectual than the power of inspiring men with hopes."

"Yes, my son," said he; "but that is just as if any one on a hunt should always call up his dogs with the call that he uses when he sees the quarry. For at first, to be sure, he will find them obeying him eagerly; but if he deceives them often, in the end they will not obey him when he calls, even though he really does see a wild beast. So it stands with respect to those hopes also. If any one too
ἐχει ὑν πολλάκις προσδοκιάς ἁγαθῶν ἐμβαλὼν ψεύδηταί τις, οὐδ' ὁπόταν ἀληθεὶς ἐλπίδας λέγῃ ο τοιοῦτος πείθειν δύναται. ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἢ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδεὶς εἰργεσθαί δεί, ο παῖ, ἀλλοι δ' ἐνετοὶ Πλέοντες ταύτ' ἂν διαπράττουεν· τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ παρακέλευσιν εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους δεί ὡς μᾶλιστα ἐν πίστει διασώζειν.

Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μᾶ τὸν Δῆ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὁ πάτερ, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐτως ἦδιον. 20. τὸ γε μὴν πειθομένους παρέχεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἀπείρως μοι δοκῶ αὐτοῦ ἔχειν, ὁ πάτερ· σύ τε γὰρ με εὐθὺς τοῦτο ἐκ παιδίου ἐπαινεῖνς, σαντῷ πείθεσθαι ἀναγκάζων· ἐπειτα τοῖς διδασκάλοις παρέδωκας, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὖ ταῦτο τοῦτο ἐπράττουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐφηβοῖς ἦμεν, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἵσχυρὸς ἐπεμέλετο· καὶ οἱ νόμοι δὲ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα δύο μᾶλιστα διδάσκειν, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ τοῖς κατανοοῦν περὶ τούτων ἐν πάσιν ορῶν μοι δοκῶ τὸ προτρέπον πείθεσθαι μᾶλιστα διὸ τὸ τὸν πειθόμενον ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀπείθοντα ἀτιμάζειν τε καὶ κολάζειν.

21. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν γε τὸ ἀνάγκη ἐπεσθαίν αὐτῇ, ο παῖ, ἢ ὁδὸς ἄστιν· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον τοῦτον πολύ, τὸ ἐκόντας πείθεσθαι, ἄλλῃ ἐστὶ συντομωτέρᾳ. δὲν γὰρ ἂν ἡγησόμεθα περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἑαυτοῖς φρονιμώτερον ἑαυτῶν εἶναι, τοῦτῳ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὑπερήφανοι πείθονται. γνώσας δὲ ἂν ὅτι τούθ' οὐτως ἔχει ἐν ἄλλους τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ

1 ἐνετοὶ Dindorf, most Edd.; ἐνετοὶ xyG; αὐνέται ΑΗ; not in R.

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often raises false expectations of good things to come, eventually he can gain no credence, even when he holds forth well-grounded hopes. But, my son, you should refrain from saying what you are not perfectly sure of; by making certain others your mouthpiece, however, the desired end may be accomplished; but faith in your own words of encouragement you must keep sacred to the utmost to serve you in the greatest crises."

"Yes, by Zeus, father," said Cyrus; "I think you are right in what you say, and I like your idea better. 20. And then in regard to keeping the soldiers in a state of obedience, I think, father, that I am not inexperienced in that direction; for you instructed me in obedience from my very childhood on, compelling me to obey you. Then you surrendered me to the charge of my teachers, and they pursued the same course; and when we were in the class of young men, the officer in charge paid especial attention to this same point; and most of the laws seem to me to teach these two things above all else, to govern and to be governed. And now, when I think of it, it seems to me that in all things the chief incentive to obedience lies in this: praise and honour for the obedient, punishment and dishonour for the disobedient."

21. "This, my son, is the road to compulsory obedience, indeed, but there is another road, a short cut, to what is much better—namely, to willing obedience. For people are only too glad to obey the man who they believe takes wiser thought for their interests than they themselves do. And you might recognize that this is so in many instances but particularly in the
καὶ ἐν τοῖς κάμνουσιν, ὡς προθύμως τοὺς ἐπιτάξουσας ὡς τὰ χρή ποιεῖν καλοῦσι: καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ, δὲ ὡς προθύμως τοὺς κυβερνήταις οἱ συμπλέοντες πειθοῦνται καὶ οὐς γὰρ ἀν νομίσωσι τινες βέλτιον αὐτῶν ὁδοὺς εἰδέναι, ὡς ἀιχμή τούτων οὐδ' ἀπολείπεσθαι ἐθέλουσιν. ὅταν δὲ οὖν ται πειθόμενοι κακῶν τι λήψεσθαι, οὔτε ξημίας πάνυ τι ἐθέλουσιν εἴκειν οὔτε δώρους ἑπαύρεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δόρα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κακοῦ ἐκών οὖρεις λαμβάνει.

22. Δέγεις σύ, ὦ πάτερ, εἰς τὸ πειθόμενος ἔχειν οὖν ἐναι ἀνυσιμώτερον τοῦ φρονιμώτερον δοκεῖν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχομένων.

Δέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη.

Καὶ πῶς δή τις ἂν, ὦ πάτερ, τοιαύτην δόξαν τάχιστα περὶ αὐτοῦ παρασχέσθαι δύναιτο;

Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, συντομωτέρα όδος ἐπὶ τό,1 περὶ δὲν βούλει, δοκεῖν φρόνιμοσ εἶναι ἢ τό γενέσθαι περὶ τούτων φρόνιμον. καθ' ἐν δ' ἐκαστον σκοπῶν γνώσει ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω. ἢν γὰρ βούλῃ μη δὲν ἄγαθὸς γεωργὸς δοκεῖ ἐναι ἄγαθος, ἢ ἵππευς ἢ ἱατρὸς ἢ αὐλητὴς ἢ ἄλλο ὅπως, εὐνοεί τόσα σε δέοι ἂν μηχανᾶσθαι τοῦ δοκεῖν ἔνεκα. καὶ εἰ δὴ πείσασ αἰταῖνειν τέ σε πολλοὺς, ὅπως δόξαν λάβοις, καὶ κατασκευᾶς καλάς εὖς ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν κτῆσιον, ἃρτε τε ἐξηπατηκώς εὐσ ἂν καὶ ὅλῳ ὑστερον, ὅπου πειραὶ δοίς, ἐξεληλεγμένος ἂν προσέτε καὶ ἀλαζών φαίνοι.
case of the sick: how readily they call in those who are to prescribe what they must do; and at sea how cheerfully the passengers obey the captain; and how earnestly travellers desire not to get separated from those who they think are better acquainted with the road than they are. But when people think that they are going to get into trouble if they obey, they will neither yield very much for punishment nor will they be moved by gifts; for no one willingly accepts even a gift at the cost of trouble to himself."

22. "You mean to say, father, that nothing is more effectual toward keeping one's men obedient than to seem to be wiser than they?"

"Yes," said he, "that is just what I mean."

"And how, pray, father, could one most quickly acquire such a reputation for oneself?"

"There is no shorter road, my son," said he, "than really to be wise in those things in which you wish to seem to be wise; and when you examine concrete instances, you will realize that what I say is true. For example, if you wish to seem to be a good farmer when you are not, or a good rider, doctor, flute-player, or anything else that you are not, just think how many schemes you must invent to keep up your pretensions. And even if you should persuade any number of people to praise you, in order to give yourself a reputation, and if you should procure a fine outfit for each of your professions, you would soon be found to have practised deception; and not long after, when you were giving an exhibition of your skill, you would be shown up and convicted, too, as an impostor."
23. Φρόνιμος δὲ περὶ τοῦ συνοίσειν μέλλοντος πῶς ἂν τις τῷ ὑμνῇ γένοιτο;

Δήλου, ἐφη, διὸ παί, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ἐστὶ μαθοῦντα εἰδέναι, μαθῶν ἃν, ὀσπέρ τὰ τακτικὰ ἐμαθεῖ: ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὕτε μαθητὰ οὕτε προσφέρᾳ ἀνθρωπίνῃ προνοίᾳ, διὰ μαντικῆς ἢν παρὰ θεῶν πυθανόμενος φρονιμώτερος ἄλλων εἶχεν: ὃ τι δὲ γνώσις βελτίων ὑπὲρ πραξῆς ἐπιμελοῦμεν ἄν τούτου ὡς ἄν πραξθῇ, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιμέλεσθαι οὐ ἂν δὲ ἂν φρονιμώτερον ἄνδρος ἢ τὸ ἀμελεῖν.

24. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι ἐπὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ὅπερ ἐμοιγε ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοισι δοκεῖ εἶναι, δήλου ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ὁδὸς ἤπερ εἰ τις ὑπὸ τῶν χῖλου στέργεσθαι ἐπιθυμοῦσί· εὖ γὰρ οἶμαι δεῖν ποιοῦντα φαινεῖν εἶναι.

Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν, ἐφη, δὶ παί, χαλεπῶν τὸ ἀεὶ δύνασθαι εὖ ποιεῖν ὡς ἂν τις ἐθέλῃ. τὸ δὲ συμπάρκειν τε φαίνεσθαι, ἢν τι ἄγαθον αὐτὸς συμβαίνῃ, καὶ συναχθόμενον, ἢν τι κακόν, καὶ συνεπικουρεῖν προσθυμοῦμεν ταῖς ἀπορίαις αὐτῶν, καὶ φοβοῦμεν μὴ τι φαλάσῃ, καὶ προνοεῖν πειράμενον ὡς μὴ σφάλλωμεν, ταύτα₁ πρὸς δὲί μᾶλλον συμπαραμαρτεῖν. 25. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων δὲ, ἢν μὲν ἐν θέρει ὡς, τὸν ἄρχοντα δεῖ τοῦ ἤλου πλεονεκτοῦντα φαινεῖν εἶναι: ἢν δὲ ἐν χειμῶν, τοῦ ψύχους: ἢν δὲ διὰ μόχθων,² τῶν

₁ ταῦτα Stobaeus, Edd.; ἐπὶ ταῦτα MSS.
₂ διὰ μόχθων z, Dindorf, Marchant, Breitenbach; δὲν μόχθειν χυ Redemption, Gemoll.
23. "But how could one become really wise in foreseeing that which will prove to be useful?"

"Obviously, my son," said he, "by learning all that it is possible to acquire by learning, just as you learned tactics. But whatever it is not possible for man to learn, nor for human wisdom to foresee, that you may find out from the gods by the soothsayer's art, and thus prove yourself wiser than others; and if you know anything that it would be best to have done, you would show yourself wiser than others if you should exert yourself to get that done; for it is a mark of greater wisdom in a man to strive to secure what is needful than to neglect it."

24. "Yes; but as to the love of one's subjects—The way to win affection and this, it seems to me at least, is one of the most important questions—the same course that you would take if you wished to gain the affection of your friends leads also to that; that is, I think, you must show yourself to be their benefactor."

"Yes, my son," said he; "it is a difficult matter, however, always to be in a position to do good to whom you will; but to show that you rejoice with them if any good befall them, that you sympathize with them if any ill betide, that you are eager to help them in times of distress, that you are anxious that they be not crossed in any way, and that you try to prevent their being crossed; it is in these respects somehow that you ought rather to go hand in hand with them. 25. And in his campaigns also, if they fall in the summer time, the general must show that he can endure the heat of the sun better than his soldiers can, and that he can endure cold better than they if it be in winter; if the way lead through
πόνων· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ύπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων συλλαμβάνει.

Δέγεις σὺ, ἑφη, ὁ πάτερ, ὡς καὶ καρτερώτερον δεῖ πρὸς πάντα τὸν ἀρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων εἶναι.

Δέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἑφη. θάρρει μέντοι τοῦτο, ὃ παῖ· εὖ γὰρ ἵσθι ὅτι τῶν ὁμοίων σωμάτων οἱ αὐτοὶ πόνοι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀπτοῦνται ἀρχοντός τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτου, ἀλλὰ ἐπικουφίζει τῇ τῆς τούς πόνους τῷ ἀρχοντὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει ὃ τι ἂν πούῃ.

26. Ὅποτε δὲ, ὁ πάτερ, σοι ἤδη ἔχουεν μὲν ταπιτήδεια οἱ στρατιῶται, ὑμιάνοιεν δὲ, πονεῖν δὲ δύναντο, τὰς δὲ πολεμικὰς τέχνας ἑσκηκότες εἶεν, φιλοτίμως δὲ ἔχουεν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἤδιον εἶνῇ τοῦ ἀπειδήν, οὐκ ἂν τηνικάντα σωφρονεῖν ἄν τις· σοὶ δοκοῖ διαγωνίζεσθαι βουλόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς τάχιστα;

Ναὶ μὰ Δή, ἑφη, εἰ μέλλοι γε πλείον ἔξειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔγωγ' ἂν ὅσῳ οἰοίμην καὶ αὐτὸς βελτίων εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἑπομένους βελτίωνας ἔχειν, τόσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον φυλαττόμην, ὃσπερ καὶ τάλλα ἂν οἰόμεθα πλείστον ἡμῖν ἡξιά εἶναι, ταῦτα πειρόμεθα ὡς ἐν ἐχυρώτατῳ ποιεῖσθαι.

27. Πλείον δὲ ἔχειν, ὁ πάτερ, πολεμίων πῶς ἂν τῖς δύνατο μάλιστα;

Οὐ μὰ Δή, ἑφη, οὐκέτι τοῦτο φαῦλον, ὃ παῖ, οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν ἔργον ἐρωτᾶς· ἀλλ' εὖ ἔσθι ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τοῦτο ποιήσειν καὶ ἐπίβουλον εἶναι καὶ κρυψίνουν καὶ δολερὸν καὶ ἀπατεώνα

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difficulties, that he can endure hardships better. All this contributes to his being loved by his men."

"You mean to say, father," said he, "that in everything the general must show more endurance than his men."

"Yes," said he, "that is just what I mean; however, never fear for that, my son; for bear in mind that the same toils do not affect the general and the private in the same way, though they have the same sort of bodies; but the honour of the general's position and the very consciousness that nothing he does escapes notice lighten the burdens for him."

26. "But, father, when once your soldiers had supplies and were well and able to endure toils, and when they were practised in the arts of war and ambitious to prove themselves brave, and when they were more inclined to obey than to disobey, under such circumstances do you not think it would be wise to desire to engage the enemy at the very first opportunity?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said he; "at any rate, if I expected to gain some advantage by it; otherwise, for my part, the better I thought myself to be and the better my followers, the more should I be on my guard, just as we try to keep other things also which we hold most precious in the greatest possible security."

27. "But, father, what would be the best way to gain an advantage over the enemy?"

"By Zeus," said he, "this is no easy or simple question that you ask now, my son; but, let me tell you, the man who proposes to do that must be designing and cunning, wily and deceitful, a thief
καὶ κλέπτην καὶ ἄρπαγα καὶ ἐν παντὶ πλεονέκτην τῶν πολεμίων.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔπυγελάσας εἴπεν, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, οἷον σὺ λέγεις, ὥ πάτερ, δεὶν ἀνδρὰ με γενέσθαι.

Οἶος ἀν ὄν, ἔφη, ὥ παῖ, δικαιοτατός τε καὶ νομμάτατος ἀνήρ εἶχῃ.

28. Πῶς μὴν, ἔφη, παῖδας ὅντας ἰμάτα καὶ ἐφήβους τάναντα τούτων ἐδιδάσκετε;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί, ἔφη, καὶ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ πολίτας· ὅπως δὲ γε τοὺς πολέμιους δύνασθε κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐκ ἵσθα μανθάνοντας ἐμὰς πολλὰς κακουργίας;

Οὐ δήτα, ἔφη, ἔγγοργα, ὥ πάτερ.

Τίνος μὴν ἑνεκα, ἔφη, ἐμανθάνετε τοξεύειν; τίνος δὲ ἑνεκα ἀκοντίζειν; τίνος δὲ ἑνεκα δολοῦν ψι ἄγριον καὶ πλέγμασι καὶ ὀρύγμασι; τί δὲ ἐλάφους ποδάγραις καὶ ἄρπεδώναις; τί δὲ λέουσι καὶ ἄρκτοις καὶ παρδάλεσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴσον καθιστάμενοι ἐμάχεσθε, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλεονεξίας τινὸς ἀεὶ ἐπειρᾶσθε ἄγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὰ, ὃς οὐ πάντα γυγνόσκεις ταῦτα ὅτι κακουργιαί τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀπάται καὶ δολόσεις καὶ πλεονεξίαι;

29. Ναὶ μὰ Δί, ἔφη, θηρίων γε· ἀνθρώπων δὲ εἰ καὶ δόξαιμι βούλεσθαι ἐξαπατήσαί τινα, πολλὰς πληγὰς οἶδα λαμβάνων.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοξεύειν, οἷοι, οὐδὲ ἀκοντίζειν ἀνθρώπων ἑπτετρέπομεν ψιν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σκοπῶν βάλλειν ἐδιδάσκομεν, ὡς γε νῦν μὲν μὴ κακουργοῖτε

1 ὡν Hertlein, Edd.; not in MSS.
and a robber, overreaching the enemy at every point."
"O Heracles, father," said Cyrus with a laugh, "what a man you say I must become!"
"Such, my son," he said, "that you would be at the same time the most righteous and law-abiding man in the world."

28. "Why then, pray, did you use to teach us the opposite of this when we were boys and youths?"
"Aye, by Zeus," said he; "and so we would have you still towards your friends and fellow-citizens; but, that you might be able to hurt your enemies, do you not know that you all were learning many villainies?"
"No, indeed, father," said he; "not I, at any rate."
"Why," said he, "did you learn to shoot, and why to throw the spear? Why did you learn to ensnare wild boars with nets and pitfalls, and deer with traps and toils? And why were you not used to confront lions and bears and leopards in a fair fight face to face instead of always trying to contend against them with some advantage on your side? Why, do you not know that all this is villainy and deceit and trickery and taking unfair advantage?"

29. "Yes, by Zeus," said he, "toward wild animals however; but if I ever even seemed to wish to deceive a man, I know that I got a good beating for it."
"Yes," said he; "for, methinks, we did not permit you to shoot at people nor to throw your spear at them; but we taught you to shoot at a mark, in order that you might not for the time at
τοὺς φίλους, εἰ δὲ ποτὲ πόλεμος γένοιτο, δύνασθε καὶ ἀνθρώπων στοχάζεσθαι· καὶ ἐξαπατάν δὲ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἦν ἀνθρώποις ἐπαιδεύομεν ὡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἐν θηρίως, ὅπως μὴ ἐν τούτοις τοὺς φίλους βλάπτοιτε, εἰ δὲ ποτὲ πόλεμος γένοιτο, μηδὲ τούτων ἀγώμαστοι εἰήτε.

30. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὁ πάτερ, εἴπερ χρήσιμά ἐστιν ἀμφότερα ἐπίστασθαι, εὖ τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διδάσκειν ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἔδει ἐν ἁνθρώποις.

31. Ἀλλὰ λέγεται, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἀνὴρ διδάσκαλος τῶν παιδών, ὃς ἐδίδασκεν ἅρα τοὺς παῖδας τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις, μή γεύσεσθαι καὶ γεῦσθαι σοὶ, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ μὴ διαβάλλειν καὶ διαβάλλειν, καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. διώριζε δὲ τούτων ὁ τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ποιητέον καὶ ὁ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς. καὶ ἔτι γε ταῦτα ἐδίδασκεν ὡς καὶ τοὺς φίλους δίκαιον ἐν ἐξαπατᾶν ἐπὶ γε ἁγαθῶς, καὶ κλέπτειν τᾷ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ ἁγαθῶς. 32. ταῦτα δὲ διδάσκοντα ἀνάγκη καὶ γυμνάζειν ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς παῖδας ταῦτα ποιεῖτε, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν πάλη φασὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας διδάσκειν ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ γυμνάζειν δὲ τοὺς παῖδας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῦτο δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. γενόμενοι οὖν τίνες οὕτως εὐφυεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ πλεονεκτεῖν, ἵσως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φιλοκερδεῖν οὐκ ἄφυες οὕτε, οὐκ ἀπει-

1 ἐν γυ2, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach; ἐν xxR, Dindorf, et al. (against).
2 ἔτι γε Dindorf, most Edd.; ἔτι Ῥ; ἔτι δὲ προθάς γ; καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ΔΕCa.
least do harm to your friends, but, in case there should ever be a war, that you might be able to aim well at men also. And we instructed you likewise to deceive and to take advantage, not in the case of men but of beasts, in order that you might not injure your friends by so doing, but, if there should ever be a war, that you might not be unpractised in these arts.”

30. “Well then, father,” said he, “if indeed it is useful to understand both how to do good and how to do evil to men, we ought to have been taught both these branches in the case of men, too.”

31. “Yes, my son,” said he; “it is said that in the time of our forefathers there was once a teacher of the boys who, it seems, used to teach them justice in the very way that you propose; to lie and not to lie, to cheat and not to cheat, to slander and not to slander, to take and not to take unfair advantage. And he drew the line between what one should do to one’s friends and what to one’s enemies. And what is more, he used to teach this: that it was right to deceive friends even, provided it were for a good end, and to steal the possessions of a friend for a good purpose. 32. And in teaching these lessons he had also to train the boys to practise them upon one another, just as also in wrestling, the Greeks, they say, teach deception and train the boys to be able to practise it upon one another. When, therefore, some had in this way become expert both in deceiving successfully and in taking unfair advantage and perhaps also not inexpert in avarice, they did not
χοντo οὖδ' ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸ μή σὺ πλεονεκτεῖν αὐτῶν πειράσθαι. 33. ἐγένετο οὖν ἐκ τούτων ῥήτρα, ἃ καὶ νῦν χρώμεθα ἔτη, ἀπλώς διδά-σκειν τοὺς παιδίνας ὅσπερ τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διδάσκομεν ἀληθεύειν καὶ μὴ ἐξα-πατᾶν καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν· εἰ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοῖς, κολάζειν, ὅπως σὺν ἡν τοιούτῳ ἔθει ἐθι-σθέντες πραότεροι πολῖται γένοντο. 34. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχοιεν τὴν ἥλικιαν ἂν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις, ἣδη καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους νόμιμα ἑδόκει ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι διδάσκειν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐτι ἐξενεχθήσαι δοκεῖτε πρὸς τὸ ἄγριοι πολῖται γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ αἰδεύσθαι ἀλ-λήλους συντεθραμμένοι· ὅσπερ γε καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων οὐ διαλεγόμεθα ἡν τῶν άγαν νέων, ἢν μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἱσχυρὰν ἑπιθυμίαν αὐτοῖς ῥαδιουργίας προσγενομένης ἀμέτρως ἀυτὴ χρόντο οἱ νέοι.

35. Ἡ Δή, ἐφη· ὡς τοίνυν ὁψιμαθὴ ὤντα ἐμὲ τούτων τῶν πλεονεξίων, ὁ πάτερ, μὴ φείδοι εἰ τι ἐχεῖς διδάσκειν ὅπως πλεονεκτήσω ἐγὼ τῶν πολεμίων.

Μηχανῶ τοίνυν, ἐφη, ὅπως ἐστὶ δύναμις, τεταγμένους τοὺς σαυτοῦ ἀπάκτους λαμβάνειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ὀπλισμένους ὀπλάντης καὶ ἐγγρηγοροῦντας καθεύδοντας καὶ φανεροὺς σου ὀντας ἀφανῆς αὐτὸς ὧν ἐκείνοις καὶ ἐν δυσχωρία αὐτοῖς γιγαντίανας ἐν ἑρμηνεύοι αὐτὸς ὧν ὑποδείξει. 3

1 σὺν MSS.; ἐν Hug.
2 διαλεγόμεθα MSS., Dindorf; διελεγόμεθα Sauppe, Hug, Gemoll, et al.
3 ὑποδείξει MSS., Dindorf, most Edd.; bracketed by Cobet, Hug, et al.

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refrain from trying to take an unfair advantage even of their friends. 33. In consequence of that, therefore, an ordinance was passed which obtains even unto this day, simply to teach our boys, just as we teach our servants in their relations toward us, to tell the truth and not to deceive and not to take unfair advantage; and if they should act contrary to this law, the law requires their punishment, in order that, inured to such habits, they may become more refined members of society. 34. But when they came to be as old as you are now, then it seemed to be safe to teach them that also which is lawful toward enemies; for it does not seem likely that you would break away and degenerate into savages after you had been brought up together in mutual respect. In the same way we do not discuss sexual matters in the presence of very young boys, lest in case lax discipline should give a free rein to their passions the young might indulge them to excess."

35. "True, by Zeus," said he; "but seeing that I am late in learning about this art of taking advantage of others, do not neglect to teach me, father, if you can, how I may take advantage of the enemy."

"Contrive, then," said he, "as far as is in your power, with your own men in good order to catch the enemy in disorder, with your own men armed to come upon them unarmed, and with your own men awake to surprise them sleeping, and then you will catch them in an unfavourable position while you yourself are in a strong position, when they are in sight to you and while you yourself are unseen."
36. Καὶ τῶς ἂν, ἔφη, τις τοιαῦτα, ὁ πάτερ, ἀμαρτάνοντας δύναιτ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους λαμβάνειν;

"Οτι, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, πολλὰ μὲν τούτων ἁνάγκη ἐστὶ καὶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρασχεῖν συμποιεῖσθαι τε γὰρ ἁνάγκη ἁμφοτέρους, κοιμᾶσθαι τε ἁνάγκη ἁμφοτέρους, καὶ ἔσθεν ἐπὶ τάναγκαία σχεδὸν ἀμα πάντας δεί λέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὁποῖαι ἂν ὅσι τοιαύταις ἁνάγκη χρῆσθαι. ᾗ χρῆ σε πάντα κατανοοῦντα, ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἄν ὑμᾶς γιγνώσκῃς ἀσθενεστάτους γιγνομένους, ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα φυλάττεσθαι ἐν ᾧ ὅ ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθάνη εὐχειρωτοτάτους γιγνομένους, ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

37. Πότερον δ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἐν τούτοις μόνον ἔστι πλεονεκτεῖν ἡ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισί;

Καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, ἐν τούτοις μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πάντες ἱσχυρὰς φυλακὰς ποιοῦνται εἰδότες ὅτι δέονται. οἱ δ' εξαπατώντες τοὺς πολεμίους δύνανται καὶ θαρρᾶσαι ποιήσαντες ἁφιλάκτους λαμβάνειν καὶ διώξει παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀτάκτους ποιησαί καὶ εἰς δυσχωρίαν φυγὴ ὑπαγôντες ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. 38. δεῖ δή, ἔφη, φιλομαθῆς σε τούτων ἁπάντων ὅτα ὡς οἶς ἂν μάθης τούτοις μόνοις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ποιήσῃ εἶναι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μηχανημάτων, ὃσπερ καὶ οἱ μουσικοὶ οὐχ οἶς ἂν μάθωσι τούτοις μόνοις χρῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα νέα πειρῶνται ποιεῖν. καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς τὰ νέα.

1 εὐχειρωτοτάτουs Stephanus, Edd.; εὐχειρωτ(ωςR)tάτους MSS.
2 νέα zR, most Edd.; νέα μέλη x; μέλη y (songs).
36. "And how, father," said he, "could one catch the enemy making such mistakes?"

"Why, my son," said he, "both you and the enemy must necessarily offer many such opportunities; for instance, you must both eat, and you must both sleep, and early in the morning you must almost all at the same time attend to the calls of nature, and you must make use of such roads as you find. All this you must observe, and you must be particularly watchful on the side where you know yourselves to be weaker, and you must attack the enemy above all in that quarter in which you see that they are most vulnerable."

37. "And is it possible to take advantage in these ways only," said Cyrus, "or in other ways also?"

"Aye, far more in other ways, my son," said he; "for in these particulars all men, as a rule, take strict precautions; for they know that they must. But those whose business it is to deceive the enemy can catch them off their guard by inspiring them with over-confidence; and, by offering them the opportunity of pursuit, can get them into disorder; and, by leading them on into unfavourable ground by pretended flight, can there turn and attack them.

38. However, my son," he continued, "since you are desirous of learning all these matters, you must not only utilize what you may learn from others, but you must yourself also be an inventor of stratagems against the enemy, just as musicians render not only those compositions which they have learned but try to compose others also that are new. Now if in
καὶ ἀνθρωπὰ εὐδοκιμεῖ, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς μᾶλλον τὰ καὶ κάτω μηχανήματα εὐδοκιμεῖ· ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν δύναται τοὺς ὑπενντικοὺς.

39. Εἰ δὲ σὺ γε, ἐφη, ὁ παῖ, μηδὲν ἄλλο ἡ μετενέγκοις ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπους τὰς μηχανὰς ἂς καὶ πάνυ ἔπι τοὺς μικροὺς θηρίους ἔμηχανῶ, οὐκ οἶει ἄν, ἐφη, πρόσω πάνυ ἑλᾶσαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους πλεονεξίας; σὺ γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐν τῷ ἱσχυροτάτῳ χειμῶνι ἀνιστάμενοι ἐπορεύονυς νυκτός, καὶ πρὶν κινεῖσθαι τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐπεποίητό σοι αἳ πάγαι αὐταῖς καὶ τὸ κεκινήμενον χωρίον ἐξεῖκαστο τῷ ἀκινήτῳ ὄρνιθες δ᾿ ἐπεπαίδεβετο σοι ὅστε σοι μὲν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπηρετεῖν, τὰς δὲ ὀμοφύλους ὄρνιθας ἐξαπατᾶται αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐνήδρευεν, ὅστε ὅραν μὲν αὐτάς, μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν ἡσκῆκες δὲ φθάνων ἔλεγεν ἡ τὰ πτηνὰ φεύγειν. 40. πρὸς δὲ ἃ τὸν λαγὸ, ὅτι μὲν ἐν σκότει νέμεται, τὴν δ᾿ ἡμέραν ἀποδιδράσκει, κύνας ἔτρεφες αἳ τῇ ὁσμῇ αὐτὸν ἀνηρίσκον. 1 οτι δὲ ταχὺ ἐφευγεν, ἐπεὶ εὐρεθείη, ἀλλὰς κύνας εἶχες ἐπιτετηδευμένας πρὸς τὸ κατὰ πόδας αἵρεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀποφύγοι, τοὺς πόρους αὐτῶν ἐκμαθαθῶν καὶ πρὸς οἷα χωρία φεύγοντες αἱροῦνται 2 οἱ λαγὸς, ἐν τούτοις δίκτυα δυσόρατα ἐνεπτάνυν ἂν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ σφόδρᾳ φεύγειν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐμπεσόν συνέδει. τοῦ δὲ μηδὲ ἐντεῦθεν διαφεύγειν σκοποῦ τοῦ γνωμομένου

1 ἀνηρίσκον y, most Edd.; εὐρίσκον xzR, Sauppe.
2 πρὸς . . . αἱροῦνται MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [πρὸς] . . . αἱροῦνται Hug (places which hares choose in their flight); πρὸς . . . ἄλο ὀρῶνται Gemoll; πρὸς . . . ἀφικνοῦνται Marchant.
music that which is new and fresh wins applause, new stratagems in warfare also win far greater applause, for such can deceive the enemy even more successfully.

39. "And if you, my son," he went on, "should do nothing more than apply to your dealings with men the tricks that you used to practise so constantly in dealing with small game, do you not think that you would make a very considerable advance in the art of taking advantage of the enemy? For you used to get up in the coldest winter weather and go out before daylight to catch birds, and before the birds were astir you had your snares laid ready for them and the ground disturbed had been made exactly like the ground undisturbed; and your decoy birds had been so trained as to serve your purposes and to deceive the birds of the same species, while you yourself would lie in hiding so as to see them but not to be seen by them; and you had practised drawing your nets before the birds could escape. 40. And again, to catch the hare—because he feeds in the night and hides in the daytime—you used to breed dogs that would find him out by the scent. And because he ran so fast, when he was found, you used to have other dogs trained to catch him by coursing. And in case he escaped even these, you used to find out the runs and the places where hares take refuge and may be caught, and there you would spread out your nets so as to be hardly visible, and the hare in his headlong flight would plunge into them and entangle himself. And lest he escape even from that, you used to station men to watch for what might happen and to pounce
καθιστης, οί ἔγγυθεν ταχύ ἐμελλον ἐπυγενή- 
σεθαι καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν σὺ ὅπισθεν κραυγῇ οὐδὲν 
ὑστεριξοῦσῃ τοῦ λαγῶ βοῶν ἐξέπληττες αὐτὸν 
ὡστε ἄφροναι ἀλήσκεθαι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐμπροσθεῖν 
συγάν διδάξας ἐνεδρεύοντας θανθάνειν ἔποιεῖς.

41. "Ὅσπερ οὖν προείπον, εἰ τοιαύτα ἐθελή-
σαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μηχανᾶσθαι, οὐκ οἶδ' 
ἐγώγε εἰ τινὸς λείποιο 2 ἀν τῶν πολεμίων. ἂν δὲ 
ποτε ἄρα ἀνάγκη γένηται καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱσοπέδῳ καὶ ἐκ 
τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ ὅπλωσμένως ἀμφοτέρους μάχην 
συνάπτειν, ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ δ᾽, ἀ παλ, αἱ ἐκ πολλοῦ 
παρεσκευασμέναι πλεονεξίαι μέγα δύνανται. ταῦ-
τας δὲ ἔγι Ἰέγω εἶναι, ἂν τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὗ 
μὲν τὰ σώματα ἡσκημένα ἃ, εἰ δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ 
τεθητιμέναι, εἰ δὲ αἱ πολεμικαὶ τέχναι μεμελη-
τιμέναι δὲν. 42. εἰ δὲ χρή καὶ τοῦτο εἴδεναι 
ὅτι ὅποσοις ἂν ἄξιοῖς σοι πείθεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι 
πάντες ἁξιώσουσι σὲ πρὸ ἕαυτῶν βουλεύεσθαι.
μηδέποτε οὖν ἄφροντιστος ἔχε, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν 
νυκτὸς προσκόπησέ τι σοι ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄρχομενοι,
ἲπειδὰν ἡμέρα γένηται, τῆς δ᾽ ἡμέρας ὅπως τὰ 
 eius νύκτα κάλλιστα ἔβη. 43. ὅπως δὲ χρή 
tάττειν εἰς μάχην στρατιάν ἢ ὅπως ἀγειν ἡμέρας 
ἡ νυκτὸς ἡ στενᾶς ἡ πλατείας ὅδος ἡ ῥήμασι 
ἡ πεδινᾶς, ἢ ὅπως στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἢ ὅπως 
φυλακὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ ἡμερινὰς καθιστάναι, 
ἡ ὅπως προσάγειν πρὸς πολέμιον ἢ ἀπάγειν 
απὸ πολεμίων, ἢ ὅπως παρὰ πόλιν πολεμίον

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

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upon him suddenly from a place near by. And you yourself from behind shouting with a cry that kept right up with the hare would frighten him so that he would lose his wits and be taken; those in front, on the other hand, you had instructed to keep silent and made them lie concealed in ambush.

41. "As I said before, then, if you would employ such schemes on men also, I am inclined to think that you would not come short of any enemy in the world. But if it is ever necessary—as it may well be—to join battle in the open field, in plain sight, with both armies in full array, why, in such a case, my son, the advantages that have been long since secured are of much avail; by that I mean, if your soldiers are physically in good training, if their hearts are well steeled and the arts of war well studied. 42. Besides, you must remember well that all those from whom you expect obedience to you will, on their part, expect you to take thought for them. So never be careless, but think out at night what your men are to do for you when day comes, and in the daytime think out how the arrangements for the night may best be made. 43. But how you ought to draw up an army in battle array, or how you ought to lead it by day or by night, by narrow ways or broad, over mountains or plains, or how you should pitch camp, or how station your sentinels by night or by day, or how you should advance against the enemy or retreat before them, or how you should lead past a hostile city, or how attack a fortification or withdraw from
άγειν ἢ ὁπως πρὸς τεῖχος άγειν ἢ ἀπάγειν, ἢ ὁπως νάπτη ἢ ποταμός διαβαίνει, ἢ ὁπως ἰπτικὸν φυλάττεσθαι ἢ ὁπως ἀκουστάς ἢ τοξότας, καὶ εἰ γε δὴ σοι κατὰ κέρας ἄγοντι οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιφανείεν, πῶς χρῆ ἀντικαθιστάναι, καὶ εἰ σοι ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἄγοντι ἄλλοθεν ποθεν οἱ πολέμοι φάνοντο ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὅπως χρῆ ἀντιπαράγειν, ἢ ὁπως τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἂν τις μάλιστα αἰσθάνοιτο, ἢ ὁπως τὰ σὰ οἱ πολέμοι ἤκιστα εἰδείεν, ταύτα δὲ πάντα ¹ τί ἂν ἐγὼ λέγομι σοι; ὅσα τε γὰρ ἐγὼν γέλειν, πολλάκις ἀκήκοας, ἄλλος τε οὕτως εἶδοκε τι τούτων ἐπισταθαι, οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἡμέληκας οὐδ' ἀδαὶς γεγένησαι. δεὶ οὐν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, οἴμαι, τούτοις χρῆσθαι ὁποῖον ἂν συμφέρειν σοι τούτων δοκῇ.

44. Μάθε δὲ μου καὶ τάδε, ὦ παῖ, ἔφη, τὰ μέγιστα· παρὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ καὶ οἰωνοῦς μήτε σαντῷ μηδέποτε μήτε στρατιὰ κινδυνεύσῃ, κατανῦν ὡς ἀνθρωποί μὲν αἱρόνται πράξεις εἰκάζοντες, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ πολίας ἐσται αὐτοῖς τὰ γαθά. 45. γνωρίζε δ' ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γυνομένων πολλοί μὲν γὰρ ἡδή πόλεις ἐπεισαγ καὶ ταύτα οἱ δοκοῦντες σοφότατοι εἶναι πόλεμον ἀρασθαι πρὸς τούτους ὑφ' ὃν οἱ πεισθέντες ἐπιθέσθαι ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἠξῆσαν καὶ ἱδιώτας καὶ πόλεις ὑφ' ὃν αὐξηθέντων τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἔπαθον, πολλοί δὲ οίς ἐξήν φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ πάσχειν, τούτους δούλους

¹ πάντα y, Edd.; not in xzR.
it, or how you should cross ravines or rivers, or how you should protect yourself against cavalry or spearmen or bowmen, and if the enemy should suddenly come in sight while you are leading on in column, how you should form and take your stand against them, and if they should come in sight from any other quarter than in front as you are marching in phalanx, how you should form and face them, or how any one might best find out the enemy’s plans or how the enemy might be least likely to learn his —why should I tell you all these things? For what I, for my part, know, you have often heard; and if any one else had a reputation for understanding anything of that kind, you never neglected to get information from him, nor have you been uninstructed. I think, then, that you should turn this knowledge to account according to circumstances, as each item of it may appear serviceable to you.

44. “Learn this lesson, too, from me, my son,” said he; “it is the most important thing of all: never go into any danger either to yourself or to your army contrary to the omens or the auspices, and bear in mind that men choose lines of action by conjecture and do not know in the least from which of them success will come. 45. But you may derive this lesson from the facts of history; for many, and men, too, who seemed most wise, have ere now persuaded states to take up arms against others, and the states thus persuaded to attack have been destroyed. And many have made many others great, both individuals and states; and when they have exalted them, they have suffered the most grievous wrongs at their hands. And many who
μᾶλλον βουληθέντες ἢ φίλοις χρήσθαι, ὅπ' αὐτῶν τούτων δίκην ἔδοσαν· πολλοὶ δ' οὖκ ἔρκεσαν αὐτοῖς τὸ μέρος ἔχουσι ζην ἢδέως, ἐπιθυμήσαντες δὲ πάντων κύριοι εἶναι, διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τί εἶχον ἀπέτυχον πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν πολύευκτον πλοῦτον κατακτησάμενοι, διὰ τοῦτον ἀπώλοντο. 46. οὖτως ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶδε τὸ ἀριστον αἱρεῖσθαι ἢ εἰ κληρούμενος ὁ τι λάχοι τούτο τις πράττοι. Θεοὶ δὲ, ὁ παῖ, ἂν οὔτες πάντα ἵσασι τά τε γεγενημένα καὶ τά ὄντα καὶ ὁ τι ἐς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἀποβήσεται, καὶ τῶν συμβουλευομένων ἄνθρώπων οἷς ἄν ὕλεος ὃς, προσημαίνουσιν ἂ τε χρή ποιεῖν καὶ ἂ ὁ οὐ χρή. εἰ δὲ μὴ πᾶσιν ἑθέλουσι συμβουλεύειν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὃν ἄν μὴ ἑθέλωσιν ἑπιμέλεσθαι.
might have treated people as friends and done them favours and received favours from them, have received their just deserts from these very people because they preferred to treat them like slaves rather than as friends. Many, too, not satisfied to live contentedly in the enjoyment of their own proper share, have lost even that which they had, because they have desired to be lords of everything; and many, when they have gained the much coveted wealth, have been ruined by it. 46. So we see that mere human wisdom does not know how to choose what is best any more than if any one were to cast lots and do as the lot fell. But the gods, my son, the eternal gods, know all things, both what has been and what is and what shall come to pass as a result of each present or past event; and if men consult them, they reveal to those to whom they are propitious what they ought to do and what they ought not to do. But if they are not willing to give counsel to everybody, that is not surprising; for they are under no compulsion to care for any one unless they will."
BOOK II

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY
I

1. Τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ ἀφίκοντο διαλεγόμενοι μέχρι τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Περσίδος· ἔπει δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀετὸς δεξιός φανεῖς προηγεῖτο, προσευχόμενοι θεοῖς καὶ ἦρωι τοῖς Περσίδα γῆν κατέχουσιν ἱλεος καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπειν σφάς, οὗτοι διέβαινον τὰ ὀρια. ἐπειδή δὲ διέβησαν, προσηύχοντο ἀθίς θεοῖς τοῖς Μηδίαν γῆν κατέχουσιν ἱλεος καὶ εὐμενεῖς δέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ὠσπερ εἰκός, ὁ μὲν πατὴρ πάλιν εἰς Πέρσας ἔπηκε, Κῦρος δὲ εἰς Μῆδους πρὸς Κυαξάρην ἐπορεύετο.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο ὁ Κῦρος εἰς Μῆδους πρὸς τοῦ Κυαξάρην, πρῶτον μὲν ὠσπερ εἰκός ἠσπάζατο ἀλλήλους, ἐπείτα δὲ ἦρετο τὸν Κύρον ὁ Κυαξάρης πόσον τι ἄγοι τὸ στράτευμα.

'Ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Τρισμυρίους μὲν οἶοι καὶ πρόσθεν ἐφώτισσαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μισθοφόροι. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐδέποτε ἐξελθόντων προσέρχονται τῶν ἀμοτίμων.

Πόσοι τινὲς; ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης.

3. Οὐκ ἂν ὁ ἀριθμός σε, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀκούσαντα εὐφράνειεν· ἂλλ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐννοήσαν

1 Πέρσας xy, most Edd.; πάλιν z, Dindorf, Sauppe (to the capital).
2 τρισμυρίους Aldus, Edd.; δισμυρίους MSS.
1. In such conversation they arrived at the Persian frontier. And when an eagle appeared upon their right and flew on ahead of them, they prayed to the gods and heroes who watch over the land of Persia to conduct them on with grace and favour, and then proceeded to cross the frontier. And when they had crossed, they prayed again to the tutelary gods of the Median land to receive them with grace and favour; and when they had finished their devotions, they embraced one another, as was natural, and the father went back again to Persia, while Cyrus went on to Cyaxares in Media.

2. And when he arrived there, first they embraced one another, as was natural, and then Cyaxares asked Cyrus how large the army was that he was bringing.

"Thirty thousand," he answered, "of such as have come to you before as mercenaries; but others also, of the peers, who have never before left their country, are coming."

"About how many?" asked Cyaxares.

3. "The number," said Cyrus, "would give you no pleasure, if you were to hear it; but bear this in
ὁτι ὁλίγοι οὖντες οὕτωι ὁ ὁμότιμοι καλοῦμενοι πολλῶν οὖντων τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν ῥάδως ἄρχουσιν. ἀτάρ, ἐφη, δει τι αὐτῶν ἢ μάτην ἐφοβήθησιν, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι οὐκ ἔρχονται; 
Ναι μὰ Δί, ἐφη, καὶ πολλοὶ γε.

4. Πῶς τούτο σαφές;

"Οτι, ἐφη, πολλοὶ ήκουντες αὐτόθεν ἄλλος ἄλλον τρόπον πάντες ταύτα λέγουσιν.

'Αγωνιστέον μὲν ἄρα ἢμῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας.

'Ανάγκη γάρ, ἐφη.

Τι οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, οὐ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἔλεξάς μοι, εἰ οἶσθα, πόση τις ἡ προσιούσα, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὅπως εἰδότες ἀμφοτέρας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύομεθα ὅπως ἂν ἄριστα ἀγωνιζόμεθα;

"Ακονε δὴ, ἐφη ὁ Κυνάξαρης. 5. Κροῖσος μὲν ὁ Διόδος ἀγείν λέγεται μυρίους μὲν ἵππεας, πελταστάς δὲ καὶ τοξότας πλείους ἢ τετρακισ-μυρίους. Ἀρτακάμαν δὲ τὸν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας ἄρχοντα λέγουσιν ἵππεας μὲν εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους ἀγείς, λογοχορόους δὲ σὺν πελτασταῖς οὐ μείους τετρακισμυρίων, Ἀρίβαιον δὲ τὸν τῶν Καππα-δοκῶν βασιλέα ἵππεας μὲν ἐξακισχιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ πελταστάς οὐ μείους τρισμυρίων, τὸν Ἀράβιον δὲ ὁ Αραγγού ἵππεας τε εἰς μυρίους καὶ ἁματα εἰς ἐκατόν καὶ σφευδονητῶν πάμπολυ τι χρήμα. τοὺς μέντοι Ἔλληνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οἰκοῦντας οὐδὲν πω σαφές λέγεται εἰ ἔπονται. τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας τῆς πρὸς Ἐλλησπόντῳ συμ-βαλεῖν φασὶ Γάβαδου ἔχοντα εἰς Καύστρον Πεδίου ἐξακισχιλίους μὲν ἵππεας, πελταστάς δὲ
mind, that though the so-called peers are few, they easily rule the rest of the Persians, many though they be. But," he added, "are you in any need of them, or was it a false alarm, and are the enemy not coming?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said he, "they are coming and in great numbers, too."

4. "How is this so certain?"

"Because," said he, "many have come from there, and though one tells the story one way and another another, they all say the same thing."

"We shall have to fight those men, then?"

"Aye," said he; "we must of necessity."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "won't you please tell me, if you know, how great the forces are that are coming against us; and tell me of our own as well, so that with full information about both we may lay our plans accordingly, how best to enter the conflict."

"Listen then," said Cyaxares. 5. "Croesus, the probable number of the opposing forces king of Lydia, is said to be coming at the head of 10,000 horsemen and more than 40,000 peltasts and bowmen. And they say that Artacamas, the king of Greater Phrygia, is coming at the head of 8000 horse and not fewer than 40,000 lancers and peltasts; and Aribaeus, the king of Cappadocia, has 6000 horse and not fewer than 30,000 bowmen and peltasts; while the Arabian, Aragdus, has about 10,000 horsemen, about 100 chariots of war, and a great host of slingers. As for the Greeks who dwell in Asia, however, no definite information is as yet received whether they are in the coalition or not. But the contingent from Phrygia on the Hellespont, under Gabaeus, has arrived at Caýstru-Pedium, it is said, to the number of 6000 horse and 10,000 peltasts.
eis μυρίους. ἗καστας μὲν οἱ μικροὶ παρακληθέντας οὐ φασιν ἔπεσθαι. ο δὲ Ἀσσύριος ὁ Βαβυλώνας τε ἔχων καὶ τῆν ἄλλην Ἀσσυρίαν ἐγὼ μὲν οἴμαι ἰππεῖς μὲν ἄξει οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, ἀρματα δ᾿ εὖ οἶδ᾿ οὐ μείου διακοσίων, πεζοὺς δὲ οἴμαι παμπόλλους· εἰώθει γοῦν ὁπότε δεῦρ᾿ ἐμβάλλοι.

6. Σύ, ἐφι ο Κύρος, πολεμίους λέγεις ἰππείς μὲν ἐξακισμυρίους εἶναι, πελταστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξοτας πλείους ἢ εἰκοσι μυριάδας. ἀγε δὴ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως τί φής πλῆθος εἶναι;

Εἰςιν, ἐφη, Μήδων μὲν ἰππεῖς πλείους τῶν μυρίων πελτασταὶ δὲ καὶ τοξόται γένοιτον ἀν πως ἐκ τῆς ήμετέρας καὶ ἐξακισμυρίου. Ἀρμενίων δ᾿ ἐφη, τῶν ὀμόρων ἡμῖν παρέσται ἰππεῖς μὲν τετρακισχίλιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ δισμύριοι.

Λέγεις σύ, ἐφη ο Κύρος, ἰππεῖς μὲν ἡμῖν εἶναι μειῶν ἢ τέταρτον μέρος τῶν πολεμίων ἰππικοῦ, πεζοὺς δὲ αμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεις.

7. Τί οὖν, ἐφη ο Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ὀλγούς νομίζεις Περσῶν εἶναι οὐς σὺ φής ἀγεῖς;

Ἀλλ᾿ εἰ μὲν ἀνδρῶν προσδεῖ ἡμῖν, ἐφη ο Κύρος, εἰτε καὶ μῆ, αὖθις συμβουλευσόμεθα. τῆς δὲ μάχην μοι, ἐφη, λέξον ἐκάστων ἢτις ἐστὶ. Ἐχεδον, ἐφη ο Κυαξάρης, πάντων ἡ αὐτὴ τοξόται γάρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκοντίσται οἱ τ’ ἐκεῖνων καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι.

Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ο Κύρος, ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὄντων.

1 τῶν ἐκ Breitenbach, later Edd.; ὡς ἐπὶ MSS., except E, which omits ὡς.
2 τέταρτον Hug, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach; τρίτων πε, Dindorf (a third); τὸ τρίτων ὡ.
The Carians, however, and Cilicians and Paphlagonians, they say, have not joined the expedition, although they have been invited to do so. But the Assyrians, both those from Babylon and those from the rest of Assyria, will bring, I think, not fewer than 20,000 horse and not fewer, I am sure, than 200 war-chariots, and a vast number of infantry, I suppose; at any rate, they used to have as many as that whenever they invaded our country.”

6. “You mean to say,” said Cyrus, “that the enemy have 60,000 horse and more than 200,000 peltasts and bowmen. And at how many, pray, do you estimate the number of your own forces?”

“There are,” said he, “of the Medes more than 10,000 horse; and the peltasts and bowmen might be, from a country like ours, some 60,000; while from our neighbours, the Armenians, we shall get 4000 horse and 20,000 foot.”

“That is to say,” said Cyrus, “we have less than one-fourth as many horsemen as the enemy and about half as many foot-soldiers.”

7. “Tell me, then,” said Cyaxares, “do you not consider the Persian force small which you say you are bringing?”

“Yes,” said Cyrus; “but we will consider later whether we need more men or not. Now tell me,” he went on, “what each party’s method of fighting is.”

“About the same with all,” said Cyaxares; “for there are bowmen and spearmen both on their side and on ours.”

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “as their arms are of that sort, we must fight at long range.”
8. 'Ανάγκη γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη ο Ἐναξάρης.

Οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ μὲν τῶν πλείονων ἢ νῦκην πολὺ γὰρ ἂν θάττων οἱ ὀλύγοι ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τυρωσκόμενοι ἀναλωθείσαν ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλυγών.1

Εἰ οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ὁ Κύρος, τί ἂν ἄλλο τις κρείττον εὑρεῖ ή πέμπειν εἰς Πέρσας, καὶ ἀμα μὲν διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι εἰ τι πείσονται Μήδοι, εἰς Πέρσας τὸ δεινὸν ἦξει, ἀμα δὲ αἰτεῖν πλεῖον στράτευμα;

Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εὐ σὺ θῇ ὅτι, ὅπερ εἰ πάντες ἐλθοῦν Πέρσαι, πληθεί σου ὑπερ-βαλομέθη ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους.

9. Τί μὴν ἄλλο ἐνορᾶς ἀμείνουν τούτου;

'Εγὼ μὲν ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰ σὺ εἶ ὅτι, ὡς τάχιστα ὅπλα ποιοίμην πᾶσι Πέρσαις τοῖς προσ-ιούσιν οἵα παρά ἔχοντες ἑρχονται παρὰ ἦμον οἱ τῶν ὁμοτίμων καλούμενοι ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ θώραξ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα, γέρρου δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀριστεράν, κοτῆς δὲ ἡ σάγαρις εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν. κἂν ταῦτα παρασκεύασῃς, ἡμῖν μὲν ποιήσεις τὸ ὄμοσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἵναι ἀσφαλέστατον, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ τὸ φεύγειν ὅ τὸ μένειν αἴρετωτερον. τάττομεν δὲ, ἔφη, ἡμᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς μένοντας. οἳ γε μεντάν αὐτῶν φεύγοσι, τούτους ύμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἱπποῖς νέμομεν, ὅσ μὴ σχολάξωσι μήτε μένειν2 μήτε ἀναστρέφεσθαί.

10. Κύρος μὲν οὕτως ἔλεξεν τῷ δὲ Κναξάρην

1 ὀθοῦν ... ὀλύγων erroneously given to Cyaxares by Hug, Gemoll, Marchant.
2 μένειν y, most Edd.; φεύγειν χζ, Sauppe (to make their escape).
8. “Yes,” said Cyaxares, “that will be necessary.”
“In that case, then, the victory will be with the side that has the greater numbers; for the few would be wounded and killed off by the many sooner than the many by the few.”
“If that is so, Cyrus, then what better plan could any one think of than to send to Persia to inform them that if anything happens to the Medes, the danger will extend to the Persians, and at the same time to ask for a larger army?”
“Why,” said Cyrus, “let me assure you that even though all the Persians were to come, we should not surpass the enemy in point of numbers.”
9. “What better plan do you see than this?”
“If I were you,” said Cyrus, “I should as quickly as possible have armour made for all the Persians who are coming here just like that of the so-called peers who are coming from our country—that is, a corselet to wear about the breast, a small shield upon the left arm, and a scimitar or sabre in the right hand. And if you provide these weapons, you will make it the safest procedure for us to fight at close quarters with the enemy, while for the enemy flight will prove preferable to standing their ground. And it is for us,” he continued, “to range ourselves against those who hold their ground, while those of them who run away we propose to leave to you and the cavalry, that they may have no chance to stand their ground or to turn back.”
10. Thus Cyrus spoke. And to Cyaxares it seemed
'Ενταύθα δὴ εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὁ Κύρος συναγαγὼν αὐτούς. 'Ανδρεῖς φίλοι, ἐγώ ὑμᾶς ὅρῶν αὐτοὺς μὲν καθωπλισμένους οὔτω καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς παρεσκευασμένους ὅσ εἰς χεῖρας συμμίξοντας τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐπομένους ὑμῖν Πέρσαις γιγνώσκων ὅτι οὕτως ὅπλισμένοι εἴσον ὡς ὅτι προσωτατο ταχθέντες μάχεσθαι, ἔδεισα μὴ ὀλγού καὶ ἔρημοι συμμάχων συμπίπτοντες πολεμίοις πολλοῖς πάθοιτε τι. νῦν οὖν, ἔφη, σῶμα μὲν έχοντες ἀνδρῶν ἤκετε ὅ μεμπτα. ὅπλα δὲ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ὅμοια τοῖς ἡμετέροις. τάς γε μέντοις ψυχαὶς θήγεν αὐτῶν ἡμετερον ἐργον. ἀρχοντος γὰρ ἐστιν οὐχ ἐαυτὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ τὸν ἀρχομένων ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως ὅς βέλτιστοι ἐσονται.

12. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· οἱ δ' ἡσθησαν μὲν πάντες, νομίζοντες μετὰ πλείονον ἀγωνιζόμεθα· εἰς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλέξει τοιάδε. 13. Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστά, ἔφη, ἵσως δόξω λέγειν, εἰ Κύρῳ συμβουλεύσω τι εἰπεῖν ύπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνωσιν οἱ ἡμῖν μέλλοντες συμμαχεῖσθαι· ἀλλὰ γιγνώσκω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ τῶν ἰκανωτάτων καὶ εὗ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν λόγοι ὅυτοι καὶ μάλιστα ἐνδύονται ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀκούοντων· καὶ δώρα ἢν διδῶσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, καὶ μεῖος τυχαίος ὄντα φαντα τὰ παρά τῶν ὁμοίων, δῶμος μείζονος αὐτῶ τιμῶνται οἱ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, οἱ Πέρσαι παραστάται.
that he spoke to the point; and he no longer talked of sending for reinforcements, but he set about procuring the arms as suggested. And they were almost ready when the Persian peers came with the army from Persia.

11. Thereupon Cyrus is said to have called the peers together and said: "My friends: When I saw you thus equipped and ready in heart to grapple with the enemy in a hand-to-hand encounter, and when I observed that those Persians who follow you are so armed as to do their fighting standing as far off as possible, I was afraid lest, few in number and unaccompanied by others to support you, you might fall in with a large division of the enemy and come to some harm. Now then," said he, "you have brought with you men blameless in bodily strength; and they are to have arms like ours; but to steel their hearts is our task; for it is not the whole duty of an officer to show himself valiant, but he must also take care that his men be as valiant as possible."

12. Thus he spoke. And they were all delighted, for they thought they were going into battle with more to support them. And one of them also spoke as follows: 13. "Now," he began, "it will perhaps sound strange if I advise Cyrus to say something on our behalf, when those who are to fight along with us receive their arms. But I venture the suggestion, for I know that when men have most power to do both good and ill, then their words also are the most likely to sink deep into the hearts of the hearers. And if such persons give presents, even though the gifts be of less worth than those given by equals, still the recipients value them more highly. And now," said he, "our Persian comrades will be more
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

υπὸ Κύρου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἥσθησονται ἢ υφ' ἡμῶν παρακαλοῦμενοι, εἰς τε τοὺς ὁμοτόμους καθιστά-
μενοι βεβαιοτέρως σφίσιν ἥγησονται ἔχειν τοῦτο ὑπὸ βασιλέως τε παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ
γενόμενον ἢ εἰ υφ' ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γίγνετο. ἀπείναυ μέντοι οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα χρῆ, ἀλλὰ παντὶ
τρόπῳ δεῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν θήγειν πάντως τὸ φρόνημα.
ModelCreating γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὅ τι ἂν οὕτωι
βελτίωνες γένονται.

14. Οὗτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος καταθεῖς τὰ ὀπλα εἰς τὸ
μέσον καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς Περσῶν
στρατιῶτας ἔλεξε τοιάδε. 15. Ἀνδρεὶς Πέρσαι,
ὕμεις καὶ ἔφυτε εἰς τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐτράφητε, καὶ
τὰ σώματά τε οὐδὲν ἡμῶν χείρονα ἔχετε, ψυχὰς
τε οὐδὲν κακίστοιο ὑμῖν προσήκει ἡμῶν ἔχειν.
τοιοῦτοι δὲ ὅντες ἐν μὲν τῇ πατρίδι οὐ μετείχετε
τῶν ἱσων ἡμῶν, οὐχ υφ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαθέντες ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τάπποτίθεια ἀνάγκην ὑμᾶς εἶναι πορίζε-
σθαι. νῦν δὲ ὅπως μὲν ταῦτα ἔχετε ἔμοι μελήσει
σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἔξεστι δ' ὑμῖν, εἰ βούλεσθε, λαβὼ-
τας ὀπλα ὀλάπερ ἴμεῖς ἐχομεν1 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν
ἡμῶν κίνδυνον ἐμβαίνεις, καὶ τι ἐκ τούτων καλὸν
κάγαθὸν γίγνηται, τῶν ομοίων ἡμῶν ἄξιονθαί.

16. Τὸν μὲν οὖν πρόσθεν χρόνων ὑμεῖς το τοξο-
ταὶ καὶ ἀκονίσταται ἢτε καὶ ἴμεῖς, καὶ εἰ τι χείρονς
ἡμῶν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἢτε, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ
ἡν ὑμῖν σχολὴ ἀστερ ἡμῶν τοῦτον ἐπιμέλεσθαι·
ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ὀπλῶσιν οὐδὲν ἴμεῖς ὑμῶν προέξο-
μεν. θώραξ μὲν γε περὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀρμόττων

1 After ἐχομεν xx and (in the margin) F add καὶ εἰ τι χείρονς ἡμῶν ἐστε (although you are somewhat inferior to us).
highly pleased to be exhorted by Cyrus than by us; and when they have taken their place among the peers they will feel that they hold this honour with more security because conferred by their prince and their general than if the same honour were bestowed by us. However, our co-operation must not be wanting, but in every way and by all means we must steel the hearts of our men. For the braver these men are, the more to our advantage it will be.”

14. Accordingly, Cyrus had the arms brought in and arranged to view, and calling all the Persian soldiers together he spoke as follows: 15. “Fellow-citizens of Persia, you were born and bred upon the same soil as we; the bodies you have are no whit inferior to ours, and it is not likely that you have hearts in the least less brave than our own. In spite of this, in our own country you did not enjoy equal privileges with us, not because you were excluded from them by us, but because you were obliged to earn your own livelihood. Now, however, with the help of the gods, I shall see to it that you are provided with the necessaries of life; and you are permitted, if you wish, to receive arms like ours, to face the same danger as we, and, if any fair success crowns our enterprise, to be counted worthy of an equal share with us.

16. “Now, up to this time you have been bowmen and lancers, and so have we; and if you were not quite our equals in the use of these arms, there is nothing surprising about that; for you had not the leisure to practise with them that we had. But with this equipment we shall have no advantage over you. In any case, every man will have a corselet fitted to his


XENOPHON

ἐκάστῳ ἔσται, γέρρον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, ὁ πάντες εἰδοτεμεθα φορεῖν, μάχαιρα δὲ ἡ σάγαρις ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, ὡς ἡ παλαιν τοῦς ἐναντίους δεῖσαι οὐδὲν φυλαττομένους μὴ τι παίοντες ἐξαμάρτωμεν. 17. τι οὖν ἂν ἐν τούτοις ἔτερον διαφέροι ἡμῶν πλὴν τὸλμη; ἢ ὁμοίαν ἦμῶν ἰττον προσήκει ἡ ἦμῶν ὑποτρέψεσθαι. νίκης τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἢ τὰ καλὰ πάντα καὶ τάγαθα κταταί τε καὶ σώζει, τί μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ ἦμῶν προσήκει; κράτους τε, ὁ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἱττόνων τοῦς κρέαττος δωρεῖται, τί εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ἦμῶς τούτου δεῖσθαι;

18. Τέλος εἴπεν, Ἀκηκόατε πάντα: ὁρᾶτε τὰ ὀπλα: ὁ μὲν χρῆσιν λαμβανέτω ταῦτα καὶ ἀπογραφέσθω πρὸς τὸν ταξίαρχον εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν τὰξιν ἡμῖν· ὅτι δ' ἄρκει ἐν μισθοφόρῳ χώρᾳ εἶναι, καταμενέω ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ὀπλοῖς.

Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἴπεν. 19. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι ἐνόμισαν, εἰ παρακαλούμενοι ὁστε τὰ ὁμοία πονοῦντες τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν μὴ ἐθελήσουσι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, δικαίως ἂν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀμηχανοῦντες βιοτεύειν. οὗτο δὴ ἀπογράφονται πάντες ἀνέλαβον τε τὰ ὀπλα πάντες.

20. Ἐν οὗ δὲ ὁι πολέμοι ἐλέγοντο μὲν προσίεναι, παρῆσαν δὲ οὐδέπω, ἐν τούτῳ ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἄσκειν μὲν τὰ σώματα τῶν μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ εἰς ἰσχύν, διδάσκειν δὲ τὰ τακτικά, θῆγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὰ πολεμικά. 21. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν λαβὼν παρὰ Κυνάρου ὑπηρέτας προσέταξεν.
breast, upon his left arm a shield, such as we have all been accustomed to carry, and in his right hand a sabre or scimitar with which, you see, we must strike those opposed to us at such close range that we need not fear to miss our aim when we strike. 17. In this armour, then, how could any one of us have the advantage over another except in courage? And this it is proper for you to cherish in your hearts no less than we. For why is it more proper for us than for you to desire victory, which gains and keeps safe all things beautiful and all things good? And what reason is there that we, any more than you, should desire that superiority in arms which gives to the victors all the belongings of the vanquished?

18. "You have heard all," he said in conclusion. "You see your arms; whosoever will, let him take them and have his name enrolled with the captain in the same companies with us. But whosoever is satisfied to be in the position of a mercenary, let him remain in the armour of the hired soldier." Thus he spoke. 19. And when the Persians heard it, they thought that if they were unwilling to accept, when invited to share the same toils and enjoy the same rewards, they should deserve to live in want through all time. And so they were all enrolled and all took up the arms.

20. And while the enemy were said to be approaching but had not yet come, Cyrus tried to develop the physical strength of his men, to teach them tactics, and to steel their hearts for war. 21. And first of all he received quartermasters from Cyaxares and commanded them to furnish ready made
ἐκάστοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἰκανῶς ὃν ἐδέοντο πάντα πεποιημένα παρασχεῖν τούτο δὲ παρα-
σκευάσας οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐλεῦσει ἄλλο ἢ ἀσκεῖν τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκεῖνο δοκῶν καταμεμαθη-
κέναι ὦτι οὕτω κράτιστοι ἔκαστα γίγνονται οὐ ἃν ἀφεμενοί τοῦ πολλοῖς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἐπὶ ἐν ἔργνω τράπωνται. καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν περιελῶν καὶ τὸ τόξο μελετᾶν καὶ ἀκοντῖς κατέληπτο τούτο μόνον αὐτοῖς τὸ σὺν μαχαίρα καὶ γέρρῳ καὶ θώρακε μάχεσθαι ὡστε εὑρίσκειν αὐτῶν παρεσκεύασε τὰς γνώμας ὡς ὁμόσε ἰτέον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἡ ὁμολογητέον μηδενὸς εἶναι ἄξιος συμμάχους. τούτο δὲ χαλεπῶν ὁμο-
λογησά οὕτως ἢν εἰδῶσιν ὦτι οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν ἄλλο τρέφονται ἢ ὅπως μαχοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν τρεφόντων.

22 Ἠτε δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνυπόσας ὡτι περὶ ὁπόσων ἂν ἐγγένουται ἀνθρώποις, φιλονικοῖς, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσι ταύτες ἀσκεῖν, ἀγώνας τε αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ἀπάντων ὀπόσα ἐγίγνωσκεν ἀσκεῖθαι ἀγαθόν εἶναι ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν καὶ προεῖπε τάδε, ἰδιώτῃ μὲν ἑαυτὸν παρέχειν εὐπειθῆ τοῖς ἀρχομεν καὶ ἐθέλουσιν καὶ φιλοκινδυνοῦν μετ’ εὐταξίας καὶ ἐπιστήμου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ φιλόκαλον περὶ ὀπλα καὶ φιλότιμον ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς τοιούτοις, πεμπαδάρχοι δὲ αὐτῶν δυντα οἴνωπερ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἰδιώτην καὶ τὴν πεμπάδα εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν τοιαύτην παρέχειν, δεκαδάρχω δὲ τὴν δεκάδα ὁσαῦτως, λοχαγῷ δὲ τὸν λόχουν, καὶ

1 ἰκανῶς Castalio, Edd.; ἰκανῶς MSS.
2 ἐγγένουται ... φιλονικια Hug, Gemoll, Marchant; ἐγγέ-
νηται ... φιλονεικία γ; γένωνται ... φιλονεικίαι xx, Dindorf.
for each of the soldiers a liberal supply of everything that he needed. And when he had provided for this, he had left them nothing to do but to practise the arts of war, for he thought he had observed that those became best in any given thing who gave up paying attention to many things and devoted themselves to that alone. So, in the drill itself he relieved them of even the practice with bow and spear and left them only the drill with sword and shield and breastplate. And so he at once brought home to them the conviction that they must go into a hand-to-hand encounter with the enemy or else admit that as allies they were good for nothing. But such an admission is hard for those who know that they are being maintained for no other purpose than to fight for those who maintain them.

22. And as, in addition to this, he had further observed that people are much more willing to practise those things in which they have rivalry among themselves, he appointed contests for them in everything that he knew it was important for soldiers to practise. What he proposed was as follows: to the private soldier, that he show himself obedient to the officers, ready for hardship, eager for danger but subject to good discipline, familiar with the duties required of a soldier, neat in the care of his equipment, and ambitious about all such matters; to the corporal, that, besides being himself like the good private, he make his squad of five a model, as far as possible; to the sergeant, that he do likewise with his squad of ten, and the lieutenant
ταξιάρχων ἀνεπίκλητον αὐτὸν ὑπέμελεσθαι καὶ τῶν ύφ' αὐτῷ ἄρχοντων ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι αὐτῶν ἄρχωσι παρέξουσι τὰ δέοντα ποιοῦντας.

23. Ἀθλα δὲ προύφημε τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους ὡς τοὺς κρατίστας δόξαντας τὰς τάξεις παρεσκευάσθαι χιλιάρχους ἐσεθαί, τῶν δὲ λοχαγῶν οἱ κρατίστους δόξειαν τοὺς λόχους ἀποδεικνύναι, εἰς τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων χώρας ἐπαναβῆσθεσθαί, τῶν δ' αὖ δεκαδάρχων τοὺς κρατίστους εἰς τὰς τῶν λοχαγῶν χώρας καταστήσθεσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ πεμπαδάρχων ὡσαύτως εἰς τὰς τῶν δεκαδάρχων, τῶν γε μὴν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας εἰς τὰς τῶν πεμπαδάρχων. ὑπῆρχε δὲ πάσι τούτοις τοῖς ἄρχοντι πρώτον μὲν θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχομένων, ἐπειτὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαί αἱ πρέπουσαι ἐκάστοις συμπαρεῖποντο. ἐπανετείνυοντο δὲ καὶ μείζονες ἑλπίδες τοῖς ἄξιοις ἐπαίνου, εἰ τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ἀγαθῶν μείζον φανοῖτο. 1

24. προεῖπε δὲ νικητήρια καὶ ὅλαις ταῖς τάξεις καὶ ὅλαις τοῖς λόχοις, καὶ ταῖς δεκάσιν ὡσαύτως καὶ ταῖς πεμπάσιν, αἱ ἀν 2 φαίνονται εὑπιστό-

1 φανοῖτο Cobet, most Edd.; φανοῖτο MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 αἱ ἀν Dindorf, most Edd.; ἀν MSS., Sauppe.
with his platoon; and to the captain, that he be unexceptionable himself and see to it that the officers under him get those whom they command to do their duty.

23. As rewards, moreover, he offered the following: in the case of captains, those who were thought to have got their companies into the best condition should be made colonels; of the lieutenants, those who were thought to have put their platoons into the best condition should be advanced to the rank of captains; of the sergeants, those who were the most meritorious should be promoted to the rank of lieutenant; in the same way, the best of the corporals should be promoted to the rank of sergeants; and finally of the privates, the best should be advanced to the rank of corporal. Moreover, all these officers not only had a right to claim the respect of their subordinates, but other distinctions also appropriate to each office followed in course. And to those who should deserve praise still greater hopes were held out, in case in time to come any greater good fortune should befall. 24. Besides, he offered prizes of victory to whole companies and to whole platoons and to squads of ten and of five likewise, if they showed themselves implicitly obedient to the

1 The divisions of Cyrus’s army were as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Officer</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 men</td>
<td>1 corporal's</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 corporals'</td>
<td>1 sergeant's</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squads</td>
<td>1 platoon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 sergeants'</td>
<td>(λόχος)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squads</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 platoons</td>
<td>1 company</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 companies</td>
<td>1 regiment</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 regiments</td>
<td>1 general</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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XENOPHON

tatai tois arxhouvin ouvai kai prothymotata
askousai tata proeirhmena. hih de tautaia tata
nikthria ola dh eis plhthos prpeie.

Taunta men dh proeirhto te kai hskteito h
stratia.

25. Skhnas de autous katasekuvase, plhthos men
osoi tazharchoi hsan, megethos de wste ikhvas
einai th tazhei eksthi. h de1 tazhes hnh ekatov
andres. eskhnoun men dh ouw kata tazhes-
env de tio omoi skhnoun edokoun men autov
ophleisfav prs ton melloonta anhona touto oti
eferon allhlous omoiow trfeomenvos kai ouk
enin profasis meiounhias oaste uflesvai tyvas
kakioi exterone eteron einai prs tovs polemious.

ophleisfav de edokoun autov kai prs to yghna-
skein allhlous omoi skhnontes. en de tio yghn-
skeivai kai to aishounvovai pasi dokei mallov
egnhnesvai, oih de anvnoymeno radionrygen tos
mallov dokousin, dospere en skotei doutes. 26.
edokoun de autov kai eis to tas tazhes akribouvn
megala ophleisfav dia tihn synkhnian. eignov
hapt oi mev tazharchoi vph eautois tas tazhes
kekonomvnav w spero opute eis eva porwvito h
tazhes, oih de loxhov tous logous oswtovs, oih
dekadarchov dekadas, pempadarchov pempadaas.

27. to de diakribovn tas tazhes sfodra edokhe
autov agathov einai kai eis to th paratpsevai
kai eis taraqhevhn thattov kataphnai, dospere

1 ekasth. h de y, most Edd.; ekasth de z; ekasth de x.
2 tivas Hug, later Edd.; tina MSS., earlier Edd.
officers and very ready in performing the aforementioned duties. And the prizes of victory for these divisions were just such as were appropriate to groups of men.

Such, then, were the competitions appointed, and the army began to train for them.

25. Then, he had tents made for them—in number, as many as there were captains; in size, large enough to accommodate each a company. A company, moreover, was composed of a hundred men. Accordingly, they lived in tents each company by itself; for Cyrus thought that in occupying tents together they had the following advantages for the coming conflict: they saw one another provided for in the same way, and there could be no possible pretext of unjust discrimination that could lead any one to allow himself to prove less brave than another in the face of the enemy. And he thought that if they tented together it would help them to get acquainted with one another. And in getting acquainted with one another, he thought, a feeling of considerateness was more likely to be engendered in them all, while those who are unacquainted seem somehow more indifferent—like people when they are in the dark.

26. He thought also that their tenting together helped them not a little to gain a perfect acquaintance with their positions. For the captains had the companies under them in as perfect order as when a company was marching single file, and the lieutenants their platoons, and the sergeants and corporals their squads in the same way. 27. He thought, moreover, that such perfect acquaintance with their places in the line was exceedingly helpful both to prevent their being thrown into confusion and to restore
XENOPHON

γε καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἄν δέῃ συναρμοσθῆναι, ἔστι, καὶ ὅπωσον καταβεβλημένα τύχῃ, συναρμόσαι αὐτὰ εὐπετῶς, ἢν ἔχῃ γνωρίσματα ὅστ᾽ εὐδηλον εἶναι ἐξ ὁποίας ἐκαστὸν χώρας αὐτῶν ἔστω. 28. ἐδόκοιν δ᾽ ὁ φελεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ὁμοῦ τρεφόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἦττον ἄλληλους ἐθέλειν ἀπολείπειν, ὅτι ἐώρα καὶ τὰ θηρία τὰ συντρεφόμενα δεινῶν ἔχοντα πόθον, ἢ τις αὐτὰ διαστὰ ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων.

29. Ἐπεμέλετο δὲ καὶ τούτου ὁ Κύρος ὅπως μὴ ποτὲ ἀνίδρωτοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον εἰσίοιεν. ἢ γὰρ ἐπὶ θήραν ἔξαγων ἰδρώτα αὐτοῖς παρεῖχεν, ἢ παϊδίας τοιαύτας ἔξηνοισκεν αὐτὶ ἰδρώτα ἔμελλον παρέχειν, ἢ καὶ πράξαι εἰ τι δεόμενοι τύχοι, οὕτως ἔξηγείτο τῆς πράξεως ὡς μὴ ἔπανοίευν ἀνίδρωτι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἡγεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἡδέως ἐσθίειν ἄγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑπαίτευμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι πονεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλληλοις δὲ προσέτεροις εἶναι ἄγαθον ἡγεῖτο τοὺς πόνους εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἅπειροι συμπονοῦντες ἄλληλοις προσέτροποι συνεστήκασι. πρὸς γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους μεγαλοφρονέστεροι γίγνονται οἳ ἀν συνειδόσων ἑαυτοῖς εὖ ἰσχυρότες.

30. Κύρος δ᾽ ἐαυτῷ σκηνὴν μὲν κατεσκευάσατο ὡστε ἰκανὴν ἔχειν οἷς καλοὶ ἐπὶ δεύτερον. ἐκάλει δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ταξιάρχων οὓς καιρὸς αὐτῷ δοκοίη εἶναι, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ

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order sooner in case they should be thrown into confusion; just as in the case of stones and timbers which must be fitted together, it is possible to fit them together readily, no matter in how great confusion they may chance to have been thrown down, if they have the guide-marks to make it plain in what place each of them belongs. 28. And finally, he thought that comradeship would be encouraged by their messing together and that they would be less likely to desert one another; for he had often observed that even animals that were fed together had a marvellous yearning for one another, if any one separated them.

29. Cyrus also took care that they should never come to luncheon or to dinner unless they had had a sweat. For he would get them into a sweat by taking them out hunting; or he would contrive such sports as would make them sweat; or again, if he happened to have some business or other to attend to, he so conducted it that they should not come back without having had a sweat. For this he considered conducive to their enjoying their meals, to their health, and to their being able to endure hardships, and he thought that hardships conduced to their being more reasonable toward one another, for even horses that work together stand more quietly together. At any rate, those who are conscious that they have been well drilled are certainly more courageous in the face of the enemy.

30. And for himself Cyrus had a tent made big enough to accommodate all whom he might invite to dinner. Now he usually invited as many of the captains as he thought proper, and sometimes also some of the lieutenants and sergeants and corporals;
τῶν δεκαδάρχων τινὰς καὶ τῶν πεμπαδάρχων ἐκάλει, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ πεμπάδα ὅλην καὶ δεκάδα ὅλην καὶ λόχον ὅλον καὶ τάξιν ὅλην. ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ ἐτίμα ὅποτε τινὰς ἓδοι τοιούτον τι ποιήσαντας δ’ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο ποιεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ παρατιθέμενα ἀεὶ ἕσσα αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις ἐπὶ δείπνον.

31. Καὶ τούς ἀμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα δὲ ὑπηρέτας ἰσοψήφουσα πάντων ἀεὶ ἐποίει, οὔδεν γὰρ ἦττον τιμὰν ἔξεσεν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ὑπηρέτας οὕτε κηρύκων οὕτε πρέσβεων. καὶ γὰρ πιστοῖς ἡγεῖτο δεῖν εἶναι τούτων καὶ ἐπιστήμων τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ συνετοὺς, προσέτε δὲ καὶ σφοδροὺς καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ ἄκοντος καὶ ἀταράκτους. πρὸς δὲ ἔτι ἂν βέλτιστοι νομιζόμενοι ἔχουσιν ἐγώγυωσκεν οὔ Κύρος δεῖν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐχεῖν, καὶ τούτῳ ἄσκειν ὡς μηδὲν ἀναίροιντο ἔργον, ἀλλὰ πάντα νομίζοιες πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πράπτειν ὡς ἄρχων προστάτων.

II

1. Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπεμέλειτο ὁ Κύρος, ὅποτε συσκευαίοι, ὅπως εὐχαριστήτατοι τε ἅμα λόγοι ἐμβληθήσονται καὶ παρομοίαντος εἰς τάγαθον. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ εἰς τόποι ποτέ τῶν λόγων.

Ἀρά γε, ἐφή, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἐνδεόστεροί τι ἡμῶν διὰ τούτο φαίνονται εἶναι οἱ ἑταῖροι ὅτι οὐ πεπαιδευταὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡμῶν, ἢ οὔδεν ἄρα.

1 aὐτὸς xz, most Edd.; πάντας y, Gemoll.
and occasionally he invited some of the privates, sometimes a squad of five together, or a squad of ten, or a platoon, or a whole company in a body. And he also used to invite individuals as a mark of honour, whenever he saw that they had done what he himself wished everybody to do. And the same dishes were always placed before those whom he invited to dinner as before himself.

31. The quartermasters in the army he always allowed an equal share of everything; for he thought that it was fair to show no less regard for the purveyors of the army stores than for heralds or ambassadors. And that was reasonable, for he held that they must be trustworthy, familiar with military affairs, and intelligent, and, in addition to that, energetic, quick, resolute, steady. And still further, Cyrus knew that the quartermasters also must have the qualities which those have who are considered most efficient and that they must train themselves not to refuse any service but to consider that it is their duty to perform whatever the general might require of them.

II

1. Whenever Cyrus entertained company at dinner, he always took pains that the conversation introduced should be as entertaining as possible and that it should incite to good. On one occasion he opened the conversation as follows:

"Tell me, men," said he, "do our new comrades seem to be any worse off than we because they have not been educated in the same way as we, or pray do you think that there will be no difference
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dioiséin ἢμῶν οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις οὔτε ὅταν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δὲν;

2. Καὶ 'Ὑστάστασα ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' ὅποιοι μὲν τινὲς ἔσονται εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους οὔτω ἐγώγοι ἐπίσταμαι· ἐν μέντοι τῇ συνουσίᾳ δύσκολοι ναὶ μα τοὺς θεοὺς ἔρποι αὐτῶν φαίνονται. πρόθην μὲν γε, ἐφι, Κυκάρης ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν τάξιν ἐκάστην ἱερεία, καὶ ἐγένετο κρέα ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν τρία ἢ καὶ πλεῖον τὰ περιφερόμενα. καὶ ἦρξατο μὲν ὁ μάγειρος ἅπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πρώτην περιοδον περιφέρων· ὅτε δὲ τὸ δεύτερον εἰσήγη περιοδος, ἐκείλευσα ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν φέρειν.

3. ἀνακραγόν ὁν τις τῶν κατὰ μέσον τὸν κύκλον κατακειμένων στρατιωτῶν, Μᾶ Δὲ', ἐφι, τῶνδε μὲν οὐδέν ὤς ὅτι εἰς τό μὲν ἀφ' ἡμῶν γε τῶν ἐν μέσῳ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε ἄρχεται. καὶ ἐγώ ἄκοισας ἢχθεσθην, εἰ τι μεῖον δοκοῖν ἐχειν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα εὐθὺς αὐτῶν πρὸς ἔμε. ὁ δὲ μᾶλα γε τούτο εὐτάκτως ὑπῆκουσεν. ὡς δὲ τὰ περιφερόμενα ἢκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀτε οἴμαι ὑστάτους λαμβάνοντας, τὰ μικρότατα λειλειμένα ἦν. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ἐκείνοις πάνω ἀνιαθεῖς δὴλος ἦν καὶ εἴπε πρὸς αὐτόν, Τῆς τύχης, τὸ ἐμὲ νῦν κληθέντα δεύρο τυχέων. 4. καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον, Ἀλλ' μὴ φρόντιζε· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἄρχεται καὶ σὺ πρῶτος λήψει τὸ μέγιστον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ περιέφερε τὸ τρίτον, ὅπερ δὴ λοιπὸν ἦν τῆς περιφορᾶς· κάκεινος ἔλαβε, κἂν ἐδοξήν αὐτῷ μεῖον λαβεῖν· κατέβαλεν οὖν ὁ ἔλαβεν ὡς ἐτερον ληψόμενος. καὶ

1 καὶ... οὖν ΧΧ, Εδδ.; μετ' ἐμὲ δεύτερος· ὡς δ' ὁ τρίτος ἔλαβε καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτὸν μεῖον ἐαυτοῦ λαβεῖν καταβάλλει γ (next after me; and when the third man was served, and my man

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between us either in social intercourse or when we shall have to contend with the enemy?"

2. "Well," said Hystaspas in reply, "for my part, I cannot tell yet how they will appear in the face of the enemy. But in social intercourse, by the gods, some of them seem ill-mannered enough. The other day, at any rate," he explained, "Cyaxares had meat sent in to each company, and as it was passed around each one of us got three pieces or even more. And the first time round the cook began with me as he passed it around; but when he came in the second time to pass it, I bade him begin with the last and pass it around the other way. 3. Then one of the men sitting in the middle of the circle called out and said, 'By Zeus, this is not fair at all—at any rate, if they are never going to begin with us here in the middle.' And when I heard that, I was vexed that any one should think that he had less than another and I called him to me at once. He obeyed, showing good discipline in this at least. But when that which was being passed came to us, only the smallest pieces were left, as one might expect, for we were the last to be served. Thereupon he was greatly vexed and said to himself: 'Such luck! that I should happen to have been called here just now!' 4. 'Well, never mind,' said I. 'They will begin with us next time, and you, being first, will get the biggest piece.' And at that moment the cook began to pass around the third time what was left of the course; and the man helped himself; and then he thought the piece he had taken too small; so he put back the piece he had, with the intention of taking another. And the cook, thought his neighbour had got a bigger piece than he, he threw down etc.).

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ο ἢρταμος οἰόμενος αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τι δεῖσθαι ὅψου, ὥχετο παραφέρων πρὶν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐτερον. δ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὗτο βαρέως ἤγεγεκε τὸ πάθος ὡστε ἀνήλωτο μὲν αὐτῷ ὁ εἰλήφει ὅψου, ἀ δὲ ἐτι αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἢν τοῦ ἐμβάπτεσθαι, τοῦτο πως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι τε καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὅργιξεσθαι δυσθετούμενος ἀνέτρεψεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ λοχαγὸς ὁ ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν ἰδὼν συνεκρότησε τῷ χείρε καὶ τῷ γέλωτι ηὐφραίνετο. ἔγὼ μὲντοι, ἐφη, προσεποιοῦμην βήττειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην τὸν γέλωτα κατασχεῖν. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ σοι ἑνα, ὁ Κύρε, τὸν ἑταίρου ἐπιδεικνύο. Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦτῳ ὡσπερ εἰκός ἐγέλασαν. 6. ἀλλος δὲ τις ἐλεξε τῶν ταξιάρχων. Οὕτος μὲν δὴ, ὁ Κύρε, ὡς ἐοικε, οὗτο δυσκόλω ἐπέτυχεν. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὡς το ὅντα διδάσκασ ἡμᾶς τὰς τάξεις ἀπετεμνάς καὶ ἐκελεύσας διδάσκειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον τάξιν ἢ παρὰ σοῦ ἐμάθομεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐγώ, ὡσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποίουν, ἐνθὸν ἐδίδασκον ἑνα λόγου. καὶ στήσας τὸν λοχαγὸν πρῶτον καὶ τάξας δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄνδρα νεανίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦ όμοι δειν, ἐπειτα στὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπροσθεν βλέπων εἰς τὸν λόγου, ἦνικα μοι ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἰναι, προϊέναι ἐκελεύσα. 7. καὶ ἀνήρ σοι ὁ νεανίας ἐκείνος προελθὼν τοῦ λοχαγοῦ πρότερος ἐπορεύετο. κἂγὼ ἵδων εἶπον, Ἀνθρωπε, τί ποιεῖς; καὶ δὴ ἐφη, Προέρχομαι ὡσπερ σὺ κελεύεις. κἂγὼ εἶπον, Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγώ σὲ μόνον ἐκελεύνον ἄλλα πάντας προϊέναι. καὶ δὴ ἀκούσας τοῦτο μεταστραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς λοχίτας εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἀκούετε, ἐφη, λοιδορουμένου; προϊέναι πάντας κελεύει. καὶ ἄνδρες πάντες παρελθόντες.
thinking that he did not want any more to eat, went on passing it before he got his other piece. 5. Thereupon he took his mishap so to heart that he lost not only the meat he had taken but also what was still left of his sauce; for this last he upset somehow or other in the confusion of his vexation and anger over his hard luck. The lieutenant nearest us saw it and laughed and clapped his hands in amusement. And I," he added, "pretended to cough; for even I could not keep from laughing. Such is one man, Cyrus, that I present to you as one of our comrades."

At this they laughed, of course. 6. But another of the captains said: "Our friend here, it seems, Cyrus, has fallen in with a very ill-mannered fellow. But as for me, when you had instructed us about the arrangement of the lines and dismissed us with orders each to teach his own company what we had learned from you, why then I went and proceeded to drill one platoon, just as the others also did. I assigned the lieutenant his place first and arranged next after him a young recruit, and the rest, as I thought proper. Then I took my stand out in front of them facing the platoon, and when it seemed to me to be the proper time, I gave the command to go ahead. 7. And that young recruit, mark you, stepped ahead—of the lieutenant and marched in front of him! And when I saw it, I said: 'Fellow, what are you doing?' 'I am going ahead, as you ordered,' said he. 'Well,' said I, 'I ordered not only you, but all to go ahead.' When he heard this, he turned about to his comrades and said: 'Don't you hear him scolding? He orders us all to go ahead.' Then the men all ran past their lieutenant
τὸν λοχαγὸν ἡσαυ πρὸς ἐμὲ. 8. ἔτει δὲ ὁ λοχαγὸς
αὐτῶς ἀνεχώριζεν, ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ ἔλεγον,
Ποτέρῳ δὴ πείθεσθαι χρῆ; νῦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν κελεύει
προϊέναι, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐὰ. ἐγὼ μὲν τοῖς ἐνεγκόν ταῦτα
πρῶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ καταχωρίσας εἶπον µηδένα
τῶν ὁπισθὲν κινεῖσθαι πρὶν ἂν ὁ πρόσθεν ἦγηται,
ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μόνῳ ὅραν πάντας, τῷ πρόσθεν
ἐπεσθαί. 9. ὥς δ᾽ εἰς Πέρσας τις ἀπικὼν ἦλθε
πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ἐκέλευσέ με τῆν ἐπιστολὴν ἢ
ἐγραψά oïkade δούναι, καγὼ, ὁ γὰρ λοχαγὸς ἴδει
ἀπο ἐκείνου ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν δραμόντα
ἐνεγκείν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐτρεχεν, ὁ δὲ
νεανίας ἐκείνος ἐπέτει τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ
θώρακι καὶ τῇ κοπίδι, καὶ ὁ ἀλλος δὲ πᾶς λόχος
ἵδιν ἐκείνου συνέτρεχον καὶ ἦκον οἱ ἄνδρες
φέροντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. οὕτως, ἐφη, ὅ γ᾽ ἐμὸς
λόχος σοι ἄκριβως πάντα τὰ παρὰ σοῦ.
10. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ὡς εἶκος ἐγέλων ἐπὶ τῇ
dorφοφορίᾳ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἔπευν,
Ὡς Ζεὺς καὶ πάντες θεοὶ, οüν άρα ἢμεῖς ἔχομεν
ἄνδρας ἐταῖρους, οἳ γε εὐθεράπευτοι μὲν οὕτως
eἰςὶν ὡστ᾽ εἶναι αὐτῶς καὶ μικρῷ ὄψιν παμπόλ-
lous φίλους ἀνακτήσασθαι, πιθανὸ δ᾽ οὕτως εἰςὶ
tines ὡστε πρὶν εἰδέναι τὸ προστατεύμενον πρό-
tερου πείθονται. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἴδα ποίους τινὰς
χρῆ μᾶλλον εὐξασθαι ἢ τοιούτους στρατιώτας
ἐχειν.
11. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ἀμα γελῶν οὕτως ἐπήνεσε
tοὺς στρατιώτας· ἐν δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ ἐτύγχανε τις
ὁν τῶν ταξιάρχων Ἀγαλαίτάδας ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ τῶν
τρόπων τῶν στρυφνοτέρων ἀνθρώπων, ὡς οὕτωςι
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and came toward me. 8. But when the lieutenant ordered them back to their places, they were indignant and said: 'Pray, which one are we to obey? For now the one orders us to go ahead, and the other will not let us.' I took this good-naturedly, however, and when I had got them in position again, I gave instructions that no one of those behind should stir before the one in front led off, but that all should have their attention on this only—to follow the man in front. 9. But when a certain man who was about to start for Persia came up and asked me for the letter which I had written home, I bade the lieutenant run and fetch it, for he knew where it had been placed. So he started off on a run, and that young recruit followed, as he was, breastplate and sword; and then the whole fifty, seeing him run, ran after. And the men came back bringing the letter. So exactly, you see, does my company, at least, carry out all your orders."

10. The rest, of course, laughed over the military escort of the letter, and Cyrus said: "O Zeus and all the gods! What sort of men we have then as our comrades; they are so easily won by kindness that we can make many of them our firm friends with even a little piece of meat; and they are so obedient that they obey even before the orders are given. I, for my part, do not know what sort of soldiers one could ask to have in preference to these!"

11. Thus Cyrus praised his soldiers, laughing at the same time. But one of his captains, Aglaitadas by name, one of the most austere of men, happened to be in Cyrus’s tent at the same time and he spoke somewhat as follows: "You don’t mean to say,
πῶς εἰπεν· Ἡ γὰρ οἶει, ἐφη, ὁ Κῦρος, τούτους ἀληθῆ λέγειν τάντα;

'Αλλὰ τὶ μὴν βουλόμενοι, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, ψεύ-

δονται;

Τῇ δ’ ἄλλῃ γ’, ἐφη, εἰ μὴ γέλωτα ποιεῖν ἐθέλου-

τες ὑπὲρ οὐ λέγουσι τάντα καὶ ἀλαζονεύονται.

12. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, Εὐφήμει, ἐφη, μηδὲ λέγε

ἀλαζόνας εἶναι τούτους. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀλαζῶν

ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ ὅνομα κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς προσποιο-

μένοις καὶ πλουσιωτέροις εἶναι ἢ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνδρει-

τέροις καὶ ποιήσειν ἢ μὴ ἰκανοί εἰσιν ὑπισχύου-

μένοις, καὶ τάντα φανερός γνυμομένος οτι τοῦ

λαβεῖν τί ἐνεκα καὶ κερδάναι ποιούσιν. οἱ δὲ μη-

χανόμενοι γέλωτα τοῖς συνοῦσι μήτε ἐπὶ τῶ

αὐτῶν κέρδει μήτ’ ἐπὶ ζημίᾳ τῶν ἀκούοντων μήτε

ἐπὶ βλάβη μηδεμία, πώς οὐχ οὕτως ἀστεῖοι ἀν

καὶ εὐχάριτες δικαιότερον ὅνομαζοιτο μᾶλλον ἡ

ἀλαζόνες;

13. ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος οὕτως ἀπελογήσατο περὶ
tῶν τῶν γέλωτα παρασχόντων αὐτῶς δὲ ὁ ταξι-

αρχος ὁ τὴν τοῦ λόγου χαριτιάν δηγησάμενος ἐφη, Ἡ

ποι ἄν, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀγαλαίτάδα, εἰ γε κλαίειν ἐπειρώμεθα σε

ποιεῖν, σφάδρ’ ἄν ἡμῶν ἐμέμφου, ὀσπερ ἐνιὸ καὶ ἐν ὁδαῖς καὶ ἐν λόγοις οὐκτρά

tινα λογοποιοῦντες εἰς δάκρυα πειρόνται ἄγει, ὅπορ

τε γε γεν καὶ αὐτῶς εἶδος ὧτι εὐφραίνειν μὲν
tί σε βουλόμεθα, βλάψαι δ’ οὐδέν, ὃμως οὕτως

ἐν πόλλῃ ἀτιμίᾳ ἡμᾶς ἐχεῖς.

14. Ναὶ μᾶ Δλ’, ἐφη ὁ Ἀγαλαίτάδας, καὶ δικαίως

1 ὁ ταξιαρχος Zeune, Dindorf, Gemoll, Breitenbach; ὁ

λοχαγὸς MSS.; [ὁ λοχαγὸς] Bornemann, Marchant.

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Cyrus, that you think what these fellows have been telling is true?"

"Well," said Cyrus, "what object could they have, pray, in telling a lie?"

"What object, indeed," said the other, "except that they wanted to raise a laugh; and so they tell these stories and try to humbug us."

12. "Hush!" said Cyrus. "Don't call these men humbugs. For to me, the name 'humbug' seems to apply to those who pretend that they are richer than they are or braver than they are, and to those who promise to do what they cannot do, and that, too, when it is evident that they do this only for the sake of getting something or making some gain. But those who invent stories to amuse their companions and not for their own gain nor at the expense of their hearers nor to the injury of any one, why should these men not be called "witty" and "entertaining" rather than "humbugs"?

13. Thus Cyrus defended those who had furnished the fun, and the captain himself who had told the anecdote about his platoon said: "Verily, Aglaïtadas, you might find serious fault with us, if we tried to make you weep, like some authors who invent touching incidents in their poems and stories and try to move us to tears; but now, although you yourself know that we wish to entertain you and not to do you any harm at all, still you heap such reproaches upon us."

14. "Aye, by Zeus," said Aglaïtadas, "and justly,
XENOPHON

gε, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλαῖοντας ¹ καθίζοντος
touς φίλους πολλαχοῦ ἐμούνε ἀδεία ἐλπίσσονος,
ἀξία διαπράττεσθαι ὁ γέλωτα αὐτοῖς μηχα-
νώμενος. εὐρήσεις δὲ καὶ σύ, ἦν ὅρθως λογίζη,
ἐμε ἀληθῆ λέγοντα. κλαύμασι μὲν γε καὶ πατέρες
νίῳς σωφροσύνην μηχανώνται καὶ διδάσκαλοι
πασίν ἀγαθὰ μαθήματα, καὶ νόμοι γε πολίτας
diὰ τοῦ κλαῖοντας καθίζειν εἰς δικαιοσύνην προ-
tρέπονται: τοὺς δὲ γέλωτα μηχανώμενος ἔχοι
ἄν εἰπεῖν ἢ σώματα ὀφελοῦνται ἢ ψυχὰς οἰκονο-
μικωτέρας τι ποιοῦνται ἢ πολιτικώτερας;

15. 'Εκ τούτου ὁ Τστάσπας ὄδε πως εἶπε: Ἑυ,
ἐφὶ, ὁ Ἀγλαῖτάδα, ἦν ἐμὸι πείθη, εἰς μὲν
τοὺς πολεμίους θαρρῶν δαπανήσεις τοῦτο τὸ πολ-
λου ἄξιον, καὶ κλαίοντας ἐκεῖνοι πειράσει καθί-
ζειν· ἦμῖν δὲ πάντως, ἐφὶ, τοὺς τοῖς φίλοις
τούτου τοῦ ὅλου ἄξιον, τοῦ γέλωτος ἐπίδαψφ-
λεύσει. καὶ γὰρ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι πολὺς σοὶ ἐστίν ἀποκει-
μενος· οὕτε γὰρ αὐτὸς χρώμενος ἀνησίμωκας αὐτὸν,
οὐδὲ μὴν φίλοις οὐδὲ ξένοις ἕκὼν εἶναι γέλωτα
παρέχεις. ὥστε οὐδεμία σοι πρόβασις ἐστίν ὡς
οὐ παρεκτέον σοι ἢμῖν γέλωτα.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀγλαῖτάδας εἶπε, Καὶ οἶει γε, ὁ
Τστάσπα, γέλωτα περιποιεῖν εξ ἐμοὺ;

Καὶ ὁ ταξιάρχος ² εἶπε, Ναὶ μά Δρ., ἀνόητος
ἄρα ἐστὶν· ἐπεὶ ἐκ γε σοῦ πῦρ, οἶμαι, ραῖον ἂν τις
ἐκτρίψεις ἢ γέλωτα ἐξαγάγοντο.

16. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν δὴ οὐ τε ἄλλοι ἐγέλασαν,
tῶν τρόπον εἰδότες αὐτοῦ, ὁ τ' Ἀγλαῖτάδας
ἐπεμειδίασε. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἰδὼν αὐτὸν φαιδρω-

¹ κλαῖοντας Comet, Edd.; κλαίειν MSS.
² ταξιάρχος Philelphus, Edd.; λοχαγός MSS.
too, since he that makes his friends laugh seems to me to do them much less service than he who makes them weep; and if you will look at it rightly, you, too, will find that I speak the truth. At any rate, fathers develop self-control in their sons by making them weep, and teachers impress good lessons upon their pupils in the same way, and the laws, too, turn the citizens to justice by making them weep. But could you say that those who make us laugh either do good to our bodies or make our minds any more fitted for the management of our private business or of the affairs of state?"

15. Hereupon Hystaspas answered somewhat as follows: "If you will heed me, Aglaïtadas, you will freely expend this very valuable commodity upon your enemies and will try to set them to weeping; but upon us and your friends here you will please to lavish this cheap article, laughter. And you can, for I know you must have a great quantity of it stored up; for you have never spent it upon yourself nor do you ever afford any laughter for your friends or for your enemies if you can help it. So you have no excuse for begrudging us a laugh."

"What!" said Aglaïtadas; "do you really think, Hystaspas, to get a laugh out of me?"

"Well, by Zeus," said the other captain, "he is a very foolish fellow, let me tell you, if he does; for I believe one might rub fire out of you more easily than provoke a laugh from you."

16. At this, of course, the rest laughed; for they knew his character, and Aglaïtadas himself smiled at the sally. And Cyrus seeing him brighten up said:
θέντα, Ἀδικεῖς, ἐφη, ο ν ταξιάρχε,1 ὅτι ἄνδρα ἡμῶν τὸν σπουδαίοτατον διαφέρεις γελάν ἀναπείθων, καὶ τάῦτα, ἐφη, οὔτω πολέμιον ὄντα τῷ γέλωτι.

17. Τάῦτα μὲν δὴ ἑνταῦθα ἐλήξεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Χρυσάντας οἶδε ἐλέξεν· 18. Ἀλλ’ ἔγω, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρος καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες, ἐνυώδ ὅτι συνεξεληλύθασι μὲν ἡμῖν οἱ μὲν καὶ βελτίωνες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μείωνος ἄξιοι· ἂν δὲ τι γένηται ἁγαθόν, ἀξιώσουσιν οὔτοι πάντες ἱσομοιρεῖν. καὶ τοῖς ἐγώ όν οὕτων ἀνισότερον νομίζω ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι ἡ τοῦ ἔσον τὸν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἁγαθὸν ἀξιοῦσθαι.

Καὶ ο Κύρος εἶπε πρὸς τούτο, Ἀρ’ οὖν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ο ἄνδρας, κράτιστον ἡμῖν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τούτου βουλὴν εἰς τὸ στράτευμα, πότερα δοκεῖ, ἂν τι ἐκ τῶν πόνων δῆ ὁ θεὸς ἁγαθόν, ἱσομοιροῦς πάντας ποιεῖν, ἢ σκοποῦντας τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστου πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τειχὰς ἐκάστῳ προστιθέναι;

19. Καὶ τί δεῖ, ἐφη ο Χρυσάντας, ἐμβαλεῖν λόγου περὶ τούτου, Ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ προεπείν ὅτι οὔτω ποιήσεις; οὐ καὶ τοὺς ἁγώνας οὔτω προείπας καὶ τὰ ἅθλα;

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί’, ἐφη ο Κύρος, οὐχ ὀμοια ταῦτα ἐκείνοις· ἂ μὲν γὰρ ἄν στρατευόμενοι κτήσωνται, κοινά οἶμαι ἐαυτῶν ἡγήσονται εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐμὴν ἴσως ἔτι οἴκοθεν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, ὡστε διατάττοντα ἐμὲ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας οὔτεν οἶμαι ἀδικεῖν νομίζουσιν.

1 ταξιάρχε Philelphus, Edd.; λοχαγέ MSS.

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“It is not right, captain, for you to corrupt our most serious man by persuading him to laugh, and that, too,” said he, “when he is such a foe to laughter.”

17. With that, the subject was dropt. But at this point Chrysantas spoke as follows: 18. “Cyrus,” said he, “and all you here present, I observe, for my part, that some have come out with us who are of superior merit, others who are less deserving than we. Now, if we meet with success, these will all expect to have share and share alike. And yet I do not believe that anything in the world is more unfair than for the bad and good to be awarded equal shares.”

“Well, then, in the name of the gods, my men,” Cyrus replied to this, “will it not be a very good thing for us to suggest to the army a debate on this question: shall we, in case God gives us any success to reward our toils, give to all an equal share or shall we take into consideration each man’s services and bestow increased rewards upon him commensurate with them?”

19. “And what is the use,” said Chrysantas, “of starting a discussion concerning this matter? Why not rather announce that you propose to do thus and so? Pray, did you not announce the games and offer the prizes that way?”

“Yes, by Zeus,” said Cyrus; “but this is not a parallel case. For what the men obtain by fighting, that, I suppose, they will consider their own common property; but the command of the army they still consider fairly to be mine, so that when I appoint the judges, I am sure they think I am within my rights.”
.20. Ἡ καὶ οἶει, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, ψηφίσασθαι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος συνελθὼν ὡστε μὴ ἔσων ἐκαστὸν τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ δόροις πλεονεκτεῖν;

'Εγών', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οἶμαι, ἀμα μὲν ἡμῶν συναγορευόντων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ αἰσχρῶν ὅν ἀντιλέγειν τὸ μὴ οὐχί τὸν πλείστα καὶ ποιοῦντα καὶ ὠφελοῦντα τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτον καὶ μεγίστων ἀξιοῦσθαι. οἶμαι δ', ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις συμφέρον φανεῖσθαι τους ἀγαθοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν.

21. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος ἐβούλετο καὶ αὐτῶν ένεκα τῶν ὀμοτίμων γενέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα: βελτίωσι γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτῶς ἡγεῖτο τούτους εἶναι, εἰ εἰδεῖν ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ αὐτοῦ κρινόμενοι τῶν ἄξιων τεύξονται. καὶρὸς οὖν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι νῦν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τοῦτον ψήφον, ἐν δ' καὶ οἱ ὀμότιμοι ὧκνουν τὴν τοῦ ὄχλου ἰσομοιρίαν. οὕτω δὴ συνεδόκει τοῖς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ συμβαλέσθαι περὶ τοῦτον λόγους καὶ συναγορευόν ταῦτα ἔφασαν χρῆναι ὀστίσσερ ἀνὴρ οἴουτο εἶναι.

22. Ἐπυγελάσας δὲ τῶν ταξιάρχων τις εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' ἔγω, ἔφη, ἀνδρα οἶδα καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὃς συνερεῖ ὡστε μὴ εἰκῇ οὕτως ἰσομοιρίαν εἶναι.

Ἀλλὸς δ' ἀντιήρετο τοῦτον τίνα λέγοι. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἐστι νὴ Δῖ' ἀνὴρ ἡμῶν σύσκεπος, ὅς ἐν παντὶ μαστεύει πλέον ἔχειν.

Ἀλλὸς δ' ἐπιήρετο αὐτὸν, Ἡ καὶ τῶν πῶνων;

Μᾶ Δῖ', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γε ψευδώ-
20. "And do you really believe," said Chrysantas, "that the mass meeting would adopt a resolution that each one should not have an equal share, but that the best should have the preference both in honours and gifts?"

"Yes," said Cyrus, "I do, partly because we recommend it, and partly because it is mean to oppose a proposition that the one who suffers the most and does the most for the state should also receive the highest rewards. And I think," said he, "that even to the worst it will seem proper that the good should have the larger share."

21. Now Cyrus wished for the sake of the peers themselves that this measure should pass; for he thought that even they themselves would be better, if they knew that they also should be judged by their works and should receive according to their deserts. And so it seemed to him to be the proper time to bring this matter to a vote now, while the peers also were questioning the commoners' claims to equality. Accordingly, those in the tent agreed to submit the question to a discussion and they said that whoever thought himself to be a man ought to advocate it.

22. But one of the captains said with a laugh: "Well, I know a man of the commoners, too, who will support the proposition not to have share and share alike in that indiscriminate fashion."

Another asked him whom he meant; and he answered: "By Zeus, he is a messmate of ours, who in everything does his best to get the largest share."

"What! the largest share of hard work, too?" asked another.

"No, by Zeus," said he; "not by any means; but
μενος ἐάλωκα. καὶ γὰρ πόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
tῶν τοιούτων ὅρῳ πάνω θαρραλέως βουλόμενον
μεθέν τίχειν παρ’ ὄντιναυν.

23. Ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὁ ἄνδρες,
γυνώσκω τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους οἶκον καὶ
οὕτως νῦν λέγει, εἰπέρ δεὶ ἐνεργῶν καὶ πειθό-
μενον ἐχειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐξαιρέτεοι 1 εἶναι
ἐκ τῆς στρατιᾶς. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τὸ μὲν πολὺ
tῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶναι οἶκον ἐσπερθαὶ ἦ ἂν τις
 mktime: ἀγειν ὅ οἴμαι ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἱ μὲν
καλοὶ κάγαθοι ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ κάγαθα, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ
ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά. 24. καὶ πολλάκις τοίνυν πλείονας
ὀμογνώμονας λαμβάνουσιν οἱ φαύλοι ἢ οἱ σπο-
δαῖοι. ἡ γὰρ πονηρία διὰ τῶν παραντικά ἦδονῶν
πορευομένη ταύτας ἐχει συμπειθοῦσας πολλοὺς
ἀυτὴ ὀμογνώμονεῖν; ἡ δ’ ἀρετὴ πρὸς ὀρθῶν
ἀγοῦσα οὐ πάνω δεινὴ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραντικά
εἰκῇ συνεπιστάσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢν ἄλλοι
ὡςιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρανές καὶ τὸ μαλακῶν ἀντιπαρακα-
λουντες. 25. καὶ τοίνυν ὅταν μὲν τῶν βλακεία
καὶ ἀπονία μόνον κακοὶ ὃσι, τοῦτος ἐγὼ νομίζω
ὡςπερ κηφήνας διατάνη μόνον ζημιῶν τοὺς
κοινώνας: 2 οἱ δ’ ἂν τῶν μὲν πόνων κακοὶ ὧσι
κοινωνοῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλεονέκτειν σφοδροί καὶ
ἀναισχυντοί, οὕτωι καὶ ἤγερμονικοὶ εἰσι πρὸς τὰ
πονηρά: πολλάκις γὰρ δύνανται τὴν πονηρίαν
πλεονεκτοῦσαν ἀποδεικνύαν: ὡστε παντάπασιν
ἐξαιρέτεοι ἢμῖν οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἰσι.

1 ἐξαιρέτεοι Stephanus, Edd.; ἐξαιρέτου MSS. (choice).
2 τοὺς κοινῶνας Pantazides, Hertlein, most Edd.; τοὺς
κοινώνους xy; τῆς κοινωνίας z, Dindorf, Sauppe.
here I have been caught in a falsehood. For my observation is that he very good-naturedly consents to have a smaller share of hard work and other things of that sort than anybody else.

23. Well, men," said Cyrus, "I am convinced that such fellows as this one of whom our friend has just been telling us must be weeded out of the ranks, if we are to keep our army industrious and obedient. For it seems to me that the majority of the soldiers are the sort to follow wherever any one leads; and the good and noble, I think, try to lead only to what is good and noble, and the vicious to what is vicious. 24. And therefore the base oftentimes find a larger following of congenial spirits than the noble. For since vice makes her appeal through the pleasures of the moment, she has their assistance to persuade many to accept her views; but virtue, leading up hill, is not at all clever at attracting men at first sight and without reflection; and especially is this true, when there are others who call in the opposite direction, to what is downhill and easy. 25. And so, when people are bad only because of laziness and indolence, I believe that they, like drones, damage their associates only by the cost of their keeping. But those who are poor companions in toil, and also extravagant and shameless in their desire for any advantage, these are likely also to lead others to what is vicious; for they are often able to demonstrate that vice does gain some advantage. And so we must weed out such men at any cost.
26. Καὶ μὴ μέντοι ὑποκειτε ὡς ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀντιπληρώσετε τὰς τάξεις, ἀλλ’ ὅσπερ ὑποι οἴ ἄν ἀριστοὶ δύσιν, οὖχ οἴ ἄν πατριώται, τούτους ζητεῖτε, οὔτω καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πάντων ὁ ἄν ὑμῖν δοκῶσι μᾶλλον συνισχυρίζειν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ συγκοσμήσειν, τούτους λαμβάνετε. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τόδε πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὔτε γὰρ ἄρμα δήποτε ταχὺ γένοιτ’ ἄν βραδέων ὑποι ἐνότων οὔτε δίκαιον ἄδικον συνεζυγμένον, οὔδὲ οἴκος δύνατ’ ἂν εὖ οἰκεῖσθαι πονηρῶς οἰκέταις χρόμανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδεόμενος οἰκετῶν ἡττον σφάλλεται ἢ ὑπὸ ἄδικων ταραττόμενον.

27. Εὖ δ’ ἵστε, ὡ ἄνδρες, ἐφ’ οἶκοι, ὅτι οὔδε τοῦτο μόνον ὀφελήσουσιν οἱ κακοὶ ἀφαίρεθέντες ὅτι κακοὶ ἀπέσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καταμενόντων οὐ μὲν ἀνεπίμπλατο ἢ δὲ κακίας, ἀποκαθαροῦνται πάλιν ταύτῃ, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἰδόντες ἀτιμασθέντας πολὺ εὐθυμότερον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνθέ-ξονται.

28. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε· τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πάσιν συνέδοξε ταύτα, καὶ οὕτως ἐποίουν.

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον πάλιν αὐτοῖς σκώμματος ἤρχετο ὁ Κύρος. κατανοήσας γὰρ τινα τῶν λοχαγῶν σύνδεσπον καὶ παρακλήτην πεποιημένον ἄνδρα ὑπέρδασιν τε καὶ ὑπέραισχρον, ἀνακαλέσας τῶν λοχαγῶν ὄνομαστὶ εἶπεν δὲ· Ὡ Σαμβαύλα, ἐφ’ ἀλλ’ ἢ καὶ σὺ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον, ὅτι

1 καὶ μὴ μέντοι Hug, Gemoll, Marchant; μηδὲ μέντοι z, Dindorf, Sauppe, Breitenbach; καὶ μηδὲ μέντοι γε; καὶ μέντοι μηδὲ Ἐ.

2 After πάντων Hug omits ἀνθρώπων; Gemoll brackets ἀνθρώπους.
26. “Do not, however, endeavour to fill up their places in the ranks with your own countrymen only; but, just as in selecting a team you seek out not horses that are home-bred but those which are best, so also in the case of men, take them from all sources—whoever you think will be most likely to contribute to your strength and to your honour. And I have the following illustrations to prove the worth of my suggestion: a chariot would never go fast, I am sure, if slow horses were attached to it, nor would it be serviceable if horses unfit for service were harnessed to it; nor yet could a house be well managed if it employed vicious servants, but it would suffer less from having no servants at all than from being kept in confusion by incapable servants.

27. “Let me assure you of this, too, my friends,” he added, “that the weeding out of the vicious will bring not only this advantage, that the vicious will be out of the way, but also among those who remain the ones that have already been infected with vice will be purged of it, while the virtuous seeing the vicious disgraced will cleave more eagerly to virtue.”

28. With that he concluded; and all his friends agreed that what he said was true, and they began to act upon that principle.

After that Cyrus began again to jest with them; for he had observed that one of the lieutenants had brought along as a guest and companion at table an exceedingly hairy and exceedingly ill-favoured man; and addressing the lieutenant by name he spoke as follows: “Well, Sambaulas,” said he, “so you also have adopted the Greek fashion, have you, and take
καλὸν ἐστι, περιάγει 1 τούτο τὸ μειράκιον τὸ παρακατακείμενον σοι;

Νὴ τὸν Δ', ἔφη ὁ Σαμβαύλας, ήδομαι γοῦν καὶ ἐγὼ συνών τε καὶ θεόμενος τοῦτον.

29. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ σύσκηνοι προσέβλεψαν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπερβάλλον αἴσχει, ἐγέλασαν πάντες. καὶ τις εἶπε, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Σαμβαύλα, ποίῳ ποτὲ σε ἔργῳ ὁ ἀνήρ οὗτος ἀνήρτηται; 2

30. Καὶ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἔγω ὑμῖν νὴ τὸν Δία, ὁ ἀνδρες, ἔρω. ὀποσάκις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσα εἴτε νυκτὸς εἴτε ἡμέρας, οὐπώποτε μοι οὔτ' ἄσχολίαν προνοφασίσατο οὔτε βάδην ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἲνε τρέχων· ὀποσάκις τε αὐτῷ πρᾶξαι τι προσεταξά, οὐδὲν ἀνιδρωτί ποτε αὐτὸν εἶδον ποιοῦντα. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεκαδέας πάντας τοιούτοις, οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀποδεικνύς οἶους δεῖ εἶναι.

31. Καὶ τις εἶπε, Κάπετα τοιούτων οὔτα οὐ φιλεῖς αὐτὸν ὅστερ τοὺς συγγενεῖς;

Καὶ ὁ αἰσχρὸς ἔκεινος πρὸς τοῦτο ἔφη· Μὰ Δία· οὐ γὰρ φιλόπονον ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ ἤρκει ἂν αὐτῷ, εἴ ἐμὲ ἤθελε φιλεῖν, τοῦτο ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν 3 γυμνασίων.

1 περιάγει Juntine ed., Cobet, most Edd.; περιάγη (above the line -ei) F; περιάγεις xzD, Dindorf.
2 ἀνήρτηται Muretus, Edd.; ἀν(προ-Ε)ήρηται MSS.
3 τῶν xGH, Gemoll, Marchant; not in A, Dindorf, et al. (all kinds of exercises).
about with you everywhere this youngsters who is now beside you, because he is so handsome?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said Sambaulas; "at all events I enjoy both his company and his looks."

29. When his messmates heard this, they looked at the man; and when they saw that his countenance was exceedingly ugly, they all laughed. And one of them said: "In the name of the gods, Sambaulas, what has this fellow done to make such a hit with you?"

30. "By Zeus, fellows," he answered, "I will tell you. Every time that I have called him, whether by day or by night, he has never made any excuse saying that 'he had not time,' nor has he answered my call slowly, but always on a run. And as often as I have bidden him do anything, I have never seen him perform it without sweat; and besides, by showing them not by precept but by example what sort of men they ought to be, he has made his whole squad of ten just like himself."

31. "And yet," said one of the men, "although he is such an excellent fellow, you don't kiss him as you do your relatives?"

And the homely man answered this and said: "No, by Zeus, for he is not fond of hard work; for if he wished to kiss me, that would be an ample substitute for all his drill-work."
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III

1. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ γελοῖα καὶ σπουδαῖα καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐπράττετο ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. τέλος δὲ τὰς τρίτας σπουδὰς ποιήσαντες καὶ εὐξάμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς τάγαθα τὴν σκηνὴν εἰς κοίτην διέλυνον. τῇ δ' ύστεραίᾳ ὁ Κύρος συνελέξε τὰντας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐλέξει τοιάδε.

2. Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν· προσέρχονται γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι. τὰ δ' ἅθλα τῆς νίκης, ἢ μὲν ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν (τοῦτο γὰρ, ἐφη, δεῖ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν), δῆλον ότι οἱ τε πολέμοι ήμέτεροι καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἁγαθὰ πάντα· ἢν δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐ τινομέθα, καὶ οὔτω τὰ τῶν νικομένων πάντα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἀεὶ ἅθλα πρόκειται. 3. οὔτω δή, ἐφη, δεῖ ὑμᾶς γιγνώσκειν ὡς ὅταν μὲν ἄνθρωποι κοινωνοὶ πολέμου γενόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκαστοί ἔχωσιν ὡς, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς τὸς προσθήκησαι, οὔτε ἐσόμενον τῶν δεόντων, ταχὺ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπράττονται· οὔτέν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄργειται τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων· ὅταν δὲ ἐκαστὸς διανοηθῇ ὡς ἄλλος ἔσται ὁ πράττων καὶ ὁ μαχόμενος, κἂν αὐτὸς μαλακίζῃ, τούτοις, ἐφη, εἰ ἱστε ὅτι πᾶσιν ἄμα πάντα ἥκει τὰ χαλέπα φερόμενα. 4. καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὔτω πως ἐποίησε· τοῖς μὴ θέλονσιν ἑαυτοῖς προστάτευεν ἐκπονεῖν τάγαθα ἄλλους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτακτήρας δίδωσι. νῦν οὖν τις, ἐφη, λεγέτω
III

1. Things of this sort, both grave and gay, were said and done at the dinner party. And finally when they had made the third libation and prayed to the gods for their blessings, the party broke up, and they all went to bed. Then on the morrow, Cyrus called all his soldiers together and spoke as follows:

2. "Friends, the conflict is at hand; for the enemy are approaching. As for the prizes of victory, if we are victorious—and we must assume that we shall be and work to that end—it is evident that the enemy and all that is theirs will belong to us. But, on the other hand, if we are defeated—in this case, too, all the possessions of the vanquished are invariably the prizes set for the victors. 3. Accordingly," said he, "you must realize that when men who are united as comrades in war are fully persuaded that nothing will come out as it should unless each individual man exerts himself, then many splendid achievements are speedily accomplished; for nothing that needs to be done is neglected. But when each one assumes that there will be some one else to do and to fight, even if he proves a weakling, let me assure you," said he, "that to such men, all alike, all that is grievous comes in a flood. 4. And God has ordained it in some such way as this: in the case of those who will not compel themselves to work out their own good, he assigns others to be

1 Xenophon here introduces a Greek custom; the Persians poured no libations. But at the conclusion of a dinner, the Greeks poured three libations: the first, to the gods; the second, to the heroes; the third to Zeus, or to Hermes.
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ἐνθάδε ἀναστὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου ποτέρως ἄν τὴν ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον οἴεται ἀσκεῖσθαι παρ’ ἡμῖν, εἰ μέλλοι ὁ πλείοστα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κυνδυνεύειν ἐθέλων πλείστης καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι, ἢ ἄν εἰδὼμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει κακῶν εἶναι ὀμοίως γὰρ πάντες τῶν ἰσον τευξόμεθα.

5. Ἐνταύθα δὴ ἀναστὰς Χρυσάντας, εἰς τῶν ὁμοτίμων, ἀνὴρ οὗτος μέγας οὔτε ἱσχυρὸς ἰδεῖν, φρονήσει δὲ διαφέρων, ἐλεξέν, ἂλλ’ ὁμία μὲν, ἔφη, ὃ Κύρη, οὔτε διανοούμενον σὲ ὡς δὲι ἰσον ἔχειν τοὺς κακοὺς τοὺς ἰγαθοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ἂλλ’ ἀποπειρώμενον εἰ τις ἀρα ἐσται ἀνήρ ὅστις ἔθελήσει ἐπιδείξαι ἐαυτὸν ὡς διανοεῖται μηδὲν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ποιῶν, ἄν ἄλλοι τῇ ἀρετῇ καταπράξωσι, τούτων ἰσομοιρεῖν. 6. ἔγω δ’, ἔφη, οὕτε ποσίν εἰμι ταχὺς οὕτε χερσὶν ἱσχυρός, γυγνόσκω τε ὅτι ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἔγω τὸ ἐμὸ σῶματι ποιῆσω, οὐ κριθεῖν οὕτε ἂν πρῶτος οὕτε ἂν δεύτερος, οἷμαι δ’ οὐδ’ ἂν χιλιοστός, ἰσος δ’ οὐδ’ ἂν μυριοστὸς; ἂλλα καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ἔφη, σαφῶς ἐπισταμαι ὅτι εἰ μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐρρωμένοι ἀντιλήψεται τῶν πραγμάτων, ἰγαθοὶ τινὸς μοι μετέσται τοσοῦτον μέρος ὅσον ἂν δίκαιον ἢ; εἰ δ’ οἱ μὲν κακοὶ μηδὲν ποιήσουσιν, οἱ δ’ ἰγαθοὶ καὶ δυνατοὶ ἀθύμως ἔξουσί, δέδοικα, ἔφη, μὴ ἄλλοι τινὸς μᾶλλον ἢ τού, ἰγαθοῦ μεθέξω πλεῖον μέρος ἢ ἔγω βούλομαι.

7. Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν. ἀνέστη δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Φεραύλας, Πέρσης τῶν δημοτῶν, 178
their commanders. Now, therefore, let any one stand up and speak to this question before us, whether he thinks that valour would be more cultivated among us, if the one who will do and dare most is also to receive the greatest rewards, or if we know that it makes no difference whether a man be a coward or not, as we shall all share and share alike."

5. Hereupon Chrysantas, one of the peers, a man neither large nor powerful to look upon, but pre-eminent in understanding, stood up and spoke: "Well, Cyrus," said he, "I think that you are introducing this discussion not because you think that the bad ought to have an equal share with the good, but because you wish to prove whether a single man will really be found who will care to let it be known that he thinks that, even if he himself does nothing good and noble, he should have an equal share of that which others win by their valour." 6. Now I," he went on, "am neither fleet of foot nor strong of arm, and I know that in view of what I shall accomplish by my bodily strength I should not be judged either the first or the second, or even, I suppose, the thousandth, and perhaps not even the ten thousandth. But on this point I am perfectly clear, that if those who are powerful men take matters vigorously in hand, I shall have as large a share of any good fortune that may come as I deserve. But if the bad do nothing and the good and strong lose heart, I am afraid," said he, "that I shall have a larger share than I wish of something other than good."

7. Thus spoke Chrysantas. And after him Pheraulas stood up, one of the Persian common-
Κύρω πως ἔτι οὐκοθεν συνήθης καὶ ἀρεστὸς ἀνήρ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ ἀνδρὶ ἐνικῶς, καὶ ἔλεε τοιάδε: 8. Ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Κύρη καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Πέρσαι, ἥγουμαι μὲν ἡμᾶς πάντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱσου νῦν ὁρμᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς· ὥρῳ γὰρ ὁμοίᾳ μὲν τροφῇ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὸ σῶμα ἀσκοῦντας, ὠμοίας δὲ συννοσίας πάντας ἀξιομένους, ταῦτα δὲ πάσιν ἡμῖν πρόκειται. τὸ τε γὰρ τοῖς ἀρχουσι πείθεσθαι πάσιν ἐν κοινῷ κεῖται, καὶ ὦς ἀν φανῇ τούτῳ ἀπροφασίστως ποιῶν, τούτον ὅρῳ παρὰ Κύρου τιμῆς τυχάνοντα: τὸ τε2 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλκίμον εἶναι οὐ τῷ μὲν προσῆκον τῷ δ’ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καὶ τούτῳ προκέκριται κάλιστον εἶναι.

9. Νῦν δ’, ἔφη, ἡμῖν καὶ δείκνυται3 μάχη, ἢν ἔγω ὁρῶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους φύσει ἐπισταμένους, ὡσπερ γε καὶ τάλλα ξάρα ἐπίσταται τινα μάχην ἔκαστα οὗτος παρ’ ἑνὸς ἄλλου μαθόντα γὰρ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, οἷον ὁ βοῦς κέρατο παίειν, ὁ ἵππος ὀπληθεὶς, ὁ κύων στόματι, ὁ κάτως ὀδόντων καὶ φυλάττεσθαι γ’, ἔφη, ἀπαντα ταῦτα ἐπισταται ἄφ’ διὸ μάλιστα δεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς οὐδὲν διδασκάλου πῶς ποτε φοιτήσανται. 10. καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἥπιστάμην πρὸ τοῦτον ὃ τι όμην πληγήσεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔχοιμι, τὼ χεῖρε προέχων ἐνεπό-

1 τὸ σῶμα xz, Marchant; τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἁφυὴς y, most Edd. (not physically unfit).
2 τὸ τε C, Breitenbach, Marchant; τὸ τ’ αὐ yG, Dindorf, Gemoll.
3 δείκνυται x, Marchant, Gemoll; δείδεικται yz, most Edd.

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ers, but a man who for some reason or other had from the beginning won Cyrus’s confidence and affection; besides he was well-favoured in body and a gentleman at heart. His speech was as follows:

8. “I think, Cyrus,” said he, “and all you Persians here assembled, that we are all now starting on an equal footing in a contest of merit; for I observe that we are all taking the same bodily exercise, that we all have the same rations, that we are all considered worthy to move in the same society, and that the prizes are offered alike to all. For obedience to the officers has been enjoined equally upon us all, and whoever shows himself prompt to comply, I observe that he receives honour from Cyrus. Again, to be brave in the face of the enemy is not a thing to be expected of one and not of another, but it is considered far the noblest thing for all alike.

9. “And now,” he continued, “we have been initiated into a method of fighting, which, I observe, all men naturally understand, just as in the case of other creatures each understands some method of fighting which it has not learned from any other source than from instinct: for instance, the bull knows how to fight with his horns, the horse with his hoofs, the dog with his teeth, the boar with his tusks. And all know how to protect themselves, too, against that from which they most need protection, and that, too, though they have never gone to school to any teacher.

10. As for myself, I have understood from my very childhood how to protect the spot where I thought I was likely to receive a blow; and if I had nothing else I put out my hands to hinder as well as I could
διζον δ' τι ἐδυνάμην τὸν παίοντα· καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν 
οὐ διδασκόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦτο παιδί-
μενος, εἰ προβαλομένην. μάχαιράν γε μὴν εὐθὺς 
παιδίον ὁν ἠρπαξον ὅπου ἴδοιμι, οὐδὲ παρ' ἐνὸς 
οὐδὲ τοῦτο μαθὼν ὅπως δὲῖ λαμβάνειν ἡ παρὰ 
τῆς φύσεως, ὡς ἐγώ φημι. ἐποίησαν γοῦν καὶ 
tοῦτο κωλυόμενος, οὐ διδασκόμενος· ὅσπερ καὶ 
ἀλλα ἔστων ἡ εἰργόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ μητρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ 
pατρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πράττειν ἠναγκαζόμην. 
καὶ ναὶ μᾶ Δία ἐπαινὸν γε τῇ μαχαίρᾳ πᾶν ὧ 
τι δυναίμην λαμβάνειν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον φύσει ἴν, 
ἀστερ τὸ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπου 
πρὸς τῷ πεφυκέναι τοῦτο ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι.

11. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν, ἔφη, αὕτη ἡ μάχη κατα-

λείπτει, ἐν ἡ προθυμίας μᾶλλον ἡ τέχνης ἐργον 
ἔστι, πῶς ἦμων οὐχ ἣδεως πρὸς τού̃δε τοὺς 
ὀμοτίμους ἀγωνιστέους; ὅπου γε τὰ μὲν ἀξία τῆς 
ἀρετῆς ἵσα πρόκειται, παραβαλλόμενοι δὲ οὐκ 
Insensitive ἵσα ἔστο τοῦ κίνδυνον ἵμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπου μὲν ἐντιμον, 
ὅσπερ μόνοις ἡδίστος, βίον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπίπονον μὲν, 
ἀτιμον δὲ, ὅσπερ οἴμαι χαλεπώτατος.

12. Μάλιστα δέ, ὃ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο με [εὐθύ-

μως] ἐις τὸν ἄγωνα τὸν πρὸς τού̃δε παρομα 
ὅτι Κύρος ὁ κρίνων ἐσται, ὅς οὐ φθόνῳ κρίνει, 
ἀλλὰ (σὺν θεόν ὀρκῳ λέγοι) ἡ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ 
Κύρος σύντιμας ἢν ὅρα ἀγαθῶς φιλεῖν οὐδὲν 
ἡττον ἑαυτοῦ· τούτοις γοῦν ὀρῶ ἀυτὸν ὃ 
τί ἂν ἔχη

1 εὐθύμως MSS.; bracketed or omitted by most Edd.;
εὐθῦ πώς Gemoll (straighten).
2 ἀν ὅρα ἀ, most Edd.; ὅρα χ, Gemoll.

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the one who was trying to hit me. And this I did not from having been taught to do so, but even though I was beaten for that very act of putting out my hands. Furthermore, even when I was a little fellow I used to seize a sword wherever I saw one, although, I declare, I had never learned, except from instinct, even how to take hold of a sword. At any rate, I used to do this, even though they tried to keep me from it—and certainly they did not teach me so to do—just as I was impelled by nature to do certain other things which my father and mother tried to keep me away from. And, by Zeus, I used to hack with a sword everything that I could without being caught at it. For this was not only instinctive, like walking and running, but I thought it was fun in addition to its being natural.

11. "Be that as it may," he went on, "since this method of fighting awaits us, which demands courage more than skill, why should we not gladly compete with the peers here? For the prizes proposed for excellence are equal, but we shall go into the trial not having at stake interests equal with theirs; for they have at stake a life of honour, which is the most happy of all, while we risk only a life of toil unhonoured, which I think is most burdensome.

12. "And this, comrades, gives me the most courage for the competition with these gentlemen, that Cyrus is to be the judge; for he decides not with partiality, but (I swear it by the gods) I verily think that Cyrus loves no less than himself those whom he recognizes as valiant. At any rate, I observe that, whatever he has, he is much more pleased to give it to them than to keep it
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ηδιον¹ διδόντα μᾶλλον ἡ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα. 13. καὶ
toi, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι οὕτωι μέγα φρονούσιν ὅτι
πεπαιδευνται δὴ καὶ πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ δίψαν καὶ
πρὸς ρύγος καρτερεῖν, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα
ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ κρείττονος διδασκάλου πεπαιδεύμεθα
ἡ οὕτωι. οὐ γὰρ ἦστι διδάσκαλος οὐδεὶς τούτων
κρείττων τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἡ ἡμᾶς καὶ λίαν ταῦτ'
ἀκριβῶς ἐδίδαξε. 14. καὶ πονεῖν οὕτωι μὲν τὰ ὅπλα
φέροντες ἐμελέτων, ἂ ἦστιν ἀπασιν ἀνθρώπους
ηὐρημένα ὡς ἀν εὐφορώτατα εἰη, ἡμεῖς δὲ γ', ἔφη,
ἐν μεγάλοις φορτίοις καὶ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν
ἡμαγκαζόμεθα, ὡστε νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ τῶν ὅπλων
ἵορμα πτεροῖς μᾶλλον ἐοικέναι ἡ φορτίω.

15. Ὡς οὖν ἐμοί γε καὶ ἀγωνιουμένου καὶ
ὀποῖος ἄν τις ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν μὲ τιμᾶν
ἀξιώσοντος, οὕτως, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρης, γιγνώσκει.
καὶ ἦμῖν γ', ἔφη, ὁ ἄνδρες δημόται, παραινό
εἰς ἐρών ὀρμάσθαι ταύτης τῆς μάχης πρὸς τοὺς
πεπαιδευμένους τούσδε· νῦν γὰρ ἄνδρες² εἰλημ-
μένοι εἰσιν ἐν δημοτικῇ ἀγωνίᾳ.

16. Φεραύλας μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν. ἀνίσταντο
δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐκατέρων συναγορεύοντες.
ἐδοξε κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τιμᾶσθαι ἐκαστὸν, Κύρου
δὲ τὸν κρίνοντα εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω
προκεχωρήκει.

17. Ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὁ Κύρος καὶ ὅλην
ποτὲ τάξιν σὺν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ, ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τοὺς
μὲν ἡμῖσις τῶν ἄνδρῶν τῆς τάξεως ἀντιτάξαντα
ἐκατέρωθεν εἰς ἐμβολῆν, θώρακας μὲν ἀμφοτέρους

¹ ηδιόν y, most Edd.; not in xz, Gemoll.
² ἄνδρες Schneider, Edd.; ἄνδρες MSS.
for himself. 13. And yet I know that these men pride themselves upon having been trained, as they say, to endure hunger and thirst and cold, but they do not know that in this we also have been trained by a better teacher than they have had; for in these branches there is no better teacher than necessity, which has given us exceedingly thorough instruction in them. 14. And they have been in training for hard labour by carrying weapons, which all men have so devised that they may be as easy as possible to bear; while we, on our part, have been obliged to walk and to run with heavy burdens, so that the carrying of arms now seems to me more like having wings than bearing a burden.

15. “Let me inform you, therefore, Cyrus,” said he, “that I, for one, shall not only enter this contest, but I shall also expect you to reward me according to my deserts, whatever I am, for better or worse. And you, my fellow-commoners,” he concluded, “I recommend you to enter with alacrity into the competition with these gentlemen in this sort of warfare; for now they have been trapped in a contest with commoners.”

16. Thus Pheraulas spoke. And many others from both orders rose to speak in favour of the measure. They decided that each one should receive rewards according to his deserts, and that Cyrus should be the judge. Thus, then, the matter was satisfactorily settled.

17. And once Cyrus invited a captain and his whole company to dinner, because he had noticed him drawing up one half of the men of his company against the other half for a sham battle. Both sides
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ἔχοντας καὶ γέρρα ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς, εἰς δὲ τὰς δεξιὰς νάρθηκας παχεῖς τοῖς ἡμίσεσιν ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέρους εἴπεν ὅτι βάλλειν δεήσοι ἀναιρουμένους ταῖς βόλοις.

18. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι οὕτως ἔστησαν, ἐσήμηνεν αὐτοῖς μάχεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὦι μὲν ἐβαλλον ταῖς βόλοις καὶ ἐστιν οὐ ἐτύγχανον καὶ θωράκων καὶ γέρρων, οἱ δὲ καὶ μηροῦ καὶ κυμάδος. ἔπει δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὦι τοὺς νάρθηκας ἔχοντες ἐπαίουν τῶν μὲν μηροῦς, τῶν δὲ χειρας, τῶν δὲ κυμάς, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπικυπτόντων ἐπὶ βόλους ἐπαίουν τοὺς τραχήλους καὶ τὰ νῦτα. τέλος δὲ τρεφάμενοι ἐδίωκον οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι παῖοντες σὺν πολλῷ γέλωτι καὶ παιδιά. ἔν μέρει γε μὴν οἱ ἐτεροὶ λαβόντες πάλιν τοὺς νάρθηκας ταῦτα ἐποίησαν τοὺς ταῖς βόλοις βάλλοντας.

19. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀγασθεῖς ὁ Κύρος, τοῦ μὲν ταξιάρχου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν πειθώ, ὅτι ἀμα μὲν ἐγυμνάζοντο, ἀμα δὲ ἦθυμοντο, ἀμα δὲ ἐνίκων οἱ εἰκασθέντες τῇ τῶν Περσῶν ὀπλήσει, τούτοις δὴ ἡσθείς ἐκάλεσε τε ἐπὶ δείπνου αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ιδῶν τινας αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδεμένους, τὸν μὲν τινα ἀντικημῆνον, τὸν δὲ χεῖρα, ἡρώτα τι πάθοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πληγεῖεν ταῖς βόλοις. 20. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐπηρώτα πότερον ἐπεί ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο ὡς ὦτε πρόσω ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὥς τε πρόσω ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, παιδιάν ἐφασαν εἶναι καλλίστην οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι. οἱ δὲ
had breastplates and on their left arms their shields; in the hands of the one side he placed stout cudgels, while he told the other side that they would have to pick up clods to throw.

18. Now when they had taken their stand thus equipped, he gave the order to begin battle. Then those on the one side threw their clods, and some struck the breastplates and shields, others also struck the thighs and greaves of their opponents. But when they came into close quarters, those who had the cudgels struck the others—some upon the thighs, others upon the arms, others upon the shins; and as still others stooped to pick up clods, the cudgels came down upon their necks and backs. And finally, when the cudgel-bearers had put their opponents to flight, they pursued them laying on the blows amid shouts of laughter and merriment. And then again, changing about, the other side took the cudgels with the same result to their opponents, who in turn threw clods.

19. In this Cyrus admired both the captain’s cleverness and the men’s obedience, and he was pleased to see that they were at the same time having their practice and enjoying themselves and also because that side was victorious which was armed after the fashion of the Persians. Pleased with this he invited them to dinner; and in his tent, observing some of them wearing bandages—one around his leg, another around his arm—he asked them what the matter was; and they answered that they had been hit with the clods. 20. And he inquired further, whether it had happened when they were close together or far apart. And they said it was when they were far apart. But when they came to close quarters, it was capital fun—so
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συγκεκομμένοι τοῖς νάρθηξιν ἀνέκραγον ὁτι οὔ σφίσι δοκοῖ παιδία εἶναι τὸ ὀμόθεν παίεσθαι. ἀμα δὲ ἐπεδείκνυσαν τῶν ναρθήκων τὰς πληγὰς καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐν τραχύλοις, ἐνοι δὲ καὶ ἐν προσώποις. καὶ τότε μὲν ὦσπερ εἰκὸς ἐγέλων ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους.

Τῇ δ’ ύστεραιά μεστὸν ἢν τὸ πεδίον πᾶν τῶν ¹ τούτων μιμομένων καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀλλο τι σπουδαίτερον πράττοιεν, ταύτῃ τῇ παιδία ἔχρωντο.

21. Ἀλλον δὲ ποτε ἱδον ταξιλαρχον ἅγουτα τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ἐφ’ ἐνός, καὶ ὅποτε δοκοῖ αὐτῷ καιρὸς εἶναι, παραγγέλ- λοντα τὸν ύστερον λόχον παράγειν, καὶ τὸν τρίτον

¹ πᾶν τῶν Stephanus, Edd. πάντων MSS.

a The manoeuvre here described is perfectly simple: they are coming up from the river, from the left, thus (letting . stand for private, ¶ for corporal, ¶ for lieutenant [in command of a division of twenty-five], § for captain):—

First Formation—

* · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
first division

* · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
second division

* · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
third division

* · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
fourth division

The first division halts, and the other three, in succession, line up abreast with the first; the second formation has the four lieutenants abreast in front and is twenty-five men deep:

Second Formation—

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

¶ § · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

¶ § · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

¶ § · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

¶ § · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · §

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

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the cudgel-bearers said; but those who had been thoroughly drubbed with the cudgels cried out that it did not seem any fun to them to be beaten at close quarters, and at the same time they showed the marks of the cudgels on their arms and their necks and some also on their faces. And then, as was natural, they laughed at one another.

On the following day the whole plain was full of men following their example; and if they had nothing more important to do, they indulged in this sport.

21. And once he saw another captain leading his company up from the river left about in single file and ordering when he thought it was proper, the second division and then the third and the fourth

\[ \text{Third Formation—} \]

\[ \text{Fourth Formation—} \]

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

Finally in these groups of six each, they are led, single file, into dinner.
καὶ τὸν τέταρτον, εἰς μέτωπον, ἔπει δ᾽ ἐν μετώπῳ
οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐγένοντο, παρηγγύησεν εἰς δύο ἄγειν
τὸν λόχον· ἐκ τοῦτοῦ δὴ παρῆγγε τοὺς δεκάδαρχους
eἰς μέτωπον· ὁπότε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ρήμας
eἶναι, παρῇγγείλειν εἰς τέταρτα τὸν λόχον· οὐτω
dὴ οἱ πεμπάδαρχοι αὗ παρῆγγεν εἰς τέταρτα· ἐπεὶ
dὲ ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς σκηνῆς ἐγένοντο, παραγγείλας
αὐτῷ εἰς ἑνα οὕτως ἑισήγηε τὸν πρῶτον λόχον, καὶ
tὸν δεύτερον τοῦτον κατ᾽ οὐρὰν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπε-
σθαί, καὶ τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον ἀσαύτως
παραγγείλας ἤγειτο εἰσώ· οὕτω δ᾽ εἰςαγαγὼν
κατέκλυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἄσπερ εἰςπεπερεύοντο
τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ἀγαπεῖς τῆς τῆς πραστηθος
τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἑκάλεσε ταύ-
tην τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον σὺν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ.

22. Παρὼν δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῷ δεύτερῳ κεκλημένος
ἀλλος ταξίαρχος, Τὴν δ᾽ ἔμην, ἔφη, τάξιν, ὁ
Κῦρος, οὐ καλεῖς εἰς τὴν σκηνήν; καὶ μὴν ὅταν γε
παρήγη ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον, πάντα ταὐτὰ 2 ποιεῖ· καὶ
ὅταν τέλος ἡ σκηνὴ ἔχη, ἔξαγε μὲν ὁ οὐραγός,
ἔφη, δ᾽ τοῦ τελευταίου λόχου τὸν λόχον, ὡστά-
tους ἑκὼν τοὺς πρώτους τεταγμένους εἰς μάχην
ἐπειτὰ δὲ δεύτερος τοὺς τοῦ ἔτερου λόχου ἐπὶ τοῦ-
tους, καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἀσαύτως, ὅπως,
ἔφη, καὶ ὅταν ἀπάγειν δεῖ ἀπὸ πολεμίων,
ἐπιστῶται ὡς δεῖ ἄπιεναι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ, ἔφη,
καταστάμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δρόμου ἔνθα περιπατοῦ-
μεν, ὅταν μὲν πρὸς ἐω ἱώμεν, ἑγὼ μὲν ἡγοῦμαι.

1 οὕτως Weiske, Breitenbach; ἑναντα MSS., Dindorf; [ἕθεν] Gemoll, Marchant.
2 ταὐτά Dindorf, Edd. ; ταὐτα MSS.
to advance to the front; and when the lieutenants were in a row in front, he ordered each division to march up in double file. Thus the sergeants came to stand on the front line. Again, when he thought proper, he ordered the divisions to line up four abreast; in this formation, then, the corporals in their turn came to stand four abreast in each division; and when they arrived at the doors of the tent, he commanded them to fall into single file again, and in this order he led the first division into the tent; the second he ordered to fall in line behind the first and follow, and, giving orders in like manner to the third and fourth, he led them inside. And when he had thus led them all in, he gave them their places at dinner in the order in which they came in. Pleased with him for his gentleness of discipline and for his painstaking, Cyrus invited this company also with its captain to dinner.

22. Now there was present another captain who had been invited to the dinner and he said: “Cyrus, will you not invite my company to your tent? My company, too, does all this when we go to mess, and when the meal is finished the rear-guard leader of the last division leads that division out, keeping in the rear those whose place in the battle line is in front; then, next after them, the second rear-guard leader brings out the men of the second division, and the third and the fourth in like manner, in order that,” he explained, “they may also know how to withdraw, if ever it is necessary to retreat before the enemy. And when we take our places on the parade-ground, I take the lead, when we march toward the east, and the first division of the company
καὶ ὁ πρῶτος λόχος πρῶτος, καὶ ὁ δευτέρος ὡς
dei, καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, καὶ αἱ τῶν λό-
χων δεκάδες καὶ πεμπάδες, ἐως ἄν παραγγέλλω
ἐγὼ· ὅταν δ’, ἔφη, πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἱωμεν, ὁ οὐ-
ραγός τε καὶ οἱ τελευταῖοι πρῶτοι ἀφηγονταί·
ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὕτω πείθουνται ὑστέρῳ ἱόντε, ἵνα
ἔθιζωνται καὶ ἐπεσθαί καὶ ἡγεῖθαί ὁμοίως
πειθόμενοι.

23. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔφη, Ὑ ἔσται τοῦτο ποιεῖτε;
'Ὁποσάκις γε, ἔφη, καὶ δειπνοποιούμεθα, νῦ
Δία.
Καλὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς, ἀμα μὲν ὅτι τὰς
τάξεις μελετᾶτε καὶ προσιόντες καὶ ἀπιόντες,
ἀμα δ’ ὅτι καὶ ἠμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ἀμα δ’ ὅτι
τά τε σώματα περιπατοῦντες ἀσκεῖτε καὶ τὰς
ψυχὰς ὄφελεῖτε διδάσκοντες. ἐπει ὅσον πάντα
διπλὰ ποιεῖτε, διπλὴν ὑμῖν δίκαιον καὶ τὴν εὐ-
ωχίαν παρέχειν.

24. Μὰ Δί’, ἔφη ὁ ταξιάρχος, μήτοι γ’ ἐν μᾶ
ἡμέρα, εἰ μὴ καὶ διπλὰς ἡμῶν τὰς γαστέρας
παρέξεις.
Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὸ τέλος τῆς σκηνῆς
ἔποιήσαντο. τῇ δ’ ύστεραια ὁ Κύρος ἐκάλεσεν
ἐκείνην τὴν τάξιν, ὡσπερ ἔφη, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ. αἰ-
σθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὸ λοιπὸν πάντες
αὐτοὺς ἐμμοῦντο.

IV

1. Ἐξέτασιν δὲ ποτὲ πάντων τοῦ Κύρου ποιου-
μένοι ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς καὶ σύνταξιν ἥλθε παρὰ
Κναξάρου ἀγγελος λέγων ὅτι Ἰνδῶν παρεῖτο πρεσ-
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goes first, the second in its proper order, and then the third and the fourth and the squads of ten and five in each division, until I give the order for some change of formation; then,” said he, “when we march toward the west, the rear-guard leader and the rear-guard lead off first. Still, even so, they have to look to me for the commands, though I march last, so that they may get into the habit of obeying just the same whether they follow or whether they lead.”

   “Yes, by Zeus,” said he, “as often as we go to dinner.”
   “Well then,” said Cyrus, “I will invite you, because you give your lines practice both in coming and in going, by night and by day, and also because you give your bodies exercise by marching about, and improve your minds by instruction. Since, therefore, you do all this doubly, it is only fair that I should furnish you a double feast also.”

24. “No, by Zeus,” said the captain, “at any rate not on the same day, unless you will furnish us with double stomachs as well.”

Thus they brought that dinner to a close. And on the following day Cyrus invited that company, as he had promised, and again the next day. And when the others heard about it, they all followed, in the future, the example of that company.

IV

1. Once when Cyrus was holding a general review and parade of all his men under arms, a messenger came from Cyaxares saying that an embassy had
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Βεία. Κελεύει ὁ ὅν σε ἐλθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα. φέρω δὲ σοι, ἐφη ὁ ἄγγελος, καὶ στολήν τὴν καλ-
λίστην παρὰ Κυαξάρου ἐβουλεῖτο γάρ σε ὡς
λαμπρότατα καὶ εὐκοσμότατα προσάγειν, ὡς
ὑφομένων τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὅπως ἂν προσέχῃ.

2. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Κῦρος παρήγγειλε τῷ
πρώτῳ τεταγμένῳ ταξιάρχῳ εἰς μέτωπον στήναι,
εφ’ ὑπὸς ἄγοντα τὴν τάξιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐχοντα εισαυτόν,
καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐκέλευσε ταύτῳ τοῦτο παραγ-
γεῖλαι, καὶ διὰ πάντων οὕτω παραδίδοναι ἐκέλευ-
σεν. οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι ταχὺ μὲν παρήγγειλον,
ταχὺ δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἔποιον, ἐν ὅλῳ
δὲ χρόνῳ ἔγενοντο τὸ μὲν μέτωπον ἐπὶ τριακοσίων,
τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ταξιάρχοι, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ’
ἐκατόν. 3. ἔπει δὲ κατέστησαν, ἔπεσαν ἐκέλευ-
σεν ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἤγχηται καὶ εὐθὺς τροχάζων
ήγετο. ἔπει δὲ κατευόθησε τὴν ἀγνίαν τὴν πρὸς
τὸ βασίλειον φέρουσαν στενοτέραν οὕσαν ἢ ὡς
ἔπι μετώπου πάντας διέναι, παραγγείλας τὴν
πρώτην χιλιοστῶν ἔπεσαν κατὰ χώραν, τὴν δὲ
dευτέραν καὶ οὐρὰν ταύτης ἀκολουθεῖν, καὶ διὰ
πάντων οὕτως, αὐτὸς μὲν ἤγειτο οὐκ ἀναπαύ-
μενος, αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι χιλιοστὺς κατ’ οὐρὰν ἐκάστη
tῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπικυρήσατο.

4. Ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέτας δύο ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα
tής ἀγνίας, ὅπως εἰ τις ἀγνοοῦν, σημαίνουσι τὸ
δέον ποιεῖν. ὡς δ’ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξάρου
θύρας, παρήγγειλε τῷ πρώτῳ ταξιάρχῳ τὴν τάξιν

1 τριακοσίων Muretus, Edd. ; διακοσίων MSS. (two hundred).
arrived from India. "He therefore bids you come as soon as possible. Moreover," said the messenger, "I am bringing you a very beautiful robe from Cyaxares; for he expressed the wish that you appear as brilliant and splendid as possible when you come, for the Indians will see how you approach him."

2. And when Cyrus heard this, he gave orders to the captain who was stationed first to take his stand at the head of the line, bringing up his company in single file and keeping himself to the right; he told him to transmit the same order to the second captain and to pass it on through all the lines. And they obeyed at once and passed the order on, and they all executed it promptly, and in a little while they were three hundred abreast on the front line, for that was the number of the captains, and a hundred men deep.

3. And when they had got into their places, he ordered them to follow as he himself should lead. And at once he led them off at a double quick step. But when he became aware that the street leading to the king's headquarters was too narrow to admit all his men with such a front, he ordered the first regiment in their present order to follow him, the second to fall in behind the first, and so on through them all, while he himself led on without stopping to rest, and the other regiments followed, each the one before it.

4. And he sent also two adjutants to the entrance of the street, to tell what was to be done, if any one did not understand. And when they arrived at Cyaxares's doors, he ordered the first captain to draw up his company twelve deep, while the sergeants
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eἰς δώδεκα τάττειν βάθος, τοὺς δὲ δωδεκάρχους ἐν μετώπῳ καθιστάναι περὶ τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ταῦτά ἐκέλευσε παραγγείλαι, καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως. 5. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν· ὁ δὲ εἰσήει πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ στολῇ ούδέν τι ύβρισμένη. ἦδον δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κυαξάρης τῷ μὲν τάχει ἤσθη, τῇ δὲ φαυλότητι τῆς στολῆς ἤχεσθη, καὶ εἴπε, Τί τούτο, ὁ Κύρε; ὅλον πεποίηκας οὕτω φανεῖς τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς; ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ἐβουλόμην σε ὡς λαμπρότατον φανήναι καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἄν κόσμος ἢν τοῦτο, ἐμῆς ὄντα ἀδελφῆς νῦň ὅτι μεγαλοπρεπέστατον φαίνεσθαι.

6. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἴπε, Καὶ ποτέρως ἦν, ὁ Κυαξάρης, μᾶλλον σε ἐκόσμουν, εἴπερ πορφυρίδα ἐνδὺς καὶ ψέλια λαβῶν καὶ στρεπτὸν περιθέμενος σχολή κελεύοντι ὑπῆκοουν σοι, ἥ νῦň ὅτε σὺν τοιαύτῃ καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυνάμει οὕτω σοι ὄξεως ὑπακούω διὰ τὸ σε τιμᾶν ἤδρωτι καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς κεκοσμημένος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιδεικνύς σοι οὕτω πειθομένους;

Κύρος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα εἴπεν. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης νομίζας αὐτὸν ὅρθως λέγειν ἐκάλεσε τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. 7. οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ εἰσελθόντες ἔλεξαν ὅτι πεμψειε σφᾶς ὁ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς κελεύον ἐρωτᾶν ἐξ ὅτου ὁ πόλεμος εἶν Μήδους τε καὶ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαιμεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντας αὐ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον κάκεινον ταῦτα πυθέσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἀμφοτέρους εἰπεῖν ὡμῶν ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, τὸ δίκαιον σκεφάμενος, φαίη μετὰ τοῦ ἡδικημένου ἔσεσθαι.

8. Ποῦς ταῦτα ὁ Κυαξάρης εἴπεν, Ἐμοῦ μὲν
were to take their places on the front line about the king’s headquarters. He bade him transmit the same orders to the second captain, and so on to all the rest; 5. and they proceeded to do so, while he presented himself before Cyaxares in his Persian dress, which was not at all showy. When Cyaxares saw him, he was pleased at his promptness but displeased with the plainness of his dress and said: “How is this, Cyrus? What do you mean by appearing thus before the Indians? Now I wished you to appear with as much magnificence as possible, for it would have been a mark of respect to me to have my sister’s son appear in all possible grandeur.”

6. “Should I be showing you more respect, Cyaxares,” Cyrus made reply to this, “if I arrayed myself in purple and adorned myself with bracelets and put on a necklace and at my leisure obeyed your orders, than I have in obeying you with such dispatch and accompanied by so large and so efficient an army? And I have come myself adorned with sweat and marks of haste to honour you and I present the others likewise obedient to you.”

Thus Cyrus spoke, and Cyaxares recognizing that he was right summoned the Indians. 7. And when the Indians came in they said that the king of India had sent them with orders to ask on what ground the Medes and the Assyrians had declared war. “And he has ordered us,” they said, “when we have heard your statement, to go also to the Assyrian and ask him the same question; and finally, he bade us say to both of you that the king of India declares that when he has weighed the merits of the case, he will side with the party wronged.”

8. “Well, then,” Cyaxares made reply to this,
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toίνυν ἀκούετε ὅτι οὐκ ἄδικοιμεν τὴν Ἀσσύριον οὐδὲν· ἐκείνου δ', εἰ δεῖσθε, ἐλθόντες νῦν πύθεσθε ὃ τι λέγει.

Παρὼν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἢρετο τὸν Κυαξάρην, Ἡ καὶ ἕγω, ἔφη, εἴπω ὅ τι γυγρῶσκω; καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἐκέλευσεν.

Τμεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπαγγείλατε τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεί τάδε, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο Κυαξάρη δοκεῖ, ὅτι φαμέν ἤμεῖς, εἰ τί φησιν υφ' ἡμῶν ἄδικείσθαι ὁ Ἀσσύριος, αἰρείσθαι αὐτόν τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα δικαστήν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἀκούσαντες ὄχοντο. 9. ἔπει δὲ ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ὁ Κύρος πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἦρξάτο λόγον τοιούτῳ.

Ὡς Κυαξάρη, ἐγὼ μὲν ἡλθὼν οὐδέν τι πολλά ἔχων ἵδια χρήματα οἰκοθεν· ὅποσα δ' ἦν, τούτων πάνυ ὀλγα λοιπὰ ἔχω· ἀνήλωκα δὲ, ἔφη, εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ τούτῳ ἑσώσεις, ἔφη, θαυμάζεις σὺ πῶς ἐγὼ ἀνήλωκα σοῦ αὐτοῦς τρέφοντος· εὑ δ' ἑσθε, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶν ἡ τιμῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος, ὦταν τινὶ ἄγασθο τῷ στρατιωτῷ. 10. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι, ἔφη, πάντας μὲν οὐς ἂν τις βούληται ἄγαθος συνεργοῦσι ποιεῖσθαι ὁποίον τινὸς οὖν πράγματος, ἥδιον εἶναι εὐ τε λέγοντα καὶ εὖ ποιοῦντα παρορμαῖν μᾶλλον ἡ λυποῦντα καὶ ἀναγκαζόντα· οὖς δὲ δὴ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐργῶν ποιήσασθαι τις βούλοιτο συνεργοῦσι προθύμως, τούτους παντάπασιν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ ἄγαθος θηρατέον εἶναι καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἐργοῖς. φίλους γὰρ, οὐκ ἔχθροὺς, δεῖ εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀπροφασίστους συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ μὴς τοῖς ἄγαθοις τὸν ἀρχοντὸς φθονήσοντας μὴτε εὖ τοῖς

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"let me tell you that we are not guilty of doing any wrong to the Assyrian; but go now, if you wish, and ask him what he has to say."

Cyrus, who was present, asked Cyaxares, "May I also tell them what I think?" And Cyaxares bade him say on.

"Well then," said he, "if Cyaxares has no objection, tell the king of India that we propose, in case the Assyrian says he has been wronged by us, to choose the king of India himself to be our arbitrator."

Upon hearing this, they went away. 9. And when they had gone out, Cyrus addressed Cyaxares as follows:

"Cyaxares, I came from home without very much money of my own, and of what I had I have very little left. I have spent it," he said, "upon my soldiers. Now you wonder, perhaps, how I have spent it upon them, when you are maintaining them; but I want you to know that it has gone for nothing else than rewards and entertainments, whenever I am pleased with any of my soldiers. 10. For," said he, "in the case of all those whom one wishes to make efficient coadjutors in any enterprise of any sort whatsoever, it seems to me pleasanter to draw them on by kind words and kind services rather than by compulsion and force; but in the case of those whom one wishes to make enthusiastic followers in his plans of war, one must by all means try to capture them with kind words and kind offices. For those men who are to be trusty comrades, who will not envy their commander in his successes nor betray him in his adversity, must be his friends and
κακοὶς προδόστοντας. 11. ταύτ' οὖν ἐγὼ οὕτω προγυνώσκων χρημάτων δοκῶ προσδείσθαι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν σὲ πάντα ὅραν δὴ αἰσθάνομαι πολλὰ δαπανώντα ἀτοπόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι: σκοπεῖν δ' ἀξίω κοινῇ καὶ σὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ὅπως σὲ μὴ ἐπιλείψῃ χρήματα. ἔναν γὰρ σὺ ἀφθονα ἔχεις, οἶδα ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἂν εἰς λαμβάνειν ὀπότε δεοίμην, ἀλλὼς τε καὶ εἰ εἰς τοιούτων τι λαμβάνομι δὲ μέλλωι καὶ σοὶ δαπανηθὲν βέλτιον εἶναι.

12. Ἐναγχος οὖν ποτὲ σου μέμνημαι ἀκούσας ὡς ὁ Ἀρμένιος καταφρονοῖη σου νῦν, ὅτι ἀκούει τοὺς πολεμίους προσίοντας ἡμῖν, καὶ οὔτε τὸ 2 στράτευμα πέμποι οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ὑπὲρ ἄπαγοι.

Ποιεῖ γὰρ ταύτα, ἐφη, ὁ Κῦρη, ἐκεῖνος: ὥστε ἐγωγεὶ ἀπορῶ πότερόν μοι κρείττον στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πειράσθαι ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι ἢ τὰ ἐκάσαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, μὴ καὶ τούτον πολέμην πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις προσθώμεθα.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπήρετο, Λί δ' οἰκήσεις αὐτῷ πότερον εἰς ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις εἰσίν ἡ καὶ ποῦ ἐν εὐεφόδοις;

Καὶ ὁ Κυνάρης εἶπεν, Λί μὲν οἰκήσεις οὐ πάνυ εἰς ἐχυροῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ τούτον οὐκ ἡμέλουν; ὅρη μὲντοι ἐστίν ἐνθα δύνατ' ἀν ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα εἰς ἀσφαλεῖ εἴαι τοῦ μὴ αὐτὸς γε ὑποχείριος γενέσθαι, μηδὲ ὁσα ἐνταῦθα δύναιτο

1 προδόσοντας xAH, Edd.; ἀρρενόθοντας yG (shrink in fear).
2 τὸ Schneider, Edd.; not in MSS.
3 ἢ Hug., et al.; ἡ λυσιτελεῖ(-ἡ E) xF, Dindorf; λυσιτελεῖν DG²; νῦν z.
not his enemies. 11. Accordingly, as I recognize this in advance, I think I need more money. However, it seems to me unreasonable for every one to be looking to you, who, I observe, are put to great expense; but I think that you and I should together lay plans that funds may never fail you. For if you have plenty, I am sure it would be possible for me to draw money whenever I needed it, especially if I should take it to spend for something that would be more to your advantage also.

12. "Now I remember hearing you say one day The Armenian recently that the Armenian king despises you now, because he has heard that the enemy are coming against you, and that therefore he is neither sending troops nor paying the tribute which is due."

"Yes, Cyrus," he answered; "that is just what he is doing; and so, for my part, I am in doubt whether it is better to proceed against him and try to enforce allegiance or to let him alone for the present, for fear we bring him also upon us as an enemy, in addition to the others."

13. "But his residences," asked Cyrus, "are they all in fortified places or are perhaps some of them in places easy of approach?"

"His residences," answered Cyaxares, "are in places not very well fortified; I did not fail to attend to that. However, there are mountains where he could take refuge and for a time be safe from falling into our hands himself, and where he could insure the safety of whatever he could have carried up
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ṻπεκκομίσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τις πολυρκοίη προσκαθήμενος, ἀσπερ ὦ ἔμοι πατήρ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν.

14. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει τάδε: Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ θέλοις, ἔφη, ἐμὲ πέμψαι, ἵππεας μοι προσθεῖς ὑπόσοι δοκοῦσι μέτριοι εἶναι, οἷς ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πέμψαι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν δασμόν σου ἑτεροίδες ἡλπίζω καὶ φίλον αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἠμῖν γενήσεσθαι ἢ νῦν ἔστι.

15. Καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης εἶπε, Καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἡλπίζω ἐκείνους ἠλθεῖν ἀν πρὸς σὲ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἐμὲ: ἀκούω γὰρ καὶ συνθηρευτᾶς τινας τῶν παίδων σοι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ· ὥστε ἵσως ἂν καὶ πάλιν ἠλθον πρὸς σὲ ὑποχειρίων δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν πάντα πραξθῆναι ἢ ἡ ἡμεῖς θουλομέθα.

Οὐκοῦν σοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, σύμφορον εἶναι τὸ λεληθὲναι ἡμᾶς ταῦτα θουλοῦντας;

Μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, καὶ ἠλθοι τις αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας, καὶ εἰ τις ὅρμῳ ἐπὶ αὐτούς, ἀπαράσκευοι ἢ λαμβάνοιτο.

16. Ἀκονε τούνων, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἣν τί σοι δοξῷ λέγειν. ἐγὼ πολλάκις δὴ σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς μετ᾽ ἔμου τεθήρακα ἄμφι τὰ ὅρια τῆς τε σῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων, καὶ ἱππεας τινὰς ἤδη προσλαβὼν τῶν ἐνθεόδε ἐταίρων ἀφικόμην.

Τὰ μὲν τούνων ὅμως ποιῶν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ἄν ὑποπτεύοιο· εἰ δὲ πολὺ πλεῖον ἡ δύναμις φαίνοιτο ἢς ἔχων εἰσόδας θηρᾶν, τοῦτο ἢδη ὑποπτῶν ἀν γένοιτο.

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

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there secretly, unless some one should occupy the approaches and hold him in siege, as my father did."

14. "Well," Cyrus then made answer, "if you would give me as many horsemen as you think reasonable and send me there, I think that with the help of the gods I could make him send the troops and pay the tribute to you. And besides, I hope that he will be made a better friend to us than he now is."

15. "I also have hopes," Cyaxares replied, "that they would come to you sooner than to me; for I understand that some of his sons were among your companions in the chase; and so, perhaps, they would join you again. And if they should fall into your hands, everything would be accomplished as we wish."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "do you think it good policy to have this plan of ours kept a secret?"

"Yes, indeed," said Cyaxares; "for then some of them would be more likely to fall into our hands, and besides, if one were to attack them, they would be taken unprepared."

16. "Listen then," said Cyrus, "and see if you think there is anything in what I say. Now I have often hunted with all my forces near the boundary between your country and the Armenians, and have even gone there with some horsemen from among my companions here."

"And so," said Cyaxares, "if you were to do the same again, you would excite no suspicion; but if they should notice that your force was much larger than that with which you used to hunt, this would at once look suspicious."
17. Ἀλλ' ἐστιν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ πρό-φασιν κατασκευάσαι καὶ ἐνθάδε οὓς ἀπίστουν, καὶ ἦν τις ἔκεισε ἐξαγγείλῃ, ὡς ἔγω βουλομένη μεγάλην θήραν πούσαν καὶ ἵππεας, ἔφη, αὐτο-νὴν ἂν σε ἐκ τοῦ φαινοῦ.

Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης. ἔγω δὲ σου οὖν ἐθελήσω διδόναι πλὴν μετρίους τινάς, ὡς βουλόμενος πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ἔλθεῖν τὰ πρὸς τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ. καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι, ἔφη, βούλομαι ἐλθὼν κατασκευάσαι αὐτὰ ὡς ἐχυρώτατα. ὁπότε δὲ σὺ προελπισθοῖς σὺν ἦ ἔχοις δυνάμει καὶ θηρόφης καὶ δὴ δύο ἡμέρας, πέμψαι μι αὐν σοι ἰκανοὺς ἵππεας καὶ πεζοὺς τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ θροο-μένων, οὐς σὺ λαβὼν εὐθὺς ἄν Ἰοῖς, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν ἔχον τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν πειρώμην μὴ πρόσω ὕμων εἶναι, ἵνα, εἰ που καίρος εὕη, ἐπιφανείην.

18. Οὕτω δὴ ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης εὐθέως πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ἔθροιζεν ἵππεας καὶ πεζοὺς, καὶ ἀμάξας δὲ σύτου προὔπεμπε τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια ὅδον. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐθυτέτο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ ἀμα πέμπον ἐπὶ τὸν Κυαξάρην ἥτει τῶν νεω-τέρων ἱππεῶν. ὁ δὲ πάνω πολλῶν βουλομένων ἔπεθαι οὐ πολλοὺς ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ.

Προελπισθότος δ' ἦδη τοῦ Κυαξάρου σὺν δυνάμει πεζῇ καὶ ἵππηκῇ τὴν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ὅδον γίγνεται τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Αρμένιον ἰέναι καλά; καὶ οὕτως ἐξάγει δὴ ὡς εἰς θήραν παρεσκευασμένος.

1 Ἰοῖς Stephanus, Edd.; Ἰοῖς MSS.

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17. "But," said Cyrus, "it is possible to devise a pretext that will be credited both here and also there, if some one bring them word that I wish to institute a great hunt; and horsemen I should ask of you openly."

"A very clever scheme!" said Cyaxares; "and I shall refuse to give you more than a reasonable number, on the ground that I wish to visit the outposts on the Assyrian border. And that will be no lie, for in reality," said he, "I do wish to go there and to make them as strong as possible. And when you have gone ahead with the forces you have and have already been hunting for two days, I will send you a sufficient number of the cavalry and infantry that are mustered with me, and you may take them and make an inroad at once. And I myself, with the rest of my forces, will try to be not far away from you, to make my appearance upon the scene, should occasion require it."

18. Thereupon Cyaxares at once proceeded to get his cavalry and infantry together for visiting the outposts, and to send out wagon-loads of provisions on the road to the outposts. But Cyrus proceeded to offer sacrifice in behalf of his expedition, and at the same time he sent to Cyaxares and asked for some of his younger horsemen. But, although very many wished to go along, Cyaxares would not give him many.

Now after Cyaxares with his forces of cavalry and infantry had already started off on the road to the outposts, Cyrus's sacrifice turned out favourable for proceeding against the Armenian. Accordingly, he led his men out equipped as if for hunting.
19. Πορευομένως δ' αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ χωρίῳ ὑπανίσταται λαγὸς· ἀετὸς δ' ἐπιπτόμενος\(^1\) αἰόνιος, κατιδὼν\(^2\) τὸν λαγὸ φεύγοντα, ἐπιφερόμενος ἐπαισετε τε αὐτὸν καὶ συγκατάσας ἐξῆρε, κάπενεγκοῦν ἐπὶ λόφου τινὰ οὐ πρόσω ἐχρῆτο τῇ ἄγρᾳ ὅ τι ήθελεν. ἵδιον οὖν ὁ Κύρος τὸ σημεῖον ἡσθη τε καὶ προσεκύνησε Δία Βασιλέα, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, Ἡ μὲν θῆρα καλὴ ἔσται, ὃ ἀνδρές, ἢ π τ θεὸς θελήσῃ.

20. Ὡς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὀρίους ἐγένοντο, εὐθὺς ὁσπερ εἰδὼλε ἐθῆρα· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὀχυμενον αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐπικόντες τὰ θηρία ἐξαινισταῖν ὁ ὃς ἀριστοι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς διέστασαν καὶ τανιστάμενα ὑπεδέχοντο καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἠρουν πολλοὺς καὶ σύσ καὶ ἑλάφους καὶ δορκάδας καὶ ὄνους ἀγρίους πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ὀνοὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι γεγονοῦνται.

21. Ἐπεῖ δὲ ἔληξε τῆς θῆρας, προσμίξας πρὸς τὰ ὀρία τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐδειπνοταισατο· καὶ τῇ ὑστερᾷ αὐθίς ἐθῆρα προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ὅτι ὄργετο. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ ἔληξεν, ἐδειπνοταισατο. τὸ δὲ παρὰ Κυαξάρου στράτευμα ὡς ἦ THC τοιοῦ ὑποτείμηα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιπεν ἀπέχοντα αὐτοὺς ἐπιπτόμενοι σπᾶσαν, τοῦτο προϊόν ὡς συμβαλεῖται πρὸς τὸ λανθάνειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ δειπνήσειαν\(^3\) εἶπε τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτὸν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δειπνον

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1 ἐπιπτόμενος Cobet, most Edd.; ἐπιπτόμενος MSS., Gemoll.
2 κατιδὼν Dindorf, Edd.; ὃς κατιδὼν xz; ὃς κατεῖδεν z.
3 δειπνήσειαν Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; δειπνήσειαν MSS., Marchant, Gemoll.

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19. And as he proceeded on his way, in the very first field a hare started up. And an eagle flying up from the east\(^1\) caught sight of the hare as it ran and swooping down struck it, seized it, and carried it up, then bore it away to a hill not far off and disposed of his prey at his pleasure. Then Cyrus, observing the omen, was delighted and did homage to Sovereign Zeus and said to those who were by: “Our hunt, comrades, please God, will be successful.”

20. When they arrived at the frontier, he at once proceeded to hunt, as he used to do; and the most of his men, on foot and on horseback, were marching in a straight line before him, in order to start up the game as they approached. But the best of his foot and horse stood at intervals and lay in wait for what was started up, and pursued it in relays. And they took many boars, deer, antelope, and wild asses; for many wild asses breed in those regions even unto this day.

21. And when he stopped hunting, he marched up to the Armenian border and dined; and on the following day, he went up to the mountains toward which he was aiming and hunted again. And when again he stopped, he sat down to dinner; but when he saw the army from Cyaxares approaching, he sent to them secretly and bade them take their dinner at a distance of about two parasangs, for he foresaw that this also would contribute to the secrecy of his design; but he ordered their commander to come to him when they had finished their dinner. Then,

\(^1\) \textit{aἰσχρός} means, strictly speaking, “auspicious,” “bringing (good) omens;” and good omens came from the east, the home of light.
τοὺς ταξιάρχους παρεκάλευ· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆσαν, ἐλέξαν ὅδε:

22. Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι, ὁ Ἀρμενίως πρόσθεν μὲν καὶ σύμμαχος ἦν καὶ ὑπήκοος Κυναξάρη. νῦν δ' ὡς ἤσθετο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας, καταφρονεῖ καὶ οὔτε τὸ στράτευμα πέμπτε ἡμῖν οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ἀποδίδωσι. νῦν οὖν τούτῳ θηράσαι, ἢν δυνάμεθα, ἢλθομεν. ὦδ' οὖν, ἐφη, δοκεῖ ποιεῖν. σὺ μὲν, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐπειδὰν ἀποκοιμήθης ὅσον μέτριον, λαβὼν τοὺς ἡμίσεις Περσῶν τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἤθε τὴν ὄρειν καὶ κατάλαβε τὰ ὅρη, εἰς ἀριστον αὐτὸν, διὰν τὴν φοβηθῇ, καταφέυγειν ἡγεμόνας δὲ σοι ἐγὼ δώσω. 23. φασὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ δασέα τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα εἶναι, ὅστ' ἐπὶς ὑμᾶς μὴ ὄφθηναν· ὅμως δὲ εἰ προπέμποις πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐξόνους ἄνδρας λησταῖς ἐοικότας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς στολὰς, σύν οὖν σοι, εἰ τινὶ ἐντυγχάνανεν τῶν Ἀρμενίων, τοὺς μὲν ἀν συλλαμβάνοντες αὐτῶν κολύων τῶν ἐξαγγελίων, οὕς δὲ μὴ δύναντο λαμβάνειν, ἀποσοβοῦντες ἄν ἐμποδῶν γύροντο τοὺ 1 μὴ ὅραν αὐτοὺς τὸ ὅλον στρατεύμα σου, ἀλλ' ὡς περὶ κλωπῶν θουλεύεσθαί. 24. καὶ σὺ μὲν, ἐφη, οὖτω ποιεῖ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἆμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν τῶν πεζῶν ἔχων, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἵππεας, πορεύομαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀνθιστήται, δῆλον ὅτι μάχεσθαι δεήσει· ἢν δ' αὐτὸ ὑποχωρῇ τοῦ πεδίου, δῆλον ὅτι μεταθεῖν δεήσει· ἢν δ' εἰς τὰ ὅρη φεύγῃ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ἐφη, σύν ἔργον μηδένα

1 τοῦ MSS., most Edd.; τὸ Dindorf, Hug.
after dinner, he called together his captains; and when they had come he addressed them as follows:

22. "My friends, the Armenian king formerly was both an ally and a dependent of Cyaxares; but now since he has seen the enemy coming upon us, he is insolent and neither sends us his complement of soldiers nor pays his tribute. Now, therefore, he is the game we have come to catch, if we can. And here is the plan that I think we should pursue: do you, Chrysantas, when you have had as much rest as you reasonably need, take half of the Persians who are with us, and following the mountain road take possession of the heights to which they say he flees for refuge when anything alarms him. I will furnish you with guides. 23. Now they say that these mountains are thickly wooded, and so I have hopes of your not being seen. Nevertheless, suppose you send ahead of your army some active men, in the guise of brigands both as to numbers and accoutrements; these, if they met any Armenians, would capture them and so prevent their spreading any reports; or, if they failed to capture them, they would frighten them away and so prevent their seeing the whole of your army, and would thus cause them to take precautions as against only a band of thieves. 24. Do you, then," said he, "do this; but I, at break of day, with half the infantry and all the cavalry, will proceed through the plain straight toward the capital. And if he resists, we shall have to fight, of course; and if he abandons the field, of course we shall have to chase him; but if he flees to the mountain, then it is your business not to let any one of those who come your way escape.
αφίεναι τῶν πρὸς σὲ ἄφικνουμένων. 25. νόμιζε δὲ ὦσπερ ἐν θήρᾳ ἦμας μὲν τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας ἐσεσθαί, σὲ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄρκυσι: μέμνησον οὖν ἐκείνο ὅτι φθάνειν δεῖ πεφραγμένους τοὺς πόρους πρὶν κινεῖσθαι τὴν θήραν. καὶ λεληθέναι δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς στόμασιν, εἰ μέλλουσι μὴ ἀποτρέψειν τὰ προσφερόμενα. 26. μὴ μέντοι, ἔφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, οὔτως αὐτοί ὦσπερ ἐνίοτε διὰ τὴν φιλοθηρίαν πολλάκις γὰρ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἀνπνοσ πραγματεύειν ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐᾶσαι χρὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τὸ μέτριον ἀποκοιμηθῆναι, ὡς ἂν δύνανται ἐπνομαχεῖν.

27. Μηδὲ γε, ὅτι οὐχ ἡγεμόνας ἔχων ἀνθρώπους πλανᾶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἂν τὰ θηρία ὑφηγη- 
ται, ταύτη μεταθείς, μήτε καὶ νῦν οὕτω τὰ δύσ- 
βατα πορεύον, ἀλλὰ κελεύει σοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, εὰν 
μὴ πολὺ μάσσων ἡ ὄδος ἢ, τὴν ῥάστην ἡγείσθαι 
οὐσισια γὰρ ἡ ῥάστη ταχιστή. 28. μηδὲ γε, ὅτι 
συ εἰθίσαι τρέξειν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, μήτε δρόμῳ ἡγηση 
ἀλλ’ ὡς ἂν δύνηται σοι ὁ στρατὸς ἐπεσθαί, τῷ 
μέσῳ τῆς σπουδῆς ἡγοῦ. 29. ἄγαθον δὲ καὶ τῶν 
δυνατωτῶν καὶ προθύμων ὑπομένοντας τινὰς 
ἐνίοτε παρακελεύεσθαι: ἐπειδὰν δὲ παρέλθῃ τὸ 
κέρας, παροξυσμίκων εἰς τὸ σπεῦδειν πάντας παρὰ 
τοὺς βαδίζοντας τρέχοντας ὀράσθαι.

30. Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ 
ἐπιγνωρωθεὶς τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κύρου, λαβὼν τοὺς 
ἡγεμόνας, ἀπελθὼν καὶ παραγγέλας ἅ ἐδει τοὺς 
ἄμα αὐτῷ μέλλουσι πορεύεσθαι, ἀνεπαύετο. ἐπεὶ

1 ἐπιζητοῦντας Stephanus, Edd.; ἐπιζητήσοντας MSS.
25. And bear in mind that, just as in hunting, we shall be the ones beating out the game, you the man in charge of the nets. Remember this, then, that the runs must be blocked before the game starts; and those at the entrance to those runs must keep out of sight, if they are not to turn the animals aside as they come on. 26. However,” he added, “do not in this case do as you sometimes do, Chrysantas, in your fondness for hunting: you often keep yourself busy all night without sleeping; but now you should let your men rest long enough, so that they may be able to resist drowsiness.

27. “Again, do not, because you personally are accustomed to wander up and down the mountains without following human guides but running after the game wherever it leads you—do not now go into such dangerous and difficult places, but order your guides to lead you by the easiest road, unless it is much too long; for the easiest road is the shortest for an army. 28. And do not lead your men at a run because you are used to running up mountains, but lead with moderate haste, that your army may be able to follow you easily. 29. And it is a good thing for some of the strongest and most zealous to fall back sometimes and encourage the rest; and when the column has passed by them, it is an incentive to all to hasten when these are seen running past them as they walk.”

30. On hearing this, Chrysantas was elated with his commission from Cyrus; he took his guides and went away, and after giving what orders he thought necessary to those who were to go with him he went
31. Κύρος δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἄγγελον μὲν προύπεμπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμένιον, εἶπὼν αὐτῷ λέγειν ὅδε. Κύρος, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, κελεύει οὕτω ποιεῖν σε ὅπως ὃς τάχιστα ἔχων οὐσείς1 καὶ τὸν δασμὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα. ἢν δ' ἐρωτᾶ ὅπου εἰμί, λέγε τάληθη ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅριοις. ἢν δ' ἐρωτᾶ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχομαι, λέγε κανταύθα τάληθη ὅτι οὐκ οἶσθα. ἕαν δ' ὁπόσοι ἐσμὲν πυνθάνηται, συμπέμπετε τινὰ κέλευε καὶ μαθεῖν.

32. Τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄγγελον ἐπιστείλας ταῦτα ἐπεμψε, νομίζων φιλικότερον οὕτως εἰναι ἡ μὴ προειπότα πορεύεσθαι. αὐτὸς δὲ συνταξάμενος ἡ ἀριστὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνύτειν τὴν ὄδον καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, εἴ τι δέοι, ἐπορεύετο. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδένα ἀδικεῖν, καὶ εἰ τις Ἀρμενίων τῷ ἑντυγχάνοι, θαρρεῖν τε παραγγέλλειν καὶ ἀγορᾶν τὸν θέλοντα ἄγειν ὅπου ἀν ὀσίων, εἴτε σῶτα εἴτε ποτὰ τυγχάνοι πολεῖν βουλόμενος.

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1 ἔχων οὐσεῖς FGH, Dindorf; ἔκων οὐσεῖς Pantazides; ἔχων οὐσίς AH; ἔχων ἄπις DF1; ἔχων ἄπις καὶ οὐσίς EC1 (ἔχων ἄπις καὶ οὐσίς C1) (that you go away with and bring); ἔχων εἰλιπὸς Gemoll (that you come in with); ἔχων ἄπι Dindorf4, Hug, Marchant, Breitenbach (that he [Cyrus] may return with).
to rest. And when they had slept as long as he thought reasonable, he started for the mountains.

31. And when it was day, Cyrus sent forward a messenger to the Armenian with instructions to speak to him as follows: "‘King of Armenia, Cyrus bids you take steps as quickly as possible to deliver to him the tribute and the troops.’ And if he asks where I am, tell the truth and say that I am at the frontier. And if he asks whether I also am coming in person, tell the truth in that case also and say that you do not know. But if he inquires how many men we are, bid him send some one along with you and find out.”

32. With such instructions he sent the messenger off, for he thought that this was a more friendly course than to march upon him without notice. And he himself set out with his army in the formation which he thought best adapted both for covering distance and for fighting if necessary. He ordered his soldiers to molest no one, and, if any one met any Armenians, to bid them have no fear but to say that if any one of them wished to sell food or drink, he should feel free to bring it wherever they were and open a market.
BOOK III

THE CONQUEST OF ARMENIA AND SCYTHIA

THE FIRST GREAT BATTLE
Γ

Ι

1. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος ὡς ἦκουσε τοῦ ἀγγέλου τὰ παρὰ Κύρου, ἐξεπλάγη, ἐννοῆσας ὅτι ἀδικοὶ καὶ τὸν δασμὸν λείπων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα οὐ πέμπον, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ὄφθησεσθαι ἐμελλε τὰ βασιλεία οἰκοδομεῖν ἀρχόμενος ὡς ἄν ἴκανα ἀπομάχεσθαι εἴη. 2. διὰ ταύτα δὴ πάντα ὁκνῶν ἀμαμὲν διέπεμπεν ἀθροίζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀμαδὲ ἐπεμπεν εἰς τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν νεώτερον υἱὸν Σάβαριν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας· καὶ κόσμον δὲ καὶ κατασκευήν τὴν πλείστον ἠξίαν συναπέπεμπε προπομποὺς δοὺς αὐτοῖς. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμαμὲν κατασκευασμένοις ἐπεμπε τί πράττων Κύρος, ἀμα δὲ συνετάττε τοὺς παραγγελομένους τῶν Ἀρμενίων· καὶ ταχὺ παρῆσαν ἄλλοι λέγοντες ὅτι καὶ δὴ αὐτὸς ὁμοῦ. 3. ἐνταύθα δὴ οὐκέτι ἔτηλ ἐις χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπεχάρει. ὡς δὲ τούτ' εἶδον ποιήσαντα αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀρμενίοι, διεδιδρασκόν ἦδη ἔκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, βουλόμενοι τὰ ὄντα ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι.
BOOK III

I

1. Cyrus was thus employed; but when the Armenian king heard from the envoy the message of Cyrus, he was alarmed, for he knew that he was doing wrong in withholding the tribute due and in failing to send the troops, and he was afraid most of all because he saw that he was sure to be detected in the act of beginning to build his palace in such a way as to render it strong enough for armed resistance. 2. Disturbed by the consciousness of all these faults, he sent around and collected his forces, and at the same time he sent away to the mountains his younger son, Sabaris, and the women, both his queen and his son’s wife, and his daughters. And he sent along with them his most valuable jewels and chattels and gave them an escort. At the same time he sent scouts to spy out what Cyrus was doing, while he went on assigning positions in his service to the Armenians as they came in to him. Presently still others arrived with the news that the man himself was quite near. 3. Then he no longer had the courage to join battle with him but retreated. When the Armenians saw him act thus, they dispersed at once, each to his own possessions, wishing to get their belongings out of the way.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

'Ο δὲ Κύρος ώς ἔσωρα διαθεόντων καὶ ἔλαυνόντων τὸ πεδίον μεστόν, ὑποπέμπων ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὔ-
δεν πολέμιος εἴη τῶν μενόντων. εἰ δὲ τινα
φεύγοντα λήψοιτο, προπηγόρευεν ὅτι ὁς πολεμίωρ
χρήσοιτο. οὖτω δὴ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ κατέμενον, ἦσαν
δὲ οἱ ὑπεχώρουν σὺν τῷ βασιλεί.

4. 'Επει δ' οἱ σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶ προϊόντες ἐνέπε-
σον εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὅρει, κρανγήν τε εὐθὺς ἐποίουν
καὶ φεύγοντες ἠλίσκοντο τοῦλοι γε αὐτῶν. τέλος
δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες
ἐάλωσαν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὃσα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀγό-
μενα ἔτυχεν.

'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς, ὃς ἠπεθετὸ τὰ γυνόμενα,
ἀπορῶν ποί τράποιτο ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ καταφεύγει. 5.
ο δὲ αὐ Κύρος ταῦτα ἰδὼν περιστάται τὸν
λόφον τῷ παρόντι στρατεύματι, καὶ πρὸς Χρυ-
σάνταυν πέμψας ἐκέλευε φυλακῆν τοῦ ὄρους κατα-
λυόντα ἥκειν. τὸ μὲν δὴ στράτευμα ἥθροιζετο
tῷ Κύρῳ.

'Ο δὲ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἄρμενιον κήρυκα ἤρετο
όδε. Εἰπὲ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ Ἄρμενιος, πότερα βοῦλει
αὐτῶν μένων τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τῷ δίψαι μάχεσθαι
ἥ εἰς τὸ ἱσόπεδον καταβᾶς ἡμῖν διαμάχεσθαι;
Απεκρίνατο ὁ Ἄρμενιος ὅτι οὐδετέροις βοῦλοιτο
μάχεσθαι. 6. πάλιν ὁ Κύρος πέμψας ἦρωτα
Τῇ σὺν κάθησαι ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὐ καταβαίνεις;
Απορῶν, ἐφη, ὁ τῇ χρῇ ποιεῖν.

1 αὐτῶς Pantazesides, most Edd.; αὐτῶν MSS., Dindorf,
Breitenbach.

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And when Cyrus saw the plain full of men running about and driving away, he sent secretly to say that he had no quarrel with any who remained; but he declared that if he caught any one trying to get away, he should treat him as an enemy. Accordingly, the most of them remained, but some retreated with the king.

4. Now as those with the women in charge went forward they came upon the forces in the mountain. At once they raised a cry and as they tried to escape many of them were caught. And finally the young prince and the wives and daughters were captured and all the treasure that happened to be in the train.

When the king himself learned what was going on, he was in a quandary which way to turn and took refuge upon a certain hill. 5. And when Cyrus saw this he surrounded the hill with the troops he had with him and sent orders to Chrysantas to leave a guard upon the mountains and come. Thus Cyrus’s army was being brought together.

Then he sent a herald to the Armenian to ask him the following question: “Tell me, king of Armenia,” he said, “whether you prefer to remain there and fight against hunger and thirst, or to come down into the plain and fight it out with us?”

The Armenian answered that he had no wish to fight against either. 6. Again Cyrus sent to him and asked: “Why then do you sit there and refuse to come down?”

“Because,” he answered, “I am in a quandary what to do.”
'Αλλ' οὖδὲν, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπορεῖν σε δεῖ· ἔξεστι γάρ σοι ἐπὶ δίκην καταβαίνειν.
Τις δ', ἐφη, ἔσται ὁ δικάζων;
Δῆλον ὅτι οὗ ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε καὶ ἀνευ δίκης χρήσθαι σοι ὁ τι βούλοντο.
'Ενταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀρμένιος γυνώσκων τὴν ἀνάγκην καταβάλειν· καὶ ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον κάκεινον καὶ τάλλα πάντα περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ὀμοῦ ἡδη πάσαν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν.
7. 'Εν τούτω δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ὁ πρεσβύτερος 1 παῖς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου Τυγράνης ἐξ ἀποδημίας τινὸς προσήχει, ὅς καὶ σύνθηρός ποτε ἐγένετο τῷ Κῦρῳ· καὶ ὅς ἦκουσε τὰ γεγενημένα, εὐθὺς πορεύεται ὡσπερ εἶχε πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον. ὃς δ' εἶδε πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα καὶ ἀδελφοῦς 2 καὶ τὴν ἕαυτον γυναῖκα αἰχμαλώτους γεγενημένους, ἐδάκρυεν, ὡσπερ εἶκος. 8. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἱδὼν αὐτὸν ἄλλο μὲν οὖδὲν ἐφιλοφρονήσατο αὐτῷ, εἶπε δ' ὅτι Εἰς καιρὸν ἥκεις, ἐφη, ὅπως τὴς δίκης ἀκούσῃς 3 παρὼν τῆς ἀμφί τοῦ πατρὸς.
Καὶ εὐθὺς συνεκάλει τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοὺς τε τῶν Περσῶν καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μῆδων· προσεκάλει δὲ καὶ εἰ τις Ἀρμενίων τῶν ἐντύμων παρῆν. καὶ τὰς γυναίκας ἐν ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις παροῦσας οὐκ ἀπῆλασεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀκούειν.
9. Ὁπότε δὲ καλῶς εἶχεν, ἥρχετο τοῦ λόγου. Ὁ Ἀρμένιος, ἐφη, πρῶτον μὲν σοι συμβουλεύω εἰς τῇ δικῇ τάληθ' λέγειν, ἵνα σοι ἐν γε

1 πρεσβύτερος Z, Edd.; πρεσβύτατος xy (oldest).
2 ἀδελφαὶ Weiske, later Edd.; τὰς ἀδελφὰς MSS.

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“But,” said Cyrus, “there is no occasion whatever for that; for you are free to come down for trial.”

“And who,” said he, “will be my judge?”

“He, to be sure, to whom God has given the power to deal with you as he will, even without a trial.”

Then the Armenian, recognizing the exigency of his case, came down. And Cyrus received both the king and all that belonged to him into the midst and set his camp round them, for by this time he had all his forces together.

7. Now at this juncture Tigranes, the king’s elder son, returned from a journey abroad. He it was who had been Cyrus’s companion once on a hunt; and when he heard what had occurred, he came at once, just as he was, to Cyrus. And when he saw his father and mother and brothers and sisters and his own wife all made prisoners, he wept, as might be expected.

8. But Cyrus, when he looked upon him, showed him no token of friendship, but merely remarked: “You have come just in time to attend your father’s trial.”

And immediately he called together the officers of the court-martial of the king both the Medes and the Persians and all the Armenian nobles who were present. And the women who were there in their carriages he did not exclude but permitted them to attend.

9. When everything was in order, he began his examination: “King of Armenia,” said he, “I advise you in the first place in this trial to tell the truth,
άπ' τ' εὖμισητότατον: τ' γάρ ψευδόμενον φαίνεσθαι εὖ ἵσθι ὅτι καὶ τοῦ συγγράμμασ τινὸς τυγχάνειν ἐμποδῶν μᾶλιστα ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται· ἔπειτα δ', ἐφη, συνίσασι μὲν σοι καὶ οἱ παϊδες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὕτω πάντα ὅσα ἔπραξας, καὶ Ἀρμενίων οἱ παρόντες· ἢ δὲ αἰσθάνονται σε ἄλλα ἢ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντα, νομιμοὶ σε καὶ αὐτὸν καταδικάζειν σεαυτόν πάντα τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν, ἢν ἐγὼ τάληθ᾽ πῦθωμαι.

. 'Αλλ' ἔρωτα, ἐφη, ὁ Κῦρος, ὁ τι βούλει, ὡς τάληθ' ἐρούντος. τούτου ἔνεκα καὶ γενέσθω ὁ τι βούλεται.

10. Δέγε δὴ μοι, ἐφη, ἐπολέμησάς ποτε Ἀστυ-ἀγεί τῷ τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Μήδοις;

'Ἐγώ', ἐφη.

Κρατήθεις δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνωμολόγησαι δασμὸν οἰσεῖν καὶ συστρατεύσεσθαι ὃποι ἐπαγγέλλου, καὶ ἐρύματα μὴ ἔσειν;

'Ἡν ταῦτα.'

Νῦν οὖν διὰ τὶ οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ἄπηγες οὔτε τὸ στράτευμα ἐπεμπτες, ἐτείχιζες τε τὰ ἐρύματα;

'Ελευθερίας ἐπεθύμουν καλὸν γὰρ μοι ἑδοκει εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι καὶ παισίν ἐλευθερίαν καταλιπτεῖν.

11. Καὶ γάρ ἐστιν, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, καλὸν μάχεσθαι, ὅπως μὴπότε τις δοῦλος μέλλοι γενή-σεσθαι· ἢν δὲ δὴ ἢ πολέμῳ κρατήθεις ἢ καὶ

1 συστρατεύσεσθαι Stephanus, Edd.; συστρατεύεσθαι χυ; συστρατεύσασθαι ζ.

2 ὅποι Dindorf, later Edd.; ὅποι MSS.
that you may be guiltless of that offence which is hated more cordially than any other. For let me assure you that being caught in a barefaced lie stands most seriously in the way of a man's receiving any mercy. In the next place," said he, "your children and your wives here and also the Armenians present are cognizant of everything that you have done; and if they hear you telling anything else than the facts, they will think that you are actually condemning your own self to suffer the extreme penalty, if ever I discover the truth."

"Well, Cyrus," said he, "ask what you will, and be assured that I will tell the truth, let happen what will as a result of it."

10. "Tell me then," said the other, "did you ever have a war with Astyages, my mother's father, and with the rest of the Medes?"

"Yes," he answered, "I did."

"And when you were conquered by him, did you agree to pay tribute and to join his army, wherever he should command you to go, and to own no forts?"

"Those are the facts."

"Why, then, have you now failed to pay the tribute and to send the troops, and why have you been building forts?"

"I longed for liberty; for it seemed to me to be a glorious thing both to be free myself and to bequeath liberty to my children."

11. "You are right," said Cyrus; "it is a noble thing to fight that one may never be in danger of becoming a slave. But if any one has been conquered
άλλον τινά τρόπον δουλωθεῖς ἐπιχειρῶν τις 
φαίνεται τοὺς δεσπότας ἀποστερεῖν ἕαυτοῦ, τού-
τον σὺ πρῶτος πότερον ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ 
καλὰ πράττοντα τιμᾶς ἢ ὡς ἁδικοῦντα, ἢν λάβῃς, 
κολάζεις;

Κολάζω, ἐφη· οὐ γὰρ ἔας σὺ ψεύδεσθαι.

12. Δέγε δὴ σαφῶς, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, καθ' 
ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἣν ἄρχων τις τύχῃ σοι καὶ ἀμάρτῃ, 
πότερον ἔας ἄρχειν ἢ ἄλλον καθίστης ἀντ' 
αὐτοῦ;

' Ἄλλον καθίστημι.

Τί δέ, ἢν χρήματα πολλὰ ἔχῃ, ἔας πλουτεῖν 
ἡ πένητα ποιεῖς;

'Αφαιροῦμαι, ἐφη, ἄν ἔχων τυχάνη.

' Ἡν δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολεμίους γυνώσκης αὐτὸν 
ἀφιστάμενον, τί ποιεῖς;

Κατακαίνω, ἐφη· τί γὰρ δεῖ ἐλεγχθέντα 
ὅτι ψευδομαι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τάληθῇ λέ-
γοντα;

13. 'Ενθα δὴ ὁ μὲν παῖς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἦκουσε 
ταῦτα, περιεσπάσατο τὴν τιμάν καὶ τοὺς πέ-
πλους κατερρίζατο, αἰ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀναβοήσασαι 
ἐδρύπτουτο, ὡς οἰχομένου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀπο-
λολότων σφῶν ἢδη. καὶ ὁ Κύρος σιωπήσαι 
κελεύσας εἶπεν, Ἐλεν· τὰ μὲν δὴ σὰ δίκαια 
ταῦτα, ὃ 'Ἀρμένιε· ἠμῶν δὲ τί συμβουλεύεις 
ἐκ τούτων ποιεῖν;

'Ο μὲν δὴ 'Ἀρμένιος ἐσιώπα ἀπορῶν πότερα

1 σφῶν C1G1F1, most Edd. ; πάντων σφῶν xyz, Dindorf.
2 εἶπεν z, most Edd. ; πάλιν εἶπεν xy, Gemoll.
in war or in any other way reduced to servitude and is then caught attempting to rob his masters of himself, are you the first man to reward him as an honest man and one who does right, or do you punish him as a malefactor if you catch him?"

"I punish him," said he; "for you will not let me tell a lie."

12. "Answer each of these questions explicitly then," said Cyrus; "if any one happens to be an officer under you and does wrong, do you permit him to continue in office or do you put another in his place?"

"I put another in his place."

"And what if he has great possessions—do you allow him to continue rich, or do you make him poor?"

"I confiscate all that he may happen to possess," said he.

"And if you find out that he is trying to desert to the enemy, what do you do?"

"I put him to death," said he; "I may as well confess, for why should I convict myself of lying and be put to death for that, instead of telling the truth?"

13. Then his son, when he heard this, stripped off his turban and rent his garments, and the women cried aloud and tore their cheeks, as if it were all over with their father and they were already lost. But Cyrus bade them be silent and said: "Very well, king of Armenia; so that is your idea of justice; in accordance with it, then, what do you advise us to do?"

Then the Armenian was silent, for he was in a
συμβουλεύοι τῷ Κύρῳ κατακαίνειν αὐτὸν ἡ τάναντια διδάσκοι δὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη ποιεῖν. 14. ὁ δὲ παῖς αὐτοῦ Τυγράνης ἐπήρετο τὸν Κύρον, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὃ Κύρη, ἐπει τὸ πατήρ ἀποροῦντι ἔοικεν, ἡ συμβουλεύσω περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀ ὦ μιαί σοι βέλτιστα ἐναι;

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος, ἡσθημένος, ὄτε συνεθήρα αὐτῷ ὁ Τυγράνης, σοφιστήν τινα αὐτῷ συνόντα καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυγράνου, πάνυ ἔπεθύμει αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαι ὁ τι ποτ’ ἐροθῇ καὶ προθύμως ἔκελευε λέγειν ὁ τι γυγνῶσκοι.

15. Ἐγώ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Τυγράνης, εἰ μὲν ἄγασαι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ ὥσα βεβούλευται ἢ ὥσα πέπραχε, πάνυ σοι συμβουλεύω τούτων μιμείσθαι: εἰ μέντοι σοι δοκεὶ πάντα ἠμαρτηκέναι, συμβουλεύου τούτων μὴ μιμείσθαι.

Οὕκον, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, τὰ δίκαια ποιῶν ἦκιστ’ ἂν τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα μιμοίμην.

"Εστίν, ἔφη, ταῦτα.

Κολαστέον ἃρ’ ἂν εἴη κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον τοῦ πατέρα, εἴπερ τὸν ἄδικοῦντα δίκαιον κολάξεων.

Πάτερα δ’ ἢγεὶ, ὃ Κύρη, ἄμεινον εἶναι σὺν τῷ σῷ ἀγαθῷ τὰς τιμωρίας ποιεῖσθαι ἢ σὺν τῇ σῇ ζημίᾳ;

"Εμαυτὸν ἃρα, ἔφη, οὕτω γ’ ἂν τιμωροῖμην.

16. Ἁλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Τυγράνης, μεγάλα γ’ ἂν ζημιοίο, εἰ τοὺς σεαυτοῦ κατακαίνοις τότε ὅποτε σοι πλείστου ἄξιοι εἶεν κεκτήσαται.
quandary whether to advise Cyrus to put him to death or to propose to him a course opposite to that which he admitted he himself always took. 14. But his son Tigranes put a question to Cyrus, saying: “Tell me, Cyrus, since my father seems to be in doubt, may I advise you in regard to him what I think the best course for you?”

Now Cyrus had observed when Tigranes used to go hunting with him that there was a certain philosopher with him who was an object of admiration to Tigranes; consequently he was very eager to hear what he would say. So he bade him express his opinion with confidence.

15. “Well,” said Tigranes, “if you approve either of my father’s theory or his practice, then I advise you by all means to imitate him. But if you think he has done wrong throughout, I advise you not to imitate him.”

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “if I should do what is right, I should surely not be imitating the one who does wrong.”

“That is true,” said he.

“Then, according to your reasoning, your father must be punished, if indeed it is right that the one who does wrong should be punished.”

“Which do you think is better for you, Cyrus, to mete out your punishments to your benefit or to your own injury?”

“In the latter case, at least,” said he, “I should be punishing myself.”

16. “Aye, but you would be doing yourself a great injury,” said Tigranes, “if you should put your friends to death just at the time when it was of the greatest advantage to you to have them.”
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Πῶς δ' ἂν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, τότε πλείστου ἀξιοῦ γέγονεῖ τὸ ἀνθρώποι ὅποτε ἄδικοντες ἄλλοι σκοντο;

Εἰ τότε, οἶμαι, σώφρονες γέγονεῖτο. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι, ὁ Κύρε, οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀνεν μὲν σωφροσύνης οὐδὲ ἀλλης ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι· τί γὰρ ἂν, ἐφη, χρῆσαι ἂν τις ἵσχυρῷ ἢ ἀνδρείῳ μὴ σώφρονι [ἡ ἰππικῆ].\(^1\) τί δὲ πλούσιφ, τί δὲ δυνάστη ἐν πόλει; σὺν δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ φίλος πᾶς χρήσιμος καὶ θεράπων πᾶς ἀγαθός.

17. Τοῦτ' οὖν, ἐφη, λέγεις ὡς καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἐν τῇ ἄγει τῇ μαίῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξ ἀφρόνων σώφρων γεγένηται;

Πάνω μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.

Πάθημα ἀρα τῆς ψυχῆς σοῦ λέγεις εἶναι τὴν σωφροσύνην, ὡσπερ λύπην, σοῦ μάθημα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δῆπον, εὔγε φρόνιμον δεῖ γενέσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα σώφρονα ἔσεσθαι, παραχρῆμα εξ ἀφρόνων σῶφρων ἂν τις γένοιτο.

18. Τί δ', ἐφη, ὁ Κύρε, οὔτω ζῆθον καλ ἕνα ἄνδρα δὲ ἀφροσύνην μὲν ἐπιχειροῦντα κρέιττον ἐαυτοῦ μάχεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡττηθῆ, εὔθυς πεπαυμένου τῆς πρὸς τούτον ἀφροσύνης; πάλιν δ', ἐφη, οὔτω ἐώρακας πόλιν ἀντιταττομένην πρὸς πόλιν ἑτέραν, ἦς ἐπειδὰν ἡττηθῇ παραχρῆμα ταύτῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι πείθεσθαι ἐθέλει;

\(^1\) [ἡ ἰππικῆ] Schneider, most Edd.; ἰππικῆ MSS.; τί δ' ἰππικῆ Dindorf, Sauppe, et al.

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“How,” said Cyrus, “could men be of the greatest advantage to me just at the time when they were caught doing wrong?”

“They would be, I think, if at that time they should become discreet. For it seems to me to be true, Cyrus,” said he, “that without discretion there is no advantage at all in any other virtue; for what,” he continued, “could one do with a strong man or a brave man, or what with a rich man or a man of power in the state if he lacked discretion? But every friend is useful and every servant good, if he be endowed with discretion.”

17. “Do you mean to say, then,” Cyrus answered, “that in one day’s time your father has become discreet when he was indiscreet before?”

“Yes,” said he, “I do, indeed.”

“By that you mean to say that discretion is an affection of the soul, as sorrow is, and not an acquisition.¹ For I do not suppose that a man could instantly pass from being indiscreet to being discreet, if indeed the one who is to be discreet must first have become wise.”

18. “What, have you never observed, Cyrus,” said he, “that when a man indiscreetly ventures to fight a stronger man than himself and has been worsted, he is instantly cured of his indiscretion toward that particular man? And again,” he continued, “have you never seen how when one state is in arms against another it is at once willing, when defeated, to submit to the victor instead of continuing the fight?”

¹ Xenophon makes Cyrus apparently accept the Socratic doctrine that wisdom and the other virtues are matters for learning, the results of study and practice—not a mood, like sorrow, anger, or any other emotion.
19. Πολὺν δ’, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ σὺ τοῦ πατρὸς ἠτταν λέγων οὖτως ἵσχυρίζει σεσωφρονίσθαι αὐτῶν;

"Ἡν νη Δί', ἐφη, σύνοιδεν ἐαυτῷ ἐλευθερίας μὲν ἐπιθυμήσας, δοῦλος δ' ὡς οὐδεπώποτε γενόμενος, ἢ δὲ φήσῃ χρὴνα λαθεῖν ἢ φθάσαι ἢ ἀποβιάσασθαι, οὐδὲν τούτων ἰκανὸς γενόμενος διαπράξασθαι. σὲ δὲ οἶδεν, ἢ μὲν ἐξουλήθης ἐξαπατήσαι αὐτῶν, οὖτως ἐξαπατήσαντα ὡσπερ ἄν τις τυφλὸς καὶ κωφὸς καὶ μηδ' ὅτιον φρονοῦντα ἐξαπατήσεις; ἢ δὲ φήσῃς λαθεῖν χρὴνα, οὔτω σὲ οἴδε λαθὸν, ὡστε ἢ ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτῷ ἐχυρὰ χωρία ἀποκεῖσθαι, ταῦτα σὺ εἰρκτὰς αὐτῷ ἐλαθεῖς προκατασκευάσας; τάχει δὲ τοσοῦτον περιεγένου αὐτοῦ ὡστε πρόσωθεν ἐφθασας ἐλθὼν σὺν πολλῷ στόλῳ πρὶν τούτων τὴν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν ἀθροίσασθαι.

20. Ἐπειτα δοκεῖ σοι, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ ἢ τοιαύτῃ ἤττα σωφρονίζειν ἰκανὴ ἐναι ἀνθρώπους, τὸ γνῶναι ἄλλους ἑαυτῶν βελτίωνας δύνας;

Πολὺ γε μάλλον, ἐφη ὁ Τιγράνης, ἢ ὅταν μάχῃ τις ἠττηθῇ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰσχύι κρατηθεὶς ἐστιν ὅτε φήσῃ σωμασκῆσας ἀναμαχέσαι καὶ πόλεις γε ἀλούσαι συμμάχους προσλαβοῦσαι οἴονται ἀναμαχέσασθαι ἄν ὅπες δ' ἃν βελτίωνς τινὲς ἑαυτῶν ἦγησονται, τούτωις πολλάκις καὶ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης ἐθέλουσι πείθεσθαι.

1 ἢ xy, most Edd. ; not in z, Zeune, Sauppe, Hug.
2 αὐτῷ xFD², Gemoll; ἑαυτῷ D¹; σοι z (in G marked for erasure); σαυτῷ Ed.; σῦ Sauppe, Dindorf.
19. "To what defeat of your father's do you refer," said Cyrus, "that you are so confident that he has been brought to discretion by it?"

"Why that, by Zeus," Tigranes answered, "which he is conscious of having sustained, inasmuch as when he aimed at securing liberty he has become more of a slave than ever, and as he has not been able to accomplish a single thing of all that he thought he should effect by secrecy or by surprise or by actual force. And he knows that when you desired to outwit him, you did it as effectually as one could do who set out to deceive men blind or deaf or deprived of all their senses; and when you thought you ought to act secretly, you acted with such secrecy that the fortified places which he thought he had provided for his own safety you had secretly turned into prisons for him in advance. And so much did you surpass him in dispatch, that you came from a distance with a large army before he could muster the forces he had at home."

20. "Well," said Cyrus, "do you really think that such a defeat is adequate to make men discreet—I mean, when they find out that others are their superiors?"

"Yes," said Tigranes, "much more than when they are defeated in combat. For the one who is overcome by strength sometimes conceives the idea that, if he trains his body, he may renew the combat. Even cities too, when captured, think that by taking on new allies they might renew the fight. But if people are convinced that others are superior to themselves, they are often ready even without compulsion to submit to them."
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21. Σύ, ἐφη, ἔοικας ὅσικοι τοὺς ὑβριστὰς γυνάσκειν τοὺς ἕαυτῷ σωφρονεστέρους, οὐδὲ τοὺς κλέπτας τοὺς μὴ κλεπτοῦντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἰευδομένους τοὺς τάληθη λέγοντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τοὺς τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντας· οὐκ οἰσθα, ἐφη, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἐψεύσατο καὶ οὐκ ἐπέδοι τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνθήκες, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδὲ ὅτιον δὲν Ἀστυάγης συνέθετο παραβαίνομεν.

22. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐγώ τούτο λέγω ὡς τὸ γνώναι μόνον τοὺς βελτίωνας σωφρονίζει ἀνευ τοῦ δίκην διδόναι ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίωνων, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ νῦν δίδωσιν.

'Αλλ', ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ὦ γε σὸς πατὴρ πέπονθε μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπαύνη πω κακῶν φοβεῖται γε μέντοι εὖ οὖν ὅτι μὴ πάντα τὰ ἐσχατα πάθη.

23. Όυει οὖν τι, ἐφη ὁ Τιγράνης, μᾶλλον καταδουλοῦσθαι ἀνθρώπους τοῦ ἱσχυροῦ φόβου; οὐκ οἰσθ' ὅτι οἱ μὲν τῷ ἱσχυροτάτῳ κολάσματι νομιζομένῳ σιδῆρο παίσοντοι ὡμοὶ ἐθέλουσι καὶ πάλιν μάχεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς; οὐς δ' ἂν σφόδρα φοβηθῶσιν ἀνθρώποι, τούτοις οὖν τοὺς παραμυθουμένους ἐτὶ ἀντιβλέπειν δύνανται;

Λέγεις σύ, ἐφη, ὡς ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἕργω κακοῦσθαι μᾶλλον κολάζει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

24. Καὶ σὺ γε, ἐφη, οἴσθα στὶ ἀληθῆ λέγω· ἐπίστασαι γὰρ ὅτι οἱ μὲν φοβοῦμενοι μὴ φύγωσιν πατρίδα καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες μάχεσθαι δεδεῖτες μὴ ἡττηθῶσιν [ἀθύμωσι διάγονοι, καὶ οἱ πλέοντες μὴ ναυαγήσωσιν] 2 καὶ οἱ δουλεῖαν καὶ δεσμὸν

1 οὐκ ἐπέδοι Cobet, Edd.; οὐκ ἐξημερεῖ ΜSS.
2 Bracketed by Madvig and most later Edd. (are despond-
21. "You seem to think," said the other, "that the insolent do not recognize those more discreet than they, that thieves do not recognize honest men, that liars do not recognize the truthful, and wrong-doers those who do right. Do you not know," he continued, "that even now your father has played false and has not kept his agreement with us, although he knew that we have not been violating any of the agreements made by Astyages?"

22. "Yes; but neither do I mean that simply recognizing their superiors makes people discreet, unless they are punished by those superiors, as my father now is."

"But," said Cyrus, "your father has not yet suffered the least harm; but he is afraid, to be sure, that he will suffer the worst."

23. "Do you think, then," said Tigranes, "that anything breaks a man's spirit sooner than abject fear? Do you not know that those who are beaten with the sword, which is considered the most potent instrument of correction, are nevertheless ready to fight the same enemy again; but when people really fear anyone very much, then they cannot look him in the face, even when he tries to cheer them?"

"You mean to say," said he, "that fear is a heavier punishment to men than real correction."

24. "And you," said he, "know that what I say is true; for you are aware that, on the one hand, those who are afraid that they are to be exiled from their native land, and those who on the eve of battle are afraid that they shall be defeated, ent, and those who at sea fear that they are going to be wrecked,); [καὶ . . . ναυαγησωσι] Gemoll.
φοβούμενοι, οὗτοι μὲν οὐτε σίτου οὐθ᾽ ύπνου δύ
ναται λαγχάνειν διὰ τὸν φόβον· οἱ δὲ ἦδη μὲν φυ
γάδες, ἦδη δ᾽ ἡττημένοι, ἦδη δὲ δουλεύοντες, ἐστιν
ὅτε δύναται καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν εὐδαιμόνων ἐσθείν
τε¹ καὶ καθεύδειν. 25. ἔτι δὲ φανερότερον καὶ
ἐν τοῖς δε οἷον φόρμα ὁ φόβος· ἔνιοι γὰρ φοβούμε
μενοι μὴ ληφθέντες ἀποθάνασιν προαποθήκησκουσιν
ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, οἱ μὲν ῥυπτοῦντες ἐκατοῦς, οἱ δὲ
ἀπαγχόμενοι, οἱ δ᾽ ἀποσφαττόμενοι οὕτω πάντων
τῶν δεινῶν ὁ φόβος μᾶλλον καταπλήττει τᾶς
ψυχάς. τὸν δ᾽ ἐμὸν πατέρα, ἐφή, νῦν πῶς δοκεῖς
diakēis thai tîn ψυχῆν, ἃς ὦ μόνον περὶ ἐκατοῦ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ περὶ
πάντων τῶν τέκνων [douleias]² φοβεῖται;
26. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἔμοιγε
οὐδὲν ἀπιστοῦν τοῦτον οὕτω διακεῖσθαι· δοκεὶ
μέντοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα
ἐξεμβίσατε καὶ πταίσαντα ταχὺ πτῇξαι, καὶ
ἀνεθέντα γε πάλιν αὐτῆ εἴρησαι καὶ πάλιν
αὐτῶν πάγια παρασχεῖν.
27. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δρ, ἐφη, ὡς Κύρος, ἔχει μὲν
προφάσεις τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀμαρτήματα ὡς ἀπιστεῖν
ἡμῶν· ἐξεστὶ δὲ σοι καὶ φρούρια ἐντειχίσεως καὶ
tὰ ἑχυρά κατέχειν καὶ ἄλλο ὡς τὸν βουλή
πιστῶν λαμβάνειν. καὶ μέντοι, ἐφη, ἡμᾶς μὲν
ἐξεῖς οὖδὲν τι τοῦτοις μέγα λυπουμένους· μεμνη-
σόμεθα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν αὐτοί ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ
τινὶ τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων παραδοῦσ τὴν ἁρχήν

¹ ἐσθείν te x, most Edd.; ἐσθείν te καὶ πίνειν yz, Gemoll
(both eat and drink).
² douleias xyz, Dindorf.; not in Vaticanus 987; [douleias]
most Edd.

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and those who fear slavery or bondage, all such can neither eat nor sleep for fear; whereas those who are already in exile or already defeated or already in slavery can sometimes eat and sleep better than those enjoying a happier lot. 25. And from the following considerations it is still clearer what a burden fear is: some, for fear that they will be caught and put to death, in terror take their own lives before their time—some by hurling themselves over a precipice, other by hanging themselves, others by cutting their own throats; so does fear crush down the soul more than all other terrors. As for my father,” he added, “in what a state of mind do you think he is? For he is in dread not only for himself, but also for me, for his wife, and for all of his children.”

26. “Well,” answered Cyrus, “it is not at all unlikely, I suppose, that he is for the moment in such a state of mind. However, it seems to me that we expect of a man who is insolent in success and abject in failure that, when set on his feet once more, he will again wax arrogant and again cause more trouble.”

27. “Well, by Zeus, Cyrus,” said he, “our wrong-doing does, no doubt, give you cause to distrust us; but you may build forts in our country and occupy the strongholds already built and take whatever else you wish as security. And yet,” he added, “you will not find us very much aggrieved by your doing so; for we shall remember that we are to blame for it all. But if you hand over our government to some one of those who have done no wrong and yet show
ἀπιστῶν αὐτοῖς φανεῖ, ὅρα μὴ ἁμα τε εὐ ποιήσεις καὶ ἁμα οὐ φίλον νομισθήσῃ σε· εἰ δὲ αὐ φυλαττόμενος τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαί μὴ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτοῖς ξυγά τοῦ μὴ ὑβρίζει, ὅρα μὴ ἐκείνους αὐ ἔθησεν σε σωφρονίζειν ἐτί μᾶλλον ἡ ἡμᾶς νῦν ἔδεησεν.

28. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, τοιούτους μὲν ἔγωγε ὑπηρέταις, οὓς εἰδείην ἀνάγκη ὑπηρετοῦντας, ἀνήδως ἃν μοι δοκῶ χρῆσθαι· οὓς δὲ γυμνόσκειν δοκοῦν ὅτι εὐνοῖα καὶ φιλία τῇ ἐμῇ τὸ δέον συλλαμβάνοιεν, τούτους ἃν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντας ῥᾴδον φέρειν ἢ τοὺς μισοῦντας μέν, ἐκπλεω δὲ πάντα ἀνάγκη διαπονομένους.

Καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα, Φίλλαι δὲ παρὰ τίνων ἃν ποτε λάβοις τοσαύτην ὀσην σοι παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἔξεστι κτήσασθαί νῦν;

Παρ᾽ ἐκείνων οἶμαι, ἔφη, [παρὰ] 1 τῶν μηδέποτε πολεμίων γεγενημένων, εἰ ἔθελοιμεν εὐργεῖτειν αὐτοὺς ὁσπέρ σὺ νῦν με κελεύεις εὐργεῖτειν ἕμας.

29. Ἡ καὶ δύνατο ἃν, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρη, ἐν τῷ παρόντι νῦν εὑρεῖν ὅτι ἃν χαρίσαι οὐσπέρ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί; αὐτίκα, ἔφη, ἂν τινα ἔφας ζήν τῶν σε μηδὲν ἡδίκηκότων, τίνα σοι τούτον χάριν οἴει αὐτῶν εἴσεβαί; τί δὲ, ἂν αὐτῶν τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφαίρῃ, τὸ σε τούτων ἐνεκα φιλήσει μᾶλλον ὡς νομίζωσιν προσήκουν αὐτῷ ἀφαιρεθήναι; τὴν δ᾽ Ἀρμενίων βασιλείαν εἰ μὴ ἔξει, οἰσθά τινα, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον λυποῦμενον ἡ ἡμᾶς; οὔκ οἶκον καὶ τοῦτ᾽, ἔφη, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα λυποῦμενος εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς εἰη οὕτως καὶ λαβῶν τὴν ἄρχην μεγίστην ἂν σοι χάριν

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

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that you distrust them, see to it lest they regard you as no friend, in spite of your favours to them. But if again, on your guard against incurring their hatred, you fail to place a check upon them to keep them from rebellion, see to it lest you need to bring them to discretion even more than you did in our case just now.”

28. “Nay, by the gods,” said he, “I do not think I should like to employ servants that I knew served me only from compulsion. But if I had servants who I thought assisted me, as in duty bound, out of goodwill and friendship toward me, I think I should be better satisfied with them when they did wrong than with others who disliked me, when they performed all their tasks faithfully but from compulsion.”

To this Tigranes replied: “From whom could you ever get such friendship as you now can from us?”

“From those, I presume,” said he, “who have never been my enemies, if I would do them such favours as you now bid me do you.”

29. “But, Cyrus,” said he, “as things now are, could you find any one to whom you could do as great favours as you can to my father? For example, if you grant any one of those who have done you no wrong his life, what gratitude do you think he will feel toward you for that? And again, who will love you for not depriving him of his wife and children more than he who thinks that it would serve him right to lose them? And do you know of any one who would be more grieved than we, not to have the throne of Armenia? Well, then,” he added, “it is evident that he who would be most grieved not to be king, would also be most grateful for receiving the throne.
eἰδείη. 30. εἴ· δέ τί σοι, ἔφη, μέλει καὶ τοῦ ὁς ἦκιστα τεταραγμένα τάδε καταλυπέιν, ὅταν ἀπίθης, σκόπει, ἔφη, πότερον ἂν οἷς ἥρμεστέρως ἔχειν τὰ εὐθάδε καινῆς γενομένης ἀρχῆς ἢ τῆς εἰσωθύνας καταμενοῦσης· εἴ· δέ τί σοι μέλει καὶ τοῦ ὁς πλείστην στρατιάν ἐξάγειν, τίν' ἂν οἷς μᾶλλον ἐξετάσαι ταύτην ὅρθῶς τοῦ πολλάκις αὐτῆς κεχρημένου; εἴ· δέ καὶ χρημάτων δεῖσαι, τίνα ἂν ταύτα νομίζεις κρείττον ἐκπορίσαι τοῦ καὶ εἰδότος καὶ ἔχοντος πάντα τὰ οὐντα; ὅγαθε, ἔφη, Κὺρε, φύλαξαι μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀποβαλῶν σαυτῶν ξημώόσης πλείω ἢ ὁ πατήρ ἐδυνάθη σε βλάψαι.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαύτα ἔλεγεν. 31. ὦ δὲ Κὺρος ἄκοινον ὑπερήφανον, ὅτι ἐνὸμίζει περαινεσθαι πάντα αὐτῷ ὁσαπερ ὑπέσχετο τῷ Κναξάρῃ πράξειν· ἐμέμνητο γὰρ εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ φίλον οὐσίον μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν ποιήσειν.

Καλ ἐκ τούτου δὴ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἑρωτᾶ· Ἡν δὲ δὴ ταύτα πείθωμαι ὑμῖν, λέγει μοι, ἔφη, σὺ, ὁ Ἀρμένεις, πόσην μὲν στρατιάν μοι συμπέμψεις, πόσα δὲ χρήματα συμβαλεῖ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον;

32. Πρὸς ταύτα δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἀρμένιος, Ὦδὲν ἔχω, ὦ Κὺρε, ἔφη, ἀπλούστερον εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ δικαίωτερον ἢ δεῖξαι μὲν ἐμὲ πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσαν δύναμιν, σὲ δὲ ἱδούντα ὅσην μὲν ἂν σοι δοκῇ στρατιάν ἄγειν, τὴν δὲ καταλύπειν τῆς χώρας φυλακῆν. ὥς δὲ αὕτως περὶ χρημάτων δηλώσαι μὲν ἐμὲ δικαιόν σου πάντα τὰ ὅντα, σὲ δὲ τούτων αὕτων γρόνα ὅπόσα τε ἄν βούλῃ φέρεσθαι καὶ ὅπόσα ἄν βούλῃ καταλυπεῖν.

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30. And if you care at all to leave matters here in as little confusion as possible when you go away, consider whether you think the country would be more tranquil under the beginning of a new administration than if the one we are used to should continue. And if you care to take with you as large an army as possible, who do you think would be in a better position to organize the troops properly than he who has often employed them? And if you need money also, who do you think could supply it better than he who knows and commands all the sources of supply? My good Cyrus," he added, "beware lest in casting us aside you do yourself a greater injury than any harm my father has been able to do you."

Thus he spoke. 31. And Cyrus was more than pleased at hearing him, for he thought that everything that he had promised Cyaxares to do was in course of accomplishment; for he remembered having told him that he would make the Armenian more his friend than he was before.

"Tell me, king of Armenia," he therefore asked, "if I yield to you in this matter, how large an army will you send with me and how much money will you contribute to the war?"

32. "I have nothing to propose more simple or more fair, Cyrus," the Armenian replied to this, "than for me to show you all the forces I have and for you, when you have seen them, to take as many as you see fit, leaving the rest here to protect the country. And in the same way in regard to the money, it is proper for me to show you all that I have, and for you to decide for yourself and take as much as you please and to leave as much as you please."
33. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, "Ἰθι δὴ λέξον μοι πόση σοι δύναμις ἔστι, λέξον δὲ καὶ πόσα χρήματα.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἀρμένιος, Ἰππεῖς μὲν τοίνυν εἰς Ἡ [Ἀρμενίων] εἰς ὅκτακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ εἰς τέτταρας μυριάδας χρήματα δ', ἑφη, σὺν τοῖς θησαυροῖς οἷς ὁ πατὴρ κατέλυπεν ἐστιν εἰς ἀργύριον λογισθέντα τάλαντα πλεῖον τῶν τρισχιλίων.

34. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' εἶπε, Τῆς μὲν τοίνυν στρατιάς, ἐπεί σοι, ἑφη, οἱ ὁμοροι Χαλδαίοι πολεμοῦσι, τοὺς ἡμόσεσι μοι σύμπεμπτε τῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ὅν ἐφερες δασμὸν δυπλάσια Κυαξάρη ἀπόδος, ὅτε ἑλπὶς τὴν φοράν ἐμοὶ δ', ἑφη, ἄλλα ἕκαστον δάνειον ἐγὼ δὲ σοι ὑπεύχομαι, ἢν ὁ θεὸς εὐ διδῷ, ἀνθ' ὅν ἀν ἐμοὶ δανείσης ἢ ἄλλα πλείονος ἄξια εὐεργετήσειν ἢ τὰ χρήματα ἀπαριθμήσειν, ἡν δύναμις ἢν δὲ μὴ δύναμαι, ἀδύνατος ἂν φαινοῦμη, οἴμαι, ἢδικος δ' οὐκ ἂν δικαίως κρινούμην.

35. Καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἑφη, ὁ Κύρος, μὴ οὕτω λέγει· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ θαρροῦντά με εἰς· ἄλλα νόμιζε, ἑφη, ἂν καταλίπῃς μηδὲν ἤττον σὰ εἶναι ὅν ἂν ἔχων ἀπίθη.

Εἶπεν, ἑφη ὁ Κύρος· ὡστε δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολαβεῖν, ἑφη, πόσα ἂν μοι χρήματα δοίης; Οπόσα ἂν δυναίμην, ἑφη.

Τί δὲ, ὡστε τοὺς παῖδας;
Καὶ τούτων, ἑφη, ὀπόσα ἂν δυναίμην.

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1 Ἀρμενίων MSS.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
2 σὺν γ' Edd.; in C3EHG (among the treasures); αὐτοῖς Α.
33. "Come then," said Cyrus, "tell me how large your forces are and how much money you have."

"Well," the Armenian then answered, "there are about eight thousand cavalry and about forty thousand infantry. And the property," said he, "including the treasures that my father left me, amounts, when reduced to cash, to more than three thousand talents."

34. And without hesitation, Cyrus replied: "Send with me then," said he, "only half the army, since your neighbours, the Chaldaeans, are at war with you. And of the money, instead of the fifty talents which you used to pay as tribute, pay Cyaxares double that sum because you are in arrears with your payments. And lend me personally a hundred more," said he; "and I promise you that if God prospers me, I will in return for your loan either do you other favours worth more than that amount or at least pay you back the money, if I can; but if I cannot, I may seem insolvent, I suppose, but I should not justly be accounted dishonest."

35. "For heaven's sake, Cyrus," said the Armenian, "do not talk that way. If you do, you will make me lose heart. But consider," said he, "that what you leave here is no less yours than what you take away."

"Very well," said Cyrus; "now how much money would you give to get your wife back?"

"As much as I could," said he.

"And how much to get your children?"

"For these also," said he, "as much as I could."
Ούκον, ἐφθ ὁ Κύρος, ταύτα μὲν ἡδη διπλάσια τῶν ὄντων. 36. σὺ δὲ, ἐφθ, ὁ Τυγράνη, λέξου μοι πόσου ἄν πρίαο ὡστε τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολαβεῖν.  
Ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε νεόγαμος τε ὅν καὶ ὑπερφίλων τὴν γυναίκα.

Ἐγώ μὲν, ἐφθ, ὁ Κύρε, κἂν τῆς ψυχῆς πρε- 

ἀίμην ὡστε μήποτε λατρεύσαι ταύτην.

37. Σὺ μὲν τούς, ἐφθ, ἂπάγου τὴν σήμεν, οὔτε 

γὰρ εἰλήφθαι ἐγώ γέια χαμάλωτον ταύτην νομίζω 

σοῦ γε μητρόποτε φυγόντος ἡμᾶς. καὶ σὺ δὲ, ὁ 

Ἀρμένε, ἂπάγου τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας 

μηδὲν αὐτῶν καταβείς, ἵνα εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἐλεύθεροι 

πρὸς σὲ ἀπέρχονται καὶ νῦν μὲν, ἐφθ, δειπνεῖτε 

παρ' ἡμῖν. δειπνήσαντες δὲ ἀπελαύνετε ὅποι ὕμιν 

θυμός. οὕτω δὴ κατέμειναν.

38. Διασκηνοῦντων δὲ μετὰ δείπνου ἐπήρετο ὁ 

Κύρος, Ἐπέμοι, ἐφθ, ὁ Τυγράνη, ποῦ δὴ ἐκεῖνός 

ἐστιν ὁ ἄνήρ ὅς συνεῖδηρα ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ μοι μάλα 

ἐδόκεις θαυμάζειν αὐτοῦ.

Ὅ γὰρ, ἐφθ, ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν οὕτως ὅ ἐμὸς 

πατήρ;

Τί λαβῶν ἀδικοῦντα;

Διαφθείρειν αὐτῶν ἐφθ ἐμέ. καίτοι γ', ἐφθ, ὁ 

Κύρε, οὕτω καλὸς καγαθὸς ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὅς καὶ ὅτε 

ἀποδυνήσκειν ἔμελλε προσκαλέσας με εἰπτε, Μή τι 

σὺ, ἐφθ, ὁ Τυγράνη, ὅτι ἀποκτείνει με, χαλεπανθῆς 

τῷ πατρί: οὐ γὰρ κακονοίᾳ τῳι 1 τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' 

ἀγνοια: ὄποσα δὲ ἄγνοια ἀνθρώποι ἐξαμαρτάνουσι, 

πάντ' ἀκούσια ταῦτ' ἐγώγε νομίζω.

1 τῳιι ZED, Dindorf; τῇ σῇ F, most Edd. (toward you); τῇ σῇ γς Hug, supposedly after C.
"Well then," said Cyrus, "that makes already twice as much as you have. 36. And you, Tigranes," said he, "tell me how much you would pay to get your wife back?"

Now it happened that he was newly married and loved his wife very dearly.

"I would give my life, Cyrus," said he, "to keep her from slavery."

37. "Well then," said he, "take her back; she is your own. For I, for my part, do not consider that she has been made a prisoner of war at all, since you never ran away from us. And you too, king of Armenia, may take back your wife and children without paying any ransom for them, that they may know that they return to you free men and women. And now," said he, "stay and have dinner with us; and when you have dined you may drive away wherever you have a mind to go." So they stayed.

38. And after dinner, as the party was breaking up, Cyrus asked: "Tell me, Tigranes, where is the man who used to hunt with us? You seemed to admire him very much."

"Ah," he replied, "did not my father here have him put to death?"

"What wrong did he find him doing?"

"He said that he was corrupting me. And yet, Cyrus," said he, "he was so noble and so good that when he was about to be put to death, he called me to him and said: 'Be not angry with your father, Tigranes, for putting me to death; for he does it, not from any spirit of malice, but from ignorance, and when men do wrong from ignorance, I believe they do it quite against their will.'"
39. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἔπι τούτοις εἶπε, Φεῦ τού ἀνδρός.

'Ο δὲ Ἀρμένιος ἔλεξεν, Οὐτοι, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, οὐδ᾽ οἱ ταῖς έαυτῶν γυναιξὶ λαμβάνοντες συνόντας ἀλλοτρίους ἀνδρας οὐ τούτο αἰτιώμενοι αὐτοὺς κατακαίνουσιν ὅς ἀφρονεστέρας ποιοῦντας τὰς γυναῖκας, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες ἀφαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν, διὰ τούτο ὡς πολεμίους αὐτοὺς χρῶνται. καὶ ἔγω ἐκεῖνο, ἔφη, ἐφθάνουν, ὅτι μοι ἐδόκει τὸν ἐμὸν υἱόν ποιεῖν αὐτὸν μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν ἢ ἐμέ.

40. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, ἀνθρώπινα μοι δοκεῖς ἀμαρτεῖν· καὶ σὺ, ὁ Τιγράνη, συγγίνωσκε τῷ πατρί.

Τότε μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα διαλεξθέντες καὶ φιλοφρονηθέντες ὅσπερ εἰκός ἐκ συναλλαγῆς, ἀναβάντες ἔπι τὰς ἀρμαμάξας σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀπῆλαυνον εὐφραίνομενοι.

41. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἰκάδε, ἔλεγον τοῦ Κῦρου ὁ μὲν τις τὴν σοφίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν καρτέριαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν πρᾶτητα, ἢ τις καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος.

'Ενθα δὲ ο Τιγράνης ἐπήρετο τὴν γυναῖκα, Ἡ καὶ σοί, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρμένια, καλὸς ἐδόκει ο Κῦρος εἶναι;

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ἐθεώμην.
Ἀλλὰ τίνα μίν; ἔφη ο Τιγράνης.

1 κατακαίνουσιν Cobet, Marchant, Gemoll; κατακτείνουσιν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 ἀφρονεστέρας Stephanus, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug; ἀμαθειστέρας yC, Marchant; σωφρονεστέρας zE; ἀκρατεστέρας Gemoll.
3 ποιοῦντας yC, Edd.; ποιοῦντες zE.
39. "Poor man!" Cyrus exclaimed on hearing this.

Here the Armenian king interrupted: "Do not men who discover strangers in intercourse with their wives kill them, not on the ground that they make their wives more inclined to folly, but in the belief that they alienate from them their wives' affections—for this reason they treat them as enemies. So I was jealous of him because I thought that he made my son regard him more highly than he did me."

40. "Well, by the gods, king of Armenia," said Cyrus, "your sin seems human; and you, Tigranes, must forgive your father."

Then when they had thus conversed and showed their friendly feelings toward one another, as was natural after a reconciliation, they entered their carriages and drove away with their wives, happy.

41. And when they got home they talked, one of Armenian appreciation of Cyrus's wisdom, another of his strength, another of his gentleness, and still another of his beauty and his commanding presence.

Then Tigranes asked his wife: "Tell me, my Armenian princess," said he, "did you, too, think Cyrus handsome?"

"Why, by Zeus," said she, "I did not look at him."

"At whom, then?" asked Tigranes.
Τὸν εἰπόντα νὴ Δία ὃς τῆς αὐτοῦ ἡ ψυχής ἂν πρίατο ὀστε μῆ με δουλεύειν.
Τότε μὲν δὴ ὅσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ τοιούτων ἀνεπαύσοντο σὺν ἀλλήλοις.

42. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραιᾳ ὁ Ἀρμένιος Κύρος μὲν καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀπάση ξένια ἔπεμπτε, προεῖπτε δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς, οὐς δεῦσοι στρατεύεσθαι, εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν παρεῖναι· τὰ δὲ χρήματα ὅν εἶπεν ὁ Κύρος διπλάσια ἀπηρίθμησεν. οὗ δὲ Κύρος ὁ σα εἶπε λαβὼν τάλλα ἀπέπεμψεν· ἡρετο δὲ πότερον ἔσται ὁ τὸ στρατεύμα ἄγων, ὁ παῖς ἡ αὐτὸς. εἰπέτην δὲ ἀμα ο μὲν πατὴρ οὕτως, 'Οπότερον ἄν σὺ κελεύῃς· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὕτως, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀπολείψομαι σου, ὁ Κῦρε, οὐδὲ ἂν σκευοφόρον ἐμὲ δέχῃ σοι συνακολουθεῖν.

43. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπυγελάσας εἴπε· Καὶ ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἄν, ἔφη, ἐθέλοις τῷ γυναικῷ σου ἀκούσαι ὅτι σκευοφόρεῖς;
'Αλλ' οὖδέν, ἔφη, ἀκούειν δεῖσει αὐτῇ· ἄξω γάρ, ὅστε ὁρᾶν ἔξεσται αὐτῇ ὅ τι ἂν ἐγώ πράττω. "Ὡρα ἄν, ἔφη, συσκευάζεσθαι υμῖν εἰς.
Νόμιζε, ἔφη, συνεσκευασμένους παρέσεσθαι ὁ τι ἂν ὁ πατὴρ δὴ.
Τότε μὲν δὴ ἦπεισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκοιμήθησαν.

1 αὐτοῦ Edd.; αὐτοῦ MSS.
2 δέχῃ σοι Stephanus, Edd.; δέχομαι yz; δέχομαι E; δέχονται C.
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“At him, by Zeus, who said that he would give his life to keep me from servitude.”

Then as might be expected after such experiences, they went to rest together.

42. And on the following day the Armenian king sent guest-presents to Cyrus and all his army, and he commanded those of his men who were to take the field to present themselves on the third day; and he paid Cyrus double the sum of money that he had named. But Cyrus accepted only the amount specified and returned the rest. Then he asked which of the two was to go in command of the forces, the king himself or his son. They both answered at the same instant, the father saying: “Whichever you command”; and the son: “I will never leave you, Cyrus, not even if I have to accompany you as a camp-follower.”

43. And Cyrus, laughing, said: “How much would you take to have your wife told that you were a camp-follower?”

“Why,” said he, “she will not need to be told anything about it; for I shall take her with me, so that she will be in a position to see whatever I do.”

“Then,” said he, “it may be high time for you to be getting your things together.”

“Be sure,” said he, “that we shall be here with everything brought together that my father gives us.”

And when the soldiers had received their presents they went to bed.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

II

1. Τῇ δ’ υστεραίᾳ ἀναλαβόν ὁ Κύρος τὸν Τιγράνην καὶ τῶν Μῆδων ἔπεισαν τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ὅπόσους καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἰναί, περιελαύνων τὴν χώραν κατεθεάτο, σκοπᾶν ποῦ τειχίσειε φρούριον. καὶ ἐπὶ ἄκρον τι ἐλθὼν ἐπηρώτα τὸν Τιγράνην ποία εἶ οὗ τῶν ὅρεων ὅποθεν οἱ Χαλδαιοὶ καταθέοντες λήξονται. καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης ἔδεικνυ. 1 ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἤρετο, Νῦν δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ὅρη ἔρημα ἔστιν;

Οὐ μὰ Δ' ἐφη, ἀλλ' ἂν σκοπῶν ἐσθίν ἐκεῖνων οὐ σημαίνουσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅ τι ἄν ὀρῶσι.

Τι οὖν, ἐφη, ποιοῦσιν, ἐπὴν ἀσθωνταί; Βοηθοῦσιν, ἐφη, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκρα, ὡς ἄν ἐκαστὸς δύνηται.

2. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος ἠηκόει: σκοπῶν δὲ κατενόει πολλῆς τῆς χώρας τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἔρημοι καὶ ἀργῶν οὐσαν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν.

3. Τῇ δ’ υστεραίᾳ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Τιγράνης παρῆν συνεσκευασμένος καὶ ἰππείς εἰς τοὺς τετρακωσικιλίους συνελέγοντο αὐτῷ καὶ τοξόται εἰς τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ πελτασταὶ ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι.

'Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐν ὃ συνελέγοντο ἐθύτησ: ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν αὐτῷ, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς τε τῶν

1 ἔδεικνυ Dindorf, Hug; ἔδεικνυν MSS., Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll.

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II

1. On the morrow Cyrus took with him Tigranes, the best of the Median horsemen, and as many of his own friends as he thought proper, and rode around to inspect the country with a view to finding a place in which to build a fort. And when he had come to a certain eminence he asked Tigranes which were the mountains from which the Chaldaeans were accustomed to descend to make forays into the country. And Tigranes pointed them out. And again he asked: "And are these mountains now unoccupied?"

"No, by Zeus," said he; "but they always have scouts up there who signal to the rest whatever they see."

"Then," said he, "what do they do, when they receive the signals?"

"They run out to the heights to help," said he, "each as best he can."

2. Such was the account to which Cyrus listened; and as he looked he observed that a large portion of the Armenians' country was deserted and uncultivated as a result of the war. And then they went back to camp and after they had dined they went to rest.

3. On the following day Tigranes presented himself with his baggage all ready for the start; and under his command were assembled about four thousand horsemen and about ten thousand bowmen and as many peltasts besides.

While they had been coming together, Cyrus had been sacrificing; and when his sacrifice gave favourable omens, he called a meeting of the officers of the
Περσῶν ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μηδών. 4. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁμοῦ ἦσαν, ἐλέγε ἑοίματε.

"Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι, ἔστι μὲν τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα ἄ ὀρῶμεν Χαλδαίων· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα καταλάβοιμεν καὶ ἐπ’ ἄκρον γένοιτο ἡμέτερον φρούριον, σωφρονεῖν ἀνάγκη ἄν εἰθ ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρους, τοῖς τε Ἀρμενίοις καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἱερὰ καλὰ ἡμῖν ἀνθρωπίνη δὲ προθυμία εἰς τὸ πραξθῆναι ταῦτα οὐδὲν οὔτω μέγα σύμμαχον ἄν γένοιτο ὡς τάχος. ἦν γὰρ φθάσωμεν πρὸ τοὺς πολεμίους συλλεγῆναι ἀναβάντες, ἡ παντάπασιν ἀμαχεῖ λάβοιμεν ἄν τὸ ἄκρον ἡ ὅλον τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖ χρησάμεθ' ἄν πολεμίους. 5. Τῶν οὖν πόνων οὐδεὶς ράον οὐδ’ ἀκινδυνώτερος, ἔφη, ἔστι τοῦ νῦν καρτερῆσαι σπεύδουται. ἓτε οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ ὁπλα. καὶ . . . 1

Τοῖς μὲν, ὁ Μηδών, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἡμῶν πορεύεσθε. ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὁ Ἀρμενίοι, οἱ μὲν ἡμῖσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ, οἱ δ’ ἡμῖσις ἐμπροσθεν ἡμῶν ἡγεῖσθε. ὑμεῖς δ’, ὁ ἐπεῖς, ὅπου θεῖες ἐπεσθε παρακελουόμενοι καὶ ὁθοῦντες ἄνω ἡμᾶς, ἢν δὲ τις μαλακύνηται, μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε. 6. Ταύτῃ εἰπὼν ὁ Κύρος ἡγεῖτο ὅρθιος ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόχους. οἱ δὲ Χαλδαῖοι ὡς ἐγνωσαν τὴν ὀρμήν ἄνω οὕσαν, εὐθὺς ἐσήμανον τε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ συνεβόων ἀλλήλους 2 καὶ συνηθροίζοντο. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος παρηγγύα, Ἀνδρεὶς Πέρσαι, ἡμῖν

1 A lacuna, in which preparations are effected, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll. 2 ἀλλήλους Schneider, Edd.; ἀλλήλους MSS.

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Persians and of the Medes; 4. and when they were come together, he spoke as follows:

"My friends, these mountains which we see belong to Chaldaea; but if we should seize them and have a fort of our own built upon the summit, both parties—the Armenians, I mean, and the Chaldaeans—would have to behave with discretion toward us. Now, the sacrifices give us favourable omens; but, for the execution of our plan, nothing would be so strong an ally to human zeal as dispatch. For if we get up there before the enemy have time to come together, we may gain possession of the heights altogether without a battle, or we may at least find enemies few in number and without strength.

5. "Of the tasks before us, therefore, none is easier or less fraught with danger," said he, "than now bravely to endure the strain of haste. Therefore, to arms! And . . . .

"You, Medes, march on our left; and you, Armenians, half keep to our right and half lead on in front; while you, cavalrymen, shall follow behind, to encourage and push us on upward; and if any one is inclined to show weakness, do not allow it."

6. With this command Cyrus brought his companies to ploy into column and took his place at their head. And when the Chaldaeans realized that the movement was directed toward the heights, they immediately gave the signal to their people, called to one another to assemble, and began to come together.

And Cyrus gave command: "Fellow-Persians, they
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σημαίνουσι σπεύδειν. ἢν γὰρ φθάσωμεν ἀνω γενόμενοι, οὔδὲν τὰ τῶν πολέμων δυνηστεῖαι.

7. Ἐξήκον δ’ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι γέρρα τε καὶ παλτὰ δύο· καὶ πολεμικῶτατοι δὲ λέγονται οὗτοι τῶν περὶ ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν εἶναι· καὶ μισθοῦ στρατεύονται, ὁπόταν τις αὐτῶν δέηται, διὰ τὸ πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ πένητες εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἡ χώρα αὐτῶς ὅρειν τε ἐστὶ καὶ ὀλύγη ἢ τὰ χρήματα ἐξούσια.

8. Ὁς δὲ μάλλον ἐπιληψίαξον οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρον τῶν ἄκρων, ὁ Τιγράνης σὺν τῷ Κύρῳ πορεῦμενος εἶπεν, Ὁ Κύρε, ἅρ’ οἶσθ’ ἡ φή, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα δεῖσθε μάχεσθαι; ὅς οὐ γε Ἀρμένιοι οὐ μὴ δέχονται τοὺς πολεμίους.

Καὶ δ’ Κύρος εἰπὼν ὅτι εἰδεῖν τούτο, εὐθὺς παρηγγύησε τοῖς Πέρσαις παρασκευάζεσθαι, ὡς αὐτίκα δεῖσον διόκειν, ἐπειδὰν ὑπαγόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Ἀρμένιοι ὁστ’ ἐγγύς ἢμῖν γενέσθαι.

9. Οὕτω δὴ ἤγοντο μὲν οἱ Ἀρμένιοι τῶν δὲ Χαλδαίων οἱ παρόντες, ὡς ἐπιληψίαξον οἱ Ἀρμένιοι, ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθεου, ὡσπερ εἰώθεσαν, εἰς αὐτοὺς· οἱ δὲ Ἀρμένιοι, ὡσπερ εἰώθεσαν, οὐκ ἔδεχοντο. 10. ὡς δὲ διώκοντες οἱ Χαλδαῖοι εἶδον ἐναντίος μαχαιροφόρους ἰεμένους ἄνω, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτοῖς πελάσαντες ταχὺ ἀπέθυμηκον, οἱ δὲ ἐφευγον, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ ἐάλωσαν αὐτῶν, ταχὺ δὲ εἰχετο τὰ ἄκρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα εἶχον οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρον, καθεδρώσαν τε τῶν Χαλδαίων τὰς οἰκίσεις καὶ ἵσθανοντο φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἔγγυς οἰκήσεων.

11. Ὅ δ’ Κύρος, ὡς πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται

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are signalling us to hasten; for if we get up there first, the enemy's efforts will be of no avail."

7. Now the Chaldaeans carried each a wicker shield and two spears, and they were said to be the most warlike of the peoples in that region. They also serve for hire when any one wants them, for they are fond of war and poor of purse; for their country is mountainous and only a small part of it is productive.

8. But when Cyrus and his men were getting nearer to the heights, Tigranes, who was marching with Cyrus, said: "Do you know, Cyrus, that we ourselves shall have to do the fighting, and in a very few moments? For the Armenians, I am sure, will never sustain the enemy's attack."

Cyrus answered that he knew that and gave the command to the Persians to make ready, as it would be necessary in a moment to give chase, as soon as the Armenians by pretending flight should decoy the enemy into close quarters.

9. So the Armenians led on. And when they came near, the Chaldaeans already there raised the battle cry, according to their custom, and charged upon them. And the Armenians, according to their custom, failed to sustain the charge. 10. But when the Chaldaeans in pursuit saw before them the swordsmen rushing up against them, some came near and were cut down at once, others fled, and some others of their number were taken prisoners; and soon the heights were taken. And when Cyrus and his men were in possession of the heights, they looked down on the dwellings of the Chaldaeans and saw the people fleeing from their homes near by.

11. Then when the soldiers were all together,
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όμοι ἐγένοντο, ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι παρῆγγειλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡριστήκεσαν, καταμαθὼν ἐνθὰ αἱ σκοπαὶ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐρυμὸν τε δυ καὶ ἐνυδρόν, εὐθὺς ἐτεῖχιζε φρούριον· καὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐκέλευεν πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ κελεύειν παραγενέσθαι ἑχοντα ὅποσοι εἰεν τέκτονες τε καὶ λιθοτόμοι. ὁ δὲ Κύρος τοῖς παρούσιν ἐτεῖχιζεν.

12. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσάγουσι τῷ Κύρῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους δεδεμένους, τοὺς δὲ τινας καὶ τετρωμένους· ὡς δὲ εἶδεν, εὐθὺς λύειν μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δεδεμένους, τοὺς δὲ τετρωμένους ἱατροὺς καλέσας θεραπεύειν ἐκέλευσεν· ἐπείτα δὲ ἐλεξε τοὺς Χαλδάιος ὅτι ἦκοι οὐτε ἀπολέσαι ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκείνους οὐτὲ πολέμειν δεόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰρήνην βουλόμενος ποιήσαι Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Χαλδαίοις.

Πρὶν μὲν οὖν ἐχεσθαι τὰ ἄκρα οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐδεῖσθη εἰρήνης· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑμέτερα ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἤγετε καὶ ἐφέρετε· νῦν δὲ ἄρατε δὴ ἐν οἴῳ ἐστέ. 13. ἔγω οὖν ἄφιζμι ὑμᾶς οἰκάδε τοὺς εἰλημμένους, καὶ δίδωμι ὑμῖν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις βουλεύσασθαι εἴτε βούλεσθε πολέμειν ἡμῶν εἴτε φίλοι εἶναι. καὶ ἂν μὲν πόλεμον αἱρήσθη, μηκέτι ἢκετε δεύρο ἄνευ ὅπλων, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε· ἂν δὲ εἰρήνης δοκήτε

1 λιθοτόμοι Dindorf, most Edd.; λιθοδόμοι MSS.; λιθολόγοι Valckenaeer.

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Cyrus bade his men take luncheon; and when they had lunched and he had discovered that the place where the scouts had their posts of observation was strong and well supplied with water, he at once proceeded to build a fort there. He also bade Tigranes send for his father and bid him come with all the carpenters and masons that he had. So a messenger was off to bring the Armenian king, but Cyrus proceeded to build the wall with the men he had at hand.

12. At this juncture they brought to Cyrus the prisoners in chains and also some that had been wounded. And when he saw them he at once ordered that the fetters be taken off, and he sent for surgeons and bade them attend to the wounded men. And then he told the Chaldaeans that he had come with no wish to destroy them and with no desire to make war, but because he wished to make peace between the Armenians and the Chaldaeans.

"Now I know that before the heights were taken you had no wish at all for peace, for everything of yours was secure, while you carried off and plundered the property of the Armenians; but now see in what a predicament you are! 13. Now I am going to let you who have been captured go home and consult with the rest of the Chaldaeans whether you wish to have war with us or to be our friends. And if you choose war, do not come this way again without weapons, if you are wise; but if you decide that you desire peace, come without arms. I shall see to
δείσθαι, ἀνευ ὅπλων ἦκετε· ὡς δὲ καλῶς ἔξει τὰ ύμετερα, ἥν φίλοι γένησθε, ἐμοὶ μελήσει.

14. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, πολλὰ μὲν ἑπαυνόσαντες, πολλὰ δὲ δεξιωσάμενοι τὸν Κύρον ὄχιντο οὐκαδε.

Ὁ δὲ Ἄρμενιος ὡς ἦκουσε τὴν τε κλήσιν τοῦ Κύρου καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, λαβὼν τοὺς τέκτονας καὶ τὰλλα ὡς ὅμοιον δεῖν, ἤκε πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα. 15. ἐπελ ὅ ένδει τὸν Κύρον, ἐλέξει, Ὡ Κύρε, ὡς ὅλγα δυνάμενοι προορᾶν ἀνθρωποι 1 περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολλὰ ἐπιχειροῦμεν πράττειν. τῶν ἁγὸς ἡ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐλευθερίαν μὲν μηχανάσθαι ἐπιχειρήσας δούλος ὡς συνεπώποτε ἐγενόμην· ἐπει δ' ἐάλωμεν, σαφῶς ἀπολογολεῖναι νομίζαντες τῶν ἀναφαίνομεθα σεσωσμένοι ὡς συνεπόποτε. οἱ γὰρ συνεπώποτε ἐπαύνοντο πολλὰ κακὰ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντες, τῶν ὅρῳ τούτους ἑγοῦνται ὅσπερ ἐγὼ ἡμῶν. 16. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπίστω, ἐφη, ὡ Κύρε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὡς ἄπελάσαι Χαλδαίους ἀπὸ τοῦτων τῶν ἄκρων πολλαπλάσια ἄν ἐδώκα χρήματα δὲν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ η ὑπερχώνοι ποιήσειν ἀγαθὰ ἡμᾶς ὃτ' ἐλάμβανε σὰρχα τὰ χρήματα, ἀποτελέσατο σοι ἡδή, ὡς καὶ προσφεύλοντες σοι ἄλλας χάριτας ἀναπεφήμαν, ὃς ἡμεῖς γε, εἰ μὴ κακοὶ ἔσμεν, αἰσχυνομέθ' ἂν σοι μὴ ἀποδιδόντες. 17. ὁ μὲν Ἄρμενιος τοσαῦτ' ἐλέξειν.

Οἱ δὲ Χαλδαίοι ἦκον δεόμενοι τοῦ Κύρου εἰρήνην σφίζων ποιήσαι. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπήρετο αὐτούς, Ἀλλο τι, ἐφη, ὡ Χαλδαίοι, ὃ τούτου

1 ἀνθρωποι Dindorf, later Edd.; ἀνθρωποι MSS.
it that you have no cause to complain, if you become our friends."

14. And when the Chaldæans heard this, they commended Cyrus highly, shook hands with him heartily, and departed for home.

Now, when the king of Armenia received Cyrus’s summons and heard of his plans, he came to Cyrus as quickly as he could with the carpenters and all that he thought was necessary. 15. And when he saw Cyrus, he said: "How little of the future, Cyrus, we mortals can foresee, and yet how much we try to accomplish. Why, just now, when I was striving to secure liberty, I became more a slave than ever before; and when we were taken prisoners, we then thought our destruction certain, but we now find that we are saved as never before. For those who never ceased to do us no end of injury I now behold in just the condition that I desired. 16. And believe me, Cyrus," said he, "when I say that to have driven the Chaldæans from these heights I would have given many times as much money as you now have from me; and the benefit that you promised to do us, when you received the money, you have already conferred so fully that we obviously now owe you a new debt of gratitude besides; and we on our part, if we have not lost all self-respect, should be ashamed if we did not repay it to you."

17. Thus the Armenian king spoke.

Now the Chaldæans had come back with the request that Cyrus should make peace with them. And Cyrus asked them: "Is this the reason that you, Chaldæans, now desire peace, because you
ξενόφων

ἔνεκα εἰρήνης νῦν ἐπιθυμεῖτε ὅτι νομίζετε ἁσφαλέστερον ἃν δύνασθαι θὰν εἰρήνης γενομένης ἢ πολεμοῦντες, ἐπειδὴ ἦμείς τάδ' ἔχομεν;

"Εφασαν¹ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι.

18. Καὶ οὕς, Τί δ', ἔφη, εἰ καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἁγαθὰ προσγένοιτο διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην;

"Ετι ἂν, ἔφασαν, μᾶλλον εὔφραυνολεθα.

"Αλλο τι οὖν, ἔφη, ἢ διὰ τὸ γῆς σπανίζειν ἁγαθῆς νῦν πένητες νομίζετ' εἶναι;

Συνέφασαν καὶ τούτο.

Τί οὖν; ἔφη ο Κύρος, βούλοισθ' ἂν ἀποτελοῦντες ὁσαπερ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀρμενίοι ἐξεῖναι υμῖν τῆς Ἀρμενίας γῆς εργάζεσθαι ὅποσην ἂν θέλητε;

"Εφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, Εἰ πιστεύοιμεν μὴ ἀδικήσεσθαι.

19. Τί δὲ, σύ, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρμενίως, βούλοιο ἂν σοι τὴν νῦν ἁργὸν² οὕσαν γῆν ἐνεργοῦν γενέσθαι, εἰ μέλλοιεν τὰ νομιζόμενα παρὰ σοι ἀποτελεῖν οἱ εργαζόμενοι;

"Εφη ὁ Αρμενίως πολλοῦ ἂν τούτο πρίασθαι πολὺ γὰρ ἂν αὐξάνεσθαι τὴν πρόσοδον.

20. Τί δ', ὡμεῖς, ἔφη, ο Χαλδαῖοι, ἐπεὶ ὁρη ἁγαθὰ ἔχετε, ἐθέλοιτ' ἂν ἑαυτὸν νέμειν ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, εἰ υμῖν μέλλοιεν οἱ νέμουτες τὰ δίκαια ἀποτελεῖν;

"Εφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι: πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν ὕφελεισθαί οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες.

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

² ἀργὴν Stephanus, Edd.; ἀργὴν MSS.
think, that since we are in possession of these heights, you could live in greater security if we had peace than if we were at war?"

The Chaldaeans assented.

18. "And what," said he, "if still other blessings should accrue to you as a result of the proposed peace?"

"We should be still more pleased," they answered.

"Well," said he, "do you think that you are now poor for any other reason than because you have so little fertile land?"

In this also they agreed with him.

"Well then," said Cyrus, "would you avail yourselves of the permission to till as much Armenian land as you wish on condition that you paid in full just as much rental as other tenants in Armenia do?"

"Yes," said the Chaldaeans, "if we could be sure of not being molested."

19. "Tell me, King of Armenia," said he, "would you be willing that that land of yours which now lies uncultivated should be cultivated, if those who cultivate it would pay you the usual rental?"

The Armenian answered that he would give a great deal to have it so; for in this way his revenues would be greatly increased.

20. "And tell me, Chaldaeans," said he, "seeing that you have fine mountains, would you be willing to let the Armenians pasture their herds there, if the herdsmen would pay you what is fair?"

The Chaldaeans said they would; for they would get large profits by it, without any labour on their own part.
Σὺ δὲ, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, έθέλοις ἃν ταῖς τούτων νομαις χρήσθαι, εἰ μέλλοις μικρὰ ὀφελῶν Χαλδαίους πολύ πλεῖον ὀφελήσεσθαι;

Καὶ σφόδρα ἂν, ἔφη, εἰπερ οἰοίμην ἀσφαλῶς νέμειν.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἀσφαλῶς ἃν νέμοιτε, εἰ τὰ ἀκρα ἔχουτε σύμμαχα;

"Εφη ὁ Ἀρμένιος.

21. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δῇ, ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν ἤμεις ἀσφαλῶς ἔργαζόμεθα μὴ ὅτι τὴν τούτων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἂν τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ οὕτω τὰ ἀκρα ἔχοιεν.

Εἰ δ᾽ ὑμῖν αὖ, ἔφη, τὰ ἀκρα σύμμαχα εὖ;

Οὕτως ἂν, ἔφασαν, ἥμιν καλῶς ἔχοι.

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δῇ, ἔφη ὁ Ἀρμένιος, οὐκ ἂν ἤμιν αὖ καλῶς ἔχοι, εἰ οὕτω παραλήψουνται πάλιν τὰ ἀκρα ἄλλως τε καὶ τετειχισμένα.

22. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἰπεν, Οὕτωσι τούντιν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· οὐδετέροις ύμῶν τὰ ἀκρα παραδώσω, ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς φυλάξομεν αὐτά· κἀν ἀδικῶς ὑμῶν ὅποτεροι, σὺν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα.

23. Ὡς δ᾽ ἦκουσαν ταῦτα ἀμφότεροι, ἐπήνευσαν καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὕτως ἂν μόνως ἡ εἰρήνη βεβαια γένοιτο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον πάντες τὰ πιστὰ, καὶ ἔλευθέρους μὲν ἀμφότεροις 260
“And you, King of Armenia,” said he, “would you be willing to rent their pasture lands, if by letting the Chaldaeans have a little profit you were to get much greater profit for yourself?”

“Well then,” said he, “if I thought I could pasture my cattle there in security.”

“Well then,” said he, “could you pasture them there in security, if the heights were in the possession of your friends?”

“Yes,” said the Armenian.

21. “But, by Zeus,” said the Chaldaeans, “we could not even work our own farms in security, to say nothing of theirs, if they were to have possession of the heights.”

“But,” said Cyrus, “suppose on the other hand that the heights were in the possession of your friends?”

“In that case,” they answered, “we should be all right.”

“But, by Zeus,” said the Armenian, “we, on our part, should not be all right, if they are again to get possession of the heights, especially now that they have been fortified.”

22. “This then,” said Cyrus, “is what I shall do: I shall not give possession of the heights to either of you, but we shall keep a garrison there ourselves; and if either of you does wrong, we shall side with the injured party.”

23. And when they heard this proposal, both sides gave it their approval and said that only in this way could the peace be effective; and upon these conditions they interchanged assurances of friendship, and agreed that each party should be independent of the other, that there should
ἀπ’ ἄλληλων εἶναι συνετίθεντο, ἐπιγαμίας δ’ εἶναι καὶ ἐπεργασίας καὶ ἐπινομίας, καὶ ἐπι- 
μαχίαν δὲ κοινὴν, εἰ τις ἄδικοι ὁποτέρους. 

24. Οὔτω μὲν οὖν τότε διεπράχθη· καὶ νῦν 
δὲ ἐτὶ οὔτω διαμένουσιν αἱ τότε γενόμεναι συνθή- 
καὶ Χαλδαίοις καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀρμενίαν ἔχοντι. 
ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ συνθῆκαι ἐγεγένητο, εὐθὺς συνετεί- 
χιζόν τε ἀμφότεροι προθύμως ὡς κοινὸν φρούριον 
καὶ τάπτήθεισα συνεισήγον. 

25. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐστέπα προσῆγει, συνδείττον γά- 
βεν ἀμφότεροι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς φίλους ἣδη. 
συσκηρνόντων δὲ εἰπέ τις τῶν Χαλδαίων ὅτι 
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σφῶν πᾶσιν εὐκτά ταῦτα εἴη· 
εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς τῶν Χαλδαίων οὐ ληξομενοὶ ξώσι 
καὶ οὔτ’ ἄν ἐπίσταντο ἐργάζεσθαι οὔτ’ ἄν δύ- 
ναντο, εἰδομένοι ἀπὸ πολέμου βιοτεύειν· ἀεὶ 
γὰρ ἐλήξοντο ἡ ἐμισοθοφόρους, πολλάκις μὲν παρὰ 
τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ (καὶ γάρ, ἐφασαν, πολύχρουσος 
ἀνήρ) πολλάκις δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ἀστυάγει. 

26. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔφη, Τί οὖν οὐ καὶ νῦν 
παρ’ ἐμοὶ μισοθοφοροῦσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ δώσω ὅσον 
τις καὶ ἄλλος πλεῖστον δῆστο ἐδώκε. 

Συνέφασαν [οἱ],1 καὶ πολλοῦς γε ἐσεσθαί 
ἐλεγον τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας. 

27. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὗτοι συννομολογεῖτο. 
ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὡς ἤκουσεν ὅτι πολλάκις πρὸς τὸν 
Ἰνδῶν οἱ Χαλδαίοι ἐπορεύοντο, ἀναμνησθεὶς ὅτι 

1 [οἱ] omitted by Dindorf and bracketed by later Edd. ; οἱ 
MSS.
be the right of intermarriage and of mutual tillage and pasturage in each other’s territory, and that there should be a defensive alliance, in case any one should injure either party.

24. Such, then, was the agreement entered into at that time; and to this day the covenants which were then made between the Chaldaeans and the king of Armenia still continue in force. And when the treaty was made, they both together began with enthusiasm at once to build the fort for their common protection, and then together they stocked it with provisions.

25. When evening was drawing on, he entertained both sides, now made friends, as his guests at dinner. And while the party was in progress, one of the Chaldaeans said that to all the rest of them this state of affairs was desirable; but there were some of the Chaldaeans, so they said, who lived by plundering and would not know how to farm and could not, for they were used to making their living by the business of war; for they were always making raids or serving as mercenaries; they were often in the service of the Indian king (and he paid well, they said, for he was a very wealthy man) and often in the service of Astyages.

26. “Then why do they not enter my service now?” asked Cyrus; “I will pay as much as any one ever did.”

They assented and said that the volunteers would be many.

27. These terms were thus agreed upon; and when Cyrus heard that the Chaldaeans made frequent trips to the Indian king, remembering that represen-
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ἥλθον παρ' αυτοῦ κατασκευάζοντοι ἐις Μήδους τὰ αὐτῶν πράγματα καὶ ψχοντο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς αὖ καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνων κατίδωσιν, ἐβούλετο μαθεῖν τὸν Ἰνδόν τὰ ἐαυτῷ πεπραγμένα. 28. ἦρξατο οὖν λόγου τοιοῦτος.

'Ω Αρμείνε, ἐφή, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡ Χαλδαῖοι, εἴπατε μοι, εἰ τινὰ ἐγὼ νῦν τῶν ἔμοι ἀποστέλλομι πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδόν, συμπέμψαίτ' ἂν μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων οὕτως αὐτῷ τὴν τε ὁδὸν ἡγούντο αὖ καὶ συμπράττωσιν ὡστε γενέσθαι ἥμιν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἃ ἐγὼ βούλομαι; ἐγὼ γὰρ χρήματα μὲν προσγενέσθαι ἔτι ἄν βουλοῦμην ἥμιν, ὡς ἐχω καὶ μισθὸν ἀφθόνως διδόναι ὅς ἂν δή καὶ τῖμᾶν καὶ δωρεῖσθαι τῶν συστρατευομένων τοὺς ἀξίους· τούτων δὲ ἔνεκα βούλομαι ὡς ἀφθονώτατα χρήματα ἔχων· δεισθαί τούτων νομίζων. τῶν δὲ ὑμετέρων ἥδι μοι ἀπέχεσθαι· φίλους γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἤδη νομίζω· παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἦδεως ἄν λάβοιμι, εἰ διδοῦν.

29. 'Ο οὖν ἀγγελος, δὴ κελεύω ὑμᾶς ἡγεμόνας δούναι καὶ συμπράκτορας γενέσθαι, ἐδῶν ἐκεῖσε ὡθεὶς ἔφη· Ἕπεμβάλε με Κῦρος, ὃ Ἰνδόν, πρὸς σε· φησίς δὲ προσδείσθαι χρημάτων, προσδεχόμενος ἄλλην στρατιὰν οὐκοθέν οὖν Περσῶν· (καὶ γὰρ προσδέχομαι, ἐφή' ἤν οὖν αὐτῷ πέμψῃ ὡστε σοι προχωρεῖν, φησίν, ἤν θεὸς ἄγαθῶν τέλος διδὼν αὐτῷ, πειράσεσθαι ποιῆσαι ὡστε σε νομίζεις καὶ λόγος βεβουλεῦσθαι χαρισάμενον αὐτῷ. 30. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ λέξει· τοὺς δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ὑμεῖς αὖ ἐπιστέλλετε ὅ τι ὑμῖν σύμφωνον δοκεῖ εἶναι. καὶ

1 κατασκευάζοντο Stephanus, Edd.; κατασκεφάζοντο MSS.
2 διδὼ MSS., most Edd.; δὲ Hug after Weckherlin.
tatives from him had once come to Media to investi-
gate conditions there and had then visited the enemy
to inquire into theirs also, he wished to have him
learn what he had done. 28. Accordingly, he began
to speak as follows:

"King of Armenia," said he, "and you Chaldaeans,
tell me—if I should now send one of my men to
the Indian king, would you send along some of yours
to conduct him on the way and to co-operate with
him in getting what I want from the king of India?
Now I should like to have more money, in order to
be in a position both to pay generous wages when I
ought, and to honour with rewards those of my fellow-
soldiers who deserve it; and the reason why I wish
to have as generous a supply of money as possible
is that I expect to need it, and I shall be glad to
spare yours; for I now count you among my friends;
but from the Indian king I should be glad to accept
a contribution, if he would offer it.

29. "Now, when the messenger, to whom I am
asking you to furnish guides and co-workers, arrives
there, he will speak on this wise: 'King of India,
Cyrus has sent me to you; he says that he needs
more funds, for he is expecting another army from
his home in Persia'—and that is true," said he, "for I
am expecting one—'if, therefore, you will send him as
much as you conveniently can, he says that if God will
give him good success, he will try to make you think
that you were well advised in doing him this favour.'
30. This my envoy will say; do you now, in your
turn, give your representatives such instructions as
you think expedient for you. And if we get any-
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ὅν μὲν λάβωμεν, ἡφι, παρ’ αὐτόν, ἀφθονωτέρος χρησόμεθα· ὅν δὲ μὴ λάβωμεν, εἰσόμεθα ὅτι συνδεμίαν αὐτῷ χάριν οφείλομεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξέσται ἡμῖν ἐκείνου ἑνεκεν πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον συμφέρον πάντα τίθεσθαι.

31. Ταῦτ’ εἶπεν ὁ Κύρος, νομίζειν τοὺς ἱόντας Ἄρμενίων καὶ Χαλδαιῶν τοιαύτα λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ οἷα αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμει πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸτε μὲν δὴ, ὅπωτε καλῶς εἶχε, διαλύσαντες τὴν σκηνήν ἀνεπαίνοντο.

III

1. Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ τε Κύρος ἐπεμπεῖ τὸν ἀγγελον ἐπιστείλας ὅσαπερ ἐφη καὶ ὁ Ἄρμενιος καὶ οἱ Χαλδαιοὶ συνέπεμπτον οὓς ἰκανώτάτους ἐνόμιζον εἴναι καὶ συμπράξαι καὶ εἶπεῖν περὶ Κύρου τὰ προσήκοντα.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατασκευάσας ὁ Κύρος τὸ φρούριον καὶ φύλαξεν ἰκανοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις πάσι καὶ ἄρχοντ᾽ αὐτῶν καθαρίσων Μήδον διὸ καὶ τὸν Κυαξάρη ἃν μάλιστα χαρίσασθαι, ἀπήει συλλαβῶν τὸ στράτευμα ὅσον τε ἠλθεν ἔχων καὶ ὁ παρ’ Ἄρμενίων προσέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ Χαλδαιῶν εἰς τετρακισχίλιους, ὦν καὶ τὸν καὶ συμπάντων τῶν ἀλλῶν κρέττονες εἶναι.

2. Ὡς δὲ κατέβη εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, οὐδεὶς ἐμείνειν ἐνδοὺ Ἄρμενιον ὅτ᾽ ἀνὴρ οὕτε γυνή,

1 κατασκευάσας Poppo, most Edd.; παρασκευάσας z (made ready); ἐπιτελέσας xy (completed).
thing from him, we shall have more abundant funds
to use; and if we do not, we shall know that we
owe him no thanks, but may, as far as he is con-
cerned, settle everything with a view to our own
interests.”

31. Thus Cyrus spoke; and he believed that
those of the Armenians and Chaldaeans who were to
go would say such things of him as he desired all
men to say and to hear of him. And then, when it
was time, the banquet came to an end, and they
went to rest.

III

1. On the following day Cyrus gave the envoy the
commission of which he had spoken and sent him
on his way; and the Armenian king and the Chal-
daevans sent along those who they thought would be
most competent to co-operate and to say what was
appropriate concerning Cyrus.

Then he manned the fort with a competent garrison, Cyrus's
supplied it with all things necessary, and left in
departure from
command a Mede who he thought would be most
Armenia
acceptable to Cyaxares; and then he departed, taking
with him not only the army which he had brought with
him but also the reinforcements that he had received
from the Armenians, and about four thousand Chal-
daevans, who considered themselves actually better
than all the rest put together.

2. And when he came down into the inhabited
part of the country, not one of the Armenians re-
mained indoors, but all, both men and women, in
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άλλα πάντες υπήντων ἡδόμενοι τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ φέροντες καὶ ἅγοντες ὃ τι ἐκαστὸς ἄξιον εἰχε. καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος τούτοις οὐκ ἤχθετο, οὕτως ἂν νομίζω καὶ τὸν Κύρον μᾶλλον ἠδεσθαι τῇ ὑπὸ πάντων τιμῇ. τέλος δὲ ὑπήντησε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὰς θυγατέρας ἔχουσα καὶ τὸν νεώτερον νιῶν, καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις δώροις τὸ χρυσίον ἐκόμισεν ὁ πρότερον οὐκ ἦθελε λαβεῖν Κύρος.

3. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἰδὼν ἐίπεν, Ἰμείς ἐμὲ οὐ ποιήσετε μισθὸν περιόντα εὐεργετεῖν, ἄλλα σὺ, ὃ γύναι, ἔχουσα ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα ἃ φέρεις ἀπιθή, καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἀρμενίῳ μηκέτι δὸς αὐτὰ κατορύξαι, ἐκπεμψόν δὲ τὸν νιῶν ὡς κάλλιστα ἀπὶ αὐτῶν ἐκαστοκενάσασα ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιάν ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν κτῶ καὶ σαυτῇ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσι καὶ τοῖς νιῶσ ὃ τι κεκτημένοι και κοσμῆσεσθε κάλλιον καὶ ἢδιον τὸν αἰῶνα διάξετε· εἰς δὲ τὴν γην, ἔφη, ἀρκεῖτω τὰ σώματα, ὅταν ἐκαστὸς τελευτήσῃ, κατακρύπτειν.

4. 'Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν παρήλαμψεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος συμπρούμενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνθρω-ποί, ἀνακαλούντες τὸν εὐεργέτην, τὸν ἀνδρα τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τούτ' ἐποίουν, ἔως ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆ. συναπέστειλε δ' αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρμένιος καὶ στρατιῶν πλείονα, ὡς εἰρήνης οἰκος οὐσης.

5. Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος ἀπήιει κεχρηματισμένος οὐχ ἂ ἔλαβε μόνον χρήματα, ἄλλα πολὺ πλείονα τούτων ἢτοιμασμένος διὰ τὸν τρόπον, ὡστε λαμβάνειν ὅποτε δέοιτο.

1 ἀπ' αὐτῶν 2D, Edd.; ἀπάντων Χ; ἀπάντων F.
2 ὅ MSS., most Edd.; ὅ Hug.

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their joy at the restoration of peace, came forth to meet him, each one carrying or bringing whatever he had of value. And their king did not disapprove, for he thought that Cyrus would thus be all the better pleased at receiving honour from all. And finally also the queen with her daughters and her younger son came up to him bringing not only the money which before Cyrus had refused to take, but other gifts as well.

3. And when he saw it Cyrus said: "You shall not make me go about doing good for pay! No, good queen; take back home with you this money which you bring; and do not give it to the king again to bury, but with it get your son as fine an outfit as possible and send him to the army; and with what is left get both for yourself and your husband, your daughters and your sons, anything the possession of which will enable you to adorn yourselves more handsomely and spend your days more happily. But let it suffice," he added, "to bury in the earth only our bodies, when the end shall come to each."

4. Thus he spoke and rode past her. And the king of Armenia escorted him on his way, as did all the rest of the people, proclaiming him again and again their benefactor, their valiant hero. And this they continued to do until he had quitted their borders. And as there was now peace at home, the king increased the contingent of troops that he sent with him.

5. Thus Cyrus departed, not only enriched with the ready money that he had received, but also having secured by his conduct far larger funds in reserve, to draw upon in time of need.
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Καὶ τὸτε μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραιᾷ τὸ μὲν στρατεύμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Κναξάρην· ὁ δὲ πλησίον ἦν, ὅπερ ἐφησεν: αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν Τυγράνῃ καὶ Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἑθήρα ὅπωρ τεπτυγχάνοιεν θηρίοις καὶ ἧφραϊντο.

6. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκετο εἰς Μῆδους, τῶν χρημάτων ἐδῶκε τοῖς αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχοις ὅσα ἐδόκει ἐκάστω ἰκανὰ εἶναι, ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἔχοιεν τιμᾶν, εἰ τινας ἁγαίντο τῶν υφ' ἑαυτούς· ἐνόμιζε γὰρ, εἰ ἐκαστὸς τὸ μέρος ἀξιέπαινον ποιήσειε, τὸ ὅλον αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ τι που καλὸν ἴδοι δὲν εἰς στρατιάν, ταῦτα κτώμενοι διεδωρεῖτο τοῖς ἀεὶ ἄξιωτάτοις, νομίζων ὅ τι καλὸν καγαθὸν ἔχοι τὸ στρατεύμα, τούτοις ἀπασών αὐτὸς κεκοσμήθαι.

7. Ἡνίκα δὲ αὐτοῦς διεδίδου ὅν ἔλαβεν, ἔλεξεν ὅτι πὼς εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ πάντων ὅσους ἑτήμα· Ἀνδρες φίλοι, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν εὐφροσύνη τις νῦν παρεῖναι, καὶ ὅτι εὐπορία τις προσγεγένηται καὶ ὅτι ἔχομεν ἄφ' ὅν τιμᾶν ἔξομεν οὓς ἄν βουλώμεθα καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὅς ἂν ἐκαστὸς ἄξιος ἦ. 8. πάντως δὴ ἀναμμηνευσώμεθα τὰ ποῦ ἄττ' ἔργα τοὺτων τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἔστιν αὐτία· σκοποῦμενοι γὰρ εὐρήσετε τὸ τε ἀγρυπνησαι ὅπου ἔδει καὶ τὸ ποιήσαι καὶ τὸ σπεύσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὕτως οὖν χρῆ

1 by Hug, Breitenbach; not in MSS. or most Edd.
That night he encamped upon the frontier, and the next day he sent the army and the money to Cyaxares; for he was near by, as he had promised to be. But Cyrus himself went hunting with Tigranes and the best of his Persians, wherever they came across game, and he was delighted with the sport.

6. Now when he came back to Media he gave to each of his captains as much of the money as he thought sufficient, so that they in turn might be able to reward any of the men under them with whose conduct they were pleased; for he thought that if each one made his division worthy of commendation, he would find the whole army in fine condition. And whenever he himself saw anywhere anything calculated to improve his army, he always procured it and distributed it in presents from time to time among the most deserving; for he thought that everything that his army had that was beautiful and fine was an adornment to himself.

7. And when he was about to distribute a portion of what he had received, he took his place in the midst of the captains, lieutenants, and all whom he was about to reward, and spoke to this effect: "My friends, there seems now to be a kind of gladness in our hearts, both because some degree of prosperity has come to us and because we have the means of rewarding those whom we will and of receiving rewards, each according to his deserts. 8. But let us be sure to remember to what kind of conduct these blessings are due; for if you will consider, you will find that it is this—watching when occasion demanded, undergoing toil, making due haste, and never yielding to the enemy. Accordingly, we must
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνδρὰς ἁγαθοὺς εἶναι, γυνώσκοντας ὅτι τὰς μεγάλας ἡδονὰς καὶ τᾶγαθὰ τὰ μεγάλα ἡ πειθῶ καὶ ἡ καρτερία καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ πόνοι καὶ κίνδυνοι παρέχονται.

9. Κατανοῶν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ὡς εὐ μὲν αὐτῷ εἶχον τὰ σῶματα οἱ στρατιώται πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι στρατιωτικοὺς πόνους φέρειν, εὐ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἑπιστήμονες ὦ ἦσαν τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστοῦ ὀπλίσει, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχονταν ἑώρα πάντας εὐ παρεσκενασμένους, ἐκ τούτων οὖν ἐπεθύμει τι ἡ ἤτο τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους πράττειν, γυνώσκον ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέλλειν πολλάκις τοῖς ἄρχονται καὶ τῆς καλῆς παρασκευῆς ἀλλοιοῦται τι.

10. "Ετι δι′ ὁρῶν ὅτι φιλοτήμως ἔχοντες, ἐν οἷς ἀντηγονίζοντο, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπιφθόνοις εἶχον πρὸς ἄλληλους τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τούτων ἑνεκα ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς ἐβούλετο εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ὡς τάχιστα, εἰδὼς ὅτι οἱ κοινοὶ κίνδυνοι φιλοφρόνως ποιοῦντο ἔχειν τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς ἄλληλους, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐν τούτῳ οὔτε τοῖς ἐν ὅπλοις κοσμουμένοις φθονοῦσιν οὔτε τοῖς δόξης ἐφιμενοῖς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἀσπαξοῦσι τοῖς τοιούτοι τοὺς ὀμοίους, νομίζοντες συνεργοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι.

11. Οὕτω δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐξώπλυσε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κατέταξεν ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα τε καὶ ἄριστα, ἐπειτα δὲ συνεκάλεσε μυριάρχους καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς. οὕτως

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1 τούτων Breitenbach, later Edd.; τάνδε xy, Dindorf, Sauppe; τούτων δὲ z.
in future also be brave men, knowing that obedience, perseverance, and the endurance of toil and danger at the critical time bring the great pleasures and the great blessings."

9. Cyrus now saw that his soldiers were in good physical condition to endure the fatigue of military service, that their hearts were disposed to regard the enemy with contempt, that they were skilled each in the exercise adapted to his kind of armour, and that they were all well disciplined to obey the officers; accordingly, he was eager to undertake some move against the enemy at once, for he knew that generals often find some even of their best laid plans brought to naught through delay.

10. And he further observed that, because they were so eager to excel in those exercises in which they vied with one another, many of the soldiers were even jealous of one another; for this reason also he wished to lead them into the enemy's country as soon as possible. For he knew that common dangers make comrades kindly disposed toward one another, and that in the midst of such dangers there is no jealousy of those who wear decorations on their armour or of those who are striving for glory; on the contrary, soldiers praise and love their fellows even more, because they recognize in them co-workers for the common good.

11. Accordingly, he first completely armed his forces and marshalled them in the best and most imposing order possible; then he called together the generals, colonels, captains, and lieutenants; for
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γὰρ ἀπολελυμένοι ἦσαν τοῖς καταλέγονται ἐν τοῖς τακτικοῖς ἁριθμοῖς, καὶ ὅποτε δέοι ἢ ὑπακούειν τῷ στρατηγῷ ἢ παραγγέλλειν τι, οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀναρχον κατελείπετο, ἀλλὰ δωδεκαδέχοισι καὶ ἑξαδέχοισι πάντα τὰ καταλειπόμενα διεκοσμεῖτο.

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον οἱ ἐπικαλριοί, παράγων αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείκνυ τε αὐτοὺς τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα καὶ ἑδίδασκεν ἢ ἐκαστὸν ἱσχύρον ἢν τῶν συμμαχικῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κάκεινος ἐποίησεν ἑρωτικὸς ἐχειν τὸν ἢδη ποιεῖν τι, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς νῦν μὲν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ διδάσκειν ἐκαστὸν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἀπερ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος, καὶ πειράσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμήσῃ ἐμβάλειν πᾶσι τοῦ στρατευόμενος, ὅπως εὐθυμοτάτα τὰ πάντα ἐξορμήσῃ, παρὸς δὲ πρέπει ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξάρου θύρας. 13. τὸτε μὲν δὴ ἀπιέντες οὕτω πάντες ἐποίουν. τῇ δ’ ύστεραιᾳ ἁμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρῆσαν οἱ ἐπικαλριοί ἐπὶ θύρας. σὺν τούτοις οὖν ὁ Κύρος εἰσελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἦρχετο λόγῳ τοιούτῳ:

Ὀδα μὲν, ἤφη, ὁ Κυαξάρης, ὅτι ἄ μέλλω λέγειν σω πάλαι δοκεῖ οὐδὲν ἔττον ἢ ἡμῶν. ἀλλ’ ἔσως αἰσχύνει λέγειν αὐτὰ, μὴ δοκῆς ἄρχομενος ὅτι τρέφεις ἡμᾶς ἐξόδου μεμνήσθαι. 14. ἐπεὶ οὖν σὺ σιωπᾶς, ἐγὼ λέξω καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

1 οἱ ἐπικαλριοί are literally “the most timely,” “the most important,” “the chief officers.” It is consistently rendered by “staff-officers” in this translation, though the word may
these had been exempted from enrolment in the lines of the regular battalions; and even when it was necessary for any of them to report to the commander-in-chief or to transmit any order, no part of the army was left without a commanding officer, for the sergeants and corporals kept in proper order the divisions from which the superior officers had gone.

12. And when the staff-officers had come together, he conducted them along the ranks, showed them in what good order everything was and pointed out to them the special strength of each contingent of the auxiliaries. And when he had filled them with an eager desire for immediate action, he bade them then go to their own several divisions and tell their men what he had told them and try to inspire in them all a desire to begin the campaign, for he wished them all to start out in the best of spirits; and early in the morning they were to meet him at Cyaxares's gates. 13. Thereupon they all went their way and proceeded so to do. At daybreak on the following day the staff-officers presented themselves at the gates of the king. So Cyrus went in with them to Cyaxares and began to speak as follows:

"I am sure, Cyaxares," said he, "that you have this long time been thinking no less than we of the proposition that I am going to lay before you; but perhaps you hesitate to broach the subject for fear it should be thought that you speak of an expedition from here because you are embarrassed at having to maintain us. 14. Therefore, since you do not say anything, I will speak both for you and for ourselves. be applied to all who are in authority, whether military or civil."
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ήμιν γὰρ δοκεῖ πᾶσιν, ἐπεὶ περὶ παρεσκευάσμεθα, μη ἐπειδὰν ἐμβάλωσιν οἱ πολέμωι εἰς τὴν σὴν χώραν, τὸτε μάχεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ καθή-μένους ἥμας ὑπομένειν, ἀλλὰ ἱέναι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν. 15. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ σῇ χώρᾳ ὄντες πολλὰ τῶν σῶν σινόμεθα ἀκοντεῖς· ἣν δ' εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἵωμεν, τὰ ἐκεῖναν κακῶς ποιήσομεν ἥδομενοι.

16. Ἐπειτα νῦν μὲν σὺ ἡμᾶς τρέφεις πολλὰ δαπανῶν, ἢν δ' ἐκστρατευούμεθα, θρεψόμεθα ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας. 17. ἔτι δὲ εἰ μὲν μεῖξιν τις ἡμῖν ὁ κίνδυνος ἐμελλεν εἶναι ἐκεῖ ἢ ἐνθάδε, ἵσως τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ἢν αἱρετέον. νῦν δὲ ίσοι μὲν ἐκεῖνοι ἐσονται, ἢν τε ἐνθάδε ὑπομένωμεν ἢν τε εἰς τὴν ἐκεῖναν ἵοντες ὑπαντῶμεν αὐτοῖς. ἱσοὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς ὄντες μαχοῦμεθα, ἢν τε ἐνθάδε ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς δεχόμεθα ἢν τε ἐπ' ἐκεῖνους ἵοντες τὴν μάχην συνάπτωμεν. 18. πολὺ μὲντοι ἡμεῖς βελτιώσι καὶ ἔρρομενεστέρας ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν χρησμεθα, ἢν ἵωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ μη ἀκοντεῖς ὅταν δοκῶμεν τοὺς πολεμίους. πολὺ δὲ κάκεινοι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς φοβήσονται, ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν ὅτι οὐ φοβοῦμεν πτήσουμεν αὐτοὺς οὐκ Καθήμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ αἰσθανόμεθα προσιόντας, ἀπαντῶμεν τε αὐτοῖς, ἵν' ὅσ τὰχιστα συμμίξωμεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμένομεν ἔως ἢν ἡ ἡμετέρα χώρα κακῶται, ἀλλὰ φθάνοντες ἢδη δηοῦμεν τὴν ἐκεῖνον γήν. 19. καίτοι, ἐφη, εἰ τε ἐκεῖνοις μὲν φοβερωτέ-ρους ποιήσομεν, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς θαρραλεωτέρους, πολὺ τότε ἡμῖν ἐγὼ πλεονέκτημα νομίζω, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον οὔτος ἡμῖν μὲν ἐλάττων λογίζομαι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίους μείζω. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον, καὶ ὁ
We are all agreed that, inasmuch as we are quite ready, it is best not to sit down here in a friendly country and wait till the enemy have invaded your territory before we begin to fight, but to go as quickly as possible into the enemy's country. 15. For now, while we are in your country, we do your people's property much injury quite against our will; but if we go into the enemy's country, we shall do injury to theirs with all our hearts.

16. "In the second place, you support us now at great expense; whereas, if we take the field, we shall get our support from the enemy's country. 17. And then again, if we were likely to be in any greater danger there than here, we should, perhaps, have to choose the safer course. But their numbers will be the same, whether we wait here or whether we go and meet them in their own territory. And our numbers in the fight will be just the same, whether we engage them as they come hither or whether we go against them to join battle. 18. We shall, however, find the courage of our soldiers much better and stronger, if we assume the offensive and show that we are not unwilling to face the foe; and they will be much more afraid of us, when they hear that we do not sit down at home and cower in fear of them, but that, when we hear that they are coming, we advance to meet them to join battle as soon as possible, and do not wait until our country is ravaged, but take the initiative and devastate theirs. 19. And surely," he added, "if we make them more afraid and ourselves more courageous, I think it would be a great gain to us and it would, as I reckon it, lessen the danger under such circumstances for us and increase it for the enemy. And my father

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πατήρ αἰει λέγει καὶ σὺ φήσ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὡς αἱ μάχαι κρίνονται μᾶλλον ταῖς γυναικῶι ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ρώμαις.

20. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἔστε Κυαξάρης δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν, ὁ Κῦρε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι, ἔγω ἀχθομαι υμᾶς τρέφον μηδὲ ὑπονοεῖτε· τό γε μέντοι ἴναι εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν ἡδή καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ θέλτων εἶναι πρὸς πάντα.

'Επει τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὁμογνωμονοῦμεν, συσκευαζόμεθα καὶ ἢν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν θάττον συγκατανῡ, ἐξίωμεν ὡς τάχιστα.

21. Ἐκ τούτου τοῦ μὲν στρατιώτατος εἶπον συςκευαζόμεθα· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔθεε πρῶτον μὲν Διὸ βασιλεὶ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοῖ, οὕς ἡτεῖτο ἤλεως καὶ εὔμενεις ὲντας ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ παραστάτας ἄγαθοὺς καὶ συμμάχους καὶ συμβούλους τῶν ἄγαθών. 22. συμπαρεκάλει δὲ καὶ ἦρωας γῆς Μηδίας οἰκήτωρας καὶ κηδεμόνας.

'Επει δ' ἐκαλλιέρησε τε καὶ άθρόν ἢν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τοὺς όρην, τότε δὴ οἶωνοις χρησάμενοι οἰκίσθαν εἶνες τὴν πολέμιαν. ἔπει δὲ τὰχιστά διέβη τὰ ὁρία, ἐκεῖ αὐ καὶ Γῆν ἱλάσκετο χοαῖς καὶ θεοὺς υσίας καὶ ἦρωας Ἀσσυρία οἰκήτορας ημενίζετο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας αὔθις Διὸ πατρῷ ἔθευς, καὶ εἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ϑεῶν ἄνεфаίνετο, οὐδενὸς ἦμέλει.

23. Ἐπει δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἴχεν, εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς προαγαγόντες οὐ πολλὴν ὀδὸν ἐστρατο-278.
always says, and so do you, and all the rest agree, that battles are decided more by men's souls than by the strength of their bodies."

20. Thus he spoke; and Cyaxares answered: "Do not let yourselves imagine, Cyrus and the rest of you Persians, that I am embarrassed at having to support you. As for invading the enemy's country at once, however, I too consider that the better plan from every point of view."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "since we are agreed, let us make ready and, as soon as ever the gods give us their sanction, let us march out without a moment's delay."

21. Hereupon they gave the soldiers the word to make ready to break camp. And Cyrus proceeded to sacrifice first to Sovereign Zeus and then to the rest of the gods; and he besought them to lead his army with their grace and favour and to be their mighty defenders and helpers and counsellors for the common good. 22. And he called also upon the heroes who dwelt in Media and were its guardians.

And when the sacrifice was found to be favourable and his army was assembled at the frontier, then amid favourable auspices he crossed into the enemy's country. And as soon as he had crossed the boundary, there again he made propitiatory offerings to Earth with libations and sought with sacrifices to win the favour of the gods and heroes that dwelt in Assyria. And when he had done this he sacrificed again to Zeus, the god of his fathers; and of the other divinities that were brought to his attention he neglected not one.

23. And when these rites were duly performed, they at once led the infantry forward a short distance
πεδεύοντο, τούς δ' ἵππους καταδρομὴν πουησάμενοι περιεβάλοντο πολλῆν καὶ παντολαν λέαν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ μεταστρατοπεδευόμενοι καὶ ἔχοντες ἀφθονα τάπιντηδεία καὶ δηοῦντες τὴν χώραν ἀνέμενον τοὺς πολεμίους.

24. Ἡνίκα δὲ προσιόντες ἐλέγοντο οὐκέτι δέχ', ἡμερῶν ὅδον ἀπέχειν, τότε δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει, "Ω Κυαξάρη, ὥρα δὴ ἀπαντῶν καὶ μήτε τοῖς πολεμίοις δοκεῖν μήτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις φοβουμένους μὴ ἀντιπροσίεναι, ἀλλὰ δὴλοι ὅμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἀκούτες μαχούμεθα.

25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνέδοξε τῷ Κυαξάρῃ, οὗτο δὴ συντεταγμένοι προῆσαν τοσοῦτον καθ' ἡμέραν ὅσον ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς καλῶς ἔχειν. καὶ δείπνουν μὲν ἂεὶ κατὰ φῶς ἐποιοῦντο, πυρὰ δὲ νύκτωρ οὐκ ἔκασθιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐμπροσθεν μέντοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔκασθιν, ὅποις ὅρρισσι μὲν εἰ τινὲς νυκτὸς προσίοιειν διὰ τὸ πῦρ, μὴ ὅρρισσο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν προσιόντων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅπισθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπιρρόλουν ἀπάτης ἐνεκα τῶν πολεμίων. ὅστ' ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ κατάσκοποι ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὰς προφυλακὰς αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ ὅπισθεν τὰ πυρὰ εἶναι ἔτι πρόσω 1 τοῦ στρατοπέδου οἰόμενοι εἶναι.

26. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἔπει ἢδη ἑγγὺς ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατεύματα ἐγίγνετο, τάφρον περιεβάλοντο, ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιοῦσι οἱ βάρβαροι βασιλεῖς, ὅποι ἄν στρατοπεδεύσωμαι, τάφρον περιβάλλονται εὑπετῶς διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν. ἱσασε γὰρ ὅτι ἱππικῶν στρα-

1 πρόσω z, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; πόρροι xy, Gemoll (far from).

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and pitched camp, while with the cavalry they made a raid and got possession of a large quantity of every sort of booty. And thenceforward they shifted their camp from time to time, kept provisions supplied in abundance, and ravaged the country, while they awaited the enemy’s approach.

24. And when rumours came that the enemy were advancing and no longer ten days’ march away, then Cyrus said: “Now, Cyaxares, is the time for us to go to meet them and not to let either the enemy or our own men suppose that we fail to advance against them out of fear, but let us make it clear that we are not going to fight against our will.”

25. As Cyaxares agreed to this, they advanced in battle order each day as far as they thought proper. Their dinner they always prepared by day-light, and at night they never lighted a fire in camp. They did, however, keep fires burning in front of the camp, in order that if any one approached in the dark, they might see him by the light of the fire but not be seen. And frequently also they kept fires burning in the rear of the camp for the purpose of deceiving the enemy; and so sometimes the enemy’s scouts fell into the hands of the pickets; for because the fires were behind, they supposed themselves to be still far in front of the camp.

26. Then, when the two armies were near each other, the Assyrians and their allies drew a ditch around their camp, as even to this day the barbarian kings do whenever they go into camp; and they throw up such entrenchments with ease because of the multitude of hands at their command. They take this precaution because they know that cavalry
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tευμα ἐν νυκτὶ ταραχόδες ἐστὶ καὶ δύσχρηστον ἄλλως τε καὶ βάρβαρον. 27. πεποδισμένους γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις, καὶ εἰ τις ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ᾦν, ἔργον μὲν νυκτὸς λύσαι ἵππους, ἔργον δὲ χαλινώσαι, ἔργον δὲ ἐπισάξαι, ἔργον δὲ θωρακίσασθαι, ἀναβάντας δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἵππων ἐλάσαι διὰ στρατοπέδου παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. τούτων δὴ ἔνεκα πάντων καὶ οἳ ἄλλοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ἔρυματα περιβάλλονται, καὶ ἀμα αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ τὸ ἐν ἔχυρῳ ἐναι ἐξουσίαν παρέχειν ὅταν βούλωνται μάχεσθαι.

28. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ποιοῦντες ἔγνως ἄλληλων ἐγκύνοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσίστητο ἀπείχον ὅσον παρασάγγην, οἱ μὲν Ἀσσύριοι οὔτως ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ὡσπερ ἐχρηταί, ἐν περιτεταφρευμένῳ μὲν καταφανεῖ δὲ, ὦ δὲ Κύρος ὡς εὐδύνατο ἐν ἀφανεστάτῳ, κόμας τε καὶ γηλόφους ἐπὶ προσῆθεν ποιησάμενος, νομίζουν πάντα τὰ πολέμια ἐξαισθηταὶ ὡς ὀρφεύνα φοβερότερα τοὺς ἐναντίοις εἶναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνη μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὡσπερ ἐπρεπε προφυλακᾶς ποιησάμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

29. Τῇ δ᾽ ὑπεραλαί ὁ μὲν Ἀσσύριος καὶ ὁ Κροίσος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἀνέπαυσαν τὰ στρατεύματα ἐν τῷ ἔχυρῷ. Κύρος δὲ καὶ Κυκάρης συνταξάμενοι περιέμενον, ὡς εἰ προσίστησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, μαχούμενοι. ὡς δὲ δὴλον ἐγένετο ὅτι οὐκ ἔξλειον οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος οὐδὲ μάχην ποιησοῦντο ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὦ μὲν Κυκάρης καλέσας τὸν Κύρον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους ἐλέξε τοινδε. 30. Αὐτοὶ μοι, ἐφε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὡσπερ τυγχάνομεν συντε-
troops—especially barbarian cavalry—are at night prone to confusion and hard to manage. 27. For they keep their horses hobbled at the mangers, and if any enemy should make an attack, it is a difficult task to loose the horses in the darkness, it is difficult to bridle them, difficult to saddle them, difficult to put on a coat of mail, and utterly impossible to mount and ride through camp. For all these reasons and also because they think that if they are behind fortifications they are in a position to choose their time for fighting, the Assyrians and the rest of the barbarians throw up breastworks.

28. With such tactics the armies were approaching each other; but when, as they advanced, they were only about a parasang apart, the Assyrians encamped in the manner described in a place surrounded, indeed, by a ditch, but open to view. Cyrus, on the other hand, encamped in a place as much out of sight as possible, keeping under cover behind the hills and villages, for he thought that if all one’s equipment for war flashes suddenly into view, it inspires more terror in the enemy. And that night each side stationed advance guards, as was proper, and went to rest.

29. And on the following day the Assyrian king and Croesus and the other commanders let their troops rest within the entrenchments; but Cyrus and Cyaxares awaited them in battle array, ready to fight if the enemy should come on. But when it was evident that the enemy would not come out from behind their breastworks nor accept battle that day, Cyaxares’ called Cyrus and the staff officers besides and spoke as follows: 30. “Men,” said he, “I propose to march up to those fellows’ breast-
ταγμένοι ούτως λέναι πρὸς τὸ ἐρυμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δηλοῦν ὅτι θέλομεν μάχεσθαι. οὕτω γάρ, ἔφη, ἐὰν μὴ ἀντεπεξῆσθιν ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν ἦμετεροι μᾶλλον θαρρήσαντες ἀπίστως, οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ τὴν τόλμαν ἰδόντες ἦμῶν μᾶλλον φοβήσονται.  

31. Τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως ἔδοξει. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Κναξάρη, οὕτω ποιήσωμεν. εἰ γὰρ ἦδη ἐκφανέντες πορευσόμεθα, ὡς σὺ κελεύεις, γὰρ τε προσίοντας ἦμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι θεάσονται οὐδὲν φοβοῦμεν· οἴδατε δὲ ὅτι ἐν ἀσφαλεί εἰσε τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν, ἐπειδὰν τε μηδὲν ποιήσαντες ἀπίστως, πάλιν καθορῶντες ἦμῶν τὸ πλήθος πολὺ ἐνδεέστερον τοῦ ἑαυτῶν καταφρονήσουσι, καὶ αὐριον ἔξισαι πολὺ ἔρρωμενεστέραις ταῖς γνώμαις. 32. ὥστε δ', ἔφη, εἰδότες μὲν ὅτι πάρεσμεν, οὐχ ὄρωντες δὲ ἦμᾶς, εὔ τούτῳ ἐπίστω, οὔ καταφρόνουσιν, ἄλλα φροντίζουσι τί ποτέ τούτ' ἔστι, καὶ διαλεγόμενοι περὶ ἦμων ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι οὐδὲν παύνονται. ὅταν δ' ἔξωσι, τότε δὲι αὐτοῖς ἀμα φανερὸς τε ἦμᾶς γενέσθαι καὶ ἴεναι εὐθὺς ὄμοσε, εἰληφότας αὐτοὺς ἐνθα πάλαι ἐβουλόμεθα.  

33. Δέξαντος δ' οὕτω Κῦρον συνεδοξε ταῦτα καὶ Κναξάρη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακᾶς καταστησάμενοι καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν φυλακῶν καύσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν.  

34. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸ Κῦρος μὲν ἐστεφανomega-μένος ἔθυε, παρῆγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοτίμοις ἐστεφανωμένοι πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ παρεῖναι.  

1 φοβήσονται Dindorf, most Edd.; φοβηθήσονται MSS., Sauppe.
works, drawn up just as we are now, and show them that we are eager to fight. For," said he, "if we do that and they do not come out against us, our men will come back to camp more full of courage, and the enemy seeing our daring will be more frightened."

31. Such was his proposal. But Cyrus said: "No, by the gods, Cyaxares, let us not do that; never! For if we march out and show ourselves, as you suggest, the enemy will see us marching up but will have no fear, for they know that they are secure against any injury; and when we withdraw without having accomplished anything, they will furthermore see that our numbers are inferior to their own and despise us; and to-morrow they will come out with much stouter hearts. 32. But as matters stand now," said he, "as they know that we are here but do not see us, you may be sure that they do not despise us but inquire anxiously what in the world this means, and I am positive that they are talking about us all the time. But when they come out, then we must show ourselves and at once engage them hand to hand, when we shall have them where we have long since been wishing to have them."

33. When Cyrus had thus spoken, Cyaxares and the rest agreed with him. And then, when they had dined and stationed their sentinels and lighted many fires in front of the outposts, they went to rest.

34. Early on the following day Cyrus crowned himself with a garland and prepared to sacrifice, and sent word to the rest of the peers to attend the
ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ θυσία, συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεξεν. "Ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ μὲν θεοὶ, οἱ δὲ τεῖς μάντεις φασί καὶ ἐμοὶ συνδοκεῖ, μάχην τῇ ἑσσθαι προ-
αγγέλλουσι καὶ νίκην διδάσσει καὶ σωτηρίαν ὑπεσχυοῦνται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. 35. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῶν
μὲν πάραιτῶν πολὺς τιμᾶς χρή εἶναι ἐν τῷ
tοιῷδε καὶ αἰσχυνοῦμην ἃν οἶδα γὰρ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἐπισταμένους καὶ μεμελετηκότας καὶ ἀκούοντας
diὰ τέλους [οἷάπερ ἐγώ], 1 ὡστε καὶ ἄλλους
eἰκότως ἄν διδάσκοντε. τάδε δὲ εἰ μὴ τυγχάνετε
cατανευηκότες, ἀκούσατε·

36. Ὁδι γὰρ νεωστῆς συμμάχους τε ἔχομεν
καὶ πειρόμεθα ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίους ποιεῖν, τοῦ-
tους δὲ ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὑπομιμήσκειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς τε ἐτρεφόμεθα ὑπὸ Κυαξάρου, ἃ τε ἡσκοῦμεν, ἐφ᾽
ἀ τε αὐτοὺς παρακεκλήκαμεν, ὡν τε 2 ἀσμενοὶ ἀνταγωνισταὶ ἔφασαν ἡμῖν ἑσσθαί. 37. καὶ
tοῦτο δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπομιμήσκετε ὅτι ἢδε ἡ ἡμέρα
deίξει ὃν ἑκαστὸς ἐστὶν ἄδικος. ὅν γὰρ ἂν ὁ
ὅφιμαθεὶς ἄνθρωποι γένονται, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν
eἰ τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ὑπομιμήσκοντος δέοιτο,
ἀλλὰ ἀγαπητῶν εἰ καὶ ἐξ ὑποβολὴς δύναιτο ἄνδρες ἅγαθοι εἶναι. 38. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πράτ-
tοντες ἀμα καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν πείραν λῃσσεθε. ὁ
μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενος ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καὶ ἄλλους
βελτίους ποιεῖν εἰκότως ἃν ἢδη καὶ ἐαυτῷ συνει-
dείη τελείως ἅγαθὸς ἀνήρ ὁν, ὃ δὲ τὴν τούτων
ὑπόμιμησιν αὐτὸς μόνος ἔχων καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἅγαπὼν,

1 οἷάπερ ἐγὼ τ., Dindorf, Marchant ; ἀπερ ἐγὼ γ., Gemoll ;
ὡσπερ ἐγώ κ.; omitted by Pantazides ; bracketed by Hug,
Breitenbach.
2 ὡν τε Schneider, Edd. ; ὡστε χυ ; παρακεκλημένων τε τ.
service with chaplets on their heads. And when the sacrifice was concluded, Cyrus called them together and said: "Men, the gods announce, as the soothsayers say and also as I interpret it, that there is to be a battle; through the omens of the sacrifice they grant us victory and promise us no loss. 35. Now I should be ashamed indeed to suggest to you how you ought to conduct yourselves at such a time; for I know that you understand what you have to do, that you have practised it, and have been continually hearing of it just as I have, so that you might properly even teach others. But if you happen not to have had this other matter called to your attention, listen.

36. "Those whom we recently took as our comrades and whom we are trying to make like ourselves—these men we must remind of the conditions on which we have been maintained by Cyaxares, what we have been in training for, why we have invited them to join us, and what it is in which they said they would gladly be our rivals. 37. And remind them also that this day will prove what each one is worth. For when people are late in learning anything, it is not surprising that some of them actually need a monitor; and we may be content if they manage even with the help of a suggestion to prove themselves valiant. 38. And in doing this, you will at the same time be getting a proof of yourselves also. For he who on such an occasion can make others more valiant would naturally also gain the consciousness that he is himself a thoroughly valiant man; he, on the other hand, who keeps all to himself the admonition to such conduct and rests satisfied with
εἰκότως ἂν ἡμιτελὴ αὐτὸν ὑμῶν ἡμῶν. 39. τούτον δὲ ἐνέκα οὐκ ἔγιν, ἐφη, αὐτοῖς λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς κελεύω λέγειν, ἵνα καὶ ἄρεσκειν ὑμῖν πειρόνται· ὑμεῖς γὰρ καὶ πλησιάζετε αὐτοῖς ἔκαστος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μέρει. εὖ δὲ ἐπίστασθε ὅσ ἦν θαρροῦντας τούτοις ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδεικνύντε, καὶ τούτους καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς οὐ λόγῳ ἄλλῳ ἔργῳ θαρρεῖν διδάξετε. 40. τέλος εἰπεν ἀπίοντας ἀριστάν ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ σπουδᾶς ποιησάμένους ἥκειν εἰς τὰς τάξεις αὐτοῖς στεφάνοις.

Ἐπεῖ δ' ἀπήλθον, ἀὑρίς τοὺς οὐραγοὺς προσ-εκάλεσε, καὶ τούτους τυάδε ἐνετέλλετο. 41. Ὄνυ-δρες Πέρσαι, ὑμεῖς καὶ τῶν ὀμοτίμων γεγόνατε καὶ ἐπιλεξεμένοι ἐστέ, οἱ δ' ὀκείτε τα μὲν ἄλλα τῶς κρατίστοις ὁμοιοὶ εἶναι, τῇ δὲ ἠλκίᾳ καὶ φρονιμότεροι. καὶ τῶν χώραν ἔχετε οὐδὲν ἴττον ἐντιμον τῶν πρωτοστατῶν· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ὑπερθεν ὅντες τοὺς τῇ ἄγαθους ἂν ἐφορῶντες καὶ ἐπικελεύοντες αὐτοῖς ἐτί κρείττους ποιοῦσε, καὶ εἶ τις μαλακίζει τοῖς τούτοις ὅρωντες οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέποιτε αὐτῷ. 42. συμφέρει δ' ὑμῖν, εἰπερ τῷ καὶ ἀλλῳ, τὸ νικάν καὶ, διὰ τὴν ἠλκίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς στολῆς. ἢν δ' ἄρα ὑμῶς καὶ οἱ ἐμπροσθεν ἀνακαλούντες ἐπεσθαι παρεγ-γυνόσι, ὑπακούσετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅπως μηδ' ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῶν ἦττεθήσεσθε, ἀντιπαρακελεύομενοι αὐτοῖς βάττυν ἡγεῖσθαι ἡγεῖσθαι ἡγεῖσθαι.

1 αὐτὸν Edd.; αὐτὸν MSS.
2 πρωτοστατῶν Dindorf, later Edd.; πρωτοστατῶν MSS.
3 ἡγεῖσθαι Stephanus, Edd.; ἡγεῖσθαι MSS.
that might properly consider himself but half valiant. 39. The reason why I do not speak to them but bid you do so is that so they may try to please you, for you are in touch with them, each in his own division. And remember this, that if in their eyes you prove yourselves courageous, you will teach not only your comrades but many others also, not by precept merely but by example, to be courageous.” 40. In concluding, he told them to go with their chaplets on and take luncheon and when they had poured the libation to go, still wearing the chaplets, to their posts.

And when they had gone away, he called in the officers of the rear-guard and gave them the following instructions: 41. “Men of Persia, you also have now taken your places among the peers, and you have been selected for your positions because you are considered in every way equal to the bravest, and by virtue of your years even more discreet than they. And so you occupy a place not at all less honourable than that of our front-rank men. For as you are behind, you can observe those who are valiant and by exhorting them make them still more valiant; and if any one should be inclined to hang back and you should see it, you would not permit it. 42. And because of your years and because of the weight of your armour it is more to your advantage than to any others’ that we should be victorious. And if those in front call to you and bid you follow, obey them and see that you be not outdone by them even in this respect but give them a counter cheer to lead on faster against the enemy. Now go and
καὶ ἀπιώντες, ἕφη, ἀριστήσαντες καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦκετε σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστεφανωμένοι εἰς τὰς τάξεις.

43. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄμφι Κῦρον ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀσσώριοι καὶ δὴ ἤριστηκότες ἔξησάν τε θρασέως καὶ παρετάττοντο ἐρρυμένως. παρέταττε δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ἀρματος παρελαύνον καὶ τοιάδε παρεκκέλευσεν. 44. Ἀνδρες ᾿Ασσώριοι, νῦν δεῖ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι· νῦν γὰρ ὑπὲρ 1 ψυχῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἄγων καὶ ὑπὲρ 1 γῆς ἐν ᾧ ἔφυτε καὶ 2 οἴκων ἐν ὦς ἑτήρητε, καὶ ὑπὲρ 1 γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων καὶ περὶ πάντων ὑπὸ πέπασθε ἄγαθῶν. νικήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων τούτων ὑμεῖς ὅσπερ πρόσθεν κύριοι ἐσεσθὲ· εἰ δὲ ἡττηθήσεσθε, εὐ ὦστε ὦτι παραδώσετε ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς πολεμίοις. 45. ἀτε οὖν νίκης ἔρωντες μένοντες μάχεσθε. μῶροι γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἀπόλα καὶ ἀχειρο παῦσαν τά ττε τοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας· μῶρος δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἤχι βουλομένους φεύγει τίπιθεροτη, εἰδὼς ὦτι οἱ μὲν νικῶντες σώζονται, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀποθνήσκουσι μάλλον τῶν μενόντων μῶρος δὲ καὶ εἴ τις χρημάτων ἐπιθυμῶν ἤπται προσέλθατε. τίς γὰρ οὖκ οἴδεν ὦτι οἱ μὲν νικῶντες τά τε ἐαυτῶν σώζουσι καὶ τά τῶν ἠττωμένων προσλαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἠττωμένοι ἀμα ἐαυτοὺς τε καὶ τά ἐαυτῶν πάντα ἀποβάλλουσιν;

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

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get your luncheon and then go with your chaplets on your heads with the others to your posts."

43. Thus Cyrus and his men were occupied; and the Assyrians, when they had lunched, came out boldly and bravely drew up in line. And the king in person rode along in his chariot and marshalled the lines and exhorted them as follows: 44. "Men of Assyria, now is the time for you to be brave men; for the struggle now impending is one for your lives, for the land in which you were born, for the homes in which you were bred, for your wives and children and all the blessings you enjoy. For if you are victorious, you will have possession of all that, as before; but if you are defeated, be well assured that you will surrender it all to the enemy. 45. Therefore, as you desire victory, stand and fight; for it would be folly for men who desire to win a battle to turn their backs and offer to the enemy the side of their body that is without eyes or hands or weapons; and any one who wishes to live would be a fool if he tried to run away, when he knows that it is the victors who save their lives, while those who try to run away are more likely to meet their death than those who stand their ground. And if any one desires wealth, he also is foolish if he submits to defeat. For who does not know that the victors not only save what is their own but take in addition the property of the vanquished, while the vanquished throw both themselves and all they have away?"
XENOPHON

46. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Ἄσσυριος ἐν τούτοις ἦν. ὁ δὲ Κναξάρης πέμπτων πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἥδη καὶ ῥός εἰς ἀγενέρπικές· Ἐν γὰρ νῦν, ἕφη, ἐτοι οἶλαῖ οἱ ἔξω τοῦ ἐρυματος, ἐν οὗ ἄν προσίωμεν πολλοὶ ἐσονται· μὴ οὖν ἀναμείνωμεν ἔως ἃν πλείους ἦμῶν γένωνται. ἄλλ' ἱώμεν ἔως ἐτι οἰόμεθα εὐπετῶς ἃν αὐτῶν κρατήσαι.

47. Ὅ δ' αὖ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο, Ὡ Κναξάρη, εἰ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἡμισού αὐτῶν ἐσονται οἱ ἐπηθητέντες, εὖ ἵσθι ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν ἔρουσι φοβομένους τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσαι, αὐτὸι δὲ οὐ νομίζουσιν ἡττηθαι, ἄλλ' ἄλλης σοι μάχης δεῖσε, ἐν ἡ ἁμεινον ἂν ἰσας βουλεύσαις ὃ νῦν βεβούλευνται, παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἡμῖν ταμειέσθαι ὅσον ὅποιοι οὖν βουλώμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι.

48. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀγγέλοι ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες φύχοντο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἤκει Χρυσάντας ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ὁμοτίμων αὐτομόλους ἀγοντες. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὧσπερ εἰκός ἡρώτα τοὺς αὐτομόλους τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι ἔξω πρὸς τὸ ἡδή σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ παρατάττοι αὐτοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξω ὃν καὶ παρακελεύσοι μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἀξίων ὅποιοι πολλά πρὸς καὶ ἱσχυρά, ὡς ἔφασαν λέγεν τοὺς ἀκούσαντας.

49. Ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπε, Ὅ δ', ἕφη, ὁ Κύρης, εἰ καὶ σὺ συγκαλέσας ἔως ἐτι ἐξεστὶ παρακελεύσαι, εἰ ἁρα τι καὶ σὺ ἁμεινον ποτήριοις τοὺς στρατιώτας;

50. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ὡ Χρυσάντα, μηδέν
46. Thus the Assyrian was occupied; and Cyaxares sent to Cyrus to say that now was the time to advance upon the enemy. "For," said he, "although those outside the fortifications are as yet but few, they will become many while we are advancing; let us therefore not wait until their numbers are more than our own, but let us go while yet we think we could defeat them easily."

47. "But, Cyaxares," Cyrus answered, "if it is not more than half of them that are defeated, you may rest assured that they will say that we attacked only a few because we were afraid of their main body, and they will maintain that they have not been defeated; the result will be that you will find another battle necessary; and then they may perhaps plan better than they have now in delivering themselves so completely to our disposal that we may fight as many or as few of them as we please."

48. The messengers received this answer and were gone. And at this juncture Chrysantas, the Persian, and certain other peers came up with some deserters. And Cyrus, as a matter of course, asked the deserters what was going on among the enemy; and they said that the troops were already coming out under arms and that the king was out in person marshalling them and addressing them with many earnest words of exhortation as they came out in succession. So, they said, those reported who heard him.

49. "How would it do, Cyrus," Chrysantas then asked, "for you to get your men together, too, while yet you may, and exhort them, and see if you also might make your soldiers better men."

50. "Do not let the exhortations of the Assyrian
σε λυπούντων αἱ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου παρακελεύσεις· οὐδεμία γὰρ ἔστιν οὕτω καλὴ παραίνεσις ἢτις τοὺς μὴ οὐνα τὸ ἄγαθος αὐθημερὸν ἀκούσαντας ἄγαθους ποιήσει· οὐκ ἂν οὖν τοξότας γε, εἰ μὴ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦτο μεμελετηκότες εἶεν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἀκούσαμεν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἰππέας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν τά·

51. Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἐξεν, 'Ἀλλ' ἂρκεῖ τοι, ὁ Κῦρος, ἢ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀμείνονας παρακελευσάμενος ποιήσης.

'Ἡ καὶ δύναι' ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰς λόγος ῥηθεὶς αὐθημερὸν αἴδους μὲν ἐμπλήσαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκούοντων, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσχρῶν κωλύσαι, προτρέψαι δὲ ὡς χρῆ ἐπαίνου μὲν ἕνεκα πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κλίνον κύστεις, λαβεῖν δ' ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις βεβαιῶς τούτῳ ὅσ αἰρετώτερόν ἐστι μαχομένους ἀποθυμήσκειν μᾶλλον ἢ φεύγοντας σώζεσθαι; 52. ἀρ' οὖν, ἔφη, εἰ μέλλοντος τοιαύτας διάνοιας ἐγγραφήσεσθαι ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἔμμονοι ἔσθεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν νόμους ὑπάρξαι δὲ τοιούτους δι' ὅν τοῖς μὲν ἄγαθοις έντιμοι καὶ ἐλευθερίων ὁ βίος παρασκευασθῆσεται,

53. Ἐπειτά διδασκάλους οἱμαι δεὶ καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τούτους γενέσθαι οἱ τίνες δείξουσι τε ὁρθῶς καὶ διδάξουσι καὶ ἔθιοις ταύτα δρᾶν, ἐστ' ἂν ἐγγέννηται αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἄγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλεῖς εὐδαιμονεστάτους τῷ ὄντι νομίζειν, τοὺς 294
trouble you in the least, Chrysantas," Cyrus answered; "for no speech of admonition can be so fine that it will all at once make those who hear it good men if they are not good already; it would surely not make archers good if they had not had previous practice in shooting; neither could it make lancers good, nor horsemen; it cannot even make men able to endure bodily labour, unless they have been trained to it before."

51. "But, Cyrus," answered Chrysantas, "it is really enough if you make their souls better with your words of exhortation."

"Do you really think," returned Cyrus, "that one word spoken could all at once fill with a sense of honour the souls of those who hear, or keep them from actions that would be wrong, and convince them that for the sake of praise they must undergo every toil and every danger? Could it impress the idea indelibly upon their minds that it is better to die in battle than to save one's life by running away?"

52. And," he continued, "if such sentiments are to be imprinted on men's hearts and to be abiding, is it not necessary in the first place that laws be already in existence such that by them a life of freedom and honour shall be provided for the good, but that upon the bad shall be imposed a life of humiliation and misery which would not be worth living?

53. "And then again, I think, there must be, in addition to the laws, teachers and officers to show them the right way, to teach them and accustom them to do as they are taught, until it becomes a part of their nature to consider the good and honourable men as really the most happy, and to look upon
Δὲ κακοὺς καὶ δυσκλεεῖς ἀθλιωτάτους ἀπάντων ἤγείσθαι. οὖτω γὰρ δεῖ διατεθῆναι τοὺς μέλλοντας τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμών φόβου τὴν μάθησιν κρείττονα παρέξεσθαι. 54. εἰ δὲ τοι ἱόντων εἰς μάχην σὺν ὅπλοις, ἐν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν μαθημάτων ἑξίστηναι, ἐν τούτῳ δυνηστείᾳ τις ἀπορραψιδής παραχρῆμα ἀνδράς πολεμικοὺς ποιῆσαι, πάντων ἄν ρᾴστον εὑρού καὶ μαθεῖν καὶ διδάξαι τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρετήν. 55. ἐπεὶ ἔγνω, ἔφη, οὐδὲ ἂν τούτοις ἐπιστευον ἐμμόνοις ἐσέσθαι οὐδὲ νῦν ἔχοντες πάρῃ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἁσκούμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ύμᾶς ἔαρων παρόντας, οἳ καὶ παραδείγματα αὐτοῖς ἐσέσθη ὡς χρή εἶναι καὶ ὑποθαλεῖν δυνήσεσθε, ἢν τι ἐπιλαυθάνωνται. τοὺς δὲ ἀπαιδεύτους πανταπασιν ἀρετῆς θαυμάξωμ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, εἰ τι πλέον ἄν ὁφελήσει λόγος καλῶς ῥηθεὶς εἰς ἀνδραγαθλὰν ἡ τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους μονοκικῆς ἄσμα καλῶς ἀσθὲν εἰς μουσικῆν.

56. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα διελέγοντο. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης πάλιν πέμπτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐξαμαρτάνοι διατρῖβοι καὶ οὐκ ἄγων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ τὸτε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, Ἀλλὰ εὐ μὲν ἵστω, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐπώ εἰσιν ἔξω ὅσους δεῖ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλει τοῦ ἐν ἀπασιν ὅμως δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοκεῖ, ἄξω ἡδη.

57. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ προσευξόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξῆγε τὸ στρατεύμα. ὅς δὲ ἥρξατο ἄγειν, ἡδη 1 θάττον ἡγεῖτο, οἱ δὲ εὐποντο εὐτάκτως μὲν διὰ

1 ἡδη Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant; ἥτι xy; ἐπεὶ z; αὐτὲν <κα> Gemoll; omitted by Dindorf.

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the bad and the disreputable as the most wretched of all people. For such ought to be the feelings of those who are going to show the victory of training over fear in the presence of the enemy. 54. But if, when soldiers are about to go armed into battle, when many forget even the lessons oft learned of old, if then any one by an oratorical flourish can then and there make men warlike, it would be the easiest thing under heaven both to learn and to teach the greatest virtue in the world. 55. For even in the case of those whom we have kept and trained among ourselves, I, for my part, should not trust even them to be steadfast, if I did not see you also before me, who will be an example to them of what they ought to be and who will be able to prompt them if they forget anything. But I should be surprised, Chrysantas, if a word well spoken would help those wholly untrained in excellence to the attainment of manly worth any more than a song well sung would help those untrained in music to high attainments in music."

56. Thus they conversed. And again Cyaxares sent to Cyrus to say that he was making a serious mistake to delay instead of leading as soon as possible against the enemy. And then Cyrus answered the messengers saying: "Very well; but I want him to know that there are not yet as many of them outside the breastworks as we ought to have; and tell him this in the presence of all. Nevertheless, since he thinks best, I will lead on at once."

57. When he had said this, he prayed to the gods and led out his army. And as soon as he began to advance, he led on at a double-quick pace and they
τὸ ἐπιστασθαί τε καὶ μεμελετηκέναι ἐν τάξει πορεύεσθαι, ἐρωμένως δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλονίκως ἔχειν πρὸς ἄλληλους καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ σώματα ἐκπεπονήθησαι καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἄρχοντας τοὺς πρωτοστάτας εἶναι, ἦδεος δὲ διὰ τὸ φρονίμως ἔχειν ἡπιστάντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ οὖτως ἐμμαθήκεσαν ἀσφαλέστατον εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὁμόσε ἴεναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλως τε καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ ὕππευσιν.

58. "Εως δ' ἔτι ἐξω βελῶν ἦσαν, παρηγγύα ὁ Κύρος σύνθημα Ζεὺς σύμμαχος καὶ ἴγγεμὼν. ἐπεῖ δὲ πάλιν ἦκε τὸ σύνθημα ἀνταποδιδόμενον, ἐξήρχεν αὐτὸς ὁ Κύρος¹ παιᾶνα τῶν νομεζόμενων οἱ δὲ θεοσεβῶς πάντες συνεπήκησαν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ· ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γὰρ ὁ οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ἤττον τοὺς ἀνδρώπους φοβοῦνται. 59. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παιᾶν ἐγένετο, ἀμά πορεύμενοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι φαιδροὶ [πεπαιδευμένοι]² καὶ παρορώντες εἰς ἄλληλους, ὅνομάζοντες παραστάτας, ἐπιστάτας, λέγοντες πολὺ τὸ "Ἀγέτ' ἄνδρες φίλοι, Ἀγέτ' ἄνδρες ἁγαθοὶ, παρεκάλουν ἄλληλους ἐπεσθαί. οἱ δ' ὁπίσθεν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες ἀντιπαρεκελεύοντο τοῖς πρῶτοι ἦγεῖσθαι ἐρρωμένως. ἦν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Κύρῳ προθυμίας, φιλοτιμίας, ρώμης, θάρρους, παρακελευσμοῦ, σωφροσύνης, πειθοῦς, ὅπερ οἶμαι δεινότατον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.

¹ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύρος Hug, Breitenbach, Nitsche, Marchant, Gemoll; αὐδὶ διοσκόροις γόροις yC (again to the sons of Zeus [Castor and Pollux]); αὐδὶ Κύρος zC²F², Dindorf; ὁ Κύρος ἡμα διοσκόροις Ε.

² πεπαιδεύμενοι MSS., Dindorf, et al.; bracketed by Hug,
followed in good order, for they understood marching in line and had practised it; moreover, they followed courageously, because they were in eager rivalry with one another and because their bodies were in thorough training and because the front-rank men were all officers; and they followed gladly, because they were intelligent men; for they had become convinced by long instruction that the easiest and safest way was to meet the enemy hand to hand—especially if that enemy were made up of bowmen, spearmen, and cavalry.

58. While they were still out of range, Cyrus passed the watchword, *Zeus our Helper and our Guide*. And when the watchword came back and was delivered again to him, Cyrus himself began the usual paean, and they all devoutly joined with a loud voice in the singing, for in the performance of such service the God-fearing have less fear of men. 59. And when the paean was ended, the peers marched on cheerily [], well-disciplined], looking toward one another, calling by name to comrades beside them and behind them, and often saying: "On, friends," "On, brave fellows;" thus they encouraged one another to the charge. And those behind, hearing them, in their turn cheered the front line to lead them bravely on. So Cyrus's army was filled with enthusiasm, ambition, strength, courage, exhortation, self-control, obedience; and this, I think, is the most formidable thing an enemy has to face.

Breitenbach, Marchant; τε πεπ. ζ; <ὁ> τε πεπαιδευμένοι
Gemoll.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΘ ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΘ

60. Τῶν δ᾽ Ἀσσυρίων οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων προμαχαίντες, ὡς ἐγγὺς ἦδη προσεμέγιν τὸ Πέρσικὸν πλήθος, ἀνέβαινον τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρματα καὶ ύπεξῆγον πρὸς τὸ ἐαυτῶν πλῆθος· οἱ δὲ τοξόται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ σφενδονήται αὐτῶν ἀφίεσαν τὰ βέλη πολὺ πρὶν ἐξικνεῖσθαι. 61. ὡς δ᾽ ἐπιόντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἀφειμένων βελῶν, ἐφθέγξατο δὴ ὁ Κύρος, Ἄνδρες ἄριστοι, ἦδη θάττον τις ἰδὼν ἐπιδεικνύτω ἐαυτὸν καὶ παρεγγυάτω. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεδίδοσαν ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας καὶ μένους καὶ τοῦ σπείδεων συμμίξαι δρόμου τινὲς ἤρξαν, συνεφείπτο δὲ καὶ πάσα ἡ φάλαγξ δρόμῳ. 62. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ βάδην δρόμῳ ἤγειτο, καὶ ἀμα ἐφθέγγετο· Τὰς ἔφεται; Τὰς ἄγαθος; Τὰς πρῶτος ἀνδρα καταβαλεῖ; Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα τούτῳ ἐφθέγγυντο, καὶ διὰ πάντων δὲ ὁσπερ παρηγγύα σῶς ἔχωρει· Τὰς ἔφεται; Τὰς ἄγαθος;

63. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαι σῶς ἔχουσα ὡμός ἐφέροντο. οἱ γε μὴν πολέμῳ ὕκετε ἐδύναντο μένειν, ἀλλὰ στραφέντες ἐφευγον εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα. 64. οἱ δ᾽ αὐτὶ Πέρσαι κατὰ τε τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφεπομενοι ὠθούμενοι αὐτῶν πολλοὺς κατεστράτωσαν, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς τὰς τάφρους ἐμπίπτοντας ἐπεισηδώντες ἐφόνευον ἄνδρας ὡμοῦ καὶ ἵππους· ἔνια γὰρ τῶν ἀρμάτων εἰς τὰς τάφρους ἡναγκάσθη φεύγοντα ἐμπεσεῖν. 65. καὶ οἱ τῶν Μήδων δ᾽ ἰππεῖς ὀρῶντες ταῦτα ἡλαυνοῦν εἰς τοὺς ἰππέας τοὺς τῶν 300
60. But when the main body of the Persians began to get close to them, those of the Assyrians who dismounted from their chariots and fought in front of their army remounted their chariots and gradually drew back to their own main body, while the bowmen, spearmen, and slingers let fly their missiles long before they could reach the enemy. 61. And when the Persians, charging on, set foot upon the missiles that had been discharged, Cyrus shouted, "Bravest of men, now let each press on and distinguish himself and pass the word to the others to come on faster." And they passed it on; and under the impulse of their enthusiasm, courage, and eagerness to close with the enemy some broke into a run, and the whole phalanx also followed at a run. 62. And even Cyrus himself, forgetting to proceed at a walk, led them on at a run and shouted as he ran: "Who will follow? Who is brave? Who will be the first to lay low his man?"

And those who heard him shouted with the same words, and the cry passed through all the ranks as he had started it: "Who will follow? Who is brave?"

63. In such spirit the Persians rushed to the encounter, and the enemy could not longer stand their ground but turned and fled back into their entrenchments. 64. And the Persians on their part, following them up to the gates, mowed many of them down as they were pushing and shoving one another; and upon some who fell into the ditches they leaped down and slew them, both men and horses; for some of the chariots were forced in their flight to plunge into the ditches. 65. And when the Median cavalry saw this, they also charged...
πολεμίων οί δ’ ἔνεκλιναν καὶ αὐτοὶ.\footnote{1} ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἦπαρν διωγμὸς ἢν καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ φόνος δὲ\footnote{2} ἀμφοτέρων.

66. Οἱ δ’ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐρύματος τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἑστηκότες ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς τάφρου τοξεύειν μὲν ἢ ἀκοντίζειν εἰς τοὺς κατακαίνοντας οὔτε ἐφρόνουν οὔτε ἐδύναντο διὰ τὰ δεινὰ ὀράματα καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον. τάχα δὲ καὶ καταμαθόντες τῶν Περσῶν τινας διακεκοφοτας πρὸς τὰς εἰσόδους τοῦ ἐρύματος ἐτράπωντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλῶν τῶν ἔνδον.\footnote{3} 67. Ἰδοῦσα δ’ αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἡδη φυγὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀνέκραγον καὶ ἔθεον ἐκπεπληγμέναι, αἱ μὲν καὶ τέκνα ἔχουσαι, αἱ δὲ καὶ νεώτεραι, καταρρηγυμέναι τε πέπλους καὶ δρυπτόμεναι, καὶ ἴκετεύουσαι πάντας ὅτι ἐντυγχάνοιειν μὴ φεύγειν καταλιπόντας αὐτάς, ἄλλα άμολυναι καὶ τέκνοις καὶ έαυταῖς καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

68. Ὑπὸ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς σὺν τοῖς πιστοτάτοις στάντες ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμάχοντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλως παρεκκελέυοντο.

69. Ὡς δ’ ἐγνω ὁ Κύρος τὰ γυνόμενα, δείσας μὴ, καὶ εἰ βιάσαιντο εἰσώ, ὅλγοι ὄντες ὑπὸ πολλῶν σφαλεῖν τι, παρηγγύησεν ἐπὶ πόδ’ ἀνάγειν ἐξω βελῶν [καὶ πείθεσθαι].\footnote{4}

70. Ὑπὸ δὴ ἐγνω τις ἄν τοὺς ὁμοτίμους πεπαί-
upon the enemy's cavalry; but the latter gave way, like the rest. Then followed a pursuit of horses and men and slaughter of both.

66. And those of the Assyrians inside the fort who stood upon the rampart of the breastworks neither had the presence of mind to shoot arrows or hurl spears at the enemy who were mowing down their ranks, nor had they the strength to do so because of the awful spectacle and their own panic fear. And presently, discovering that some of the Persians had cut their way through to the gates in the embankment, they turned away even from the inner rampart of the breastworks. 67. And the women of the Assyrians and their allies, seeing the men in flight even inside the camp, raised a cry and ran panic-stricken, both those who had 'children and the younger women' as well, while they rent their garments, tore their cheeks, and begged all whom they met not to run away and leave them but to defend both them and their children and themselves as well.

68. Then even the kings themselves with their most trusty followers took their stand at the gates, mounted upon the ramparts, and both fought in person and encouraged the rest to fight.

69. But when Cyrus realized what was going on, he feared lest his men, even if they did force their way in, might be worsted by superior numbers, for his own men were but few; so he gave orders to retreat still facing the foe, until they were out of range.

70. Then one might have seen the ideal discipline
δευμένους ὡς δεῖ· ταχὺ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸι ἐπείθοντο, ταχὺ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρῆγγελλον. ὡς δ’ ἔξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, ἔστησαν κατὰ χώραν, πολὺ μᾶλλον χοροῦ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅπου ἐδει ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι.

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of the peers; for they themselves obeyed at once and at once passed on the word to the rest. And when they were out of range, they halted in their regular positions, for they knew much more accurately than a chorus, each the spot where he should stand.
BOOK IV

THE CAPTURE OF THE FIRST AND SECOND CAMPS OF THE ASSYRIANS
1. Μείνεις δὲ ο Κύρος μέτριον χρόνον αυτοῦ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ δηλώσας ὅτι ἔτοιμοί εἰσί μάχεσθαι εἴ τις ἐξέρχοιτο, ὡς οὐδὲς ἀντεξῆι, ἀπήγαγεν ὅσον ἔδοκει καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. φυλακᾶς δὲ καταστησάμενος καὶ σκοποὺς προπέμψας, στὰς εἰς τὸ μέσον συνεκάλεσε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδει·

2. Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγω ἐπαίνῳ ὅσον δύναμαι, καὶ ύμεῖς δὲ πάντες, ὅιμαι· νῖκης τε γὰρ τετυχήκαμεν καὶ σωτηρίας τούτων μὲν ὁμ τὴν χρή χαριστήρια ὃν ἄν ἔχωμεν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποτελεῖν. ἔγω δὲ σύμπαντας μὲν ύμᾶς ἢδη ἐπαίνῳ· τὸ γὰρ γεγενημένον ἔργον σύμπασιν ύμῶν καλῶς ἀποτελέσται· ὃν δὲ ἐκαστὸς ἄξιος, ἐπειδὰν παρ’ ὅν προσήκει πύθωμαι, τότε τὴν ἄξιαν ἐκάστῷ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ πειράσομαι ἀποδιδόναι. 3. τὸν δὲ ἔμοι ἐγγύτατα ταξιαρχὸν Χρυσάνταν οὐδὲν ἄλλον δέομαι πυνθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς οἶδα οἶος ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ οἶμαι καὶ πάντες ύμεῖς ἐποιεῖτε· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγω παρηγγύησα ἐπανάγειν καλέσας αὐτὸν.
BOOK IV

I

1. Cyrus remained there for a while with his army and showed that they were ready to do battle, if any one should come out. But as no one did come out against him, he withdrew as far as he thought proper and encamped. And when he had stationed his outposts and sent out his scouts, he called together his own men, took his place in their midst, and addressed them as follows:

2. "Fellow-citizens of Persia, first of all I praise the gods with all my soul; and so, I believe, do all of you; for we not only have won a victory, but our lives have been spared. We ought, therefore, to render to the gods thank-offerings of whatsoever we have. And I here and now commend you as a body, for you have all contributed to this glorious achievement; but as for the deserts of each of you individually, I shall try by word and deed to give every man his due reward, when I have ascertained from proper sources what credit each one deserves. 3. But as to Captain Chrysantas, who fought next to me, I have no need to make enquiry from others, for I myself know how gallant his conduct was; in everything else he did just as I think all of you also did; but
ὄνομαστὶ, ἀνατεταμένως οὗτος τὴν μάχαιραν, ὡς παίσων πολέμιον, ὑπήκουσέ τε ἐμοὶ εὐθὺς ἀφεῖς
tε δὲ ἔμελλε ποιεῖν τὸ κελεύομενον ἔπραττεν·
αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐπανῆγε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλα
ἐπισπερχῶς παρηγγύα: ὥστε ἐφθάσεν ἐξω βελῶν
tὴν τάξιν ποιήσας πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους κατα
νοήσαι ὅτι ἀνεχωροῦμεν καὶ τόξα ἐντείνασθαι
καὶ τὰ παλτὰ ἐπαφεῖναι. ὅπες αὐτὸς τε ἄβλαβης
καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀνδρας ἄβλαβεῖς διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι
παρέχεται. 4. ἄλλους δ’, ἐφη, ὅρω τετρωμένους,
περὶ δὲν ἐγὼ σκεψάμενος ἐν ὅποιῳ χρόνῳ ἑτρώ-
θησαν, τότε τὴν γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφανοῦμαι.
Χρυσάνταν δὲ ὅς καὶ ἐργάτην τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ
καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἴκανον καὶ ἀρχειν
χιλιαρχία μὲν ἠδὲ τιμῶν ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι
ἀγαθὸν ὁ θεὸς δῆδ’ ὥστε τὸτε ἑπιλήσουμαι αὐτοῦ.
5. Καὶ πάντας δὲ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς, ἐφη, ὑπομνή-
σαν· ἃ γὰρ νῦν εἴδετε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇδε, ταύτα
ἐνθυμούμενοι μὴ ποτὲ παύεσθε, ἵνα παρ’ ὑμῖν
αὐτοῖς ἄει κρίνητε πότερον ἢ ἄρετῇ μᾶλλον ἢ
ἡ φυγὴ σῶξει τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ πότερον οἱ μάχεσθαι
ἐβέλουσε ὑπὸ ἀπαλλάττουσιν ἢ οἱ ὅρκος ἐβέλουσε,
καὶ πολλοῖ τινὰ ἢδονὴν τὸ νυκτὸν παρέχει· ταύτα
γὰρ νῦν ἄριστα κρίναι δὲν πείραν τε αὐτῶν
ἐχόντες καὶ ἄρτη γεγενημένου τοῦ πράγματος.
6. καὶ ταύτα μὲν, ἐφη, ἄει διανοούμενοι βελτίως
ἀν εἴητε.

Νῦν δὲ ὅς θεοφιλεῖς καὶ ἄγαθοι καὶ σώφρονες

1 ὥστε xy, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; ἦστε z, Dindorf, Hug (until).
when I gave the word to retreat and called to him by name, even though he had his sword raised to smite down an enemy he obeyed me at once and refrained from what he was on the point of doing and proceeded to carry out my order; not only did he himself retreat but he also with instant promptness passed the word on to the others; and so he succeeded in getting his division out of range before the enemy discovered that we were retreating or drew their bows or let fly their javelins. And thus by his obedience he is unharmed himself and he has kept his men unharmed. 4. But others,” said he, “I see wounded; and when I have enquired at what moment of the engagement they received their wounds, I will then express my opinion concerning them. But Chrysantas, as a mighty man of war, prudent and fitted to command and to obey—him I now promote to a colonelship. And when God shall vouchsafe some further blessing, then, too, I shall not forget him.

5. “I wish also to leave this thought with all of you,” he went on: “never cease to bear in mind what you have just seen in this day’s battle, so that you may always judge in your own hearts whether courage is more likely to save men’s lives than running away, and whether it is easier for those to withdraw who wish to fight than for those who are unwilling, and what sort of pleasure victory brings; for you can best judge of these matters now when you have experience of them and while the event is of so recent occurrence. 6. And if you would always keep this in mind, you would be more valiant men.

“Now go to dinner, as men beloved of God and
άνδρες δειπνοποιεῖσθε καὶ σπουδᾶς τοῖς θεοῖς ποιεῖσθε καὶ παιάνα ἐξάρχεσθε καὶ ἀμα τὸ παραγγελλόμενον προνοεῖτε.

7. Εἶπον δὲ ταύτα ἀναβᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπτομὴν ἡλασε καὶ πρὸς Κναξάρην ἐλθὼν καὶ συνήσθεις ἐκεῖνος κοινῆ ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ ἰδὼν τάκει καὶ ἐρόμενος εἴ τι δέοιτο, ἀπῆλαυνεν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κύρον δειπνοποιήσαμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστήσαμενοι ὡς ἔδει ἐκοιμηθῶσαν.

8. Οἱ δὲ Ἀσσυροί, ἀτε καὶ τεθηκότος τοῦ ἀρχοντος καὶ σχεδον σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων, ἠθύμουν μὲν πάντες, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδίδρασκον αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ἕρωντες δὲ ταύτα ὅ τε Κροίσος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἠθύμουν πάντα μὲν γὰρ ἦν χαλεπά· ἀθυμίαν δὲ πλεῖστην παρεῖχε πάσιν ὅτι τὸ ἡγούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς φύλου διέθρατο τὰς γνώμας. οὕτω δὴ ἐκλέισατο τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ. ἀπέρρχονται τῆς νυκτὸς. 9. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐρημοῦν ἀνδρῶν ἑφάνη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, εὐθὺς διαβιβάζει ὁ Κύρος τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτους· κατελέειπτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πολλὰ μὲν πρόβατα, πολλοὶ δὲ βοῖς, πολλαὶ δὲ ἀμαξῖς πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεσταί· ἐκ δὲ τούτων διέβαινον ἠδή καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κναξάρην Μήδοι πάντες καὶ ἡμιστοποιοῦντο ἐνταῦθα. 10. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥριστησαν, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Κύρος τοὺς αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχους καὶ ἔλεγε τοιάδε·

Οἶλα μοι δοκοῦμεν καὶ οὐσα ἀγαθὰ, ὁ ἀνδρὲς, ἀφεῖναι, θεῶν ἦμῶν αὐτὰ διδόντων. νῦν γὰρ ὅτι

1 δὲ Zeune, Edd.; τε τοῦ; not in xy.
brave and wise; pour libations to the gods, raise the song of victory, and at the same time be on the lookout for orders that may come."

7. When he had said this, he mounted his horse and rode away to Cyaxares. They exchanged congratulations, as was fitting, and after Cyrus had taken note of matters there and asked if there were anything he could do, he rode back to his own army. Then he and his followers dined, stationed their pickets duly, and went to rest.

8. The Assyrians, on the other hand, inasmuch as they had lost their general and with him nearly all their best men, were all disheartened, and many of them even ran away from the camp in the course of the night. And when Croesus and the rest of their allies saw this, they too lost heart; for the whole situation was desperate; but what caused the greatest despondency in all was the fact that the leading contingent of the army had become thoroughly demoralized. Thus dispirited, then, they quitted their camp and departed under cover of the night. 9. And when it became day and the enemy's camp was found to be forsaken of men, Cyrus at once led his Persians first across the entrenchments. And many sheep and many cattle and many wagons packed full of good things had been left behind by the enemy. Directly after this, Cyaxares also and all his Medes crossed over and had breakfast there. 10. And when they had breakfasted, Cyrus called together his captains and spoke as follows:

"What good things, fellow-soldiers, and how great, have we let slip, it seems, while the gods were
οἱ πολέμοι ἡμᾶς ἀποδεδράκασιν αὐτοὶ ὀρᾶτε· οὕτως δὲ ἐν ἐρύματι ὄντες ἐκλιπόντες τούτῳ φεύγουσι, πῶς ἄν τις τούτους οἶουτ ἂν μείναι ἰδόντας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἱσοπέδῳ; οὕτως δὲ ἡμῶν ἀπειροὶ ὄντες οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, πῶς νῦν γὰρ ἑν ὑπομείναν, ἐπεὶ ἤττηται τε καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπόνθασιν; ὃν δὲ οἱ βέλτιστοι ἀπολώλασι, πῶς οἱ πονηρότεροι ἐκεῖνον μάχεσθαι ἂν ἡμῖν ἐδέλοιεν;

11. Καὶ τις εἶπε, Τί οὖν ὦ διώκομεν ὡς τάχιστα, καταδήλων γε οὕτω τῶν ἁγαθῶν ὄντων;
Καὶ δὴ εἶπεν, Ἵστι ἵππων προσδεόμεθα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κράτιστοι τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς μάλιστα καιρὸς ἢν ἡ λαβεῖν ἢ κατακανεῖν, ὃς οὐκ οἶδ' ἵππων ὄχούνται· οὐχ ἥμεις τρέπεσθαι μὲν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱκανοῖ, διώκοντες δὲ αἱρεῖν οὐχ ἱκανοῖ.

12. Τί οὖν, ἐφασαν, οὐκ ἐλθὼν Κυαξάρη λέγεις ταῦτα;
Καὶ δὴ εἶπε, Συνέπεσθε τοίνυν μοι πάντες, ὡς εἰδῆ ὅτι πάσιν ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ.
Ἐκ τούτου εἰποντὸ τε πάντες καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ ἑπταήδεα ἑδόκουν εἶναι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐδέοντο.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἅμα μὲν ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι ἤρχον τοῦ λόγου, ὡσπερ ὑπεφθόνει· ἅμα δ' ἵσως καλῶς ἔχειν ἑδόκει αὐτῷ μὴ πάλιν κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς τε περὶ εὐθυμίαν ἐτύγχανεν ὧν καὶ τῶν

1 κατακανεῖν Dindorf, Edd.; κατακανεῖν z.; ἀποκτεῖναι xy.
2 ὄχονται Cobet, Breitenbach, Marchant; νέονται XF1, Dindorf (are moving δῆ).<κι> νεόνται Gemoll; ἑσονται zDF2.

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delivering them into our hands! Why, you see with
your own eyes that the enemy have run away from
us; when people behind fortifications abandon them
and flee, how would any one expect them to stand
and fight, if they met us in a fair and open field?
And if they did not stand their ground when they
were yet unacquainted with us, how would they
withstand us now, when they have been defeated
and have suffered heavy loss at our hands? And
when their bravest men have been slain, how would
their more cowardly be willing to fight us?"

11. “Why not pursue them as swiftly as possible,” Pursuit
said one of the men; “now that the good things we
have let slip are so manifest to us?”

“Because,” he replied, “we have not horses
enough; for the best of the enemy, those whom it
were most desirable either to capture or to kill, are
riding off on horseback. With the help of the gods
we were able to put them to flight, but we are not
able to pursue and overtake them.”

12. “Then why do you not go and tell Cyaxares
this?” said they.

“Come with me, then, all of you,” he answered,
“So that he may know that we are all agreed upon
this point.”

Thereupon they all followed and submitted such
arguments as they thought calculated to gain their
object.

13. Now Cyaxares seemed to feel some little
jealousy because the proposal came from them; at
the same time, perhaps, he did not care to risk
another engagement; then, too, he rather wished to
stay where he was, for it happened that he was
άλλων Μήδων ἐόρα πολλοὺς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦνται· εἰπε δ' οὖν ὁδε. 14. Ἀλλ', ὁ Κύρη, ὅτι μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων μελετάτε ὑμεῖς οἱ Πέρσαι μηδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἰδιόνην ἀπλήστως διακείσθαι καὶ ὁρῶν καὶ ἄκοιτις οἴδα· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τῆς μεγίστης ἰδιόνης πολὺ μᾶλλον συμφέρειν ἐγκρατῆ εἶναι. μειξῷ δὲ ἰδιόνη τι παρέχει ἀνθρώποις εὐτυχίας ἢ νῦν ἦμῶν παραγεγέγονται;

15. Ἡν μὲν τοίνυν [ἐπεὶ εὔτυχοῦμεν], σωφρόνως διαφυλάττωμεν αὐτήν, ἵσως δυναίμεθ' ἄν ἄκινδυνος εὐδαιμονοῦντες γηρᾶν· εἰ δ' ἀπλήστως χρόμενοι ταύτῃ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ πειρασόμεθα διώκειν, ὅρατε μη πάθωμεν ἀπερ πολλοὺς μὲν λέγουσιν ἐν θαλάττῃ πεπονθέναι, διὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν οὐκ ἔθελοντάς παύσασθαι πλέοντας ἀπολέσθαι· πολλοὺς δὲ νίκης τυχόντας ἑτέρας ἐφεμένους καὶ τὴν πρόσθεν ἀποβαλεῖν. 16. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν οἱ πολέμων ἢττους ὄντες ἦμῶν ἐφευγοῦν, ἵσως ἄν καὶ διώκειν τοὺς ἢττους ἀσφαλῶς εἴχε. νῦν δὲ κατανόησον πόστω μέρει αὐτῶν πάντες μαχεσάμενοι γενικήκαμεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἁμαχοὶ εἰσων οὖς εἰ μὲν μη ἄναγκασομεν μάχεσθαι, ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ ἦμᾶς καὶ ἔαυτος δι' ἁμαθίαν καὶ μαλακίαν ἀπλασίν· εἰ δὲ γρῶσονται ὅτι ἀπιόντες οὐδέν

1 τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον z, Dindorf, Breitenbach; καλλιστα x, Marchant, Gemoll; μάλιστα y.
2 [ἐπεὶ εὔτυχοῦμεν] bracketed by Hug.
busily engaged in making merry himself, and he saw that many of the other Medes were doing the same. However that may be, he spoke as follows: **Cyaxares replies**

14. "Well, Cyrus, I know from what I see and hear that you Persians are more careful than other people not to incline to the least intemperance in any kind of pleasure. But it seems to me that it is much better to be moderate in the greatest pleasure than to be moderate in lesser pleasures; and what brings to man greater pleasure than success, such as has now been granted us?"

15. "If, therefore [when we are successful], we follow up our success with moderation, we might, perhaps, be able to grow old in happiness unalloyed with danger. But if we enjoy it intemperately and try to pursue first one success and then another, see to it that we do not share the same fate that they say many have suffered upon the sea, that is, because of their success they have not been willing to give up seafaring, and so they have been lost; and many others, when they have gained a victory, have aimed at another and so have lost even what they gained by the first. 16. And that is the way with us; for if it were because they were inferior to us in numbers that the enemy are fleeing from us, perhaps it might be safe for us actually to pursue this lesser army. But, as it is, reflect with what a mere fraction of their numbers we, with all our forces, have fought and won, while the rest of theirs have not tasted of battle; and if we do not compel them to fight, they will remain unacquainted with our strength and with their own, and they will go away because of their ignorance.
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ηττον κινδυνεύουσιν ἢ μένοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀναγκάσομεν1 αὐτοὺς, κἀκεῖνοι μὴ βούλωνται, ἀγαθοῦς γενέσθαι. 17. ἵσθι γὰρ ὅτι οὐ σὺν μᾶλλον τὰς ἐκεῖνοις γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖς ἢ ἐκεῖνοι σῶσαι. ἐννοεῖ δὲ ὅτι καὶ αἱ σὺν ἐπειδὰν ὀφθαλμοὶ, φεύγουσι, κἀκεῖνοι όσοι, σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τις αὐτῶν θηρᾶ τι τῶν τέκνων, σκέτοι φεύγει οὔτε ἦν μία τύχη οὕσα, ἀλλ’ ἦται ἐπὶ τῶν λαμβάνειν πειρόμενον. 18. καὶ νῦν μὲν κατακλείσαντες ἐαυτοὺς εἰς ἔρυμα παρέσχον ἥμιν ταμιεύεσθαι ὡστε ὅποσοις ἐβουλόμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ πρόσιμοιν αὐτοῖς καὶ μαθήσουνται χωρίς γενόμενοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἥμιν ὀστερ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιοῦσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πλαγίου, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν, ὥρα μὴ πολλῶν ἐκάστῳ ἥμιν χειρῶν ἰδιότεροι καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν. προσέτι δ’ οὖν ἄν ἐθέλοιμ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ νῦν, ὅραν Μήδους εὐθυμομένους, ἐξαναστήσας ἀναγκάζειν κινδυνεύσοντας ἵναι.

19. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ σύγγε μειδενά ἀναγκάσης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔθελοντάς μοι ἐπεσθαί δός· καὶ ἵσως ἂν σοι καὶ τῶν σῶν φίλων τούτων ἥκοιμεν ἐκάστῳ ἄγοντες ἐφ’ οἷς ἄπαντες εὐθυμήσεσθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος ἢμεῖς γε τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲ διωξόμεθα· τῶς γὰρ ἄν καὶ καταλάβομεν; ἢν δὲ τὶ ἡ ἀπεσχισμένον τοῦ στρατεύματος λάβωμεν ἢ τὶ ὑπολειπόμενον,

1 ἀναγκάσομεν Dindorf, Edd.; ἀναγκάσωμεν MSS.
and cowardice. But if they discover that they are in no less danger if they go away than if they remain in the field, beware lest we compel them to be valiant even against their will. 17. And let me assure you that you are not more eager to capture their women and children than they are to save them. And bethink you that even wild swine flee with their young, when they are discovered, no matter how great their numbers may be; but if any one tries to catch one of the young, the old one, even if she happens to be the only one, does not think of flight but rushes upon the man who is trying to effect the capture. 18. And now, when they had shut themselves up in their fortifications, they allowed us to manage things so as to fight as many at a time as we pleased. But if we go against them in an open plain and they learn to meet us in separate detachments, some in front of us (as even now), some on either flank, and some in our rear, see to it that we do not each one of us stand in need of many hands and many eyes. And besides," said he, "now that I see the Medes making merry, I should not like to rout them out and compel them to go into danger."

19. "Nay," said Cyrus in reply; "please do not place anybody under compulsion; but allow those who will volunteer to follow me, and perhaps we may come back bringing to you and each of your friends here something for you all to make merry with. For the main body of the enemy we certainly shall not even pursue; for how could we ever overtake them? But if we find any detachment of their army straggling or left behind, we shall bring them
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ἡξομεν πρὸς σὲ ἀγοντες. 20. ἐννοεὶ δ', ἐφη, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπεὶ σὺ ἐδέου, ἡλθομεν σοι χαριτώμενοι μακρὰν ὅδὸν καὶ σὺ οὖν ἡμῖν δίκαιος εἰ ἀντι-χαριτέσθαι, ἵνα καὶ ἐχοντές τι οὐκαδ' ἀφικόμεθα καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸν σὸν θησαυρόν πάντες ὅρωμεν.

21. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐλεξεν ο Κυαζάρης, 'Ἀλλ' εἰ γε μέντοι ἐθέλων τις ἐποιο, καὶ χάριν ἐγγυέ σοι εἰδείην ἃν.

Σύμπεμψον τοίνυν μοι τινα, ἐφη, τῶν ἀξιο-πίστων τουτων, δς ἐρεί ἃν σὺ ἐπιστείλης.

Δαβὼν δὴ ἢθι, ἐφη, ὅντων ἐθέλεις τουτων.

22. Ἔνθα δὴ ἔτυχε παρὼν· ο φήσας ποτὲ συγγενῆς αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ φίληθεις [παρ' αὐτοῦ]. ευθὺς ὅπως οὖν ο Κύρος εἶπεν, 'Δρεκει μοι, ἐφη, οὕτως.

Οὔτος τοίνυν σοι ἐπέστην. καὶ λέγει σύ, ἐφη, τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἵναι μετὰ Κύρου.

23. Οὔτω δὴ λαβὼν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξῆι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθον, ο Κύρος εἶπε, Νῦν δὴ σὺ δηλώσεις εἰ ἄλληθ' ἔλεγες, ὅτε εφης ἤδεσθαι θεώμενος ἐμέ.

Οὐκούν ἀπολείψομαι γε σου, ἐφη ο Μῆδος, εἰ τούτο λέγεις.

Καὶ ο Κύρος εἶπεν, Οὐκούν καὶ ἄλλους προθύ-μοις ἐξάξεις;

Ἐπομόσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος Νὴ τὸν Δλ', ἐφη, ἔστε γ' ἂν πονήσω καὶ σὲ ἐμὲ ἥδεως θεάσθαι.

24. Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐκπεμφθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυαζάρουν

1 παρδν Schneider, Edd.; ἃν MSS.
2 παρ' αὐτοῦ x, Hug, Gemoll; omitted in z, Dindorf, Marchant, Breitenbach.
3 ἐξῆλθον Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἐξῆλθεν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
4 ὅτε MSS., all Edd. except Hug, who writes ὅτι.
to you. 20. And remember," he added, "that we also, when you asked us, came a long journey to do you a favour; and it is therefore only fair that you should do us a favour in return, so that we may not have to go home empty-handed nor always be looking to your treasury here for support."

21. "Very well," said Cyaxares then; "if indeed any one will volunteer to follow you, I for my part should be really grateful to you."

"Well, then," said he, "send with me some one of these notables in positions of trust to announce your commands."

"Take any of them you wish," said the other, "and go."

22. Now it happened that the man who had once pretended to be a kinsman of his and had got a kiss from him was present there. Cyrus, therefore, said at once: "This man will do."

"Let him follow you, then," said Cyaxares. "And do you," he added to Artabazus, "say that whoever will may go with Cyrus."

23. So then he took the man and went away. And when they had come out, Cyrus said: "Now then, you shall prove if you spoke the truth when you said that you liked to look at me."

"If you talk that way," said the Mede, "I shall never leave you."

"Will you do your best, then, to bring others also with you?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered with an oath, "to such an extent that I shall make you also glad to look at me."

24. Then, as he had his commission from Cyaxares
τά τε ἄλλα προθύμως ἀπήγγελλε τοῖς Μηδοῖς καὶ προσετίθει ότι αὐτὸς γε ὁμ ἀπολείποντο ἀνδρὸς καλλιστον καὶ ἀρίστου, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ θεῶν γεγονότοις.

II

1. Πράττοντος δὲ τοῦ Κύρου ταῦτα θείως πως ἀφικνοῦνται ἀπὸ Τρκανίων ἀγγελον. οἱ δὲ Τρκανίοι ὁμοροὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων εἰσί, ἔθνος δ' οὐ πολύ, διό καὶ ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων εὐπποι 1 δὲ καὶ τότε ἐδόκουν εἶναι καὶ γιν ἐτι δοκοῦσιν διὸ καὶ ἔχρωντο αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀσσυρίοι ὃς οπερ καὶ οἱ Δακεδαῖοι καὶ τοῖς Σκηρταῖς, οὐδὲν φειδόμενοι αὐτῶν οὐτ' ἐν πόνοις οὐτ' ἐν κινδύνοις καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ὁπίσθως ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς ὡς χιλίους ἐπέας όντας, ὅπως εἰ τί ὁπίσθεν δεινὸν εἴη, ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ αὐτῶν τοῦτ' ἔχοιεν. 2. οἱ δὲ Τρκανίοι, ἃτε μέλλοντες ὑπάτατοι πορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας τὰς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς ὀικέτας ὑπάτατος ἔχουν. στρατεύονται γὰρ δὴ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔχοντες οἱ πολλοὶ μεθ' ὀντερ καὶ οἰκονομοί καὶ τότε δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο οὕτως οἱ Τρκανίοι.

3. Ἐννοηθέντες δὲ οἱ τε πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ὅτι γιν τεθυσθεὶς μὲν ὁ ἄρχον αὐτῶν, ἦττημενοι δ' εἰεν, φόβος δ' ἐνείη τῷ στρατεύματι, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ὡς ἀθύμως ἔχοιεν καὶ ἀπολείποιεν, ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενοι ἐδο-

1 εὐπποι: Fischer, Edd.; ἐφπποi MSS. (on horseback).
also, he not only gave his message to the Medes with enthusiasm, but he added that, for his part, he himself would never leave the noblest and best of men, and what was more than all, a man descended from the gods.

II

1. While Cyrus was thus occupied, messengers came as if providentially from the Hyrcanians. Now the Hyrcanians are neighbours of the Assyrians; they are not a large nation; and for that reason they also were subjects of the Assyrians. Even then they had a reputation for being good horsemen, and they have that reputation still. For this reason the Assyrians used to employ them as the Spartans do the Sciritae, sparing them neither in hardships nor in dangers. And on that particular occasion they were ordered to bring up the rear (they were cavalrymen about a thousand strong), in order that, if any danger should threaten from behind, they might have to bear the brunt of it instead of the Assyrians. 2. But as the Hyrcanians were to march in the very rear, they had their wagons also and their families in the rear. For, as we know, most of the Asiatic peoples take the field accompanied by their entire households. So in this particular campaign, the Hyrcanians had taken the field thus attended.

3. But as they reflected how they were being treated by the Assyrians, that the Assyrian monarch was now slain and the army defeated, that there was great panic throughout the ranks, and that the allies were discouraged and deserting—as they thought
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ζεν αυτὸῖς νῦν καλὸν εἶναι ἀποστῆναι, εἰ θέλοιεν οἱ ἀμφὶ Κύρον συνεπιθέσθαι. καὶ πέμπουσιν ἀγγέλους πρὸς Κύρον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς μάχης τὸ τοῦτον ὄνομα μέγιστον ηὔξητο. 4. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες λέγουσι Κύρῳ ὅτι μισοῖεν τε τοὺς Ἀσσυ-ρίους δικαίως, νῦν τ’, εἰ βούλοιτο οἶναι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, καὶ σφεῖς σύμμαχοι ὑπάρξοιεν καὶ ἤγησοιντο· ἀμα δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοι δηγοῦντο τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ἔχοι, ἑπαίρειν βουλόμενοι μάλιστα στρατεύε-σθαι αὐτὸν.

5. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπήρετο αὐτοὺς, Καὶ δοκεῖτε ἂν, ἔφη, ἐτι ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὶν ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν εἶναι; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἔφη, μάλα συμφορὰν τοῦτο ἤγοιμεθα εἶναι ὅτι ἐλαθον ἡμᾶς ἀποδραίντες. ταῦτα δὲ ἐλεγε βουλόμενοι αὐτοῖς ὡς μέγιστον φρονεῖν ἐπὶ σφίσιν.

6. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι καὶ ἄριστον, ἐωθεν εἰ εὔξωνοι πορεύοιντο, καταλήψοιντο· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὅχλου καὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σχολὴ πορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς· καὶ ἂμα, ἐφασαν, τὴν προτέραν νῦκτα ἀγρυπνήσαντες νῦν μικρὸν προελθόντες ἕστρατοπέδευται.

7. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔφη, Ἐχετε οὖν ὅν λέγετε πιστὸν τι ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν ὡς ἀληθεύετε;

'Ομήρους γ’, ἐφασαν, ἔθελομεν αὐτίκα ἐλάσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγαγεῖν μόνον καὶ σὺ ἡμῖν πιστὰ θεῶν [πεποίησο] 2 καὶ δεξιὰν δός, ἦνα φέρωμεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπερ ἄν αὐτοὶ λάβωμεν παρὰ σοῦ.

1 προελθόντες Zeune, Edd.; προσελθόντες Z; πορευθέντες xy.
2 [πεποίησο] Cobet, Breitenbach; πεποίησο Z, Dindorf, Marchant; ποιήσεων xy.

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over these conditions, they decided that now was a good opportunity to revolt, if Cyrus and his followers would join them in an attack. So they sent envoys to Cyrus; for in consequence of the battle his name had been very greatly magnified. 4. And those who were sent told Cyrus that they had good reason to hate the Assyrians and that now, if he would proceed against them, they would be his allies and his guides as well. And at the same time they also gave him an account of the enemy’s plight, for they wished above all things to incite him to push the campaign.

5. “Do you really think,” Cyrus enquired, “that we could still overtake them before they reach their strongholds? For we,” he added, “consider it hard luck that they have run away from us when we were not watching.” Now he said this to make them think as highly as possible of his troops.

6. They answered that if Cyrus and his army would start out at daybreak in light marching order, he would come up with them the next day: for because their numbers were so vast and so encumbered with baggage, the enemy were marching slowly. “And besides,” they said, “as they had no sleep last night, they have gone ahead only a little way and are now encamped.”

7. “Have you, then, any surety to give us,” Cyrus asked, “to prove that what you say is true?”

“Yes,” they answered, “we are ready to ride away and bring you hostages this very night. Only do you also give us assurance in the name of the gods and give us your right hand, that we may give to the rest of our people, too, the same assurance that we receive from you.”
8. Ἐκ τοῦτον τὰ πιστὰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἡ μήν, εἰάν ἐμπεδώσωσιν ἡ λέγουσιν, ὡς φίλους καὶ πι- στοὺς χρήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς μήτε Περσῶν μήτε Μήδων μείν ἔχειν παρ’ ἑαυτῷ. καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἔτη ἰδεῖν Ἀρκανίους καὶ πιστευομένους καὶ ἀρ- χάς ἔχοντας, ὁσπέρ καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων οἱ ἄν δοκῶσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι.


11. Οὔτω δὴ ἐξῆλθον σχεδὸν ἀπαντεῖς καὶ οἱ Μήδοι πλὴν ὅσοι σὺν Κυναζύρῃ ἐτυχον σκηνοῦν-

1 ἐξῆγαν Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; ἥτω ἦσαν MSS., Dindorf, et al.
8. Thereupon he gave them his solemn promise that, if they should make good their statements, he would treat them as his true friends, so that they should count for no less in his esteem than the Persians or the Medes. And even to this day one may see the Hyrcanians holding positions of trust and authority, just like those of the Persians and Medes who are thought to be deserving.

9. When they had dined, he led out his army while it was still daylight, and he bade the Hyrcanians wait for him that they might go together. Now the Persians, as was to be expected, came out to a man to go with him, and Tigranes came with his army; 10. while of the Medes some came out because as boys they had been friends of Cyrus when he was a boy, others because they liked his ways when they had been with him on the chase, others because they were grateful to him for freeing them, as they thought, from great impending danger, and still others because they cherished the hope that as he seemed to be a man of ability he would one day be exceedingly successful and exceedingly great besides; others wished to requite him for some service he had done for them while he was growing up in Media; many, too, owed to his kindness of heart many a favour at the hands of his grandfather; and many, when they saw the Hyrcanians and when the report spread that these would lead them to rich plunder, came out (apart from other motives) for the sake of getting some gain.

11. The result was that almost all came out—even the Medes, except those who happened to be feasting in the same tent with Cyaxares; these and
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τες· οὕτω δὲ κατέμενον καὶ οἱ τούτων ὑπήκουν. οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες φαίνοντο καὶ προθύμως ἐξωρμώτη, ἄτε οὐκ ἀνάγκη ἀλλ’ ἐθελούσιοι καὶ χάριτος ἕνεκα ἔξιστες.

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω ἦσαν, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Μῆδους ἐλθὼν ἐπήνευσε τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπηύξατο μάλιστα μὲν θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἱλεως ἥγεισθαί καὶ σφίσω, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δυνασθήναι χάριν αὐτοῖς ταύτης τῆς προθύμιας ἀποδοθεῖαι. τέλος δ’ εἰπεν ὅτι ἡγήσοιτο μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοὶ, ἐκεῖνοι δ’ ἔπεσθαί σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐκέλευσε καὶ ὅπως ἀν ἀναπαύωνται ἡ ἐπίσχωσι τῆς πορείας, ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν παρελαύνειν τινάς, ἵνα εἴδωσι τὸ ἂελ καλρίαν. 13. ἐκ τούτου ἥγεισθαί ἐκέλευε τοὺς Τρκάνιους.

Καὶ οἱ ἡρώτων, Τί δέ; οὐκ ἀναμενεῖς, ἕφασαν, τοὺς ὀμήρους ἐως ἃν ἀγάγωμεν, ἵνα ἔχων καὶ σὺ τὰ πιστὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν πορεύῃ;

Καὶ τὸν ἀποκρίνασθαί λέγεται, Ἕνοο ὡρὰ, φάναι, ὅτι ἔχομεν τὰ πιστὰ ἐν ταῖς ἤμετέραις ψυχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἤμετέραις χερσίν. οὕτω γὰρ δοκοῦμεν παρεσκευάσθαι ὑπὸ ἃς ἦν μὲν ἀληθεύειτε, ἵκανοι εἶναι ἢμᾶς εὖ ποιεῖν· ἦν δὲ ἐξαπατάτε, οὕτω νομίζομεν ἔχειν ὅς οὐκ ἢμᾶς ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ἐσεθαί, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ θέλοντων, ὑμᾶς ἐφ’ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι. καὶ μέντοι, ἡφι, ὁ Ἰρκάνιοι, ἐπείπερ φατε ποτάτους ἐπεσθαί τοὺς ἤμετέρους, ἐπειδ’ ἦδητε αὐτούς, σημὴνατε 2 ἡμῖν ὅτι οἱ ἤμετεροι εἰσίν, ἵνα φειδωμέθα αὐτῶν.

1 ἀναμενεῖς Dindorf, later Edd.; ἀναμένει MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe.
2 σημηνατε Dindorf, later Edd.; σημάνετε 2; σημαίνετε χυ.
3 ἤμετεροι Brodaenus, Edd.; ἤμετεροι MSS.

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their subordinates remained behind. But all the rest hastened out cheerily and enthusiastically, for they came not from compulsion but of their own free will and out of gratitude.

12. And when they were out of the camp, he went first to the Medes and praised them and prayed the gods above all things graciously to lead them and his own men, and he prayed also that he himself might be enabled to reward them for this zeal of theirs. In concluding, he stated that the infantry should go first, and he ordered the Medes to follow with their cavalry. And wherever they were to rest or halt from their march, he enjoined it upon them that some of their number should always come to him, that they might know the need of the hour.

13. Then he ordered the Hyrcanians to lead the way.

“What!” they exclaimed, “are you not going to wait until we bring the hostages, that you also may have a guarantee of our good faith before you proceed?”

“No,” he is said to have answered; “for I consider that we have the guarantee in our own hearts and hands. For it is with these, I think, that we are in a position to do you a service, if you speak the truth; but if you are trying to deceive us, we think that, as things are, we shall not be in your power, but rather, if the gods will, you shall be in ours. And hark you, men of Hyrcania,” said he, “as you say that your people are bringing up the enemy’s rear, inform us, as soon as you see them, that they are yours, that we may do them no harm.”
14. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἕρκαντοι τῆν μὲν ὄδον ἵγοντο ὡσπερ ἐκέλευς, τὴν δὲ ῥόμην τῆς ψυχῆς ἑπαύμαζον· καὶ οὕτε Ἀσσυρίοις οὕτε Λυδοῖς οὕτε τούς συμμάχους αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐφοβοῦντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ παντάπασιν ὁ Κῦρος μικράν τινα αὐτῶν οἴνοιτο ῥοπήν εἶναι καὶ προσόντων καὶ ἀπόντων.

15. Πορευομένων δὲ ἐπειδὴ νῦς ἐπεγένετο, λέγεται φῶς τῷ Κῦρῳ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προφανὲς γενέσθαι, ὡστε πᾶσι μὲν φρίκην ἐγγέγραγε οὗτος ἐπὶ τὸ θείον, θάρρος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ εὐξιώντοι τε καὶ ταχὺ ἐπορεύοντο, εἰκότως πολλὴν τε ὄδον διημνυσαν καὶ ἀμα κνέφα πλησίον γύρωνται τοῦ τῶν Ἐρκανίων στρατεύματος. 16. ὡς δὲ ἐγνώσαν οἱ ἄγγελοι, καὶ τῷ Κῦρῳ λέγουσιν ὅτι οὗτοι εἰσίν οἱ σφέτεροι· τῷ τε γὰρ ῥυτίστους εἶναι γυμνῶσκεν ἐφάσαν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν πυρῶν. 17. ἐκ τούτου πέμπει τὸν ἄλλον αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτούς, προς τὰς λέγειν, εἰ φίλου εἰσίν, ὅς τάχιστα ὑπαντῶν τᾶς δεξιάς ἀνατείναντας· συμπέμπει δὲ τινὰ καὶ τῶν σὺν ἔαυτῷ καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς Ἐρκανίοις ὥστε ἃν ὅρωσιν αὐτούς προσφέροντον, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιήσουσιν. οὕτω δὴ ὁ μὲν μὲνει τῶν ἀγγέλων παρὰ τῷ Κῦρῳ, ὁ δὲ προσελαύνει πρὸς τοὺς Ἐρκανίους.

18. Ἔν δὲ ἐσκόπην τοὺς Ἐρκανίους ὁ Κῦρος ὁ τῷ ποιήσουσιν, ἐπέστησε τὸ στρατεύμα· παρελαύνουσι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τῶν Μηδῶν προεστη-

1 ἄχυ, Dindorf, Gemoll; omitted in z, Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant.
2 τινα Zeune, Edd.; τινάς MSS.
14. When the Hyrcanians heard this, they led the way, as he ordered. They wondered at his magnanimity; and they no longer had any fear of either the Assyrians or the Lydians or their allies, but they feared only lest he should think that it was not of the slightest moment whether they joined him or not.

15. As they proceeded, night came on, and it is said that a light from heaven shone forth upon Cyrus and his army, so that they were all filled with awe at the miracle but with courage to meet the enemy. And as they were proceeding in light marching order with all dispatch, they naturally covered a great distance, and in the morning twilight they drew near to the army of the Hyrcanians.

16. And when the messengers recognized the fact, they reported to Cyrus that these were their own people; for they said that they recognized them both by the fact that they were in the rear and by the number of their fires. 17. Upon hearing this report he sent one of the two messengers to them with orders to say that if they were friends, they should come to meet him with their right hands raised. And he sent along also one of his own men and ordered him to tell the Hyrcanians that he and his army would govern their conduct according to the way in which they should see the Hyrcanians behave. And thus it came to pass that one of the messengers remained with Cyrus, while the other rode away to the Hyrcanians.

18. While Cyrus was watching to see what the Hyrcanians were going to do, he halted his army. And Tigranes and the officers of the Medes rode up
κότες καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης καὶ ἔπερωτώσι τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὅτι τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸ πλησίον Ὁρκανίων στράτευμα καὶ οὐχεταὶ ὁ ἔτερος τῶν ἀγγέλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἢμετέρων τις σὺν αὐτῷ, ἔρούντες, εἰ φίλοι εἰσίν, ὑπαντιάζειν τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντας πάντας. ἂν μὲν οὖν οὗτο ποιῶσι, δεξιοῦσθέ τε αὐτοὺς καθ’ ὅν ἦν ἡ ἐκαστος, καὶ ἁμα θαρρύνετε· ἂν δὲ ὅπλα αἰροῦνται ἡ φεῦγειν ἐπιχειρῶσι, τούτων, ἔφη, εὐθὺς δεὶ πρῶτων πειράσθαι μηδένα λυπεῖν.

19. Ὁ μὲν τοιούτα παρήγγειλεν. οἱ δὲ Ἡρκάνιοι ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἀγγέλων ἡθησάντες καὶ ἀναπηδῆσαντες ἦπι τούς ἱπποὺς παρῆκαν τὰς δεξιὰς, ὡσπερ εἰρήτο, προτείνοντες· οἱ δὲ Μήδοι καὶ Πέρσαι ἀντεδεξιοῦντο τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἑθάρρυνον.

20. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει, Ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ, ὁ Ἡρκάνιοι, ἢδη ὑμῖν πιστεῦσομεν· καὶ ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὔτως ἔχειν. τοῦτο δ’, ἔφη, πρῶτον ἡμῖν εἰπετε πόσον ἀπέχει ἐνθένδε ἐνθα αἱ ἀρχαι εἰσι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὸ ἀθρόον αὐτῶν.

Οἱ δ’ ἀπεκρίναντο δὲ τὸ ὅλῳ πλεόν ἡ παρασάγγυς.

21. Ἐνταθάδα δὴ λέγει ὁ Κύρος, Ἀγετε δὴ, ἔφη, ὁ ἄνδρες Πέρσαι καὶ Μήδοι καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὁ Ἡρκάνιοι, ἢδη γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους καὶ κοινωνίας διαλέγομαι, εὖ χρὴ εἰδέναι νῦν ὅτι ἐν τοιούτῳ ἐσμὲν ἐνθα δὴ μαλακισάμενοι μὲν πάντων ἀν τῶν χαλεπώτατων τύχοιμεν ἦσασι γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφ’ ἡκομεν· ἂν δὲ τὸ καρτερὸν ἐμβαλόμενοι ἵομεν ῥώμη καὶ θυμὸ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτίκα μᾶλ’ ὅψεσθε ὡσπερ δούλων ἀποδιδρασκόν.
to him and asked what they should do. And he said to them: "What you see there not far away is the Hyrcanian army; and one of their envoys has gone to them, and one of our men with him, to tell them all, if they are our friends, to come to meet us with their right hands upraised. Now, if they do so, give to them the right hand of fellowship, each of you to the man opposite himself, and at the same time bid them welcome. But if they raise a weapon or attempt to run away, we must lose no time in trying not to leave a single one of these first alive."

19. Such were his commands. And the Hyrcanians were delighted when they heard the report of the envoys, and leaping upon their horses they came at once with right hands upraised, as directed, and the Medes and Persians gave the right hand of fellowship and bade them welcome.

20. "Men of Hyrcania," Cyrus said presently, "we trust you now, as you see; and you also ought to feel the same way toward us. But tell us first how far it is from here to the headquarters of the enemy and the main body of their army."

"Not much more than a parasang," they answered.

21. "Come on, then, Persians and Medes," Cyrus cried; "and you Hyrcanians—for now I speak with you also as confederates and allies—you must know that we are in a position where we shall meet with nothing but disaster if we betray a lack of courage; for the enemy know what we have come for. But if we go into the attack upon the enemy with might and main and with stout hearts, you will see right soon that, just like a lot of slaves caught in an attempt to run away, some of them will beg for mercy, others
τῶν ἡμηριμέων τοὺς μὲν ἴκετεύοντας αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτα φρονεῖν δυναμένους. ἦττημένοι τε γὰρ ὄφονται ἡμᾶς καὶ οὔτε οἷόμενοι ἤξειν οὔτε συντεταγμένοι οὔτε μάχεσθαι παρεσκευασμένοι κατειλημμένοι ἔσονται. 22. εἰ οὖν ἡδεὶς βουλόμεθα καὶ δειπνήσαι καὶ νυκτερεύσαι καὶ βιωτεύων τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, μὴ δῶμεν αὐτοῖς σχολὴν μήτε βουλεύσασθαι μήτε παρασκευάσασθαι ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν, μηδὲ γνῶναι πάμπαν ὅτι ἀνθρωποὶ ἔσμεν, ἀλλὰ γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ σαγάρεις ἀπαντά καὶ πληγάς ἥκειν νομιζόντων.

23. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν, ἐφη, ὁ Ἰρκάνιοι, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς προπετάσαντες ἡμῶν πορεύσεσθε ἐμπροσθεν, ἄπω τῶν ὑμετέρων ὅπλων ὀρωμένων λαυθάνομεν ὅτι πλείστων χρόνων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ εὐγε τὸ στρατεύματι γένομαι τῶν πολεμίων, παρ' ἐμοὶ μὲν καταλύπτετε ἐκαστοὶ τάξεων ἱππέων, ἕλθεν τε, ἁρώματι μὲνων παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 24. ἡμῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τάξει ἄρθρῳ ἐλαύνοντες, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε, ἵνα μήποτε ἄρθρῳ τι έντυχόντες ἀποβιασθῆτε, τούς δὲ νεωτέρους ἐβίβαστε διώκειν· οὕτως δὲ καινόντων τοῦτο γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον, ἦν ὅσ ἐλαχίστους τῶν πολεμίων λειτοῦν.

25. Ἡν δὲ νυκῶμεν, ἐφη, ὅ πολλοὶς δὴ κρατοῦσι τὴν τύχην ἀνέτρεψα, φυλάξασθαι δεῖ τὸ ἐφ' ἀρπαγήν τραπέζαν· ὅσ ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν οὐκέτ' ἄνηρ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ σκευοφόρος· καὶ ἔξετι τῷ βουλομένῳ χρῆσθαι ἥδη τούτῳ ός ἀνδραπόδῳ.

26. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ χρῆ γνῶναι ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστι κερδαλεώτερον τοῦ νικῶν· ὁ γὰρ κρατῶν ἀματῦντα συνήρπακε, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς 334
will try to escape, others still will not even have presence of mind to do either. For they will see us before they have recovered from their first defeat, and they will find themselves caught neither thinking of our coming, nor drawn up in line, nor prepared to fight. 22. If, therefore, we wish from this time forth to eat well, to sleep soundly, and to live comfortably, let us not give them time either to take counsel or to provide any defence for themselves, or even to recognize at all that we are human beings; but let them think that nothing but shields, swords, bills, and blows have descended upon them.

23. "And you, Hyrcanians," said he, "spread yourselves out in the van and march before us, in order that only your arms may be seen and that our presence here may be concealed as long as possible. And when I come up with the enemy’s army, then leave with me, each of you, a division of cavalry for me to use while I remain near their camp. 24. But you, officers and men of years, march together in close order, if you are wise, so that if you fall in with any compact body you may never be forced back; and leave the pursuit to the younger men, and let them kill all they can; for this is the safest measure—to leave now as few of the enemy alive as possible.

25. "And if we win the battle," he continued, "we must be on our guard against an error which has lost the day for many in the hour of victory—turning aside to plunder. For the man who does this is no longer a soldier but a camp-follower; and any one who will is free to treat him as a slave.

26. "You should realize this also, that nothing is more enriching than victory. For the victor has swept together all the spoil at once, the men and
γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πᾶσιν τὴν χώραν. πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦτο μόνον ὅρατε ὅπως τὴν νίκην
dιασωζόμεθα: ἦν γὰρ κρατηθῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρπάζων ἤχεται. καὶ τούτῳ ἀμα διώκοντες μέ-
μνησθε, ἥκειν πάλιν ὡς ἔμε ἐτὶ φάους ὦντος· ὡς
σκότους γενομένων οὐδένα ἔτι προσδεξόμεθα.

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

'Εκ τούτου προηγούντο μὲν οἱ Ἰρκάνιοι, αὐτὸς
dὲ τὸ μέσον ἔχουν σὺν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπορεύετο·
tοὺς δὲ Ἰππέας ἐκατέρωθεν, ὡσπερ εἰκός, παρ-
έταξε.

28. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων, ἐπεὶ φῶς ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν
ἐθαύμαζον τὰ ὁρόμενα, 1 οἱ δ᾽ ἐγίγνωσκον Ἡδη,
οἱ δ᾽ ἤγγελλον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐβόων, οἱ δ᾽ ἔλυον ἱπποὺς,
οἱ δὲ συνεσκενάζοντο, οἱ δ᾽ ἐρρύττουν τὰ ὅπλα
ἀπὸ τῶν ὕποξυνών, οἱ δ᾽ ὁπλίζοντο, οἱ δ᾽
ἀνεπίδεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς, οἱ δ᾽ ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ
tὰς γυναῖκας ἀνεβίβαζον ἐπὶ τὰ χήματα, οἱ δὲ
tὰ πλεῖστον ἄξια ἔλαμβαν ὡς διασωζόμενοι,
οἱ δὲ κατορύπτοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἥλισκοντο, οἱ δὲ
πλείστοι εἰς φυγὴν ὄρμων ὀίσθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ
ἀλλὰ πολλά τε καὶ παντοδαπὰ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς,
πλὴν ἐμάχετο οὐρεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμαχητὶ ἀπώλευντο.

29. Κροῖσος δὲ ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεύς, ὡς θέρος

1 ὁρόμενα xy, most Edd.; ὁρόμενα z, Dindorf (the doings).
the women, the wealth and all the lands. Therefore have an eye to this alone—that we may conserve our victory; for even the plunderer himself is in the enemy’s power if he is conquered. And remember even in the heat of pursuit to come back to me while it is yet daylight; for after nightfall we shall not admit another man.”

27. When he had said this he sent them away to their several companies with orders to issue, as they marched, the same directions each to his own corporals (for the corporals were in the front so as to hear); and they were to bid the corporals each one to announce it to his squad.

Then the Hyrcanians led the way while he himself with his Persians occupied the centre as they marched. The cavalry he arranged, as was natural, on either flank.

28. And when daylight came, some of the enemy wondered at what they saw, some realized at once what it meant, some began to spread the news, some to cry out, some proceeded to untie the horses, some to pack up, others to toss the armour off the pack-animals, still others to arm themselves, while some were leaping upon their horses, some bridling them, others helping the women into the wagons, and others were snatching up their most valuable possessions to save them; still others were caught in the act of burying theirs, while the most of them sought refuge in precipitate flight. We may imagine that they were doing many other things also—all sorts of other things—except that no one offered to resist, but they perished without striking a blow.

29. As it was summer, Croesus, the king of Lydia,
XENOPHON

ἡν, τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις προαι- ἐπέμψατο τῆς νυκτὸς, ὡς ἂν ῥάον πορεύοντο κατὰ ψυχός, καὶ αὐτῶν ἔχων τοὺς ἵππεας ἐπη- κολούθει. 30. καὶ τὸν Θρύγα τὰ αὐτὰ ποιήσατι φασί τὸν τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἄρχοντα Θρυ- γίας. ὡς δὲ παρῆσθοντο τῶν φευγόντων καὶ καταλαμβανόντων αὐτούς, πυθόμενοι τὸ γυνό- μενον ἐφευγοῦ ἁὴ καὶ αὐτὸλ ἀνά κράτος.

31. Τὸν δὲ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν Βασίλεια καὶ τῶν τῶν Ἀραβίων ἔτι ἐγγύς ὄντας καὶ ὑποστάντας ἀθωρακίστους κατακαίνονσιν οἱ Ἰρκάνιοι. τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἦν τῶν ἀποθανόντων Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῶν ὄντες χώρα ἁσυντο- νωτάτα πρὸς τὴν πορείαν εἰχον.

32. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Μήδοι καὶ Ἰρκάνιοι, οὐλα δὴ ἐκὸς κρατοῦντας,1 τοιαύτα ἐποίεσαν διώκοντες. ὡς δὲ Κύρος τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἵππεας καταλείφθεντας περιελαύνειν ἐκέλευε τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εἶ τινας σὺν ὀλοις ἱδοίεν ἐξιόντας, κατακαίνειν· τοὺς δ' ὑπομένουσιν ἐκήρυξεν, ὁπόσοι τῶν πολεμίων στρατιωτῶν ἦσαν ἰππεῖς ἢ πελτασταλ ἢ τοξόται, ἀποφέρειν τὰ ὀπλα συνυδεμένα, τοὺς δὲ ἰπποὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς καταλείπειν· οὕτως δὲ ταύτα μὴ πουῦσοι, αὐτὶκα τῆς κεφαλῆς στερήσεσθαι· τὰς δὲ κοπίδας προχειρούς ἐχοντες ἐν τάξει περιε- στασαν.2 33. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὀπλα ἐχοντες ἐρρί- πτουν, ἀποφέρουσας εἰς ἐν χωρίον ὁποί ἐκέλευν· καὶ ταύτα μὲν οἷς ἔπεταξεν ἐκαυν.

34. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐνενόησεν ὅτι ἡλθον μὲν οὔτε

1 κρατοῦντας Castalio, Edd.; κρατούντες MSS.
2 περιέστασαν Fischer, Edd.; περιέστασαν MSS.
had had his women sent on by night in carriages, that they might proceed more comfortably in the cool of the night, and he himself was following after with his cavalry. 30. And the Phrygian king, the ruler of Phrygia on the Hellespont, they say, did the same. And when they saw the fugitives who were overtaking them, they enquired of them what was happening, and then they also took to flight as fast as they could go.

31. But the king of Cappadocia and the Arabian king, as they were still near by and stood their ground though unarmed, were cut down by the Hyrcanians. But the majority of the slain were Assyrians and Arabians. For as these were in their own country, they were very leisurely about getting away.

32. Now the Medes and Hyrcanians, as they pursued, committed such acts as men might be expected to commit in the hour of victory. But Cyrus ordered the horsemen who had been left with him to ride around the camp and to kill any that they saw coming out under arms; while to those who remained inside he issued a proclamation that as many of the enemy's soldiers as were cavalrmen or targeteers or bowmen should bring out their weapons tied in bundles and deliver them up, but should leave their horses at their tents. Whoever failed to do so should soon lose his head. Now Cyrus's men stood in line around them, sabre in hand. 33. Accordingly, those who had the weapons carried them to one place, where he directed, and threw them down, and men whom he had appointed for the purpose burned them.

34. Now Cyrus recollected that they had come
σίτα ούτε ποτα ἔχουσες, ἀνευ δὲ τούτων οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι δυνατὸν οὔτ' ἀλλο ποιεῖν οὐδὲν.
σκοπῶν δ' ὅπως ἄν κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα ταύτα γένοιτο, ἐνθυμεῖται ὃτι ἀνάγκη πᾶσι τοῖς στρα-
τευομένοις εἶναι τίνα ὅτι καὶ σκηνῆς μελήσει καὶ ὅπως τάπιτηδεια παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς στρατιώ-
ταις εἰσιούσιν ἔσται. 35. καὶ τούτων ἐγὼ ὅτι τούτους εἶκος μάλιστα πάντων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
νῦν κατειλήφθαι ἦν διὰ τὸ ἀμφὶ συγκεκριμέναιν ἕχειν ἐκήρυξε δὴ παρείναι τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους
πάντας· εἰ δὲ ποὺ μὴ εἰ ἐπίτροπος, τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἀπὸ σκηνῆς· τῷ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντι πάντα
τὰ χαλεπὰ ἄνειτεν. οἱ δὲ ὅρωτες καὶ τοὺς
dεσπότας πειθομένους ταχὺ ἐπέθεοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ
παρεγένοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευε καθῆκεν
αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἐστὶ πλέον ἢ δυνόν μην ὑπὸ ἑ
σκηνῆ τάπιτηδεια. 36. ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων εἶδεν,
αὕτης ἐκέλευν ὅσοις μηνός ἦν ἐν τούτῳ σχέδον
πάντες ἐκαθῆξοντο. 37. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτα ἐμαθεῖν,
ἐπὶν ὅδε αὐτοῖς.

"Ἄγετε νῦν, ἐφη, ὅ ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ τινὲς ὑμῶν τὰ
μὲν κακὰ μισεῖτε, μαλακόν δὲ τινὸς παρ' ἡμῶν
βούλοισθ' ἀν τυγχάνειν, ἔπιμελήθητε προθύμως
ὅπως διπλάσια ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐκάστῃ σίτα καὶ
ποτὰ παρεσκευασμένα ἢ ἢ τοῖς δεσπόταις καὶ
tοῖς οἰκέταις καθ' ὧν ἤμεραν ἐποιεῖτε· καὶ τάλλα
δὲ πάντα ὅποσα καλὴν δαίμονα παρέξει ἐτοιμα
ποιεῖτε, ὡς αὐτίκα μᾶλα παρέσονται ὑπότεροι ἂν
cratῶσι, καὶ ἄξιοσουσίν ἐκπλευ ἔχειν πάντα

1 Ἀγετε νῦν Edd.; Ἀγετε νῦν 2; Ἀγετε τούν xD.
with neither food nor drink, and without these it was not possible to prosecute a campaign or to do anything else. And as he was considering how to procure the best possible supplies with the greatest possible dispatch, it occurred to him that all those who take the field must have some one to take care of the tent and to have food prepared for the soldiers when they came in. 35. So he concluded that of all people these were the ones most likely to have been caught in the camp, because they would have been busy packing up. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation for all the commissaries to come to him; but if a commissary officer should be lacking anywhere, the oldest man from that tent should come. And to any one who should dare to disobey he threatened direst punishment. But when they saw their masters obeying, they also obeyed at once. And when they had come, he first ordered those of them to sit down who had more than two months' supply of provisions in their tents. 36. And when he had noted them, he gave the same order to those who had one month's supply. Hereupon nearly all sat down. 37. And when he had this information he addressed them as follows:

"Now then, my men," said he, "if any of you have a dislike for trouble and wish that you might receive kind treatment at our hands, be sure to see to it that there be twice as much food and drink prepared in each tent as you used to get ready every day for your masters and their servants; and get everything else ready that belongs to a good meal; for whichever side is victorious, they will very soon be here and they will expect to find plenty of every
τάπτυθεια. εὖ οὖν ἵστε ὅτι συμφέροι ἄν ύμιν ἀμέμπτως δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

38. Οἱ μὲν ὅτι ταύτ’ ἀκούσαντες πολλῇ σπουδῇ τὰ παρηγγελμένα ἐπραττόν· ὦ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἔλεξε ποιάδε· Ἀνδρέας φίλοι, γνωρίσκω μὲν ἃτι νῦν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν προτέρους τῶν ἀπόντων συμμάχων ἁρίστου τυχεῖν καὶ τοῖς μᾶλλον ἐσπουδασμένοις σύτοις καὶ ποταῖς χρησθαί· ἀλλ’ οὐ μοι δοκεῖ τούτ’ ἂν τὸ ἁριστὸν πλέον ὁφελῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπιμελεῖς φανῆαι, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτὴ ἢ εὐώχια ἵσχυροτέρους τοσοῦτον ποιήσαι ὅσον εἰ δυναῖμεθα τῶν συμμάχων προθυμίους ποιεῖσθαι. 39. εἰ δὲ τῶν νυνὶ διωκόντων καὶ κατακαίνοντων τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολεμίους καὶ μαχομένων, εἰ τις ἐναντιοῦται, τούτων δόξομεν ὅτους ἀμελεῖν ὅστε καὶ πρὶν εἴδεναι πῶς πράττουσιν ἡριστηκότες φαινεσθαι, ὅπως μὴ αἰσχροὶ μὲν φαινόμεθα, ἀσθενεῖς δ’ ἐσόμεθα συμμάχων ἀποροῦντες. τὸ δὲ τῶν κινδυνεύοντων καὶ πονοῦντων ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως εἰςόντες τάπτυθεια ἔξουσιν, αὕτη ἂν ἡμᾶς ἡ θοίην πλείω εὐφράνειν, ὅς ἐγὼ φήμι, ἢ τὸ παραχομία τῇ γαστρὶ χαράσσασθαι. 40. ἐννοήσατε δ’, ἐφη, ὡς εἰ μηδ’ ἐκείνους αἰσχυντέου ἴν, οὔτ’ ὅς ἡμῖν νῦν προσῆκει οὔτε πλησιμονής ποι ὅτε μέθης· οὐ γὰρ ποι διαπέρακται ἡμῖν ἢ βουλόμεθα, ἀλλ’ αὕτ’ ἄν τὰ πάντα νῦν ἀκμάξει ἐπιμελείας δεόμενα. ἔχομεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολέμους πολλαπλασίους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ

1 γιγάντσκο μὲν an otherwise unknown MS. of Valckenaer (cited as O by Dindorf), Breitenbach, Gemoll; γιγαντσκομεν xyg, Marchant.
sort of provisions. Let me assure you, then, that it would be to your advantage to entertain those men handsomely.”

38. When they heard this, they proceeded with great alacrity to carry out his directions, while he called together his captains and spoke as follows: “I realize, friends, that it is possible for us now to take luncheon first, while our comrades are away, and to enjoy the choicest food and drink. But I do not think that it would be of more advantage to us to eat this luncheon than it would to show ourselves thoughtful for our comrades; neither do I think that this feasting would add as much to our strength as we should gain if we could make our allies devoted to us. 39. But if we show ourselves to be so neglectful of them that we are found to have broken our fast even before we know how they are faring, while they are pursuing and slaying our enemies and fighting any one that opposes them, let us beware lest we be disgraced in their eyes and lest we find ourselves crippled by the loss of our allies. If, on the other hand, we take care that those who are bearing the danger and the toil shall have what they need when they come back, a banquet of this sort would, in my opinion, give us more pleasure than any immediate gratification of our appetites. 40. And remember,” said he, “that even if we were under no obligation to show them every consideration, even so it is not proper for us as yet to sate ourselves with food or drink; for not yet have we accomplished what we wish, but, on the contrary, everything is now at a crisis and requires care. For we have enemies in camp many times our own number, and that, too,
τούτους λελυμένους· οδὴς καὶ φυλάττεσθαι ἐτὶ προσήκει καὶ φυλάττειν, ὅπως ὅσι καὶ οἱ ποιή-
σοντες ἥμιν τάπιτηδεια· ἐτὶ δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἥμιν ἀπεισοῦν, φροντίδα παρέχοντες ὅπων ἕπιστεύει καὶ ἔλθωσιν, εἰ παραμενοῦσιν.

41. Ὁ μὲν δὲ άνδρες, νῦν μονοῦ δοκεῖ τοιούτων σώματι ἡμᾶς προσφέρεσθαι δεῖν καὶ τοιούτων ποτὲν ὅποιον ἄν τις οἶδε μᾶλλον σύμφορον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ μῆτε ὑπνοῦ μήτε ἀφροσύνης ἐμπώλι-

42. Ἡ μὲν δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ, ὅπως ἄγνωτον ἄρει τὸν ἥμιν κοινὸν ὅπως, τοῖς συγκατελθόντοις νοσφίσωσιν ὅποιον ἄν βουλώμεθα· ἀλλ’ ὅσι ὃς μοι δοκεῖ τὸ λαβεῖν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ δικαίους φαινομένους ἐκεῖνοις τούτοις πρίσισθαι ἐτί μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς νῦν ἀπαύγασθαι ἡμᾶς. 43. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ἡμᾶς·  ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἔλθωσιν. Ἡμὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀρκαδίους καὶ Τυγράνη ἐπιτρέψας καὶ ἡμᾶς τῷ μεῖον ἥμιν δάσωσιν, κέρδος ἥγεσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τὰ κέρδη ἡδίον ἥμιν παραμένοντος. 44. τὸ μὲν γὰρ νῦν πλεονεκτήσας ὀλυγοχρόνιον ἄν ἥμιν τὸν πλοῦτον παράχοι· τὸ δὲ ταύτα προεμένους ἐκεῖνα κτησάσας ὅθεν ὁ πλοῦτος φύεται, τούτο, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκῶ, ἀνεαύτερον ἥμιν δύναιν ἄν τὸν ὀλβὸν καὶ πάσι τοῖς ἠμετέροις παρέχειν.

45. Ὡμιλοῦν  δὲ, ἡμᾶς, καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἡμᾶς τούτων ἐνεκα ἀσκεῖν καὶ γαστρῶς κρείπτους εἶναι καὶ κερδέων

1 ὅπως xD, most Edd.; τοῦ AH, Dindorf, Hug.
under no confinement. We not only must keep watch against them but we must keep watch over them, so that we may have people to look after our provisions. Besides, our cavalry are gone, making us anxious to know where they are and whether they will stay with us if they do come back.

41. "And so, my men," said he, "it seems to me that we should take only such meat and such drink as one would suppose to be least likely to overcome us with sleep and foolishness.

42. "Besides, there is also a vast amount of treasure in the camp, and I am not ignorant of the fact that it is possible for us to appropriate to ourselves as much of it as we please, though it belongs just as much to those who helped us to get it. But I do not think it would bring us greater gain to take it than it would to show that we mean to be fair and square, and by such dealing to secure greater affection from them than we have already. 43. And so it seems best to me to entrust the division of the treasure to the Medes and Hyrcanians and Tigranes when they come; and if they apportion to us the smaller share, I think we should account it our gain; for because of what they gain, they will be the more glad to stay with us. 44. For to secure a present advantage would give us but short-lived riches. But to sacrifice this and obtain the source from which real wealth flows, that, as I see it, could put us and all of ours in possession of a perennial fountain of wealth.

45. "And if I am not mistaken, we used to train ourselves at home, too, to control our appetites and to abstain from unseasonable gain with this in view, that,
ἀκαίρων, ἵν, εἰ ποτὲ δέοι, δυναίμεθα αὐτοῖς συμφόρως χρῆσθαι: ποῦ δὲ ἂν ἐν μείζοσι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐπιδειξάμεθ' ἂν τὴν παιδείαν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὅρω.

46. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε. συνεῖπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Στάσσας Ἀνήρ Πέρσης τῶν ὁμοτίμων ὅδε: Δεινὸν γάρ τὰν εἰς, ὁ Κῦρος, εἰ ἐν θῆρα μὲν πολλάκις ἀσιτοὶ καρτεροῦμεν, ὅπως θηρίων τι ὑποχείρου ποιησόμεθα καὶ μᾶλα μικροῦ ἵσως αξίου ὅλον δὲ ὅλου πειράματι θηρᾶν εἰ ἐμποδοῦν τι ποιησαίμεθα γενέσθαι ἡμῖν ἃ τῶν μὲν κακῶν ἀνδρῶπων ἄρχει, τοῖς δὲ ἄγαθοῖς πείθεται, οὐκ ἂν πρέποντα ἡμῖν δοκοῦμεν ¹ ποιεῖν.

47. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ὁ Στάσσας οὕτως εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ταῦτα συνῆκινον. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἀγε δή, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ ὁμοοὐμεν ταῦτα, πέμψατε ἀπὸ λόγου ἐκαστος πέντε ἀνδρας τῶν σπουδαιοτάτων· οὕτῳ δὲ περιοῦντες, οὗς μὲν ἂν ὀρῶσι πορφύρωντας ταπιτήδεια, ἐπαινοῦντων οὓς δὲ ἂν ἀμελοῦντας, κολαζοῦντων ἀφειδεστερον ἡ ὡς δεσπόται.

Οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίειν.

III

1. Τῶν δὲ Μῆδων των ἡδη, οἱ μὲν ἀμάξας προσφιμημένας καταλαβόντες καὶ ἀποστρέφαντες προσήλυνον μεστὰς ὁν δεῖται στρατιά, οἱ δὲ

¹ δοκούμεν Dindorf⁴, Marchant, Hug; δοκούμεν zE², Dindorf³, Breitenbach; δοκοῖν E¹; δοκοῖν CD.

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if occasion should ever demand it, we might be able to employ our powers of self-control to our advantage. And I fail to see where we could give proof of our training on a more important occasion than the present.”

46. Thus he spoke; and Hystaspas, one of the Persian peers, supported him in the following speech: “Why, yes, Cyrus; on the chase we often hold out without a thing to eat, in order to get our hands on some beast, perhaps one worth very little; and it would be strange indeed now, when the quarry we are trying to secure is a world of wealth, if we should for a moment allow those passions to stand in our way which are bad men’s masters but good men’s servants. I think, if we did so, we should be doing what does not befit us.”

47. Such was Hystaspas’s speech, and all the rest agreed with it. Then Cyrus said: “Come then, since we are of one mind on this point, send each of you five of the most reliable men from his platoon. Let them go about and praise all those whom they see preparing provisions; and let them punish more unsparingly than if they were their masters those whom they see neglectful.”

Accordingly, they set about doing so.

III

1. Now a part of the Medes were already bringing the cavalry in the wagons which had been hurried forward and which they had overtaken and turned back packed
καὶ ἀρμαμάξας γυναικῶν τῶν βελτίστων τῶν μὲν γυνησίων, τῶν δὲ καὶ παλακίδων διὰ τὸ κάλλος συμπεριαγομένων, ταύτας εἰληφότες προσῆγον. 2. πάντες γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἁσίαν στρατεύομενοι ἔχοντες τὰ πλείστον ἀξία στρατεύονται, λέγοντες ὅτι μᾶλλον μάχωτ’ ἂν εἰ τὰ φίλτατα παρεῖν τούτοις γὰρ φασιν ἀνάγκην εἶναι προθύμως ἄλεξειν. ἵσως μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ἵσως δὲ καὶ ποιοῦσιν αὐτὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ χαριζόμενοι.

3. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος θεωρῶν τὰ τῶν Μῆδων ἔργα καὶ Ἡρκανίων ὀσπερ κατεμέμφετο καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, εἴ οἱ ἄλλοι τούτος τὸν Χρόνον ἀκμάζειν τε μᾶλλον ἑαυτῶν ἐδόκουν καὶ προσκή- σθαι τι, αὐτοὶ δ’ ἐν ἄργοτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ὑπομένειν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ ἀπάγοντες καὶ ἀποδεικνύοντες Κύρῳ ἂ ἅγου πάλιν ἀπῆλαινον, μεταδιώκοντες τοὺς ἄλλους· ταύτα γὰρ σφίσων ἐφασαν προστετάχθαι ποιεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιτῶν.

Δακνόμενος δὴ ὁ Κύρος ἔπι τούτοις ταύτα μὲν ὡμοι κατεχόριζε· συνεκάλει δὲ πάλιν τοὺς τα- ξιάρχους, καὶ στὰς ὅπου ἐμελλον πάντες ἀκοῦσθαι τὰ βουλευόμενα λέγει τάδε· 4. Ὅτι μὲν, ὃς ἄνδρες φίλοι, εἰ κατάσχοιμεν τὰ νῦν προφαινό- μενα, μεγάλα μὲν ἂν ἀπασι Πέρσαις ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο, μέγιστα δ’ ἂν εἰκότως ἤμιν δὲ ὑπ’ ἐν πράτ- τεται, πάντες οἴμαι γυγνώσκομεν· ὅπως δ’ ἂν

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full of what an army needs; others were bringing in the carriages that conveyed the most high-born
women, not only wedded wives but also concubines, who on account of their beauty had been brought
along; these also they captured and brought in. 2. For even unto this day all who go to war in Asia
take with them to the field what they prize most highly; for they say that they would do battle the
more valiantly, if all that they hold dearest were there; for these, they say, they must do their best
to protect. This may, perhaps, be true; but perhaps also they follow this custom for their own sensual
gratification.

3. When Cyrus saw what the Medes and Hyrcanians were doing, he poured reproach, as it were, upon
himself and his men, because during this time the others seemed to be surpassing them in strenuous
activity and gaining something by it, too, while he and his men remained in a position where there was
little or nothing to do. And it did seem so; for when the horsemen brought in and showed to Cyrus what
they brought, they rode away again in pursuit of the others; for, they said, they had been instructed
by their officers so to do.

Though Cyrus was naturally nettled at this, still he assigned a place to the spoil. And again he
called his captains together and standing where they would all be sure to hear his words of counsel, he
spoke as follows: 4. "Friends, we all appreciate, I am sure, that if we could but make our own the good
fortune that is now dawning upon us, great blessings would come to all the Persians and above all,
as is reasonable, to us by whom they are secured. But I fail to see how we are to establish a
αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς κύριοι γνωσιμεθα, μὴ αὐτάρκεισ ὄντες κτήσασθαι αὐτά, εἰ μὴ ἔσται οἰκεῖον ἔππι-κῶν Πέρσαις τούτῳ ἑγὼ οὐκέτι ὅρω. 5. ἐννοεῖτε γὰρ δὴ, ἐφ' ἐχομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Πέρσαι ὅπλα οἷς δοκοῦμεν τρέπεσθαι τους πολεμίους ὁμόσε ἴντνες· καὶ δὴ τρεπόμενοι πῶς ἡ ἱππεας ἡ τοξότας ἡ πελταστάς ἀνευ ἱππων ὄντες δυναίμεθα· ἄν φεύγοντας ἡ λαβεῖν ἡ κατακανεῖν; τίνες δὲ ἂν φοβοῦτο ἡμᾶς προσιόντες κακοῦ· ἡ τοξότα ἡ ἀκοντισταὶ ἡ ἱππεῖς, εἰ εἰδότες ὃτι οὐδὲς αὐτοῖς κίνδυνος ὕφ' ἡμῶν κακῶν τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πεφυκότων δένδρων; 6. εἰ δ' οὐτω ταυτ' ἔχει, οὐκ εὐδηλον· ὃτι οἱ νῦν παρόντες ἡμῖν ἱππεῖς νομίζουσι πάντα τὰ ὑποχείρια γνωσιμενα· ἀευτῶν εἶναι οὐχ ήττον ἡ ἡμέτερα, ἵνα δὲ μὴ Δία καὶ μᾶλλον; 7. νῦν μὲν ὅν οὐτω ταυτ' ἔχει κατ' ἀνάγκην. εἰ δ' ἡμεῖς ἱππικὸν κτήσαι-μεθα μὴ χείρον τούτων, οὐ πάσιν ἡμῖν καταφανεῖς ὅτι τοὺς τ' ἄν πολεμίους δυναίμεθα καὶ ἀνευ τούτων ποιείν δόσαπερ νῦν σὺν τούτοις, τούτους τε ἔχοιμεν ἄν τότε μετριώτερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς φρο- νοῦντας; ὅποτε γὰρ παρεῖναι ἢ ἀπεῖναι βούλοιντο, ήττον ἄν ἡμῖν μέλοι, εἰ αὐτοὶ ἀνευ τούτων ἄρκοιμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. εἰεν. 8. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἴμαι οὐδεὶς ἄν ἀντυγμομονήσει μὴ οὔχι τὸ πάν διαφέρειν Περσῶν γενέσθαι οἰκεῖον ἱππικόν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνο ἵνας ἐννοεῖτε πῶς ἄν τοῦτο γένοιτο. ἅρ' οὖν σκεψόμεθα, εἰ βουλοίμεθα καθιστάναι ἱππικόν, τί ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει καὶ τίνος ἐνδει; 9. οὐκ—

1 πῶς Jacob, Gemoll; πόλον MSS., most Edd.
2 ἰ δὲ; not in xy or most Edd.
3 εὐδῆλον ντE, most Edd.; εὐδῆλον C, Hug.
valid claim to the spoil if we cannot gain it by our own strength; and this we cannot do, unless the Persians have cavalry of their own. 5. Just think of it," he went on; "we Persians have arms with which, it seems, we go into close quarters and put the enemy to flight; and then when we have routed them, how could we without horses capture or kill horsemen or bowmen or targeteers in their flight? And what bowmen or spearmen or horsemen would be afraid to come up and inflict loss upon us, when they are perfectly sure that they are in no more danger of being harmed by us than by the trees growing yonder? 6. And if this is so, is it not evident that the horsemen who are now with us consider that everything that has fallen into our hands is theirs no less than ours, and perhaps, by Zeus, even more so? 7. As things are now, therefore, this is necessarily the case. But suppose we acquired a body of cavalry not inferior to theirs, is it not patent to us all that we should be able even without them to do to the enemy what we are now doing with their aid, and that we should find them then less presumptuous toward us? For whenever they chose to remain or to go away, we should care less, if we were sufficient unto ourselves without them. Well and good. 8. No one, I think, would gainsay me in this statement, that it makes all the difference in the world whether the Persians have their own cavalry or not. But perhaps you are wondering how this may be accomplished. Well then, supposing that we wished to organize a division of cavalry, had we not better consider our resources and our deficiencies? 9. Here, then, in camp are numbers
οὕν ἵπποι μὲν οὕτωι πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατειλημμένοι καὶ χαλινοὶ οἷς πείθονται καὶ τάλλα ὅσα δεὶ ἵπποις ἔχουσι χρήσθαι. ἄλλα μὴν καὶ οἶς γε δεὶ ἄνδρα ἵππεα χρὴσθαι ἐχομεν, θώρακας μὲν ἐρύματα τῶν σωμάτων, παλτὰ δὲ οἶς καὶ μεθιέντες καὶ ἐχοντες χρόμεθ᾽ ἀν. 10. τῷ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν; δὴ λογικῶς ὅτι ἄνδρῶν δεὶ. οὖκοιν τούτο μάλιστα ἐχομεν· οὔδεν γάρ οὕτωι ἡμέτερον ἐστιν ὡς ἡμεῖς ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐρεὶ τις ἱσως ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα. μᾶ Δὲ οὔδε γάρ τούτων τῶν ἐπισταμένων νῦν πρὶν μαθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἑπτάστατο. ἄλλ᾽ εἶποι ἃν τις ὅτι παιδεῖς οὐντες ἐμάνθανον. 11. καὶ πότερα παιδεῖς εἰσὶ φρονιμότεροι ὅστε μαθεῖν τὰ φραξόμενα καὶ δεικνύμενα ἡ ἄνδρες; πότεροι δὲ ἄν μάθωσιν ἰκανότεροι τῷ σώματι ἐκπονεῖν, οἱ παιδεῖς ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες; 12. ἄλλα μὴν σχολὴ γε ἡμῖν μαθήσανεν ὅση οὔτε παιδίν οὔτε ἄλλοις ἄνδράσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τοξεύειν ἡμῖν μαθητέον ὄσπερ τοῖς παισί· προεπιστάμεθα γὰρ τούτῳ οὔτε μὴν ἀκοοῦσιν· ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ. ἄλλ᾽ οὔδε μὴν, ὅσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄνδράσι τοῖς μὲν γεωργίαι ἁγχολῶν παρέχοντι, τοῖς δὲ τέχναι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλα οἰκεῖα· ἡμῖν δὲ στρατεύοντες οὐ μόνον σχολὴ, ἄλλα καὶ ἀνώγκη. 13. ἄλλα μὴν οὐχ ὅσπερ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν χαλεπὰ μὲν, χρήσιμα δὲ· ἵππηκὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐν ὁδῷ μὲν ἡδίως ή ἀυτοῖς τοῖς ποδοῖν πορεύεσθαι; εὖ δὲ σπουδὴ οὐχ ἡδυ ταχύ μὲν φίλῳ παραγενέσθαι, εἰ δέοι, ταχύ δὲ, εἴτε ἄνδρα εἴτε θῆρα δεοί διώκεσθαι, καταλαβεῖν.
of horses which we have taken and reins which they obey, and everything else that horses must have before you can use them. Yes, and more, all that a horseman must use we have—breastplates as defensive armour for the body and spears which we may use either to hurl or to thrust. 10. What then remains? Obviously we must have men. Now these above all other things we have; for nothing is so fully ours as we ourselves are our own.

"But perhaps some one will say that we do not know how to ride. No, by Zeus; and no one of these who now know how to ride did know before he learned. But, some one may say, they learned when they were boys. 11. And are boys more clever in learning what is explained to them and what is shown them than are men? And which are better able with bodily strength to put into practice what they have learned, boys or men? 12. Again, we have more time for learning than either boys or other men; for we have not, like boys, to learn to shoot, for we know how already; or to throw the spear, for we understand that, too. No; nor yet again are we so situated as other men, some of whom are kept busy with their farming, some with their trades, and some with other domestic labours, while we not only have time for military operations, but they are forced upon us. 13. And this is not like many other branches of military discipline, useful but laborious; nay, when it comes to marching, is not riding more pleasant than tramping along on one's own two feet? And when speed is required, is it not delightful quickly to reach a friend's side, if need be, and quickly to overtake a man or an animal, if occasion should require one to give chase? And is this not
ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐχὶ εὐπτεῖς τὸ ὡς τι ἀν δέη ὅπλον 
φέρειν τὸν ἵππον τούτῳ συμφέρειν; οὖκον ταυτὸ ἡ ἔστιν ἐξεῖν τε καὶ 
φέρειν.

14. Ὁ γε μὴν μάλιστ' ἄν τις φοβηθεῖν, μὴ 
ei ἔνεσει ἐφ' ἵππου κινδυνεύειν ἡμᾶς πρότερον 
πρὶν ἀκριβοῦν τὸ ἔργον τούτο, κάπετα μήτε 
pεξοί ἐτι ὅμεν μήτε πω ἵππεις ἰκανοὶ, ἀλλ' ὅδε 
tούτῳ ἀμήχανον ὅπου γὰρ ἀν βουλόμεθα, ἔξεσται 
ἡμῖν πεξοίς εὐθὺς μάχεσθαι: οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν 
pεξικὼν ἀπομαθησόμεθα ἵππειν μαθάνοντες.

15. Κύρος μὲν οὕτως ἐπεῖ. Χρυσάντας δὲ συν-
αγορεύων αὐτῷ ὡδὲ ἔλεξεν: Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, 
οὕτως ἐπιθυμῶ ἵππειν μαθεῖν ὡς νομίζω, ἢν 
ἵππευς γένωμαι, ἀνθρώπος πτηνὸς ἔσεσθαι. 16. 
νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἔγορε ἀγαπῶ ἴππον ἡ ἕξ ἵσου τῷ 
θείῳ ὀρμηθεὶς ἀνθρώπων μόνον τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσχοι, καὶ 
θηρίων παραθέουν ἰδὼν δυνασθῶ διατεινάμενος φθά-
σαι ὡστε ἀκοντίσαι ἡ τοξεύσαι πρὶν πάνυ πρόσω 
αὐτὸ γενέσθαι. ἦν δ' ἵππεις γένωμαι, δυνήσομαι 
mὲν ἀνδρα ἐξ ὁψεως μῆκους καθαίρειν: δυνήσομαι 
δὲ θηρία διώκων τὰ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς παλέων κατάλαμ-
βάνων, τὰ δὲ ἀκοντίζειν ὀσπερ ἑστηκότα: [καὶ 
γὰρ ἐὰν ἀμφότερα ταχέω ἢ, ὅμως ἐὰν πλησίον 
γύρηται ἅλληλον, ὀσπερ τὰ ἑστηκότα ἐστίν.] 1

17. δὲ δὴ μάλιστα δοκῶ ἵων, ἔφη, ἐξηλωκέναι 
ἵππου κενταύρους, εἰ ἐγένοντο, ὡστε προβουλεῖν-

1 καὶ . . . ἔστιν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
convenient, that the horse should help you to carry whatever accoutrement you must take along? Surely, to have and to carry are not quite the same thing.

14. "What one might have most of all to fear, however, is that in case it is necessary for us to go into action on horseback before we have thoroughly mastered this task, we shall then be no longer infantrymen and not yet competent cavalrymen. But not even this is an insurmountable difficulty; for whenever we wish, we may at once fight on foot; for in learning to ride we shall not be unlearning any of our infantry tactics."

15. Thus Cyrus spoke; and Chrysantas seconded him in the following speech: "I, for one, am so eager to learn horsemanship, that I think that if I become a horseman I shall be a man on wings. 16. For as we are now, I, at least, am satisfied, when I have an even start in running a race with any man, if I can beat him only by a head; and when I see an animal running along, I am satisfied if I can get a good aim quickly enough to shoot him or spear him before he gets very far away. But if I become a horseman I shall be able to overtake a man though he is as far off as I can see him; and I shall be able to pursue animals and overtake them and either strike them down from close at hand or spear them as if they were standing still; [and they seem so, for though both be moving rapidly, yet, if they are near to one another, they are as if standing still.]

17. Now the creature that I have envied most is, I think, the Centaur (if any such being ever existed), able to reason with a man's intelligence and to
σθαι μὲν ἀνθρώπου φρονήσει, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τὸ δέον παλαμάσθαι, ἵππου δὲ τάχος ἔχειν καὶ ἵσχύν, ὡστε τὸ μὲν φεύγων αἱρεῖν, τὸ δ’ ὑπομένου ἀνατρέπειν, οὐκόν πάντα καγὼ ταῦτα ἱππεύς γενόμενος συγκομίζομαι πρὸς ἐμαυτόν. 18. προνοεῖν μὲν γε ἔξω πάντα τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γνώμῃ, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ὀπλοφορήσω, διάξομαι δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ, τοῦ δ’ ἐναντίον ἀνατρέψω τῇ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ρύμῃ, 1 ἀλλ’ οὐ συμπεφυκὼς δεδήσομαι ὡσπερ οἱ ἱπποκένταυροι.

19. οὐκόν τούτῳ γε κρείττον ἢ συμπεφυκέναι τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἱπποκένταυρους οἴμαι ἔγωγε πολλοῖς μὲν ἀπορεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τηρημένων ἀγαθῶν ὅπως δεῖ χρῆσθαι, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἵππων πειράκων ἥδεων πῶς αὐτῶν χρή ἀπολαύειν. 20. ἐγὼ δὲ ἢν ἵππεύειν μάθω, ὅταν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποῦ γένωμαι, τὰ τοῦ ἱπποκένταυρου δήποτε διαπράξωμαι ὅταν δὲ καταβῶ, δειπνήσω καὶ ἀμφιεσομαί καὶ καθευδήσω ὡσπερ οἱ ἀλλοί ἀνθρώποι ὡστε τί ἀλλο ἡ διαίρετος ἱπποκένταυρος καὶ πάλιν σύνθετος γέγυμομαι;

21. Ἐτι δ’, ἐφη, καὶ τοίςδε πλεονεκτήσω τοῦ ἱπποκένταυρον ο μὲν γὰρ δυοῦν ὀβθαλμοῖν ἐώρα τε 2 καὶ δυοῦν ὅτουν ἡκουει. ἐγώ δὲ τέτταροι μὲν ὀβθαλμοῖς τεκμαροῦμαι, τέτταροι δὲ ὅσιν αἰσθήσομαι πολλὰ γὰρ φασὶ καὶ ἵππον ἀνθρώπῳ 3 τοῖς ὀβθαλμοῖς προορώντα δηλοῦν, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς

1 ρύμη B (Dindorf), Edd.; ρύμη xycl.
2 ἐώρα τε Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; προ(−σ D)σωρᾶτο MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
3 ἀνθρώπῳ Pantazides, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀνθρώπου MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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manufacture with his hands what he needed, while he possessed the fleetness and strength of a horse so as to overtake whatever ran before him and to knock down whatever stood in his way. Well, all his advantages I combine in myself by becoming a horseman. 18. At any rate, I shall be able to take forethought for everything with my human mind, I shall carry my weapons with my hands, I shall pursue with my horse and overthrow my opponent by the rush of my steed, but I shall not be bound fast to him in one growth, like the Centaurs. 19. Indeed, my state will be better than being grown together in one piece; for, in my opinion at least, the Centaurs must have had difficulty in making use of many of the good things invented for man; and how could they have enjoyed many of the comforts natural to the horse? 20. But if I learn to ride, I shall, when I am on horseback, do everything as the Centaur does, of course; but when I dismount, I shall dine and dress myself and sleep like other human beings; and so what else shall I be than a Centaur that can be taken apart and put together again?

21. "And then," he added, "I shall have the advantage of the Centaur in this, too, that he used to see with but two eyes and hear with but two ears, while I shall gather evidence with four eyes and learn through four ears; for they say that a horse actually sees many things with his eyes before his rider does and makes them known to him, and that he hears many things with his ears before his rider
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ωσι προακούοντα σημαίνειν. ἐμὲ μὲν οὖν, ἐφι, γράφε τῶν ἵππειν ὑπερεπιθυμοῦντων.

Νὴ τὸν Δῖ, ἔφασαν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, καὶ ἡμᾶς γε.

22. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει, Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ἔτει σφόδρα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ ταῦτα, εἴ καὶ νόμον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησαίμεθα αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, όσ ἂν ἵππους ἐγὼ πορίσω, ἦν· τις φανῇ πεζῇ ἡμῶν πορευόμενος, ἦν τε πολλὴν ἡν τε ὀλγὴν ὅδον δέχασθείη; ἦν καὶ παντάπασιν ἵπποκενταύρους ἡμᾶς οἴωνται ἀνθρωποὶ εἶναι.

23. Ὁ μὲν οὖτος ἐπήρετο, οἱ δὲ πάντες συνήνεσαν· ὥστε ἔτι καὶ γὰρ ἔξ ἐκείνου χρῶνται Πέρσαι οὖν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν τῶν καλῶν κάνηθων ἐκῶν ὁθονεὶ Περσῶν οὐδαμὴ πεζὸς ἵππων.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἔσαν.

IV

1. Ἦνικα δ’ ἂν ἔξω μέσον ἡμέρας, προσήλαυνον μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι ἵππεις καὶ Τρκάνιοι, ἵππους τε ἀγοντες αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἄνδρας· ὅσοι γὰρ τὰ ὄπλα παρεδίδοσαν, οὐ κατέκαινον. 2. ἔπει δὲ προσῆλαυσαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπυμβάνετο ὁ Κύρος εἰ σωθείει πάντες αὐτῶν· ἔπει δὲ τοῦτ’ ἔφασαν, ἐκ τούτου ἡρώτα τί ἔπραξαν. οἱ δὲ διηγοῦντο ἄτ’ ἐποίησαν καὶ ὡς ἀνδρείως ἐκαστα ἐμεγαληγόρουν. 3. ὁ δὲ διήκουε τε ἡδέως πάν-

1 κατέκαινον HG, Marchant, Gemoll; κατέκαινον Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug; κατέκαινον A; ἀπέκτεινον xD.
2 διήκουε τε Schneider, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; διήκουετο z; διήκουε Gemoll.
does and gives him intimation of them. Put me down, therefore," said he, "as one of those who are more than eager to become cavalrymen."

"Aye, by Zeus," said all the rest, "and us too."

22. "How would it do, then," Cyrus asked, "since we are all so very well agreed upon this matter, if we should make a rule for ourselves that it be considered improper for any one of us whom I provide with a horse to be seen going anywhere on foot, whether the distance he has to go be long or short, so that people may think that we are really Centaurs?"

23. He put the question thus and they all voted aye. And so from that time even to this day, the Persians follow that practice, and no Persian gentleman would be seen going anywhere on foot, if he could help it.

Such were their discussions on this occasion.

IV

1. And when it was past midday, the Median and Hyrcanian horsemen came in, bringing both horses and men that they had taken. For they had spared the lives of all who had surrendered their arms. 2. And when they had ridden up, Cyrus asked them first whether his men were all safe. And when they answered this in the affirmative, he asked how they had fared. And they narrated to him what they had accomplished and proudly told how gallantly they had behaved in every particular. 3. And he listened with pleasure to all they wished
των ἀ ἔβούλουντο λέγειν ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπήνευσεν αὐτοὺς οὔτως.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆλοι τοι, ἔφη, ἐστὲ ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένεσθε καὶ γὰρ μείζους φαίνεσθε καὶ καλλίους καὶ γοργότεροι ἢ πρόσθεν ἰδεῖν.

4. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπυθήσατο ἦδη αὐτῶν καὶ ὄπόσην ὅδεν διήλασαν καὶ εἰ οἰκοῖτο ἡ χώρα. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι καὶ πολλὴν διελάσειαν καὶ πᾶσα οἰκοῖτο καὶ μεστὴ εἰή καὶ οἶνων καὶ αὐγῶν καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ σῶτον καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν.

5. Δυνών ἂν, ἔφη, ἐπιμελητέου ἦμων εἰῆ, ὅτως τε κρείττους ἐσόμεθα τῶν ταῦτα ἐχόμενοι καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ μενούσιν ὕποκουμένη μὲν γὰρ χώρα πολλοῦ ἄξιον κτῆμα· ἔρημη δὲ ἀνθρώπων οὔσα ἐρήμη καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γύγεται. 6. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἁμνομένους, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι κατεκάνετε, ὅρθως ποιούντες τούτο γὰρ μάλιστα σώζει τὴν νίκην τοὺς δὲ παραδιδόνται αἰχμαλώτους ἠγάγετε· οὐς εἰ ἄφειται, τούτ' αὐ ἱμέρον ἄν, ὥσ ἐγὼ φημι, ποιήσασθαι. 7. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νῦν οὐκ ἂν φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲ φυλάττειν ἡμᾶς τούτους δέοι, οὐδὲ αὐ 3 συτοποιεῖν τούτους. οὐ γὰρ λιμῷ γε δῆπον κατακανοῦμεν 4 αὐτοὺς· ἐπειτα δὲ τούτους ἀφέντες πλείονοι αἰχμαλώτους χρησίμεθα. 8. ἂν γὰρ κρατῶμεν τῆς χώρας, πάντες ἢμῖν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῦντες αἰχμαλώτους ἔσονται· μᾶλλον δὲ τούτοις ξώνται ἰδόντες καὶ ἀφεθέντας μενοῦσιν οἱ ἄλλοι

1 ταῦτα Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; οὕτα MSS., earlier Edd. 2 κατεκάνετε Dindorf, later Edd.; κατακάλησε ν; ἀπεκτείνετε xD. 3 αὐ Castalio, Edd.; ἄν ΜSS. 4 κατακανοῦμεν Zeune, Edd.; κατακανοῦμεν ν; ἀποκτενοῦμεν xD.

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to tell him, and then he praised them in these words:

"It is quite evident that you have conducted yourselves as brave men; and any one can see it, for you appear taller and handsomer and more terrible to look upon than heretofore."

4. Then he enquired of them further how far they had ridden and whether the country was inhabited. And they replied, first, that they had ridden a long way, and second, that all the country was inhabited and that it was full of sheep and goats, cattle and horses, grain and all sorts of produce.

5. "There are two things," said he, "that it were well for us to look out for: that we make ourselves masters of those who own this property, and that they stay where they are. For an inhabited country is a very valuable possession, but a land destitute of people becomes likewise destitute of produce.

6. Those, therefore, who tried to keep you off, you slew, I know; and you did right. For this is the best way to conserve the fruits of victory. But those who surrendered you have brought as prisoners of war. Now, if we should let them go, we should, I think, do what would be in itself an advantage.

7. For, in the first place, we should not have to keep watch against them nor should we have to keep watch over them, nor yet to furnish them with food; for, of course, we do not mean to let them starve to death; and in the second place, if we let them go, we shall have more prisoners of war than if we do not. 8. For, if we are masters of the country, all they that dwell therein will be our prisoners of war; and the rest, when they see these alive and set at liberty, will stay in their places and choose to
καὶ πείθεσθαι αἰρήσονται μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐν οὕτω γυγνώσκω· εἰ δὲ ἀλλο τις ὀρᾶ ἀμείνων, λεγέτω.

Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες συνήσοντο ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

9. Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος καλέσας τοὺς αἴχμαλώτους λέγει τοιῶδε· 10. Ἄνδρες, ἐφη, νῦν τε ὅτι ἐπείθεσθε τάς ψυχάς περιεποιήσασθε, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, ἢν οὕτω ποιήτε, οὐδ' ὅτι οἷον καίνδον ἕσται ὑμῶν ἅλλ' ἢ οὔχ ὅ ἀυτὸς ἀρξεῖ ὑμῶν ὀσπερ καὶ πρῶτον· οἰκήσετε δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς οἰκίας καὶ χώραν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐργάσθε καὶ γυναῖξι ταῖς αὐταῖς συνοικήσετε καὶ παῖδιν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀρξεῖτε ὀσπερ νῦν. 11. ἡμῖν μὲντοι οὐ μαχεῖσθε οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδενείς· ἡνίκα δ' ἂν τις ἡμᾶς ἀδικήσῃ, ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μαχομέθεα. ὅπως δὲ μηδ' ἐπαγγέλλῃ μηδεὶς ὑμῖν στρατευείς, τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς ἡμᾶς κομίσατε· καὶ τοῖς μὲν κομίζονσιν ἐσται εἰρήνη καὶ ἡ λέγομεν ἄδολως. ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν τὰ πολεμικὰ μὴ ἀποφέροσιν ὄπλα, ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἡμεῖς καὶ δὴ στρατευσόμεθα. 12. ἔδω δὲ τίς ὑμῶν καὶ ἢδον ἢς ἡμᾶς εὐνοικῶς καὶ πράττων τι καὶ διδάσκων βαίνηται, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς ὡς εὐεργετήν καὶ φίλον, οὐχ ὡς δοῦλον περιεψόμεν. ταῦτα οὖν, ἐφη, αὐτοῖς τε ἔστε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διαγγέλλετε. 13. ἦν δ' ἄρα, ἐφη, ὑμῶν βουλομένων ταῦτα μὴ πείθονται τίνες, ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἀγγείτε, ὅπως ἡμεῖς ἐκείνων, μὴ ἐκείνοι ὑμῶν ἀρχώσιν.

'Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἴπεν· οἱ δὲ προσεκύνουν τε καὶ ὑπισχυόντο ταῦτα ποιήσεων.

1 καίνδον χΔ, later Edd.; καίνδον ρ, Dindorf (καρμ).
submit rather than to fight. This, then, is my proposition; but if any one else sees a better plan, let him speak."

But when they heard his proposal they agreed to adopt it.

9. Accordingly, Cyrus called the prisoners together and spoke as follows: 10. "My men," said he, "you have now saved your lives by your submission; and in the future also, if you continue to be obedient, no change whatever shall come to you except that you shall not have the same ruler over you as before; but you shall dwell in the same houses and work the same farms; you shall live with the same wives and have control of your children just as now. 11. But you shall not have to fight either us or any one else; but when any one injures you, we will fight for you; and that no one may even ask military service of you, bring your arms to us. And those that bring them shall have peace, and what we promise shall be done without guile. But as many as fail to deliver up their weapons of war, against these we ourselves shall take the field immediately. 12. But if any one of you comes to us in a friendly way and shows that he is dealing fairly with us and giving us information, we shall treat him as our benefactor and friend and not as a slave. Accept these assurances for yourselves, and convey them to the rest also. 13. But if," said he "while, you are willing to accept these terms of submission, some others are not, do you lead us against them that you may be their masters and not they yours."

Thus he spoke and they did obeisance and promised to do what he directed.
1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ὠχοῦντο, ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ὕρα δὴ, ὁ Μήδοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι, δειπνεῖν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ ὑμῖν τάπτηθεν ὡς ἡμεῖς βέλτιστα ἐδυνάμεθα. Ἄλλ' ἵτε καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπτετε τοῦ πεποιημένους 1 σίτου τὸν ἡμίσουν ἱκανὸς δὲ ἀμφότερος πεποίηται· ὤψον δὲ μὴ πέμπτετε μηδὲ πιεῖν ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἔχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς παρεσκευασμένα.

2. Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὁ Τρκάνιοι, ἐφη, διάγετε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς, τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὰς μεγάλας, γιγανόσκετε δὲ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς ἂν δοκῇ κάλλιστα ἐχεῖν· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ δειπνεῖτε ὅπου περ ἡδίστοιν ὑμῖν· σφὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν καὶ ἀκέραιοι αἱ σκηναί παρεσκευάσται δὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε ὠσπερ καὶ τούτοις.

3. Καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἵστε ἀμφότεροι ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐξω ὑμῖν ἡμεῖς νυκτοφυλακήσομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς αὐτοῖς ὅρατε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα εὖ τίθεσθε· οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς οὐπο ὕλοι ἡμῖν.

4. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Μήδοι καὶ οἱ ἄμφι Τυγράνην ἐλούντο, καὶ, ἂν γὰρ παρεσκευασμένα, ἱμάτια μεταλαβόντες ἐδείπνουν, καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς ἔχον τάπτηθεν.

Καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας δὲ ἐπεμπον τῶν ἄρτων τοὺς ἡμῖσεις. ὤψον δὲ οὐκ ἐπεμπον οὐδ' οἶνον, οἵμενοι ἔχειν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κύρον ἐτὶ ἄφθονα ταῦτα. 2 ὁ δὲ

1 πεποιημένου Zeune, Edd.; πεποιημένου MSS.
2 ἦτι ἄφθονα ταῦτα Dindorf 4, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἦτι ἐφη ἄφθονα ταῦτα ἔχειν xD, Dindorf 3, Breitenbach (for he said they had an abundance of that); ὤτι ἄφθονα ταῦτα z.
1. When they were gone, Cyrus said: “Medes and Armenians, it is now high time for us all to go to dinner; and everything necessary has been prepared for you to the best of our ability. Go, then, and send to us half of the bread that has been baked — enough has been made for all; but do not send us any meat nor anything to drink; for enough has been provided for us at our own quarters.

2. “And you, Hyrcanians,” he said to these, “lead them to their several tents—the officers to the largest (you know which they are), and the rest as you think best. And you yourselves also may dine where it best pleases you. For your own tents also are safe and sound, and there also the same provision has been made as for these.

3. “And all of you may be assured of this, that we shall keep the night-watches for you outside the camp, but do you look out for what may happen in the tents and have your arms stacked conveniently; for the men in the tents are not yet our friends.”

4. Then the Medes and Tigranes and his men bathed, changed their clothes (for they were provided with a change), and went to dinner. Their horses also were provided for.

Of the bread, half was sent to the Persians; but neither meat for relish nor wine was sent, for they thought that Cyrus and his men had those articles left in abundance. But what Cyrus meant was that
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Κύρος ταύτα ἐλεγεν, ὅψον μὲν τὸν λιμόν, πτείν ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ παραρρέωντος ποταμοῦ.

5. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Κύρος δειπνίσας τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐπεὶ συνεσκότασε, κατὰ πεμπάδας καὶ κατὰ δεκάδας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέπεμψε καὶ ἐκέλευσε κύκλῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κρυπτεύειν, νομίζον ἀμα μὲν φυλακὴν ἐσεσθαί, ἀν τις ἔξωθεν προσή, ἀμα δὲ, ἀν τις ἐξω φέρων χρήματα ἀποδιδράσκῃ, ἀλώσεσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτω πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδιδράσκοι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐάλωσαν. 6. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος τὰ μὲν χρήματα τοὺς λαβόντας εἶα ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάξῃ ἐκέλευσεν ὡστε τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐδὲ βουλόμενοι ἢ περὶ ῥαδίως τὸν νῦκταρ ποιεῖτο μεν. 7. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαι οὕτω διήγοντο ὁ δὲ Μήδοι καὶ εὐωχοῦντο καὶ ἔπινον καὶ ἦλοντο καὶ πάσης εὐθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλαντο τολλά γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοι- αύτα ἤλω, ὡστε μὴ ἀπορεῖν ἔργων τοὺς ἐγρη- γορότας.

8. Ὅ δὲ Κυνάγρης ὁ τῶν Μήδων βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν νῦκτα ἐν ἡ ἐξήλθεν ὁ Κύρος αὐτὸς τε ἐμεθύοσκετο μεθ' ὁππερ ἐσκήνων ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχία, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ Μήδους ὥστε παρεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλὴν ὀλῆγων, ἀκούουν θόρυβον πολὺν οἱ γὰρ οἰκέται τῶν Μήδων, ἀτι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπεληλυθότων, ἀνειμένως ἔπινον καὶ ἔθορύβουν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου στρατεύματος καὶ οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ εἴλη- φότες.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπὶ θύρας οὐδεὶς ἴκε πλὴν οὔπερ καὶ συνεδέπνουν, καὶ τὸ στρα-366
hunger was their relish and that they could drink from the river that flowed by.

5. Accordingly, when Cyrus had seen that the Persians had their dinner, he sent many of them out, when it was dark, in squads of five and ten, with orders to lie in hiding round about the camp; for he thought that they would serve as sentinels, in case any one should come to attack from the outside, and at the same time that they would catch any one who tried to run away with his possessions. And it turned out so; for many did try to run away, and many were caught. 6. And Cyrus permitted those who effected the capture to keep the spoil, but the men he bade them slay; and so after that you could not easily have found, had you tried, any one attempting to get away by night.

7. Thus, then, the Persians employed their time; but the Medes drank and revelled and listened to the music of the flute and indulged themselves to the full with all sorts of merry-making. For many things that contribute to pleasure had been captured, so that those who stayed awake were at no loss for something to do.

8. Now the night in which Cyrus had marched out, Cyaxares, the king of the Medes, and his messmates got drunk in celebration of their success; and he supposed that the rest of the Medes were all in camp except a few, for he heard a great racket. For inasmuch as their masters had gone off, the servants of the Medes were drinking and carousing without restraint, especially as they had taken from the Assyrian army wine and many other supplies.

9. But when it was day and no one came to his headquarters except those who had been dining with

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tόπεδον ἦκουσε κενὸν εἶναι τῶν Μῆδων καὶ τῶν ἰππεῶν, καὶ ἐόρα, ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθεν, οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐβριμοῦτο τε τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς Μῆδοις τῷ καταλυόντας αὐτὸν ἔρημον οἶχεσθαι, καὶ εὐθὺς, ὥσπερ λέγεται ὁμοί εἶναι καὶ ἀγνώμων, τῶν παρόντων κελεύει τινὰ λαβόντα τοὺς ἔαυτοῦ ἱππέας πορεύεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμφὶ Κύρου στράτευμα καὶ λέγειν τάδε:

10. Ὄμην μὲν ἔγωγε, οὐδὲ ἂν σὲ, ὁ Κῦρε, περὶ ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀπρονοήτως βουλεύσαι, εἰ δὲ Κύρος οὕτω γυγνώσκοι, οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς, ὁ Μῆδοι, ἐθελήσαι οὕτως ἔρημον ἢμὲ καταλύειν. καὶ νῦν, ἂν μὲν Κύρος βούληται, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὑμεῖς γε τῇ ταχιστῇν πάρεστε.

11. Ταῦτα δὴ ἐπέστειλεν. ὁ δὲ ταττόμενος πορεύεσθαι ἤφη, Καὶ πῶς, ὁ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ εὐρήσω ἐκεῖνος;

Πῶς δὲ Κύρος, ἤφη, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἤφ᾽ οὐς ἐπορεύοντο;

Ὅτι νῦ Νῖι, ἤφη, ἀκούω ἀφεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων Ἰρκανίους τῶν καὶ ἐλθόντας δεῦρο οἰχεσθαι ἡγουμένοις αὐτῷ.

12. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κυαξάρης πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐτί τῷ Κύρῳ ὀργίζετο τῷ μηδείπειν αὐτῷ ταῦτα, καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ μᾶλλον ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μῆδους, ὡς ψυλώσων αὐτὸν, καὶ ἵππωρότερον ἐτί ἢ πρόσθεν τοῖς Μῆδοις ἀπειλῶν ἀπεκάλεσε καὶ τῷ πεμπόμενῳ δὲ ἦπείλει, εἰ μὴ ἴσχυρός ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλωι.

13. Ὅ μὲν δὴ πεμπόμενος ἐπορεῦετο ἔχων
him, and when he heard that the camp was forsaken by the Medes and the cavalry, and when he discovered on going out that such was really the case, then he fumed and raged against both Cyrus and the Medes because they had gone off and left him deserted. And straightway, in keeping with his reputation for being violent and unreasonable, he ordered one of those present to take his own cavalry corps and proceed at topmost speed to Cyrus’s army and deliver the following message:

10. “I should think that even you, Cyrus, would not have shown such want of consideration toward me; and if Cyrus were so minded, I should think that at least you Medes would not have consented to leave me thus deserted. And now, if Cyrus will, let him come with you; if not, do you at least return to me as speedily as possible.”

11. Such was his message. But he to whom he gave the marching order said: “And how shall I find them, your majesty?”

“How,” he answered, “did Cyrus and those with him find those against whom they went?”

“Why,” said the man, “by Zeus, I am told that some Hyrcanians who had deserted from the enemy came hither and went away as his guides.”

12. Upon hearing this, Cyaxares was much more angry than ever with Cyrus for not even having told him that, and he sent off in greater haste to recall the Medes, for he hoped to strip him of his forces; and with even more violent threats than before, he ordered the Medes to return. And he threatened the messenger also if he did not deliver his message in all its emphasis.

13. Accordingly, the officer assigned to this duty
τοῦς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππέας ὡς ἐκατόν, ἀνιώμενος ὅτι οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς τότε ἐπορεύθη μετὰ τοῦ Κύρου. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι διασχισθέντες τρίβω τινὶ ἐπιλανῶντο, καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ φίλιον στράτευμα πρὶν ἐντυχόντες ἀποχωροῦσι τισὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡνάγκασαν αὐτοὺς ἤγείσθαι καὶ οὕτως ἀφίκονται τὰ πυρὰ κατιδόντες ἀμφὶ μέσας πως νῦκτας. 14. ἔπει δὲ ἐγένοντο πρὸς τὸ στρατοπέδῳ, οἱ φύλακες, ὡσπερ εἰρημένον ἦν ὑπὸ Κύρου, οὐκ εἰσέφρηκαν ἐφ᾽ αὐτοὺς πρὸ ἡμέρας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινε, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς μάγους καλέσας ὁ Κύρος τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς νομιζόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀγαθοῖς ἐξαιρεῖται ἐκέλευν. 15. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τάντα εἶχον ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ὁμοτίμους εἶπεν, 'Ἄνδρες, ὁ μὲν θεὸς προφαίνει πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ· ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὄλγοι ἔσμεν ὡς ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι αὐτῶν. εἰτε γὰρ ὁπόσα ἂν προσεργασώμεθα, μὴ φυλάξομεν, πάλιν τάντα ἀλλοτρια ἔσται εἰτε καταλείψομεν τινας ἡμῶν αὐτῶν φύλακας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔφ᾽ ἡμῶν γυνομένους, αὐτίκα οὐδεμιαν ἱσχύν ἔχοντες ἀναφανούμεθα. 16. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ὡς τάχιστα λέναι τινὰ ὑμῶν εἰς Πέρσας καὶ διδάσκειν ἀπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ κελεύειν ὡς ταχίστα ἐπιτέμπειν στράτευμα, εἰπερ ἐπιθυμοῦσι Πέρσαι τὴν ἄρχην τῆς Ἄσιας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν κάρπωσιν γενέσθαι. 17. ἢθε μὲν οὖν σὺ, ἐφι.
set out with his cavalry, about a hundred in number, vexed with himself for not having gone along with Cyrus when he went. And as they proceeded on their journey, they were misled by a certain by-path and so lost their way and did not reach the army of their friends, until they fell in with some deserters from the Assyrians and compelled them to act as their guides. And so they came in sight of the camp-fires sometime about midnight. 14. And when they came up to the camp, the sentinels, following the instructions of Cyrus, refused to admit them before daylight.

Now at peep of day the first thing that Cyrus did was to call the magi and bid them select the gifts ordained for the gods in acknowledgment of such success; 15. and they proceeded to attend to this, while he called the peers together and said: "Friends, God holds out before us many blessings. But we Persians are, under the present circumstances, too few to avail ourselves of them. For if we fail to guard what we win, it will again become the property of others; and if we leave some of our own men to guard what falls into our possession, it will very soon be found out that we have no strength. 16. Accordingly, I have decided that one of you should go with all speed to Persia, present my message and ask them to send reinforcements with the utmost dispatch, if the Persians desire to have control of Asia and the revenues accruing therefrom. 17. Do you, therefore, go, for you are the senior officer, and
ο πρεσβύτατος, καὶ ἵδιν ταῦτα λέγε, καὶ οτι οὐς ἄν πέμπωσι στρατιώτας, ἐπειδὰν ἐλθοσι παρ᾽ ἐμὲ, ἐμοὶ μελήσει περὶ τροφῆς αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ ἔχομεν ἥμεις, ὅρας μὲν αὐτός, κρύπτε δὲ τούτων μηδέν, ὅ τι δὲ τούτων ἐγὼ πέμπαν εἰς Πέρσας καλῶς καὶ νομίμως ποιοῦμι ἃν τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν πατέρα ἔρωτα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὰς ἀρχὰς. πεμβάντων δὲ καὶ ὅπτηρας ὃν πράττομεν καὶ φραστήρας ἃν ἔρωτόμεν. καὶ σὺ μὲν, ἐφι, συσκευάζοι καὶ τὸν λόχῳ προπομπούν ἄγε.

18. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μῆδους ἐκάλει καὶ ἀμα ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Κυναξάρου ἀγγελός παρίσταται καὶ ἐν πάσι τὴν τε πρὸς Κῦρον ὀργὴν καὶ τὰς πρὸς Μῆδους ἀπειλὰς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε καὶ τέλος ἔπευ ὅτι ἀπιέναι Μῆδους κελεύει καὶ εἰ Κῦρος μένειν βούλεται.

19. Ὁι μὲν οὖν Μῆδοι ἀκούσαντες τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐσύγχησαν ἀποροῦντες μὲν πῶς χρῆ καλοῦντος ἀπειθεῖν φοβούμενοι δὲ πῶς χρῆ ἀπειλοῦντι ὑπακούσαται ἀλλὰς τε καὶ εἰδότες τὴν ὁμότητα αὐτοῦ. 20. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔπευ καὶ Ἀλλ ἐγὼ ὁ ἀγγελεῖ τε καὶ Μῆδοι, οὐδέν, ἐφι, θαυμάζω εἰ Κυναξάρης, πολλοὺς μὲν πολεμίους τὸτ ἱδόν, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅ τι πράττομεν ὅκνει περὶ τε ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἰσθηται πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολολότας, πάντας δὲ ἀπεληλαμένους, πρῶτον μὲν παύσεται φοβοῦμενος, ἐπειτα γνώσεται, ὅτι οὐ νῦν ἔρημος γίγνε-
when you arrive tell them this; and say also that for whatever soldiers they send I will provide maintenance after they come. Conceal from them nothing in regard to what we have, and you see for yourself what there is. And what portion of these spoils honour and the law require that I should send to Persia—in regard to what is due the gods, ask my father; in regard to what is due to the State, ask the authorities. And let them send men also to observe what we do and to answer our questions. And you," said he, "make ready and take your own platoon to escort you."

18. After this he called in the Medes also and at the same moment the messenger from Cyaxares presented himself and in the presence of all reported his king’s anger against Cyrus and his threats against the Medes; and at the last he said that Cyaxares ordered the Medes to return, even if Cyrus wished to stay.

19. On hearing the messenger, therefore, the Medes were silent, for they were at a loss how they could disobey him when he summoned them, and they asked themselves in fear how they could obey him when he threatened so, especially as they had had experience of his fury. 20. But Cyrus said: "Well, Sir Messenger and you Medes, inasmuch as Cyaxares saw in our first encounter that the enemy were numerous and as he does not know how we have been faring, I am not at all surprised that he is concerned for us and for himself. But when he discovers that many of the enemy have been slain and all have been routed, in the first place he will banish his fears and in the second place he will
21. Ἀλλὰ μὴν μέμψεως γε πῶς ἔσμεν ἄξιοι, εὖ τε ποιοῦντες ἐκεῖνον καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα αὐτοματιστάσαντες; ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἔπεισα ἐάσαι μὲ λαβόντα ύμᾶς ἐξελθεῖν ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἐπιθυμοῦντες τής ἐξόδου ἡρωτῆσατε εἰ ἐξίοτε καὶ νῦν δεύρῳ ἦκετε, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον κελευσθέντες ἐξίεναι ὅτῳ ύμῶν μὴ ἀχθομένῳ εἴη. καὶ ἡ ὄργῃ οὖν αὐτῇ σάφ’ οἶδα ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἀγαθῶν πεπανθήσεται καὶ σὺν τῷ φόβῳ λήγοντι ἀπεισί.

22. Νῦν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ τε, ὦ ἀγγέλε, ἀνάπαυσαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πεπόνηκας, ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἐπεὶ προσδεχόμεθα πολεμίους ἦτοι μαχομένους γε ἡ πεισομένους παρέσεσθαι, ταχθῶμεν δὲς καλλίστα ὡς ὑμῖν γὰρ ὀρωμένους εἰκὸς πλέον προανύτευν ὃν χρῆσομεν. σὺ δ’, ἔφη, ὦ τῶν Ἰρκάνιων ἄρχων, ὑπόμεινον προστάξας τοῖς ἡγεμόνις τῶν σύν στρατιωτῶν ἐξοπλίζεις αὐτούς.

23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσας ὦ Ἰρκάνιος προσήθηκε, λέγει ο Κώρος, Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη, ὦ Ἰρκάνιε, ἢδομαι αἰσθανόμενος ὅτι οὐ μόνον φιλίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος πάρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύνεσιν φαινεῖ μοι ἔχειν. καὶ νῦν ὃτι συμφέρει ἡμῖν ταῦτα δήλων ἐμοί τε γὰρ πολέμιοι Ἀσσύριοι, σοὶ τε νῦν ἔτη ἐχθρονεῖς εἰςιν ἢ ἐμοὶ. 24. οὕτως οὖν ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέρους βουλευτέοιν ὅπως τῶν μὲν νῦν παρόντων μηδείς ἀποστατήσει ἡμῖν συμμάχοι, ἄλλοις δὲ,

1 ἔπεισα... ἐξελθεῖν D, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; πείσας... ἐξελθεῖν τάδε ποιῶ xz, Dindorf, Sauppe.
2 ἐτι D, Marchant, Gemoll; not in xz, other Edd.

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realize that he is not deserted now, when his friends are annihilating his enemies.

21. “But further, how do we deserve any blame, since we have been doing him good service and have not been doing even that on our own motion? But I, for my part, first got his consent to march out and take you with me; while you did not ask whether you might join the expedition and you are not here now because you desired to make such an expedition, but because you were ordered by him to make it—whoever of you was not averse to it. This wrath, therefore, I am quite sure, will be assuaged by our successes and will be gone with the passing of his fear.

22. “Now, therefore, Sir Messenger,” said he, Cyrus’s plans to meet the crisis “take some rest, for you must be fatigued, and since we are expecting the enemy to come either to surrender, or possibly to fight, let us, fellow-Persians, get into line in as good order as possible; for if we present such an appearance, it is likely that we shall better promote the accomplishment of what we desire. And you, king of Hyrcania, be pleased to order the commanders of your forces to get them under arms, and then attend me here.”

23. And when the Hyrcanian had done so and returned, Cyrus said: “I am delighted, king of Hyrcania, to see that you not only show me your friendship by your presence, but also that you evidently possess good judgment. And now it is evident that our interests are identical. For the Assyrians are enemies to me, and now they are still more hostile to you than to me. 24. Under these circumstances, we must both take counsel that none of the allies now present shall desert us, and also
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ἐὰν δυνόμεθα, προσληψόμεθα. τοῦ δὲ Μῆδου ἥκουσε ἀποκαλούντος τοὺς ἵππεας· εἰ δ’ οὖν ἀπίασιν, ἡμεῖς μόνοι οἱ πεζοὶ μενοῦμεν. 25. οὕτως οὖν δεὶ ποιεῖν ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ ὅπως ὁ ἀποκαλῶν οὖτος καὶ αὐτὸς μένειν παρ’ ἡμῖν βουλήσεται, σὺ μὲν οὖν εὐρὸν σκηνὴν δὸς αὐτῷ ὅπου κάλλιστα διάξει πάντα τὰ δέοντα ἔχων· ἐγὼ δ’ αὐτῷ πειράσομαι αὐτῷ ἔργον τι προστάξαι ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἥδιν πράξει ἢ ἀπεισότατος· καὶ διαλέγου δὲ αὐτῷ ὅποσα ἐλπίς γενέσθαι ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις, ἢν ταῦτ’ εὐ γένηται· ποιήσας μέντοι αὐτὰ ἢκε πάλιν παρ’ εμέ.

26. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Τρκάνιος τὸν Μῆδον ψχετο ἄγων ἐπὶ σκηνῆν· ὁ δ’ εἰς Πέρσας ἰδὼν παρὴν συνεκεφαλάζον· ὁ δὲ Κύρος αὐτῷ ἐπέστειλε πρὸς μὲν Πέρσας λέγειν ἃ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δεδηλωται, Κναξάρη δὲ ἀποδόθην τὰ γράμματα. ἀναγινωσκάτω δὲ σοι καὶ τὰ ἐπίστημολόμενα, ἐφι, βούλομαι, ἣν εἰδὼς αὐτὰ ὀμολογῆς, εὰν τί σε πρὸς ταύτα ἔρωτα.

Ἐνήν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τάδε·

27. Κύρος Κναξάρη χαίρειν. ἡμεῖς σε οὖντε ἔρημον κατελίπομεν· οὐδέις γάρ, ὅταν ἐχθρῶν κρατή, τότε φίλων ἔρημος γίγνεται. οὐδὲ μὴν ἀποχωροῦντες γε σε οἴομεθα ἐν κινδύνῳ καθιστάναι· ἄλλα ὅσοι πλέον ἀπέχομεν, τοσοῦτω πλείον σοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖν νομίζομεν. 28. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν φίλων καθήμενοι
that, if we can, we may secure other allies besides. Now you heard the Mede recalling the cavalry; and if they go away, we only, the infantry, shall be left. 25. Accordingly, it is necessary for you and for me to do all we can to make this man also who is recalling them desire to remain with us himself. Do you, therefore, find and assign to him a tent where he will have the best kind of a time, with everything he wants; while I, for my part, will try to assign him some post that he himself would rather fill than go away. And do you have a talk with him and tell him what wealth we have hopes that all our friends will obtain, if we are successful in this; and when you have done this, come back again to me.”

26. Accordingly, the Hyrcanian took the Mede and went away to a tent. And then the officer who was going to leave for Persia presented himself ready to start. And Cyrus commissioned him to tell the Persians what has been set forth in the foregoing narrative and also to deliver a letter to Cyaxares. “Now,” said he, “I wish to read my message to you also, that you may understand its contents and confirm the facts, if he asks you anything in reference to them.”

Now the contents of the letter ran as follows:

27. “My Dear Cyaxares:

We have not left you deserted; for no one is deserted by his friends at a time when he is conquering his enemies. We do not even think that we have brought you into any danger through our departure; but we maintain that the farther away we are, the greater the security we provide for you. 28. For it is not those who sit down nearest to their
μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις τήν ἀσφάλειαν παρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μῆκιστὸν ἀπελαύνοντες μᾶλλον τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ καθιστᾶσι.

29. Σκέψασθε δὲ ὅπως ὑμεῖς μοι περὶ σὲ οἷος ὅν περὶ ἐμὲ ἐπειτὰ μοι μέμφει. ἐγὼ μὲν γε σοι ἤγαγον συμμάχους, οὗχ ὅσους σὺ ἐπεισά, ἀλλ' ὅποσος ἐγὼ πλείστους ἐδυνάμην σὺ δὲ μοι ἔδωκας μὲν ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ ὅντι ὅσους πείσαι δυνάσθειν νῦν δ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντος οὐ τὸν θέλοντα ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀποκαλεῖς. 30. τοιγαροῦν τότε μὲν φῦμην ἀμφοτέρους ὑμῖν χάριν ὀφείλειν. νῦν δὲ σὺ μ' ἀναγκάζεις σοῦ μὲν ἐπιλαβέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀκολουθήσασι πειρᾶσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι.

31. Οὐ μέντοι ἐγὼ γε σοὶ ὅμοιος δύναμαι γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν πέμπων ἐπὶ στράτευμα εἰς Πέρσας ἐπιστέλλω, ὅποσοι ἃν ἑωσίν ὡς ἐμὲ, ἢν τι σὺ αὐτῶν δὲ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, σοὶ ὑπάρχειν, οὐχ ὅπως ἃν ἐθέλωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἃν σὺ βούλῃς ἥρησθαι αὐτοῖς.

32. Συμβουλεύω δὲ σοι καίπερ νεώτερος ἃν μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἃν δῆς, ἵνα μὴ σοὶ ἀντὶ χαρίτων ἐχθραὶ ὀφείλονται, μὴ δ' ὅτινα βούλει πρὸς σὲ ταχὺ ἐλθεῖν, ἀπειλοῦντα μεταπέμπεσθαι, μηδὲ
friends that provide them with the greatest security; but it is those who drive the enemy farthest away that help their friends most effectually out of danger.

29. "And consider how I have acted toward you and how you have acted toward me, and yet in spite of all, you are finding fault with me. At all events, I brought you allies—not merely as many as you persuaded to come, but as many as ever I had it in my power to bring; whereas you gave to me, when I was on friendly soil, as many as I could persuade to join me, and now when I am in the enemy's territory you are recalling not merely those who may be willing to leave me, but all my men.

30. Indeed, I thought at that time that I was under obligation both to you and to your men; but now you are acting so as to force me to leave you out of consideration and to try to devote all my gratitude to those who have followed me.

31. "However, I cannot on my part treat you in the same spirit as you treat me, but at this very moment I am sending to Persia for reinforcements, with directions that as many as shall come to join me shall be at your service, if you need them for anything before we return, not as they may be pleased to serve, but as you may wish to employ them.

32. "Furthermore, although I am a younger man than you, let me advise you not to take back what you have once given, lest ill-will be your due instead of gratitude, nor to summon with threats those whom you would have come to you quickly; and again let me advise you not to employ threats against large numbers, while at the same time you
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φάσκοντα ἔρημον εἶναι ἂμα πολλοίς ἀπειλεῖν, ἵνα μὴ διδάσκῃς αὐτοὺς σοῦ μὴ φροντίζειν.

33. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρασόμεθα παρεῖναι, ὅταν τάχιστα διαπραξόμεθα ἥ σοι τ' ἂν καὶ ἧμῖν νομίζομεν πραχθέντα κοινὰ γενέσθαι ἀγαθά. ἔρρωσο.

34. Ταύτην αὐτῷ ἀπόδος καὶ ὅ τι ἂν σε τούτων ἔρωτα, ἥ γέγραπται σύμφαθι. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐπιστέλλω σοι περὶ Περσῶν Ἡπερ γέγραπται.

Τούτῳ μὲν οὖτως εἰπὲ, καὶ δοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέπεμπε, προσεντειλάμενος οὕτω σπεύδειν ὀσπερ οἴδεν ὅτι συμφέρει ταχύ παρεῖναι.

35. Ἡκ τούτου δὲ ἔσωρα μὲν ἐξωπλισμένους ἦδη πάντας καὶ τοὺς Μίθδους καὶ τοὺς Ῥκανίους καὶ τοὺς ἁμφὶ Τυγράννην· καὶ οἱ Περσαι δὲ ἐξωπλισμένους ἦσαν· ἦδη δὲ τίνες τῶν προσχόρων καὶ ἱππους ἀπῆγον καὶ ὅπλα ἀπέφερον. 36. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν παλτὰ ὀποιντερ τοὺς πρὸσθεν καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἔκασον οἷς τοῦτο ἔργον ἦν ὅποσών μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐδέοντο· τοὺς δὲ ἱππους ἐκέλευε φυλάττειν μὲνοντας τοὺς ἀγαγόντας ἐως ἂν τι σημανθῇ αὐτοῖς· τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Ῥκανίων καλέσας τοιάδε ἔλεξεν·

37. Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, μὴ θαυμάστε ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμᾶς συγκαλῶ· καίνα γὰρ 380
assert that you are deserted, for fear you teach
them to pay no attention to you.
33. "We shall try, however, to come to you just
as soon as we have accomplished what we think it
would be a common benefit to you and to us to have
done.

Farewell.

Cyrus."

34. "Deliver this to him and whatever he asks
you in regard to these matters, answer him in
keeping with what is written. And you can do this
with perfect truth, for my instructions to you in
regard to the Persians correspond exactly with what
is written in my letter."

Thus he spoke to him and giving him the letter
sent him away, adding the injunction that he should
make haste as one who knows that it is important to
be back again promptly.

35. At this moment he observed that all—both
the Medes and the Hyrkanians and Tigranes's men—
were already under arms, and the Persians also
stood under arms. And some of the natives from
near by were already delivering up horses and arms.
36. And the javelins he commanded them to throw
down in the same place as in the former instance, iv. ii. 33
and they whose task this was burned all that they
did not themselves need. But as for the horses, he
commanded those who brought them to keep them
and wait until he sent them word. Then he called
in the officers of the cavalry and of the Hyrkanians
and spoke as follows:

37. "Friends and allies, do not wonder that I call
you together so often. For our present situation is
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ήμων οὖν τὰ παρόντα πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἄσυντακτα· καὶ ὅ ἂν ἄσυντακτα ζῇ, ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἀεὶ πράγματα παρέχειν, ἔως ἂν χώραν λάβῃ.

38. Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἦμων πολλὰ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα χρήματα, καὶ ἀνδρεῖς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς· διὰ δὲ τὸ μῆτε ἦμας εἰδέναι ποῖα τούτων ἐκάστου ἔστιν ἦμῶν, μῆτε τούτως εἰδέναι ὅστις ἐκάστος αὐτῶν δεσπότης, περαινοῦσας μὲν δὴ τὰ δέον ταῦτα πάνω ἔστιν ὅραν αὐτῶν πολλοὺς, ἀποροῦντας δὲ ὁ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν σχεδόν πάντας. 39. ὀς οὖν μὴ οὕτως ἔχῃ, διορίσατε αὐτά· καὶ ὅστις μὲν ἔλαβε σκηνήν ἔχουσαν ἱκανὰ καὶ σίτα καὶ ποτὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετῆσοντας καὶ στρωμὴν καὶ ἔσθητα καὶ τάλλα οἷς οἰκεῖται σκηνῇ καλῶς στρατιωτικῇ, ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεῖ προσγενέσθαι ἡ τὸν λαβόντα εἰδέναι ὅτι τούτων ὡς οἰκείων ἐπιμέλεσθαι δεῖ· ὅστις δὲ εἰς ἐνδεόμενα τοῦ κατεσκήνωσε, τούτως ὑμεῖς σκεψάμενοι τὸ ἔλλειπον ἐκπληρώσατε· 40. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ περιττὰ οἴδ’ ὅτι ἔσται πλεῖον γὰρ ἀπαντη ἡ κατὰ τὸ ἢμέτερον πλήθος εἶχον οἱ πολέμωι. ἦλθον δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ χρημάτων ταύτης, οἳ τε τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως καὶ ἄλλων δυναστῶν, οἳ ἔλεγον ὅτι χρυσὸν εὐχαρά σφίσιν ἐπίσημον, δασμοὺς τινὰς λέγοντες. 41. καὶ ταῦτα οὖν κηρύξτητε πάντα ἀποφέρειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅπου ἂν καθέξησθε· καὶ φόβου ἐπιτίθεσθε τῷ μὴ ποιοῦντι τὸ παραγγελλόμενον· ὑμεῖς δὲ διάδοτε λαβόντες ἑπεῖ μὲν τὸ διπλοῦν, πεζῷ δὲ
novel, and many things about it are in an unorganized condition; and whatever lacks organization must necessarily always cause us trouble until it is reduced to order.

38 "We now have much spoil that we have taken, and men besides. But, as we do not know how much of it belongs to each one of us, and as the captives do not know who are their several masters, it is consequently impossible to see very many of them attending to their duty, for almost all are in doubt as to what they are expected to do. 39. In order, therefore, that this may not go on so, divide the spoil; and whoever has been assigned a tent with plenty of food and drink and people to serve him, and bedding and clothing and other things with which a soldier's tent should be furnished so as to be comfortable—in such a case nothing more need be added, except that he who has received it should be given to understand that he must take care of it as his own. But if any one has got into quarters that lack something, do you make a note of it and supply the want. 40. And I am sure that what is left over will be considerable, for the enemy had more of everything than is required by our numbers. Furthermore, the treasurers, both of the Assyrian king and of the other monarchs, have come to me to report that they have gold coin in their possession, by which they referred to certain payments of tribute. 41. Notify them, therefore, to deliver all this also to you, wherever you have your headquarters. And give that man reason to fear who shall not do as you command. And do you take the money and pay it out to the cavalry and infantry in the proportion of two to one, in order that you may all
42. Τήν δ' ἁγορᾶν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κηρυκάτω μὲν ἡδη, ἐφη, μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδένα, πωλεῖν δὲ τοὺς κατήλουσ' ὅ τι ἔχει ἐκαστὸς πράσιμον, καὶ ταῦτα διαθεμένους ἀλλα ἄγειν, ὅπως οἰκήται ἥμιν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

43. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐκήρυττον εὐθὺς. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ Τρκανοὶ εἰπον ὅδε. Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἐφασαν, ἴμεις ἀνεύ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν διανέμοιμεν ταῦτα;

44. Ὁ δ' αὖ Κύρος πρὸς τούτον τὸν λόγον ὅδε προσηνέχθη. Ἡ γὰρ οὕτως, ἐφη, ὁ ἄνδρες, γυγνώσκετε ὡς ὅ τι ἂν δὲν πραχθήναι, ἐπὶ πάσι πάντας ἴμας δείσει παρεῖναι, καὶ οὔτε ἐγὼ ἀρκέσω πράττον τι πρὸ ὑμῶν ὅ τι ἂν δεῖ, οὔτε ὑμεῖς πρὸ ἴμων; καὶ πῶς ἂν ἄλλοις πλεῖοι μὲν πράγματα ἔχουμεν, μείω δὲ διαπραττόμεθα ἡ οὕτως;

45. ἀλλ', ὡράτε, ἐφη, ἴμεις μὲν γὰρ διεφυλάξαμεν τε ὑμῶν τάδε, καὶ ἴμεις ἴμων πιστεύσετε καλῶς διαπεφυλάχθαι. ὑμεῖς δ' αὖ διανεῖματε, καὶ ἴμεις πιστεύσομεν ὑμῖν καλῶς διανεμημέκεναι. 46. καὶ ἄλλο δὲ τι αὖ ἴμεις πειρασόμεθα κοινῶν ἄγαθον πράττειν. ὡράτε γὰρ δὴ, ἐφη, υπὸ πρῶτον ἢπποι ὃσοι ἴμων πάρεισιν, οἱ δὲ προσάγονται τοῦτοι οὖν εἰ μὲν εάσομεν ἀναμβάτους, ἀφελήσουσι μὲν οὐδὲν ἴμας, πράγματα δὲ παρέξουσιν ἐπιμέλεσθαι ἴν δ' ἢππεάς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καταστίσωμεν, ἅμα πραγμάτων τε ἀπαλλαξόμεθα καὶ ἴσχυν ἴμων αὐτοῖς προσβησόμεθα. 47. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἔχετε
have the wherewithal to buy whatever you still may need.

42. “Further,” he added, “let the herald proclaim that no one shall interfere with the market in the camp, but that the hucksters may sell what each of them has for sale and, when they have disposed of that, get in a new stock, that our camp may be supplied.”

43. And they proceeded at once to issue the proclamation. But the Medes and Hyrcanians asked: “How could we divide this spoil without help from you and your men?”

44. And Cyrus in turn answered their question as follows: “Why, my good men, do you really suppose that we must all be present to oversee everything that has to be done, and that I shall not be competent in case of need to do anything on your behalf, nor you again on ours? How else could we make more trouble and accomplish less than in this way? 45. No,” said he; “you must look to it; for we have kept it for you and you must have confidence in us that we have kept it well; now for your part, do you divide it, and we shall have the same confidence in your dividing it fairly. 46. And there is something more that we, on our part, shall try to gain for the common advantage. For here, you observe, first of all, how many horses we have right now, and more are being brought in. If we leave them without riders, they will be of no use to us but will only give us the trouble of looking after them; but if we put riders upon them, we shall at the same time be rid of the trouble and add strength to ourselves. 47. If, therefore, you have others to whom you would rather
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οἴστισιν ἂν δοίητε αὐτούς, μεθ᾽ ὁν ἂν καὶ κινδυνεύοιτε ἡδιον, εἰ τι δέοι, ἡ μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἐκεῖνοις δίδοτε. εἰ μέντοι ἡμᾶς βούλεσθε παραστάτας ἂν μάλιστα ἔχειν ἡμῖν αὐτούς δότε. 48. καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὦτε ἄνεν ἡμῶν προσελάσαντες ἐκινδυνεύετε, πολὺν μὲν φόβον ἡμῖν παρείχετε μὴ τι πάθητε, μάλα δὲ ἀσχύνεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐποίησατε ὅτι οὐ παρῆμεν ὑποπερ ὑμεῖς. ἢ ἐδὲ λάβωμεν τοὺς Ἡπποὺς, ἐφομέθα ὑμῖν. 49. καὶ μὲν δοκῶμεν ὦφελεῖν πλέον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν 1 συναγωγιζόμενοι, οὗτο προσμείας οὐδὲν ἐπάλησομεν· ἢν δὲ πεζοὶ γενόμενοι δοκῶμεν καιριωτέρως ἂν παρεῖναι, τό τε καταβῆναι ἐν μέσῳ καὶ εὐθὺς πεζοὶ ἡμῖν παρεσομέθα. τοὺς δὲ Ἡπποὺς μηχανσόμεθα οὓς ἂν παραδοῖμεν.

50. Ὅ μὲν οὖτος ἔλεευν· οἱ δὲ ἄπεκρίναντο· Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὁ Κῦρε, οὔτ' ἄνδρας ἔχομεν οὐς ἀναβιβάσαμεν ἂν ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς Ἡπποὺς, οὔτ' εἰ εἶχομεν, σοῦ ταῦτα βουλομένου ἄλλο ἂν ἀντὶ τούτων ἦρούμεθα. καὶ νῦν, ἐφασαν, τούτοις λαβὼν πολίει ὅπως ἀριστόν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι.

51. Ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τε, ἐφη, καὶ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἡμεῖς τε Ἰππεῖς γενοίμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς διέλοιτε τὰ κοινά. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐφη, ἔξαιρείτε ὅ τι ἂν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγῶνται. ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ Κυνάξαρη ἐκλέξασθε ὅποι ἂν οἶςθε αὐτῷ μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι.

52. Καὶ οἱ γελάσαντες εἴπον ὅτι γυναικας ἔξαρτέων εἶπ.

Γυναικάς τε τοῖνυν ἔξαιρείτε, ἐφη, καὶ ἀλλο 2 ἂτ' αὐτῶν Cobet, Edd.; ἐπ' αὐτῶν xz; ἐπὶ τῶν Ἡππῶν D.

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give them and with whom you would rather go into danger, if need should be, than with us, offer them the horses. If, however, you should wish to have us as your comrades in preference to others, give them to us. 48. And I have good reasons for asking; for just now when you rode on into danger without us, you filled us with apprehension lest something should happen to you and made us very much ashamed because we were not at your side. But if we get the horses, we shall follow you next time. 49. And if it seems that we are of more use to you by fighting with you on horseback, in that case we shall not fail for want of courage. But if it seems that by turning footmen again we could assist to better advantage, it will be open to us to dismount and at once stand by you as foot soldiers; and as for the horses, we shall manage to find some one to whom we may entrust them."

50. Thus he spoke, and they made answer: "Well, Cyrus, we have no men whom we could mount upon these horses; and if we had, we should not choose to make any other disposition of them, since this is what you desire. So now," they added, "take them and do as you think best."

51. "Well," said he, "I accept them; may good fortune attend our turning into horsemen and your dividing the common spoils. In the first place, set apart for the gods whatever the magi direct, as they interpret the will of the gods. Next select for Cyaxares also whatever you think would be most acceptable to him."

52. They laughed and said that they would have to choose women for him.

"Choose women then," said he, "and whatever

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τι δὲν δοκῇ ύμῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ έκείνης ἔξελθε, τοὺς ἐμοῦ, δὲ ὶς Ἰρκάνιοι, ἐθέλοντος τούτους ἐπιστομένους πάντας ἀμέμπτους ποιεῖτε εἰς δύναμιν.

53. 'Τμεῖς δ' αὖ, δὲ Μήδοι, τοὺς πρώτους συμμάχους γενομένους τιμᾶτε τούτους, ὅτις εὑρεθείναι ἤγησον ἤμιν φίλοι γενόμενοι. νείματε δὲ πάντων τὸ μέρος καὶ τῷ παρὰ Κυάζαρου ἦκοντι αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συν- διαμένειν δὲ παρακαλεῖτε, ὥς ἐμοὶ τοῦτο συνδοκοῦν, ὡν καὶ Κυάζαρι μάλλον εἴδος περὶ ἐκάστου ἀπαγγέλθη τὰ δύνα. 54. Πέρσαις δ', ἐφῆ, τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ, ὅσα ἄν περιττὰ γένηται ύμῶν καλῶς κατε- σκευασμένων, ταύτα ἀρκέσειν καὶ γάρ, ἐφῆ, μάλα πτως ἥμεις οὐκ ἐν χλιδῇ τεθράμμεθα ἀλλὰ χωρι- τικῶς, ὥστε ἰσος ἄν ἤμιν καταγελάσατε, εἰ τι σεμνὸν ἥμιν περιτεθείη, ὡσπερ, ἐφῆ, οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺν ύμίν γέλωτα παρέξομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππών καθήμενοι, οἶμαι δ', ἐφῆ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατα- πίπτουσες.

55. 'Εκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν, μάλα ἐπὶ τῷ ἰππικῷ γελώτοις. δὲ τοὺς ταξιάρχους καλέσας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἰπποὺς λαμβάνειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰππῶν σκεύη καὶ τοὺς ἰπποκόμους, καὶ ἀριθμήσαντας διαλαβεῖν¹ κληρωσαμένους εἰς τάξιν ἰσοὺς ἐκάστοις.

56. Ἀδείς δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἀνειπτεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ τις εἴη ἐν τῷ Ἀσσυρίων ή Σύρων ή Ἀραβίων στρατεύματι ἀνὴρ δούλος ή Μηδών ή Περσῶν ή Βακτρίων ή Καρῶν ή Κιλίκων ή Ελλήνων ή ἄλλοθέν ποθὲν βεβιασμένος, ἐκφαινεσθαι. 57. οἱ δὲ ἄκου-
else you please. And when you have made your choice for him, then do you Hyrcanians do all you can to see that all those who volunteered to follow me have no cause to complain.

53. "And do you Medes, in your turn, show honour to those who first became our allies, that they may think that they have been well advised in becoming our friends. And allot his proper share of everything to the envoy who came from Cyaxares and to those who attended him; and invite him also to stay on with us (and give him to understand that this is my pleasure also), so that he may know better the true state of things and report the facts to Cyaxares concerning each particular. 54. As for the Persians with me," he said, "what is left after you are amply provided for will suffice for us; for we have not been reared in any sort of luxury, but altogether in rustic fashion, so that you would perhaps laugh at us, if anything gorgeous were to be put upon us, even as we shall, I know, furnish you no little cause for laughter when we are seated upon our horses, and, I presume," he added, "when we fall off upon the ground."

55. Hereupon they proceeded to the division of the spoil, laughing heartily at his joke about the Persian horsemanship, while he called his captains and ordered them to take the horses and the grooms and the trappings of the horses, and to count them off and divide them by lot so that they should each have an equal share for each company.

56. And again Cyrus ordered proclamation to be made that if there were any one from Media or Persia or Bactria or Caria or Greece or anywhere else forced into service as a slave in the army of the Assyrians or Syrians or Arabians, he should show himself. 57. And
σαντες του κηρυκος άσμενοι πολλοι προφάνησαν·
ό δ’ εκλεξάμενος αυτων τους τα ειδη βελτιστος
ηλεγεν οτι ελευθερους αυτους οντας δεησει οπλα
υποφερειν αν αυτους διδωσι· τα δ’ επιτηδεια οπως
αν εχωσιν εφη αυτοι μελησεν.

58. Καλ ευθυς άγων προς τους ταξιαρχους
συνεστησεν αυτους, καλ εκελευσε τα τε γερρα και
τας ψιλας μαχαίρας τουτους δωναι, οπως εχουντε
συν τους ίππους επωνται, καλ ταπιτηδεια τουτους
ωσπερ και τους μετ’ αυτου Πέρσας λαμβανειν,
αυτους δε τους θώρακας και τα ξυστα εχουντας αει
επι των ίππων οχεισθαι, καλ αυτους οντω ποιον
κατηρχειν, επι δε τους πεζους των ομοτιμων ανθ
αυτου εκαστον καθισταναι αλλον αρχοντα των
ομοτιμων.

VI

1. Οι μεν δη αμφι ταυτα ειχον. Γωβρυας δ’ εν
tουτω παρην Ασσυριος πρεσβυτης άνηρ εφ’ ίπ-
που συν ιτπικη θεραπεια ειχον δε παντες τα
εφιππων οπλα. καλ οι μεν επι το τα οπλα παρα-
λαμβανειν τεταγμενοι εκελευν παραδιδοναι τα
ξυστα, οπως κατακαοειν ωσπερ ταλλα. ο δε
Γωβρυας ειπεν ότι Κυρον πρωτον βουλοιτο ιδειν·
καλ οι υπηρεται τους μεν αλλους ιππεας αυτου

1 προφάνησαν Edd. ; προ(-D)εφάνησαν MSS.
when they heard the herald's proclamation, many came forward gladly. And he selected the finest looking of them and told them that they should be made free, but that they would have to act as carriers of any arms given them to carry; and for their sustenance he himself, he said, would make provision.

58. And so he led them at once to his captains and presented them, bidding his men give them their shields and swords without belts, that they might carry them and follow after the horses. Furthermore, he bade his captains draw rations for them just as for the Persians under him. The Persians, moreover, he bade always ride on horseback with their corselets and lances, and he himself set the example of doing so. He also instructed each one of the newly-mounted officers to appoint some other peer to take his place of command over the infantry of the peers.

VI

1. Thus, then, they were occupied. Meanwhile Gobryas, an Assyrian, a man well advanced in years, came up on horseback with a cavalry escort; and they all carried cavalry weapons. And those who were assigned to the duty of receiving the weapons ordered them to surrender their spears, that they might burn them as they had done with the rest. But Gobryas said that he wished to see Cyrus first. Then the officers left the rest of the horsemen there,
κατέλιπον, τὸν δὲ Γωβρύαν ἄγουσι πρὸς τὸν Κύρον. ὦ δ' ὡς εἰδε τὸν Κύρον, ἔλεξεν ὁδῷ:

2. Ὡ̣ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀσσυρίων ἐχὼ δὲ καὶ τείχος ἱσχυρὸν καὶ χώρας ἐπάρχω πολλής· καὶ ἢπτον ἐχὼ εἰς χιλίαν, ἵνα τὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεῖ παρειχόμην καὶ φίλος ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὡς μάλιστα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος τέθυηκεν ύφ' ὑμῶν ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς ὦν, οὗ δὲ παῖς ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει ἐχθριστός ὄν ἐμοί, ἦκω πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἵκέτης προσπίπτοι καὶ δίδωμι σοι ἰμαντὸν δοῦλον καὶ σύμμαχον, σὲ δὲ τιμωρὸν αἰτοῦμαι ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι· καὶ παῖδα οὕτως ὡς δυνατὸν σὲ πολύμαν· ἂπασι δ' εἰμὶ ἀρρένων παῖδων. 3. ὃς γὰρ ἦν μοι μόνος καὶ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς, ὠ δέσποτα, καὶ ἐμὲ φιλῶν καὶ τιμῶν ὡσπερ ἄν εὐδαιμονα πατέρα παῖς τιμῶν τιθείς, τοῦτον ὁ νῦν βασιλεὺς οὗτος καλέσαντος τοῦ τότε βασιλέως, πατρὸς δὲ τοῦ νῦν, ὡς δώσοντος τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ ἐμῷ παιδί, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπεπεμψάμην μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι δῆθεν τῆς βασιλείας θυγατρὸς ὑψοίμην τὸν ἐμὸν νῦν γαμέτιν· ὁ δὲ νῦν βασιλεὺς εἰς θήραν αὐτὸν παρακάλέσας καὶ ἀνεῖς αὐτῷ θηρᾶν ἀνὰ κράτος, ὡς πολὺ κρείττων αὐτοῦ ἔπευς ἤγονυμενος εἶναι, ὁ μὲν ὡς φίλῳ συνεθήρα, φανείς δὲ ἄρκτων διώκοντες ἀμφότεροι, ὁ μὲν νῦν ἄρχων οὕτος ἀκομπτισας ἦμαρτεν, ὡς μήποτε ὄφελεν, ὁ δ' ἐμὸς παῖς βαλῶν, οὐδὲν δέον, καταβάλλει τὴν ἄρκτων.
but Gobryas they conducted to Cyrus. 2. And when he saw Cyrus, he spoke as follows:

"Sire, I am by birth an Assyrian; I have also His story a castle, and wide are the domains which I govern. I have also about a thousand horse which I used to put at the disposal of the Assyrian king, and I used to be his most devoted friend. But since he has been slain by you, excellent man that he was, and since his son, who is my worst enemy, has succeeded to his crown, I have come to you and fall a suppliant at your feet. I offer myself to be your vassal and ally and ask that you will be my avenger; and thus, in the only way I may, I make you my son, for I have no male child more. 3. For he who was my son, my only son, a beautiful and brave young man, Sire, and one who loved me and paid me the filial reverence that would make a father happy—¹ him this present king—¹ when the old king, the father of the present ruler, invited my son to his court purposing to give him his daughter in marriage—and I let him go; for I was proud that, as I flattered myself, I should see my son wedded to the king's daughter—then, I say, the man who is now king invited him to go hunting with him and gave him permission to do his best in the chase, for he thought that he himself was a much better rider than my son. And my boy went hunting with him as his friend, and when a bear came out, they both gave chase and the present ruler let fly his javelin but missed. Oh! would to God he had not! Then my son threw (as he should not have done) and brought down the bear.

¹ The grief-stricken father's recital is broken with sobs; the sentences begun are never finished.
4. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ἀνιαθεὶς ἄρ’ οὖτος κατέσχευ ὑπὸ σκότου τὸν φθόνον· ὡς δὲ πάλιν λέοντος παρατυχόντος ᾧ μὲν αὐ ήμαρτεν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν οἶμαι παθὼν, ὦ δ’ αὐ εἰμὸς παῖς αὕτης τυχῶν κατευργάσατο τε τὸν λέοντα καὶ εἶπεν, Ἀρα βέβληκα δις ἐφεξῆς καὶ καταβέβληκα θῆρα ἐκατεράκις, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οὐκέτι κατίσχει ὁ ἀνόσιος τὸν φθόνον, ἀλλ’ αἰχμὴν παρὰ τινος τῶν ἐπομένων ἀρπάσας, παῖσας εἰς τὰ στέρνα τὸν μόνον μοι καὶ φίλον παίδα ἀφείλετο τὴν ψυχὴν. 5. καὶ γὰρ μὲν ὁ τάλας νεκρὸν ἀντὶ νυμφίου ἐκομισάμην καὶ ἔθαψα τηλικοῦτος ὧν ἀρτὶ γενειάσκοντα τὸν ἀριστον παίδα τὸν ἀγαπητὸν· ὦ δὲ κατακανών ὅσπερ ἔχθρον ἀπολέσας οὔτε μεταμελώμενος πώποτε φανερὸς ἐγένετο οὔτε ἀντὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔργου τιμῆς τινος ἢξίωσε τὸν κατὰ γῆς. ὃ γε μὴν πατηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνφοκτισὺ με καὶ δῆλος ἦν συναγθόμενος μοι τῇ συμφορᾷ. 6. ἐγὼ οὖν, εἰ μὲν ἔξι ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ἦλθον πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου κακῷ· πολλὰ γὰρ φιλικὰ ἐπαθὼν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπηρέτησα ἐκεῖνῳ· ἐτεὶ δ’ εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἐμὸν παιδὸς φονέα ἡ ἀρχὴ περίκει, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ τούτῳ ἐγὼ δυναίμην εὕνους γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ οὕτος ἐμὲ εὐ οἶδ’ ὅτι φίλου ἃν ποτε ἥγησατο. οἶδε γὰρ ὡς ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχω καὶ ὃς πρόςθεν φαιδρῶς βιοτεύων νῦν διάκειμαι, ἔρημος ὃν καὶ διὰ πένθους τὸ γῆρας διάγων.

7. Εἰ οὖν σὺ με δέχει καὶ ἑλπίδα τινὰ λάβοιμι τῷ φίλῳ παιδὶ τιμωρίας ἂν τινος μετὰ σοῦ τυχεῖν, καὶ ἀνηθήσαι ἂν πάλιν δοκῶ μοι καὶ οὕτε ἦν ἄν
4. And then that man was vexed, to be sure, as it proved, but covered his jealousy in darkness. But when again a lion appeared, he missed again. There was nothing remarkable in that, so far as I can see; but again a second time my son hit his mark and killed the lion and cried, ‘Have I not thrown twice in succession and brought an animal down each time?’ Then that villain no longer restrained his jealous wrath but, snatching a spear from one of the attendants, smote him in the breast—my son, my only, well-loved son—and took away his life. 5. And I, unhappy I, received back a corpse instead of a bridegroom, and, old man that I am, I buried with the first down upon his cheeks my best, my well-beloved son. But the murderer, as if he had slain an enemy, has never shown any repentance, nor has he, to make amends for his wicked deed, ever deigned to show any honour to him beneath the earth. His father, however, expressed his sorrow for me and showed that he sympathized with me in my affliction. 6. And so, if he were living, I should never have come to you in a way to do him harm; for I have received many kindnesses at his hands and I have done him many services. But since the sceptre has passed on to the murderer of my son, I could never be loyal to him and I am sure that he would never regard me as a friend. For he knows how I feel toward him and how dark my life now is, though once it was so bright; for now I am forsaken and am spending my old age in sorrow.

7. “If, therefore, you will receive me and I may find some hope of getting with your help some vengeance for my dear son, I think that I should find my youth again and, if I live, I should no longer
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἐτι αἰσχυνοίμην οὕτε ἀποθνησκων ἁνωμενος ἀν τελευτάν δοκῶ.

8. Ὅ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε Κύρος δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἄλλ’ ἥνπερ, δ’ Γωβρύα, καὶ φρονῶν φαίνῃ ὀσα-περ λέγεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δέχομαι τε ἱκέτην σε καὶ τιμωρήσειν σοι τοῦ παιδὸς σὺν θεοῖς ὑπισχυόμαι. λέξον δὲ μοι, ἐφη, ἐώς σοι ταῦτα ποιῶμεν καὶ τὰ τείχη σε ἐχεῖν ἐδῶμεν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἥνπερ πρόσθεν εἴχες, σὺ. ἡμῖν τί ἀντὶ τούτων ὑπηρετήσεις;

9. Ὅ δὲ εἶπε, Τὰ μὲν τείχη, ὅταν ἔλθης, οἰκὸν σοι παρέξω. δασμὸν δὲ τῆς χώρας ὄντερ ἐδερον ἐκεῖνῳ σοι ἀποίσω καὶ ὅποι ἀν στρατεύῃ, συστρα- τεύσομαι τήν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δύναμιν ἐχοὺν. ἐστι δὲ μοι, ἐφη, καὶ θυγάτηρ παρθένος ἀγαπητὴ γάμου ἤδη ὧραία, ἣν ἔγω πρόσθεν μὲν ὃμην τῷ νῦν βασιλεύοντι γυναῖκα τρέφειν. νῦν δὲ αὐτῇ τέ μοι ἡ θυγάτηρ πολλὰ γουσέμην ἱκέτευσε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτὴν τῷ τοῦ αὐδελφοῦ φονεί, ἐγὼ τε ὡς στόχως γυνώσκω. νῦν δὲ σοι δίδωμι βουλεύσασθαι καὶ περὶ ταύτης οὕτως ὀστερ ἀν καὶ ἐγὼ βουλεύων περὶ σὲ φαίνωμαι.

10. Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἑπὶ τοῦτοις, ἐφη, ἐγὼ ἀληθευμένους δίδωμι σοι τὴν ἐμήν καὶ λαμ- βάνω τὴν σὺν δεξιάν. θεοὶ δὲ ἡμῖν μάρτυρες ἐστον.

Ἑπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράξεθη, ἀπέναι τε κελεύει τὸν Γωβρύαν ἔχοντα τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπῆρετο πόση τις ὁδὸς ὡς αὐτὸν εἶη, ὡς ἦξον. ο’ ὑπελεγεν, Ἡν αὐριον ἓς πρῷ, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ἄν αὐλίζουν παρ’ ἡμῖν.

11. Οὕτω δὴ οὕτος μὲν ὥτε το ηγεμόνα καταλι-
live in shame; and if I die, I think that I should die without a regret."

8. Thus he spoke; and Cyrus answered: "Well, Gobryas, if you prove that you really mean all that you say to us, I not only receive you as a suppliant, but promise you with the help of the gods to avenge the murder of your son. But tell me," said he, "if we do this for you and let you keep your castle and your province and the power which you had before, what service will you do us in return for that?"

9. "The castle," he answered, "I will give you for your quarters when you come; the tribute of the province, which before I used to pay to him, I will pay to you; and whithersoever you march I will march with you at the head of the forces of my province. Besides," said he, "I have a daughter, a maiden well-beloved and already ripe for marriage. I used once to think that I was rearing her to be the bride of the present king. But now my daughter herself has besought me with many tears not to give her to her brother's murderer; and I am so resolved myself. And now I leave it to you to deal with her as I shall prove to deal with you."

10. "According as what you have said is true," Cyrus then made answer, "I give you my right hand and take yours. The gods be our witnesses."

When this was done he bade Gobryas go and keep his arms; he also asked him how far it was to his place, for he meant to go there. And he said: "If you start to-morrow early in the morning, you would spend the night of the second day with us."

11. With these words he was gone, leaving a guide
XENOPHON

πών. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι παρῆσαν, ἀ¹ μὲν οἱ μάγοι ἐφασαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξελείν, ἀποδόντες τοῖς μάγοις, Κύρῳ δὲ ἐξηρηκότες τὴν καλλίστην σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν Σουσίδα γυναῖκα, ἥ καλλίστη δὴ λέγεται ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ γυνὴ γενέσθαι, καὶ μονοσουργοὺς δὲ δύο τὰς κρατίστας· δεύτερον δὲ Κναξάρη τὰ δεύτερα·
τοιάντα δὲ ἄλλα ὃν ἐδέοντο ἑαυτοῖς ἐκπληρώσαντες, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐνδεόμενοι στρατεύωνται· πάντα ὑπὲρ ἡς πολλά.

12. Προσέλαβον δὲ καὶ ᾽Τρκάνιοι ὃν ἐδέοντο· ἱσόμοιρον δὲ ἐποίησαν καὶ τὸν παρὰ Κναξάρου ἀγγελον· τὰς δὲ περιττὰς σκηνὰς ὡσι ἦσαν Κυρὶο παρέδοσαν, ὡς τοῖς Πέρσας γένοιτο. τὸ
δὲ νόμισμα ἐφασαν, ἐπειδὰν ἀπαν συλλεξθῇ, διαδώσειν καὶ διέδοκαν.

¹ & Stephanus, Edd.; τὰ MSS.
behind. And then the Medes came in, after they had delivered to the magi what the magi had directed them to set apart for the gods. And they had selected for Cyrus the most splendid tent and the lady of Susa, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia, and two of the most accomplished music-girls; and afterward they had selected for Cyaxares the next best. They had also supplied themselves with such other things as they needed, so that they might continue the campaign in want of nothing; for there was an abundance of everything.

12. And the Hyrcanians also took what they wanted; and they made the messenger from Cyaxares share alike with them. And all the tents that were left over they delivered to Cyrus for the use of his Persians. The coin they said they would divide, as soon as it was all collected; and this they did.
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