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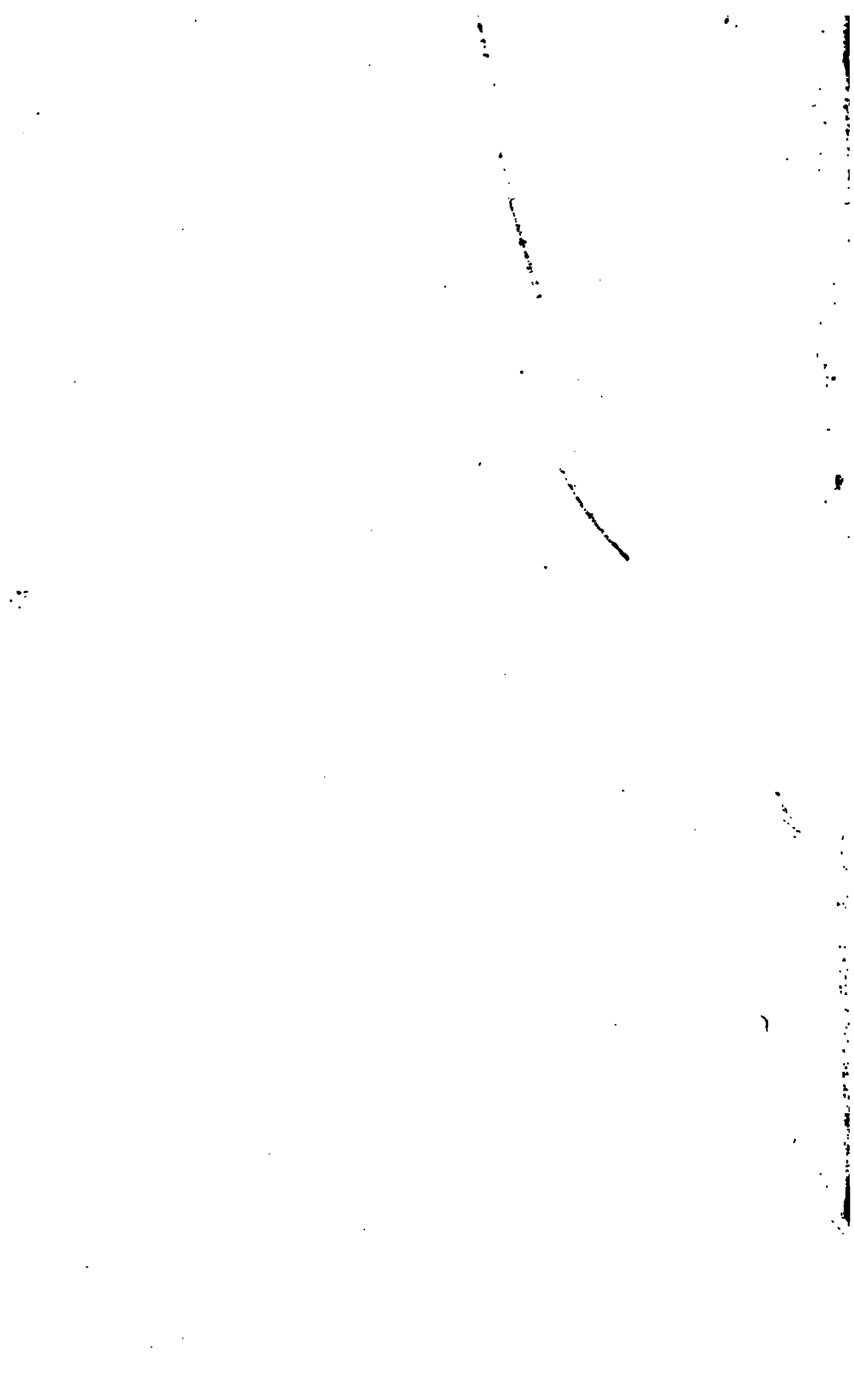
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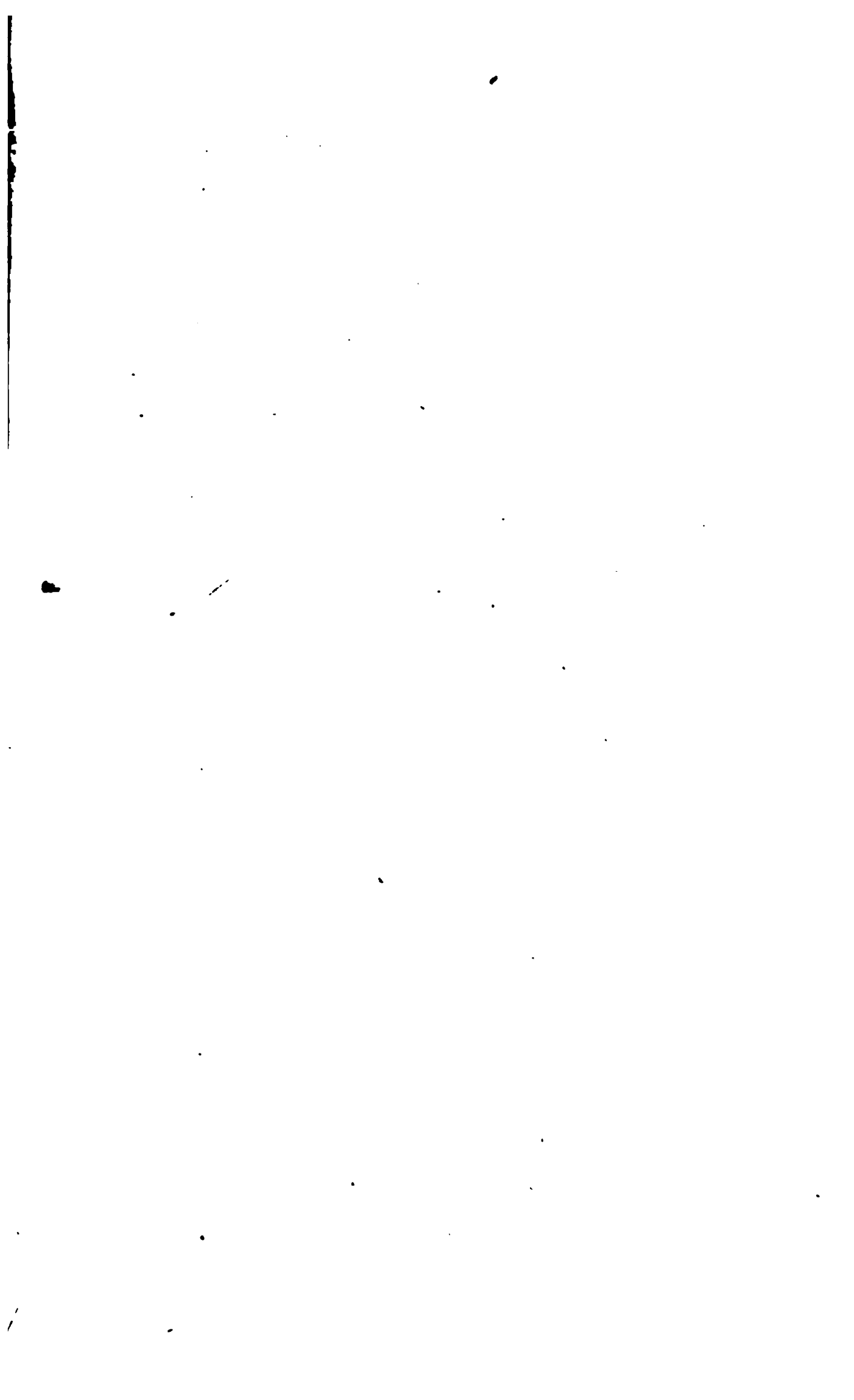
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XENOPHON

HELLENICA, BOOKS VI & VII

ANABASIS, BOOKS I—III

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΟΝ

3 ἄλλην διοίκησιν. κακείνος μέντοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων τήν τε ἄκραν φυλάττων διέσωζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰλλα διοικῶν ἀπελογίζετο κατ' ἐν-αυτόν. καὶ ὅποτε μὲν ἐνδεήσεις, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθει, ὅποτε δὲ περιγένοιτο τῆς προσόδου, ἀπελάμβανεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόξενός τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον. οὗτος οὖν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, εἶπε τοιάδε.

4 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρόξενος ὑμῶν ὢν καὶ εὐεργέτης ἐκ πάντων ὢν μεμνήμεθα προγόνων, ἀξιῶ, εἴαν τέ τι ἀπορῶ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰέναι, εἴαν τέ τι χαλεπὸν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ συνιστῆται, σημαίνειν. ἀκούετε μὲν οὖν, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἰάσονος ὄνομα· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει μεγάλην καὶ ὀνομαστός ἐστιν. οὗτος δὲ σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος συνεγένετό μοι, καὶ εἶπε
5 τάδε· "Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, καὶ ἄκουσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν Φάρσαλον¹ δυναίμην ἂν παραστήσασθαι ἔξεστί σοι ἐκ τῶνδε λογιζέσθαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ἔχω μὲν Θετταλίας τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας πόλεις συμμάχους· κατεστρεψάμην δ' αὐτὰς ὑμῶν σὺν αὐταῖς τὰ ἐναντία ἐμοὶ στρατευομένων. καὶ μὴν οἶσθά γε ὅτι ξένους ἔχω μισθοφόρους εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, οἷς, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδεμία πόλις δύναιτ' ἂν ῥαδίως μάχεσθαι. ἀριθμὸς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοθεν οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττων ἐξέλ-

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

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

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

¹ A title of honour which Greek states often gave to aliens who had rendered them service.

² Tyrant of Pherae, a city in south-eastern Thessaly.

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θοι· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στρατεύματα τοὺς μὲν προεληλυθότας ἤδη ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἔχει, τοὺς δ' οὐπω ἀκμάζοντας. σωμασκοῦσί γε μὴν μάλα ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει· παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς μισθοφορεῖ, ὅστις μὴ ἰκανός ἐστιν ἐμοὶ ἴσα
6 πονεῖν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐστί, λέγειν γὰρ χρὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τάληθῆ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μάλα εὖρωστος καὶ ἄλλως φιλόπουνος. καὶ τοίνυν τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ πείραν λαμβάνει καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· ἡγεῖται γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὅταν πη στρατεύηται. καὶ οὐς μὲν ἂν μαλακοὺς τῶν ξένων αἰσθάνηται, ἐκβάλλει, οὐς δ' ἂν ὀρᾷ φιλοπόνως καὶ φιλοκινδύνως ἔχοντας πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, τιμᾷ, τοὺς μὲν διμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ τριμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τετραμοιρίαις, καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις, καὶ νόσων γε θεραπείαις καὶ περὶ ταφὰς κόσμῳ· ὥστε πάντες ἴσασιν οἱ παρ' ἐκείνῳ ξένοι ὅτι ἡ πολεμικὴ αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴ ἐντιμώτατόν τε βίου καὶ ἀφθονώτατον παρέχεται.

7 Ἐπεδείκνυε δέ μοι εἰδότι ὅτι καὶ ὑπήκοοι ἤδη αὐτῷ εἶεν Μαρακοὶ καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ ὑπαρχος· "Ὡστε, ἔφη, τί ἂν ἐγὼ φοβούμενος οὐ ραδίως ἂν ὑμᾶς οἰοίμην καταστρέψασθαι; τάχα οὖν ὑπολάβοι ἂν τις ἐμοῦ ἄπειρος· Τί οὖν μέλλεις καὶ οὐκ ἤδη στρατεύεις ἐπὶ τοὺς Φαρσαλίους; ὅτι νῆ Δία τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐκόντας ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἄκουτας προσαγαγέσθαι. βιασθέντες μὲν γὰρ ὑμεῖς τ' ἂν βουλεύοισθε ὅ τι δύναισθε

HELLENICA, VI. I. 5-7

some other city also ; but armies made up of citizens include men who are already advanced in years and others who have not yet come to their prime. Furthermore, in every city very few men train their bodies, but among my mercenaries no one serves unless he is able to endure as severe toils as I myself.' And he himself—for I must tell you the truth—is exceedingly strong of body and a lover of toil besides. Indeed, he makes trial every day of the men under him, for in full armour he leads them, both on the parade-ground and whenever he is on a campaign anywhere. And whomsoever among his mercenaries he finds to be weaklings he casts out, but whomsoever he sees to be fond of toil and fond of the dangers of war he rewards, some with double pay, others with triple pay, others even with quadruple pay, and with gifts besides, as well as with care in sickness and magnificence in burial ; so that all the mercenaries in his service know that martial prowess assures to them a life of greatest honour and abundance.

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

should be wanting to keep you as weak as I could ; 874 B.C. but if it was through persuasion that you joined with me, it is clear that we should advance one another's interests to the best of our ability. Now I know, Polydamas, that your city looks to you, and if you make her friendly to me I promise you,' he said, 'that I will make you the greatest, next to myself, of all the men in Greece ; and what manner of fortune it is wherein I offer you the second place, hear from me, and believe nothing that I say unless upon consideration it appears to you true. Well, then, this is plain to us, that if Pharsalus and the cities which are dependent upon you should be added to my power, I could easily become Tagus¹ of all the Thessalians ; and, further, that whenever Thessaly is under a Tagus, her horsemen amount to six thousand and more than ten thousand men become hoplites. And when I see both their bodies and their high spirit, I think that if one should handle them rightly, there would be no people to whom the Thessalians would deign to be subject. Again, while Thessaly is an exceedingly flat land,² all the peoples round about are subject to her as soon as a Tagus is established here ; and almost all who dwell in these neighbouring regions are javelin-men, so that it is likely that our force would be far superior in peltasts also. Furthermore, the Boeotians and all the others who are at war with the Lacedaemonians are my allies, and they are ready to be my followers, too, if only I free them from the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians also, I know very well, would do anything their best in a rough country—could nevertheless be obtained, Jason urges, from the mountainous regions which adjoined Thessaly and were likely to become subject to him (see below).

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σθαι· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι. νομίζω γὰρ ἔτι ῥᾶον τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἢ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἂν.

11 Εἰ δὲ εἰκότα λογίζομαι, σκόπει, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα. ἔχοντες μὲν γε Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα ἄγονται, πολὺ δῆπου πλείους ἐκείνων ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα ναῦς ποιήσασθαι. ἀνδρῶν γε μὴν ταύτας πληροῦν πότερον Ἀθηναίους ἢ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς μᾶλλον δύνασθαι, τοσοῦτους καὶ τοιοῦτους ἔχοντας πενέστας; τοὺς γε μὴν ναύτας τρέφειν πότερον ἡμᾶς ἱκανωτέρους εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς δι' ἀφθονίαν καὶ ἄλλοσε σῖτον ἐκπέμποντας ἢ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς μηδ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν ἔχοντας, ἂν

12 μὴ πρίωνται; καὶ χρήμασί γε εἰκὸς δῆπου ἡμᾶς ἀφθονωτέροις χρῆσθαι μὴ εἰς νησύδρια ἀποβλέποντας, ἀλλ' ἠπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη καρπουμένους. πάντα γὰρ δῆπου τὰ κύκλῳ φόρον φέρει, ὅταν ταγεύηται τὰ κατὰ Θετταλίαν. οἴσθα δὲ δῆπου ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν οὐ νήσους ἀλλ' ἠπειρον καρπούμενος πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν· ὃν ἐγὼ ὑπήκοον ποιήσασθαι ἔτι εὐκατεργαστότερον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶδα γὰρ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους πλὴν ἑνὸς μᾶλλον δουλείαν ἢ ἀλκὴν μεμελετηκότας, οἶδα δὲ ὑφ' οἷας δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσεως καὶ τῆς μετ' Ἀγησιλάου εἰς πᾶν ἀφίκετο βασιλεύς.

13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην

HELLENICA, VI. I. 10-13

to become allies of ours, but I do not think it best to establish a friendship with them; for I believe that I could obtain empire by sea even more easily than by land. 874 B.C.

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

“ Now in answer to these statements I replied

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ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀξιόσκεπτα λέγει, τὸ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους ἀποστηῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, μηδὲν ἔχοντας ἐγκαλεῖν, τοῦτ', ἔφην, ἀπορόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι· ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας με καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκτέον μου εἶη, ὅτι τοιοῦτος εἶην, ἐφῆκέ μοι ἐλθόντι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν τὰληθῆ, ὅτι διανοοῖτο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Φαρσαλίους, εἰ μὴ πεισοίμεθα. αἰτεῖν οὖν ἐκέλευε βοήθειαν παρ' ὑμῶν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν θεοί,¹ ἔφη, διδῶσιν ὥστε σε πείθειν ἱκανὴν πέμπειν συμμαχίαν ὡς ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν, ἄγ', ἔφη, καὶ τούτῳ χρώμεθα ὅ τι ἂν ἀποβαίνη ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου· ἂν δέ σοι μὴ δοκῶσιν ἱκανῶς βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἤδη ἀνέγκλητος ἂν δικαίως εἶης εἰ² τῇ πατρίδι, ἢ σε τιμᾶ, καὶ σὺ πράττοις τὰ κράτιστα;

- 14 Περὶ τούτων δὴ ἐγὼ ἤκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ λέγω πάντα ὅσα ἐκεῖ αὐτός τε ὀρώ καὶ ἐκείνου ἀκήκοα. καὶ νομίζω οὕτως ἔχειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ μὲν πέμψετε ἐκεῖσε δύναμιν, ὡς μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θετταλοῖς ἱκανὴν δοκεῖν εἶναι πρὸς Ἰάσονα πολεμεῖν, ἀποστήσονται αὐτοῦ αἱ πόλεις· πᾶσαι γὰρ φοβοῦνται ὅποι ποτὲ προβήσεται ἢ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύναμις. εἰ δὲ νεοδαμώδεις καὶ ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην οἴεσθε ἀρκέσειν, συμβουλεύω ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν.
- 15 εὐ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι³ πρὸς τε μεγάλην ἔσται ῥώμην ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ πρὸς

¹ θεοί Cobet: σοί Kel. with MSS.

² εἰ Madvig: ἐν MSS.: ἐν τῇ πατρίδι . . . καὶ οὐ πράττει Kel.

³ Omitted by MS. B: Kel. brackets.

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- ἄνδρα ὃς φρόνιμος μὲν οὕτω στρατηγός ἐστιν ὡς
 ὅσα τε λανθάνειν καὶ ὅσα φθάνειν καὶ ὅσα βια-
 ζεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖ οὐ μάλα ἀφάμαρτάνει. ἱκανὸς
 γάρ ἐστι καὶ νυκτὶ ἄπερ ἡμέρα χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅταν
 σπεύδῃ, ἄριστον καὶ δεῖπνον ποιησάμενος ἅμα
 πονεῖσθαι. οἴεται δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρῆναι,
 ὅταν ἀφίκηται ἔνθ' ἂν ὠρμημένος ἦ καὶ διαπράξη-
 ται ἂ δειῖ· καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ταῦτα εἶθικεν.
 ἐπίσταται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐπιπονήσαντες ἀγαθὸν τι
 πράξωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐκπλήσαι τὰς γνώμας
 αὐτῶν· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο μεμαθήκασιν πάντες οἱ
 μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πόνων καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ
 16 γίγνεται. καὶ μὴν ἐγκρατέστατός γ' ἐστὶν ὧν
 ἐγὼ οἶδα τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν· ὥστε οὐδὲ
 διὰ ταῦτα ἀσχολίαν ἔχει τὸ μὴ πράττειν ἀεὶ τὸ
 δεόμενον. ὑμεῖς οὖν σκεψάμενοι εἶπατε πρὸς ἐμέ,
 ὥσπερ ὑμῖν προσήκει, ὅποια δυνήσεσθέ τε καὶ
 μέλλετε ποιήσειν.
- 17 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τότε
 μὲν ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία
 καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ λογισάμενοι τὰς τε ἔξω μόρας
 ὅσαι αὐτοῖς εἶεν καὶ τὰς περὶ Λακεδαίμονα πρὸς
 τὰς¹ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς
 ὁμόρους πόλεμον, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο ἱκανὴν αὐτῷ ἐκπέμψαι ἐπικου-
 ρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπιόντα συντίθεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον
 ὅπῃ δύναίτο ἄριστα τά τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς
 18 πόλεως. καὶ κεῖνος μέντοι ἐπαινέσας τὴν ἀπλό-

¹ After τὰς the MSS. have ἔξω : Kel. brackets.

and against a man who is so sagacious a general that 374 B.C
 whatsoever he undertakes to accomplish, whether it be by secrecy, or by getting ahead of an enemy, or by sheer force, he is not very apt to fail of his object. For he is able to make as good use of night as of day, and when he is in haste, to take breakfast and dinner together and go on with his labours. And he thinks it is proper to rest only after he has reached the goal for which he had set out and has accomplished the things that are needful; moreover, he has accustomed his followers also to the same habits. Yet he also knows how to satisfy the wishes of his soldiers when by added toils they have achieved some success; so that all who are with him have learned this lesson too, that from toils come indulgences. Again, he has greater self-control than any man I know as regards the pleasures of the body, so that he is not prevented by such things, either, from doing always what needs to be done. Consider, therefore, and tell me, as be seems you, what you will be able to do and intend to do."

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

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΘΝ

τητα τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Ἰάσονος μὴ ἀναγκάσαι αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι, ὅπως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις διασώξῃ· τοὺς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἔδωκεν ὀμήρους, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τε πόλιν πείσας ἐκοῦσαν σύμμαχον ποιήσειν καὶ ταγὸν συγκαταστήσειν αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, εὐθύς μὲν οἱ Φαρσάλιοι εἰρήνην ἤγον, ταχὺ δὲ ὁ Ἰάσων ὁμολογουμένως ταγὸς τῶν Θετταλῶν
19 καθειστήκει. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτάγευσε, διέταξεν ἰππικόν τε ὅσον ἐκάστη πόλις δυνατὴ ἦν παρέχειν καὶ ὀπλιτικόν. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ ἰππεῖς μὲν σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις πλείους ἢ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, ὀπλίται δὲ ἔλογίσθησαν οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, πελταστικόν γε μὴν ἱκανὸν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀντιταχθῆναι· ἔργον γὰρ ἐκείνων γε καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀριθμῆσαι. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς περιοίκοις πᾶσι καὶ τὸν φόρον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Σκόπα τεταγμένος ἦν φέρειν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπεραίνετο· ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἐπάνειμι, ὅθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσονος πράξεις ἐξέβην.

II. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι συνελέγοντο εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ Θεβαῖοι ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐφύλαττον τὰς εἰσβολάς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐξανομένους μὲν ὀρώντες διὰ σφᾶς τοὺς Θεβαίους, χρήματά τε οὐ συμβαλλομένους εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀποκναιόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ ληστείαις

XENOPHON

ἔξ Αἰγίνης καὶ φυλακαῖς τῆς χώρας, ἐπεθύμησαν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο.

2 Εὐθύς δ' ἐκείθεν δύο τῶν πρέσβεων πλεύσαντες κατὰ δόγμα τῆς πόλεως εἶπον τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε ὡς εἰρήνης οὔσης· ὁ δ' ἅμα ἀποπλέων τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων φυγάδας ἀπεβίβασεν εἰς
3 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ζακύνθιοι πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔλεγον οἷα πεπουθότες εἶεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, εὐθύς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀδικεῖν τε ἠγοῦντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ναυτικὸν πάλιν κατεσκεύαζον καὶ συνετάττοντο εἰς ἑξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπ' αὐτῆς τε τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀμβρακίας καὶ Ἡλιδος καὶ Ζακύνθου καὶ Ἀχαΐας καὶ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ Τροιζῆνος καὶ Ἐρ-
4 μίονος καὶ Ἀλιῶν. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Μνάσιππον ἐκέλευον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν θάλατταν καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιον διδάσκοντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνῳ χρήσιμον εἶη τὴν Κέρκυραν μὴ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι.

5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Μνάσιππος, ἐπεὶ συνελέγη αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν· εἶχε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρους σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων καὶ
6 πεντακοσίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέβη, ἐκράτει τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐδήου ἐξειργασμένην μὲν παγκάλως καὶ πεφυτευμένην τὴν χώραν, μεγαλοπρεπεῖς δὲ οἰκῆσεις

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

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

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

¹ Tyrant of Syracuse.

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΟΝ

καὶ οἰνώνας κατεσκευασμένους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν·
ὥστ' ἔφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς
ἐλθεῖν ὥστ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν πίνειν, εἰ μὴ ἀνθοσμίας
εἷη. καὶ ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ βοσκήματα πάμπολλα
7 ἠλίσκετο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατεστρατο-
πεδεύσατο τῷ μὲν πεζῷ ἐπὶ λόφῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς
πόλεως ὡς πέντε στάδια, πρὸ τῆς χώρας ὄντι,
ὅπως ἀποτέμνοιτο ἐντεῦθεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν
τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐξίῃ· τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν εἰς τὰ πῖ
θάτερα τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἔνθεν
ᾧ εἴ τ' ἂν τὰ προσπλέοντα καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι καὶ
διακωλύειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι,
8 ὁπότε μὴ χειμῶν κωλύοι, ἐφώρμει. ἐπολιόρκει
μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν
ἐλάβανον διὰ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι κατὰ γῆν, κατὰ
θάλατταν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰσήγετο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ
9 ναυκρατεῖσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν. καὶ
πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τε
ἐδέοντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὡς μέγα μὲν ἀγαθὸν
ἀποβάλοιεν ἄν, εἰ Κερκύρας στερηθεῖεν, τοῖς
δὲ πολεμίοις μεγάλην ἂν ἰσχὺν προσβάλοιεν·
ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ πόλεως πλήν γε Ἀθηνῶν οὔτε
ναῦς οὔτε χρήματα πλείω ἂν γενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ
κεῖσθαι τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ Κοριν-
θιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἰ ἐπὶ τοῦτου
καθήκουσιν, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τοῦ τὴν Λακωνικὴν
χώραν βλάπτειν, ἐν καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντι-

HELLENICA, VI. II. 6-9

wine-cellars with which the farms were furnished; 874 B.C.
the result was, it was said, that his soldiers became so luxurious that they would not drink any wine unless it had a fine bouquet. Furthermore, very many slaves and cattle were captured on the farms. Afterwards he encamped with his land forces on a hill which was distant from the city about five stadia and situated between the city and the country, so that he might from there intercept any of the Corcyraeans who might try to go out to their lands; then he had the sailors from his ships encamp on the other side of the city, at a point from which he thought they would observe in good time any vessels that approached and prevent their coming in. In addition he also maintained a blockade at the mouth of the harbour when the weather did not interfere. In this way, then, he held the city besieged.

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

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΟΝ

- πέρας Ἡπείρου καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπὸ
10 Σικελίας παράπλου. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμισαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι,
καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμπουσι Κτησικλέα εἰς ἑξακο-
σίους ἔχοντα πελταστάς, Ἀλκέτου δὲ ἐδεήθησαν
11 συνδιαβιβάσαι τούτους. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν νυκτὸς
διακομισθέντες πρὸς τῆς χώρας εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν
πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ναῦς πλη-
ροῦν, Τιμόθεον δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν.
12 ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπιτρέψας αὐτόθεν τὰς ναῦς πληρῶσαι,
ἐπὶ νήσων πλεύσας ἐκείθεν ἐπειρᾶτο συμπληροῦν,
οὐ φαῦλον ἡγούμενος εἶναι ἐπὶ συγκεκροτημένας
13 ναῦς εἰκῆ περιπλεῦσαι. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομί-
ζοντες αὐτὸν ἀναλοῦν τὸν τῆς ὥρας εἰς τὸν περί-
πλου χρόνον, συγγνώμην οὐκ ἔσχον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ
παύσαντες αὐτὸν τῆς στρατηγίας Ἰφικράτην
14 ἀνθαιροῦνται. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κατέστη στρατηγός,
μάλα ὀξέως τὰς ναῦς ἐπληροῦτο καὶ τοὺς τριηρ-
άρχους ἠνάγκαζε. προσέλαβε δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων καὶ εἴ ποῦ τις ναῦς περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔπλει
καὶ τὴν Πάραλον καὶ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν, λέγων ὡς
εἰάν τὰ κεῖ καλῶς γένηται, πολλὰς αὐτοῖς ναῦς
ἀποπέμψοι. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ ἅπασαι περὶ
ἐβδομήκοντα.
- 15 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι οὕτω
σφόδρα ἐπείνων ὥστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτο-
μολούντων ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Μνάσιππος πεπραῖσθαι
ὅστις αὐτομολοίῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἠτομό-

way and the coastwise route from Sicily to Pelopon- 374 B.C.
 nesus. When the Athenians heard these things they
 came to the conclusion that they must give serious
 care to the matter, and they sent out Ctesicles as
 general with about six hundred peltasts and requested
 Alcetas¹ to help to convey them across. Accordingly
 these troops were brought across by night to a place
 in the country of Corcyra, and made their way into
 the city. The Athenians also voted to man sixty
 ships, and elected Timotheus as commander of them.
 But he was unable to man his ships at Athens, and 373 B.C.
 therefore set sail for the islands and endeavoured to
 complete his crews there, thinking that it was a
 serious matter to sail light-heartedly around Pelopon-
 nesus to attack ships with well-trained crews. The
 Athenians, however, believing that he was using up
 the time of the year which was favourable for his
 voyage, did not pardon him, but deposed him from
 his office and chose Iphicrates in his place. As soon
 as he assumed office, he proceeded to man his ships
 expeditiously, and compelled his captains to do their
 duty. He also obtained from the Athenians whatever
 war-ships were cruising here or there in the neigh-
 bourhood of Attica, as well as the Paralus² and the
 Salaminia, saying that if matters in Corcyra turned
 out successfully, he would send them back many
 ships. And his ships amounted in all to about
 seventy.

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

¹ *cp.* i. 7.

² *cp.* II. i. 28.

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΘΝ

- λουν, τελευτῶν καὶ μαστιγῶν ἀπέπεμπεν. οἱ μέντοι ἔνδοθεν τοὺς γε δούλους οὐκ ἐδέχοντο πάλιν εἰς τὸ τείχος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἔξω ἀπέθνησκον. 16 ὁ δ' αὖ Μνάσιππος ὄρων ταῦτα, ἐνόμιζε τε ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκαινούργει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπομίσθους ἐπεποιήκει, τοῖς δὲ μένουσι καὶ δυοῖν ἤδη μηνοῖν ὤφειλε τὸν μισθόν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, ὡς ἐλέγετο, χρημάτων· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων αἱ 17 πολλαὶ αὐτῷ ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔπεμπον, ἅτε καὶ διαποντίου τῆς στρατείας οὔσης. κατιδόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τάς τε φυλακὰς χεῖρον ἢ πρόσθεν φυλαττομένας ἐσπαρμένους τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, 18 ἐπεκδραμόντες τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ κατέκοψαν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Μνάσιππος, αὐτός τε ἔξωπλίζετο καὶ ὅσους εἶχεν ὀπλίτας ἅπασιν ἐβοήθει, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς μισθοφόρους. 19 ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τινῶν λοχαγῶν ὅτι οὐ ῥάδιον εἶη μὴ διδόντας τὰπιτήδεια πειθομένους παρέχειν, τὸν μὲν τινὰ βακτηρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν συνεξῆλθον πάντες· ὅπερ ἡκιστα εἰς μάχην συμφέρει.
- 20 Ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ παρετάξατο, αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας τῶν πολεμίων τρεψάμενος ἐπεδίωκεν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ἀνέστρεφόν τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μνημάτων ἔβαλλον

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

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

¹ Under the arrangement described in v. ii. 21.

XENOPHON

- καὶ ἠκόντιζον· ἄλλοι δ' ἐκδραμόντες καθ' ἑτέρας
 21 πύλας ἐπιτίθενται ἀθρόοι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις· οἱ δ' ἐπ'
 ὀκτῶ τεταγμένοι, ἀσθενὲς νομίσαντες τὸ ἄκρον
 τῆς φάλαγγος ἔχειν, ἀναστρέφειν ἐπειρῶντο.
 ὡς δ' ἤρξαντο ἐπαναχωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ὡς
 φεύγουσιν ἐπέθεντο, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι ἐπανέστρεψαν·
 22 καὶ οἱ ἐχόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὤρμων. ὁ δὲ
 Μνάσιππος τοῖς μὲν πιεζομένοις οὐκ ἐδύνατο
 βοηθεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ προσκει-
 μένους, αἰεὶ δ' ἐλείπετο σὺν ἐλάττοσι. τέλος δὲ
 οἱ πολέμιοι ἀθρόοι γενόμενοι πάντες ἐπετίθεντο
 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μνάσιππον, ἤδη μάλα ὀλίγοις οὖσι.
 καὶ οἱ πολῖται ὀρῶντες τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐπεξῆσαν.
 23 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνον ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδίωκον ἤδη ἅπαντες.
 ἐκινδύνευσαν δ' ἂν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλεῖν σὺν
 τῷ χαρακώματι, εἰ μὴ οἱ διώκοντες τὸν ἀγοραῖόν
 τε ὄχλον ἰδόντες καὶ τὸν τῶν θεραπόντων καὶ τὸν
 τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, οἰηθέντες ὄφελός τι αὐτῶν εἶναι,
 24 ἀπεστρέφοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἴστα-
 σαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους
 ἀπεδίδοσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει
 ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἐγεγένηντο, οἱ δ' ἔξω ἐν πάσῃ δὴ
 ἀθυμία ἦσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐλέγετο ὅτι Ἴφικράτης τε
 ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη παρείη, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τῷ
 25 ὄντι ναῦς ἐπλήρουν. Ὑπερμένης δέ, ὃς ἐτύγ-

¹ The ἀναστροφή involved two movements, (1) a facing about, followed by a march to the rear, and (2) a turning of the line until it stood behind the adjacent troops, thus doubling the depth of the phalanx. In this case the enemy's

and javelins upon the Lacedaemonians; meanwhile 373 B.C
others sallied out by the other gates and in mass formation attacked those who were at the extreme end of the line. These latter, who were drawn up only eight deep, thinking that the outer end of the phalanx was too weak, undertook to swing it around upon itself.¹ But as soon as they began the backward movement, the enemy fell upon them, in the belief that they were in flight, and they did not go on and swing forward; furthermore, those who were next to them also began to flee. As for Mnasippus, while he was unable to aid the troops which were hard pressed, because the enemy was attacking him in front, he was left with an ever smaller number of men. Finally, all of the enemy massed themselves together and charged upon Mnasippus and his troops, which were by this time very few. And the citizens, seeing what was going on, came out to join in the attack. Then after they had killed Mnasippus, all straightway joined in the pursuit. And they probably would have captured the very camp, along with its stockade, had not the pursuers turned back upon seeing the crowd of camp-followers, of attendants, and of slaves, imagining that there was some fighting ability in them. At this time, accordingly, the Corcyraeans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies of the dead under a truce. And after this the people in the city were stouter of heart, while those outside were in the utmost despondency. For there was not only a report that Iphicrates was already practically at hand, but the Corcyraeans were in fact also manning ships. Then attack prevented the accomplishment of the second movement:

XENOPHON

- χανεν ἐπιστολιαφόρος τῷ Μνασίππῳ ὄν, τό τε
 ναυτικὸν πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ συνεπλήρωσε, καὶ
 περιπλεύσας πρὸς τὸ χανάκωμα τὰ πλοῖα πάντα
 γεμίσας τῶν τε ἀνδραπόδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
 ἀπέστειλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τε τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ
 τοῖς περισωθεῖσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεφύλαττε τὸ
 26 χανάκωμα· τέλος δὲ καὶ οὗτοι μάλα τεταρα-
 γμένοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀπέπλεον,
 πολὺν μὲν σῖτον, πολὺν δὲ οἶνον, πολλὰ δὲ ἀν-
 δράποδα καὶ ἀσθενοῦντας στρατιώτας καταλι-
 πόντες· δεινῶς γὰρ ἐπεφόβηντο μὴ καταληφθεῖεν
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
 εἰς Λευκάδα ἀπεσώθησαν.
- 27 Ὁ δὲ Ἴφικράτης ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ περίπλου,
 ἅμα μὲν ἔπλει, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν
 παρεσκευάζετο· εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία
 αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πλέων· καὶ
 τοῖς ἀκατείοις δέ, καὶ εἰ φορὸν πνεῦμα εἶη, ὀλίγα
 ἐχρήτη· τῇ δὲ κώπῃ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ἄμει-
 νόν τε τὰ σώματα ἔχειν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἄμεινον
 28 τὰς ναῦς πλεῖν ἐποίει. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὄπη
 μέλλοι ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἢ δειπνο-
 ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπανήγαγεν ἂν τὸ κέρασ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
 κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπιστρέψας αὐ
 καὶ ἀντιπρώρους καταστήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀπὸ
 σημείου ἀφίει ἀνθαμιλλᾶσθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν, μέγα
 δὴ νικητήριον ἦν τὸ πρῶτους καὶ ὕδωρ λαβεῖν καὶ
 εἶ του ἄλλου ἐδέοντο, καὶ πρῶτους ἀριστῆσαι.
 τοῖς δ' ὑστάτοις ἀφικομένοις μεγάλη ζημία ἦν τό

Hypermenes, who chanced to be vice-admiral under 373 B.C. Mnasippus, manned fully the entire fleet which he had there, and after sailing round to the stockade and filling all his transports with the slaves and the captured property, sent them off; he himself, however, with his marines and such of the soldiers as had been left alive, kept guard over the stockade; but finally they, too, embarked upon the triremes in great confusion and went sailing off, leaving behind them a great deal of corn, much wine, and many slaves and sick soldiers; for they were exceedingly afraid that they would be caught on the island by the Athenians. And so they reached Leucas in safety.

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

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τε ἐλαττοῦσθαι πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ ὅτι ἀνάγεσθαι
 ἅμα ἔδει, ἐπεὶ σημήνεις· συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν
 πρώτοις ἀφικνουμένοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἅπαντα
 29 ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τελευταίοις διὰ σπουδῆς. φυλα-
 κάς γε μὴν, εἰ τύχοι ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἀριστοποιού-
 μενος, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ γῆ, ὥσπερ προσήκει, καθ-
 ἴστη, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν αἰρόμενος αὐτὸς τοὺς ἰστοὺς
 ἀπὸ τούτων ἐσκοπεῖτο. πολὺ οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον οὔτοι
 καθεώρων ἢ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ, ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου
 καθορῶντες.¹ ὅπου δὲ δειπνοποιοῖτο καὶ καθεύ-
 δοι, ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νύκτωρ πῦρ οὐκ ἔκαε,
 πρὸ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος φῶς ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδεὶς
 λάθῃ προσιῶν. πολλάκις δέ, εἰ εὐδία εἶη, εὐθύς
 δειπνήσας ἀνήγετο· καὶ εἰ μὲν αὔρα φέροι, θέοντες
 ἅμα ἀνεπαύοντο· εἰ δὲ ἐλαύνειν δέοι, κατὰ μέρος
 30 τοὺς ναύτας ἀνέπαυεν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμέραν
 πλοῖς ἀπὸ σημείων τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως ἦγε, τοτὲ
 δ' ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· ὥστε ἅμα μὲν ἔπλεον, ἅμα δὲ
 πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ ἡσκηκότες καὶ
 ἐπιστάμενοι εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ᾤοντο,
 κατεχομένην θάλατταν ἀφικνοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν
 πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἡρίστων καὶ ἐδείπνου·
 διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰναγκαῖα μόνον πράττειν καὶ τὰς
 βοηθείας ἔφθανεν ἀναγόμενος καὶ ταχὺ ἐπέβαινε.
 31 Περὶ δὲ τὸν Μνασίππου θάνατον ἐτύγχανεν ὦν
 τῆς Λακωνικῆς περὶ τὰς Σφαγίας. εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν

¹ ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου καθορῶντες MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Hartman.

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

At the time of Mnasippus' death Iphicrates chanced to be near the Sphagiae¹ in Laconia. Then,

¹ Islands situated off Pylos.

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δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸ τοῦ Ἄλφειοῦ στόμα ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰχθὺν καλούμενον ὠρμίσατο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐντεῦθεν ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, οὕτω καὶ τεταγμένος καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ποιοῦμενος ὡς, εἰ δέοι, πάντα ὅσα χρὴ παρεσκευασμένος ναυμαχοίη. καὶ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μνασίππου αὐτόπτου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἠκηκόει, ὑπόπτευε δὲ μὴ ἀπάτης ἔνεκα λέγοιτο, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἀνέπαυε τὸ στράτευμα.

32 Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὅταν οἴωνται ναυμαχήσειν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀσκεῖται καὶ μελετᾶται· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἀφικέσθαι ταχὺ ἔδει ἔνθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ναυμαχήσειν ᾤετο, ἠὔρετο ὅπως μήτε διὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀνεπιστήμονας εἶναι τῶν εἰς ναυμαχίαν μήτε διὰ τὸ ταῦτα μελετᾶν βραδύτερόν τι ἀφικέσθαι.

33 Καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κέρκυραν. ἐκεῖ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκούσας ὅτι προσπλέοιεν δέκα τριήρεις παρὰ Διονυσίου, βοηθήσους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ σκεψάμενος τῆς χώρας ὅθεν τοὺς τε προσπλέοντας δυνατὸν ἦν ὄρᾶν καὶ τοὺς σημαίνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταφανεῖς εἶναι,

34 ἐνταῦθα κατέστησε τοὺς σκοπούς. κακείνοις μὲν συνέθετο προσπλεόντων τε καὶ ὀρμούντων ὡς δέοι σημαίνειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τριηράρχων

after reaching Elis and sailing past the mouth of the Alpheus, he anchored beneath the promontory called Ichthys. From there he put to sea on the following day for Cephallenia, having his fleet in such order and making the voyage in such a way that, if it should be necessary to fight, he should be ready in all essential respects to do so. For he had not heard the news of Mnasippus' death from any eyewitness, but suspected that it was told to deceive him, and hence was on his guard; when he arrived at Cephallenia, however, he there got definite information; and so rested his forces. 373 B.C.

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

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

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38 ἔχουσιν, ἐπολέμει. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ναυτικὸν προσλαβὼν, σχεδὸν περὶ ἐνενήκοντα ναῦς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν πλεύσας χρήματα ἐπράξατο, τὰ μὲν παρ' ἐκόντων, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἀκόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ παρεσκευάζετο τὴν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' ἐκείνα πόλεων πολεμίων οὐσῶν τὰς μὲν ἐθελούσας προσλαμβάνειν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις πολεμεῖν.

39 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν τῶν Ἴφικράτους οὐχ ἤκιστα ἐπαινῶ, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ προσελέσθαι κελεῦσαι ἑαυτῷ Καλλίστρατόν τε τὸν δημηγόρον, οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα, καὶ Χαβρίαν, μάλα στρατηγὸν νομιζόμενον. εἴτε γὰρ φροῖμους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι συμβούλους λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, σῶφρόν μοι δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, εἴτε ἀντιπάλους νομίζων, οὕτω θρασέως¹ μήτε καταραθυμῶν μήτε καταμελῶν μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι, μέγα φρονούντος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. καὶ κεῖνος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν.

III. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὄρωντες ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας Πλαταιᾶς φίλους ὄντας, καὶ καταπεφευγότας πρὸς αὐτούς, ἰκετεύοντας δὲ Θεσπιᾶς μὴ σφᾶς περιδεῖν ἀπόλιδας γενομένους, οὐκέτι ἐπήνουν τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν

¹ θρασέως : Kel. inserts after it ἔπραττεν ὡς.

possession of a very strong fortress. Furthermore, 872 B.C. he took over the fleet which was at Corcyra, and with almost ninety¹ ships first sailed to Cephallenia and collected money, in some cases with the consent of the people, in other cases against their will. Then he made preparations to inflict damage upon the territory of the Lacedaemonians, and to bring over to his side such of the other hostile states in that region as were willing and to make war upon such as would not yield.

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

III. Meanwhile the Athenians, seeing that the 871 B.C. Plataeans, who were their friends, had been expelled from Boeotia and had fled to them for refuge, and that the Thespians were beseeching them not to allow them to be left without a city, no longer commended the Thebans, but, on the contrary,

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

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πατήρ πατρώαν ἔχων παρεδίδου τῷ γένει· βού-
 λομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι, ὡς ἔχουσα ἡ
 πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκείνη γάρ, ὅταν μὲν
 πόλεμος ᾖ, στρατηγούς ἡμᾶς αἰρεῖται, ὅταν δὲ
 ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσῃ, εἰρηνοποιούς ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμπει.
 καὶ γὰρ πρόσθεν δις ἤδη ἦλθον περὶ πολέμου κατα-
 λύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πρεσβείαις διε-
 πραξάμην καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ
 τρίτον ἤκω, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ δικαιότατα νῦν ἂν
 5 διαλλαγῆς τυχεῖν. ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν ὑμῖν,
 ἄλλα δὲ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς τε ἀχθομένους
 καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶν τε καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἀναιρέσει.
 πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τὰ αὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντας φίλους
 μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις ἢ πολεμίους εἶναι; καὶ σωφρό-
 νων μὲν δήπου ἐστὶ μηδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα
 εἶη πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁμογνω-
 μονοῖμεν,¹ οὐκ ἂν πάνυ τῶν θαυμαστῶν εἶη μὴ
 6 εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι; δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ ὄπλα
 ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τρι-
 πτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ
 Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρῶτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἡρα-
 κλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιν
 τοῖν ὑμετέροιν πολίταιν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ
 καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα

¹ ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν MSS.: ὁμογνωμονοῖεν Kcl.

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

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father's father received it from his father and handed it on to his descendants; and I also wish to make clear to you how highly esteemed we have been by our own state. For whenever there is war she chooses us as generals, and whenever she becomes desirous of tranquillity she sends us out as peacemakers. I, for example, have twice before now come here to treat for a termination of war, and on both these embassies I succeeded in achieving peace both for you and for ourselves; now for a third time I am come, and it is now, I believe, that with greater justice than ever before I should obtain a reconciliation between us. For I see that you do not think one way and we another, but that you as well as we are distressed over the destruction of Plataea and Thespieae. How, then, is it not fitting that men who hold the same views should be friends of one another rather than enemies? Again, it is certainly the part of wise men not to undertake war even if they should have differences, if they be slight; but if, in fact, we should actually find ourselves in complete agreement, should we not be astounding fools not to make peace? The right course, indeed, would have been for us not to take up arms against one another in the beginning, since the tradition is that the first strangers to whom Triptolemus,¹ our ancestor, revealed the mystic rites of Demeter and Core were Heracles, your state's founder, and the Dioscuri, your citizens; and, further, that it was upon Peloponnesus that he first bestowed the seed

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

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

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

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- ἡμεῖς φίλοι γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἂν εἰκότως χαλεπὸν
 τι προσδοκῆσαιμεν; καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τίς
 ἂν ὑμῶν φίλων ὄντων ἱκανὸς γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπη-
 15 σαι; κατὰ θάλατταν γε μὴν τίς ἂν ὑμᾶς βλάψαι
 τι ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐπιτηδείων ὄντων; ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτι
 μὲν πόλεμοι αἰεὶ ποτε γίνονται καὶ ὅτι καταλύ-
 ονται πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ
 νῦν, ἀλλ' αὐθὶς ποτε εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί
 οὖν δεῖ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἀναμένειν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ
 πλήθους κακῶν ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὡς
 τάχιστα πρὶν τι ἀνήκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην
 16 ποιήσασθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἔγωγε ἐπαινώ
 οἵτινες ἀγωνισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἤδη
 πολλάκις καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντες οὕτω φιλονικοῦσιν
 ὥστε οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἂν ἠττηθέντες
 τὴν ἄσκησιν καταλύσωσιν, οὐδέ γε τῶν κυβευτῶν
 οἵτινες αὐτὸν εἰς τι ἐπιτύχωσι, περὶ διπλασίων
 κυβεύουσιν· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς
 17 πλείους ἀπόρους παντάπασι γιγνομένους. ἂν χρὴ
 καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας εἰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα μηδέ-
 ποτε καταστήναι, ὥστ' ἢ πάντα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντ'
 ἀποβαλεῖν, ἕως δὲ καὶ ἐρρώμεθα καὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν,
 φίλους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ'
 ἂν δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς δι' ἡμᾶς ἔτι μείζους ἢ τὸν
 παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοί-
 μεθα.
- 18 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων καλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο
 καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ
 τοὺς τε ἄρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τὰ τε
 στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πε-
 ζικά, τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι. εἰ δέ τις
 παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοίη, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν

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οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμάχους ἄλλ' ἢ τοὺς Βοιω-
 τούς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι προσ-
 5 ἰόντες ἔλεγον· ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς
 Θηβαίους ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πό-
 λεως τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθήσονται γάρ
 σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν
 τῆς χώρας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐδήσας, καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον
 στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγησιλάου
 αἰεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος. εἶπερ οὖν
 ἢ σαυτοῦ κήδη ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέου
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ
 δ' ἐναντίοι· Νῦν δὴ, ἔφασαν, δηλώσει ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τῷ
 ὄντι κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, ὥσπερ λέγεται.¹

6 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παρωξύ-
 νετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δ' αὖ Θηβαίων
 οἱ προεστῶτες ἐλογίζοντο ὡς εἰ μὴ μαχοῖντο, ἀπο-
 στήσοιντο μὲν αἱ περιοικίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ
 δὲ πολιορκήσοιντο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξοι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θη-
 βαίων τὰπιτήδεια, ὅτι κινδυνεύσοι καὶ ἡ πόλις
 αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἄτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες
 πρόσθεν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρεῖττον εἶναι
 7 μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν. πρὸς
 δὲ τούτοις παρεθάρρυνε μὲν τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χρη-
 σμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους
 ἠττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνήμα, αἱ
 λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
 τινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ
 τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης.

¹ λέγεται MSS.: λέγει Kel.

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- τούς ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς διατιθέναι. περὶ μέντοι τῶν
 ἱερῶν χρημάτων ὅπως μὲν διενοεῖτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν
 ἄδηλον· λέγεται δὲ ἐπερομένων τῶν Δελφῶν τί
 χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἐὰν λαμβάνη τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων,
 31 ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεὸν ὅτι αὐτῷ μελήσει. ὁ δ'
 οὖν ἀνὴρ τηλικούτος ὢν καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα
 διανοούμενος, ἐξέτασιν πεποιηκῶς καὶ δοκιμασίαν
 τοῦ Φεραίων ἵππικου, καὶ ἤδη καθήμενος καὶ
 ἀποκρινόμενος, εἴ τις δεόμενός του προσίοι, ὑπὸ
 νεανίσκων ἑπτὰ προσελθόντων ὡς διαφερομένων
 τι ἀλλήλοις ἀποσφάττεται καὶ κατακόπτεται.
 32 βοθησάντων δὲ ἐρρωμένως τῶν παραγενομένων
 δορυφόρων εἰς μὲν ἔτι τύπτων τὸν Ἰάσονα λόγχῃ
 πληγεῖς ἀποθνήσκει· ἕτερος δὲ ἀναβαίνων ἐφ'
 ἵππου ἐγκαταληφθεὶς καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λα-
 βὼν ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπὶ
 τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἵππους ἀπέφυγον· ὅποι
 δὲ ἀφίκοντο τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἐν ταῖς
 πλείσταις ἐτιμῶντο. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι
 ἰσχυρῶς ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνας αὐτὸν μὴ τύραννος
 γένοιτο.
- 33 Ἀποθανόντος μέντοι ἐκείνου Πολύδωρος ἀδελ-
 φὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Πολύφρων ταγοὶ κατέστησαν.
 καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύδωρος, πορευομένων ἀμφοτέρων
 εἰς Λάρισαν, νύκτωρ καθεύδων ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ
 Πολύφρονος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς ἐδόκει· ὁ γὰρ θάνα-
 τος αὐτοῦ ἐξαπιναῖός τε καὶ οὐκ ἔχων φανεράν
 34 πρόφασιν ἐγένετο. ὁ δ' αὖ Πολύφρων ἦρξε μὲν
 ἐνιαυτόν, κατεσκευάσατο δὲ τὴν ταγείαν τυραννίδι

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

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

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- ὡς νῦν ταῦτα λέγοιεν, ὅτε δὲ εὖ ἔπραττον, ἐπέκειντο ἡμῖν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ἠνίκα κατεπολέμησαν αὐτούς, Θηβαίων βουλομένων ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, σφεῖς ἐμποδῶν γένοιτο. ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους βοηθεῖν δέοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικησάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρατεύοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις, ὅτι οἱ Μαντινεῖς παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς. διέθει οὖν καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως τοὺς Μαντινεάς ἔφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον ἀποθανούσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι ὄπλα ἐπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.
- 37 Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνέστη Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἴσως ἀντιλέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδικεῖν· ἡμῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἔχει τις κατηγορῆσαι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἢ ὡς χρήματά τινων ἐλάβομεν ἢ ὡς γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐδηλώσαμεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκόφασι καὶ οἰκίας κατακεκαύκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα διηρπάκασι. πῶς οὖν, εἰ μὴ βοηθῆτε οὕτω περιφανῶς ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ποιήσετε; καὶ



BOOK VII

he released them. "For," he said to the ambassadors, "it was on your account that we entered upon war, and you concluded peace without our approval; should we not, therefore, be justified in charging you with treason for this act? But be well assured," said he, "that we shall make an expedition to Arcadia and shall wage war in company with those who hold to our side." 363 B.C.

V. When these things were reported back to the general assembly of the Arcadians and to the several cities, the Mantineans and such of the other Arcadians as were concerned for Peloponnesus inferred therefrom, as did likewise the Eleans and the Achaeans, that the Thebans manifestly wanted Peloponnesus to be as weak as possible so that they might as easily as possible reduce it to slavery. "For why in the world," they said, "do they wish us to make war unless it is in order that we may do harm to one another and consequently may both feel the need of them? Or why, when we say that we do not at present need them, are they preparing to march forth? Is it not clear that it is for the purpose of working some harm upon us that they are preparing to take the field?" And they sent to Athens also, bidding the Athenians come to their aid, while ambassadors from the Epariti proceeded to Lacedaemon as well, to invite the help of the Lacedaemonians in case they wanted to join in checking any who might come to enslave Peloponnesus. As for the matter of the leadership, they arranged at once that each people should hold it while within its own territory. 362 B.C.

While these things were being done, Epaminondas was on his outward march at the head of all the

Boeotians, the Euboeans, and many of the Thessalians, who came both from Alexander¹ and from his opponents. The Phocians, however, declined to join the expedition, saying that their agreement was to lend aid in case anyone went against Thebes, but that to take the field against others was not in the agreement. Epaminondas reflected, however, that his people had supporters in Peloponnesus also—the Argives, the Messenians, and such of the Arcadians as held to their side. These were the Tegeans, the Megalopolitans, the Aseans, the Pallantians, and whatever cities were constrained to adopt this course for the reason that they were small and surrounded by these others. Epaminondas accordingly pushed forth with speed; but when he arrived at Nemea he delayed there, hoping to catch the Athenians as they passed by, and estimating that this would be a great achievement, not only in the view of his people's allies, so as to encourage them, but also in that of their opponents, so that they would fall into despondency—in a word, that every loss the Athenians suffered was a gain for the Thebans. And during this delay on his part all those who held the same views² were gathering together at Mantinea. But when Epaminondas heard that the Athenians had given up the plan of proceeding by land and were preparing to go by sea, with the intention of marching through Lacedaemon to the aid of the Arcadians, under these circumstances he set forth from Nemea and arrived at Tegea. Now I for my part could not say that his campaign proved fortunate; yet of all possible deeds of forethought and

¹ *cp.* vi. iv. 34 f.

² *i.e.* of hostility to Thebes.

there. Epaminondas, on the other hand, reflecting that the Arcadians would be coming to Lacedaemon to bring aid, had no desire to fight against them and against all the Lacedaemonians after they had come together,¹ especially since they had met with success and his men with disaster; so he marched back as rapidly as he could to Tegea, and allowed his hoplites to rest there, but sent his horsemen on to Mantinea, begging them to endure this additional effort and explaining to them that probably all the cattle of the Mantineans were outside the city and likewise all the people, particularly as it was harvest time. 362 B.C.

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

¹ *cp.* § 10.

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μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάνυ μοι
 δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι· φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν
 τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοήματα· τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα
 παρεσκευακέναι ὡς πόνον τε μηδένα ἀποκάμνειν
 μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς
 ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνιά τε τὰπιτήδεια ἔχοντας ὅμως
 πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστότερα
 20 εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρήγγειλεν
 αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης,
 προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἵππεῖς τὰ κράνη
 κελεύοντος ἐκείνου, ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν
 Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται ῥόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες,
 πάντες δὲ ἠκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ
 21 ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω
 παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὐτὸ κατανοῆσαι
 ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, συνε-
 τάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων σαφηνίζειν ἐδόκει
 ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτέ-
 τακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν
 συντομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγε, πρὸς
 δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας
 ἠγείτο· ὥστε δόξαν παρείχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ
 22 ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ
 ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ
 φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, ὥστε
 εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας
 ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευήν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν

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ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὴ ἀναλαβεῖν παραγγείλας τὰ ὄπλα ἠγείτο· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἠσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ δὲ παρετάτοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ

23 ποιήσουσιν ἔωκεσαν. ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρωρον ὥσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅποι ἐμβαλὼν διακόψειε, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον πόρρω ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἠττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἀνπαράσχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἵππείας οἱ μὲν πολέμοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὥσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα βάθος ἐφ'

24 ἕξ καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νενικηκῶς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδάν τινες φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὀρώσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπι-

¹ The entire army, marching in a long column of even width, with Epaminondas at the head, "right-faced" upon reaching the desired position, thus forming a long battle-line,

βοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰππέας καὶ ὀπλίτας, φόβου βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὡς, εἰ βοηθήσαιεν, ὅπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπικείσονται αὐτοῖς.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· κρατήσας γὰρ ἦ προσέβαλεν ὄλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων.

25 ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐκεῖνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐναντίας φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὀπλίται οὐδὲ προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο. φυγόντων δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἰππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἰππέας οὔθ' ὀπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἠττημένοι πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἄμιπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ συννευκηκότες τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὡς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

26 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τοῦναυτίον ἐγεγένητο οὐ ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνελλυθυίας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ᾔετο, εἰ μάχῃ ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξειν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφότεροι μὲν τροπαῖον ὡς

the Athenians on the left wing from coming to the aid of those who were posted next to them, he stationed both horsemen and hoplites upon some hills over against them, desiring to create in them the fear that if they proceeded to give aid, these troops would fall upon them from behind. 362 B.C

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

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

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΟΝ

νευικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἰσταμένους οὐδέ-
τεροι ἐκώλυον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέροι μὲν ὡς νευι-
κηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν, ἀμφοτέροι δὲ ὡς
27 ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, νευικηκέναι
δὲ φάσκοντες ἐκάτεροι οὔτε χώρα οὔτε πόλει οὔτ'
ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ
πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ
ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν
τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ
μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλω μελήσει.

victorious and neither tried to hinder those who set them up, that both gave back the dead under a truce as though victorious, and both received back their dead under a truce as though defeated, and that while each party claimed to be victorious, neither was found to be any better off, as regards either additional territory, or city, or sway, than before the battle took place; but there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after the battle than before. 362 B.C.

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



XENOPHON
THE ANABASIS OF CYRUS



INTRODUCTION

XENOPHON'S *Anabasis*¹ is the story of the expedition which Cyrus the Younger² led against his brother Artaxerxes II., king of Persia, in the hope of gaining for himself the Persian throne; of the retreat to the Euxine Sea, after the death of Cyrus, of the "Ten Thousand" Greeks who had made part of his army; and of their ultimate return to western Asia Minor.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Anabasis*, I. i. 2.

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

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

The only reason for this attempt which Xenophon offers in the *Anabasis*² was the resentment and humiliation which Cyrus felt in consequence of his arrest by Artaxerxes at the time when the latter, assuming the royal power upon the death of Darius

¹ *Anabasis*, I. i. 2.

² I. i. 4.

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

The *Anabasis* is valuable, furthermore, for the information it yields regarding the art of war among the Greeks, and as a real contribution to military science. Xenophon was, or became in the course of the retreat, an exceedingly able strategist and tactician, approaching each problem in the spirit of a scholar and thinker and then translating his reasoned solution into terms of military method, always resourceful in meeting new situations with new tactics, and never fettered by the lore of accepted practice. The influence of his original and inventive genius upon later Greek warfare was profound. That influence has lasted down to our own time. A modern student¹ of military science writes: "The soldier of greatest use to us preceding Alexander was unquestionably Xenophon. . . . It is he who has shown the world what should be the tactics of retreat, how to command a rear-guard. More tactical originality has come from the *Anabasis* than from any dozen other books. . . . After the lapse

¹ Col. Theodore A. Dodge, *Alexander*, pp. 101 ff.

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

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

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

1.—MANUSCRIPTS

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

- C. Parisinus 1640, written in the year 1320, but from an original of the latter part of the ninth century. Many additions and changes, by a later hand and usually for the worse, are found in this MS. In the present edition C₁ designates the earlier hand and C₂ the later.
- B. Parisinus 1641, of the fifteenth century.
- A. Vaticanus 987, later than B.
- E. Etonensis, of the fifteenth century.

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

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

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

2.—EDITIONS OF THE ANABASIS ¹

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

(a) *Annotated Editions.*

REHDANTZ-CARNUTH : Berlin (Weidmann).

VOLLBRECHT, W. : Leipzig (Teubner).

GOODWIN AND WHITE : Boston (Ginn).

MATHER AND HEWITT : New York (American Book Co.).

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

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

(b) Critical Editions.

DINDORF, L. : Leipzig and Oxford.

COBET, C. G. : Leyden.

HUG, A. : Leipzig.

GEMOLL, W. : Leipzig (editio major).

MARCHANT, E. C. : Oxford.

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

BOOK I

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ

A

1. Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κῦρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτεγε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὸ παῖδε ἀμφοτέρω² παρῆναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρῶν ἐτύγχανε· Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίου ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχων ὀπίστας τριακοσίους,¹ ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρράσιον.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διabάλλει τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται καὶ συλλαμβάνει² Κῦρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐξαιτησαμένη

¹ Before τριακοσίους the MSS. have ἀνέβη: Gemoll brackets, following Bisschop.

² συλλαμβάνει MSS. except C₁, Marchant: λαμβάνει C₁, Gemoll.

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

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THE ANABASIS OF CYRUS

BOOK I

I. DARIUS and Parysatis had two sons born to them, of whom the elder was Artaxerxes and the younger Cyrus.¹ Now when Darius lay sick and suspected that the end of his life was near, he wished to have both his sons with him. The elder, as it chanced, was with him already; but Cyrus he summoned from the province over which he had made him *sátrap*, and he had also appointed him commander of all the forces that muster in the plain of *Castolus*.² Cyrus accordingly went up³ to his father, taking with him Tissaphernes as a *friend* and accompanied by three hundred Greek hoplites,⁴ under the command of Xenias of Parrhasia.

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

² Castolus was the mustering place for all the Persian forces of western Asia Minor. See *Introd.* p. 232.

³ See *Introd.* p. 231, note 1.

⁴ *i.e.* heavy-armed infantrymen, the regular "troops of the line" in Greek warfare. In this instance, of course, they are serving Cyrus as a bodyguard.

XENOPHON

4 αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθείς, βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλά, ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει αὐτ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἄρταξέρξην. ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἶησαν καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοιεν

5 αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἤθροιζεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα.

Ἦδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. ὅποσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίουσιν ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομένα, τότε δὲ ἀφειστήκεσαν

6 πρὸς Κύρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου· ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστήναι πρὸς Κύρον, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτω-

1 "Barbarians" is a convenient, but not an accurate, translation for βάρβαροι, which was simply the name the Greeks gave, without implying reproach, to all peoples who

ANABASIS, I. I. 3-7

again to his province. Now when Cyrus had thus returned, after his danger and disgrace, he set about planning that he might never again be in the power of his brother, but, if possible, might be king in his stead. He had, in the first place, the support of Parysatis, his mother, for she loved him better than the son who was king, Artaxerxes. Again, when any of the King's court came to visit him, he treated them all in such a way that when he sent them back they were more devoted to him than to the King. He also took care that the barbarians¹ of his own province should be capable soldiers and should feel kindly toward him. Lastly, as regards his Greek force, he proceeded to collect it with the utmost secrecy, so that he might take the King as completely unprepared as possible.

It was in the following way, then, that he gathered this force: In the first place, he sent orders to the commanders of all the garrisons he had in the cities to enlist as many Peloponnesian soldiers of the best sort as they severally could, on the plea that Tissaphernes had designs upon their cities. For, in fact, the Ionian cities had originally belonged to Tissaphernes, by gift of the King,² but at that time all of them except Miletus had revolted and gone over to Cyrus. The people of Miletus also were planning to do the very same thing, namely, to go over to Cyrus, but Tissaphernes, finding out about it in time, put some of them to death and banished others. Cyrus thereupon took the exiles under his protection, collected an army, and laid siege to Miletus both by land and by sea, and endeavoured to restore the exiles to their
were not Greeks. In general, then, it meant "foreigners"; in most cases in the *Anabasis* (as here) it could be translated "Persians."

² See Introd. p. 232.

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

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

II. When he thought the time had come to begin his upward¹ march, the pretext he offered was that he wished to drive the Pisidians out of his land entirely, and it was avowedly against them that he set about collecting both his barbarian and his Greek troops. At that time he also sent word to Clearchus to come to him with the entire army which he had, and to Aristippus to effect a reconciliation with his adversaries at home and send him the army which he had; and he sent word to Xenias the Arcadian, who commanded for him the mercenary force in the cities,² to come with his troops, leaving behind only so many as were necessary to garrison the citadels. He likewise summoned the troops which were besieging

¹ See Introd. p. 231, note 1.

² See i. 6.

parasangs,¹ to the Maeander river. The width of this river was two plethra,² and there was a bridge over it made of seven boats. After crossing the Maeander he marched through Phrygia one stage, a distance of eight parasangs, to Colossae, an inhabited³ city, prosperous and large. There he remained seven days; and Menon⁴ the Thessalian arrived, with a thousand hoplites and five hundred peltasts, consisting of Dolopians, Aenianians, and Olynthians. Thence he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, to Celaenae, an inhabited city of Phrygia, large and prosperous. There Cyrus had a palace and a large park full of wild animals, which he used to hunt on horseback whenever he wished to give himself and his horses exercise. Through the middle of this park flows the Maeander river; its sources are beneath the palace, and it flows through the city of Celaenae also. There is likewise a palace of the Great King⁵ in Celaenae, strongly fortified and situated at the foot of the Acropolis over the sources of the Marsyas river; the Marsyas also flows through the city, and empties into the Maeander, and its width is twenty-five feet. It was here, according to the story, that Apollo flayed Marsyas,⁶ after having defeated him in a contest of musical skill; he hung up his skin in the cave from which the sources issue, and it is for this reason that the river is called Marsyas. It was here also, report has it, that Xerxes, when he was on

⁴ Who had been sent by Aristippus (see § 1 above).

⁵ A title often given by the Greeks to the king of Persia.

⁶ Marsyas, a Phrygian satyr, was so proud of his skill with the flute that he presumed to challenge Apollo, god of music and master of the lyre. The myth appears to be a record of the supersession of the flute by the lyre in Greek favour.

XENOPHON

πεμπτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὄρμουν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κῦρον τετρακόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα.

- 4 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συέννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικίων φυλακή, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ρεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. ἅπαν, δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βία· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τείχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεὶν δ' ἦσαν πέτραι ἠλίβατοι. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν
- 5 ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύργοι.¹ ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κῦρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν εἴσω καὶ² ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν καὶ βιασόμενος³ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις, ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσειν ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ

¹ πύργοι Gem., following Hartman: πύλαι MSS.

² εἴσω καὶ MSS.: Gein. brackets.

³ καὶ βιασόμενος Mar.: βιασομένους Gem., following Schenkl: καὶ βιασάμενος (or βιασάμενοι) MSS.: βιασόμενος Dindorf.

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- μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ῥίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροὺς κάνδυσ ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἑστηκώς, ἴεντο ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις ἐπὶ νίκη καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τοὺς τε πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθύς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θᾶπτον ἢ ὡς τις ἂν
- 9 ὄφετο μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἔνεκα ἢ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ θᾶπτον ἔλθοι, τοσοῦτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαίτερον, τοσοῦτῳ πλέον συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στρατεύμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν τῇ βασιλέως ἀρχῇ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὔσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενής, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο.
- 10 Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαις διαβαίνοντες ὠδε. διφθέρας ἃς εἶχον στεγᾶσματα ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἶτα συνῆγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὡς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος

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

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

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- τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ' ἐχαλέπαινε
 ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πράως
 λέγοι τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ
 15 μέσου ἐξίστασθαι. ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἐπήγει καὶ Κῦρος
 καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθύς δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ
 εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν
 ἦκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε.
 16 Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες
 "Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε ὅ τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γάρ τινα
 ἀλλήλοις μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ
 ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων
 πάντες οὗτοι οὓς ὁρᾶτε βάρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι
 17 ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων. ἀκούσας
 ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ παυσά-
 μενοι ἀμφότεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

VI. Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἵχνια ἵππων
 καὶ κόπρος. εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δις-
 χιλίων ἵππων. οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν
 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὀρόντας δὲ Πέρσης
 ἀνὴρ γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια
 λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν ἐπιβουλεύει
 Κύρῳ καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας, καταλλαγεὶς δέ.
 2 οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίῃ ἵππέας χιλίους,
 ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἵππέας ἢ κατακαίνοι
 ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζῶντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἂν ἔλοι
 καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ καίειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειεν

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

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

ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα
ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσα-
7 σθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα, μετὰ ταῦτα,
ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὃ τι σε ἠδίκησα; ἀπεκρί-
νατο ὅτι οὐ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἠρώτα· Οὐκοῦν
ὑστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
ἀδικούμενος ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις
τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὃ τι ἐδύνω; ἔφη Ὀρόντας.
Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὁπότε αὐτὸν ἔγνωσ τὴν σαυτοῦ
δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν
μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ
πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ; καὶ ταῦθ'
8 ὁμολόγει Ὀρόντας. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀδικη-
θεῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι
φανερὸς γέγονας; εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὅτι
οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτόν· Ὁμο-
λογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι; Ἡ γὰρ
ἀνάγκη, ἔφη Ὀρόντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν
ὁ Κῦρος· Ἐπι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ
πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός; ὁ δὲ ἀπε-
κρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κῦρε, σοί γ' ἂν
9 ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. πρὸς ταῦτα Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς
παρούσιν· Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε,
τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε,
ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρχος δὲ
εἶπε τάδε. Συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τούτου
ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέη
τούτου φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ἢ ἡμῖν, τὸ
κατὰ τούτου εἶναι, τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς τούτους εἶ
10 ποιεῖν. ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
προσθέσθαι.

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

Μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη,¹ κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόνταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δ' ἐξήγουν αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ὡς περ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, 11 καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσήχθη τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόνταν οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἵκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.

VII. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κύρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἕω ἦξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχοῦμενον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ² τοῦ εὐωνύμου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς 2 ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ³ ἡμέρᾳ ἦκοντες⁴ αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλέως⁵ στρατιᾶς.

Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλεύετό τε πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρρύνων

¹ ἔφη MSS., Mar.: Gem. omits, following inferior MSS.

² After δὲ the MSS. have τὸν Θετταλὸν: Gem. brackets, following Hug. ³ ἐπιούσῃ MSS.: Gem. brackets.

⁴ ἦκοντες MSS.: ἦκον Gem.

⁵ ἀπήγγελλον . . . βασιλέως in margin of MS. C: Gem. omits.

- 3 τοιάδε. ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπο-
 ρῶν βαρβάρων¹ συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ
 νομίζων ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρ-
 βάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως
 οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἧς κέ-
 κτησθε καὶ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε
 ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάν-
 4 των καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίῳ. ὅπως δὲ καὶ
 εἰδῆτε εἰς οἶον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ὑμᾶς εἰδῶς διδάξω.
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ καὶ κραυγῇ πολλῇ
 ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τὰ ἄλλα καὶ
 αἰσχύνεσθαί² μοι δοκῶ οἶους ἡμῖν γνῶσεσθε τοὺς
 ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν
 ὄντων καὶ εὖ τῶν ἐμῶν γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν
 μὲν οἴκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν
 ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσειν τὰ
 παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι.
- 5 Ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρῶν φυγᾶς Σάμιος,
 πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπεν· Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Κύρε, λέγουσί
 τινες ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνῆ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ
 εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόντος,³ ἂν δὲ εὖ γένηταί
 τι, οὐ μεμνήσεσθαί σε φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ' εἰ
 μεμνήσῃ τε καὶ βούλοιο δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα
 6 ὑπισχνῆ. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρος· Ἄλλ'
 ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ πατρώα πρὸς
 μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὐ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται
 οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὐ διὰ
 χειμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατρα-

¹ βαρβάρων MSS : Gem. brackets, following Bisschop.

² αἰσχύνεσθαι MSS.: αἰσχυνεῖσθαι Gem., following Dindorf.

³ τοῦ . . . προσιόντος MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Cobet.

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

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

all that lies between these limits my brother's friends rule as satraps. Now if we win the victory, we must put our friends in control of these provinces. I fear, therefore, not that I shall not have enough to give to each of my friends, if success attends us, but that I shall not have enough friends to give to. And as for you men of Greece, I shall give each one of you a wreath of gold besides." When they heard these words, the officers were far more eager themselves and carried the news away with them to the other Greeks. Then some of the others also sought Cyrus' presence, demanding to know what they should have, in case of victory; and he satisfied the expectations of every one of them before dismissing them. Now all alike who conversed with him urged him not to take part in the fighting, but to station himself in their rear. Taking this opportunity Clearchus asked Cyrus a question like this: "But do you think, Cyrus, that your brother will fight with you?" "Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "if he is really a son of Darius and Parysatis and a brother of mine, I shall not win this realm without fighting for it."

At this time, when the troops were marshalled under arms,¹ the number of the Greeks was found to be ten thousand four hundred hoplites, and two thousand five hundred peltasts,² while the number of the barbarians under Cyrus was one hundred thousand and there were about twenty scythe-bearing chariots. The enemy, it was reported, numbered one million two hundred thousand³ and had two hundred scythe-bearing chariots; besides, there was a troop of six

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

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δος στενή μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου ὡς
 16 εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος· ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον
 βασιλεὺς ποιεῖ μέγας ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ πυν-
 θάνεται Κῦρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτην¹ δὲ τὴν
 πάροδον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρῆλθε καὶ
 17 ἐγένοντο εἴσω τῆς τάφρου. ταύτη μὲν οὖν τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούν-
 των φανερά ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἴχνη
 18 πολλά. ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν
 Ἀμπρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς
 τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρα
 πρότερον θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ
 μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἄρα
 ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέ-
 ραις· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης, ὑπισχνούμαι σοι δέκα
 19 τάλαντα. τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ
 παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ
 οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα
 διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραία
 20 Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένως μᾶλλον. τῇ δὲ
 τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν
 ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸ
 δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῶν
 ὀπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν ἤγοντο
 καὶ ὑποζυγίων.

VIII. Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν

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

¹ It would seem that the rapid approach of Cyrus had prevented the King from completing the trench.

² Hence 10 (Attic) talents = 3,000 (Persian) darics. A talent was 60 minas, and therefore a mina was counted

there was a narrow passage, not more than about twenty feet in width, between the river and the trench; and the trench¹ had been constructed by the Great King as a means of defence when he learned that Cyrus was marching against him. Accordingly Cyrus and his army went through by the passage just mentioned, and so found themselves on the inner side of the trench. Now on that day the King did not offer battle, but tracks of both horses and men in retreat were to be seen in great numbers. Then Cyrus summoned Silanus, his Ambraciot soothsayer, and gave him three thousand darics; for on the eleventh day before this, while sacrificing, he had told Cyrus that the King would not fight within ten days, and Cyrus had said: "Then he will not fight at all, if he will not fight within ten days; however, if your prediction proves true, I promise you ten talents."² So it was this money that he then paid over, the ten days having passed. But since the King did not appear at the trench and try to prevent the passage of Cyrus' army, both Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had given up the idea of fighting. Hence on the following day Cyrus proceeded more carelessly; and on the third day he was making the march seated in his chariot and with only a small body of troops drawn up in line in front of him, while the greater part of the army was proceeding in disorder and many of the soldiers' arms and accoutrements were being carried in wagons and on pack-animals.

VIII. It was now about full-market time³ and the equivalent to 5 darics. The discrepancy between this result and the values stated previously (see notes on i. 9 and iv. 13) is explained by the fact that silver was worth much more at this time, relatively to gold, than at present.

³ *i.e.* the middle of the forenoon.

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- 7 καθίστατο.¹ οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες² εἶχον καὶ προ-
 μετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαί-
 ρας οἱ ἵππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς.
- 8 Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὐπω καταφα-
 νεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἠνίκα δὲ δειλὴ ἐγίγνετο,
 ἐφάνη κουνιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ
 συχνῶ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ
 ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ
 καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε καὶ λόγχοι καὶ αἱ
 9 τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ἦσαν ἵππεῖς
 μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων·
 Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ
 γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλίται σὺν ποδήρεσι
 ξυλίταισιν ἀσπίσιν. Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο
 εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. πάντες
 δ' οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων
 10 ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο.³ πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα
 διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανη-
 φόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν
 ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς
 δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ
 ἐντυγχάνοιεν. ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις
 11 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλῶντα καὶ διακόψοντα. ὁ μέντοι
 Κῦρος εἶπεν ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς

¹ After καθίστατο the MSS. have λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. [In fact, it is said of the Persians in general that they venture all the perils of war with their heads unprotected.] This passage is bracketed by almost all edd., following Wyttenbach.

head unprotected—and all their horses had frontlets and breast-pieces; and the men carried, besides their other weapons, Greek sabres.

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

² After πάντες the MSS. have οἱ μετὰ Κύρου: Gem. and Mar. bracket, following Schenkl.

³ ἕκαστον . . . ἐπορεύετο MSS.: Gem., following Hartman, brackets ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος and reads ἐπορεύοντο.

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τερον ἤδη. καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει καὶ ἤρετο ὃ τι εἶη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ζεὺς
 17 σωτήρ καὶ νίκη. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας Ἄλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλαυνε.

Καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τὸ φάλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἠνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις.
 18 ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος, τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἶον τῷ Ἐνυάλιῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς τινες¹ καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν φόβον
 19 ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει
 20 ἔπεσθαι. τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κενὰ ἠνιόχων. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν, δίσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκπλαγείς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναί τις ἐλέγετο.

21 Κῦρος δ' ὀρώων τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ'

¹ δὲ ὡς τινες Genl., following Becker : δέ τινες ὡς MSS.

for the second time.¹ And Cyrus wondered who had given it out, and asked what the watchword was. Xenophon replied "Zeus Saviour and Victory." And upon hearing this Cyrus said, "Well, I accept it, and so let it be." After he had said these words he rode back to his own position.

At length the opposing lines were not three or four stadia apart, and then the Greeks struck up the pæan and began to advance against the enemy. And when, as they proceeded, a part of the phalanx billowed out, those who were thus left behind began to run; at the same moment they all set up the sort of war-cry which they raise to Enyalius,² and all alike began running. It is also reported that some of them clashed their shields against their spears, thereby frightening the enemy's horses. And before an arrow reached them, the barbarians broke and fled. Thereupon the Greeks pursued with all their might, but shouted meanwhile to one another not to run at a headlong pace, but to keep their ranks in the pursuit. As for the enemy's chariots, some of them plunged through the lines of their own troops, others, however, through the Greek lines, but without charioteers. And whenever the Greeks saw them coming, they would open a gap for their passage; one fellow, to be sure, was caught, like a befuddled man on a race-course, yet it was said that even he was not hurt in the least, nor, for that matter, did any other single man among the Greeks get any hurt whatever in this battle, save that some one on the left wing was reported to have been hit by an arrow.

When Cyrus saw that the Greeks were victorious

¹ *i.e.* back again, from the last man to the first.

² *i.e.* Ares.

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ἔετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνου καὶ
τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ
ιατρός, καὶ¹ ἰάσασθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι.

- 27 Παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῶ ὑπὸ τὸν
ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βα-
σιλεὺς καὶ Κῦρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέ-
ρου, ὅποιοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον
Κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κῦρος δὲ αὐ-
τός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
28 ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Ἄρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος
αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ
πεπτωκότα εἶδε Κῦρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ
29 ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν φασὶ βασιλέα
κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δ' ἑαυ-
τὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην·
εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτὸν δ' ἐφόρει καὶ
ψέλια καὶ τὰλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν·
ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ
πιστότητα.

- IX. Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν
Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων
βασιλικώτατός τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ
πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν
2 πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν
ὄτ' ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς
ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο.
3 πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ

¹ Before καὶ Gem. inserts δs, following Buttmann.

the cry "I see the man," rushed upon him and struck him in the breast and wounded him through his breastplate—as Ctesias¹ the physician says, adding also that he himself healed the wound. ✓

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

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

¹ See note on vii. 11.

- ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα πολλὴν
 μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἄν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ'
 4 οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀκούσαι οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. θεῶνται δ'
 οἱ παῖδες καὶ τιμωμένους¹ ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ
 ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθύς
 παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.
 5 ἔνθα Κῦρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν
 ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ
 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι,
 ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα
 χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πό-
 λεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλομα-
 6 θέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ
 ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς
 τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον
 ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν
 κατεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν,
 ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς εἶχεν, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ
 τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακα-
 ριστὸν ἐποιήσεν.
- 7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σα-
 τράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ
 Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπε-
 δείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίου ἀθροί-
 ζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι περὶ
 πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ σπείσαιο καὶ εἴ τῳ
 συνθοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδαμῶς²

¹ After τιμωμένους Gem. inserts ἐνίους.

² μηδαμῶς Gem.; following Hug: μηδὲν MSS.

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

Again, when he was sent down¹ by his father to be satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia and was also appointed commander of all the troops whose duty it is to muster in the plain of Castolus, he showed, in the first place, that he counted it of the utmost importance, when he concluded a treaty or compact with anyone or made anyone any promise, under no circumstances to prove false to his

¹ See Introd., p. 231, note 1; also i. 2.

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- 8 ψεύδεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπείσαμένου Κύρου ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς παθεῖν.
- 9 τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκούσαι Κῦρον εἴλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε
- 10 τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ ¹ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοῖτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιτο, ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν.
- 11 Φανερός δ' ἦν καὶ εἴ τις τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον ὡς εὐχοίτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν ἔστε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς
- 12 ποιοῦντας ἀλεξόμενος. καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι δὴ αὐτῷ ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα
- 13 προέσθαι. οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι ὡς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελαῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο· πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στειβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ' ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ "Ἕλλησι καὶ

¹ Before καὶ Gem. inserts δ.

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βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι ὅπη
τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι ὅ τι προχωροίη.

- 14 Τούς γε μέντοι ἀγαθούς εἰς πόλεμον ὠμολόγητο
διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ
πόλεμος πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευό-
μενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας, οὓς
ἑώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας
15 ἔποίει ἧς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ
ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα· ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν
ἀγαθούς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δού-
λους τούτων ἀξιούσθαι¹ εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλή
ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου
16 τις οἶοιτο Κῦρον αἰσθήσεσθαι. εἰς γε μὴν
δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις φανερός γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι
βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλου-
σιωτέρας ζῆν ποιεῖν² τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερ-
17 δούντων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαίως
αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῶ
ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, οἱ
χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔπλευσαν, ἔγνωσαν
κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν³.
18 ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γέ τις τι
αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ
πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. τοι-
γαροῦν δὴ κράτιστοι ὑπηρέται παντὸς ἔργου
Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι.
- 19 Εἰ δέ τινα ὀρώη δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ
δικαίου καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας

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

² πλουσιωτέρας ζῆν ποιεῖν Gem., following Hug: πλουσιω-
τέρους ποιεῖν MSS.

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

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

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

³ *πειθαρχεῖν* MSS.: *ὑπάρχειν* Gem., following Hug.

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καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφεί-
 λετο, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἠδέως
 ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως ἐκτῶντο καὶ ὃ ἐπέπατο
 αὐτὸς τις ἤκιστα Κῦρον ἔκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν
 τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώ-
 μενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι.

20 Φίλους γε μὴν, ὅσους ποιήσαιο καὶ εὖνους γνοίη
 ὄντας καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὃ τι
 τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται
 πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν.

21 καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἔνεκα φίλων ᾤετο
 δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοὺς ἔχει, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο
 συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου

22 ὅτου αἰσθάνοιτο ἕκαστον ἐπιθυμοῦντα. δῶρα
 δὲ πλείιστα μὲν οἶμαι εἰς γε ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ
 πολλά· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις

23 διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἑκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ
 ὅτου μάλιστα ὀρώη ἕκαστον δεόμενον. καὶ ὅσα
 τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ πέμπει τις ἢ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ

ὡς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν
 αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν
 δύναίτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ

καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ
 24 νομίζοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους
 εὖ ποιοῦντα οὐδὲν θαυμάσιον, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ
 δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι

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τῶν φίλων καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι χαρίζεσθαι,
 25 ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. Κῦρος
 γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις ὅποτε
 πάνυ ἠδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ
 χρόνου τούτου ἠδίονι οἴνω ἐπιτύχοι· τούτου οὖν
 σοὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ δεῖταί σου τήμερον τούτου ἐκπιεῖν
 26 σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς. πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας
 ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεια καὶ ἄλλα
 τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα· Τούτοις
 ἤσθη Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύ-
 27 σασθαι. ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς
 δὲ δύναιτο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς
 ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, δια-
 πέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν
 σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τούτου τὸν
 χιλόν, ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους
 28 ἄγωσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλείστοι
 μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους
 ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖη οὖς τιμᾶ. ὥστε
 ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω, οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ
 πλειόνων πεφιλησθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρ-
 29 βάρων. τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε· παρὰ
 μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος οὐδεὶς ἀπήει πρὸς
 βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος
 δὴ ὄν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν· ἦν
 Κύρω φιλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως
 πολλοὶ πρὸς Κῦρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμιοι

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them in solicitude and in eagerness to do favours, this in my opinion is more admirable. For example, when Cyrus got some particularly good wine, he would often send the half-emptied jar to a friend with the message: "Cyrus says that he has not chanced upon better wine than this for a long time; so he sends it to you, and asks you to drink it up to-day in company with the friends you love best." So he would often send halves of geese and of loaves and so forth, instructing the bearer to add the message: "Cyrus enjoyed this, and therefore wants you also to take a taste of it." And wherever fodder was exceedingly scarce and he was able to get it for his own use because of the large number of his servants and because of his good planning, he would distribute this fodder among his friends and tell them to give it to the horses that carried their own bodies, that they might not be hungry while carrying his friends. And whenever he was on the march and was likely to be seen by very many people, he would call his friends to him and engage them in earnest conversation, in order to show whom he honoured. Hence, as I at least conclude from what comes to my ears, no man, Greek or barbarian, has ever been loved by a greater number of people. Here is a fact to confirm that conclusion: although Cyrus was a slave,¹ no one deserted him to join the King, save that Orontas attempted to do so (and he, mark you, speedily found out that the man he imagined was faithful to him, was more devoted to Cyrus than to him); on the other hand, many went over from the King to Cyrus after the two had become enemies

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

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ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι,¹ νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ
 ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιωτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ
 30 παρὰ βασιλεῖ. μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ
 τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς
 31 καὶ εὖνους καὶ βεβαίους. ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντρά-
 πεζοὶ ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν
 Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ
 εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ ἄρχων· ὡς δ' ἦσθετο Κύρον
 πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν
 οὐ ἠγείτο.

X. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμνεται ἡ κεφαλὴ
 καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιὰ. βασιλεὺς δὲ διώκων εἰσπίπ-
 τει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ
 Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ
 αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἔνθεν ἔωθεν²
 ὠρμῶντο· τέτταρες δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι
 2 τῆς ὁδοῦ. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε
 ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν
 Κύρου παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγο-
 3 μένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα³
 ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ
 πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις
 ὄπλα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς μὲν
 τῶν ἀρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν
 ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὲν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην

¹ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι MSS.: ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάμενοι Gem., follow-
 ing Dindorf. ² ἔωθεν inserted by Gem.

³ ἡ νεωτέρα Mar. with the inferior MSS.: the better MSS.
 read ἦν νεωτέρα ἢ, which words, with Μιλησία, Gem. brackets,
 following Lincke.

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

4 Ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεύς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς πάντας¹ νικῶντες, οἱ δ' ἀρ-
5 πάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντες² νικῶντες. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὐτὸν ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶεν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχονται διώκοντες, ἔνθα δὲ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάττεται, ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας, πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρα-
6 τόπεδον ἀρήξοντες.³ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος ἦν προσίων πάλιν, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὀπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτη προσιόντος καὶ δεξόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτη μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἢ δὲ παρήλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐνύμου κέρατος ταύτη καὶ ἀπῆγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς⁴ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολή-

¹ πάντας MSS. except C₁, Mar.: Gem. brackets ὡς . . . νικῶντες, following Dobree.

² πάντες MSS. except C₁, Mar.: πάντα C₁, Gem.

³ ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν . . . ἀρήξοντες MSS. except C₁, Mar.: ὡς παντὶ σθένει . . . ἀρήξοντας Gem., following Hug.

⁴ πρὸς the inferior MSS., Mar.: κατὰ the better MSS., Gem.: Gem., however, following Schenkl, brackets κατὰ . . . Ἕλληνας.

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

At this time 'the King and the Greeks were distant from one another about thirty stadia, the Greeks pursuing the troops in their front, in the belief that they were victorious over all the enemy, the King and his followers plundering, in the belief that they were all victorious already. When, however, the Greeks learned that the King and his forces were in their baggage train, and the King, on the other hand, heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks were victorious over the division opposite them and had gone on ahead in pursuit, then the King proceeded to gather his troops together and form them in line of battle, and Clearchus called Proxenus (for he was nearest him in the line) and took counsel with him as to whether they should send a detachment or go in full force to the camp, for the purpose of lending aid. Meanwhile the Greeks saw the King advancing again, as it seemed, from their rear, and they accordingly countermarched and made ready to meet his attack in case he should advance in that direction¹; the King, however, did not do so, but returned by the same route he had followed before, when he passed outside of Cyrus' left wing, and in his return picked up not only those who had deserted to the Greeks during the battle,

¹ The Greeks had advanced straight forward from their position on the right wing and the King straight forward from *his* centre (which was beyond the left wing of Cyrus' entire, *i.e.* Greek and barbarian, army); hence the two had passed by one another at a considerable distance. The question now was, whether the King on his return march would move obliquely, so as to meet the Greeks, or would follow the same route by which he advanced, thus keeping clear of them again.

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- σαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.
 7 ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς "Ἕλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατε-
 κανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δ' οἱ "Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπο-
 λίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος
 8 γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο.
 9 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ "Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ
 10 κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὄπισθεν τὸν ποταμὸν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχούμενος συνήει. ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ "Ἕλληνες ἐγγύς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις παιανίσαντες ἐπῆσαν

¹ See viii. 4-5.

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

but also Tissaphernes and his troops. For Tissaphernes had not taken to flight in the first encounter, but had charged along the river through the Greek peltasts¹; he did not kill anyone in his passage, but the Greeks, after opening a gap for his men, proceeded to deal blows and throw javelins upon them as they went through. The commander of the Greek peltasts was Episthenes of Amphipolis, and it was said that he proved himself a sagacious man. At any rate, after Tissaphernes had thus come off with the worst of it, he did not wheel round again, but went on to the camp of the Greeks and there fell in with the King; so it was that, after forming their lines once more, they were proceeding together.

When they were over against the left wing of the Greeks,² the latter conceived the fear that they might advance against that wing and, by outflanking them on both sides, cut them to pieces; they thought it best, therefore, to draw the wing back and get the river in their rear.³ But while they were taking counsel about this matter, the King had already changed his line of battle to the same form as theirs and brought it into position opposite them, just as when he had met them for battle the first time.⁴ And when the Greeks saw that the enemy were near them and in battle-order, they again struck up the paean and advanced to the attack much more eagerly

¹ The Greek line was now, as in the beginning, at right angles to the Euphrates. The movement here described would (if executed) have made it parallel to the river, the latter serving as a defence in the rear.

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

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

Then the Greeks halted, grounded arms, and proceeded to rest themselves. At the same time they wondered that Cyrus was nowhere to be seen and that no one else had come to them from him ; for they did not know that he was dead, but conjectured that he had either gone off in pursuit or pushed on to occupy some point. So they took counsel for themselves as to whether they should remain where they were and bring the baggage train thither, or return to their camp. The decision was to return, and they reached their tents about supper-time. Such

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΘΝ

τέλος ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλείιστα διηρπασμένα καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος, ἵνα εἴ ποτε σφόδρα τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἔνδεια, διαδοίῃ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν—ἦσαν δ' αὐταὶ τετρακόσiai, ὡς ἐλέγοντο, ἄμαξαι—καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. ὥστε ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλύσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγένοντο.

was the conclusion of this day. They found most of their property pillaged, in particular whatever there was to eat or drink, and as for the wagons loaded with flour and wine which Cyrus had provided in order that, if ever serious need should overtake the army, he might have supplies to distribute among the Greeks (and there were four hundred of these wagons, it was said), these also the King and his men had now pillaged. The result was that most of the Greeks had no dinner; and they had had no breakfast, either, for the King had appeared before the time when the army was to halt for breakfast. Thus it was, then, that they got through this night.



BOOK II

B

2 I.¹ " Αμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ
 ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κῦρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμπει σημα-
 νοῦντα ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο.
 ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευασαμένοις ἅ εἶχον καὶ
 3 ἐξοπλισαμένοις προῖέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἕως Κύρῳ
 συμμείξειαν. ἤδη δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων ἅμα ἠλίφ
 ἀνέχοντι ἦλθε Προκλήης ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων,
 γεγρονὼς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς
 ὁ Ταμῶ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθνηκεν,
 Ἄριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶη μετὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὠρ-
 μῶντο, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν
 περιμένοιεν αὐτούς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἦκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ
 4 ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθενπερ ἦλθε. ταῦτα

¹ The MSS. here prefix the following summary of the preceding narrative (see translation on opposite page): 'Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἄρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κῦρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. A like introduction is prefixed to each of the following books except the sixth. All these summaries must have been the work of a lat editor.

BOOK II

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

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

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

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ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνας
 πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε
 εἶπεν. Ἄλλ' ὄφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ ὅτι ἡμεῖς
 νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα καί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, οὐδεὶς ἔτι
 ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἦλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα
 ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, εἰάν
 ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείου καθιεῖν
 αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχην νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν
 5 ἐστί. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους
 καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ
 Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων
 ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου.

6 Οἱ μὲν ὄχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε· τὸ δὲ
 στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῖτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν
 ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις
 δὲ ἐχρῶντο μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος
 οὐ ἢ μάχη ἐγένετο τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς οὖσιν,
 οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνας ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτο-
 μολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις καὶ
 ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίταις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις·
 7 πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι
 ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι κρέα ἔψοντες ἤσθιον
 ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν καὶ
 ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κή-
 ρυκες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἦν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος
 εἰς Ἕλληνα, ὃς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὡς

- καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστή-
μων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε καὶ ὄπλομαχίαν.
- 8 οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς
κελεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ
Κῦρον ἀπέκτενε, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα ἴοντας ἐπὶ
βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἂν τι δύνωνται
- 9 ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες·
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ
Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων
εἶη τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδύναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν,
ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὅ τι
κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα
ἤξω. ἐκάλεσε γὰρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως
ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος.
- 10 Ἐνθα δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἀρκάς, πρεσ-
βύτατος ὢν, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ
ὄπλα παραδοίησαν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος,
Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλίνε, θαυμάζω πότερα ὡς
κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ὡς διὰ φιλίαν
δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν
καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται
λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν
- 11 αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος
εἶπε· Βασιλεὺς νικᾶν ἠγείται, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέ-
κτεινε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι,
ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ καὶ ποταμῶν

¹ These words recall the famous answer which Leonidas at Thermopylae made to the same demand: *μολὼν λαβέ*, "Come and take them."

and was held in honour by him ; for this Phalinus professed to be an expert in tactics and the handling of heavy infantry. When these heralds came up, they called for the leaders of the Greeks and said that the King, since victory had fallen to him and he had slain Cyrus, directed the Greeks to give up their arms, go to the King's court, and seek for themselves whatever favour they might be able to get. Such was the message of the King's heralds. The Greeks received it with anger, but nevertheless Clearchus said as much as this, that it was not victors who gave up their arms ; " However," he continued, " do you, my fellow generals, give these men whatever answer you can that is best and most honourable, and I will return immediately." For one of his servants had summoned him to see the vital organs that had been taken out of a sacrificial victim, for Clearchus chanced to be engaged in sacrificing.

Then Cleanor the Arcadian, being the eldest of the generals, made answer that they would die sooner than give up their arms. And Proxenus the Theban said : " For my part, Phalinus, I wonder whether the King is asking for our arms on the assumption that he is victorious, or simply as gifts, on the assumption that we are his friends. For if he asks for them as victor, why need he ask for them, instead of coming and taking them? ¹ But if he desires to get them by persuasion, let him set forth what the soldiers will receive in case they do him this favour." In reply to this Phalinus said : " The King believes that he is victor because he has slain Cyrus. For who is there now who is contending against him for his realm? Further, he believes that you also are his because he has you in the

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- ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
 δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν
 δύναισθε ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι. μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος
 12 Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν· ὦ Φαλίνε, νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὀράῃς,
 ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὄπλα καὶ
 ἀρετή. ὄπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἴομεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ
 ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
 σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἴου τὰ μόνα
 ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν
 τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχού-
 13 μεθα. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλίνοσ ἐγέλασε καὶ
 εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε,
 καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν,
 εἰ οἶει τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς
 14 βασιλέως δυνάμεως. ἄλλους δὲ τινὰς ἔφασαν
 λέγειν ὑπομαλακίζομένους ὡς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ
 ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γένοιντο, εἰ
 βούλοιτο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι
 χρῆσθαι εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκατα-
 στρέψαιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ.
- 15 Ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη
 ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλίνοσ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν·
 Οὗτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλοσ ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ'
 16 ἡμῖν εἶπὲ τί λέγεις. ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ σε, ὦ
 Φαλίνε, ἄσμενοσ ἐόρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 πάντεσ· σύ τε γὰρ Ἕλληνη εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖσ τοσοῦτοι
 ὄντεσ ὅσοουσ σὺ ὀράῃσ· ἐν τοιούτοισ δὲ ὄντεσ πράγ-

- 17 *μασι συμβουλευόμεθά σοι τί χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. σὺ οὖν πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον λεγόμενον,¹ ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι ξυμβουλευομένοις ξυμβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. οἴσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἂν ξυμβουλεύσης.*
- 18 *ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως πρεσβεύοντα ξυμβουλεύσαι μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὄπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἴεν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ*
- 19 *εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστι σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ ὄπλα· εἰ δέ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκουτος βασιλέως,*
- 20 *ξυμβουλεύω σῶζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπη δυνατόν. Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὄπλα ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλω, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ἄλλω παραδόντες.*
- 21 *ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε· Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεύς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προῖοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἶπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν ἢ ὡς*

¹ λεγόμενον Mar., edd.: ἀναλεγόμενον MSS.: ἀναγγελλόμενον Genl.

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- βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κῦρόν τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἤγγειλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ συνέμειξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξε σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι.
- 20 καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλευέσθαι ἐρέσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖ μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότεροι ἢ εἴαν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπραξασθαι.
- 21 Πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες οὔτε ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ προφάσεις Κῦρος ἤρρισκεν. ὡς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἶστί· ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀταρασκεῖους λάβωι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθαῖ·
- 22 ἀγαγαί. ἐπεὶ μείτοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν ἐν δεξιῇ ἡμῶν. ἡσχύνεσθαι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπων προσεῖναι αὐτῶν. ἐν τῷ πρῶστῳ χρόνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν ἦσαν αὐτοὺς εὖ τιμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κί·
- 23 ἐβόησεν. αὐτὸς βασιλεῖ ἰσχυροῦμεθα τῆς ἀρετῆς· ἐπεὶ ἴσθι ἕκαστα βουλομένη ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ χρῆσθαι αἰεὶς τιμῶν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀτακτεῖνα.

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- ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς
 μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν
 τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ
 ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ
 24 ἠττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν·
 ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης Ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ
 ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ'
 ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκω αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων·
 ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν.
- 25 Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ
 Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων ἔλεγεν
 ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι
 αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καίπερ πολλῶν
 ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ ἀφείναι
 26 τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους. τέλος δὲ εἶπε·
 Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ
 μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀδόλως
 ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας·
 ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ἦ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς
 27 χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὑμᾶς δὲ αὖ ἡμῖν
 δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας
 ἀσινῶς σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας ὅποτε μὴ
 ἀγορὰν παρέχωμεν· ἣν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν,
 28 ὠνούμενους ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ
 ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς
 βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν

Clearchus resolved, therefore, to have a meeting with Tissaphernes and put a stop to these suspicions, if he possibly could, before hostilities resulted from them; so he sent a messenger to say that he desired to meet him. And Tissaphernes readily bade him come.

When they had met, Clearchus spoke as follows: "I know, to be sure, Tissaphernes, that both of us have taken oaths and given pledges not to injure one another; yet I see that you are on your guard against us as though we were enemies, and we, observing this, are keeping guard on our side. But since, upon inquiry, I am unable to ascertain that you are trying to do us harm, and am perfectly sure that we, for our part, are not even thinking of any such thing against you, I resolved to have an interview with you, so that, if possible, we might dispel this mutual distrust. For I know that there have been cases before now—some of them the result of slander, others of mere suspicion—where men who have become fearful of one another and wished to strike before they were struck, have done irreparable harm to people who were neither intending nor, for that matter, desiring to do anything of the sort to them. In the belief, then, that such misunderstandings are best settled by conference, I have come here, and I wish to point out to you that you are mistaken in distrusting us. For, first and chiefly, our oaths, sworn by the gods, stand in the way of our being enemies of one another; and the man who is conscious that he has disregarded such oaths, I for my part should never account happy. For in war with the gods I know not either by what swiftness of foot or to what place of refuge one could make his escape, or into what darkness

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- 13 οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα ἀεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δέ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς γιγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὀρώ ποία δυνάμει συμμαχῶ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν
- 14 ἐμοὶ οὔσης. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς πέριξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιο φίλος ὡς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης, εἰ δέ τις σε λυποίῃ, ὡς δεσπότης ἂν ἀναστρέφοιο ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἷ σοι οὐκ ἂν μισθοῦ ἔνεκα ὑπηρετοῖμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἣν σωθέντες ὑπὸ
- 15 σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν ὥστε καὶ ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τὸ ὄνομα¹ τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε σε πείσαι λέγων ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείφθη.
- 16 Ἄλλ' ἠδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βουλεύοις, ἅμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. ὡς δ' ἂν μάθῃς ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοί-
- 17 ητε, ἀντάκουσον. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἰππέων πλήθους

¹ τὸ ὄνομα MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Bisschop.

with Tissaphernes, that most godless and villainous man, and that you have not only destroyed the very men to whom you were then making oath, but have betrayed the rest of us and are come with our enemies against us?" And Ariaeus said: "But it was shown that long ago Clearchus was plotting against Tissaphernes and Orontas and all of us who are with them." Upon this Xenophon spoke as follows: "Well, then, if Clearchus was really transgressing the truce in violation of his oaths, he has his deserts, for it is right that perjurers should perish; but as for Proxenus and Menon, since they are your benefactors and our generals, send them hither, for it is clear that, being friends of both parties, they will endeavour to give both you and ourselves the best advice." To this the barbarians made no answer, but, after talking for a long time with one another, they departed.

VI. The generals, then, after being thus seized, were taken to the King and put to death by being beheaded. One of them, Clearchus, by common consent of all who were personally acquainted with him, seemed to have shown himself a man who was both fitted for war and fond of war to the last degree. For, in the first place, as long as the Lacedaemonians were at war with the Athenians, he bore his part with them; then, as soon as peace had come, he persuaded his state that the Thracians were injuring the Greeks,¹ and, after gaining his point as best he could from the ephors,² set sail with the intention of making war upon the Thracians who dwelt beyond the Chersonese and Perinthus. When, however, the

¹ *i.e.* the Greek colonists in the Thracian Chersonese.

² The ephors, five in number, were the ruling officials at Sparta.

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δυνατὸν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οἶον καὶ κεῖνος
 εἶχεν. ἱκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν
 ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἢ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ
 παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιῆσαι
 9 τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς πειστέον εἶη Κλεάρχῳ. τοῦτο
 δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν
 στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς, ἐκόλαζέ τε
 ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίστε, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν
 10 ἔσθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμη δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου
 γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἠγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὡς δέοι τὸν στρα-
 τιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς
 πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν ἢ φίλων
 ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς πολε-
 11 μίους. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἠθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν
 σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἠροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται·
 καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν¹ ἔφασαν φαίνε-
 σθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολε-
 μίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥστε σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν
 12 ἐφαίνετο· ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο καὶ ἐξείη
 πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρξομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν
 ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ
 χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὠμός· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν
 οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον.
 13 καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλία μὲν καὶ εὐνοία ἐπομένους
 οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγ-
 μένοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατε-

¹ After φαιδρὸν the MSS. have αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσώ-
 ποις: rejected by Gem. and Mar., following Cobet.

as that was possible for a man of such a disposition as his was. For example, he was competent, if ever a man was, in devising ways by which his army might get provisions and in procuring them, and he was competent also to impress it upon those who were with him that Clearchus must be obeyed. This result he accomplished by being severe; for he was gloomy in appearance and harsh in voice, and he used to punish severely, sometimes in anger, so that on occasion he would be sorry afterwards. Yet he also punished on principle, for he believed there was no good in an army that went without punishment; in fact, he used to say, it was reported, that a soldier must fear his commander more than the enemy if he were to perform guard duty or keep his hands from friends or without making excuses advance against the enemy. In the midst of dangers, therefore, the troops were ready to obey him implicitly and would choose no other to command them; for they said that at such times his gloominess appeared to be brightness, and his severity seemed to be resolution against the enemy, so that it appeared to betoken safety and to be no longer severity. But when they had got past the danger and could go off to serve under another commander, many would desert him; for there was no attractiveness about him, but he was always severe and rough, so that the soldiers had the same feeling toward him that boys have toward a schoolmaster. For this reason, also, he never had men following him out of friendship and good-will, but such as were under him because they had been put in his hands by a government or by their own need or were under the compulsion of any other

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πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀδικοὶ ἐπεβούλευον ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

- 21 Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη δίκην.
- 22 ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη συντομωτάτην ᾤετο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, τὸ δ' ἀπλοῦν καὶ τὸ
- 23 ἀληθὲς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν ἀεὶ διελέ-
- 24 γετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾤετο εἰδέναι ῥᾶστον ὃν ἀφύλακτα
- 25 λαμβάνειν. καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς εὖ ὀπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ ὀσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις
- 26 ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΟΝ

ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς
τυχεῖν.

- 30 Ἄγίας δὲ ὁ Ἄρκας καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς
καὶ τούτῳ ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὐθ' ὡς ἐν
πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατεγέλα οὐτ' εἰς φιλίαν
αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἦστην δὲ ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε
καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

ANABASIS, II. VI. 29-30

alive for a year and so met the death of a scoundrel.

Agius the Arcadian and Socrates the Achaean were the two others who were put to death. No one ever laughed at these men as weaklings in war or found fault with them in the matter of friendship. They were both about thirty-five years of age.



BOOK III

Γ

- 2 I. ¹ Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπισπόμενοι ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὲ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐννοούμενοι ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλω δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντη πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμια ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπεῖχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διεῖργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ, προυδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἰππέα οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες, ὥστε εὐδηλον ἦν ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν
- 3 οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθείη; ταῦτ' ἐννοούμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἦλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεῦδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων,

¹ The summary prefixed to Book III. (see note on II. i. 1) is as follows: "Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀναβάσει οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

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γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

- 4 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὐτε στρατηγὸς οὐτε λοχαγὸς οὐτε στρατιώτης ὦν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἰκοθεν ξένος ὦν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσειν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος.
- 5 ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας μή τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ὑπαίτιον εἴη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κῦρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπινοεῖ καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθεῖη. καὶ ἀνεῖλεν
- 7 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἠτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἠρώτα πότερον λῶον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθεῖη. ἐπεὶ μέντοι

¹ The philosopher, whose follower and friend Xenophon had been from his youth.

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οὕτως ἤρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν.

8 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κῦρον μέλλοντας ἤδη ὀρμᾶν τὴν
9 ἄνω ὁδόν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου καὶ ὁ Κῦρος συμπρουθυμεῖτο μείναι αὐτόν, εἶπε δὲ ὅτι ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. ἐλέγετο
10 δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πισίδας. ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεῖς—οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ἤδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὀρμὴν οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἤδη ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἶη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄκοντες ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἰς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρώαν οἰκίαν, καὶ
12 ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσα. περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ τῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὧν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· τῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν

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- βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ
 ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς
 χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάν-
 13 τοθεν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀποριῶν. ὁποῖόν τι μὲν δὴ
 ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἕξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν
 συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. γίνεταί γὰρ τάδε.
 εὐθύς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ
 ἐμπίπτει· τί κατάκειμαι; ἢ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει·
 ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἤξειν. εἰ
 δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδῶν μὴ οὐχὶ
 πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ
 τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν;
 14 ὅπως δ' ἀμυνόμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ
 ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἡσυ-
 χίαν ἄγειν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρα-
 τηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν
 ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμείνω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσ-
 βύτερος ἔσομαι, εἰάν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς
 πολεμίσι.
- 15 Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προ-
 ξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον,
 ἔλεξεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν
 δύναμαι, ὥσπερ οἶμαι οὐδ' ὑμεῖς, οὔτε κατακεῖ-
 16 σθαι ἔτι, ὄρων ἐν οἷσις ἐσμέν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμοι
 δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον
 ἐξέφηναν πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρα-
 σκευάσασθαι, ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖ-
 17 ται ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. καὶ μὴν εἰ

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- ὑφησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη ἀποτεμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δέ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς δούλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντας καὶ ἀποκτε-
- 18 νούντες εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; ἂρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχοι τοῦ στρατεῦσαί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον.
- 19 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν οὐποτε ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτίρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσην μὲν χώραν καὶ οἴαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη,
- 20 χρυσὸν δέ, ἐσθῆτα δέ· τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁπότε ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τούτων οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετεῖη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα ἦδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλλως δέ πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνουμένους ὄρκους ἤδη¹ κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος ἐνίστε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν τὸν
- 21 πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀπορία.² ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κείται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἄθλα ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες

¹ ἤδη Gem., following Rehdantz: ἤδη MSS.

² ἀπορία Hude: ὑποψία MSS., Gem., Mar.: ἀσάφεια Hug.

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- ὑμεῖς αὐτοί τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ἦτε ἐπὶ
 τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ
 ἴστε ὅτι ἔψονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσονται μιμῆσθαι.
- 37 ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι
 τούτων. ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρ-
 χοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν, ὑμεῖς καὶ
 χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ
 νῦν τοίνυν ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιούν δεῖ ὑμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι καὶ προ-
 βουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἣν που δέη.
- 38 Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα
 ὠφελῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε ὅπως
 ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπρλωλότων ὡς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ
 λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων
 οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο (ὡς μὲν
 συνελόντι εἰπεῖν οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολε-
 μικοῖς παντάπασιν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν
 δοκεῖ, ἢ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν.
- 39 ἐπειδὴν δὲ καταστήσησθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους
 δεῖ, ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε
 καὶ παραθαρρύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάνυ ἐν
- 40 καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. νῦν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθά-
 νεσθε ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀθύμως
 δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων οὐκ
 οἶδα ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς, εἴτε νυκτὸς, δέοι
- 41 εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. ἦν δὲ τις αὐτῶν τρέψη τὰς ἡνώ-
 μας, ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται τί πείσονται

- εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο
 σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν,
 αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε
 τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ (Δία ξένιον) ἠδέσθη,
 ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς
 τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν.
- 5 Ἀριαῖος δέ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθι-
 στάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ
 προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς
 δείσας οὔτε Κῦρον τεθνηκότα αἰδέσθεις, τιμώμενος
 μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς
 ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστάς ἡμᾶς, τοὺς Κύρου
- 6 φίλους, κακῶς ποιεῖν πειράται. ἀλλὰ τούτους
 μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτείσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα
 ὀρῶντας μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων,
 ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα τοῦτο
 ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσχειν.
- 7 Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ
 πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην
 διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾶν
 πρέπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν
 καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιῶσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς
 τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε.
- 8 Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιπορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν
 λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἶμαι.
 εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας
 ἰέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὀρῶντας

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καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, οἱ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις, ὧν τε πεποιήκασι, δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἴεναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλαὶ ἡμῖν καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας.

- 9 . Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, πτάρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μιᾷ ὀρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθῆαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν (σωτήρια) ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου ἠΰξαντο καὶ ἐπαίανισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε.
- 10 Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἶεν σωτηρίας. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασι τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεούς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὧσι σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται.
- 11 εἶπειτα δὲ ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς

¹ The sneeze was a lucky sign, and particularly lucky because it came at just the time when Xenophon was uttering the word *σωτηρίας*, "deliverance."

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- δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ὑμῖν
 Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν
 παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρείτ-
 του Τισσαφέρνην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων
 ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστίν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόν-
 τες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν, οἳ εἴσονται ὅτι ἦν τι
 21 καὶ σώματα ἀμαρτήσονται. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια
 πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρείττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἢς οὗτοι
 παρεῖχον μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ
 τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἣνπερ
 κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος
 βούληται;
- 22 Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα,
 τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι καὶ μεγά-
 λως ἡγεῖσθε ἔξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε
 εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρ-
 βαροι. πάντες γὰρ ποταμοί, ἦν καὶ πρόσω-
 τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προσιοῦσι πρὸς τὰς
 πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίνονται οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέ-
 χοντες.
- 23 Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν ἡγεμόν τε
 μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανείται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον.

¹ e.g. the Tigris (II. iv. 13–24).

² viz. in leading the Greeks across (i.e. to the eastern bank of) the Tigris. For, Xenophon argues (see below), the

For we know that the Mysians,¹ whom we should not admit to be better men than ourselves, inhabit many large and prosperous cities in the King's territory, we know that the same is true of the Pisidians,¹ and as for the Lycaonians¹ we even saw with our own eyes that they had seized the strongholds in the plains and were reaping for themselves the lands of these Persians; so, in our case, my own view would be that we ought not yet to let it be seen that we have set out for home; we ought, rather, to be making our arrangements as if we intended to settle here. For I know that to the Mysians the King would not only give plenty of guides, but plenty of hostages, to guarantee a safe conduct for them out of his country; in fact, he would build a road for them, even if they wanted to take their departure in four-horse chariots. And I know that he would be thrice glad to do the same for us, if he saw that we were preparing to stay here. I really fear, however, that if we once learn to live in idleness and luxury, and to consort with the tall and beautiful women and maidens of these Medes and Persians, we may, like the lotus-eaters,² forget our homeward way. Therefore, I think it is right and proper that our first endeavour should be to return to our kindred and friends in Greece, and to point out to the Greeks that it is by their own choice that they are poor; for they could bring here the people who are now living a hard life at home, and could see them in the enjoyment of riches.

“It is really a plain fact, gentlemen, that all these

¹ Peoples of Asia Minor who were in almost constant rebellion against Persian authority; *cp.* esp. I. II. 19, II. V. 13.

² An allusion to *Odyssey*, ix. 94 ff.

- 31 πρόσθεν· ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῆ, ψηφίσασθαι τὸν ἀεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν· οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλείστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῆδε γὰρ τῆ ἡμέρα μυρίους ὄψονται ἀνθ' ἐνὸς Κλεάρχους τοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῶ εἶναι.
- 32 ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα ἔργῳ περαίνηται. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.
- 33 Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν.¹ ἂ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν πάντες.
- 34 Ἄναστας δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἔξομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ πλέον εἴκοσι σταδίων
- 35 ἀπεχούσας· οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμεν εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκουσίν τε² καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἦν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιούσιν

¹ σκοπεῖν Gem., following Schwartz: ποιεῖν MSS.

² διώκουσίν τε MSS. except C₁, Mar.: διώκοντες C₁, Gem.

commanders now than they used to be. We must pass a vote that, in case anyone is disobedient, whoever of you may be at hand at the time shall join with the officer in punishing him; in this way the enemy will find themselves mightily deceived; for to-day they will behold, not one Clearchus,¹ but ten thousand, who will not suffer anybody to be a bad soldier. But it is time now to be acting instead of talking; for perhaps the enemy will soon be at hand. Whoever, then, thinks that these proposals are good should ratify them with all speed, that they may be carried out in action. But if any other plan is thought better than mine, let anyone, even though he be a private soldier, feel free to present it; for the safety of all is the need of all."

After this Cheirisophus said: "We shall be able to consider presently whether we need to do anything else besides what Xenophon proposes, but on the proposals which he has already made I think it is best for us to vote as speedily as possible. Whoever is in favour of these measures, let him raise his hand." They all raised their hands.

Then Xenophon arose once more and said: "Give ear, gentlemen, to the further proposals I have to present. It is clear that we must make our way to a place where we can get provisions; and I hear that there are fine villages at a distance of not more than twenty stadia. We should not be surprised, then, if the enemy—after the fashion of cowardly dogs that chase passers-by and bite them, if they can, but run away from anyone who chases them—if the enemy in the same way should follow at our

¹ Clearchus was notoriously a stern disciplinarian; *cp.* II. vi, 8 ff.

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36 ἐπακολουθοῖεν. ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὄπλων, ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρω εἴη. εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθείη τίνας χρῆ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὁπότε οἱ πολέμοι ἔλθοιεν βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ χρώμεθα ἂν εὐθὺς

37 τοῖς τεταγμένοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὄρα, ἄλλως ἐχέτω. εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγοῖτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστὶ τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τῶ πρεσβυτάτῳ στρατηγῷ ἐπιμελοίσθην. ὀπισθοφυλακοῖμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ

38 νεώτατοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τιμασίων τὸ νῦν εἶναι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως βουλευσόμεθα ὅ τι ἂν αἰεὶ κράτιστον δοκῆ εἶναι. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ὄρα βέλτιον, λεξάτω. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν. "Ὅτω δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν

39 χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν. ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω νικᾶν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων τὸ καίνειν, τῶν δὲ ἠττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστὶ. καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω. τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σφάζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἠττωμένων λαμβάνειν.

III. Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς, τῶν δὲ περιπτῶν ὅτου μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἠριστοποιοῦντο. ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθραδάτης σὺν ἰππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
 2 εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὧδε. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὖνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε δ' εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ οὖν ὁρώην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρὸς με τί ἐν νῶ ἔχετε ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνουν καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν
 3 ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι. βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἐᾷ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύη,¹ διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα
 4 κράτιστα. ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθραδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον εἶη βασιλέως ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. ἐνθα δὴ ἐγιγνώσκετο ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολουθήκει
 5 πίστεως ἕνεκα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν

¹ ἀποκωλύη MSS. except C₁, Mar.: ἐπικωλύη C₁, Gem.

III. After these words of Xenophon's the assembly arose, and all went back to camp and proceeded to burn the wagons and the tents. As for the superfluous articles of baggage, whatever anybody needed they shared with one another, but the rest they threw into the fire. When they had done all this, they set about preparing breakfast; and while they were so engaged, Mithradates¹ approached with about thirty ✓ horsemen, summoned the Greek generals within earshot, and spoke as follows: "Men of Greece, I was faithful to Cyrus, as you know for yourselves, and I am now friendly to you; indeed, I am tarrying here in great fear. Therefore if I should see that you were taking salutary measures, I should join you and bring all my retainers with me. Tell me, then, ✓ what you have in mind, in the assurance that I am your friend and well-wisher, and am desirous of making the journey in company with you." The generals held council and voted to return the following answer, Cheirisophus acting as spokesman: "It is our resolve, in case no one hinders our homeward march, to proceed through the country doing the least possible damage, but if anyone tries to prevent us from making the journey, to fight it out with him to the best of our power." Thereupon Mithradates ✓ undertook to show that there was no possibility of their effecting a safe return unless the King so pleased. Then it became clear to the Greeks that ✓ his mission was a treacherous one; indeed, one of ✓ Tissaphernes' relatives had followed along, to see that he kept faith. The generals consequently de- ✓ cided that it was best to pass a decree that there should be no negotiations with the enemy in this war

¹ *cp.* II. v. 35.

πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν·
διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιώντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ
ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα,
καὶ ὄχητο ἀπιὼν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

- 6 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν
Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι τὰ
ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ
πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπιφαίνεται
πάλιν ὁ Μιθραδάτης, ἰππέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους
καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακοσίους
7 μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους. καὶ προσῆει μὲν
ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς
ἐγένοντο, ἑξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ
ἰππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἐτί-
τρωσκον. οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφυλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δ' οὐδέν· οἳ τε
γὰρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ
ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἴσω τῶν ὄπλων κατεκέκλειντο,
οἱ δὲ ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἠκόντιζον ἢ ὡς
8 ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. ἐκ τούτου Ξενο-
φῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν
ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ
ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατε-
9 λάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων. οὔτε γὰρ ἰππεῖς ἦσαν
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ
πολλοῦ¹ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν

¹ ἐκ πολλοῦ MSS. except C₁, Mar.: Gem. omits, follow-
ing C₁.

so long as they should be in the enemy's country. For the barbarians kept coming and trying to corrupt the soldiers; in the case of one captain, Nicarchus the Arcadian, they actually succeeded, and he decamped during the night, taking with him about twenty men.

After this they took breakfast, crossed the Zapatas¹ river, and set out on the march in the formation decided upon,² with the baggage animals and the camp followers in the middle of the square. They had not proceeded far when Mithradates appeared again, accompanied by about two hundred horsemen and by bowmen and slingers—exceedingly active and nimble troops—to the number of four hundred. He approached the Greeks as if he were a friend, but when his party had got close at hand, on a sudden some of them, horse and foot alike, began shooting with their bows and others with slings, and they inflicted wounds. And the Greek rearguard, while suffering severely, could not retaliate at all; for the Cretan³ bowmen not only had a shorter range than the Persians, but besides, since they had no armour, they were shut in within the lines of the hoplites; and the Greek javelin-men could not throw far enough to reach the enemy's slingers. Xenophon consequently decided that they must pursue the Persians, and this they did, with such of the hoplites and peltasts as were guarding the rear with him; but in their pursuit they failed to catch a single man of the enemy. For the Greeks had no horsemen, and their foot-soldiers were not able to overtake the enemy's foot-soldiers—since the latter had a long start in their flight—within a short

¹ *cp.* II. v. 1.

² See ii. 36.

³ See I. ii. 9. The Cretans were the most famous archers of antiquity.

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ὀλίγω χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 10 ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι
 ἵππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς τοῦ-
 πισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅποσον δὲ
 διώξειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοσοῦτον πάλιν ἐπαναχω-
 11 ρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. ὥστε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης¹
 διήλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ
 δείλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας.

Ἐνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος
 καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα
 ἠτιῶντο ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτός
 τε ἐκινδύνευε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
 12 ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν
 ὅτι ὀρθῶς αἰτιῶντο καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς
 μαρτυροίη. ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν,
 ἐπειδὴ ἑώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πά-
 13 σχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν
 γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολε-
 14 μίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ παγχαλέπως. τοῖς οὖν
 θεοῖς χάρις ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ σὺν
 ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα,
 15 δηλῶσαι δὲ ὧν δεόμεθα. νῦν γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι
 τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὅσον οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες
 ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες
 ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν

¹ ὅλης MSS. except C₁, Mar.: Gem. omits, following C₁.

distance ; and a long pursuit, far away from the main Greek army, was not possible. Again, the barbarian horsemen even while they were in flight would inflict wounds by shooting behind them from their horses ; and whatever distance the Greeks might at any time cover in their pursuit, all that distance they were obliged to fall back fighting. The result was that during the whole day they travelled not more than twenty-five stadia. They did arrive, however, towards evening at the villages.¹

✧ Here again there was despondency. And Cheiriosophus and the eldest of the generals found fault with Xenophon for leaving the main body of the army to undertake a pursuit, and thus endangering himself without being able, for all that, to do the enemy any harm. When Xenophon heard their words, he replied that they were right in finding fault with him, and that the outcome bore witness of itself for their view. "But," he continued, "I was compelled to pursue when I saw that by keeping our places we were suffering severely and were still unable to strike a blow ourselves. As to what happened, however, when we did pursue, you are quite right : we were no better able to inflict harm upon the enemy, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that we effected our own withdrawal. Let us thank the gods, therefore, that they came, not with a large force, but with a handful, so that without doing us any great damage they have revealed our needs. For at present the enemy can shoot arrows and sling stones so far that neither our Cretan bowmen nor our javelin-men can reach them in reply ; and when we pursue them, a long chase,

¹ *i.e.* those mentioned in ii. 34.

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- οὐχ οἶόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἶη πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν
- 16 διώκων καταλαμβάνοι ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος. ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλοιμεν τούτους εἶργειν ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἰππέων. ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφεν-
- 17 δονῶν. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνοῦνται, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσι ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι.
- 18 ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτοις¹ μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκωμεν, ἴσως
- 19 τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. ὁρῶ δὲ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινας παρ' ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κλεάρχου καταλελειμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. ἂν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἰππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοί τι
- 20 τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα.

¹ τούτοις Cobet: τούτῳ MSS., followed doubtfully by Mar.: τῷ Gem.

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καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἐδοκίμασθησαν τῇ ὑστεραία εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἵππαρχος ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

IV. Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρῶαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ ἔδει αὐτοὺς διαβῆναι ἐφ' ἧ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμοι.

2 διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται Μιθραδάτης, ἔχων ἵππεάς χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσούτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ

3 ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπεῖχον τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτῶ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθραδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρήγγελτο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν εἶρητο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφεψομένης ἱκανῆς

4 δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθραδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνοῦντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς

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ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἶρητο καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἤλαυνον·
οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν
5 χαράδραν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις
τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἵππέων
ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτώκαίδεκα.
τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες
ἠκίσαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις
εἶη ὄραν.

6 Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον,
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν
τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν.
7 ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ
ἦν Λάρισα· ὤκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι.
τοῦ δὲ τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος
δύο παρασάγγαι· ὠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κερα-
μαῖς· κρηπὶς δ' ὑπῆν λιθίνη τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι
8 ποδῶν. ταύτην βασιλεὺς Περσῶν ὅτε παρὰ
Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάβανον Πέρσαι πολιορκῶν
οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη
προκαλύψασα¹ ἠφάνισε μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄν-
9 θρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν
πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς
πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. ἐπὶ ταύτης
πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν πλησίου
κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες.

10 Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρα-

¹ ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα Mar., following Brodaeus :
ἥλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκαλύψας MSS., Gem.

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- σάγγας ἕξ πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον μέγα κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μῆσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ᾤκουν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου· ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ*
 11 *ὑψος πεντήκοντα. ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπωκοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὑψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἡ περίοδος ἕξ παρασάγγαι. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μήδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν ὅτε ἀπώλλυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν*
 12 *ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δὲ βρόντῃ κατέπληξε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἔάλω.*
 13 *Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας τέτταρας. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὗς τε αὐτὸς ἰππέας ἦλθεν¹ ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντα δύναμιν τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος καὶ οὗς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους καὶ οὗς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμ-*
 14 *πολυ ἐφάνη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν*

¹ ἦλθεν MSS., Mar.: ἤγαγεν Gem.

¹ The ruins which Xenophon saw here were those of Nineveh, the famous capital of the Assyrian Empire. It is curious to find him dismissing this great Assyrian city (as well as Calah above) with the casual and misleading statement that "it was once inhabited by the Medes." In fact, the capture of Nineveh by the Medes (c. 600 B.C.) was the precise event which closed the important period of its history, and it remained under the control of the Medes only

parasangs, to a great stronghold, deserted and lying in ruins. The name of this city was Mespila,¹ and it was once inhabited by the Medes. The foundation of its wall was made of polished stone full of shells, and was fifty feet in breadth and fifty in height. Upon this foundation was built a wall of brick, fifty feet in breadth and a hundred in height; and the circuit of the wall was six parasangs. Here, as the story goes, Médea, the king's² wife, took refuge at the time when the Medes were deprived of their empire by the Persians. To this city also the king of the Persians laid siege, but he was unable to capture it either by length of siege or by storm; Zeus, however, terrified the inhabitants with thunder, and thus the city was taken.

From this place they marched one stage, four parasangs. In the course of this stage Tissaphernes made his appearance, having under his command the cavalry which he had himself brought with him,³ the troops of Orontas,⁴ who was married to the King's daughter, the barbarians whom Cyrus had brought with him on his upward march, and those with whom the King's brother had come to the aid of the King⁵; besides these contingents Tissaphernes had all the troops that the King had given him; the result was, that his army appeared exceedingly large. When he got near the Greeks, he

during the succeeding half-century, *i.e.* until the Median Empire was in its turn overthrown by the Persians (549 B.C.). Xenophon, then, goes but one unimportant step backward in his historical note—perhaps because he did not care to go farther, perhaps because he was unable to do so.

¹ Astyages, the last king of Media.

² *i.e.* from his province in Asia Minor, when he came to inform Artaxerxes of Cyrus' designs against him. See I. ii. 4.

⁴ *cp.* II. iv. 8.

⁵ *cp.* II. iv. 25.

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- τάξεων ὄπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρ-
- 15 ἤγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν καὶ οἱ τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἠμάρτανεν ἀνδρός (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ προυθυμεῖτο ῥάδιον ἦν), καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν.
- 16 Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἷ γε Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν.¹
- 17 μεγάλη δὲ καὶ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστίν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων² τοῖς Κρησί, καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν. ἠύρισκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μόλυβδος, ὥστε χρήσθαι εἰς
- 18 τὰς σφενδόνας. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυ-

¹ Mar. follows Madvig in regarding the text here as corrupt.

² τῶν τοξευμάτων MSS.: Gem. brackets.

¹ *i.e.* on account of the dense throng of the enemy.

² *cp.* iii. 7-10.

³ Xenophon remarks in iii. 17 upon the large size of the stones employed in the Persian slings. The word "also" (καὶ) can hardly refer back to that remark, but it may be

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χόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι μείον ἔχοντες τῇ ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος.

- 19 Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον ὅτι πονηρὰ τάξις εἶη πολεμίων ἐπομένων. ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἣν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου ἢ ὁδοῦ στενοτέρας οὔσης ἢ ὀρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ ταραττομένους, ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι
- 20 ἀτάκτους ὄντας· ὅταν δ' αὐτὰ διάσχη τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας πολεμίων ἐπομένων. καὶ ὅποτε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολε-
- 21 μίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποίησαν ἕξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχους. οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι, ὅποτε μὲν συγκύπτοι τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι,

¹ *i.e.* commanders of fifties and twenty-fives, or of half and quarter companies.

² The formation is a hollow square. Xenophon means by "wings" (κέρατα, here and above) the right and left ends of the division which formed the front of the square, and by

the barbarians withdrew, having had the worst of it in the skirmishing. The following day the Greeks remained quiet and collected supplies, for there was an abundance of corn in the villages. On the day thereafter they continued their march through the plain, and Tissaphernes hung upon their rear and kept up the skirmishing.

Then it was that the Greeks found out that a square is a poor formation when an enemy is following. For if the wings draw together, either because a road is unusually narrow or because mountains or a bridge make it necessary, it is inevitable that the hoplites should be squeezed out of line and should march with difficulty, inasmuch as they are crowded together and are likewise in confusion; the result is that, being in disorder, they are of little service. Furthermore, when the wings draw apart again, those who were lately squeezed out are inevitably scattered, the space between the wings is left unoccupied, and the men affected are out of spirits when an enemy is close behind them. Again, as often as the army had to pass over a bridge or make any other crossing, every man would hurry, in the desire to be the first one across, and that gave the enemy a fine chance to make an attack. When the generals came to realize these difficulties, they formed six companies of a hundred men each and put a captain at the head of each company, adding also platoon and squad commanders.¹ Then in case the wings drew together on the march,² these

“flanks” (*πλευραί*) the divisions which formed the sides of the square. Apparently three of the special companies were stationed at the middle of the front side of the square (*cp.* § 43 below) and the other three in the corresponding position at the rear.

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ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι, τότε¹ δὲ παρήγον
 22 ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων. ὅποτε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ
 πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἂν ἐξεπίμπλα-
 σαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἶη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λό-
 χους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῆς, εἰ δὲ
 πάνυ πλατύ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ ἔκπλεων
 23 εἶναι τὸ μέσον. εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι
 διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν
 τῷ μέρει οἱ λόχοι² διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι
 τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρήσαν οὗτοι. τούτῳ τῷ
 τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας.

24 Ἦνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασι-
 λειὸν τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλάς, τὴν δὲ
 ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν
 γιγνομένην, οἱ καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑφ' ᾧ ἦσαν
 αἱ κῶμαι.³ καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς λόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ
 Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἰππέων·
 25 ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ
 τὸν πρῶτον γήλοφον καὶ κατέβαινον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν
 ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρ-
 βαροι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρηνὲς ἔβαλ-

¹ τότε the inferior MSS., Mar.: τοὺς the better MSS. Gem., reading τοὺς, inserts οἱ μὲν before ἕστεροι, following Mangelsdorf. After ἕστεροι the MSS. have οἱ λοχαγοί, which Mar. and Gem. bracket.

² οἱ λόχοι Gem., following Valckenaer: οἱ λοχαγοὶ MSS.

³ ἦσαν αἱ κῶμαι Gem., following Schenkl: ἦν ἡ κώμη MSS.

¹ The squad, or quarter company, consisting of 25 men (i.e. 24 + the leader), normally marched three abreast, i.e. with a front of three and a depth of eight. The company

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- 26 λον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνήτων καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῶν ὀπλων· ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες καὶ οἱ σφενδο-
- 27 νῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται ὀπλίται ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι
- 28 ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. πάλιν δὲ ὁπότε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ταῦτὰ ἔπασχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτὰ ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.
- 29 ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθείησαν καὶ ἀμ-
- 30 φοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιοντο οἱ πολέμοι. οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας· καὶ ἰατροὺς κατέστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.
- 31 Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις· συμβεβλημένας.

¹ Like Xerxes' troops at Thermopylae (Herod. vii. 223).

and sling-stones and arrows, fighting under the lash.¹ They not only inflicted many wounds, but they got the better of the Greek light troops and shut them up within the lines of the hoplites, so that these troops, being mingled with the non-combatants, were entirely useless throughout that day, slingers and bowmen alike. And when the Greeks, hard-pressed as they were, undertook to pursue the attacking force, they reached the hilltop but slowly, being heavy troops, while the enemy sprang quickly out of reach; and every time they returned from a pursuit to join the main army, they suffered again in the same way.² On the second hill the same experiences were repeated, and hence after ascending the third hill they decided not to stir the troops from its crest until they had led up a force of pel-tasts from the right flank of the square to a position on the mountain.³ As soon as this force had got above the hostile troops that were hanging upon the Greek rear, the latter desisted from attacking the Greek army in its descent, for fear that they might be cut off and find themselves enclosed on both sides by their foes. In this way the Greeks continued their march for the remainder of the day, the one division by the road leading over the hills while the other followed a parallel course along the mountain slope, and so arrived at the villages. There they appointed eight surgeons, for the wounded were many.

In these villages they remained for three days, not only for the sake of the wounded, but likewise because they had provisions in abundance—flour, wine, and great stores of barley that had been

¹ *i.e.* as described in §§ 25-26.

³ *cp.* § 24.

πολλάς. ταῦτα δὲ συνενηνεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατρα-
 πεύοντι τῆς χώρας. τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα καταβαί-
 32 νουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς
 Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ
 ἀνάγκη κατασκηνηῆσαι οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην
 καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ
 ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόμαχοι, οἳ τε τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκεί-
 νους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὄπλα δεξά-
 33 μενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν
 αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν
 κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες·
 πολὺ γὰρ διέφερεν ἐκ χώρας ὀρμῶντας ἀλέξασθαι
 ἢ πορευομένους ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι.

34 Ἦνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δείλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς
 πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο
 οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων,
 φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται
 35 αὐτοῖς. πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτός· ἐστὶ στράτευμα
 Περσικόν· οἳ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται καὶ
 ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν
 ἔνεκα εἰ λυθείησαν, ἐὰν τέ τις θόρυβος γίγνηται,
 δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρση ἀνδρὶ καὶ χαλι-
 νῶσαι, δεῖ καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν
 ἵππον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ
 θορύβου ὄντος. τούτου ἔνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκή-
 νουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

36 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλο-
 μένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς

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Ἕλλησι συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκούοντων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄψε ἐγίγνετο, ἀπῆσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ
 37 κατάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἤδη ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζεύξαντες καὶ διήλθον ὅσον ἑξήκοντα σταδίους. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἢ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.

38 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατειλημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παρα-
 39 γενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσελάσας ἠρώτα Τί καλεῖς; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐξεστιν ὄραν· κατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τούτους
 40 ἀποκόψομεν. ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες τοὺς πελταστὰς; ὁ δὲ λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. Ἄλλὰ μὴν ὥρα γ', ἔφη, βουλευέσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας
 41 ἀπελᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὀρᾶ

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- κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὦν δέομαι
 ὑπηρετήσητε καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε.
 9 ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο, Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, δισχι-
 λίων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δ' ὀρώ πρόβατα καὶ αἰγας
 καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα
 10 ῥαδίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. δεήσομαι δὲ
 καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς χρῆσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια·
 τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἀσκούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
 ὀρμίσας ἕκαστον ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφείς
 ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας ἐπιβαλῶ ὕλην καὶ γῆν
 11 ἐπιφορήσω· ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα
 μάλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἀσκὸς δὴ ἄνδρας ἔξει
 τοῦ μὴ καταδῦναι. ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν ἢ ὕλη
 12 καὶ ἢ γῆ σχήσει. ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατη-
 γοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ
 δ' ἔργον ἀδύνατον. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες
 πέραν πολλοὶ ἰππεῖς, οἱ εὐθύς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν
 ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν.
 13 Ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρουν¹ εἰς
 τοῦμπαλιν εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύ-
 σαντες ἐνθεν ἐξῆσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσή-
 λαυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμά-
 ζουσιν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν
 14 νῶ ἔχοιεν. ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται

¹ ἐπανεχώρουν the inferior MSS., Gem.: ὑπανεχώρουν the better MSS., Mar.

XENOPHON

δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὁρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθείη· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσαιεν, συσκευασαμένους πάντα ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεσθαι ἡνίκ' ἄν τις παραγγέλλῃ.

ANABASIS, III. v. 18

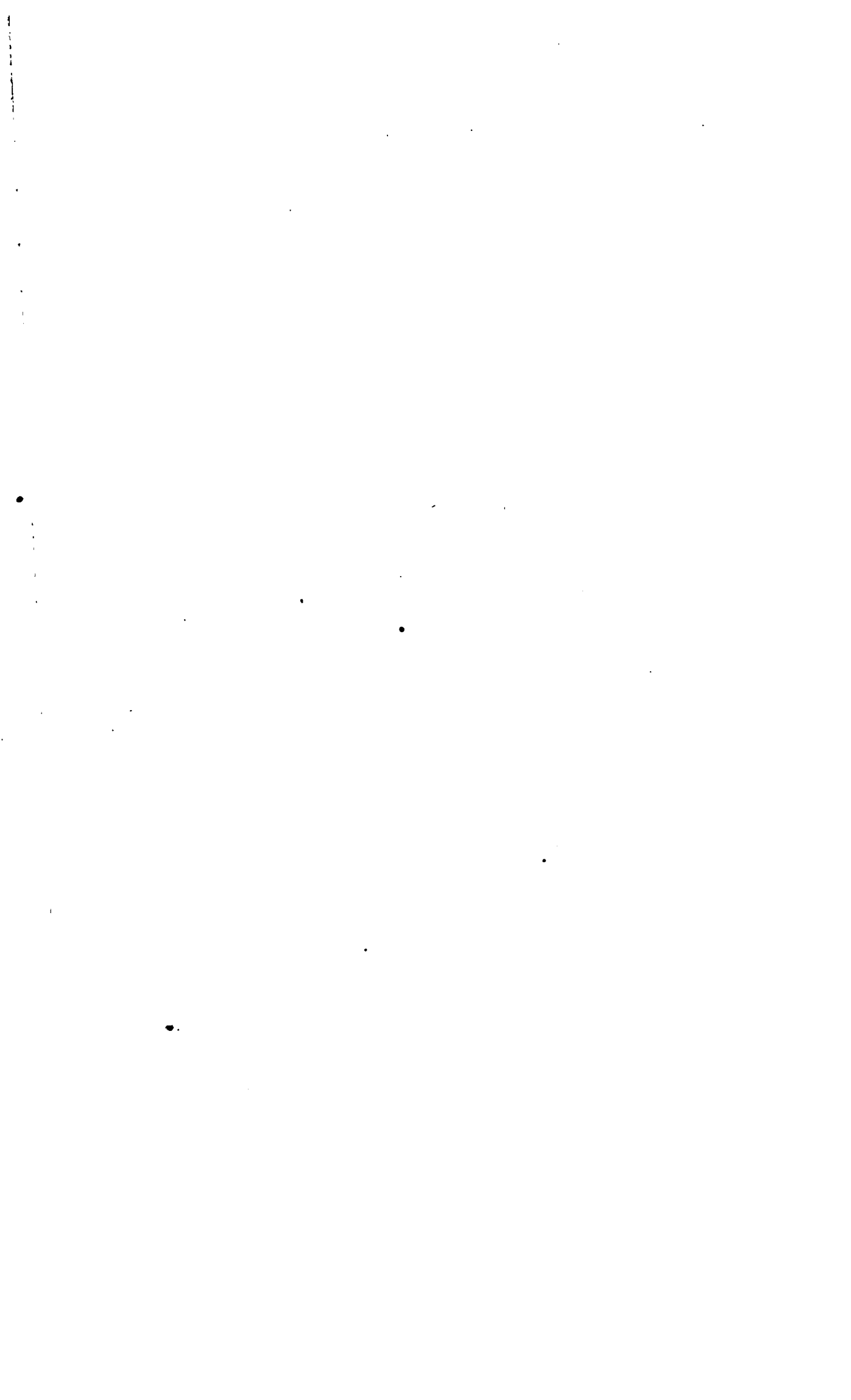
sacrifice, so that they could begin the march at the moment they thought best¹—for they feared that the pass over the mountains might be occupied in advance; and they issued orders that when the troops had dined, every man should pack up his belongings and go to rest, and then fall into line as soon as the word of command was given.

¹ As a rule it was *immediately* before an army set out that sacrifice was offered.



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