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ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
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THE *CYROPAEDEIA*

OF XENOPHON

BOOKS I AND II

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY THE

REV. HUBERT A. HOLDEN, M.A. LL.D.

EXAMINER IN GREEK TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

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PART I

Introduction and Text

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PREFACE

THE popularity of Xenophon has not prevented his greatest work from falling into neglect. While editions of the *Anabasis* have issued from the English press with perhaps needless frequency, more or less completely annotated, the only edition of the *Cyropaedeia* that I know of with notes in English was published more than thirty years ago by Messrs Whittaker and Bell in their series of *Grammar School Classics*, and remains still in possession of the field, notwithstanding its many acknowledged defects and inaccuracy of scholarship. It is true that selections and editions of the separate Books have been provided for students, notably of Books IV and V by Dr Bigg (Clarendon Press Series) and of Books VII and VIII by Prof. A. Goodwin (Macmillan's Classical Series); but the present volume is an instalment of an edition of the whole work, which will, it is hoped, satisfy the requirements that it is designed to meet.

It proceeds on the lines of the two treatises of Xenophon which I have recently edited, the *Hierôn* (1883, second edition 1885), and the *Oeconomicus* (1884, third edition 1886).

The Text follows in the main that of Arnold Hug (Teubner 1883), which is itself in the main a reproduction of Louis Dindorf's fourth edition. Hug falls very far short of the conservatism of Sauppe, but he has not followed Dindorf slavishly in adopting all the Attic forms which that editor would restore to Xenophon even against the evidence of the best MSS. In the critical Appendix I have given the principal readings of each of these three Editors. It is desirable in the interest of students that there should be an uniform text of an author so commonly read in schools as Xenophon, and as Hug's seems likely to be the final recension until the discovery of some MS. of an earlier date than those now extant, I have deviated as little as possible from it.

In the Explanation and Illustration of the Text, I have left no word or phrase likely to create difficulty unnoticed. I am well aware that I shall be considered by some critics to have been somewhat too lavish of help; but I am convinced that if Greek—the most perfect form of human speech—is to be preserved in our great Schools and Universities and not crowded out by other subjects, we must endeavour to facilitate the study of it without at the same time rendering it useless as an instrument of mental discipline—a result which the unconditioned use of 'cribs' tends to bring about.

My obligations are due to all previous editors, primarily to the ample Commentary of J. F. Fischer edited by C. T. Kuinoel (Lipsiae 1803) and to those of F. A. Bornemann (1) in the *Bibliotheca Graeca* (Gothae et Erfordiae 1828), (2) in the third edition of Schneider's *Xenophon* (Lipsiae 1838). Their notes have been abridged and otherwise modified in the more recent editions of F. K. Hertlein (Haupt-Sauppe Series, 3rd

ed. Berlin 1871; the 4th edition is announced as in the press) and of L. Breitenbach (B. G. Teubner *Schulausgaben Klassiker*, Leipzig 1875).

For an explanation of grammatical niceties and idioms I have referred students to the two grammars which I assume to be most commonly used in our Schools and Colleges, that of Prof. W. W. Goodwin of Harvard College U.S. (Macmillan and Co., London and New York), and that of the late Professor Hadley of Yale College, as revised by Prof. Allen of Harvard College (Macmillan and Co.), which is based on the *Griechische Schulgrammatik* of Prof. Georg Curtius.

The lexical Index is founded on the excellent *Index Graecitatis* of Zeunius, as enlarged and improved by Bornemann. This was reprinted, but very carelessly, by L. Dindorf in the handsome Oxford edition (1857), in which I find *e.g.* under *παρέρχαι* *adesse* the meaning 'superare, excellere' i iv 5' given.

In the Introduction as well as in the Notes I have levied heavy contributions upon Duncker's *History of Antiquity* translated by Dr Evelyn Abbott (1877—1882), Prof. Rawlinson's *Five Monarchies* and his *History of Herodotus* (3rd ed. London 1875), and Col. Mure's *Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece* (5 vols. London, 2nd ed. 1854—1867).

H. A. H.

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INTRODUCTION

THE *Cyropaedia*¹, although the most bulky of Xenophon's three great historical works, is the most deficient in historical material. It differs from the *Anabasis* and the *Hellenica* in being didactic as well as narrative; it is, in fact, an Historico-political Romance², or an idealized

The point of view from which Xenophon composed his treatise on Cyrus.

¹ This word is a modern coinage: the title by which the book is quoted by the ancients is ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, as by Dionysios quoted in note 2, Diogenēs Laertius II 57, Athenaeus XI p. 483 B, or simply ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, as by Dionys. *Art. Rhet.* 8, 11; 9, 11; Plutarch *comp. Pelopid. c. Marc.* c. III. The name applies properly only to the first book, which contains Xenophon's account of the education of Cyrus as a boy and his training as a youth at the court of his grandfather Astyagēs. This has given its name to the whole eight. The name Κύρος itself (in old Persian *Kurush*) was generally supposed by the Greeks to mean 'the Sun', being identified with the Sanscrit *Surya*, Zend *hware*, mod. Persian *khur*, but, as the old Persian *k* never replaces the Sanscrit *s*, it is now supposed that the name represents the Sanscrit *Kuru*, a popular title among the Aryan people, before the separation of the Median and Persian branches, but the derivation of which is unknown. See Rawlinson Herod. Vol. III p. 544. 'The word for 'sun' would be *uwarā* in Persian of the Achaemenian period'. A. H. Sayce in *Encycl. Metrop.* s. v. Cyrus.

² This is sufficiently clear from internal evidence, but it is also distinctly stated by several ancient writers. Thus Cicero in a letter to his brother Quintus (I i 8, 23) says of it:—*Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem iusti imperii; cuius summa gravitas ab illo philosopho cum singulari comitate coniungitur: quos quidem libros non sine causa noster ille Africanus de manibus ponere non solbat; nullum*

Biography with a didactic purpose—not unlike the *Télémaque* of Fénelon. The Author himself expressly tells us in his interesting Prooemium his motives for undertaking the composition of the Work.

‘His experience’ he says ‘of Hellenic political and social life, the instability and vicissitudes, on the one hand, of government in their cities, the frequent insubordination, on the other, of domestics in private households, had led him to the inference that it is next to impossible to govern men. But he had seen his mistake when he came to study the history of Cyrus, and he wished to explain and realise to the Greeks by his example the difficulty which they found it so hard to solve, how the empire over nations could be gained, by what personal and material means a great kingdom could be founded and maintained, how a single ruler

est enim praetermissum in iis officium diligentis et moderati imperii. And so Dionysios of Halicarnassos in his letter to Cn. Pompeius de praecipuis historicis describes τὴν Κύρου παιδείαν as εἰκόνα βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ εὐδαίμονος. Cf. Ausonius in *gratiarum actione pro cons. ad Gratianum Imp.* p. 728:—*Vellem, si rerum natura pateretur, Xenophon Attice, in aevum nostrum venires, tu, qui ad Cyri virtutes exsequendas votum potius quam historiam commodasti, cum diceres, non qualis esset sed qualis esse deberet;* Aristeides περὶ τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν β' (*Rhet. gr.* ed. Spengel Vol. II p. 525, 32):—πάλιν ἐν τῇ Παιδείᾳ ὅρα πῶς μετεχειρίσαστο εἰπῶν, ἐννοιὰ ποθ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο. τὸ μὲν οὖν νόημά ἐστιν ὃν τρόπον Κύρος παῖς ὢν ἐτρέφετο καὶ τίνος παιδείας μετέσχευ, καὶ τίνα ἔργα ἔπραξε, καὶ ὡς εὐδαιμονέστατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλο τι βούλεται τῷ ἀνδρὶ· οὐ γὰρ Κύρον ἐγκωμιάσαι προήρηται οὐδὲ μέλει αὐτῷ ὃν τρόπον ἐπαιδεύθη ὁ Κύρος ἢ ἐτράφη, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν ᾗθει πράττει τὸν λόγον, ὑπογραφῇ κέχρηται ὁποῖόν τινα δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τίνι τροφῇ καὶ τίνι παιδείᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὁποῖον μὲν δεῖ εἶναι ἔτι ἐν παιδίῳ ὄντα, ὁποῖον δὲ ἐπειδὴν μειράκιόν τις γένηται, τίνα δὲ ἔργα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα προσήκοντα τῷ καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἄλλως ὀνομά ἐστιν αὐτῷ.

‘The element of sentimental romance, of chivalrous love adventure, is comprised almost exclusively in the pathetic episode of Abradatas and Pantheia, which is the earliest specimen of a prose love-story in Greek classical literature’ (*Mure*). Compare the rhetorician Hermogenes περὶ ἰδεῶν Τομ. β' (*Rhet. gr.* ed. Spengel Vol. II p. 418):—τὸ μέντοι περὶ τὸν Ἀβραδάτην καὶ τὴν Πάνθειαν πᾶν ἡθὺς τε καὶ πάθος πολλὰς ἔχει τὰς ἡδονὰς μυθικῶς πλασθέν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τιγράνην δὲ ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.

could command obedience, even among those who had never seen him and were separated by great distances.'

The result is the *Cyropaedeia*, which, in the opinion of many critics and scholars, ranks highest among all Xenophon's works, judged from the literary point of view³.

Aulus Gellius tells us that some of the Biographers of Plato and Xenophon believed that the *Cyropaedeia* was written in opposition to the *Republi^{ca}*.)

Said by some to have been an answer to Plato's *Republic*.

'Whatever we may think of this,' says Donaldson⁵, 'it is at least clear that there is a remarkable contrast between them.' This contrast he considers as flowing immediately from the opposition

³ Mure, *Critical Hist. of the Language and Literature of ancient Greece*, Vol. v p. 416 ed. 2, pronounces it the most elegant production of Xenophon's genius, and Grote, *Plato and the other Companions of Socrates*, Vol. III p. 592, reckons it among the glories of the Socratic family.

⁴ *Noct. Att.* XIV iii 3, 4: *qui de Xenophontis Platonisque vita et moribus pleraque omnia exquisitissime scripsere, ... id non sinceræ neque amicae voluntatis indicium crediderunt, quod Xenophon inclito illi operi Platonis, quod de optimo statu reipublicae civitatisque administrandae scriptum est, lectis ex eo duobus fere libris, ... opposuit contra conscripsitque diversum regiae administrationis genus, quod παιδείας Κύρου inscriptum est. Eo facto scriptoque eius usque permotum esse Platonem ferunt, ut quodam in libro, mentione Cyri regis habita, retractandi levandique eius operis gratia, virum quidem Cyrum nazum et strenuum fuisse dixerit, παιδείας δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἡφθαί τὸ παράπαν: haec enim verba sunt de Cyro Platonis.* The passage to which A. Gellius refers in the last sentence is in the *de legibus* Book III c. 12, p. 694 C, where the Athenian interlocutor says:—*μαντεύομαι δὴ νῦν περὶ γε Κύρου τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν τε ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλόπολιν, παιδείας δὲ ὀρθῆς οὐχ ἡφθαί τὸ παράπαν.* But an examination of what follows will show at once that Plato is there speaking of the education, not of Cyrus himself, but of his sons, *οὓς περιείδεν ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τε καὶ εὐνοῦχων παιδευθέντας, ὅθεν ἐγένοντο οἷους ἦν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι.* Athenaeus *Deipnos*. XI 112 p. 504 C has put the same misinterpretation upon the passage. A. Boeckh in his treatise *de simultate quae Platoni cum Xenophonte intercessisse fertur* has sufficiently disposed of the allegation that there was any open misunderstanding between the two eminent Socratic writers.

⁵ *Hist. of the Literature of ancient Greece* Vol. II p. 194.

between the characters and destinies of the two authors, though they both worked out the Socratic principle, each in his own way. Both framed political theories at variance with the constitution of their own city, and endeavoured to recommend, by fiction or by argument, his own abstract speculations respecting the best form of government. Plato believed that the happiness of a state depended upon its having a philosophical ruler, under whose mild and beneficent sway every part of virtue would receive its due development. Xenophon's partialities were those of the mercenary soldier rather than those of the philosopher. Military men were his only heroes; he was prepared to idolize the younger Cyrus, he did idolize the Spartan Agesilaus, by whose side he fought against his own country and for whose sake he eulogized the Spartan constitution, while he depreciated that of Athens. As, however, no man, not even Agesilaus, and no state, not even Sparta, quite came up to the idea which he had formed of a country under the absolute government of a wise and warlike but perfectly virtuous prince, he turned back to Persia and its first Cyrus and, with reference no doubt to the younger Cyrus, whom he had wished to place on the Eastern throne, drew an elaborate picture of the various successes of the first Persian king, and the various measures which he took to secure the interests and happiness of his people.

According to Xenophon's description Cyrus was distinguished by an extraordinary combination of great qualities; he represents him as being perfect in wisdom and administrative talent; eager to instruct himself and so ambitious that he shrank from no effort, no danger. He is not only bravest of soldiers, a consummate general and orator, but endowed with every moral and physical excellence; exempt from every vice and weakness; distinguished by delicacy of mind, beauty of person, muscular strength and activity; a generous friend and benefactor, a merciful enemy; proof against the influence of pride, anger, malice and all other sensual or unseemly passions. Nor is this

Its hero, the type of a perfect social system.

Utopian perfection confined to his character; it extends to the success with which his undertakings are crowned. His life is a series not only of noble and virtuous actions, unsullied by any crime, but of prosperous enterprises, unalloyed by a single reverse. His wars are never wantonly undertaken, commonly forced on him by foreign aggression; and he conquers but to bestow those blessings of good government, which render his rule more acceptable to the subdued nations, than that of their legitimate sovereign⁶

Such is the glorious picture which Xenophon exhibits of his hero; such the splendid outfit of qualities with which he furnishes him; and the foundation of his vast empire—comprising the principal regions of Western and Central Asia—with the unshaken fidelity of all the heterogeneous people composing it, is represented as the reward of a laborious life spent in the active display of such qualities.

Neither in the substance of his narrative nor in its details has Xenophon paid any regard to historical truth, except so far as the facts of ^{Its historical element.} history were adapted to the spirit of his romance. With him Cyrus is the son of Cambysês, King of the Persians,

⁶ Mure *l.c.* p. 379—380. 'It can hardly be without foundation that both in Greek and Hebrew literature Cyrus is represented as the type of a just and gentle prince. In the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon, however mingled with fiction, he appears as no other barbaric sovereign that figured in Grecian story, humane, philosophic, religious. In the Jewish Prophet and Chronicler he is a Liberator and Benefactor of Israel, such as had never crossed their path. First of the great Asiatic kings, we can track him through the varying adventures of youth and age, from his cradle to his grave, and stand (as who could stand unmoved?) before the simple yet stately tomb of snow-white marble which still remains at Pasargadae, and once contained the golden coffin of 'Cyrus the King, the Achaemenian'.' Stanley's *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, 3rd Series p. 53 ed. 2. On the so-called 'Tomb of Cyrus' at Murg-Aub see below p. xl note 64.

and Mandanê, the daughter of Astyagês, King of the Medes before Cyaxarês. He was not only of royal, but of heroic lineage, being descended by his father's side from Perseus, the son of Zeus: on his mother's side he was heir apparent to the throne of Media, his uncle Cyaxarês having no son to succeed him. When twelve years of age, he was taken by his mother from his father's court, where he had been brought up in the strictest Persian discipline, to Media, in order to be shown to his grandfather, whose love and sympathy the boy soon earned by his remarkable liveliness and curiosity⁷. At the age of sixteen he performs his first deeds of arms. After an absence of four or five years at the court of Astyagês he is recalled to Persis, and passes through the ten-years' course of education prescribed for the *ἐφηβοί*. About the time when Cyrus attained man's estate Astyagês died, and was succeeded by his son Cyaxarês, the brother of Mandanê and uncle of Cyrus.

⁷ 'The liveliest part of the hero's biography is the account of his boyhood. The scenes at the court of Media are singularly pleasing sketches of domestic manners, whether Oriental or Greek. The all-engrossing interest of the kind-hearted old Astyagês in his little grandson, the matronly serenity and motherly anxiety of Mandanê, the playful humour and boyish precocity of the future conqueror, are characteristic and well-sustained. The convivial dialogue of the family circle at Ecbatana is also in better taste than that of the Babylonian banqueting-hall. Nor is the exuberant license of animal spirits ascribed at this early age to Cyrus inconsistent, as might on first view appear, with his subsequent character; it being certain, that both in our own species, and in the analogous case of various animals, such excess of vivacity in early youth, is often the forerunner of placid gravity in mature age. There is hence much ethnic spirit in the description of the ingenuous boy's growing consciousness of the propriety of assuming a more staid demeanour as he approaches manhood' (I iv 4). MURE *l.c.* Vol. V p. 409 ed. 2. Cf. Hermogenes *l.c.* p. 419: *κάν ταῖς μιμήσεσι δὲ τῶν προσώπων μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμεῖ (ὁ Ξενοφών), ὅτε ἀφελή καὶ ὡς ὄντως ἀπλαστοὶ καὶ ἀπλὰ καὶ ἡδέα ἦθῃ ψυχῶν μιμοῖτο, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κύρου παιδὸς ἐτι ὄντος, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.*

Soon after this event, the King of Assyria, whose empire already extended over a great part of Central Asia, collects a powerful army for the conquest of Media. Cyaxarês applies for aid to his brother-in-law. Cambysês sends the whole force of his kingdom under the command of Cyrus, who on joining his uncle sets about organizing the combined forces, so as to make them thoroughly efficient. Among his earliest achievements is the subjugation of the Armenians, who had been vassals of the Medes, followed by the subjection and conciliation of the neighbours on the south, the Chaldaeans (Gordyaeans), who dwelt in the mountains which separate the table-land of Armenia from the hilly country of Assyria⁸. With the combined Medo-Persian army, Cyrus, anticipating the movements of the Assyrians, advances to meet them on the frontier, and after a skilful course of strategic manoeuvres, with greatly inferior numbers, twice attacks and defeats them. After this success he prevails on his uncle to let him follow it up with the Persian contingent and volunteers from among the Medes. Thus, being invested with independent command, he continues his advance upon Assyria, and then receives the submission of some Assyrian tributaries. After ravaging unopposed

⁸ Cyr. III i; ii 1, 2, VII ii 5; Diod. Sic. xxxi 19. The extension of the Persian dominion to the East over Parthia and Hyrcania, the subjugation of the Drangians, Gedrôsiens, and Arachôti, must, in consideration of the observation of Herodotus, that in B.C. 548 Cyrus was intent on military preparations against the Bactrians and Sacae, and the urgent difficulties which at that time summoned him to the East, be placed in the later years of his reign; in fact, they cannot come earlier than the second decade; which does not, however, make it impossible that Cyrus should have fought against the Bactrians and Sacae in the first decade. The serious difficulty of Cyrus is shown by his rapid march back from Sardis with much the larger part of his army before the Greek cities, the Lycians and Carians were reduced. DUNCKER, *Hist. of Antiq.* tr. by E. Abbott, Vol. v p. 389.

the Assyrian territory up to the walls of Babylon, he postpones his attack on that city. Meanwhile the Assyrian monarch had collected and placed under the command of Croesus, King of Lydia, a much larger force, which, however, is routed by Cyrus in a decisive battle fought against Sardis. The Lydian metropolis surrenders, after a short siege, to the conqueror. The other states of Western Asia are rapidly subdued, and Cyrus ends by taking Babylon, the capital of Assyria, at which he establishes his court and the central seat of government, and adopts measures for consolidating his dominions, organising his offices of state and court ceremonial, and rewarding his companions in arms. After a solemn religious thanksgiving for his successes, he visits his royal uncle and his father. The former bestows on him his daughter in marriage and appoints him heir to the throne of Media. After the death of Cambysês Cyrus becomes King of Persis, and of Media likewise on the death of Cyaxarês. At a late period of his reign, Egypt and several new provinces of Southern and Eastern Asia are added to his former conquests. When far advanced in years, forewarned by a vision of his approaching end, he gathered round him his sons and chief officers of state, in whose presence he expires, after giving them much sound advice concerning their future conduct and the administration of his empire after his death.

With the death-bed scene Xenophon's narrative should have ended, but a long chapter of moral commentary is added, in which the writer describes how the precepts and example of Cyrus were set at nought by his successors and all his good arrangements reversed⁹.

⁹ The genuineness of this Epilogue has been questioned by modern critics, as contradicting the whole purpose of the work;

Such is Xenophon's version of the story of Cyrus. The narrative itself takes up but a small portion of the text: the greater part is engrossed with illustrative materials, in the form of set speeches or familiar dialogues in which Cyrus takes the leading part¹⁰.

'The principal action' says Colonel Mure¹¹ 'consists of two military campaigns, comprising three battles, two sieges, and the usual proportion of subordinate operations. Of dramatic plot the work is barren. The hero marches and fights steadily on, without a serious check to his career of victory. The episodes are all of one character, the successive defections to Cyrus of Assyrian subjects, dissatisfied with their own sovereign. They are in fact mere duplicates of each other. The action in the proper sense may also be said to be all on one side. The Medo-Persian camp or court is the only stage; Cyrus, his family and adherents, the only actors. Except one short address by "the Assyrian" to his army, no member of the adverse party is ever introduced on the foreground, unless in the capacity of a prisoner or a deserter. This skeleton of main narrative is fleshed up to its existing corpulence, by descriptions of military manœuvres and camp convivialities; disquisitions on the art

first by the eminent Dutch scholar L. C. Valckenaer, who, however, did not offer any detailed arguments in support of his view. An attempt to do so is made by D. Schulz in his treatise *De Cyropaediae epilogo Xenophonti abiudicando*, Halis Sax. 1806. His conclusions are challenged, partly at least, by F. A. Bornemann in his 'Der Epilog der Cyropädie etc.', Leipzig 1819. Mure *l.c.* p. 416 suggests that it may have been composed under the influence of some animosity on the part of Xenophon towards Persia and her institutions in his old age, as an antidote to any favourable impression left on the reader's mind by his previous narrative. K. Schenkl of Vienna in an article in the *NN Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Paedagog.* Vol. 83 p. 540—557 (quoted by Hertlein) proves that the Epilogue is so full of exaggerations, and wrong, obscure and even false assertions; of so much that is contradictory to the spirit and style of Xenophon's genuine writings, that there can be no doubt about its being a piece of bungling patchwork of a later date, in which the many, in part literal, coincidences with passages of the Cyropaedia and other writings of Xen. are to be regarded as a servile imitation.

¹⁰ Mure *l.c.* p. 379.

¹¹ *l.c.* p. 393.

of war in all its branches; on speculative points of moral and social economy; on the character and habits of Cyrus, his system of government, its provincial divisions and public institutions.'

In determining what portion of the apparently historical events, inwoven by Xenophon in his narrative, is to be considered true, what fictitious, it must be borne in mind that the fiction of Xenophon is of a particular kind—not the fiction which deals with the poetry of human life, still less that which deals with the fabulous in the sense of supernatural. His facts or events, if not actually true, are such as might have been true; and the characters introduced, if they did not actually exist in real life, were not at any rate superhuman, or inconceivable and impossible. But the personal history of Cyrus was so obscured under the veil of romance that even in the time of Herodotus it was no longer possible to detect the real truth. The Persians, no doubt, had songs and poems in which they glorified their national hero, the founder of their freedom and supremacy¹², of whom, as we know, they cherished the most grateful memories. But the Medes also might possess poems in which the transfer of supremacy or precedence from themselves to the Persians was treated from their particular point of view; they might attempt to make the loss of empire appear less painful, the dishonour of defeat less degrading¹³.

'The accounts in the West of the fall of Astyagès,' says Duncker (v p. 361) 'go back to two distinct versions, one of which we have in the narrative of Herodotus¹⁴, the other in the narrative of

¹² Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, Vol. VI p. 109, Engl. tran. See Herod. III 75, 86, 160, Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII viii 1, ii 7, Aesch. *Pers.* 768—770.

¹³ Duncker, *l. c.* Vol. V p. 367.

¹⁴ I c. 75—c. 214.

Ctêsias¹⁵-Nicolaus¹⁶, which is presupposed in Deinôn¹⁷ and

¹⁵ Ctêsias was a physician of Cnidos, a Lacedaemonian colony on the coast of the Asiatic Doris, born about B.C. 445. He passed seventeen years of his professional life at the court of Persia, fourteen in the service of Darius Ochus, three in that of his son Artaxerxês, whom he accompanied in his war against his brother Cyrus, and returned to Greece in B.C. 398. The *History of Persis and the Persian Empire* (Περσικά) from the earliest time to B.C. 378, in twenty-three books, his most important work, was said to have been written with the object of correcting the erroneous notions prevalent in Greece concerning Persia. According to Diodoros (II 32 and 22) he borrowed his materials from the Persian Archives (διφθέραι βασιλικαί) or State Chronicles, which appear to have contained chiefly the history of the royal family, the intrigues, incests, murders, parricides and other scandalous crimes of the Persian court, and of the attempts of the satraps to make themselves independent of the king. We possess only a meagre Epitome of the Περσικά by Photius, according to whom a ruling principle of its author's historical method was antagonism to his distinguished predecessor (fr. 29, 1, σχεδὸν ἐν ᾧπασιν ἀντικείμενα Ἡροδότῳ ἱστορῶν (Κτησίας), ἀλλὰ καὶ ψευστὴν αὐτὸν ἀπελέγχων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ λογοποιὸν ἀποκαλῶν κτλ.). Ctêsias has borne but a low character for credibility even among ancient writers. Aristotle declares he is unworthy of belief, Lucian and Plutarch hold him as a mere fabler (Artox. c. 1 μύθων ἀπιθάνων καὶ παραφύρων ἐμβέβληκεν ἐς τὰ βιβλία παντοδαπὴν πύλαιν), but the charges of falsehood were chiefly directed against his other principal work the *Indica*, which abounded in sensational stories and exaggerations. His style is commended by Photius for clearness, simplicity and suavity. His dialect is Ionic, but not so pure as that of Herodotus. 'The charm of his composition lies chiefly' says his Epitomator 'in his faculty of striking and pathetic and varied description'. Cf. Bähr, *Ctes. Reliq.* pp. 5, 22, C. Müller, *de vita et scriptis Ctesiae* ap. Didot's Herodotus, Paris, 1844.

¹⁶ Nicolaus of Damascus, an accomplished polyhistor, was born at that city B.C. 64. His principal work, entitled *Ἱστορίαι*, was compiled at the request of his intimate friend Herod the Great. It consisted of 144 Books (*Athenae*. VI p. 249 A). The seventh contains amongst other things an account of the fall of the Median and the rise of the Persian empire and the subjugation of Croesus. See fr. 66 ap. Müller's *fragm. hist. gr.* Vol. III p. 397 sqq. His credibility, of course, depends upon the authorities whom he follows. In this fragment he follows Ctêsias; his account of the Lydian empire is taken from Xanthos, or rather Dionysios of Mytilene. His history of Herod was the most complete, and Josephus in his *Antiq.* Books XIV—XVI availed himself largely of it. *Nikolaus von Damaskus, sein Leben und seine Schriften nebst Uebersetzung der noch erhaltenen Bruchstücke* von Friedr. Navet, Simmern, 1853.

¹⁷ All that is known of Deinôn is that he was the father of

Polyaenus¹⁸. In Trogus¹⁹ we have a third version, which combines the two. So far as Justin's Excerpt allows us to form an opinion, this version, and the fragments of Diodorus²⁰, are based upon the Persian history of Deinôn. * * * The detail and liveliness of the traits in the accounts of Herodotus and Ctêsius-Nicolaus, in the fragment of Deinôn, and the narrative of Trogus—the warnings and portents—the dialogues and speeches of the action—the letter:—all these point to poetic traditions as the ground-work. Herodotus²¹, at the beginning of his narrative, tells us:—‘I write these matters from the accounts given by some of the Persians, who do not exaggerate the life of Cyrus, but wish to narrate the order of events; I am aware that three other different accounts of the life of Cyrus are in existence.’ Xenophon²²

Cleitarchus, the historian of Alexander's expedition (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* x 70), and that he was the author of a History in three parts (*συντάξεις*), of which the first related to Assyria, the second to Media, and the third to Persia (*Περσικά* or *Περσική πραγματεία*). Cornelius Nepos refers to the latter, as the most trustworthy authority on the subject (vit. Conon. c. 5 *Dion historicus cui nos plurimum de rebus Persicis credimus*). It is also quoted by Cic. *de div.* i 23, 46. He is quoted by Lucian (Macrobi. c. 15) and several times by Plutarch in his *Life of Artaxerxes*. See Müller *fr. hist. gr.* vol. II pp. 88—95.

¹⁸ Polyaenus, the Macedonian, the author of the *στρατηγήματα*, lived about the middle of the second century A.D. His work contains a great number of anecdotes and some historical facts, which otherwise would have remained unknown; but their value is diminished by our ignorance of the sources which he relied on. There are several notices by him of Cyrus in Book VII ch. 6.

¹⁹ Trogus Pompeius, who lived in the time of Augustus, was the author of *Historiae Philippicae*, which was intended to be a history of the Macedonian monarchy only, but, owing to its many excursions, it covered a very wide field of investigation, and included an account of the various states, which became subject to or were in any way connected with the Macedonians. The original work is lost, but we possess an anthology of it in that of Justinus.

²⁰ Diodorus Siculus, a contemporary of Caesar and Augustus, the author of the *Βιβλιοθήκη* or Universal History from the earliest ages down to his own time—valuable because it contains materials from a number of writers whose works have perished.

²¹ I c. 95 *ὡς ὧν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σερμῶν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κῦρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι.*

²² *Cyrop.* I ii i. λέγεται καὶ ᾄδεται ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων.

tells us that Cyrus 'is even now the theme of song among the barbarians.' In Deinôn's fragment²³ it is Angares, the most famous of the Median minstrels, who, while singing at the table of Astyagês, warns him in a poetical figure against Cyrus; in the account of Nicolaus²⁴ it is one of the singing women, from whom, at the same time, and in a similar figure, this warning comes. At the court of the Sassanids there were singing women who sang to the kings the achievement of old days. * * * According to these statements and indications we may regard it as certain that the elevation of Cyrus and the fall of Astyagês were celebrated in song among the Persians and Medes.'

Prof. Duncker is of opinion that the narrative of Herodotus faithfully represents the contents of Median poetry of this kind, while in that of Ctêsius and Nicolaus of Damascus we have the Persian account before us and a mixture of the two in the Excerpt from Trogus. Ctêsius and Herodotus are at variance with each other in many points, but they agree in ascribing the overthrow of the Median Empire to the Persians under Cyrus after a prolonged resistance, as Xenophon also does when writing as an historian and not as a novelist²⁵.

²³ ap. Athenae. XIV p. 633 C: τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων τὰς πράξεις καὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ὕμνους δι' ᾧδῆς ἐποιοῦντο.....τὸ δὲ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐσώζετο, ὥς φησι Δεῖνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς. τὴν γοῦν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἐσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀστυάγην προείδοντο οἱ ὧδοί. 'ὅτε γὰρ (φησὶν) γήγησας τὴν εἰς Πέρσας ἀποδημίαν ὁ Κύρος· ἐγεγόνει δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν ραβδοφόρων, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλοφόρων καὶ ἀπήλθεν· εὐωχουμένου οὖν τοῦ Ἀστυάγου μετὰ τῶν φίλων τότε, Ἀγγάρης ὄνομα, οὗτος δ' ἦν τῶν ᾧδων ὁ ἐνδοξότατος, ἦδεν εἰσκληθεὶς τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν εἰθιμῶν καὶ τὸ ἔσχατον εἶπεν ὡς ἀφείται εἰς τὸ ἔλος θηρίον μέγα, θρασύτερον ὑδὸς ἀγρίου· ὃ ἂν κυριεύσῃ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν (αὐτὸ Meineke) τόπων, πολλοὶς μετ' ὀλίγων (ὀλίγων C. Müller) ῥαδίως μαχεῖται· ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀστυάγου, ποῖον θηρίον; ἔφη Κύρου τὸν Πέρσην. νομίσας οὖν ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑπωπτευκέναι καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος οὐδὲν ᾤνησεν.'

²⁴ Her words are:—ὁ λέων τὸν κάπρον ὑποχείριον ἔχων μεθήκεν εἰς τὰς λόχμας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, ἐν αἷς κρείττων γενόμενος πολὺν πόνον αὐτῷ παρέξει καὶ τελευτῶν ἀσθενέστερος ὢν τὸν ἰσχυρότερον χειρώσεται.

²⁵ Anab. III iv 7, 12 where on occasion of the Ten Thousand

‘About the origin of Cyrus’ says Duncker²⁴ ‘there is no doubt. He was the son of Cambysês, the grandson of Teispês, the great-grandson of Achaemenês, who united the Persian tribes under his leadership, and recognised the sovereignty of Phraortês the Median king. As Cyaxarês and Astyagês followed Phraortês on the throne of Media, so did Teispês and Cambysês follow Achaemenês as his viceroys or vassal kings over Persis²⁵....According to the previous custom, the viceroyalty of Persis would descend, at the death of Cambysês, to his son Cyrus’.

The *Cyropaedia* agrees with Herodotus²⁶ in describing Mandanê as daughter of Astyagês, wife of Cambysês and mother of Cyrus. But the circumstances under which the marriage is contracted, and the heir born and educated, differ widely in the two legends. Ctêsius²⁷, on the other hand, makes Cyrus not the son, but the husband, of the Median king’s daughter, espoused by him after the subjugation of her father’s territory. Both these traditions are embodied in the *Cyropaedia*, where Cyrus, himself the son of Mandanê, secured his succession to the throne of Media, by marrying late in life his first cousin, daughter of his maternal uncle Cyaxarês, the then reigning sovereign of that country.

passing the ruined cities of Larissa (*Chalah*) and Mespila (*Nineveh*) on the Tigris he observes that both resisted the attempts of the Persian king to take them by storm (βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάβανον Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο εἰλεῖν), and that the latter afforded a refuge to the Median Queen, ὅτε ἀπώλλυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι, and that the Persians could not take it either by length of siege or by storm, until Zeus had dazed the inhabitants by lightning; then the city was taken. In the *Cyropaedia*, on the other hand, he says (I i 4) ἐκόντων ἡγήσατο Μῆδων, cf. VIII v 19.

²⁴ Vol. v p. 378.

²⁵ See p. xxv.

²⁶ I c: 75, c. 107 sqq.

²⁷ See below p. xxv.

25 FAMILY TREE OF THE ACHAEMENIDAE

(From Rawlinson's *Translation of Herodotus*, Vol. IV p. 254, ed. 3).

I. ACHAEMENĒS (Hakhámanish), about B.C. 700

(Herod. III 75, VII 12; Behistun Inscr. Col. I Par. 2)

2. Teispés (Chishpaish)

(Herod. *ibid.*; Beh. Inscr. *ibid.*)

3. Cambysés I (Kambujiya)

(Diod. Sic. ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 1158)

4. Cyrus I about B.C. 600

(Herod. I 111)

5. Cambysés II *m. Mandanê*

(Xen. Cyr. I ii 1; Herod. I 107; Brick from Senkereh)

6. CYRUS II the Great, *m. Cassandânê*

(reigned from B.C. 558 to B.C. 529).

(Ezra i 1; Daniel vi 28; Herod. Murg-Aub Inscr. etc.)7. Cambysés III *m. Atossa*

(Herod. II i; Beh. Inscr. Col. I Par. 10).

He is probably the

Ahasuerus of Ezra iv 6.

8. Smerdis

(Herod. III 30; Beh. Inscr. Col. I Par. 10).

*Parnys d.

m. Darius

(Herod. III 88).

9. *Atossa d.

(Her. III 68, 88; VII 3 *ad fin.* Aesch. *Pers.* 157, 199).*m. 1 Cambysés III,**2 Gotamés,**3 Darius.*

10. *Artystoné,

m. Darius (Herod. III 88, VII 69).

II. A daughter,

m. Cambysés III (Herod III 31).

Ariaramnês

Arsamês

Hystaspês

m. Darius I. m.**

The inscription referred to above is the famous trilingual rock inscription of *Behistun*, on the western frontier of Persia, which was transcribed by Sir H. C. Rawlinson in 1844. The same distinguished explorer and scholar published a translation of the Persian column in 1886. It proved to be the record by Darius I (whose effigy is sculptured on the tablets) of the

The account of Herodotus²⁸ is this:—Astyagês had a vision, the interpretation of which by the Magians caused him to marry his daughter not to a Mede of suitable rank but to a Persian, named Cambysês, who was of a good family and of a quiet disposition, whom he regarded as of less account than a middle-class Mede. Soon after her marriage he had a second vision, which seemed to portend that his daughter's child was destined to reign in his place. On her giving birth to a son, he ordered his most faithful servant Harpagos to take the child and kill it; but Harpagos, unwilling to be the perpetrator of the murder, gave it to one of the royal cow-herds, Mitradatês by name, to expose on the mountains. On returning to his hut, the herdsman found that his wife Spako (=Greek *Κυνά*, *spak* being the Median word for *κύων* 'dog') had just been confined of a still-born child. This they substituted for the royal infant, who was reared as the herdsman's son. When he was ten years old, an incident happened which betrayed his parentage. In the village sports, he was chosen by his playfellows to be king. He assigned to every one his work; one was to build houses, another to be a lance-bearer, one he made 'the king's eye', another his 'messenger'. Among the boys was the son of Artembarês, a Median nobleman, whom Cyrus whipped severely for disobedience. The boy's father complained to the King, who sent for Mitradatês and his son, in whose person and high spirit he discovered the child of his daughter. When he had found out the truth, he was more enraged with Harpagos than with Mitradatês; and revenged himself on him by serving him with the flesh of his own child at a banquet. The King, satisfied with the assurance of the Magians that, as the boy had already been hailed 'king' in sport, the dream was fulfilled, sent him back to his parents in Persia. When Cyrus was grown up, Harpagos sought to make him the instrument of vengeance on Astyagês. The roads being guarded, he prepared a hare by cutting open the belly without further injury to the skin, and inserted therein a letter and closed the opening again. This hare he gave with some nets to the most faithful of his slaves, and sent him, disguised as a hunter, to Persia with a strict injunction to take the hare to Cyrus

²⁸ I c. 107—c. 130. Cf. Justin. Trogi Pompei *Hist. Phil. Epit.* 14: *neque claro viro neque civi filiam suam, ne paterna maternaque nobilitas nepoti animos extolleret, sed ex gente obscura tum temporis Persarum Cambysi, mediocri viro, in matrimonium tradidit.*

and to see that no one was present when he opened it. The object of the letter was to induce Cyrus to set up the standard of revolt and dethrone the king. Cyrus, after thinking the matter over, wrote down his intentions in a letter and summoned an assembly of Persians, before whom he read out the contents, viz. that Astyagês had appointed him general of the Persians, and ended by giving notice that every one must appear with a sickle. When they were all assembled, sickle in hand, Cyrus made them clear between two and three square miles of rough bush-land, and make it fit for cultivation in a single day. When they had done so, he told them to assemble again on the next day, after bathing. Then he had all his father's goats, sheep and oxen, brought together, slaughtered and dressed, and gave them all a sumptuous entertainment; after which he asked them which they preferred, yesterday's or that day's proceedings. They replied that the difference was indeed great; on one they had had every kind of enjoyment, on the other every kind of trouble²⁹. Thereupon Cyrus discovered his aims to them, saying: 'Men of Persia, if you follow me, blessings like those of to-day will be yours, without any servile labour; if not, endless troubles, like those of yesterday²⁹. Follow me and become free. I was born to undertake this work, by the favour of the gods, and I look upon you as in no way inferior to the Medes in war or anything else. Therefore revolt from Astyagês at once. The Persians were ready enough to liberate themselves; they had long been dissatisfied with their subjection to the Medes and only required a leader.' Astyagês, on hearing this, summons Cyrus to his presence, who replies that he would come before Astyagês wished. Then the king armed all the Medes and, as though blinded by the gods, appointed Harpagos of all persons as general, entirely forgetting the injury he had inflicted on him. In the engagement, some of the Medes who were not privy to the conspiracy, fought, but the greater part fled without making any resistance; and a shameful rout ensued. Thus Astyagês lost his throne after reigning

²⁹ Cf. Justin, *l. c. c. 6*:—*Ibi (sc. at Persepolis) convocato populo (Cyrus) iubet omnes praesto cum securibus esse et silvam viae circumdatam excidere. Quod cum strenue fecissent, eosdem postera die apparatis epulis invitât: dein cum alacriores ipso convivio factos videret, rogât: si conditio ponatur, utrius vitae sortem legant, hesterni laboris an praesentium epularum? Praesentium ut adclamaverent omnes, ait hesterno similem labori omnem vitam acturos, quoad Medis pareant: se secutos, hodiernis epulis.*

35 years, and, owing to his cruelty, the Medes became subject to the Persians. Cyrus did no injury to Astyagês, but kept him with him till his death.

In the *Περσικά* of Ctêsias the story of the fall of Astyagês occupied more than one book. But all we know from it is that, in contradiction to the story of Herodotus, Astyagês is represented as being no relation to Cyrus, his daughter's name is not Mandanê but Amytis, and she is married to Spitamas a Mede, not to the Persian Cambysês. The counsellor of Cyrus is not the Median Harpagos, but the Persian Oebarês or Hoebarês.

But the extant fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus, which gives the narrative with circumstantial fulness, compensates for the loss of these Books of Ctêsias. According to him Cyrus was the son of Atradatês of the Mardian tribe, whose poverty forced him to live by plunder, and Argostê, who made her living by keeping goats. He served in several menial capacities in the household of Astyagês and rose high in favour with the king as his cupbearer. A dream of his mother, being interpreted by the Chaldeans to portend his future greatness, roused his ambition. It happened that he was sent by the King of Media to assist Onaphernês, chief of the Cadusians, who was a traitor to his people in the interest of Astyagês. Cyrus, instigated by others and particularly by Oebarês or Hoebarês, sent to his father Atradatês, who had in the meantime been made a satrap, to arm the Persians on pretence of fighting against the Cadusians. Cyrus makes a confidant of Oebarês, with whom he sets out again, having obtained the king's leave, for Persia. In his absence Astyagês is informed of the dream of Cyrus' mother, and his suspicions are aroused against Cyrus and he sends a strong force to bring him back, alive or dead, with all haste. But Cyrus eludes the pursuit of the Medes and raises the standard of rebellion in concert with his father. Astyagês marches against the rebels with a vast host, and defeats them, after two days' fighting; and the discomfited Persians fall back upon a position in front of Pasargadae, where another severe struggle ended in favour of the Persians, who slew 60,000 Medes. The King of the Medes is taken prisoner in the route which ensues; his sceptre falls into the hands of Cyrus, who is saluted by his army 'King of Media and Persia', as Oebarês places the *κίθαρις* or emblem of royalty upon his head.

Certain traits, it will be seen, are common to all these three narratives, notwithstanding the discrepancies between them.

Polyaenus (*Strateg.* 7, 6; 7, 45) repeats the story of Herodotus as to the manner in which the Persians were induced by Cyrus to revolt. A war between the Medes and Persians followed, and Cyrus sustained a defeat thrice. He was compelled to risk yet another battle in defence of the Persian women and children who were at Pasargadae³⁰. The Persians were put to flight; Oebarês was falling back when the women met the fugitives and cried out to them 'Cowards, whither would ye fly, will ye creep back into the bosoms that bare you?' The Persians halted, and as the Medes were pursuing without order, gained a decisive victory over them.

The successful rebellion of Cyrus altered at one blow the state of Asia. He secured independence for Persis, and established his dominion in Media without disturbance. Its king, Astyagês, after a reign of 35 years, fell into the hands of Cyrus either in the encounter itself or at the subsequent capture of Ecbatana in B.C. 558³¹. All accounts agree in stating that he was treated generously and with clemency by his conqueror³².

'The revolution, in which Cyrus was the chief actor, was

³⁰ Anaximenês of Lampsakos, the contemporary of Aristotle and Strabo, relates that Cyrus built Pasargadae at the place where he had overcome Astyagês in battle. Strabo Geogr. XIV iii 8 p. 730 confirms the statement: τοὺς δὲ Πασαργάδας ἐτίμησε Κύρος, ὅτι τὴν ὑστάτην μάχην ἐνίκησεν Ἀστυάγην ἐνταῦθα τὸν Μῆδον, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας μετήγεγεν εἰς αὐτόν. καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ βασιλείον κατεσκεύασε τῆς νίκης μνημεῖον. So also Plutarch *de mulier. virt.* c. 5, *vit. Alex.* c. 69, in a very definite way.

³¹ According to Fr. Lenormant and Duncker. Diodorus, whom Clinton follows, puts the beginning of Cyrus at B.C. 560. The Median Empire appears to have been established about B.C. 647.

³² According to Herodotus I 130 Ἀστυαγέα Κύρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἑωυτῷ ἐς δ' ἐτελεύτησε. Ctésias says that he was entrusted with the satrapy of the Barcanians, a people bordering on the Hyrcanians, and that he outlived his fall ten years; according to Pompeius Trogus he was made satrap of the Hyrcanians themselves.

obviously, in some degree, a religious revolt. Cyrus was, we know, a zealous adherent to the Zoroastrian faith in the Unity of God: and had been brought up at a court, where Magism, or the worship of the elements prevailed. It is also likely that he fled the court of the Median king from a natural disgust at the falsity and frivolity he saw around him'. W. S. VAUX, *Persia*, p. 18.

The next period of the life of Cyrus is involved in obscurity. He was engaged in a series of wars, which lasted for several years. 'Soon after his victory, he appears to have reduced the Parthians and Hyrcanians³³ beneath his dominion; the Cadusians³⁴, the Armenians and the Cappadocians³⁵ became his subjects before the Lydian war, i.e. in the first eight years after the overthrow of Astyagês, and his empire extended at this period as far as the river Halys³⁶. How far he had

³³ In Nicolaus, when the news is spread abroad of the flight of Astyagês in the first battle in Media, the chief of the Hyrcanians comes with 50,000 men to pay homage to Cyrus as sovereign in the room of Astyagês. Xenophon (v iii 22) represents the Hyrcanians as joining Cyrus at an early date, and the Cadusians follow their example, which harmonises with the view taken in the Persian poems of the hatred of the Cadusians to the Medes. Duncker *l. c.* Vol. v p. 386.

³⁴ Duncker *l. c.* Vol. vi p. 100. The name of the city Cyropolis on the Caspian Sea, is a proof that Cyrus placed a fortress there, in order to keep them or their neighbours in check; and under the successors of Cyrus the Cadusians are always mentioned as subjects, *ib.* Vol. v p. 388.

³⁵ In his narrative of the events of the year B.C. 549 Herodotus remarks that the Cappadocians were subject to Cyrus, having previously been subjects of the Medes. Duncker *ib.* p. 388, who adds 'The legends of the Cappadocians conceal their subjugation to Cyrus under supposed links of alliance; Cambysês, the father of Cyrus, had given his own sister Atossa in marriage to Pharnacês, the king of the Cappadocians, Xen. Cyr. III i, ii 1, 2; VII ii 5, Diodor. Sic. xxxi 19'.

³⁶ It is clear from repeated statements that at this time the Halys was the western border of the Empire of Cyrus. Croesus, when he has crossed the Halys, is at once in Persian territory; Herod. i cc. 72, 73. Duncker *ib.*

mitted to him⁵³; Polybius⁵⁴ observes that Gaza alone among all the cities of Syria offered resistance. With the capture of Gaza Cyrus stood on the borders of Egypt⁵⁵ then highly flourishing under the long and prosperous reign of Amasis, but the invasion of that country was left for his son Cambysés. Thus 'the ancient kingdom of Babylon, in which the civilisation of the Shemitic stock had taken root some fifteen centuries previously, and had attained to such peculiar development, which had struggled so long and stubbornly against the younger kingdom of Assyria, and when it finally succumbed, had been raised to yet greater power than it had ever attained to in old times, under the brilliant reigns of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar—which had united the branches of the Shemitic stem from the Tigris to the Mediterranean, from the foot of the Armenian mountains to the deserts of Arabia—had succumbed to the attack of Cyrus after a brief existence, 69 years after the fall of Nineveh. The predominance exercised for so many centuries by Shemitic culture and Shemitic arms through the old Babylonian, the Assyrian, and the second Babylonian kingdom, passed to a tribe of different character, language and culture—to the Aryans of Iran⁵⁶'.

⁵³ Herod. III c. 19; cf. Xen. Cyr. I i 4 κατεστρέψατο Σύρου... Φοίνικας.

⁵⁴ XVI 40 (22 a ed. Hultsch) κατὰ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον ἐκπλαγέντων τῶν ἄλλων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυναστείας, καὶ πάντων ἐγχειρισάντων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πατρίδας Μήδοις, (οἱ Γαζαῖοι) μόνον τὸ δεινὸν ὑπέμειναν πάντες, τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀναδεξάμενοι.

⁵⁵ Duncker VI p. 90. Cf. Plato Menex. c. 9 p. 239 E:—ὦν (βασιλέων) ὁ πρῶτος Κῦρος... τοὺς δεσπότας Μήδους ἐδουλώσατο καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας μέχρι Αἰγύπτου ἥρξεν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Αἰγύπτου τε καὶ Λιβύης ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἦν ἐπιβαίνειν.

⁵⁶ For the sentiment comp. E. Quinet *du Génie des religions* Bk. IV ch. I p. 301 (Paris 1842):—'Autant l'extrême Orient semble immobile, autant ces peuples zends s'agitent dès le berceau. C'est avec eux que le mouvement de l'histoire commence, et que l'humanité se jette dans cette inquiétude qui ne finira plus. Un vague instinct les pousse à la conquête de tout ce qui les entoure; ils ont besoin d'imposer leur foi, leurs symboles, leurs dieux; ils veulent être les apôtres du monde. Descendus des hauteurs de la Bactriane, ces peuples, hardis cavaliers, se précipitent tête baissée contre la race de Sem, Babylone, la Chaldée, l'Empire d'Assyrie, qui, livrés à l'industrie, deviennent bientôt leur proie. Cet empire Persan n'a point de repos qu'il n'ait tout subjugué, depuis l'Indus jusqu'à l'Halys. Un peu après, Cambyse y jouit

The fall of Babylon led also to another result; it brought to a Shemitic tribe liberation for its fellow-Shemites. The hopes of the Jews were at last fulfilled; and the subjugation of Syria to the armies of Persia opened the way for their return from exile. The motives of Cyrus for the restoration of the Jews may well have been of a mixed kind; he may have been strongly interested in the only monotheistical people dwelling near him, and must naturally have desired to conciliate them and secure their neutrality, if not active support, in the designs which he had already entertained against Egypt⁵⁷.

With such data as we possess, it is impossible, as it has been already stated, to fix with certainty the further conquests which Cyrus achieved after the Babylonian War. 'We may regard it as certain' says Duncker 'that he had gone beyond Gedrôsia and reduced the Gandarians on the south of the Cabul on the Indus and the Açvakas to the north of the Cabul⁵⁸; that he afterwards advanced to the Indus⁵⁹ and that his army was

l'Égypte; mais déjà l'Asie est trop étroite pour la mission de ces croyans; l'Orient soumis, il faut s'emparer de l'Europe,...par une véritable émigration de l'Orient en Occident. Sans doute la Grèce n'attend que l'arrivée du grand roi pour se courber sous les pas: l'éducation de l'Europe se fera sous le joug de l'Asie. Après avoir fouetté l'Hellespont, reste à entendre sa plainte à Salamine'. Cp. Dr Upham 'The wise men' p. 115, quoted also by Stanley *Hist. of the Jewish Church* Vol. III p. 54. 'For one brilliant moment the Persian, like the Greek afterwards and the Roman at a still later time, was the central man of the world'. Prof. E. A. Freeman enlarges on this text in a striking passage in his *Lectures on the chief periods of European History* p. 27—p. 29.

⁵⁷ Herod. I c. 153. Duncker Vol. VI pp. 92—93. See Ezra ch. i. The restoration of the Jews forms a subject of prediction to the three greater prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. See Isaiah xiii 19, 20, xiv 3, xxi 9—10, xli 2, xlv, xlv, xlv 11; Jerem. xxv 1, xxix 10—13, xxx 20, xlv 28; Ezek. ii, xii, xxiii &c. The person appointed to be the restorer, and the medium of restoration, are both foretold.

⁵⁸ Arrian *Indic.* I c. i—3. Duncker *l.c.* p. 102.

⁵⁹ That he did not cross the Indus or set foot in India appears from a statement of Megasthenes in Strabo xv i 6 p. 686: *αναποφαίνεται δὲ καὶ Μεγασθένης τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ...Πέρσας μισθοφόρους μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μεταπέμψασθαι Ἰδρακας ἐκεῖ δὲ μὴ στρεψέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν μόνον, ἥνικα Κύρος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας,*

brought into great distress in the deserts of Gedrôsia (the S.E. part of Beloochistan)'.

With the conquest of Sogdiana on the western slope of the Belurdagh he touched the course of the Jaxartês. There, on a stream running into that river, he built a large fortress to secure the border against the incursion of the Nomads of the steppes beyond, which, like the fortress in the land of the Cadusians, was called by his own name Cyreschata i.e. the farthest Cyrus. In its neighbourhood were six other citadels⁶⁰. Thus in thirty years from being chief of the Persian tribes Cyrus had become sovereign of Asia; he had subjugated three great kingdoms—Media, Lydia and Babylonia; and he left the Persian empire extending from Sogdiana and the river Jaxartês and Indus eastward, to the Hellespont and the Syrian coast westward. As Xenophon says, his kingdom extended from regions which are rendered uninhabitable by heat, to others which are uninhabitable for the cold⁶¹. Henceforward Cyrus fixed his usual residence at Babylon, while Susa, between Babylonia and Persia proper, became his residence in spring, and Ecbatana in summer⁶²; Persepolis and Pasargadae—the ancient place of assembly and metropolis of the so-called tribe—were reserved for the burial place of the kings and the religious sanctuary of the empire.

Cf. Arrian *Anab.* VI xxiv 3: ἐλθεῖν γὰρ εἰς (λέγουσι) καὶ Κῶρον εἰς τοὺς χώρους τοὺτους ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντα εἰς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, φθάσαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπολέσαντα τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς.

⁶⁰ See note 34. The town was destroyed by Alexander, Strabo XI p. 517—8; Arrian *Anab.* IV ii 2; Q. Curtius VII vi 16.

⁶¹ Xen. *Cyr.* VIII vi 21. Cf. the language of Cyrus the younger before the battle of Cunaxa, *Anab.* I vii 6 ἔστι μὲν ἡμῶν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ πατρίδα πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὗ διὰ καύμα οὐ δύνανται οἱ κείν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὗ διὰ χειμῶνα.

⁶² Xen. *Cyr.* VIII vi 22.

The last seven years of his reign and the manner of his death are wrapt in the mist of poetical legend. From the various current narratives Herodotus⁶³ avowedly chose that which appeared to him most worthy of credit (*πιθανώτατος*), in other words most romantic, as fulfilling the historic irony:—how he made an attack on the Massagetae, Nomads under the rule of Queen Tomyris and closely resembling the Scythians, in which the greater part of the Persian army perished, and Cyrus himself fell after a reign of 29 years. He was buried at Pasargadae⁶⁴, where his tomb was honoured and watched until the breaking up of the empire.

As to the regulations with which he is credited for

⁶³ I c. 205—214. Cf. Arrian IV xi 9, V iv 5; Justin I 8; Diod. Sic. II 44 who marks even more strongly the king's shameful death. According to Ctésias (*Persica* c. 6—c. 8) Cyrus died in camp of wounds received in a battle with the Derbikes, a people in the neighbourhood of Bactria, though his army afterwards conquered the country. This excerpt also, like the narrative of Herodotus, with which it has certain points of agreement, betrays its poetical origin. It contains probably the Persian account, while the Median is represented in Herodotus. 'Of these two authors Ctésias perhaps is the less untrustworthy. On his authority, conjoined with that of Herodotus, it may be considered certain, 1. That Cyrus died a violent death; and 2. That he received his death-wound in fight; but against what enemy must continue a doubtful point. According to Xenophon (Cyr. VIII vii) he died peacefully in his bed'. Rawlinson Herod. Vol. I p. 330 n. 9.

⁶⁴ According to the account of Aristobulus, one of the companions of Alexander, reported by Strabo XV p. 1036, and more circumstantially by Arrian *Anab.* VI 29. The tomb at *Murg-Aub* (a view of which is given in Rawlinson's Herod. I p. 334, taken from Ker Porter's Travels vol. I pp. 498—506) is somewhat like the description given in these authors, but 'the site' says Duncker (vol. VI p. 128 note 1) 'will not allow us to regard it as the tomb at Pasargadae. It must be a building which one of his successors has dedicated to the memory of the great king. The profile in the relief confirms to some degree Plutarch's statement that Cyrus had an aquiline nose and the Persians therefore considered such noses (*τῶν γρυπῶν*) the most becoming, *Præc. reip. ger.* c. 28'.

the management of this great empire, we are almost entirely destitute of information. The Greeks ascribed to him the foundation of excellent institutions; Plato⁶⁵ even puts him on the same level as Lycurgus, the founder of the constitution of Sparta. The same writer tells us⁶⁶ that the monarchical form of government attained its perfection among the Persians, as the democratic did among the Athenians; but as the one pursued absolute dominion, the other unlimited freedom, neither of them attained the correct limit⁶⁷, though they had originally kept within due bounds; that in the time of Cyrus they were in a condition midway between slavery and freedom; they became free, and afterwards masters of others, and while ruling, had given their subjects a share in freedom and treated them on an equal footing; that for this reason the soldiers were devoted to their officers and fought bravely; that any intelligent man, able to give wise counsel, was allowed by Cyrus to express his opinion freely and openly, and, as he paid honour to those who could give good advice, Cyrus thus utilized private judgment for the public service: and the result was general progress and advancement arising from their freedom, concord and common deliberation⁶⁸. It is clear that the new kingdom rested on the power and devotion of the Persians, whose conceptions of political society went no farther than personal obedience to a chief; they were the ruling tribe besides the sovereign; the territory

⁶⁵ Epist. ad Dion. p. 320.

⁶⁶ de legg. III c. 12 p. 693 D τῆς μὲν (μοναρχίας) τὸ Περσῶν γένος ἄκρον ἔχειν, τῆς δὲ (δημοκρατίας) ἡμᾶς.

⁶⁷ *ib.* ἡ μὲν τὸ μοναρχικόν, ἡ δὲ τὸ ἐλευθέρον ἀγαπήσασα μειζόνως ἢ ἔδει μόνον, οὐδετέρα τὰ μέτρια κέκτηται τούτων.

⁶⁸ *ib.* πάντα δὴ τότε ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς δι' ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ νοῦ κοινωνίαν. Cic. de rep. I c. 27 calls Cyrus *iustissimum sapientissimumque regem*.

of Persia proper paid no tribute to Susa or Ecbatana—being the only district so exempted between the Jaxartês and the Mediterranean. Empire to the Persians meant—for the great men satrapies or pachalics, with powers altogether unlimited—for the common soldiers, drawn from their fields or flocks, constant plunder and abundant maintenance, either in the suite of one of the satraps or in the large permanent troop which moved from Susa to Ecbatana with the great king⁶⁹. Industrious pursuits were left to the conquered, who were fortunate if by paying a fixed contribution, and rendering a military contingent when required, they could purchase undisturbed immunity for their remaining concerns.

According to Xenophon the relation of Cyrus to the Persians rested on a kind of compact. When his son had subjugated the nations far and wide, Cambysês collected the elders of the Persians and the officers who held the highest places, and told them the Persians had elected Cyrus to be their general, and given him the army; Cyrus had extended their power over Asia, and gained glory among all men; he had made the bravest men in the army rich, and found pay and food for all the soldiers. If this relation were maintained, it would be for the advantage of both parties; if, on the other hand, Cyrus sought to rule over the Persians for the sake of aggrandisement, as over other nations, or the Persians should attempt to take the command from him, each would do the greatest harm to the other. Let Cyrus therefore covenant to protect Persia and uphold the Persian laws, and the Persians to render Cyrus any service that he needed against rebellion and enemies. ‘After me’ Cambysês concludes ‘Cyrus will be king, and whenever he comes to Persia, he will offer for you the sacrifice which I am offering now. If he is in a foreign land, it will be best for the noblest of our family to offer the sacrifice to the gods’. The proposal of Cambysês was approved by Cyrus and the Persians, with invocation to the gods; and the arrangement is still observed on both sides⁷⁰.

⁶⁹ Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. IV p. 290 ed. 1, Part II c. XXXIII.

⁷⁰ Cyrop. VIII v 22—27.

We are now brought back to the consideration of the original subject of enquiry, viz. the amount of historical truth to be found in the substance of Xenophon's narrative. We have already noticed his own testimony⁷¹ that, even assuming the different story told there to be one of the four varieties of Oriental tradition mentioned by Herodotus⁷², it has not been selected by him on account of its historical reality, but of its better adaptation to the spirit of his romance⁷³. In the last-quoted extract the conquests of Cyrus are represented as having been made during the lifetime of his father Cambysês and therefore before he succeeded him as king. In regard to their extent also the *Cyropaedia* differs from other strictly historical accounts. It represents all the provinces comprehended in the Persian empire at the climax of its greatness, as having been acquired and transmitted to his heirs by Cyrus. We have seen, however, that Egypt was first reduced by his son Cambysês⁷⁴, and the small portion of India, if any, that Persia ever possessed was, according to Herodotus⁷⁵, acquired by Darius.

Cyaxarês⁷⁶, the uncle of Cyrus, is a person unknown

⁷¹ See p. xxiii note 25.

⁷² See p. xxii note 21.

⁷³ Mure *l. c.* Vol. v p. 382.

⁷⁴ See p. xxxvii note 55.

⁷⁵ IV c. 44. According to Arrian *Indic.* i i the Indians on the east of the R. Indus had been brought into subjection previously. See quotation p. xxxviii n. 58. On the other hand he says *ib. c. 9*: ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα ('Ἴνδοι λέγουσιν) ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς γῆν τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, οὐδὲ Κῆρον τὸν Καμβυσέω. See also the quotation from Strabo p. xxxviii n. 59.

⁷⁶ 'He is also the only character of the *Cyropaedia*, distinguished by genuine ethic spirit; his petty vices form a sort of offset to the lofty virtue of his nephew. A naturally well-disposed, but weak man, he is a kind parent to Cyrus in his infancy, and gratefully appreciates his youthful services for the common weal.

to authentic history. The only other character possessing in common with Cyrus himself, his father, mother and grandfather, claim to historical reality is Croesus, king of Lydia. In respect to his affairs Xenophon is also at issue with Herodotus⁷⁷ and all other classical authorities. By these Croesus is represented as a first cousin, friend and ally of Astyagês, king of Media. On the usurpation of that kingdom by Cyrus, alarmed by the fate of his kinsman, he marches against the conqueror, is defeated, and his own empire annexed to that of Persia. In the *Cyropaedeia* Croesus, far from being relative or ally of the Median monarch, is the principal confederate of the Assyrian emperor in his struggles against the combined Perso-Median power, is declared commander-in-chief of his armies, and, when in that capacity beaten in battle, pays the forfeit of his own liberty and crown. Herodotus⁷⁷ describes, and doubtless truly, the whole of Asia Minor west of Halys as subject to the king of Lydia at this time. Xenophon⁷⁸ makes the other tribes of that district, even on the immediate frontier of Lydia proper, inde-

He speedily however takes alarm at the magnitude of the war in which the young hero had embarked. His achievements, with the zeal of the Median warriors in his service and their growing contempt for his own authority, inspire him with rancorous jealousy. He henceforward exerts himself, to the best of his sluggish ability, in obstructing his nephew's victorious progress. In the sequel, however, he becomes reconciled to the new state of things, partly by the welcome accessions which foreign conquest bring to his sensual enjoyments; and natural affection again resumes its sway in his breast. In the reconciliation scene between him and his nephew, his resentful sullenness and womanish emotion, the respectful bearing and soothing eloquence of Cyrus, and the gradual reaction of good feeling in the bosom of the pettish monarch, are all true to nature, and render this the most effective piece of dramatic action in the *Cyropaedeia* (v v 8). Mure *l.c.* p. 412.

⁷⁷ I c. 6 sqq.

⁷⁸ Cyr. I v 3.

pendent powers, whose alliance the king of Assyria courts like that of Croesus himself, by diplomatic missions⁷⁹.

It follows, of course, that still less reliance can be placed on the details of the work, such as the revolt from Media, and speedy reconquest, of the vassal state of Armenia; the successive defections to the Persian interest of Assyrian provinces and chiefs; of the Chaldaeans, Hyrcanians, Sacae and Cadusii; of Gobryas, Gadatas and Abradatas—defections which constitute pretty nearly the sum total of what can be properly called historical incident in the book. Xenophon seems indirectly to decline vouching for the historical identity of the Asiatic kings by suppressing their names. Thus the kings of Assyria and of Armenia receive no other denomination than ὁ Ἀσσύριος, ὁ Ἀρμένιος respectively; the wife of the latter is called Ἀρμενία, the chiefs of the Hyrcanians and Cadusians are, in like manner, designated as ὁ Ὑρκάνιος, ὁ Καδούσιος. There is also a confusion in Persian and Assyrian names: thus Gobryas, who in authentic history is the chief of one of the illustrious native Persian families, is in Xenophon an Assyrian deserter to the Persian camp.

Again, in geographical matters, the author allows himself the greatest liberty, whether from ignorance or from carelessness. He assigns to different nationalities seats which, in reality, they never Geographical element. had. See the note on i v 2 l. 24 respecting the Hyrcanians and the Bactrians. The Cadusians are, with equal disregard of topographical propriety, characterised by the Hyrcanians themselves as vassals of Assyria, and as a

⁷⁹ Mure *l.c.* pp. 383—4.

very numerous race⁸⁰; being but a petty tribe as compared with the Hyrcanians. The Chaldaeans, on the Armenian frontier, are described as being in habitual intercourse with India and serving as mercenaries in the army of the Indian monarch; from the nearest point of whose territory their own was really distant about 1500 miles⁸¹. 'It would almost appear' adds Mure 'as if in order to impart 'romantic' effect to his narrative, Xenophon had anticipated the license of his fellow-romancers in our own age, and setting geographical consistency at naught, had conferred on his heroes unlimited powers of roaming in quest of adventures, from any one to any other corner of the earth, which suited his or their convenience'.

'Herodotus describes Persia in the time of Cambysês as a vassal state of Media; and Cambysês, as a chieftain inferior in dignity to the Median nobles of the higher class. Nor does he allude to any material difference between the Persian form of government and that common in the dependencies of the Median empire. Xenophon⁸², on the other hand, represents Persia as an inde-

pendent state and its government as a limited monarchy, the power of the king being shared with or checked by a privileged body, which he describes as similar to the aristocracy of Sparta, and designates by the title of 'Peers'

Xenophon's account of the primitive constitution of Persia differs from that of Herodotus.

⁸⁰ ἔθνος πολὺ τε καὶ ἀλκιμον, v ii 25.

⁸¹ Cyr. III ii 25 sqq. 'This strange anomaly, and the no less anomalous notices of the 'Indian envoys' (II iv 1), who wander to and fro in the capacity of peacemakers between the contending powers, have led modern commentators, in their anxiety to save Xenophon's geographical consistency, to look, as vainly as unnecessarily, for some tribe of Indians in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea'. Mure *l.c.* p. 385.

⁸² Cyr. I iii 18, v 4.

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(ὁμότιμοι) equivalent to the Spartiate ὁμοιοι. The system of education, which he represents as an element of state policy and the influence of which hero's character was a main source of his subsequent greatness, is also an idealized counterpart of that of Lacedæmon. It combines all the better parts of the Spartan discipline without its defects. It trains to habits of temperance, hardihood and contempt of danger; to civil and military subordination and reverence for age and virtue, without sanctioning the duplicity, ferocity and other vices of the Lycurgæan system⁸³. The existence of so enlightened a form of polity among a rude people in the heart of central Asia, unconfirmed as it is by Herodotus, is improbable; but, as among other hardy races of mountaineers similar manners and features of government not unlike those described by Xenophon may be traced, it carries with it a certain degree of theoretical probability, and has been not inappropriately assumed by him, as the mainspring of the ascendancy which the Persians under his auspices acquired over other Asiatic races.

The same observation applies to Xenophon's account of the Persian army, when first placed under the command of Cyrus. It is described as deficient in military equipment and of limited number, containing only 31,000 men. Of these 1000 alone, being the ὁμότιμοι, were fully armed (ὀπλιται); the rest were archers or other light troops. It had no cavalry nor any of the requisites for aggressive warfare, and however well adapted for hill-fighting was unfit for a great military undertaking at a distance from home. Hence it required to be entirely re-organised,

⁸³ Mure *l. c.* p. 386—7.

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to be of any use in alliance with the

the military system attributed to Cyrus in the *Cyropaedia* is in great part borrowed from that of Sparta, as is evident from the general correspondence of the two and from the identity of particular usages. Such are the inauguration of battles or other hazardous enterprises by crowning the head⁸⁵; the chanting of the paean before commencing the attack⁸⁶; the formation of the front rank of the phalanx exclusively of officers⁸⁷; the preference of red as the colour of military costume⁸⁸; the frequent change of station in open campaigning⁸⁹. Several of the more complicated field manoeuvres, described by Xenophon in his Lacedaemonian Polity as peculiar to the Spartan art of war, and beyond the ability of less practised armies⁹⁰, are also represented as habitually executed, in all their extent and subtlety, by the troops of Cyrus⁹¹. MURE *L. c.* vol. v. p. 391—2.

Herodotus gives us a concise summary of Persian manners and customs, evidently from good sources.

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customs. Some of these are mentioned by Xenophon, but there are not a few which he introduces that are unnoticed by Herodotus and are palpably Hellenic. To say nothing of his attributing to the monotheistic Persians the worship of Hellenic deities, as Zeus, Hera, Hestia—such identification of Greek gods with Oriental deities being common to him even with such historians as Herodotus—the invocation of Arê⁹² on

⁸⁴ Cyr. I v 5, vi 10, II i 9, IV iii 4.

⁸⁵ Cyr. III iii 40, 42. Cf. Anab. IV iii 17, de rep. Lac. XIII 8; Plutarch Lycurg. c. 22.

⁸⁶ Cyr. III iii 58, VII i 9. Cf. IV i 6. To these may be added the use of the watchword.

⁸⁷ Cyr. III iii 57. Cf. de rep. Lac. XI 5, Hipparch. II 6.

⁸⁸ Cyr. VII i 2. Cf. VI iv 1, de rep. Lac. XI 3, Agesil. II 7.

⁸⁹ Cyr. III iii 23. Cf. de rep. Lac. XII 5.

⁹⁰ de rep. Lac. c. XI.

⁹¹ Cyr. VI iii 21 sqq., VII i 5 sqq.

⁹² Cyr. VII i 26.

entering battle, and of the local gods and heroes on crossing the frontier⁹³, the notion of the gods being subject to sensual love⁹⁴, of the descent of their royal family from Perseus⁹⁵, are all Hellenic peculiarities. Herodotus⁹⁶ says expressly that in their religious rites the Persians did not use an altar nor offer burnt sacrifice or libations, they boiled their offering; whereas in Xenophon⁹⁷ they offer their holocausts and libations, even to the precise Hellenic number⁹⁸. They also practise the Hellenic art of divination in its various forms⁹⁹. Xenophon frequently commends the frugality and abstemiousness of their diet and the sobriety of their habits¹⁰⁰; Herodotus on the contrary represents them as fond of delicate viands and much addicted to wine. The account given of their system of education also differs in each author¹⁰¹. Both mention their strict regard for truth¹⁰² and their adoption of the Median dress¹⁰³. There is no allusion in the *Cyropaedeia* to the licentious polygamy which Herodotus¹⁰⁴ imputes to them.

The conclusion, which our examination of authorities justifies us in drawing, has been to a certain extent already anticipated: namely, that for his immediate purpose Xenophon had no occasion to pursue historical investigation into a period so remote as that of Cyrus,

⁹³ Cyr. II i 1, III iii 21 sqq.

⁹⁴ Cyr. VI i 36. Mure *l.c.* Vol. v p. 390.

⁹⁵ Cyr. I ii 1, IV i 24, VII ii 24.

⁹⁶ I c. 132.

⁹⁷ Cyr. VIII iii 24, III iii 21 sqq. 40, VII i 1.

⁹⁸ Cyr. II iii 1.

⁹⁹ Cyr. II iv 18, 19. Cf. I vi 2, 23, 44 sq., VI iv 12 sq.

¹⁰⁰ Cyr. I ii 8, 16, iii 4—10, IV v 1 sq., V ii 16, VIII i 36.

Herod. I c. 133.

¹⁰¹ Herod. I c. 136, Cyr. I ii.

¹⁰² Herod. I c. 138, Cyr. I vi 33.

¹⁰³ Herod. I c. 135, Cyr. VIII iii 1.

¹⁰⁴ I c. 135.

or to balance conflicting traditions; he had only to draw upon his own conception of what qualities constitute a model king, and what such a king must do to make his people great and happy. Hence he has made his *Cyropaedeia* a vehicle for propounding his own peculiar convictions, political and ethical, embodied in a definite historical personage and an already existing state.

The didactic character of the *Cyropaedeia*.

This conclusion is still disputed by many German authorities, among whom Fr. Butters takes the lead in his Programm *Was ist die Kyrop.*? Zweibrücken 1853. He argues that Xenophon's own words *ὅσα καὶ ἐπυθόμεθα καὶ ἡσθήσθαι δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ* (I i 6), are an evidence of his historical credibility, that the author has not drawn upon his own imagination for a record of the life and days of Cyrus, but that his work is based upon the information he gleaned in his march through the greater part of Persia or his own observation. The constant reference to current tradition in such expressions as *λέγεται*, *λέγουσι*, *ὁμολογεῖται*, *ἔδεται*, *διαμνημονεύεται*, *ἀπομνημονεύεται*, and the passages in which he contrasts the Present with the Past, are also a proof that the writer regards himself from an historical standpoint. Moreover the *Cyropaedeia* is not entitled to the name of a 'romance' because it has no ingenuity of plot, but is deficient in the necessary ingredients of a romance, which are a complication of actions, events and situations and their final solution, and a certain variety of character in the leading personages. It contains a continuous narrative of the life of Cyrus; now a biography, be its incidents ever so interesting, is not a romance. Nor again do occasional interruptions of the narrative, as the story of the fondness of Artabazus for Cyrus¹⁰⁵, of the passion of Araspas for the captive Pantheia¹⁰⁶, of the fate of Pantheia and Abradatas¹⁰⁷, of the hatred of Gobryas¹⁰⁸ for 'the Assyrian', which has so much influence over the turn of events,

¹⁰⁵ Cyr. I iv 27, iv i 23 ff., VII v 48.

¹⁰⁶ Cyr. v i 2 ff., VI i 36, iii 14.

¹⁰⁷ Cyr. v i 2 ff., VI i 31 ff., iii 14, iv 1 ff.; VII i 29, iii 2.

¹⁰⁸ Cyr. IV vi, v ii 3, VII v, VIII iv.

make the Biography a romance. Again, as to variety of characters—it cannot be said that it has any. The Assyrian emperor is intended to be the counterpart of Cyrus, but he does not appear as a prominent personage, although his acts of oppression by driving his vassal chiefs into the ranks of the enemy exercise an important influence on the course of events. The hatred which he inspires by his murder of the son of Gobryas—the description of which and its effect on the father's feelings and prospects in life, is the only pathetic passage in the book (excepting the passion of Araspas for Pantheia)—forms a sort of offset to the love and affection which Cyrus inspires in all who are brought into contact with him. He is described as a bloodthirsty tyrant, the aggressor in the quarrel, in order that Cyrus may be exhibited in the right in his career of conquest. (Cyaxarês may with more propriety be considered as the counterpart of Cyrus: see note 76 p. xliii.)

The other subordinate personages Chrysantas, Hystaspês and Pheraulas, the favourite officers who may be said to form 'the round Table' of Cyrus, are as Mure describes them all 'estimable but uninteresting specimens of the *fidus Achates* order of secondary hero; Araspas alone forms a gentle exception to the general rule of blameless propriety'¹⁰⁹. Pantheia, however, is a character that inspires interest; the tenderness and pathos of her story are unequalled in any that has come down to us from antiquity, though its introduction in the main body of the narrative has, as Mure observes, an incongruous effect. Like that of Gobryas and Gadatas, it is in all probability traditional.

The condition of Athens had filled him with disgust for the general laxity of administration which prevailed there and the intrigues of its demagogues, sophists and sycophants, and led him to prefer a firm and settled system of government. The truly royal nature of the younger Cyrus had made the most favourable impression on him, when he accompanied him on his expedition into the interior of Asia, and perhaps even then suggested to him a comparison between a state ruled by such a prince

¹⁰⁹ *l. c.* p. 413.

and one subject to the intrigues of statesmen of such a type as were then to be found at Athens. After the retreat of the Ten Thousand he entered into close relations with noble Spartans and became acquainted with their form of government and institutions, to which he became greatly attached. All this exercised a strong influence over him in the composition of the *Cyropaedeia*: it will account for his attributing Spartan customs to the Persians, and transferring even peculiar Spartan expressions, such as τὰ καλὰ (I ii 15) and κρυπτεῖν (iv v 5); and the choice of the name ὁμότιμοι with especial reference to their ὅμοιοι. There is every reason to suppose

Correspondence
between the *Cy-*
ropaedeia and
the *Anabasis*.

that the elder Cyrus is in the main nothing but an idealised copy of the younger Prince of the same name, if we compare the description of the character of the latter given in the *Anabasis* Book I ch. ix with that of the youth of the former in the *Cyropaedeia*. Both are alike distinguished among their youthful companions; both are passionately fond of riding and hunting. A comparison of *Anab.* § 28 (εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκάλων τοὺς φίλους ἐσπογδαιολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖν οὗς τιμᾷ) with *Cyr.* viii iii 20, 13 will confirm this supposition. Besides other sources of information as to the circumstances of Persia, such as the Περσικά of Ctêsius, which we know that he was acquainted with, and probably Herodotus, Xenophon must have picked up enough information during his expedition into the interior of Asia to give an Oriental colouring to his romance, if not an historical foundation for it. Hence we may account for the correspondence, almost literal in some cases, of passages in the *Cyropaedeia* with others in the *Anabasis*, as for instance:—

Cyr. I	vi	2	with	Anab. v	vi	29
III	ii	7	„	„	IV	iii 4
III	iii	25	„	„	VII	ii 18
III	iii	26	„	„	III	iv 35
VI	ii	10	„	„	I	viii 9
VIII	ii	8	„	„	I	ii 27.

The change of the Persian king's residence according to the season of the year (Cyr. VIII vi 22) is mentioned also in the *Anabasis* III v 15. The Persian custom of educating the sons of the nobility at court is described in almost the same words as in *Anab.* I ix 3. The description of the death of the three eunuchs in VII iii 15 is apparently a reminiscence of the incident narrated in *Anab.* I viii 29.

As the above passages, in which there is so remarkable an agreement, are principally based upon Xenophon's experiences of military life and relate to practical matters, so we find also a close resemblance of thought between many passages of the *Cyropaedeia* and the other works of Xenophon, especially the *Memorabilia* or 'Recollections of Socratês'. A number of doctrines, precepts and reflexions are put into the mouths of Cyrus, Cambysês and other primitive Persian heroes, bearing an almost literal correspondence with the utterances of Socratês in the *Memorabilia*. Thus, for example, the conversation in the beginning of the third Book on teaching the art of war is the foundation for that in the *Cyropaedeia* I vi 12 ff. Cambysês questions Cyrus as to the instruction he has received in the art of commanding an army, just as Socratês questions a pupil of Professor Dionysodoros. In the same manner Cambysês is made a mouthpiece for the Socratic maxim that men should not consult the gods except in reference

Also between it and other writings of Xenophon.

to matters which they cannot know or learn of themselves¹¹⁰. Attention has been drawn to similar correspondence of sentiment in the notes to I vi 21 l. 262, 27 l. 329. Compare also *Cyr.* I vi 22 with *Mem.* I vii 1, II vi 39; *Cyr.* I vi 27 with *Mem.* III i 6; *Cyr.* v i 16 with *Mem.* I iii 13; *Cyr.* vi iii 25 ff. with *Mem.* III i 7 ff.; *Cyr.* VII v 75 with *Mem.* I ii 19 ff. and many others. And not only in isolated passages such as these do we find this conformity of thoughts and sentiments with those expressed in other writings of Xenophon, but the whole book is pervaded by the same spirit of Socratic wisdom, conveyed in a familiar and colloquial manner after the manner of his great teacher. The East supplies the background to the picture: of Oriental methods of thought only few vestiges are to be met with¹¹¹.

The first of all accomplishments in Xenophon's estimation was to know how to command. In the closing chapter of his *Oeconomicus* he insists particularly upon the vast difference between command over willing subordinates and subordinates unwilling¹¹². The former,

¹¹⁰ *Cyr.* I vi 5, 23.

¹¹¹ Cf. Schenkl *Chrestomathie aus Xenophon* p. xiv: Der Kyros Xenophons ist wohl seiner äusseren Erscheinung nach ein Herrscher des Orients, aber seinem eigentlichen Wesen nach ein Hellene, in Sparta erzogen, in der Schule eines Sokrates gebildet, und mit all den Blüten geschmückt, welche das hellenische Geistesleben damals getrieben hatte. Eben so sind die anderen Personen, welche in der Kyrupädie auftreten, ihrem Aeusseren nach Meder und Perser, aber nach ihrem Charakter Hellenen. Auch die Sitten, Gebräuche und Einrichtungen, welche in der Kyrupädie geschildert werden, sind meistens nicht die der Perser, sondern der Hellenen; so ist z. B. die Verfassung des persischen Volkes, wie sie Xenophon schildert, der Spartas ähnlich, die Entheilung und Ordnung des Heeres des Kyros die bei den Hellenen übliche u. s. w. Ja es finden sich zuweilen persische und hellenische Gebräuche vermischt, z. B. bei der Schilderung der Mahlzeiten, der Opfer u. s. w.

¹¹² XXI 12 οὐ γὰρ πάντι μοι δοκεῖ ἔλνν τοῦτὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἀλλὰ θεῶν, τὸ ἐθέλοντων ἄρχειν· σὰφῶς δὲ δίδοται

he says, implies a divine element in a man's nature, which must be fostered and developed by education. There is a certain science or art of command, without which it is impossible to obtain hearty obedience. This is a fundamental principle laid down by Sokratês in the *Memorabilia*¹¹³; and it is this principle of which the *Cyropaedeia* presents us with an illustrative example. Cyrus is assumed to have a natural aptitude for the exercise of command¹¹⁴; like the other elements of his disposition—his warm sympathies, his ardent emulation, love of learning, his readiness to endure any amount of labour or incur any amount of peril for the sake of being praised—qualities which Xenophon endows him with, besides a very handsome person.

In the details of Cyrus's biography, the stamp of Sokratic influence is seldom altogether wanting. The conversation of Sokratês had taught Xenophon how to make the most of his own large experience and observation. His biography of Cyrus represents a string of successive situations, calling forth and displaying the aptitude of the hero for command. The epical invention with which these situations are imagined—the variety of characters introduced, Araspês, Abradatês, Pantheia, Chrysantas, Hystaspês, Gadatas, Gobryas, Tigranês etc.—the dramatic propriety with which each of these persons is animated as speaker, and made to teach a lesson bearing on the predetermined conclusion—all these are highly honourable to the Xenophontic genius, but all of them likewise bespeak the companion of Sokratês. Xenophon dwells, with evident pleasure, on the details connected with the *rationale* of military proceedings: the wants and liabilities of soldiers, the advantages or disadvantages of different weapons or different modes

τοῖς ἀλλοθινῶς σωφροσύνη τετελεσμένοις. τὸ δὲ ἀκόντων τυραννεῖν διδῶσιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται ἀξιους εἶναι βιοτεύειν ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος ἐν "Αἰδου λέγεται τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον διατρίβειν φοβούμενος μὴ δις ἀποθάνῃ.

¹¹³ III ix 10—12.

¹¹⁴ I ii i φῦναι δὲ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται etc.

of marshalling, the duties of the general as compared with those of the soldier, etc. Cyrus is not merely always ready with his orders, but also competent as a speaker to explain the propriety of what he orders¹¹⁵. We have the truly Athenian idea, that persuasive speech is the precursor of intelligent and energetic action: and that it is an attribute, essentially necessary for a general, for the purpose of informing, appeasing, re-assuring, the minds of the soldiers¹¹⁶. This, as well as the other duties and functions of a military commander, we find laid down generally in the conversations of Sokratês¹¹⁷, who conceives these functions, in their most general aspect, as a branch of the comprehensive art of guiding or governing men. What Sokratês thus enunciates generally, is exemplified in detail throughout the life of Cyrus. GROTE *Plato and the other Companions of Sokratês*, Vol. III pp. 589—590.

¹¹⁵ λεκτικώτατος καὶ πρακτικώτατος Cyr. v v 46. Cf. Mem. iv vi 1—15.

¹¹⁶ Mem. III iii 11, Cyr. vi ii 13.

¹¹⁷ See Mem. III i—iv. The treatise of Xenophon called *Ἱππαρχικός* enumerates also the general duties required from a commander of cavalry: among these, *ψευδαντόμολοι* are mentioned (iv 7). Now the employment, with effect, of a *ψευδαντόμος*, is described with much detail in the *Cyropaedia*. See the case of Araspês (vi i 37, iii 16).



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF XENOPHON

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B. C.	AET XEN.		
84. 1. Praxiteles	444		Birth of Xenophon ¹ son of Gryllos, of the deme Erchia. Pheidias superintendent of the public works of art at Athens.	Peace between A- thens and Spar- ta, 445-431. Perikles in sole posses- sion of the govern- ment at Athens. Date of the Kimonian peace. Thurii founded by the Athenians on the site of Sybaris (Diod. xii 11). Thukydidēs, son of Me- lesias, ostracised.
2. Lysanias	443	1	Herodotos aet. 43 and Lysias aet. 15 among the colonists of Thurii.	
3. Diphilos	442	2	Death of Pindar aet. 80. Empedokles <i>fl.</i>	
4. Timokles	441	3	Euripides aet. 38 gains the first prize in tragedy.	
85. 1. Morychides	440	4	Sophokles aet. 55 one of the generals in the Samian War. His <i>Antigone</i> .	Samos besieged for nine months.

¹ The date of Xenophon's birth is a doubtful point. I have given the one usually received, which has the authority of C. G. Krüger, Clinton and G. Sauppe. Delbrueck, A. Matthiae and Groddeck prefer the date B.C. 447. Cobet *Mnemos.* 7, 404 and *Nov. lect.* p. 756 and Mahaffy *Hist. Gr. Lit.* i p. 252, argue that he could not have been born before B.C. 430, and indeed it is very difficult, as Donaldson says *Hist. Lit. Anc. Gr.* Vol. II p. 183 n, to resist the general impression conveyed by the *Anabasis*, where he seems to be always spoken of as a comparatively young man in B.C. 401. 'But' the same writer continues 'the particular passage in that work (III 25; οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμᾶντος τὰ κακά), is rather for than against the supposition that he was then above 40 (see Thucyd. v. 26), and the combination, pointed out by Schneider, of the passages in Xen. *Sympos.* IV 25 and Memor. I iii 10 proves that Xenophon must have been a young man in B.C. 421. The statement of Pseudo-Lucian (i.e. Phlegon of Tarsos, Macrobian *Saturn.* c. 21), that he was more than 90 years old when he died, combined with the statement of Stesikleides (Diog. Laert. II 56) that he died in B.C. 359, would imply that he was born even earlier than B.C. 443; but there is reason to believe that Stesikleides is in error and that Xenophon's death did not take place till some years later than B.C. 359.'

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B. C.	AET. XEN.		
2 Glaucenes	439	5	A decree to prohibit comedy for this year and the two next.	Samos and Byzantion become subjects instead of allies of Athens.
3. Theodoros	438	6	Completion and dedication of the Parthenon at Athens. <i>Euripidis Crēssae, Alkmaeōn διὰ ψωφίδος. Telephos, Alkestis.</i>	
4. Euthymenes	437	7	Repeal of the decree against comedy.	A colony sent to Amphipolis by the Athenians.
86. 1.	436	8	Birth of Isokrates. The Propylaea at Athens commenced. Kratinos, the comic poet. Pheidias at Olympia.	
2. Antiloehides	435	9		Outbreak of the war between Corinth and Corcyra Naval victory of the Corcyraeans at Actium.
3. Chates or Crates	434	10		Epidamnus compelled to capitulate.
4. Apsudes	433	11		Athens forms a defensive alliance with Corcyra.
87. 1. Pythodoros	432	12	Prosecution of Anaxagoras, Aspasia and Pheidias. Anaxagoras retires to Lampsakos. Death of Pheidias. Calendar of Metōn.	Revolt of Potidaea from the Athenian alliance.
2. Euthydemus	431	13	Funeral oration of Perikles over those who had fallen in the course of the year. Hellanicos aet. 65. Herodotos aet. 53. Thukydides aet. 40. <i>Euripidis Medea, Philoctetes, Dictys, Thevristae, Satyri.</i>	Congress at Sparta, at which war is resolved on. Exclusion of Megarians from the market of Athens.
3. Apollodoros	430	14	Hermippos, the comic poet.	The Peloponnesian War. B.C. 431-404. <i>First year of the war.</i> Surprise of Plataea by the Thebans. First invasion of Attica by Spartans under Archidamos.
4. Epameinōn	429	15	Birth of Plato. Death of Perikles. Eupolis aet. 17 and Phrynichos exhibit comedy.	<i>Second year of the war.</i> Second invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians. Plague at Athens. Naval expeditions of the Athenians. Perikles deposed from his office of Strategos for a short time Fallof Potidaea. <i>Third year of the war.</i> Siege of Plataea. Victories of Phormio in the Corinthian Gulf.

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B C.	AET XEN		
88 1. Diotimos	428	16	Death of Anaxagoras aet. 72. Euripidis <i>Hippolytus</i> <i>στεφανηφόρος</i> . Aristophanes gains 2nd prize with his first comedy the 'Banque- ters' (<i>Δαιταλείς</i>).	<i>Fourth year of the war.</i> Third invasion of At- tica. Revolt of Les- bos. Blockade of Mi- tylene.
2. Eukles	427	17	Visit of Gorgias of Leontini to Athens. Xenophon enrolled among the <i>περίπολοι</i> .	<i>Fifth year of the war.</i> Fourth invasion of Attica. Surrender of Plataea and its de- struction by Sparta. Capitulation of Mity- lene. Faction fights at Corcyra suspended by the presence of the Athenians and Pelo- ponnesians. War be- tween Ionic and Doric towns in Sicily.
3. Euthynos	426	18	Xenophon composes the <i>Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία</i> about this time (?). Aristophanis <i>Βαβυλώνιοι</i> .	<i>Sixth year of the war.</i> Lustration of Delos and restoration of the Delian games. The Lacedaemonians found Herakleia. Defeat of the Spartans and Ambrakiots.
4. Stratokles	425	19	Aristophanes gains the first prize with the <i>Acharnians</i> .	<i>Seventh year of the war.</i> Fifth and last inva- sion of Attica under Agis II.
89. 1. Isarchos	424	20	Aristophanes gains the first prize with the <i>Equites</i> . Banishment of Thuky- dides, the historian, for 20 years, in con- sequence of his failure to save Amphipolis.	<i>Eighth year of the war.</i> Blockade of Pylos The Lacedaemonians at Sphakteria surren- der to Kleon. End of Corcyraean se- dition. Death of Ar- taxerxes and accession of Darius II (Nothus) 425—405. The fortunes of Athens at their culminating point. March of Bra- sidas into Thrace and revolt of most of the towns of the Chalkidic peninsula from Ath- ens. The Athenians defeated by the The- bans at Delion. [The story of the preser- vation of Xenophon's life by Sokrates at the battle, recorded by

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.	AET XEN.		
				Diogenēs Laertius II 7, 22 and repeated by Strabo IX 403, is now generally regarded as mythical]. Brasidas takes Amphipolis. Truce for a year between Sparta and Athens.
2. Amynias	423	21	Aristophanes fails with the <i>Nubes</i> (1st Edition).	<i>Ninth year of the war.</i> War continued on the coast of Thrace. The temple of Hera at Argos burnt.
3 Alkaios	422	22	Aristophanis <i>Proagon</i> , <i>Vespae</i> . Aristophanis <i>Nubes</i> (2nd Edition). Death of Kratinos.	<i>Tenth year of the war.</i> Battle of Amphipolis, in which Brasidas and Kleon fall. Number of Athenian males above 20 at this time about 20,000: the whole civic population (excluding slaves and μέτοικοι) over 82,000.
4. Aristion	421	23	Eupolis exhibits his <i>Marikas</i> and <i>Flatterers</i> (Κόλακες). Aristophanes second with the <i>Pax</i> .	<i>Eleventh year of the war.</i> Truce (Peace of Nicias) concluded for 50 years between Athens and the Lacedaemonians.
90 1. Astyphilos	420	24	Birth of Isaeos. Euripidis <i>Supplices</i> .	<i>Twelfth year of the war.</i> Alliance between Sparta and Thebes: counter-alliance between Athens, Argos, Elis and Mantinea brought about by Alkibiades.
2. Archias	419	25	Hippias of Elis, Prodikos and Gorgias, the Sophists, Sokrates.	<i>Thirteenth year of the war.</i>
3. Antiphon	418	26	Hippokrates physician <i>fl.</i>	<i>Fourteenth year of the war.</i> Battle of Mantinea and complete victory of Spartans over the Argive confederacy.
4. Euphemos	417	27	The painters Apollodoros, Zeuxis, Parrhasios, Timanthes <i>fl.</i>	<i>Fifteenth year of the war.</i> Overthrow of the democracy at Argos. Ostrakism of Hyperbolos.
91 1. Arimnestos	416	28	Agathon tragicus <i>fl.</i>	<i>Sixteenth year of the war.</i>

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.	AET. XEN.		
2. Chabrias	415	29	Plato in his 14th year. Euripidis <i>Troades</i> . Andokides banished.	Melos taken by the Athenians. <i>Seventeenth year of the war.</i> Sicilian expedition. Attack on Alkibiades for offences against the mysteries.
3 Peisander	414	30	Aristophanes <i>Amphiaraios</i> and <i>Birds</i> .	<i>Eighteenth year of the war.</i> Second campaign in Sicily. Arrival of the Spartan Gylippos at Syracuse. Death of Lamachos.
4. Kleocritos	413	31	The <i>Gigantomachia</i> of Hegemon was being acted, when the bad news came to Athens from Sicily.	<i>Nineteenth year of the war.</i> Occupation of Deceleia by the Spartans. Third campaign in Sicily. Failure of the attack of Demosthenes on Epipolae. Athenian fleet defeated in the harbour of Syracuse. Capitulation and execution of Demosthenes and Nikias. 7000 prisoners taken.
92. 1. Callias	412	32	Euripides exhibits the <i>Helen</i> and the <i>Andromeda</i> .	<i>Twentieth year of the war.</i> Most of the former allies of Athens solicit alliance with Sparta.
2. Theopompos	411	33	Return of Andokides. Death of Antiphon. End of the History of Thukydidēs. Xenophon begins his <i>Ἑλληνικά</i> with the manoeuvres at the Hellespont just after the battle of Kynossema. Aristophanis <i>Lysistrata</i> and <i>Thesmophoriazusae</i> .	<i>Twenty-first year of the war.</i> Alkibiades takes refuge from Sparta with Tissaphernes; intrigues with the Athenians at Samos for his recall. Subversion of the democracy at Athens under Antiphon, Phrynichos and Theramēnēs, and institution of the oligarchic council of 400.
Glaucippus	410	34		<i>Twenty-second year of the war.</i> Annihilation of the Spartan fleet under Mindaros at Kyzikos. Evagoras of Cyprus.
'ês	409	35	Sophoclis <i>Philoktetes</i> . Herodotos aet. 75 still engaged upon his history.	<i>Twenty-third year of the war.</i> Chalkedon gained by

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B. C.	AET. XEN.		
			Plato aet. 20 begins to hear Sokrates.	Alkibiades for the Athenians.
93. 1. Euktemon	408	36	Euripidis <i>Orestes</i> . Aristophanis <i>Plutus</i> (1st Edition).	Byzantion betrayed to the Athenians. Invasion of Sicily by Hannibal of Carthage. <i>Twenty-fourth year of the war.</i> Cyrus governor of Asia Minor.
2. Antigenes	407	37	Death of Sophocles aet. 90.	Return of Alkibiades to Athens; he is chosen στρατηγός <i>Twenty-fifth year of the war.</i>
3. Kallias	406	38	Death of Euripides aet. 75. <i>Probable visit of Xenophon to Syracuse some time between B.C. 406—401.</i>	The Athenian fleet defeated off Notion by Lysander. Alkibiades deposed and Konon made commander of the fleet. <i>Twenty-sixth year of the war.</i>
4 Alexias	405	39	Aristophanis <i>Ranae</i> .	Kallikratidas (Lysander's successor) defeats Konon, and shuts him up in the harbour of Mitylene. Victory of the Athenian fleet at Arginusae. Condemnation and execution of six of the Athenian generals. Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse.
				<i>Twenty-seventh year of the war.</i> The Athenian fleet defeated at the battle of Aegospotami. Death of Dareios II. A taxerxes succeeds (404—359). Athens surrender Lysander.
94. 1. Anarchia	404	40	Lysias escapes to Megara. Isokrates leaves Athens.	Supremacy of Sparta. 4379. Establishment of the Thirty Laws of Dracon. Death of Kallikratidas Death of Perikles in Phrygia

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B C.	AET. XEN.		
2. Eukleides	403	41	Return of Isokrates.	Victory of the exiles under Thrasybulos at Phylê over their opponents; their return to Athens, universal amnesty; formal restoration of the democracy. Kritias is slain.
3. Mikon	402	42		Campaign of the younger Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes
4. Xenaenetos	401	43	The <i>Oedipus Coloneus</i> of Sophocles exhibited by his grandson. Xenophon accompanies Cyrus at the instigation of his friend Proxenus.	Battle of Kunaxa and death of Cyrus. Retreat of the Ten Thousand to Trapezus. They reach Armenia in the winter. War between Elis and Sparta.
95 r. Laches	400	44	Andokides delivers his speech <i>de mysteriis</i> in his sixty-seventh year.	The Lacedaemonians in Asia. 400-394. The Spartans under Thimbron protect the Ionian cities in Asia Minor against Tissaphernes, Satrap of Sardis. The Greeks in their return reach Cotyora on the Euxine. They enter the service of Seuthes, with whom they remain nearly two months.
2. Aristokrates	399	45	According to some, Xenophon returns to Athens and writes the first two Books of the <i>Hellenica</i> between this year and 394 B C. Death of Sokrates in his seventieth year. Plato aet. 30 withdraws to Megara.	The remnant of the 10,000 taken the pay of Thimbron. Campaign of the Spartans against Elis. Conspiracy of Kina-don.
3. Ithykles	398	46	Ktesias brings his History of the monarchies of the East (<i>τα Περσικά</i>) down to this year. Philoxenos, Timotheos and Telestes, the didyrambic poets.	Elis submits to the demands of Sparta. Second campaign of Derkyllidas, who superseded Thimbron, in Asia Minor. Death of Agis King of Sparta; Agesilaos his successor.
4. Suniades	397	47	Philistos, the historian.	Third campaign of Derkyllidas in Asia Minor:

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B C.	AET. XEN.	
96 1. Phormion	396	48	he makes an armistice with Tissaphernes. First campaign of Agesilaos in Asia Minor; his successful enterprises against the Persian satraps.
2. Diophantos	395	49	Plato aet. 34 returns to Athens. Second campaign of Agesilaos. Tissaphernes superseded by Tithraustes, who puts him to death.
3 Eubulides	394	50	Xenophon accompanies Agesilaos to Boeotia and, a sentence of banishment being passed upon him at Athens, withdraws under Lacedaemonian protection to Skillus, where he occupies himself with literary work. Beginning of Corinthian war (B.C. 394—387). Alliance between Thebes and Athens against Sparta. Battle of Nemea, and defeat of the whole allied army by the Lacedaemonians. The Spartan fleet under Peisander defeated at Knidos by Konon and Pharnabazos. Agesilaos recalled from Asia; his important victory over the allies at Koroneia.
4. Demostratos	393	51	The <i>Hieron</i> was written during this period; also, according to some, the <i>Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία</i> , all except ch. xiv. Strattis, the Comedian. Lysias, the Orator. Long walls of Athens rebuilt by Konon. Battle of Lechaeon. Corinth invaded by Spartans under Agesilaos.
97 1. Philokles	392	52	Iso krates begins to teach. Aristophanis <i>Ecclesiazusae</i> . Agesilaos invades Argolis, and captures the newly restored walls of Corinth, reaching to Lechaeon.
2. Nikoteles	391	53	The ascendancy of the allied powers restored by Iphikrates. Naval enterprises of the Spartans under Teleutias and Athenians under Thrasybulos.
3 Demostratos	390	54	Xenophon's <i>Memorials of Socrates</i> written about this time. Theopompos, last poet of old Comedy, fl.
4 Antipater	389	55	Birth of Aeschines. Plato aet. 40 first visits Sicily. His <i>de republica</i> begun before this year. Death of Thrasybulos. Conquests of Dionysios in Sicily and Magna Graecia.

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C	AET. XEN.		
			Xenophon composes his <i>Treatise on Hunting</i> after this year.	Death of Konon in Cyprus.
98 1. Pyrrhion	388	56	Aristophanis <i>Plutus</i> (the second and extant edition), marking the transition to Middle Comedy.	Iphikrates and Diotimos in the Hellespont besiege the Spartan Nikolochos. Peace concluded between the Greeks and Artaxerxes.
2. Theodotos	387	57		Peace of Antalkidas.
3. Mystichides	386	58		Restoration of Plataea by Sparta as a stronghold against Thebes.
4. Dexitheos	385	59	Xenophon writes the <i>Symposion</i> before this year.	Mantineia broken up by the Spartans. Beginning of war between Evagoras and the Persians.
99 1. Diotrephes	384	60	Birth of Aristotle. Plato <i>aet</i> 45.	
2. Phanostatos	383	61	Xenophon writes the <i>Oeconomicus</i> about this time, at least not before.	Commencement of the Olynthian War (383—379).
3. Euandros	382	62	Birth of Demosthenes.	Occupation of the acropolis of Thebes (Kadmeia) by the Spartans under Phoebeidas. Philip of Macedon, son of Amyntas II born.
4. Demophilos	381	63		Third campaign of Olynthian war.
100 1. Pytheas	380	64	The <i>Panegyrikos</i> of Isokrates. The <i>Anabasis</i> of Xenophon written after this year.	Phlius besieged by Agesilaos.
2. Nikon	379	65	Gorgias and Aristophanes die about this time.	Olynthus and Phlius reduced to subjection. End of Olynthian war.
3. Nausinikos	378	66	Death of Lysias <i>aet.</i> 80.	The liberation of Thebes. The Theban war 378—362. First invasion of Boeotia by the Lacedaemonians under Kleombrotos. Reform of finance at Athens. Second invasion of Boeotia by the Lacedaemonians under Agesilaos. The second confederacy of Delos.

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.	AET XEN		
4 Kallias	377	67		Third invasion of Boeotia by the Lacedaemonians under Agesilaos.
101. 1. Charisandros	376	68		Fourth invasion of Boeotia by the Lacedaemonians under Kleombrotos. The Athenians under Chabrias take the Spartan fleet at Naxos, after which many islands are won over to the Athenian alliance.
2. Hippodamos	375	69	Araros, (son of Aristophanes) and Eubulos, earliest poets of middle comedy.	The Athenians under Timotheos extend their naval supremacy over the Ionian sea. Restoration of the Boeotian league. Rise of the power of Jason of Pherae in Thessaly 375-370 B.C.
3. Sokratides	374	70		A short peace between Athens and Sparta.
4. Asteios	373	71		
102. 1. Alkisthenes	372	72	Among the most eminent orators at Athens are Leodamas, Kallistratos, Thrasybulos, and Diophantos.	Supremacy of Athens in Ionian sea by a successful naval expedition of Iphikrates.
2. Phrasikleides	371	73		General peace concluded at Sparta; Thebes excluded from it. Battle of Leuktra. Defeat of the Spartans. Death of Kleombrotos.
3 Dysinketos	370	74	Demokritos aet. 90. Antiphanes and Alexis representatives of middle comedy.	Jason of Pherae assassinated. Mantinea rebuilt. Arcadia united into one common state with Megalopolis for its capital.
4. Lysistratos	369	75	Praxiteles and Skopas eminent sculptors. The <i>Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία</i> of Xenophon written about this time. Others assign it to B.C. 394.	First invasion of the Peloponnesos by Epameinondas. Messenia restored. Peace between Athens and Sparta. Dionysios of Syracuse sends to help the Spartans against the Thebans.
103. 1. Nausigenes	368	76		The Arcadians defeated by the Spartans.

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.	AET. XEN.		
			Plato in Sicily <i>aet.</i> 62 Aristotle <i>aet.</i> 17 comes to Athens where he lives till B.C. 347.	The Tearless Victory. Fruitless attempt of Thebes to establish peace by means of Persian influence. Third invasion of the Peloponnesos by Epameinondas.
2. Polyzelos	367	77		Defensive alliance between Arcadia and Athens.
3. Kephisodoros	366	78	Demosthenes comes of age (<i>ἔδοκιμάσθη</i>). Isocratis <i>Archidamos</i> .	Phlius and Corinth conclude a separate peace with Thebes.
4. Chion	365	79	Xenophon returns to Athens about this time.	War between Elis and Arcadia
104. 1. Timokrates	364	80	Demosthenes' speech, <i>κατὰ Ἀφόβου</i> .	The Arcadians get possession of Olympia, and use the sacred money.
2. Charikleides	363	81	Xenophon's <i>Hippiarchikos</i> .	Pelopidas falls in battle against Alexander of Pherae at Kynoskephalae.
				The Thebans extend their hegemony over Thessaly and send out a fleet under Epameinondas to the Hellespont and Bosphoros.
				Schism among the Arcadians.
3. Molon	362	82	Aeschines, the orator, <i>aet.</i> 27 at Mantinea. The <i>Hellenics</i> of Xenophon end at the death of Epameinondas. His <i>de re equestri</i> .	Battle of Mantinea and death of Epameinondas.
				Dion exiled from Syracuse by Dionysios II.
				General peace between the belligerent parties, in which Sparta refuses to share because unwilling to recognise the independence of Messenia.
4. Nikophemos	361	83	Xenophon's <i>Cyropaedeia</i> not finished before this date. Deinarchos born. Plato's second visit to Sicily.	Death of Agesilaos. Archidamos III king of Sparta.
				The Sacred war.
105. 1. Kallimedes	360	84	Xenophon's <i>Agésilas</i> composed about this time. Theopompos commences his <i>History</i> from this date; his <i>Philippics</i> in 58 books.	Repulse of Timotheos at Amphipolis.

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.	AET. XEN		
2. Eucharistos	359	85	Demosthenes trierarch.	Accession of Philip II, king of Macedonia, aet 23. He conciliates Athens by withdrawing from Amphipolis and offering peace which is accepted. He subdues the Paeonians and Illyrians. Euboea recovered by the Athenians from Thebes, who had held it since B.C. 371. Assassination of Alexander of Pherae. He is succeeded by Tisiphon, who governed when Xen. was recording the death of Alexander. Death of Artaxerxes II King of Persia and accession of Ochus.
3. Kephistodotos	358	86		Revolt of the allies from Athens. Social War, 358-356. Defeat of the Athenians at Chios and death of Chabrias. Philip besieges Amphipolis.
4. Agathokles	357	87	The Second Part of the <i>Hellenica</i> written about this time. Death of Hippokrates aet. 104. Demophilos began his history of the Sacred War, Dryllos his history in 27 books from this date.	Philip conquers Amphipolis and Pydna and Poteidaia: he gives the latter to the Olynthians.
106. 1.	356	88	The treatise <i>περὶ πόρων</i> (<i>de vectigalibus</i>) written about this time.	Foundation of Philippi. Philip victor at Olympia. Birth of Alexander the Great.
2. Kallistratos	355	89	Demosthenes aet. 27. His speech against <i>Androktion</i> .	Social War ends with the grant of independence to the revolted allies. Commencement of the Phocian or Third Sacred War.
3. Diotimos	354	90	Demosthenes' speech <i>πρὸς Λαερτίην</i> and <i>de Symmoriis</i> .	Trial and condemnation of Timotheos: his death at Chalkis.
			Death of Xenophon (?)	

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

P. 102, § 5, l. 45 *add*:—

‘The authority of Xenophon’, says Rawlinson (Herodot. I 125 Note 1 p. 263), ‘always weak except with respect to his own times, is here rendered still more doubtful by the frequency with which this same number twelve occurs in his narrative. Not only are the tribes twelve, and the superintendents of the education twelve, but the whole number of the nation is twelve myriads (I ii § 15), Cyrus is subject to the Persian discipline for twelve years (I iii § 1) etc. etc.’

P. 106, § 9, l. 105 *add*:—

The *σάγαρις* is in all probability the *khanjar* of modern Persia, a short, curved, double-edged dagger, almost universally worn (*Sir H. C. Rawlinson* ap. Rawlinson’s Herod. Vol. I p. 351 note). It is not, as Bähr *ad l.* supposes, identical with the *ἀκιννάκης*, because the latter is mentioned as a distinct weapon in Herod. Bk IV ch. 70.

P. 125, § 9, l. 95 *add*:—

So Nicolaus of Damascus in his *Ιστορία καθολική* or ‘Universal History’, Book VII fr. 66 ap. C. Müller *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* III p. 398, speaking of the youth Cyrus, writes: *ἐπεὶ ἑώρα αὐτὸν Ἀστυάγης εὖ καὶ ἐπιστρεφῶς διακονοῦντα καὶ τὴν φιάλην εὐσχημδῶς ἐπιδιδόντα, πυνθάνεται Ἀρτεμβάρου ὀπότεν εἴη ὁ νεανίσκος, ὥς καλῶς οἰνοχοεῖ.*

P. 146, § 12, l. 138 *for* ‘ever so little’ *read* ‘only so little’.

P. 159, § 28, l. 355 *add*:—

This use of *καὶ* for *ὅτε* is a construction common in the simple style of Epic poetry; cf. Eur. Bacch. 1076 *ὅσον γὰρ οὐπω δῆλος ἦν θάσσω ἀνω, καὶ τὸν ξένον μὲν οὐκέτ’ εἰσορᾶν παρῆν*, and l. 1082 *καὶ ταῦθ’ ἄμ’ ἡγόρευε καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ γαῖαν ἐστήριξε φῶς σεμνοῦ πυρός.*



ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

Ι Ἐννοιά ποθ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, ὅσαι δημοκρατίαι κατε- 1
λύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλως πως βουλο-
μένων πολιτεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν δημο-
κρατία, ὅσαι τ' αὖ μοναρχίαι, ὅσαι τε
5 ὀλιγαρχίαι ἀνῆρηνται ἤδη ὑπὸ δήμων, καὶ ὅσοι
τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ταχὺ
πάμπαν κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅποσονοῦν χρόνον
ἄρχοντες διαγέγονται, θαυμάζονται ὡς σοφοί τε καὶ
εὐτυχεῖς ἄνδρες γεγενημένοι. πολλοὺς δ' ἐδοκοῦμεν
10 καταμεμαθηκέναι καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις οἴκοις τοὺς μὲν ἔχον-
τας καὶ πλείονας οἰκέτας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πάνν ὀλίγους,
καὶ ὅμως οὐδὲ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τούτοις πάνν τι δυνα-
μένους χρῆσθαι πειθόμενοις τοὺς δεσπότας. ἔτι δὲ 2
πρὸς τούτοις ἐνενοοῦμεν ὅτι ἄρχοντες μὲν εἰσι καὶ
15 οἱ βουκόλοι τῶν βοῶν καὶ οἱ ἵπποφορβοὶ τῶν ἵπ-
πων, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ κελεύμενοι νομεῖς ὧν ἂν
ἐπιστατῶσι ζώων εἰκότως ἂν ἄρχοντες τούτων νομ-
ίζοντο· πάσας τοίνυν ταύτας τὰς ἀγέλας ἐδοκοῦμεν
ὁρᾶν μᾶλλον ἐθελούσας πείθεσθαι τοῖς νομεῦσιν ἢ
20 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ἄρχουσι. πορεύονται τε γὰρ
αἱ ἀγέλαι ἢ ἂν αὐτὰς εὐθύνωσιν οἱ νομεῖς, νέμονται
τέ χωρία ἐφ' ὅποια ἂν αὐτὰς ἐπάγωσιν, ἀπέχονται

Preface.
Problem of good
government a
perplexing one,

τε ὧν ἂν αὐτὰς ἀπείργωσι· καὶ τοῖς ^{ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου} καρποῖς τοίνυν
 τοῖς γιγνόμενοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐῷσι τοὺς νομέας χρῆσθαι
 οὕτως ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται. ἔτι τοίνυν οὐδε- 25
 μίαν πώποτε ἀγέλην ἡσθήμεθα συστάσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν
 νομέα οὔτε ὡς μὴ πείθεσθαι οὔτε ὡς μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν
 τῷ καρπῷ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπώτεραί εἰσιν αἱ
 ἀγέλαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἢ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τε καὶ
 ὠφελουμένοις ἀπ' αὐτῶν· ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἐπ' οὐδένας 30
 μᾶλλον συνίστανται ἢ ἐπὶ τούτους οὓς ἂν αἰσθωνται
 3 ἄρχειν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιχειροῦντας. ὅτε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐν-
^{ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ} ἐθυμούμεθα, οὕτως ἐγινγώσκομεν περὶ
^{but not insoluble, as is proved by the History of Cyrus, the Persian King.} αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ πεφυκóτι πάντων
 τῶν ἄλλων ῥᾶον εἶη ζῶων ἢ ἀνθρώπων 35
 ἄρχειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνενοήσαμεν ὅτι Κύρος ἐγένετο
 Πέρσης, ὃς παμπόλλους μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκτῆσατο
 πειθομένους ἑαυτῷ, παμπόλλας δὲ πόλεις, πάμπολλα
 δὲ ἔθνη, ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡναγκαζόμεθα μετανοεῖν μὴ
 οὔτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὔτε τῶν χαλεπῶν ἔργων ἢ τὸ 40
 ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν, ἣν τις ἐπισταμένως τοῦτο πράττη.
 Κύρῳ γοῦν ἴσμεν ἐβελήσαντας πείθεσθαι τοὺς μὲν
 ἀπέχοντας παμπόλλων ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
 μηνῶν, τοὺς δὲ οὐδ' ἐώρακότας πώποτ' αὐτόν, τοὺς
 δὲ καὶ εὖ εἰδότας ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἴδοιεν, καὶ ὅμως ἤθελον 45
 4 αὐτῷ ὑπακούειν. καὶ γάρ τοι τοσοῦτον διηνεγκε τῶν
^{ἐκ τῶν βασιλέων} ἄλλων βασιλέων, καὶ τῶν πατρίους ἀρχὰς παρειλη-
^{ἐκ τῶν βασιλέων} φότων καὶ τῶν δι' ἑαυτῶν κτησαμένων, ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν
 Σκύθης, καίπερ παμπόλλων ὄντων Σκυθῶν, ἄλλου
 μὲν οὐδενὸς δύναιτ' ἂν ἔθνους ἐπάρξαι, ἀγαπήν δ' ἂν 50
 εἰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχων διαγένοιτο, καὶ ὁ Θραξ
 Θρακῶν καὶ ὁ Ἰλλυριὸς Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ
 ὡσαύτως ἔθνη ἀκούομεν τὰ γοῦν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἔτι

καὶ νῦν αὐτόνομα εἶναι [λέγεται] καὶ λελύσθαι ἀπ'
 55 ἀλλήλων· Κύρος δὲ παραλαβὼν ὡσαύτως οὕτω καὶ
 τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνη αὐτόνομα ὄντα ὁρμηθεὶς σὺν
 ὀλίγῃ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ ἐκόντων μὲν ἡγήσατο Μήδων,
 ἐκόντων δὲ Ὑρκανίων, ^{ὅνεν τὸν Μ. Π.} κατέστρεψατο δὲ Σύρους,
 Ἀσσυρίους, Ἀραβίους, Καππαδόκας, Φρύγας ἀμφο-
 60 τέρους, Λυδοὺς, Κᾶρας, Φοίνικας, Βαβυλωνίους, ἥρξε
 δὲ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Κιλικῶν, ὡσαύτως δὲ
 Σακῶν καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαγαδιδῶν, καὶ ἄλλων
 δὲ παμπολλῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχοι τις
 εἰπεῖν, ἐπῆρξε δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ,
 65 ^{οἱ ἐν ἡλ. γῇ} καταβάς δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων.
 καὶ τοίνυν τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἥρξεν οὔτε αὐτῷ ὁμο- 5
 γλώττων ὄντων οὔτε ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ὅμως ἐδυνάσθη
 ἐφικέσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην γῆν τῷ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ φόβῳ,
 ὥστε ^{τὸν ὅλ. γῆν} καταπλήξαι πάντας καὶ ^{ἐκ τῆς} μηδένα ἐπιχειρεῖν
 70 αὐτῷ, ἐδυνάσθη δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν ^{ἐκ τῆς} τοσαύτην τοῦ
 αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ὥστε αἰεὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ γνώμῃ ἀξιοῦν
 κυβερνᾶσθαι, ἀνῆρτήσατο δὲ τοσαῦτα φύλα, ὅσα καὶ
 διελθεῖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ὅποι ἂν ἄρξηται τις πορεύεσθαι
 ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων ἣν τε πρὸς ἡῷ ἣν τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν
 75 ἣν τε πρὸς ἄρκτον ἣν τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. ἡμεῖς 6
 μὲν δὴ ὡς ἄξιον ὄντα θαυμάζεσθαι τοῦτον
 τὸν ἄνδρα ἐσκεψάμεθα, τίς ποτ' ὧν ^{Plan and purpose of the present biography.} γενεάν
 καὶ ποίαν τινὰ φύσιν ἔχων καὶ ποία τινὶ
 παιδείᾳ παιδευθεὶς τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν
 80 ἀνθρώπων. ὅσα οὖν καὶ ἐπυθόμεθα καὶ ἡσθήσθαι
 δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα πειρασόμεθα διηγῆσασθαι.

II Πατὴρ δὲ μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται 1
 γενέσθαι Καμβύσου Περσῶν βασιλέως.
 ὁ δὲ Καμβύσης οὗτος τοῦ Περσείδων

Birth, parent-
age and disposi-
tion of Cyrus.

γένους ἦν· οἱ δὲ Περσεῖδαι ἀπὸ Περσέως κλήζονται·
 μητρὸς δὲ ὁμολογεῖται Μανδάνης γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ 5
 Μανδάνη αὕτη Ἀστυάγους ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μῆδων
 γενομένου βασιλέως. φύναι δὲ ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται καὶ
 ἄδεταί ^{ἔτι} καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶδος μὲν
 κάλλιστος, ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότητος καὶ φιλο-
 μαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότητος, ὥστε πάντα μὲν πόνον 10
 ἀνατλήναι, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομεῖναι τοῦ ἐπαι-
 2 νεῖσθαι ἕνεκα. φύσιν μὲν δὴ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τῆς
 ψυχῆς τοιαύτην ἔχων διαμνημονεύεται·
 His education. ἐπαιδεύθη γε μὴν ἐν Περσῶν νόμοις·
 οὔτοι δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ 15
 ἐπιμελόμενοι οὐκ ἔνθεν περ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσιν
 ἄρχονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείσται πόλεις ἀφείσαι
 παιδεύειν, ὅπως τις ἐθέλει, τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας καὶ
 αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως ἐθέλουσι, διάγειν
 ἔπειτα προστάττουσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ κλέπτειν μηδὲ 20
 ἄρπάζειν, μὴ βία εἰς οἰκίαν παριέναι, μὴ παῖειν ὃν μὴ
 δίκαιον, μὴ μοιχεύειν, μὴ ἀπειθεῖν ἄρχοντι, καὶ τᾶλλα
 τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡσαύτως· ἦν δὲ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνει,
 3 ζημίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν. οἱ δὲ Περσικοὶ
 νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμέλονται, ὅπως τὴν 25
 ἀρχὴν μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται οἱ πολῖται
 οἰοὶ πονηροῦ τινος ἢ αἰσχροῦ ἔργου
 ἐφίεσθαι. ἐπιμέλονται δὲ ὧδε. ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρα
 ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, ἔνθα τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ τᾶλλα
 ἀρχεῖα πεποιήται. ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὧνια καὶ οἱ 30
 ἀγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλῖαι
 ἀπελήλανται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ὥς μὴ μιγνύηται ἡ
 τούτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμίᾳ.
 4 διήρηται δὲ αὕτη ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα τέτταρα

Public and official training of all citizens in Persia—its object and details.

- 35 *μέρη· τούτων δ' ἔστιν ἐν μὲν παισίν, ἐν* Distribution
into four ages.
δὲ ἐφήβοις, ἄλλο τελείοις ἀνδράσιν, ἄλλο
τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἔτη γεγονόσι. νόμῳ δ'
εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἕκαστοι τούτων πάρεισιν, οἱ
μὲν παῖδες ἕμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ τέλειοι ἄνδρες,
40 *οἱ δὲ γεραιτέροι ἡνίκ' ἂν ἑκάστῳ προχωρῇ, πλὴν*
ἐν ταῖς τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὺς δεῖ παρ-
εῖναι. οἱ δὲ ἔφηβοι καὶ κοιμῶνται περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα
σὺν τοῖς γυμνητικοῖς ὕπλοις πλὴν τῶν γεγαμηκότων·
οὗτοι δὲ οὔτε ἐπιζητοῦνται, ἢ μὴ προρρηθῇ παρῆναι,
45 *οὔτε πολλάκις ἀπεῖναι καλόν. ἄρχοντες δ' ἐφ'* 5
ἑκάστῳ τούτων τῶν μερῶν εἰσι δώδεκα· δώδεκα γὰρ
καὶ Περσῶν φυλαὶ διήρηνται. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς
παισίν ἐκ τῶν γεραιτέρων ἡρημένοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἂν δοκῶσι
τοὺς παῖδας βελτίστους ἀποδεικνύναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς
50 *ἐφήβοις ἐκ τῶν τελείων ἀνδρῶν οἱ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐφήβους*
βελτίστους δοκῶσι παρέχειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τελείοις
ἀνδράσιν οἱ ἂν δοκῶσι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τὰ
τεταγμένα ποιοῦντας καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς
μεγίστης ἀρχῆς· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν γεραιτέρων προ-
55 *στάται ἡρημένοι, οἱ προστατεύουσιν, ὅπως καὶ οὗτοι*
τὰ καθήκοντα ἀποτελῶσιν. ἃ δὲ ἑκάστη ἡλικία
προστέτακται ποιεῖν διηγησόμεθα, ὥς μᾶλλον δῆλον
γέννηται, ἣ ἐπιμέλονται ὥς ἂν βέλτιστοι εἶεν οἱ πολῖται.
οἱ μὲν δὲ παῖδες εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα
60 *φοιτῶντες διάγουσι μαθάνοντες δικαιο-*
σύνην· καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔρχονται ὥσπερ
παρ' ἡμῖν ὅτι γράμματα μαθησόμενοι. οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες
αὐτῶν διατελοῦσι τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας δικάζοντες
αὐτοῖς. γίγνεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ παισὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
65 *ὥσπερ ἀνδράσιν ἐγκλήματα καὶ κλοπῆς καὶ ἀρπαγῆς*

Boys.

6

καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ κακολογίας καὶ ἄλλων οἷων
 δὴ εἰκός. οὓς δ' ἂν γινώσι τούτων τι ἀδικούντας,
 7 τιμωροῦνται. κολάζουσι δὲ καὶ ὃν ἂν ἀδίκως ἐγ-
 καλοῦντα εὐρίσκωσι. δικάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκλήματος,
 οὗ ἕνεκα ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους μάλιστα, 70
 δικάζονται δὲ ἥκιστα, ἀχαριστίας, καὶ ὃν ἂν γινώσι
 δυνάμενον μὲν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ ἀποδιδόντα δέ,
 κολάζουσι καὶ τοῦτον ἰσχυρῶς. οἴονται γὰρ τοὺς
 ἀχαρίστους καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἂν μάλιστα ἀμελῶς ἔχειν
 καὶ περὶ γονέας καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους. ἔπεσθαι δὲ 75
 δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἢ ἀναισχυνντίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ
 αὕτη μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχυρὰ ἡγεμών.
 8 διδάσκουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ σωφροσύνην· μέγα δὲ
 συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ μαρθάνειν σωφρονεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅτι
 καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὀρώσιν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν 80
 σωφρόνως διάγοντας. διδάσκουσι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πεί-
 θεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμ-
 βάλλεται ὅτι ὀρώσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πειθομένους
 τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἰσχυρῶς. διδάσκουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκράτειαν
 γαστρὸς καὶ ποτοῦ· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται 85
 ὅτι ὀρώσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρόσθεν ἀπιόντας
 γαστρὸς ἕνεκα πρὶν ἂν ἀφώσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὅτι
 οὐ παρὰ μητρὶ σιτοῦνται οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ
 διδασκάλῳ, ὅταν οἱ ἄρχοντες σημήνωσι. φέρονται δὲ
 οἴκοθεν σῖτον μὲν ἄρτον, ὄψον δὲ κάρδαμον, πιεῖν δέ, 90
 ἣν τις διψῇ, κάθωνα, ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρύσασθαι.
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μαρθάνουσι καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν.
 μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἕξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτων ἀπὸ γενεᾶς οἱ
 παῖδες ταῦτα πράττουσιν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἰς τοὺς
 9 ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται. οὗτοι δ' αὖ οἱ ἔφη- 95
 9 Young men. Βοι διάγουσιν ὧδε. δέκα ἔτη ἀφ' οὗ ἂν

ἐκ παίδων ἐξέλθωσι κοιμῶνται μὲν περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα,
 ὥσπερ προειρήκαμεν, καὶ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῆς πόλεως
 καὶ σωφροσύνης· δοκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ ἡλικία μάλιστα
 100 ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι· παρέχουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν
 ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσι χρήσθαι ἢν τι δέωνται ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ κοινού. καὶ ὅταν μὲν δέῃ, πάντες μένουσι περὶ
 τὰ ἀρχεῖα· ὅταν δὲ ἐξίῃ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θήραν, ἐξάγει
 τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις
 105 τοῦ μηνός. ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐξιόντας τόξα καὶ παρὰ
 τὴν φαρέτραν ἐν κολεῷ κοπίδα ἢ σάγαριν, ἔτι δὲ
 γέρρον καὶ παλτὰ δύο, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀφεῖναι, τῷ δ', εἰ
 δέῃ, ἐκ χειρὸς χρήσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ δημοσίᾳ τοῦ 10
 θηρᾶν ἐπιμέλονται, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ
 110 ἡγεμών ἐστίν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτός τε θηρᾷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἐπιμέλεται ὅπως ἂν θηρώσιν, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη αὐτοῖς
 δοκεῖ εἶναι αὕτη ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.
 καὶ γὰρ πρὸ ἀνίστασθαι ἐθίζει καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ
 ἀνέχεσθαι, γυμνάζει δὲ καὶ ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ δρόμοις,
 115 ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τοξεύσαι θηρίον καὶ ἀκοντίσαι ὅπου ἂν
 παραπίπτῃ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη
 θήγεσθαι, ὅταν τι τῶν ἀλκίμων θηρίων ἀνθιστῇται·
 παίειν μὲν γὰρ δήπου δεῖ τὸ ὁμόσε γιγνόμενον,
 φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον· ὥστε οὐ ῥᾶδιον
 120 εὐρεῖν, τί ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ ἄπεςτι τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ παρόντων.
 ἐξέρχονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἄριστον ἔχοντες πλείον 11
 μὲν, ὥς τὸ εἶκος, τῶν παίδων, τἄλλα δὲ ὅμοιον. καὶ
 θηρῶντες μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἀριστήσειαν, ἢν δέ τι δεήσῃ ἢ
 θηρίου ἔνεκα ἐπικαταμεῖναι ἢ ἄλλως ἐθελήσωσι
 125 διατρίψαι περὶ τὴν θήραν, τὸ οὖν ἄριστον τοῦτο
 δειπνήσαντες τὴν ὑστεραίαν αὖ θηρώσι μέχρι δειπνου,
 καὶ μίαν ἄμφω τούτῳ τῷ ἡμέρα λογίζονται, ὅτι μιᾶς

- ἡμέρας σῖτον δαπανῶσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσι τοῦ
 ἐθίζεσθαι ἕνεκα, ἵν' ἐάν τι καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δεῖσῃ,
 δύνωνται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ ὄψον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν οἱ ¹³⁰
 τηλικούτοι ὅ,τι ἂν θηράσωσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ κάρδαμον.
 εἰ δέ τις αὐτοὺς οἶεται ἢ ἐσθλῆιν ἀηδῶς, ὅταν κάρδαμον
 μόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, ἢ πίνειν ἀηδῶς, ὅταν ὕδωρ
 πίνωσιν, ἀναμνησθήτω πῶς μὲν ἡδὺ μᾶζα καὶ ἄρτος
 12 πεινῶντι φαγεῖν, πῶς δὲ ἡδὺ ὕδωρ πιεῖν διψῶντι. αἱ ¹³⁵
 δ' αὖ μένουσαι φυλαὶ διατρίβουσι μελετῶσαι τὰ τε
 ἄλλα, ἃ παῖδες ὄντες ἔμαθον, καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντί-
 ζειν, καὶ διαγωνιζόμενοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους δια-
 τελοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δημόσιοι τούτων ἀγῶνες καὶ
 ἀθλα προτίθεται· ἐν ᾗ δ' ἂν τῶν φυλῶν πλείστοι ὦσι ¹⁴⁰
 δαημονέστατοι καὶ ἀνδρικότατοι καὶ εὐπιστότατοι,
 ἐπαινοῦσιν οἱ πολῖται καὶ τιμῶσιν οὐ μόνον τὸν νῦν
 ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς παῖδας ὄντας
 ἐπαίδευσε. χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς μένουσι τῶν ἐφήβων αἱ
 ἀρχαί, ἣν τι ἢ φρουρῆσαι δεῖσῃ ἢ κακούργους ἐρε- ¹⁴⁵
 νῆσαι ἢ ληστὰς ὑποδραμεῖν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι, ὅσα ἰσχύος
 τε καὶ τάχους ἔργα ἐστί. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐφήβοι
 πράττουσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διατελέσωσιν,
 13 Full-grown ἐξέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἀνδρας. ἀφ'
 men. οὗ δ' ἂν ἐξέλθωσι χρόνου οὗτοι αὖ πέντε ¹⁵⁰
 καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη διάγουσιν ὧδε. πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ
 οἱ ἐφήβοι παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρῆσθαι,
 ἣν τι δέῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὅσα φρονούντων τε ἡδὴ ἔργα
 ἐστὶ καὶ ἔτι δυνάμενων. ἣν δὲ που δέῃ στρατεῦεσθαι,
 τόξα μὲν οἱ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένοι οὐκέτι ἔχοντες οὐδὲ ¹⁵⁵
 παλτὰ στρατεύονται, τὰ δ' ἀγχέμαχα ὅπλα καλούμενα,
 θώρακά τε περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις καὶ γέρρον ἐν τῇ ἀρι-
 στερᾷ, οἷον περ γράφονται οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχοντες, ἐν δὲ

τῇ δεξιᾷ ^{ἡ δεξιά} μάχαιραν ἢ ^{σὺν τῷ} κοπίδα. καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ δὲ πᾶσαι
 160 ἐκ τούτων καθίστανται πλὴν οἱ τῶν παίδων διδά-
 σκαλοι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη διατελέ-
 σωσιν, εἶησαν μὲν ἂν οὗτοι πλεῖόν τι γεγονότες ἢ τὰ
 πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς· ἐξέρχονται δὲ ^{τῶν} τῆνικαῦτα
 εἰς τοὺς γεραιτέρους ὄντας τε καὶ καλουμένους, οἱ δ' 14
 165 αὖ γεραιτέροι οὗτοι στρατεύονται μὲν οὐ- Elders.
 κέτι ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οἴκοι δὲ μένοντες δικάζουσι τὰ τε
 κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια πάντα. καὶ θανάτου δὲ οὗτοι κρί-
 νουσι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὗτοι πάσας αἰροῦνται· καὶ ἦν τις
 ἢ ἐν ἐφήβοις ἢ ἐν τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἐλλίπη τι τῶν
 170 νομίμων, φαίνουσι μὲν οἱ φύλαρχοι ἕκαστοι καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ὁ βουλούμενος, οἱ δὲ γεραιτέροι ἀκούσαντες ἐκκρί-
 νουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς ἄτιμος διατελεῖ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον.

Ἴνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πο- 15
 λιτεία, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι· νῦν γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἂν
 175 δηλωθείη διὰ τὰ προειρημένα. λέγονται μὲν γὰρ Πέρ-
 σαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι· τού-
 των δ' οὐδεὶς ἀπέληλαται νόμῳ τιμῶν καὶ ^{ἡ περσική} ἀρχῶν, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι πᾶσι Πέρσαις πέμ-
 πειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς
 180 δικαιοσύνης διδασκαλεία, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι τρέ-
 φειν τοὺς παῖδας ἀργούντας πέμπουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ
 δυνάμενοι οὐ πέμπουσιν. οἱ δ' ἂν παιδευθῶσι παρὰ
 τοῖς δημοσίοις διδασκαλοῖς, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς
 ἐφήβοις ^{ἐπὶ τοῖς Πέρσιν} νεανισκεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ διαπαιδευθεῖσιν
 185 οὕτως οὐκ ἔξεστιν. οἱ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις διατε-
 λέσωσι τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντες, ἔξεστι τούτοις εἰς τοὺς
 τελείους ἀνδρας ^{ἐν τῇ Περσῇ} συναλίσσεσθαι καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τιμῶν
 μετέχειν, οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ διαγέωνται ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις,
 οὐκ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους. οἱ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς

This discipline
is open to all Per-
sians, but, in prac-
tice, confined to a
few.

τελείοις διαγέγωνται ἀνεπιληπτοί, οὔτοι τῶν γεραιτέρων γίγνονται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ γεραιέτεροι διὰ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ^{ἐληλυθότες} καθίστανται· καὶ ἡ πολιτεία 16 αὕτη, ἣ οἴονται χρώμενοι βέλτιστοι ἂν εἶναι. καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι ἐμμένει μαρτύρια καὶ τῆς μετρίας διαίτης αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐκπονεῖσθαι 195 τὴν δίαitan. αἰσχροὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ Πέρσαις καὶ τὸ πτύειν καὶ τὸ ἀπομύττεσθαι καὶ τὸ φύσης μεστοὺς φαίνεσθαι, αἰσχροὺς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἰόντα ποι φανερόν γενέσθαι ἢ τοῦ οὐρηῆσαι ἔνεκα ἢ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τοιούτου. ταῦτα 200 δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐδύνατο ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτη μετρία ἐχρῶντο καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκπονοῦντες ἀνηλίσκον, ὥστε ἄλλη πῃ ἀποχωρεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κατὰ πάντων Περσῶν ἔχομεν λέγειν· οὐ δ' ἔνεκα ὁ λόγος ὠρμήθη, νῦν λέξομεν τὰς Κύρου πράξεις ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ παιδός. 205

III Κῦρος γὰρ μέχρι μὲν δώδεκα ἐτῶν ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλείον ταύτῃ τῇ παιδείᾳ ἐπαιδεύθη, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλικίων διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο καὶ εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μαρθάνειν ἂν δέοι καὶ εἰς τὸ καλῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἔκαστα ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου 5 μετεπέμψατο Ἀστυάγης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῆς· ἰδεῖν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει, ὅτι ἤκουεν αὐτὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι. ἔρχεται δ' αὐτῇ τε ἡ Μανδάνη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν Κῦρον τὸν υἱὸν 2 ἔχουσα. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο τάχιστα καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Κῦρος 10 τὸν Ἀστυάγην τῆς μητρὸς πατέρα ὄντα, εὐθύς οἶα δὴ παῖς φύσει φιλοστόργος ὢν ἡσπάζετό τε αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις πάλαι συντεθραμμένος καὶ πάλαι φιλῶν ἀσπάζοιτο, καὶ ὁρῶν δὴ αὐτὸν κεκοσμημένον καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῇ 15

Physical evidence of the good effect of their severe discipline.

Physical evidence of the good effect of their severe discipline.

The visit of Cyrus to his grandfather Astyages.

His boyish keenness of observation and aptness of remark.

- καὶ χρώματος ἐντρίψει καὶ κόμαις ^{προσθέτοις}, ἃ
 δὴ νόμιμα ἦν ἐν Μήδοις· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα Μηδικὰ
 ἔσθ^η καὶ οἱ πόρφυροὶ ^{ρυτίε} χιτῶνες καὶ οἱ κἀνδυνες καὶ οἱ
 στρεπτοὶ οἱ περὶ τῇ δέρῃ καὶ τὰ ψέλια τὰ περὶ ταῖς
 20 χερσίν, ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τοῖς οἴκοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολὺ καὶ
 ἔσθ^ηήτες φανυλότεραι καὶ δίαται εὐτελέστεραι· ὁρῶν
 δὴ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πάππου, ἐμβλέπων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν,
 ὦ μῆτερ, ὥς καλὸς μοι ὁ πάππος. ἐρωτώσης δὲ
 αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς πότερος καλλίων αὐτῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι,
 25 ὁ πατὴρ ἢ οὗτος, ἀπεκρίνατο ἄρα ὁ Κῦρος, ὦ μῆτερ,
 Περσῶν μὲν πολὺ κάλλιστος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, Μήδων
 μέντοι ὅσων ἑώρακα ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ
 ταῖς θύραις πολὺ οὗτος ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος κάλλιστος.
 ἀντασπαζόμενος δὲ ὁ πάππος αὐτὸν καὶ στολὴν 3
 30 καλὴν ἐνέδυσσε καὶ στρεπτοῖς καὶ ψελίοις ἐτίμα καὶ
 ἐκόσμη, καὶ εἴ ποι ἐξελαυνοί, ἐφ' ἵππου χρυσοχαλί-
 νου περιῆγεν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰώθει πορεύεσθαι.
 ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἄτε παῖς ὢν καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλό-
 τιμος ἤδετο τῇ στολῇ, καὶ ἱππεύειν μανθάνων ὑπερ-
 35 ἔχαιρεν· ἐν Πέρσαις γὰρ διὰ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι
 καὶ τρέφειν ἵππους καὶ ἱππεύειν ἐν ὀρεινῇ οὕσῃ
 τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἵππον πάνυ σπάνιον ἦν. δειπνῶν 4
 δὲ δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ, βου-
 λόμενος τὸν παῖδα ὥς ἡδιστα δειπνεῖν, ἵνα ἦττον τὰ
 40 οἴκαδε ποθοίῃ, προσῆγεν αὐτῷ καὶ παροψίδας καὶ
 παντοδαπὰ ἐμβάσματα καὶ βρώματα. τὸν δὲ Κῦρον
 ἔφασαν λέγειν, ὦ πάππε, ὅσα πράγματα ἔχεις ἐν τῷ
 δείπνῳ, εἰ ἀνάγκη σοι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ λεκάρια ταῦτα
 διατείνειν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἀπογεύεσθαι τούτων τῶν
 45 παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων. Τί δέ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυά-
 γην, οὐ γὰρ πολὺ σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κάλλιον τόδε τὸ

δεῖπνον τοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις; τὸν δὲ Κύρον πρὸς ταῦτα
 ἀποκρίνασθαι [λέγεται], Οὐκ, ὦ πάππε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ
 ἀπλουστέρα καὶ εὐθυτέρα παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ
 τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν· ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἄρτος 50
 καὶ κρέα εἰς τοῦτο ἄγει, ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰς μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν
 σπεύδετε, πολλοὺς δὲ τινας ἐλιγμοὺς ἄνω καὶ κάτω
 πλανώμενοι μόλις ἀφικνεῖσθε ὅποι ἡμεῖς πάλαι ἤκο-
 5 μεν. Ἄλλ', ὦ παῖ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, οὐκ ἀχθό-
 μενοι ταῦτα περιπλανώμεθα· γευόμενος δὲ καὶ σὺ, 55
 ἔφη, γνώσει ὅτι ἡδέα ἐστίν. Ἄλλὰ καὶ σέ, φάναι τὸν
 Κύρον, ὁρῶ, ὦ πάππε, μυσσαττόμενον ταῦτα τὰ βρώ-
 ματα. καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην ἐπερέσθαι, Καὶ τίνι δὴ
 σὺ τεκμαιρόμενος, ὦ παῖ, λέγεις; Ὅτι σε, φάναι, ὁρῶ,
 ὅταν μὲν τοῦ ἄρτου ἄψῃ, εἰς οὐδὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἀπο- 60
 ψώμενον, ὅταν δὲ τούτων τινδς θίγῃς, εὐθὺς ἀποκα-
 θαίρει τὴν χεῖρα εἰς τὰ χειρόμακτρα, ὡς πάννυ ἀχθό-
 6 μενος ὅτι πλέα σοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ
 τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν, Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτω γιγνώσκεις, ὦ
 παῖ, ἀλλὰ κρέα γε εὐωχοῦ, ἵνα νεανίας οἴκαδε ἀπέλ- 65
 θῇς. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντα πολλὰ αὐτῷ παραφέρειν
 καὶ θήρεια καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων. καὶ τὸν Κύρον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρα
 πολλὰ τὰ κρέα, εἰπεῖν, Ἡ καὶ δίδως, φάναι, ὦ πάππε,
 πάντα ταῦτά μοι τὰ κρέα ὅ,τι ἂν βούλωμαι αὐτοῖς
 7 χρῆσθαι; Νῆ Δία, φάναι, ὦ παῖ, ἔγωγέ σοι. ἐνταῦ- 70
 θα δὴ τὸν Κύρον λαβόντα τῶν κρεῶν διαδιδόναι τοῖς
 ἀμφὶ τὸν πάππον θεραπευταῖς, ἐπιλέγοντα ἐκάστω,
 Σοὶ μὲν τοῦτο ὅτι προθύμως με ἱππεύειν διδάσκεις,
 σοὶ δ' ὅτι μοι παλτὸν ἔδωκας· νῦν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔχω·
 σοὶ δ' ὅτι τὸν πάππον καλῶς θεραπεύεις, σοὶ δ' ὅτι 75
 μου τὴν μητέρα τιμᾷς· τοιαῦτα ἐποίει, ἕως διεδίδου
 8 πάντα ἃ ἔλαβε κρέα. Σάκα δέ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην,

τῷ οἰνοχόῳ, ὃν ἐγὼ μάλιστα τιμῶ, οὐδὲν δίδως; ὁ
 δὲ Σάκας ἄρα καλὸς τε ὢν ἐτύγχανε καὶ τιμὴν ἔχων
 80 προσάγειν τοὺς δεομένους Ἀστυάγους καὶ ἀποκωλύειν
 οὓς μὴ καιρὸς αὐτῷ δοκοίη εἶναι προσάγειν. καὶ τὸν
 Κῦρον ἐπερέσθαι προπετῶς ὡς ἂν παῖς μηδέπω ὑπο-
 πτήσσω, Διὰ τί δή, ὦ πάππε, τοῦτον οὕτω τιμᾶς;
 καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην σκώψαντα εἰπεῖν, Οὐχ ὀρᾶς, φά-
 85 ναι, ὡς καλῶς οἰνοχοεῖ καὶ εὐσχημόνως; οἱ δὲ τῶν
 βασιλέων τούτων οἰνοχόοι κομψῶς τε οἰνοχοοῦσι καὶ
 καθαρείως ἐγχέουσι καὶ διδόασιν τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις
 ὀχοῦντες τὴν φιάλην καὶ προσφέρουσιν, ὡς ἂν ἐνδοῖεν
 τὸ ἔκπωμα εὐληπτότατα τῷ μέλλοντι πίνειν. Κέλευ- 9
 90 σον δή, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, τὸν Σάκαν καὶ ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τὸ
 ἔκπωμα, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ καλῶς σοι πιεῖν ἐγχέας ἀνακτήσω-
 μαί σε, ἣν δύνωμαι. καὶ τὸν κελεύσαι δοῦναι. λα-
 βόντα δὲ τὸν Κῦρον οὕτω μὲν δὴ εὖ κλύσαι τὸ ἔκπωμα
 ὥσπερ τὸν Σάκαν ἑώρα, οὕτω δὲ στήσαντα τὸ πρόσ-
 95 ωπον σπουδαίως καὶ εὐσχημόνως πῶς προσενεγκεῖν
 καὶ ἐνδοῦναι τὴν φιάλην τῷ πάππῳ, ὥστε τῇ μητρὶ
 καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγει πολὺν γέλωτα παρασχεῖν. καὶ
 αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κῦρον ἐκγελάσαντα ἀναπηδῆσαι πρὸς
 τὸν πάππον καὶ φιλοῦντα ἅμα εἰπεῖν, ὦ Σάκα, ἀπό-
 100 λωλας· ἐκβαλῶ σε ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα,
 φάναι, σοῦ κάλλιον οἰνοχοήσω καὶ οὐκ ἐκπίομαι αὐτὸς
 τὸν οἶνον. οἱ δ' ἄρα τῶν βασιλέων οἰνοχόοι, ἐπειδὴν
 διδῶσι τὴν φιάλην, ἀρύσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῷ κυάθῳ
 εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα ἐγχέόμενοι καταρροφούσι, τοῦ
 105 δὴ, εἰ φάρμακα ἐγχέοιεν, μὴ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς. ἐκ 10
 τούτου δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐπισκώπτων, Καὶ τί δή, ἔφη,
 ὦ Κῦρε, τᾶλλα μιμούμενος τὸν Σάκαν οὐκ ἀπερρόφη-
 σας τοῦ οἶνου; Ὅτι, ἔφη, νῆ Δία ἐδεδοίκειν μὴ ἐν τῷ

κρατῆρι φάρμακα μεμιγμένα εἴη. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε εἰστί-
 σας σὺ τοὺς φίλους ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις, σαφῶς κατέ- 110
 μαθον φάρμακα ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐγχεάντα. Καὶ πῶς δὴ
 σὺ τοῦτο, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, κατέγνως; "Οτι νῆ Δί' ὑμᾶς
 ἐώρων καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασι σφαλλομέ-
 νους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἃ οὐκ ἔατε ἡμᾶς τοὺς παῖδας
 ποιεῖν, ταῦτα αὐτοὶ ἐποιοῖτε. πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἅμα 115
 ἐκεκράγειτε, ἐμανθάνετε δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων, ἦδετε δὲ
 καὶ μάλα γελοίως, οὐκ ἀκροώμενοι δὲ τοῦ ἄδοντος
 ὠμνύετε ἄριστα ἄδειν· λέγων δὲ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ ῥώμην, ἔπειτ', εἰ ἀνασταλήτε ὀρχησόμενοι, μὴ
 ὅπως ὀρχεῖσθαι ἐν ῥυθμῷ ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὀρθοῦσθαι ἐδύ- 120
 νασθε. ἐπελέλησθε δὲ παντάπασι σύ τε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς
 ἦσθα, οἳ τε ἄλλοι, ὅτι σὺ ἄρχων. τότε γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε
 καὶ πρῶτον κατέμαθον ὅτι τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν ἡ ἰσηγορία
 11 ὁ ὑμεῖς τότ' ἐποιοῖτε· οὐδέποτε γοῦν ἐσιωπᾶτε. καὶ ὁ
 Ἀστυάγης λέγει, Ὁ δὲ σὸς πατήρ, ὦ παῖ, πίνων οὐ 125
 μεθύσκειται; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ πῶς ποιεῖ;
 Διψῶν παύεται, ἄλλο δὲ κακὸν οὐδὲν πάσχει· οὐ γάρ,
 οἶμαι, ὦ πάππε, Σάκας αὐτῷ οἰνοχοεῖ. καὶ ἡ μήτηρ
 εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ τί ποτε σύ, ὦ παῖ, τῷ Σάκῃ οὕτω πολε-
 μεῖς; τὸν δὲ Κῦρον εἰπεῖν, "Οτι νῆ Δία, φάναι, μισῶ 130
 αὐτόν· πολλάκις γὰρ με πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐπιθυμοῦν-
 τα προσδραμεῖν οὗτος ὁ μιαρώτατος ἀποκωλύει. ἀλλ'
 ἱκετεύω, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, δός μοι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἄρξαι
 αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν, Καὶ πῶς ἂν ἄρξαις
 αὐτοῦ; καὶ τὸν Κῦρον φάναι, Στάς ἂν ὥσπερ οὗτος 135
 ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ, ἔπειτα ὁπότε βούλοιτο παριέναι ἐπ'
 ἄριστον, λέγοιμ' ἂν ὅτι οὐπω δυνατὸν τῷ ἀρίστῳ
 ἐντυχεῖν· σπουδάζει γὰρ πρὸς τινας· εἴθ' ὁπότε ἡκοι
 ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, λέγοιμ' ἂν ὅτι λούται· εἰ δὲ πάνυ

σπουδάξοι φαγεῖν, εἴποιμ' ἂν ὅτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναιξίν
 ἐστίν· ἕως παρατείναιμι τοῦτον, ὥσπερ οὗτος ἐμὲ
 παρατείνει ἀπὸ σοῦ κωλύων. τοσαύτας μὲν αὐτοῖς 12
 εὐθυμίας παρέιχεν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ· τὰς δ' ἡμέρας, εἴ
 τινος αἰσθοίτο δεόμενον ἢ τὸν πάππον ἢ τὸν τῆς μη-
 τρὸς ἀδελφόν, χαλεπὸν ἦν ἄλλον φθάσαι τοῦτο ποιή-
 σαντα· ὅτι γὰρ δύναίτο ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερέχαιρεν αὐτοῖς
 χαριζόμενος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Μανδάνη παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπιούσα 13
 πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῆς ὁ
 Ἀστυάγης καταλιπεῖν τὸν Κῦρον. ἡ δὲ Astyages begs
Mandane to leave
Cyrus at his court
on her return to
Persia.
 ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι βούλοιτο μὲν ἅπαντα τῷ
 πατρὶ χαρίζεσθαι, ἄκουτα μέντοι τὸν
 παῖδα χαλεπὸν εἶναι νομίζειν καταλιπεῖν. ἔνθα δὲ ὁ
 Ἀστυάγης λέγει πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, ὦ παῖ, ἦν μένης 14
 παρ' ἐμοί, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρ' ἐμὲ εἰσόδου σοι οὐ
 Σάκας ἄρξει, ἀλλ' ὅποταν βούλῃ εἰσιέναι ὡς ἐμέ, ἐπὶ
 σοὶ ἔσται· καὶ χάριν σοι εἴσομαι ὅσῳ ἂν πλεονάκεις
 εἰσῆς ὡς ἐμέ. ἔπειτα δὲ ἵπποις τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρήσει καὶ
 ἄλλοις ὅποσοις ἂν βούλῃ, καὶ ὅποταν ἀπῆς, ἔχων
 ἵππει οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλῃς. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ ἐπὶ
 τὸ μετρίως σοι δοκοῦν ἔχειν ὅποιαν βούλει ὁδὸν πο-
 ρεύσει. ἔπειτα τά τε νῦν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία
 ἰδωμί σοι καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ συλλέξω, ἃ σὺ ἐπει-
 ἂν τάχιστα ἱππεύειν μάθῃς, διώξει καὶ τοξεύων καὶ
 ἱκοντίζων καταβαλεῖς ὥσπερ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες. καὶ
 ταῖδας δέ σοι ἐγὼ συμπαίστορας παρέξω, καὶ ἄλλα
 πόσα ἂν βούλῃ λέγων πρὸς ἐμὲ οὐκ ἀτυχήσεις. ἐπεὶ 15
 αὐτὰ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἡ μήτηρ διη-
 ὤτα τὸν Κῦρον, πότερον βούλοιτο μένειν She consults
Cyrus, who ex-
presses his wish
to stay because he
will learn more.
 ἀπιέναι. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ

- ταχὺ εἶπεν ὅτι μένειν βούλοιο. ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ
παῖλιν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς διὰ τί, εἰπεῖν λέγεται. "Οτι
οἴκοι μὲν τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ εἰμὶ καὶ δοκῶ κράτιστος
εἶναι, ὦ μήτερ, καὶ ἀκοντίζων καὶ τοξεύων, ἐνταῦ-
θα δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι ἱππεύων ἡττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἡλίκων· καὶ 175
τοῦτο εὖ ἴσθι, ὦ μήτερ, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐμὲ πάννυ ἀνιᾷ. ἦν δέ
με καταλίπης ἐνθάδε καὶ μάθω ἱππεύειν, ὅταν μὲν ἐν
Πέρσαις ὦ, οἰμαί σοι ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πε-
ζικὰ ῥαδίως νικήσειν, ὅταν δ' εἰς Μήδους ἔλθω, ἐν-
θάδε πειράσομαι τῷ πάππῳ ἀγαθῶν ἱππέων κράτισ- 180
τος ὢν ἱππεὺς συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ μητέρα εἰπεῖν,
16 Τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, ὦ παῖ, πῶς μαθήσει ἐνθάδε, ἐκεῖ
ὄντων σοι τῶν διδασκάλων; καὶ τὸν Κῦρον φάναι·
'Ἄλλ', ὦ μήτερ, ἀκριβῶς ταῦτά γε οἶδα. Πῶς σὺ
οἴσθαι; τὴν Μανδάνην εἰπεῖν. "Οτι, φάναι, ὁ διδά- 185
σκαλός με ὡς ἤδη ἀκριβοῦντα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ
ἄλλοις καθίστη δικάζειν. καὶ τοίνυν, φάναι, ἐπὶ μιᾷ
17 ποτε δίκη πληγὰς ἔλαβον ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικάσας. ἦν
δὲ ἡ δίκη τοιαύτη· παῖς μέγας μικρὸν ἔχων χιτῶνα
παῖδα μικρὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα χιτῶνα ἐκδύσας αὐτὸν 190
τὸν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνῳ ἡμφίεσε, τὸν δ' ἐκείνου αὐτὸς
ἐνέδνυ. ἐγὼ οὖν τούτοις δικάζων ἔγνω βέλτιον εἶναι
ἀμφοτέροις τὸν ἀρμόττοντα ἐκάτερον χιτῶνα ἔχειν. ἐπὶ
δὲ τούτῳ με ἔπαισεν ὁ διδάσκαλος, λέξας ὅτι, ὁπότε
μὲν τοῦ ἀρμόττοντος εἶην κριτής, οὕτω δέοι ποιεῖν, 195
ὁπότε δὲ κρίναι δέοι, ποτέρου ὁ χιτῶν εἶη, τοῦτ' ἔφη
σκεπτέον εἶναι, τίς κτῆσις δικαία ἐστί, πότερα τὸν
βία ἀφελόμενον ἔχειν ἢ τὸν ποιησάμενον ἢ πριάμενον
κεκτῆσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ', ἔφη, τὸ μὲν νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶ-
ναι, τὸ δὲ ἄνομον βίαιον, σὺν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευεν αἰεὶ 200
τὸν δικαστὴν τὴν ψήφον τίθεσθαι. οὕτως ἐγὼ σοι, ὦ

μήτηρ, τά γε δίκαια παντάπασιν ἤδη ἀκριβῶ· ἦν δέ
 τι ἄρα προσδέωμαι, ὁ πάππος με, ἔφη, οὗτος ἐπιδι-
 δάξει. Ἄλλ' οὐ ταυτά, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ 18
 205 καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις δίκαια ὁμολογεῖται. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ
 τῶν ἐν Μήδοις πάντων ἑαυτὸν δεσπότην πεποίηκεν,
 ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν δίκαιον νομίζεται. καὶ ὁ
 σὸς πατήρ πρῶτος τὰ τεταγμένα μὲν ποιεῖ τῇ πόλει,
 τὰ τεταγμένα δὲ λαμβάνει, μέτρον δὲ αὐτῷ οὐχ ἡ
 210 ψυχὴ ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολεῖ μαστι-
 γούμενος, ἐπειδὰν οἴκοι ῥῆς, ἂν παρὰ τούτου μαθὼν
 ἥκης ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τὸ τυραννικόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τὸ
 πλεῖον οἶεσθαι χρῆναι πάντων ἔχειν. Ἄλλ' ὁ γε σὸς
 πατήρ, εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, δεινότερός ἐστιν, ὦ μήτηρ, δι-
 215 δάσκειν μείον ἢ πλεῖον ἔχειν· ἡ οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὅτι
 καὶ Μήδους ἅπαντας δεδίδαχεν αὐτοῦ μείον ἔχειν;
 ὥστε θάρρει, ὡς ὁ γε σὸς πατήρ οὐτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα
 οὐτ' ἐμὲ πλεονεκτεῖν μαθόντα ἀποπέμψει.

IV Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐλάλει ὁ Κῦρος· τέλος δὲ ἡ 1
 μὲν μήτηρ ἀπῆλθε, Κῦρος δὲ κατέμενε καὶ
 αὐτοῦ ἐτρέφετο. καὶ ταχὺ μὲν τοῖς ἡλικιώ-
 ταις συνεκέκρατο ὥστε οἰκείως διακείσθαι,
 5 ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἀνήρτητο,
 προσιῶν καὶ ἔνδηλος ὢν ὅτι ἡσπάζετο
 αὐτῶν τοὺς υἱεῖς, ὥστε, εἴ τι τοῦ βασιλέως
 δέοιντο, τοὺς παῖδας ἐκέλευον τοῦ Κύρου
 δεῖσθαι διαπράξασθαι σφίσιν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὅτι δέοιντο
 10 αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
 περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο διαπράττεσθαι, καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης 2
 δέ, ὅτι δέοιτο αὐτοῦ ὁ Κῦρος, οὐδὲν ἐδύνατο ἀντέχειν
 μὴ οὐ χαρίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ οὐδέ-
 ποτε ἀπέλειπε τὸν πάππον οὐδὲ κλάων ποτὲ ἐπαύετο,

Cyrus remains
 five years at
 the court of
 his grandfather,
 where he makes
 many friends and
 acquires a pro-
 ficiency in vari-
 ous accomplish-
 ments, especial-
 ly hunting and
 horsemanship.

ἀλλὰ δῆλος ἦν πᾶσιν ὅτι ὑπερεφοβεῖτο μή οἱ ὁ πάπ- 15
 πος ἀποθάνῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ νυκτὸς εἴ τινος δέοιτο Ἀσ-
 τυάγης, πρῶτος ἡσθάνετο ὁ Κῦρος καὶ πάντων ἀοκνό-
 τατα ἀνεπήδα ὑπηρετήσων ὅτι οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι,
 ὥστε παντάπασιν ἀνεκτήσατο τὸν Ἀστυάγην.

3 Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἴσως πολυλογώτερος, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν 20
 παιδείαν, ὅτι ἡναγκάζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ
 διδόναι λόγον ὧν ἐποίει καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἄλλων,
 ὁπότε δικάζοι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλομαθὴς εἶναι πολλὰ
 μὲν αὐτὸς αἰετὸς παρόντας ἀνηρώτα, πῶς ἔχοντα
 τυγχάνοι, καί, ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐρωτῶτο, διὰ τὸ 25
 ἀγχίνους εἶναι ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνετο, ὥστ' ἐκ πάντων τού-
 των ἡ πολυλογία συνελέγετο αὐτῷ· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ γὰρ
 ἐν σώματι, ὅσοι νέοι ὄντες μέγεθος ἔλαβον, ὅμως ἐμ-
 φαίνεται τὸ νεαρὸν αὐτοῖς, ὃ κατηγορεῖ τὴν ὀλιγοεσίαν,
 οὕτω καὶ Κῦρου ἐκ τῆς πολυλογίας οὐ θράσος διε- 30
 φαίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀπλότης καὶ φιλοστοργία, ὥστ' ἐπεθύ-
 μει ἂν τις ἔτι πλείω αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν ἢ σιωπῶντι παρ-
 εἶναι.

4 Ὡς δὲ προῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ χρόνος σὺν τῷ μεγέθει
 εἰς ὥραν τοῦ πρόσηβον γενέσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τοῖς 35
 μὲν λόγοις μανοτέροις ἐχρήτο καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἡσυχαιτέ-
 ρα, αἰδοῦς δ' ἐνεπίμπλατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐρυθραίνεσθαι
 ὁπότε συντυγχάνοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τὸ σκυλα-
 κῶδες τὸ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως προσπίπτειν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως
 [προπετεῖς] εἶχεν. οὕτω δὲ ἡσυχαιότερος μὲν ἦν, ἐν 40
 δὲ ταῖς σὺννουσίαις πάμπαν ἐπίχαρις. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα
 διαγωνίζονται πολλάκις ἡλικες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχ ἃ
 κρείττων ἦδει ὦν, ταῦτα προῦκαλεῖτο τοὺς συνόντας,
 ἀλλ' ἅπερ εἶ ἦδει ἑαυτὸν ἥττονα ὄντα, ἐξῆρχε, φάσ-
 κων κάλλιον αὐτῶν ποιήσειν, καὶ κατῆρχεν ἡδη ἀνα- 45

πηδῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἢ διατοξευσόμενος ἢ διακον-
τιούμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὐπω πάνυ ἔποχος ὢν,
ἡττώμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μάλιστα ἐγέλα. ὥς δ' 5
οὐκ ἀπεδίδρασκεν ἐκ τοῦ ἡττᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ
50 ἡττώτο, ἀλλ' ἐκαλινδεῖτο ἐν τῷ πειρᾶσθαι αὐθις βέλ-
τιον ποιεῖν, ταχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἀφίκετο τῇ ἵππικῇ
τοῖς ἡλιξι, ταχὺ δὲ παρήει διὰ τὸ ἐρᾶν τοῦ ἔργου,
ταχὺ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἀνηλώκει διώκων
καὶ βάλλων καὶ κατακαίνων, ὥστε ὁ Ἀστυάγης οὐκέτ'
55 εἶχεν αὐτῷ συλλέγειν θηρία. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος αἰσθόμενος
ὅτι βουλόμενος οὐ δύναιτό οἱ ζῶντα πολλὰ παρέχειν,
ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν, ὦ πάππε, τί σε δεῖ θηρία ζητοῦντα
πράγματ' ἔχειν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲ ἐκπέμπης ἐπὶ θήραν
σὺν τῷ θείῳ, νομιῶ ὅσα ἂν ἴδω θηρία, ἐμοὶ ταῦτα
60 τρέφεσθαι. ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ σφόδρα ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν 6
οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως λιπαρεῖν ἐδύνατο ὥσπερ παῖς ὢν, ἀλλ'
ὀκνηρότερον προσήει. καὶ ἂ πρόσθεν τῷ Σάκα ἐμέμ-
φετο ὅτι οὐ παρίει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πάππον, αὐτὸς ἤδη
Σάκας ἑαυτῷ ἐγίνετο· οὐ γὰρ προσήει, εἰ μὴ ἴδοι εἰ
65 καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τοῦ Σάκα ἐδεῖτο πάντως σημαίνειν
αὐτῷ ὁπότε ἐγχωροίη [καὶ ὁπότε καιρὸς εἴη]· ὥστε ὁ
Σάκας ὑπερεφίλει ἤδη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες.

Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἔγνω ὁ Ἀστυάγης σφόδρα αὐτὸν 7
ἐπιθυμοῦντα ἔξω θηρᾶν, ἐκπέμπει αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ θείῳ
70 καὶ φύλακας συμπέμπει ἐφ' ἵππων πρεσβυτέρους,
ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν φυλάττοιεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰ
τῶν ἀγρίων τι φανείη θηρίων. ὁ οὖν Κῦρος τῶν
ἐπομένων προθύμως ἐπυνθάνετο, ποίοις οὐ χρεὶ θηρίοις
πελάζειν καὶ ποῖα χρεὶ θαρροῦντα διώκειν. οἱ δ'
75 ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἄρκτοι τε πολλοὺς ἤδη πλησιάσαντας
διέφθειραν καὶ κάπροι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις, αἱ

δὲ ἔλαφοι καὶ δορκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι οἶες καὶ οἱ ὄνοι
 οἱ ἄγριοι ἀσινεῖς εἰσιν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, τὰς
 δυσχωρίας ὅτι δέοι φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ τὰ
 θηρία· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἤδη αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις κατα- 80
 8 κρημμισθῆναι. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος πάντα ταῦτα ἐμάνθανε
 προθύμως· ὥς δὲ εἶδεν ἔλαφον ἐκπηδήσασαν, πάντων
 ἐπιλαθόμενος ὦν ἤκουσεν ἐδίωκεν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὀρών ἢ
 ὅπῃ ἔφευγε. καὶ πὼς διαπηδῶν αὐτῷ ὁ ἵππος πίπτει
 εἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικροῦ κἀκείνουν ἐξετραχήλισεν. οὐ 85
 μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπέμεινε ὁ Κῦρος μόλις πῶς, καὶ ὁ ἵππος
 ἐξανέστη. ὥς δ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἦλθεν, ἀκοντίσας
 καταβάλλει τὴν ἔλαφον, καλὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ μέγα.
 καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ ὑπερέχαιρεν· οἱ δὲ φύλακες προσ-
 ελάσαντες ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν [καὶ ἔλεγον], εἰς οἶον 90
 κίνδυνον ἔλθοι, καὶ ἔφασαν κατερεῖν αὐτοῦ. ὁ οὖν
 Κῦρος εἰστήκει καταβεβηκώς, καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα
 ἡνιάτο. ὥς δ' ἦσθετο κραυγῆς, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸν
 ἵππον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, καὶ ὥς εἶδεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου
 κάπρον προσφερόμενον, ἀντίος ἐλαύνει καὶ διατεινά- 95
 μενος εὐστόχως βάλλει εἰς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ κατέσχε
 9 τὸν κάπρον. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἤδη καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῷ
 ἐλοιδορεῖτο, τὴν θρασύτητα ὀρών. ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ λαιδο-
 ρουμένου ὅμως ἐδέετο ὅσα αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, ταῦτα ἑᾶσαι
 εἰσκομίσαντα δοῦναι τῷ πάππῳ. τὸν δὲ θεῖον εἰπεῖν 100
 φασιν, Ἄλλ' ἦν αἰσθηται ὅτι ἐδίωκες, οὐ σοὶ μόνον
 λαιδορήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοί, ὅτι σε εἶων. Καὶ ἦν
 βούληται, φάναι αὐτόν, μαστιγώσάτω, ἐπειδάν γε ἐγὼ
 δῶ αὐτῷ. καὶ σύγε, ὅ,τι βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ θεῖε, τιμω-
 ρησάμενος ταῦτα ὅμως χάρισαί μοι. καὶ ὁ Κναξάρης 105
 μέντοι τελευτῶν εἶπε, Ποίει ὅπως βούλει· σὺ γὰρ νῦν
 10 γε ἡμῶν ἔοικας βασιλεὺς εἶναι. οὕτω δὲ ὁ Κῦρος εἰς-

κομίσας τὰ θηρία ἐδίδου τε τῷ πάππῳ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ταῦτα θηράσειεν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια ἐπε-
 110 δέικνυ μὲν οὐ, κατέθηκε δὲ ἡματωμένα ὅπου ᾤετο τὸν πάππον ὀψεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ἄρα εἶπεν, Ἄλλ', ὦ παῖ, δέχομαι μὲν ἔγωγε ἡδέως ὅσα σὺ δίδως, οὐ μέντοι δέομαί γε τούτων οὐδενός, ὥστε σε κινδυνεύειν. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη, Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ σὺ δέει, ἰκετεύω, ὦ
 115 πάππε, ἐμοὶ δὸς αὐτά, ὅπως τοῖς ἡλικιώταις ἐγὼ διαδῶ. Ἄλλ', ὦ παῖ, ἔφη ὁ Ἀστυάγης, καὶ ταῦτα λαβὼν διαδίδου ὅτῳ σὺ βούλει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅποσα ἐθέλεις. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν ἐδίδου τε ἄρας τοῖς 11 παισὶ καὶ ἅμα ἔλεγεν, ὦ παῖδες, ὥς ἄρα ἐφλυαροῦμεν
 120 ὅτε τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἐθηρώμεν· ὅμοιον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, οἷόν περ εἴ τις δεδεμένα ζῶα θηρώῃ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ χωρίῳ ἦν, ἔπειτα λεπτὰ καὶ ψωραλέα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν χωλὸν ἦν, τὸ δὲ κολοβόν· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ λειμῶσι θηρία ὥς μὲν καλὰ, ὥς
 125 δὲ μεγάλα, ὥς δὲ λίπαρὰ ἐφαίνετο. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἔλαφοι ὥσπερ πτηναὶ ἤλλοντο πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, οἱ δὲ κάπροι, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας φασὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους, ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς πλατύτητος οὐδὲ ἀμαρτεῖν οἷόν τ' ἦν αὐτῶν· καλλίῳ δὲ, ἔφη, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ
 130 καὶ τεθνηκότα εἶναι ταῦτα ἢ ζῶντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ περιωκοδομημένα. ἀλλ' ἄρα ἄν, ἔφη, ἀφείεν καὶ ὑμᾶς οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ θήραν; Καὶ ῥαδίως γ' ἄν, ἔφασαν, εἰ Ἀστυάγης κελεύοι. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Τίς οὖν ἂν 12 ἡμῖν Ἀστυάγει μνησθείη; Τίς γὰρ ἄν, ἔφασαν, σοῦ
 135 γε ἰκανώτερος πείσαι; Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἔφη, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις ἄνθρωπος γεγένηται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷός τ' εἰμὶ λέγειν ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἀναβλέπειν πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἔτι δύναμαι. ἦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδιδῶ,

δέδοικα, ἔφη, μὴ παντάπασι βλάξ τις καὶ ἡλίθιος γένωμαι· παιδάριον δ' ὦν δεινότατος λαλεῖν ἐδόκουν ¹⁴⁰ εἶναι. καὶ οἱ παῖδες εἶπον, Πονηρὸν λέγεις τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ μὴδ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἄν τι δέη, δυνήσκει πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινὸς τὸ ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνάγκη ἔσται δεῖσθαι ¹³ ἡμᾶς. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐδήχθη, καὶ σιγῇ ἀπελθὼν διακελευσάμενος ἑαυτῷ τολμᾶν εἰσῆλθεν, ¹⁴⁵ ἐπιβουλεύσας, ὅπως ἂν ἀλυπότατα εἴποι πρὸς τὸν πάππον καὶ διαπράξειεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ὧν ἐδέοντο. ἤρξατο οὖν ὧδε·

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἣν τις ἀποδρᾷ σε τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ λάβης αὐτόν, τί αὐτῷ χρήσει; Τί ἄλλο, ¹⁵⁰ ἔφη, ἢ δῆσας ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκάσω; Ἦν δὲ αὐτόματος πάλιν ἔλθῃ, πῶς ποιήσεις; Τί δέ, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ μαστιγώσας γε, ἵνα μὴ αὐθις τοῦτο ποιῇ, ἐξ ἀρχῆς χρήσομαι; Ὡρα ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σοὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι εἴη ὅτῳ μαστιγώσεις με, ὥς βουλεύομαι γε, ὅπως σε ¹⁵⁵ ἀποδρῶ λαβὼν τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἐπὶ θήραν. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης, Καλῶς, ἔφη, ἐποίησας προειπών· ἔνδοθεν γάρ, ἔφη, ἀπαγορεύω σοι μὴ κινεῖσθαι. χαρίεν γάρ, ἔφη, εἰ ἔνεκα κρεαδίων τῇ θυγατρὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀποβου- ¹⁴ κολήσαιμι. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐπέιθετο μὲν καὶ ¹⁶⁰ ἔμενεν, ἀνιαρὸς δὲ καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ὦν σιωπῇ διῆγεν. ὁ μέντοι Ἀστυάγης ἐπεὶ ἔγνω αὐτὸν λυπούμενον ἰσχυρῶς, βουλόμενος αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ἐξάγει ἐπὶ θήραν, καὶ πεζοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἵππείας συναλίσας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ συνελάσας εἰς τὰ ἱππάσιμα χωρία τὰ ¹⁶⁵ θηρία ἐποίησε μεγάλην θήραν. καὶ βασιλικῶς δὴ παρὼν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευε μηδένα βάλλειν, πρὶν Κῦρος ἐμπλησθεῖν θηρῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος οὐκ εἶα κωλύειν, ἀλλ', Εἰ βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἡδέως με θηρᾶν, ἄφες τοὺς

170 κατ' ἐμὲ πάντας διώκειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὅπως <ἂν>
 ἕκαστος κρᾶτιστα δύναιτο. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης 15
 ἀφίησι, καὶ στὰς ἐθεᾶτο ἀμιλλωμένους ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία
 καὶ φιλονικούντας καὶ διώκοντας καὶ ἀκοντίζοντας.
 καὶ Κύρῳ ἤδετο οὐ δυναμένῳ σιγᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς,
 175 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σκύλακι γενναίῳ ἀνακλάζοντι, ὁπότε
 πλησιάζοι θηρίῳ, καὶ παρακαλοῦντι ὀνομαστὶ ἕκαστον.
 καὶ τοῦ μὲν καταγελῶντα αὐτὸν ὀρών ἠψφραίνετο, τὸν
 δέ τινα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα [αὐτὸν ἡσθάνετο] οὐδ' ὁπωστι-
 οῦν φθονερῶς. τέλος δ' οὖν πολλὰ θηρία ἔχων ὁ
 180 Ἀστυάγης ἀπῆει. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἡσθη τῇ
 τότε θήρᾳ, ὥστε αἰεὶ, ὁπότε οἶόν τ' εἴη, συνεξήει τῷ
 Κύρῳ καὶ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς παρελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς
 παῖδας Κύρου ἕνεκα. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλείστον χρόνον
 οὕτω διήγεν ὁ Κύρος, πᾶσιν ἡδονῆς μὲν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ
 185 τινος συναίτιος ὢν, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενός.

Ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ πέντε ἢ ἑκαίδεκα ἔτη γενομένου 16
 αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως
 γαμεῖν μέλλων ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτὸς θηρᾶ- His first essay
 sai εἰς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ἀκούων οὖν in arms: he dis-
 190 ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις τοῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς tinguishes him-
 Μηδων πολλὰ θηρία εἶναι ἀθήρευτα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, self as a strate-
 ἐνταῦθα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐξελθεῖν. ὅπως οὖν ἀσφαλῶς gist, on occasion
 θηρῶν, ἱππέας τε προσέλαβε πολλοὺς καὶ πελταστάς, of an Assyrian
 οὔτινες ἔμελλον αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν λασίων τὰ θηρία ἐξελαῖν raid.
 195 εἰς τὰ ἐργάσιμά τε καὶ εὐήλατα. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὅπου
 ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ φρούρια καὶ ἡ φυλακή, ἐνταῦθα ἐδει-
 πνοποιεῖτο, ὥς πρὸς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θηράσων. ἤδη δὲ 17
 ἐσπέρας γενομένης ἡ διαδοχὴ τῇ πρόσθεν φυλακῇ
 ἔρχεται ἐκ πόλεως καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί. ἔδοξεν οὖν
 200 αὐτῷ πολλὴ στρατιὰ παρεῖναι· δύο γὰρ ὁμοῦ ἦσαν

φυλακαί, πολλοὺς τε αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἔχων ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς. ἐβουλευσατο οὖν κράτιστον εἶναι λεηλατῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Μηδικῆς, καὶ λαμπρότερόν τ' ἂν φανῆναι τὸ ἔργον τῆς θήρας καὶ ἱερείων ἂν πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν ἐνόμιζε γενέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ πρὸ ἀναστὰς ἦγε τὸ 205 στράτευμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς κατέλιπεν ἀθρόους ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶις ἵπποις προσελάσας πρὸς τὰ τῶν Μήδων φρούρια, τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐνταῦθα κατέμεινεν, ὥς μὴ βοηθοῖεν οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς 210 καταθέοντας, τοὺς δ' ἐπιτηδείους ἀφήκε κατὰ φυλὰς ἄλλους ἄλλοσε καταθεῖν, καὶ ἐκέλευε περιβαλομένους ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἐλαύνειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπραττον.

- 18 Σημανθέντων δὲ τῷ Ἀστυάγει ὅτι πολέμοι εἰσιν 215 ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐξεβοήθει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰ ὄρια σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὡσαύτως σὺν τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν ἱππόταις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ἐσήμεινε πᾶσιν ἐκβοηθεῖν. ὥς δὲ εἶδον πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τῶν Ἀσσυρίων συντεταγμένους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας 220 ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντας, ἔστησαν καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὁρῶν ἐκβοηθοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πασσυδί, ἐκβοηθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτον τότε ὅπλα ἐνδύς, οὐποτε οἰόμενος· οὕτως ἐπεθύμει αὐτοῖς ἐξοπλίσασθαι· μάλα δὲ καλὰ ἦν καὶ ἀρμόττοντα αὐτῷ ἃ ὁ πάππος περὶ τὸ σῶμα 225 ἐπεποίητο. οὕτω δὲ ἐξοπλισάμενος προσήλασε τῷ ἵππῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐθαύμασε μὲν, τίνος κελεύσαντος ἦκοι, ὅμως δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ μένειν παρ' ἑαυτόν.
- 19 ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὥς εἶδε πολλοὺς ἱππέας ἀντίους, ἤρετο, ὦ οὔτοι, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, πολέμοι εἰσιν, οὐ ἐφεστήκασι 230 τοῖς ἵπποις ἡρέμα; Πολέμοι μέντοι, ἔφη. ὦ καὶ

ἐκεῖνοι, ἔφη, οἱ ἐλαύνοντες; Καὶ κεῖνοι μέντοι. Νῆ
τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἀλλ' οὖν πονηροί γε φαινόμενοι
καὶ ἐπὶ πονηρῶν ἵππαρίων ἄγουσιν ἡμῶν τὰ χρήματα.
235 οὐκοῦν χρηὲς ἐλαύνειν τινὰς ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἄλλ'
οὐχ ὀράς, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ὅσον τὸ στίφος τῶν ἱππέων
ἕστηκε συντεταγμένον; οὐ ἦν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἡμεῖς
ἐλαύνωμεν, ὑποτεμοῦνται ἡμᾶς πάλιν [ἐκεῖνοι]. ἡμῖν
δὲ οὐπω ἡ ἰσχὺς πάρεστιν. Ἄλλ' ἦν σὺ μένης, ἔφη
240 ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνης τοὺς προσβοηθούντας,
φοβήσονται οὗτοι καὶ οὐ κινήσονται, οἱ δ' ἄγοντες
εὐθὺς ἀφήσουσι τὴν λείαν, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσί τινὰς ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντας.

Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἔδοξέ τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυά- 20
245 γει. καὶ ἅμα θαυμάζων, ὥς καὶ ἐφρόνει καὶ ἐγρηγόρει,
κελεύει τὸν υἱὸν λαβόντα τάξιν ἱππέων ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν λείαν. ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τούσδε, ἦν
ἐπὶ σὲ κινῶνται, ἐλῶ, ὥστε ἀναγκασθήσονται ἡμῖν
προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κναξάρης λαβὼν
250 τῶν ἐρρωμένων ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν προσελαύνει.
καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ὥς εἶδεν ὀρμωμένους, ἐξορμᾷ, καὶ αὐτὸς
πρῶτος ἡγεῖτο ταχέως, καὶ ὁ Κναξάρης μέντοι
ἐφείπετο, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο. ὥς δὲ
εἶδον αὐτοὺς πελάζοντας οἱ λεηλατοῦντες, εὐθὺς
255 ἀφέντες τὰ χρήματα ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον 21
ὑπέτεμνοντο, καὶ οὐς μὲν κατελάμβανον εὐθὺς ἔπαιον,
πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Κῦρος, ὅσοι δὲ παραλλάξαντες αὐτῶν
ἔφθασαν, κατόπιν τούτους ἐδίωκον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταν,
ἀλλ' ἤρουν τινὰς αὐτῶν. ὥσπερ δὲ κύων γενναῖος
260 ἄπειρος ἀπρονότητος φέρεται πρὸς κάπρον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ
Κῦρος ἐφέρετο, μόνον ὀρώων τὸ παίειν τὸν ἀλίσκομενον,
ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν προνοῶν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὥς ἐώρων

- πονουντας τοὺς σφετέρους, προὔκίνησαν τὸ στίφος,
 ὡς παυσομένους τοῦ διωγμοῦ, ἐπεὶ σφᾶς ἴδοιεν προ-
 22 ορμήσαντας. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίει, ἀλλ' ²⁶⁵
 ὑπὸ τῆς ^{τοῦ} χαρμονῆς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν ^{θέου} θείον ἐδίωκε καὶ
 ἰσχυρὰν τὴν φυγὴν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατέχων ἐποίει,
 καὶ ὁ Κναξάρης μέντοι ἐφείπετο, ἴσως καὶ αἰσχυνό-
 μενος τὸν πατέρα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ εἶποντο, προθυμότεροι
 ὄντες ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰς τὸ διώκειν καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνυ ²⁷⁰
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἄλκιμοι ὄντες. ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης
 ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς ^{ἐν} μὲν ἀπρονοήτως διώκοντας, τοὺς δὲ
 πολεμίους ^{ἐν} ἀθρόους τε καὶ ^{ἐν} τεταγμένους ὑπαντῶντας,
 δείσας περὶ τοῦ νιοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κύρου, μὴ εἰς
 παρεσκευασμένους ἀτάκτως ἐμπεσόντες πάθοιεν τι, ²⁷⁵
 23 ἡγείτο εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' αὖ πολέμιοι
 ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Μήδους προκινήθεντας, διατεινόμενοι οἱ
 μὲν τὰ παλτὰ οἱ δὲ τὰ τόξα εἰστήκεσαν, ὡς αὖ, ἐπειδὴ
 εἰς τόξευμα ἀφίκοντο, ^{καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τόξοις} στήσομένους, ὥσπερ τὰ πλείστα
 εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν. μέχρι γὰρ τοσούτου, ὅποτε ἐγγύτατα ²⁸⁰
 γένοιοντο, προσήλαυνον ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἡκροβολίζοντο
 πολλάκις μέχρι ἑσπέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρων τοὺς μὲν
 σφετέρους φυγῇ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς φερομένους, τοὺς δ' ἀμφὶ
 τὸν Κῦρον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ ἀγομένους, τὸν δὲ Ἀστυά-
 γην σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐντὸς γινόμενον ἤδη τοξεύματος, ²⁸⁵
 ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ φεύγουσιν ὁμόθεν διώκοντας ἀνὰ
^{ἐν} κράτος· ἥρουν δὲ πολλούς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀλίσκομένους
 ἔπαιον καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας, τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας
^{καὶ τὰ κτενέων} κατέκαινον· καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν πρὶν πρὸς τοῖς
 πεζοῖς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐγένοντο. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ²⁹⁰
 δείσαντες, μὴ καὶ ἐνέδρα τις μείζων ὑπείη, ἐπέσχον.
 24 ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀνήγεν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, μάλα χαίρων καὶ
 τῇ ἱπποκρατίᾳ καὶ τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἔχων ὅ,τι χρῇ

λέγειν, αἷτιον μὲν ὄντα εἰδὼς τοῦ ἔργου, μαινόμενον δὲ
 295 γιγνώσκων τῇ τόλμῃ. καὶ γὰρ τότε ἀπιόντων οἴκαδε
 μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἐκείνος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τοὺς πεπτωκό-
 τας ^{περιελαυνων} περιελαυνων ἐθεᾶτο, καὶ μόλις αὐτὸν ἀφελκυσαν-
 τες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταχθέντες ^{ταχθέντες} προσήγαγον τῷ Ἀστυάγει,
 μάλα ἐπίπροσθεν ποιούμενον τοὺς προσάγοντας, ὅτι
 300 ἑώρα τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πάππου ἡγριωμένον ἐπὶ τῇ
 θέᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ.

Ἐν μὲν δὴ Μήδοις ταῦτα ἐγεγένητο, καὶ οἱ τε ἄλ- 25
 λοι πάντες τὸν Κῦρον διὰ στόματος εἶχον
 καὶ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν ᾧδαίς, ὃ τε Ἀστυά-
 305 γης καὶ πρόσθεν τιμῶν αὐτὸν τότε ὑπερεξ-
 ἐπέπληκτο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Καμβύσης δὲ ὁ
 τοῦ Κύρου πατήρ ^{ἡδετο} μὲν πυνθανόμενος
 ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσεν ἔργα ἀνδρὸς ἡδὴ
 διαχειριζόμενον τὸν Κῦρον, ἀπεκάλει δὴ, ὅπως τὰ ἐν
 310 Πέρσαις ἐπιχώρια ἐπιτελοίῃ. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος δὲ ἐνταῦθα
 λέγεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀπιέναι βούλοιο, μὴ ὁ πάτηρ
 τι ἄχθοιτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μέμφοιτο. καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγει
 δὲ ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον ἀποπέμπειν αὐτόν. ἔνθα
 δὴ ἵππους τε αὐτῷ δούς οὓς αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμει λαβεῖν
 315 καὶ ἄλλα συσκευάσας πολλὰ ἔπεμπε καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἅμα ἐλπίδας ἔχων μεγάλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνδρα
 ἔσεσθαι ἱκανὸν καὶ φίλους ὠφελεῖν καὶ ἐχθροὺς ἀνιᾶν.
 ἀπιόντα δὲ τὸν Κῦρον προὔπεμπον ἅπαντες καὶ παῖδες
 καὶ ἡλικες καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γέροντες ἐφ' ἵππων καὶ
 320 Ἀστυάγης αὐτός, καὶ οὐδένα ἔφασαν ὄντιν' οὐ δακρύ-
 οντ' ἀποστρέφειν. καὶ Κῦρον δὲ αὐτὸν λέγεται 26
 σὺν πολλοῖς δακρύοις ἀποχωρῆσαι. πολλὰ δὲ δῶρα
 διαδοῦναι φασιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις ὧν Ἀστυάγης
 αὐτῷ ἐδεδώκει, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἦν εἶχε στολὴν τὴν Μη-

After having won, by his military success and by his many admirable qualities, the love and esteem of the Median nation, Cyrus is recalled to Persia,

δικὴν ἐκδύντα δούναί τινι, [δῆλον ὅτι τούτῳ] ὃν μά- 325
 λιστα ἡσπάζετο. τοὺς μέντοι λαβόντας καὶ δεξαμένους
 τὰ δῶρα λέγεται Ἀστυάγει ἀπενεγκεῖν, Ἀστυάγην δὲ
 δεξάμενον Κύρῳ ἀποπέμψαι, τὸν δὲ πάλιν τε ἀπο-
 πέμψαι εἰς Μήδους καὶ εἰπεῖν, Εἰ βούλει, ὦ πάππε,
 ἐμὲ καὶ πάλιν ἵεναι ὡς σὲ μὴ αἰσχυρόμενον, ἔα ἔχειν 330
 εἴ τῷ τι ἐγὼ δέδωκα· Ἀστυάγην δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα
 ποιῆσαι ὥσπερ Κύρος ἐπέστειλεν.

- 27 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παιδικοῦ λόγον ἐπιμνησθῆναι, λέ-
 γεται, ὅτε Κύρος ἀπῆει καὶ ἀπηλλάττοντο ἀπ' ἀλλή-
 λων, τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλοῦντας τῷ στόματι ἀποπέμ- 335
 πεσθαι αὐτὸν νόμῳ Περσικῷ· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο
 ποιοῦσι Πέρσαι· ἄνδρα δέ τινα τῶν Μήδων μάλα
 καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ὄντα ἐκπεπλήχθαι πολὺν τινα χρόνον
 ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ Κύρου, ἥνικα δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς
 συγγενεῖς φιλοῦντας αὐτόν, ὑπολειφθῆναι· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ 340
 ἄλλοι ἀπῆλθον, προσελθεῖν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ εἰπεῖν, Ἐμὲ
 μόνον οὐ γιγνώσκεις τῶν συγγενῶν, ὦ Κύρε; Τί δέ,
 εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύρον, ἦ καὶ σὺ συγγενὴς εἶ; Μάλιστα,
 φάναι. Ταῦτ' ἄρα, εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύρον, καὶ ἐνεώρας μοι·
 πολλάκις γὰρ δοκῶ σε γιγνώσκειν τοῦτο ποιῶντα. 345
 Προσελθεῖν γὰρ σοι, ἔφη, αἰεὶ βουλόμενος ναὶ μὰ τοὺς
 θεοὺς ἡσχυρόμην. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔδει, φάναι τὸν Κύρον,
 συγγενὴ γέ ὄντα· ἅμα δὲ προσελθόντα φιλήσαι αὐτόν.
- 28 καὶ τὸν Μῆδον φιληθέντα ἐρέσθαι, Ἡ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις
 νόμος ἐστὶν οὗτος συγγενεῖς φιλεῖν; Μάλιστα, φάναι, 350
 ὅταν γε ἴδωσιν ἀλλήλους διὰ χρόνου ἢ ἀπίωσί ποι
 ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. Ὡρα ἂν εἴη, ἔφη ὁ Μῆδος, μάλα πάλιν
 σε φιλεῖν ἐμέ· ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ, ὡς ὀράς, ἤδη. οὕτω
 καὶ τὸν Κύρον φιλήσαντα πάλιν ἀποπέμπειν καὶ
 ἀπιέναι. καὶ ὁδὸν τε οὕτω πολλὴν διηνύσθαι αὐτοῖς 355

The King of Assyria collects an army for the conquest of Media.

- μένος μὲν πάντας Σύρους, φύλον πάμ-
 πολυ, ὑπήκοον δὲ πεποιημένους τὸν Ἀρα-
 βίων βασιλέα, ὑπηκόους δὲ ἔχων ἤδη καὶ
 Ὑρκανίους, πολιορκῶν δὲ καὶ Βακτρίους,
 ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ τοὺς Μήδους ἀσθενεῖς ποιήσειε, πάντων ²⁵
 γε τῶν πέριξ ῥαδίως ἄρξειν· ἰσχυρότατον γὰρ τῶν
 3 ἐγγὺς φύλων τοῦτο ἐδόκει εἶναι. οὕτω δὴ διαπέμπει
 πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν πάντας καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον τὸν
 Λυδῶν βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καππαδοκῶν καὶ πρὸς
 Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ πρὸς Παφλαγόνας καὶ Ἰνδοὺς ³⁰
 καὶ πρὸς Κᾶρας καὶ Κίλικας, τὰ μὲν καὶ διαβάλλων
 τοὺς Μήδους καὶ Πέρσας, λέγων ὡς μεγάλα τ' εἶη
 ταῦτα ἔθνη καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ συνεστηκότα εἰς ταυτό,
 καὶ ἐπιγαμίας ἀλλήλοις πεποιημένοι εἶεν, καὶ κινδυ-
 νεύσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς φθάσας ἀσθενώσοι, ἐπὶ ἐν ³⁵
 ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἰόντες καταστρέψασθαι. οἱ μὲν
 δὴ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις πειθόμενοι συμμαχίαν
 αὐτῷ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ δώροις καὶ χρήμασιν
 ἀναπειθόμενοι· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοιαῦτα ἦν αὐτῷ.
 4 Κναξάρης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγου παῖς ⁴⁰
 ἐπεὶ ἠσθάνετο τὴν τ' ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὴν
 παρασκευὴν τῶν συνισταμένων ἐφ' ἑαν-
 τόν, αὐτὸς τε εὐθέως ὅσα ἐδύνατο ἀντι-
 παρεσκευάζετο καὶ εἰς Πέρσας ἔπεμπε
 πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς Καμβύσην ⁴⁵
 τὸν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντα καὶ βασιλεύοντα ἐν Πέρσαις.
 ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κῦρον, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ πειράσθαι
 ἄρχοντα ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἴ τινας πέμποι στρατιώ-
 τας τὸ Περσῶν κοινόν. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κῦρος δια-
 τετελεκῶς τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις δέκα ἔτη ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ⁵⁰
 5 ἀνδράσιν ἦν. οὕτω δὴ δεξαμένου τοῦ Κύρου οἱ

βουλεύοντες γεραίτεροι αἰροῦνται αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς
 εἰς Μήδους στρατιᾶς. ἔδοσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προσ-
 ελέσθαι διακοσίους τῶν ὁμοτίμων, τῶν δ' αὖ διακοσίων
 55 ἐκάστῳ τέτταρας ἔδωκαν προσελέσθαι καὶ τούτους ἐκ
 τῶν ὁμοτίμων· γίγνονται μὲν δὴ οὗτοι χίλιοι· τῶν δ'
 αὖ χιλίων τούτων ἐκάστῳ ἔταξαν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν
 Περσῶν δέκα μὲν πελταστὰς προσελέσθαι, δέκα δὲ
 σφενδονήτας, δέκα δὲ τοξότας· καὶ οὕτως ἐγένοντο
 60 μύριοι μὲν τοξόται, μύριοι δὲ πελτασταί, μύριοι δὲ
 σφενδονῆται· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οἱ χίλιοι ὑπήρχον.
 τοσαύτη μὲν δὴ στρατιὰ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐδόθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ 6
 ἡρέθη τάχιστα, ἤρχετο πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν·
 καλλιερησάμενος δὲ τότε προσηρεῖτο τοὺς διακοσίους·
 65 ἐπεὶ δὲ προσείλοντο καὶ οὗτοι δὴ 'τοὺς τέτταρας
 ἕκαστοι, συνέλεξεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπε τότε πρῶτον ἐν
 αὐτοῖς τάδε.

“Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐγὼ προσειλόμην μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ 7
 νῦν πρῶτον δοκιμάσας, ἀλλ' ἐκ παίδων Address of
 70 ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς ἃ μὲν καλὰ ἢ πόλις νομίζει, Cyrus to the
 Thousand Peers.
 προθύμως ταῦτα ἐκπονοῦντας, ἃ δὲ αἰσχυρὰ ἡγείται,
 παντελῶς τούτων ἀπεχομένους. ὧν δ' ἕνεκα αὐτός τε
 οὐκ ἄκων εἰς τόδε τὸ τέλος κατέστην καὶ ὑμᾶς παρε-
 κάλεσα, δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ κατενόησα, 8
 75 ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι χεῖρονες μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐγένοντο·
 ἀσκούντες γοῦν κάκεινοι διετέλεσαν ἅπερ ἔργα ἀρετῆς
 νομίζεται· ὅ,τι μέντοι προσεκτῆσαντο τοιοῦτοι ὄντες
 ἢ τῷ τῶν Περσῶν κοινῷ ἀγαθὸν ἢ αὐτοῖς, τοῦτ'
 οὐκέτι δύναμαι ἰδεῖν. καίτοι ἐγὼ οἶμαι οὐδεμίαν ἀρε- 9
 30 τὴν ἀσκεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ὥς μηδὲν πλέον ἔχω-
 σιν οἱ ἐσθλοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' οἷ τε τῶν
 παραντίκα ἡδονῶν ἀπεχόμενοι οὐχ, ἵνα μηδέποτε εὐ-

φρανθῶσι, τοῦτο πράττουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐγκράτειαν πολλαπλάσια εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον εὐφρα-
 νούμενοι οὕτω παρασκευάζονται· οἳ τε λέγειν προθυ- 85
 μούμενοι δεινοὶ γενέσθαι οὐχ, ἵνα εὖ λέγοντες μηδέ-
 ποτε παύσωνται, τοῦτο μελετῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζοντες
 τῷ λέγειν εὖ πείθοντες ἀνθρώπους πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα
 ἀγαθὰ διαπράξεσθαι· οἳ τε αὖ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀσκούντες
 οὐχ, ὥς μαχόμενοι μηδέποτε παύσωνται, τοῦτ' ἐκπο- 90
 νοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθοὶ
 γενόμενοι πολλὴν μὲν ὄλβον, πολλὴν δὲ εὐδαιμονίαν,
 10 μεγάλας δὲ τιμὰς καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ πόλει περιάψειν. εἰ
 δέ τινες ταῦτα ἐκπονήσαντες, πρὶν τινα καρπὸν ἀπ'
 αὐτῶν κομίσασθαι, περιείδον αὐτοὺς γήρᾳ ἀδυνάτους 95
 γενομένους, ὅμοιον ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι πεπονθέναι, οἷον εἴ
 τις γεωργὸς ἀγαθὸς προθυμηθεὶς γενέσθαι καὶ εὖ
 σπείρων καὶ εὖ φυτεύων, ὅποτε καρποῦσθαι ταῦτα
 δέοι, ἐφ' ὃν τὸν καρπὸν ἀσυγκόμιστον εἰς τὴν γῆν πάλιν
 καταρρεῖν. καὶ εἴ τίς γε ἀσκητὴς πολλὰ πονήσας καὶ 100
 ἀξιόνομος γενόμενος ἀναγώνιστος διατελέσειεν, οὐδ'
 ἂν οὗτός μοι δοκεῖ δικαίως ἀνάτιος εἶναι ἀφροσύνης.

11 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες, μὴ πάθωμεν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπεί-
 περ σύνισμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀπὸ παίδων ἀρξάμενοι, ἀσ-
 κηταὶ ὄντες τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔργων, ἴωμεν ἐπὶ 105
 τοὺς πολεμίους, οὓς ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι ἰδιώτας
 ὄντας ὥς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οὐ γάρ πω οὗτοι
 ἱκανοὶ εἰσιν ἀγωνισταί, οἳ ἂν τοξεύωσι καὶ ἀκοντίζωσι
 καὶ ἱππεύωσιν ἐπιστημόνως, ἣν δὲ πού πονήσαι δέη,
 τούτῳ λείπωνται, ἀλλ' οὗτοι ἰδιῶταί εἰσι κατὰ τοὺς 110
 πόρους· οὐδέ γε οἵτινες, ἀγρυπνήσαι δέον, ἡπτῶνται
 τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἰδιῶται κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον· οὐδέ
 γε οἱ ταῦτα μὲν ἱκανοί, ἀπαίδευτοι δὲ ὥς χρή καὶ

συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίοις χρήσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι
 115 δῆλον ὡς τῶν μεγίστων παιδευμάτων ἀπείρως ἔχου-
 σιν. ὑμεῖς δὲ νυκτὶ μὲν δήπου ὅσαπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡμέρα 12
 δύναισθ' ἂν χρήσθαι, πόνους δὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἡδέως ἡγεμό-
 νας νομίζετε, λιμῶ δὲ ὅσαπερ ὕψω διαχρήσθε, ὑδρο-
 ποσίαν δὲ ῥᾶον τῶν λεόντων φέρετε, κάλλιστον δὲ
 120 πάντων καὶ πολεμικώτατον κτῆμα εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς
 συγκεκόμισθε· ἐπαινούμενοι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν χαίρετε. τοὺς δ' ἐπαίνου ἐραστὰς
 ἀνάγκη διὰ τοῦτο πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυ-
 νον ἡδέως ὑποδύεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λέγω περὶ 13
 125 ὑμῶν ἄλλη γιγνώσκων, ἐμαυτὸν ἐξαπατῶ. ὅ,τι γὰρ
 μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβήσεται παρ' ὑμῶν, εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐλλεί-
 πον ἥξει. ἀλλὰ πιστεύω τοι τῇ πείρα καὶ τῇ ὑμῶν
 εἰς ἐμὲ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνοίᾳ μὴ ψεύσειν
 με ταύτας τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας. ἀλλὰ θαρροῦντες ὁρ-
 130 μώμεθα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκποδῶν ἡμῖν γεγένηται τὸ δόξαι
 τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀδίκως ἐφίεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ ἔρχονται
 μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι ἄρχοντες ἀδίκων χειρῶν, καλοῦσι δὲ
 ἡμᾶς ἐπικούρους οἱ φίλοι· τί οὖν ἐστίν ἡ τοῦ ἀλέ-
 ξασθαι δικαιότερον ἢ τοῦ τοῖς φίλοις ἀρήγειν κάλ-
 135 lion; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐκείνο οἶμαι ὑμᾶς θαρρεῖν, τὸ μὴ 14
 παρημεληκότα με τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ποιεῖσθαι·
 πολλὰ γὰρ μοι συνόντες ἐπίστασθε οὐ μόνον τὰ
 μεγάλα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μικρὰ πειρώμενον αἰεὶ ἀπὸ θεῶν
 ὀρμᾶσθαι. τέλος εἶπε, Τί δεῖ ἔτι λέγειν; ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς
 140 μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι καὶ ἀναλαβόντες καὶ τᾶλλα
 παρεσκευασμένοι ἵτε εἰς Μήδους· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπανελθὼν
 πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πρόειμι δῆ, ὅπως, τὰ τῶν πολεμίων
 ὡς τάχιστα μαθὼν οἶά ἐστι, παρασκευάζωμαι ὅ,τι ἂν

δέωμαι, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα σὺν θεῷ ἀγωνιζώμεθα. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπραττον.

145

VI Κύρος δὲ ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε καὶ προσευξάμενος Ἑστία πατρῷα καὶ Διὶ πατρῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὠρμάτο ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν, συμ-
Cyrus leaves the frontier to take command of the Persian army. προὔπεμπε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πατήρ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἐγένοντο, λέγονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ 5 βρονταὶ αὐτῷ αἰσιοὶ γενέσθαι. τούτων δὲ φανέντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔτι οἰωνιζόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, ὡς οὐδένα ἂν λύσαντα τὰ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ σημεῖα.

2 Προϊόντι δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ ὁ πατήρ ἤρχετο λόγου τοι- οὔδε· ὦ παῖ, ὅτι μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἴλεώ τε 10 καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπουσίν σε, καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς δῆλον καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημείοις· γιγνώσκεις δὲ καὶ αὐτός. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ταῦτα ἐπί-
His conversation with Camby- ses, who accom- panies him, on the chief duties and requisites of a good general. τηδες ἐδίδαξάμην, ὅπως μὴ δι' ἄλλων ἐρμηνέων τὰς τῶν θεῶν συμβουλίας συνιείης, ἀλλ' 15 αὐτὸς καὶ ὁρῶν τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀκούων τὰ ἀκουστά γιγνώσκεις καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ μάντεσιν εἶης, εἰ βούλονται σε ἐξαπατᾶν ἕτερα λέγοντες ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν σημαι- νόμενα, μηδ' αὖ, εἴ ποτε ἄρα ἄνευ μάντεως γένοιο, ἀποροῖο θείοις σημείοις ὅτι χρῶο, ἀλλὰ γιγνώσκων 20 διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμβουλευόμενα, 3 τούτοις πείθοιο. Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ὦ πάτερ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὡς ἂν ἴλεω οἱ θεοὶ ὄντες ἡμῖν συμβουλεύειν ἐθέλωσιν, ὅσον δύναμαι κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον διατελῶ ἐπιμελό-
μενος. μέμνημαι γάρ, ἔφη, ἀκούσας ποτέ σου, ὅτι εἰκό- 25 τως ἂν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν πρακτικώτερος εἴη ὥσπερ καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὅστις μὴ ὁπότε ἐν ἀπόροις εἴη, τότε κολακεύοι, ἀλλ' ὅτε τὰ ἄριστα πράττοι, τότε μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν μεμνήτο· καὶ τῶν φίλων δ' ἔφησθα χρήναι

30 ὡσαύτως οὕτως ἐπιμέλεσθαι. Οὐκοῦν νῦν, ἔφη, ὦ 4
 παῖ, διὰ γ' ἐκείνας τὰς ἐπιμελείας ἥδιον μὲν ἔρχει
 πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δεησόμενος, ἐλπίζεις δὲ μᾶλλον τεύ-
 ξεσθαι ὦν ἂν δέῃ, ὅτι συνειδέναι σαυτῷ δοκεῖς οὐπώ-
 ποτ' ἀμελήσας αὐτῶν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ,
 35 ὡς πρὸς φίλους μοι ὄντας τοὺς θεοὺς οὕτω διάκειμαι.
 Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, μέμνησαι ἐκείνα ἃ ποτε ἐδόκει 5
 ἡμῖν, ὡς ἅπὲρ δεδώκασιν οἱ θεοὶ μαθόντας ἀνθρώπους
 βέλτιον πράττειν ἢ ἀνεπιστήμονας αὐτῶν ὄντας καὶ
 ἐργαζομένους μᾶλλον ἀνύτειν ἢ ἀργοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμε-
 40 λομένους ἀσφαλέστερον διάγειν ἢ ἀφυλακτοῦντας,
 τούτων <πéρι> παρέχοντας οὖν τοιούτους ἑαυτοὺς
 οἷους δεῖ, οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐδόκει δεῖν καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι τὰγαθὰ
 παρὰ τῶν θεῶν; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, μέμνημαι 6
 μέντοι τοιαῦτα ἀκούσας σου· καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη με
 45 πείθεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ· καὶ γὰρ οἶδά σε λέγοντα αἰεὶ, ὡς
 οὐδὲ θέμις εἶη αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὔτε ἱππεύειν
 μὴ μαθόντας ἱππομαχοῦντας νικᾶν οὔτε μὴ ἐπιστα-
 μένους τοξεύειν τοξεύοντας κρατεῖν τῶν ἐπισταμένων
 οὔτε μὴ ἐπισταμένους κυβερνᾶν σώζειν εὐχεσθαι ναῦς
 50 κυβερνῶντας, οὐδὲ μὴ σπεύρουσάς γε σῖτον εὐχεσθαι
 καλὸν αὐτοῖς φύεσθαι, οὐδὲ μὴ φυλαττομένους γε ἐν
 πολέμῳ σωτηρίαν αἰτεῖσθαι· παρὰ γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν
 θεσμοὺς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι· τοὺς δὲ ἀθέμιτα
 εὐχομένους ὁμοίως ἔφησθα εἰκὸς εἶναι παρὰ θεῶν
 55 ἀτυχεῖν ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπρακτεῖν τοὺς
 παράνομα δεομένους.

Ἐκείνων δέ, ὦ παῖ, ἐπελάθου, ἃ ποτε ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ 7
 ἐλογιζόμεθα, ὡς ἱκανὸν εἶη καὶ καλὸν ἀνδρὶ ἔργον, εἴ
 τις δύναίτο ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ὅπως ^{van} ^{HF} ST αὐτὸς τε καλὸς
 60 καγαθὸς ^{τῶν} δοκιμῶς γένοιτο καὶ τὰπιτήδεια αὐτός τε καὶ

οἱ οἰκέται ἱκανῶς ἔχοιεν; τὸ δέ, τούτου μεγάλου ἔργου ὄντος, οὕτως ἐπίστασθαι ἀνθρώπων ἄλλων προστατεύειν, ὅπως ἔξουσιν πάντα τὰπιτήδεια ἔκπλεω καὶ ὅπως ἔσονται πάντες οἷους δεῖ, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν δὴ-
8 που ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, 65
μέμνημαι καὶ τοῦτό σου λέγοντος· συνεδόκει οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερμέγεθες εἶναι ἔργον τὸ καλῶς ἄρχειν· καὶ νῦν γ', ἔφη, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ὅταν πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄρχειν σκοπῶν λογίζωμαι. ὅταν μέντοι γε πρὸς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἰδὼν κατὰ^{ω^ν γ^ν ἴσ^ως} ᾤσῃ, οἷοι ὄντες διαγιγ- 70
νονται ἄρχοντες καὶ οἷοι ὄντες ἀνταγωνισταὶ ἡμῖν ἔσονται, πάνν μοι δοκεῖ αἰσχροὺς εἶναι τὸ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας ὑποπτῆξαι καὶ μὴ ἐθέλειν ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἀνταγωνιζομένους· οὕς, ἔφη, ἐγὼ αἰσθάνομαι ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων τούτων ἡγουμένους δεῖν τὸν ἄρ- 75
χοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν τῷ καὶ πολυτελέστερον δειπνεῖν καὶ πλεον ἔχειν ἔνδον χρυσίον καὶ πλείονα χρόνον καθεύδειν καὶ πάντα ἀπονώτερον τῶν ἀρχομένων διάγειν. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι, ἔφη, τὸν ἄρχοντα οὐ τῷ ῥαδιουργεῖν χρῆναι διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ 80
9 τῷ προνοεῖν καὶ φιλοπονεῖν. Ἄλλά τοι, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ^{ἐν ἑαυτῷ} εἶνᾶ ἐστὶν ἃ οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀγωνιστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, ὧν οὐ ῥάδιον εὐπόρως περιγενέσθαι. αὐτίκα δὴπου οἶσθα ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἔξει τὰπιτήδεια ἢ στρατιά, καταλελύσεται σου ἡ ἀρχή. Οὐκοῦν 85
ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, Κναξάρης φησὶ παρέξειν τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσι πᾶσιν, ὅπόσοι ἂν ᾧσι. Τούτοις δὴ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, πιστεύων ἔρχει τοῖς παρὰ Κναξάρου χρήμασιν; Ἐγὼ γ', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Τί δέ, ἔφη, οἶσθα, ὅπόσα αὐτῷ ἐστι; Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐ μὲν 90
δὴ. Ὅμως δὲ τούτοις πιστεύεις τοῖς ἀδήλοισ; ὅτι δὲ

πολλῶν μὲν σοὶ δεήσει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα νῦν ἀνάγ- ?
 κη δαπανᾶν ἐκείνῳ, οὐ γιγνώσκεις; Γιγνώσκω, ἔφη
 ὁ Κύρος. Ἦν οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπιλίπη αὐτὸν ἢ δαπάνη ἢ
 95 καὶ ἐκὼν ψεύσεται, πῶς σοι ἔξει τὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς; Δῆ-
 λον ὅτι οὐ καλῶς. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, σὺ εἰ ἐνορᾷς
 τινα πόρον καὶ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἂν προσγενόμενον, ἕως ἔτι
 ἐν φιλίᾳ ἐσμέν, λέγε. Ἐρωτᾷς, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ποῦ ἂν 10
 ἀπὸ σοῦ πόρος προσγένοιτο; ἀπὸ τίνος δὲ μᾶλλον εἰ-
 100 κός ἐστι πόρον γενέσθαι ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ δύναμιν ἔχοντος;
 σὺ δὲ πεζὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐνθένδε ἔχων ἔρχεαι, ἀνθ' ἧς
 οἶδ' ὅτι πολλαπλασίαν ἄλλην οὐκ ἂν δεξάιο, ἱππικὸν
 δέ σοι, ὅπερ κράτιστον, τὸ Μῆδων σύμμαχον ἔσται.
 ποῖον οὖν ἔθνος τῶν πέριξ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ χαρίζε-
 105 σθαι βουλόμενον ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ῥετήσεων καὶ φοβούμενον μῆ-
 τι πάθῃ; ἂν χρή σε κοινῇ σὺν Κυμαζάρῃ σκοπεῖσθαι, μῆ-
 ποτε ἐπιλίπη τι ὑμᾶς ὧν δεῖ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἔθους δὲ
 ἕνεκα μηχανᾶσθαι προσόδου πόρον. τότε δὲ πάντων
 μάλιστά μοι μέμνησο, μηδέποτε ἀναμένειν τὸ πορίζε-
 110 σθαι τὰπιτήδεα, ἔστ' ἂν ἢ χρεῖα σε ἀναγκάσῃ· ἀλλ'
 ὅταν μάλιστα εὐπορήσῃ, τότε πρὸ τῆς ἀπορίας μηχανῶ.
 καὶ γὰρ τεύξει μᾶλλον παρ' ὧν ἂν δεῇ μὴ ἄπορος δοκῶν
 εἶναι, καὶ ἔτι ἀναίτιος ἔσει παρὰ τοῖς σαυτοῦ στρατι-
 ώταις· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων αἰδοῦς
 115 τεύξει, καὶ ἣν τινας βούλῃ ἢ εὖ ποιῆσαι τῇ δυνάμει
 ἢ κακῶς, μᾶλλον, ἕως ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ δέοντα, οἱ στρατι-
 ῶται ὑπηρετήσουσί σοι, καὶ πειστικωτέρους, σάφ' ἴσθι,
 λόγους δυνήσει τότε λέγειν, ὅταν περ καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι
 μάλιστα δύνῃ καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἱκανός ὧν καὶ κακῶς.
 120 Ἄλλ', ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἄλλως τέ μοι καλῶς δοκεῖς ταῦτα 11
 λέγειν πάντα, καὶ ὅτι ὧν μὲν νῦν λέγονται λήψεσθαι
 οἱ στρατιῶται, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐμοὶ τούτων χάριν εἰσε-

ται· ἴσασι γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς Κνωξάρης ἐπ' ἀγεται συμμάχους· ὅ,τι δ' ἂν πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις λαμβάνη τις, ταῦτα καὶ τιμὴν νομιοῦσι καὶ χάριν τούτων εἰκὸς εἶδέναι τῷ διδόντι. τὸ δ' ἔχοντα δύναμιν, ἣ ἔστι μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα ἀντωφελεῖσθαι, ἔστι δὲ ἐχθροὺς [ἔχοντα] πειράσθαι τίσασθαι, ἐπειτ' ἀμελεῖν τοῦ πορίζεσθαι, οἷε τι, ἔφη, ἡττόν τι τοῦτο εἶναι αἰσχρὸν ἢ εἴ τις ἔχων μὲν ἀγροῦς, ἔχων δὲ ἐργάτας οἷς ἂν ἐργάζοιτο, ἔπειτ' ἐφ' ἡ γῆν ἀργοῦσαν ἀνωφέλῃτον εἶναι; "Ὡς γ' ἐμοῦ, ἔφη, μηδέποτε ἀμελήσοντας τοῦ τὰπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις συμμηχανᾶσθαι μήτ' ἐν φιλίᾳ μήτ' ἐν πολεμίᾳ οὕτως ἔχῃ τὴν γνώμην.

- 12 Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν ἐδόκει ποθ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μὴ παραμελεῖν, ἣ μέμνησαι; Οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, μέμνημαι ὅτε ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς σὲ ἦλθον ἐπ' ἀργύριον, ὅπως ἀποδοίην τῷ φάσκοντι στρατηγεῖν με πεπαιδευκέναι, σὺ δὲ ἅμα διδούς μοι ἐπηρώτας ὥδέ πως· Ἀρά γε, εἶπας, ὦ παῖ, ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς καὶ οἰκονομίας τί σοι ἐπέμνησθη ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὃ τὸν μισθὸν φέρεις; οὐδὲν μέντοι ἡττον οἱ στρατιῶται τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δέονται ἢ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ οἰκέται. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγὼ σοι λέγων τάλῃθ' εἶπον, ὅτι οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν περὶ τούτου ἐπεμνήσθη, ἐπήρου με πάλιν, εἴ τί μοι ὑγιείας πέρι ἢ ῥώμης ἔλεξεν, ὥς δεῆσον καὶ τούτων ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς
13 στρατηγίας τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπιμέλεσθαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπέφησα, ἐπήρου με αὖ πάλιν, εἴ τινας τέχνους ἐδίδαξεν, αἱ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων κράτισται ἂν σύμμαχοι γένοιοντο. ἀποφῆσαντος δέ μου καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέκρινας αὖ σὺ καὶ τότε, εἴ τί μ' ἐπαίδευσεν ὥς ἂν δυναίμην στρατιᾷ προθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν, λέγων ὅτι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρει ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ προθυμία ἀθυμίας. ἐπεὶ

δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνένευον, ἡλεγχες αὖ σὺ εἴ τινα λόγον
 155 ποιήσαιτο διδάσκων περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι τὴν στρατιάν,
 ὡς ἂν τις μάλιστα μηχανῶτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο παν- 14
 τάπασιν ἄρρητον ἐφαίνετο, τέλος δὴ μ' ἐπήρου ὅτι
 ποτὲ διδάσκων στρατηγίαν φαίῃ με διδάσκειν. καὶ γὰρ
 δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι τὰ τακτικά. καὶ σὺ γε-
 160 λάσας διήλθες μοι παρατιθείς ἕκαστον, τί εἴη ὄφελος
 στρατιᾷ τακτικῶν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τί δ' ἄνευ
 τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν, τί δ' ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι τὰς ^{δεξιότητι} ἡνῶ-
 μένας εἰς πόλεμον τέχνας, τί δ' ἄνευ τοῦ πείθεσθαι.
 ὡς δέ μοι καταφανὲς ἐποίησας, ὅτι μικρόν τι μέρος
 165 εἴη στρατηγίας τὰ τακτικά, ἐπερομένου μου, εἴ τι τού-
 των σὺ με διδάξαι ἱκανὸς εἴης, ἀπιόντα με ἐκέλευσας
 τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς νομιζομένοις ἀνδράσι διαλέγεσθαι
 καὶ πυνθέσθαι, πῇ ἕκαστα τούτων γίγνεται. ἐκ τούτου 15
 δὴ συνῆν τούτοις ἐγώ, οὓς μάλιστα φρονίμους περὶ
 170 τούτων ἤκουον εἶναι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἐπέισθην
 ἱκανὸν εἶναι ὑπάρχον ὅτι Κνωξάρης ἔμελλε παρέξειν
 ἡμῖν, περὶ δὲ ὑγείας, ἀκούων καὶ ὁρῶν ὅτι καὶ πό-
 λεις αἱ χρήζουσαι ὑγιαίνειν ἰατροὺς αἰροῦνται καὶ οἱ
 στρατηγοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕνεκεν ἰατροὺς ἐξάγουσιν,
 175 οὕτω καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει τούτῳ ἐγενόμην, εὐθὺς
 τούτου ἐπεμελήθην, καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, πάννυ
 ἱκανοὺς τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην ἔξειν μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἄν-
 δρας. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ πατὴρ εἶπεν, Ἄλλ', ὦ παῖ, 16
 ἔφη, οὔτοι μὲν οὓς λέγεις, ὥσπερ ἱματίων ῥαγέντων
 180 εἰσὶ τινες ἀκεσταί, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἰατροί, ὅταν τινὲς νο-
 σήσωσι, τότε ἰῶνται τούτους· σοὶ δὲ τούτου μεγαλο-
 πρεπεστέρα ἔσται ἢ τῆς ὑγείας ἐπιμέλεια· τὸ γὰρ ἀρ-
 χὴν μὴ κάμνειν τὸ στράτευμα, τούτου σοι δεῖ μέλειν.
 Καὶ τίνα δὴ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὁδὸν ἰὼν τοῦτο

πράττειν ἱκανὸς ἔσομαι; Ἦν μὲν δὴπου χρόνον τινὰ ¹⁸⁵
 μέλλης ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένειν, ὑγιεινοῦ πρῶτον δεῖ στρα-
 τοπέδου μὴ ἀμελήσαι· τούτου δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις,
 εἴνπερ μελήσῃ σοι. καὶ γὰρ λέγοντες οὐδὲν παύονται
 ἄνθρωποι περὶ τε τῶν νοσηρῶν χωρίων καὶ περὶ τῶν
 ὑγιεινῶν· μάρτυρες δὲ σαφεῖς ἑκατέροις αὐτῶν παρ- ¹⁹⁰
 ἴστανται τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρώματα. ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ
 τὰ χωρία μόνον ἀρκέσει σκέψασθαι, ἀλλὰ μνησθῆτι,
 17 σὺ πῶς πειρᾷ σαυτοῦ ἐπιμέλῃσθαι ὅπως ὑγιαίνῃς. καὶ
 ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Πρῶτον μὲν νῆ Δία πειρῶμαι μηδέ-
 ποτε ὑπερπίμπλασθαι· δύσφορον γάρ· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ- ¹⁹⁵
 πονῶ τὰ εἰσιόντα· οὕτω γάρ μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε ὑγίεια
 μᾶλλον παραμένειν καὶ ἰσχύς προσγενέσθαι. Οὕτω
 τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεῖ ἐπιμέλῃσθαι.
 Ἦ καὶ σχολή, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἔσται σωμασκεῖν τοῖς
 στρατιώταις; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ πατήρ, οὐ μόνον γε, ²⁰⁰
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη. δεῖ γὰρ δὴπου στρατιάν, εἰ μέλλει
 πράξειν τὰ δέοντα, μηδέποτε παύεσθαι ἢ τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις κακὰ πορσύνουσιν ἢ ἑαυτῇ ἀγαθὰ· ὥς χαλεπὸν
 μὲν καὶ ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ἀργὸν τρέφεσθαι, πολὺ δ' ἔτι
 χαλεπώτερον, ὦ παῖ, οἶκον ὅλον, πάντων δὲ χαλεπώ- ²⁰⁵
 τατον στρατιάν ἀργὸν τρέφειν. πλείστα τε γὰρ τὰ
 ἐσθλόντα ἐν στρατιᾷ καὶ ἀπ' ἐλαχίστων ὁρμώμενα καὶ
 οἷς ἂν λάβῃ δαψιλέστατα χρώμενα, ὥστε οὔποτε ἀρ-
 18 γεῖν δεήσει στρατιάν. Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὥς
 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ γεωργοῦ ἀργοῦ οὐδὲν ὄφελος, ²¹⁰
 οὔτως οὐδὲ στρατηγοῦ ἀργούντος οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι.
 Τὸν δέ γε ἐργάτην στρατηγὸν ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀναδέχομαι,
 ἣν μὴ τις θεὸς βλάβῃ, ἅμα καὶ τὰπιτήδεια μάλιστα
 ἔχοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποδείξειν καὶ τὰ σώματα
 ἄριστα ἔχοντας παρασκευάσειν, Ἄλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη, τό ²¹⁵

γε μελετᾶσθαι ἕκαστα τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων, ἀγῶνας
 ἂν τίς μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, προειπὼν ἑκάστοις
 καὶ ἄθλα προτιθεῖς μάλιστα ἂν ποιεῖν εὖ ἀσκεῖσθαι
 ἕκαστα, ὥστε, ὅποτε δέοιτο, ἔχειν ἂν παρεσκευασμέ-
 220 νοις χρῆσθαι. Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ· τοῦτο
 γὰρ ποιήσας, σάφ' ἴσθι, ὥσπερ χοροὺς τὰς τάξεις αἰὲ
 τὰ προσήκοντα μελετώσας θεάσει.

Ἄλλὰ μὲν, ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη, εἰς γε τὸ προθυμίαν 19
 ἐμβαλεῖν στρατιώταις οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἰκανώτερον εἶ-
 225 ναι ἢ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐλπίδας ἐμποιεῖν ἀνθρώποις. Ἄλλ',
 ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, τοῦτό γε τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, οἷόν περ εἴ τις
 κύνας ἐν θήρᾳ ἀνακαλοῖτο αἰὲ τῇ κλήσει, ἥ περ ὅταν τὸ
 θηρίον ὀράῃ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον προθύμως εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
 ἔχει ὑπακουούσας· ἦν δὲ πολλάκις ψεύδεται αὐτάς,
 230 τελευτῶσαι οὐδ' ὅποταν ἀληθῶς ὀρῶν καλῇ, πείθονται
 αὐτῷ. οὕτω καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἔχει· ἦν πολ-
 λάκις προσδοκίας ἀγαθῶν ἐμβαλὼν ψεύδεται τις, οὐδ'
 ὅποταν ἀληθεῖς ἐλπίδας λέγῃ ὁ τοιοῦτος πείθειν δύ-
 νатаι. ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἃ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδείῃ
 235 εἶργεσθαι δεῖ, ὦ παῖ, ἄλλοι δ' ἐνετοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτ'
 ἂν διαπράττοιεν· τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ παρακέλευσιν εἰς τοὺς
 μεγίστους κινδύνους δεῖ ὡς μάλιστα ἐν πίστει διασώ-
 ζειν. Ἄλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὦ πάτερ,
 καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὕτως ἥδιον. τό γε 20
 240 μὲν πειθομένους παρέχεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὐκ
 ἀπείρως μοι δοκῶ αὐτοῦ ἔχειν, ὦ πάτερ· σύ τε γάρ
 με εὐθύς τοῦτο ἐκ παιδίου ἐπαίδευες, σαυτῷ πείθεσ-
 θαι ἀναγκάζων· ἔπειτα τοῖς διδασκάλοις παρέδωκας,
 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὖ ταῦτό τοῦτο ἔπραττον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς
 245 ἐφήβοις ἤμεν, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἰσχυρῶς
 ἐπεμέλετο· καὶ οἱ νόμοι δέ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ

- ταῦτα δύο μάλιστα διδάσκειν, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ τοίνυν κατανοῶν περὶ τούτων ἐν πᾶσιν ὁρᾶν μοι δοκῶ τὸ προτρέπον πείθεσθαι μάλιστα ὃν τὸ τὸν πειθόμενον ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα 250
- 21 ἀτιμάζειν τε καὶ κολάζειν. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν γε τὸ ἀνάγκη ἔπεσθαι αὕτη, ὦ παῖ, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐστίν· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον τούτου πολὺ, τὸ ἐκόντας πείθεσθαι, ἄλλη ἐστὶ συντομωτέρα. ὃν γὰρ ἂν ἡγήσωνται περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἑαυτοῖς φρονιμώτερον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι, τούτῳ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπέρηδέως πείθονται. ἡγοίης δ' ἂν ὅτι τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει ἐν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς καμνουσιν, ὥς προθύμως τοὺς ἐπιτάσσοντας ὅ,τι χρή ποιεῖν καλοῦσι· καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ δὲ ὥς προθύμως τοῖς κυβερνήταις οἱ συμπλέοντες πείθονται· καὶ οὓς γ' ἂν νομίσωσί τινες βέλτιον αὐτῶν ὁδοὺς εἰδέναι, ὥς ἰσχυρῶς τούτων οὐδ' ἀπολείπεσθαι ἐθέλουσιν. ὅταν δὲ οἴωνται πειθόμενοι κακὸν τι λήψεσθαι, οὔτε ζημίαις πάνυ τι ἐθέλουσιν εἰκεῖν οὔτε δώροις ἐπαίρεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δώρα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κακῷ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει. 265
- 22 Λέγεις σύ, ὦ πάτερ, εἰς τὸ πειθομένους ἔχειν οὐδὲν εἶναι ἀνυσιμώτερον τοῦ φρονιμώτερον δοκεῖν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχομένων. Λέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. Καὶ πῶς δὴ τις ἂν, ὦ πάτερ, τοιαύτην δόξαν τάχιστα περὶ αὐτοῦ παρασχέσθαι δύναίτο; Οὐκ ἐστίν, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, συντομωτέρα ὁδὸς <ἐπὶ τῷ> περὶ ὧν βούλει, δοκεῖν φρόνιμος εἶναι ἢ τὸ γενέσθαι περὶ τούτων φρόνιμον. καθ' ἓν δ' ἕκαστον σκοπῶν γνώσει ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω. ἢν γὰρ βούλῃ μὴ ὧν ἀγαθὸς γεωργὸς δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀγαθός, ἢ ἱππεὺς ἢ ἰατρὸς ἢ αὐλητὴς ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν, ἐν νόει, πόσα σοὶ δέοι ἂν μηχανᾶσθαι τοῦ δοκεῖν ἕνεκα. καὶ εἰ δὴ πείσαις ἐπαινεῖν τέ σε πολλούς, ὅπως δόξαν 275

^{14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000}

οἱ αὐτοὶ πόνοι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄπτονται ἄρχοντός τε ἀν-
δρός καὶ ιδιώτου, ἀλλ' ἐπικούφισσι ^{149 h7 ουξ} τι ἢ τιμὴ τοὺς ³¹⁰
πόνους τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὐ λαν-
θάνει ὅτι ἂν ποιῇ.

- 26 Ὅποτε δέ, ὦ πάτερ, σοι ἤδη ἔχοιεν μὲν τὰπιτή-
δεια οἱ στρατιῶται, ὑγιαίνουσιν δέ, ^{150 h7 ουξ} πρνεῖν δὲ δύναιντο,
τὰς δὲ πολεμικὰς τέχνας ^{151 h7 ουξ} ἡσκηκοτὲς εἶεν, φιλοτίμως ³¹⁵
δ' ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθοὶ φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ πείθεσ-
θαι αὐτοῖς ἥδιον εἴη τοῦ ἀπειθεῖν, οὐκ ἂν τηνικαῦτα
σωφρονεῖν ἂν τίς σοι δοκοίη διαγωνίζεσθαι βουλό-
μενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς τάχιστα; Ναὶ μὰ Δί',
ἔφη, εἰ μέλλοι γε πλέον ἔξειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔγωγ' ἂν ³²⁰
ὅσῳ οἰοίμην καὶ αὐτὸς βελτίων εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐπο-
μένους βελτίονας ἔχειν, τόσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον φυλαπτοίμην,
ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα ἂν οἰώμεθα πλείστου ἡμῖν ἄξια εἶ-
ναι, ταῦτα πειρώμεθα ὡς ἐν ἐχυρώτατῳ ποιείσθαι.
- 27 Πλέον δ' ἔχειν, ὦ πάτερ, πολεμίῳ πῶς ἂν τις δύ- ³²⁵
ναιτο μάλιστα; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκέτι τοῦτο φαῦ-
λον, ὦ παῖ, οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν ἔργον ἐρωτᾷς· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθι,
ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τοῦτο ποιήσιν καὶ ^{326 h7 ουξ} ἐπιβουλον
εἶναι καὶ κρυψίνου καὶ ^{327 h7 ουξ} δολερὸν καὶ ^{328 h7 ουξ} ἀπατεῶνα καὶ
κλέπτην καὶ ^{329 h7 ουξ} ἄρπαγα καὶ ἐν παντὶ ^{330 h7 ουξ} πλεονέκτην τῶν
πολεμίῳ. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν, ὦ Ἡρά-
κλεις, οἶον σὺ λέγεις, ὦ πάτερ, δεῖν ἄνδρα με γενέσ-
θαι. Οἷος ἂν <ᾶν>, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, δικαιοτάτός τε καὶ
- 28 νομιμώτατος ἀνὴρ εἴης. Πῶς μὴν, ἔφη, παῖδας ὄντας
ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐφήβους τὰναντία τούτων ἐδιδάσκετε; Ναὶ ³³⁵
μὰ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ πολί-
τας· ὅπως δέ γε τοὺς πολεμίους δύναισθε κακῶς ποι-
εῖν, οὐκ οἶσθα μανθάνοντας ὑμᾶς πολλὰς κακουργίας;
Οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη, ἔγωγε, ὦ πάτερ. Τίνος μὴν ἕνεκα,

already advanced towards the Bactrians and Sacae³⁷ must remain uncertain, owing to the contradiction which exists on this point between the summary narrative of Herodotus³⁸ and the Excerpt from Ctésias³⁹. Afterwards the Lydian war made Cyrus master of the whole of Asia Minor to the shore of the Aegean'.

It was of the greatest importance for Cyrus that Lydia and Babylonia should remain inactive during the revolution, and allow him to establish his dominion in Media without disturbance, and to direct his aim unimpeded against the neighbours of Media. The Lydian empire was now in its fullest vigour; Croesus had brought to a successful conclusion the long struggle against the Greek cities of the coast, and his kingdom now embraced the whole of Asia Minor as far as the Halys; the Lycians alone remained independent in their small mountain canton. The Lydian infantry were excellent and trustworthy; the cavalry were dreaded; in past days they had measured themselves with success against the Medes (Herod. I cc. 74, 79, 155; Xen. Cyr. VII ii 11). Thus in the third or fourth year of his reign, in the pride of his position, surrounded by inexhaustible treasures and the most splendid magnificence, on his lofty citadel at Sardis, he could declare himself the man most favoured by fortune. Two years afterwards Astyagès, whose wife Aryanis was Croesus' sister, was overthrown.

³⁷ 'In Xen. and Ctésias the Sacae are the allies of Cyrus as early as B.C. 549'. Duncker *ib.* p. 387.

³⁸ Herodotus (I c. 153) tells us that Cyrus subjugated the Bactrians and Sacae and Upper Asia, one nation after the other, and puts these conquests after the Lydian war.

³⁹ In Ctésias §§ 2, 3, Cyrus after the conquest of Astyagès marches against the Bactrians; the battle was undecided. But when they found that Astyagès was the father and Amytis the wife of Cyrus, the Bactrians voluntarily submitted to Amytis and Cyrus. He then conquered the Sacae and took their king Amorgès captive: but his wife Sparethra collected an army of 300,000 men and 200,000 women, with which she took the field and defeated Cyrus, taking among other captives Parmisès the brother of Amytis and his three children. As a ransom for these Amorgès was restored to Sparethra, and afterwards joined Cyrus in his expedition against Lydia.

According to Herodotus, after much hesitation and examination of the oracles, in the spring of the year B.C. 549, Croesus brought on the storm, which he sought to allay before it burst upon him. He resolved to be the first to cross the Halys and invade the territory of Cyrus, in order to conquer Cappadocia and avenge Astyagès on Cyrus. After crossing the river, he directed his course to the commanding plateau of Pteria near Sinôpe, the strongest position in those regions; took the town and neighbouring cities and laid waste the land. In this neighbourhood he awaited the attack of the Persians. A severe contest ensued, and the battle was not decided when night came on. Croesus beat a sudden retreat, in the expectation that Cyrus would not venture to advance 'as the winter was at the gate,' and returned to Lydia. But Cyrus made such a rapid march upon the enemy's metropolis, that he was the first to announce his own arrival. Croesus was now compelled either to shut himself up in the walls of Sardis or fight with much smaller numbers than he took the field with at Pteria. He chose the latter and awaited the attack of Cyrus on the plain of Hermus, which was large enough to provide a field for his excellent cavalry. To render the attack of these horsemen useless, Cyrus, as we are told by both Xenophon (VII i 47) and Herodotus (I c. 80), placed his baggage-camels, with riders accoutred as horsemen, in his first line. When the battle broke out, the Lydian horses were frightened by the smell and unwonted aspect of these animals and turned: but though robbed of their best arm and mode of fighting, their riders nevertheless did not lose their courage, but dismounted, and met the Persians on foot. They pressed courageously on the enemy, and could only be driven into the gates of Sardis after a bloody battle. The city was now invested, but in fourteen days a Persian, of the Mardian tribe, climbed the steep rock on the Pactôlus, at a place where no guard was set; thus the citadel and city were taken, and Croesus became a prisoner, and lost the dominion of the Mermnadae 140 years after his ancestor Gygès had won it. We know from Herodotus and Ctésias that he was treated leniently by his conqueror, who allotted him the city of Barênê near Ecbatana, as a residence, and gave him an honourable position at court, where we find him at a later period, giving advice to Cambyès, the son and successor of Cyrus.

The army of Cyrus now took up winter quarters in Lydia, and

from Sardis he arranged in person the fate of the nations which had been its subjects. But after a short time he was summoned back to the east, and left the government of Lydia to Tabalus, a Persian, but the management of the revenues to Pactyas, a Lydian, who soon after raised the standard of revolt. The rebellion, however, was soon crushed by Magarês, upon whose death Harpagos was appointed his successor, and reduced the cities of the Ionians, Aeolians, Dorians and Carians, and lastly the hardy and brave Lycians. About the third year after Cyrus had left Sardis in B.C. 548 his power in Lydia was not only firmly founded, but the whole western coast, with all its harbours and landing-places, together with the islands of Chios and Lesbos, was subject to him. He placed two viceroys over Asia Minor beyond the Halys: one, the viceroy of Phrygia, was to govern the north-eastern; the other, the viceroy of Lydia, was to govern the south-western half of this wide region. With the unerring political insight which distinguished him, Cyrus made a point of gaining adherents within the Greek cities, and securing on his side influential interests of sufficient weight to keep them in obedience. He governed the cities of the Greeks by Greeks, who were not to be his officers, but to rule the cities as their lords and princes for their own advantage and profit. Their social life, their form of government, their autonomy, remained intact. They had only to recognise the supreme authority of the king and his viceroys, and to pay a yearly tribute to him, and to furnish a contingent to the army when called upon to do so.

Xenophon's narrative differs: the Persians and Medes are contending against Babylonia. On the representation of the king of Babylon that those two nations would subjugate all the world, unless measures were taken to prevent them, Croesus marches out to aid the king (*Cyr.* I v 3), with an army of 40,000 horse and about 150,000 light-armed infantry and bowmen. But the united army of Lydians and Babylonians, though it reached nearly 60,000 cavalry and more than 200,000 infantry (*Cyr.* II i 5, 6), was defeated. Cyrus turned his steps towards Lydia, and Croesus collected a new army on the Pactôlus of Lydians, Phrygians, Paphlagonians and Lycæonians, who were joined by the Cilicians and Cappadocians. The Egyptians and Cyprians came on board ship; envoys went to Lacedæmon for troops. With this army Croesus marched to meet Cyrus at Thymbrara. Here the battle took place. Cyrus had

placed two archers on each of the camels, and so succeeded in overthrowing the enemy's disorganised cavalry. But the battle had to be fought out with the javelin, lance and sword; the Persians were not victorious without great bloodshed. Croesus flies to Sardis, the Lydians alone remain faithful to him, the rest of his army disperses. Cyrus pursues him on the next morning and at once invests Sardis. In the very night after the camp was pitched before Sardis, the Persians climb the fortifications led by a Persian who had once been a slave of one of the sentinels, and so Croesus fell into the hands of Cyrus. DUNCKER Vol. VI Book VIII chh. vi, vii.

After the fall of Sardis in B.C. 548 and the subjugation of Asia Minor, Babylonia alone was left of the three mighty kingdoms, connected by close relations, which had joined in the overthrow of Asia. 'Against Babylon Cyrus' says Herodotus⁴⁰ 'was bent on making war in person'. He did not commence his march immediately after the Lydian war, but he employed the interval in the extension of his empire over the still independent nations of the table-land of Iran⁴¹. With our scanty knowledge, however, it is impossible to determine the order of his campaigns in the East and West with any

⁴⁰ I C. 153 ἡ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι· ἐπ' οὓς ἐπέειχε στρατηγεῖν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

⁴¹ Iran was the name given by the inhabitants to the vast space of country comprised between the Indus on the east, the Oxus and Caspian Sea to the north, the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean to the south, and the line of Mount Zagros (the present boundary-line between Persia and Turkey) to the west. It was occupied by a great variety of different tribes and people, but all or most of them belonged to the religion of Zoroaster and spoke dialects of the Zend language (Strabo xv ii 8 p. 724 c εἰσὶ πῶς ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν); they had also something of a common character, which contrasted with the Indian population east of the Indus, the Assyrians west of Mt Zagros, and the Massagetae and other Nomads of the Caspian and the Sea of Aral—less brutish, restless and bloodthirsty than the latter—more fierce, contemptuous and extortionate, and less capable of sustained industry than the two former.

degree of exactness, or to ascertain clearly what successes he achieved in these regions before and after the Babylonian War. Herodotus says simply:—τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτὸς Κῦρος (ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε), πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς, and ἐπεὶ τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποίησατο⁴². We know that the war between Babylon and Persia took place in B.C. 538⁴³, ten years after the Lydian war⁴⁴.

When Cyrus appeared before the walls of Babylon, where he had been long expected⁴⁵, a single battle was fought, to try whether it was necessary to submit to a siege at all; and when the Persians were victorious, the Babylonians retired within their defences, 'they forbore to fight—they remained in their holds⁴⁶'. He entered the city by the channel of the Euphrates, and waited for a general festival, when the attention of the inhabitants was likely to be diverted, before turning the stream from its natural channel. According to Berosus⁴⁷ Nabonetus was not in Babylon when it was taken, having sought refuge in the neighbouring city of Borsippa, when his army was defeated in a single battle. Hither he was pursued by Cyrus, but soon surrendered. Cyrus treated him with

⁴² I cc. 177, 178.

⁴³ Berosus the Babylonian historian (B.C. 261—246) in the third Book of his *Βαβυλωνικά* ap. Joseph. c. Apion. I c. 20 says distinctly: Οὕτως τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει, προεξεληλυθὼς Κῦρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καὶ καταστρεφόμενος τὴν λοιπὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Nabonetus, we know, began to reign in B.C. 555. He was the father of Bil-s'ar-ussur (Belshazzar).

⁴⁴ The date of the accession of Nabonetus (the Labynetus of Herodotus) is fixed, not only by the canon of Ptolemy but also by the Babylonian tablets. See Duncker VI p. 67 note.

⁴⁵ Acc. to Xen. Cyr. VII v 13 provisions sufficient for twenty years had been collected by the Babylonians.

⁴⁶ Jerem. li 30.

⁴⁷ ap. Joseph. c. Apion. I c. 20 Ναβόννηδος—ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὀλίγοστος συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν. Richter suggests that this account may be due to the vanity of the Chaldaean writer, as if it were an honour to his own city that the last of the Babylonian kings should have taken refuge there. See Müller *frag. hist. gr.* II p. 502.

clemency, and assigned him a residence in Carmania, where he lived for the rest of his life⁴⁸.

The accounts of the actual taking of Babylon in the Bible, Herodotus⁴⁹ and Xenophon⁵⁰ mainly agree; the conquered province was not oppressed nor its people ill-used, but they became tributary to the Persians—forming the richest satrapy in the empire; the city was not destroyed, nor were its palaces⁵¹, its vast walls and gates injured. Cyrus stepped into the place of the native king⁵² and administered the government without interfering with the local, political and religious institutions. The Persians were in principle monotheists and were generally opposed to the degrading superstitions of Western Asia: but Cyrus made it his rule to govern the subject countries in accordance with their native traditions. Hence in Babylonia he repaired the temples of Saggal at Babylon, Sidra at Borsippa, and Parra at Larsa (*Senkereh*), and preserved the Babylonian worship in their temples.

The fall of the metropolis decided the fortune not only of the Babylonian kingdom but also of its dependencies. The most important of these was Syria, with the great trading places of the Phoenicians on the Mediterranean; Syria recognised the supremacy of Cyrus almost without a blow; the Phoenicians voluntarily sub-

⁴⁸ τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννήδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀλλ' ἐγχειρήσαντος αὐτὸν πρότερον, χρησάμενος Κύρος φιλανθρώπως, καὶ δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. Berosus ap. Joseph. *l. c.*

⁴⁹ *l. c.* 191.

⁵⁰ Cyr. VII v 15.

⁵¹ Herod. III c. 159.

⁵² The Babylonian tablets, after the capture of the city and the fall of the kingdom, date from the years of the reign of Cyrus over Babylonia, the years 'of Kurush, king of Babylon, king of the lands'. Oppert et Ménant *Docum. Juridiq.* p. 266 quoted by Duncker

- 340 ἔφη, ἐμ^ἐανθάνετε τοξεύειν; τίνος δ' ἔνεκα ἀκοντίζ^{ἐλνωλίσσ}ειν;
 τίνος δ' ἔνεκα δολοῦν ὑς ἀγρίους καὶ πλέγμασι καὶ
 ὀρύγμασι; τί δ' ἐλάφους ποδάγρα^{ῖς}ις καὶ ἀρπεδό^{ῖς}ναις;
 τί δὲ λέουσι καὶ ἄρκτοις καὶ παρδα^{ῖς}λεσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ
 ἴσον καθιστάμενοι ἐμάχεσθε, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλεονεξίας
 345 τινὸς ἀεὶ ἐπειρᾶσθε ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτά; ἢ οὐ
 πάντα γινώσκεις ταῦτα ὅτι κακουργίαι τέ εἰσι καὶ
 ἀπάται καὶ δολῶσεις καὶ πλεονεξίαι; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, 29
 θηρίων γε· ἀνθρώπων δὲ εἰ καὶ δόξαιμι βούλεσθαι
 ἐξαπατῆσαί τινα, πολλὰς πληγὰς οἶδα λαμβάνων.
 350 Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοξεύειν, οἶμαι, οὐδ' ἀκοντίζ^{ἐλνωλίσσ}ειν ἄνθρωπον
 ἐπέτρεπομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σκοπὸν βάλλειν ἐδιδά-
 σκομεν, ἵνα γε νῦν μὲν μὴ κακουργοίητε τοὺς φίλους,
 εἰ δέ ποτε πόλεμος γένοιτο, δύναισθε καὶ ἀνθρώπων
 στοχάζεσθαι· καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν δὲ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἐν
 355 ἀνθρώποις ἐπαιδεύομεν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐν θηρίοις, ἵνα μηδ'
 ἐν τούτοις τοὺς φίλους βλαπτοῖτε, εἰ δέ ποτε πόλε-
 μος γένοιτο, μηδὲ τούτων ἀγύμναστοι εἴητε. Οὐκοῦν, 30
 ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, εἴπερ χρησιμὰ ἐστίν ἀμφοτέρα ἐπίστα-
 σθαι, εὖ τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διδά-
 360 σκειν ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα ἔδει ἐν ἀνθρώποις. Ἄλλὰ 31
 λέγεται, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων
 γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἀνὴρ διδάσκαλος τῶν παιδων, ὃς ἐδί-
 δασκεν ἄρα τοὺς παῖδας τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὥσπερ σὺ
 κελεύεις, μὴ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπα-
 365 τᾶν καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ μὴ διαβάλλειν καὶ διαβάλλειν,
 καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. διώριζε δὲ τού-
 των ἅ τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ποιητέον καὶ ἅ πρὸς ἐχ-
 θρούς. καὶ ἔτι γε ταῦτα ἐδίδασκεν, ὥς καὶ τοὺς φίλους
 δίκαιον εἶη ἐξαπατᾶν ἐπὶ γε ἀγαθῷ, καὶ κλέπτειν τὰ
 370 τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ. ταῦτα δὲ διδάσκοντα ἀνάγκη 32

- μενος ^{ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει} ὑπορεῖν νυκτός, καὶ πρὶν κινεῖσθαι τὰς ὀρνι-
 θας ἐπεποίητό σοι αἱ πάγαι αὐταῖς καὶ τὸ κεκινημέ-
 νον χωρίον ἐξείκαστο τῷ ἀκινήτῳ· ὀρνιθες δ' ἐπεπαί- 435
 δυντό σοι ὥστε σοι μὲν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπηρετεῖν,
 τὰς δὲ ὁμοφύλους ὀρνιθας ἐξαπατᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐνή-
 δρευες, ὥστε ὁρᾶν μὲν αὐτάς, μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐ-
 τῶν· ἡσκηκεις δὲ φθάνων ἔλκειν ἢ τὰ πτηνὰ φεύγειν.
- 40 πρὸς δ' αὖ τὸν λαγῶ, ὅτι μὲν ἐν σκότει νέμεται, τὴν 440
 δ' ἡμέραν ἀποδιδράσκει, κύνας ἔτρεφες, αἱ τῇ ὁσμῇ
 αὐτὸν ἀνηύρισκον. ὅτι δὲ ταχὺ ἔφευγεν, ἐπεὶ εὐρε-
 θείη, ἅλλας κύνας εἶχες ἐπιτετηδευμένας πρὸς τὸ κατὰ
 πόδας αἰρεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἀποφύγοι, τοὺς πό- 445
 ρους αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνων καὶ [πρὸς] οἷα χωρία φεύ-
 γοντες αἰροῦνται οἱ λαγῶ, ἐν τούτοις δίκτυα δυσό-
 ρατα ἐνεπετάννυσ ἄν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ σφόδρα φεύγειν αὐ-
 τὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐμπεσὼν συνέδει. τοῦ δὲ μῆδ' ἐντεῦθεν
 διαφεύγειν σκοποὺς τοῦ γιγνομένου καθίστης, οἱ ἐγ-
 γύθεν ταχὺ ἐμελλον ἐπιγενήσεσθαι· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν σὺ 450
 ὀπισθεν κραυγῇ οὐδὲν ὑστεριζούσῃ τοῦ λαγῶ βοῶν
 ἐξέπληττες αὐτόν, ὥστε ἄφρονα ἀλίσκεσθαι, τοὺς δ'
 ἔμπροσθεν σιγᾶν διδάξας ἐνεδρεύοντας λανθάνειν ἐποί-
- 41 εις. ὥσπερ οὖν προείπον, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐθελήσαις καὶ
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μηχανᾶσθαι, οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε εἰ 455
 τινος λείποιο ἂν τῶν πολεμίων. ἦν δέ ποτε ἄρα ἀνάγκη
 γένηται καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς
 καὶ ὀπλισμένους ἀμφοτέρους μάχην συνάπτειν, ἐν τῷ
 τοιούτῳ δὴ, ὦ παῖ, αἱ ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευασμένα
 πλεονεξίαι μέγα δύνανται. ταύτας δὲ ἐγὼ λέγω εἶναι, 460
 ἦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὖ μὲν τὰ σώματα ἡσκημένα
 ἦ, εὖ δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ τεθηγμέναι, εὖ δὲ αἱ πολεμικαὶ
 42 τέχναι μεμελετημέναι ὦσιν. εὖ δὲ χρῆ καὶ τοῦτο εἰ-

δέναι ὅτι ὁπόσους ἂν ἀξιοῖς σοι πείθεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι
 465 πάντες ἀξιώσουσι σὲ πρὸ ἑαυτῶν βουλευέσθαι. μηδέ-
 ποτ' οὖν ἀφροντίστως ἔχε, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς προσκό-
 πει τί σοι ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, ἐπειδὴν ἡμέρα γέ-
 νηται, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ὅπως τὰ εἰς νύκτα κάλλιστα ἔξει.
 ὅπως δὲ χρή τάττειν εἰς μάχην στρατιὰν ἢ ὅπως ἄγειν 43
 470 ἡμέρας ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ στενὰς ἢ πλατείας ὁδοὺς ἢ ὀρεινὰς
 ἢ πεδινὰς, ἢ ὅπως στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἢ ὅπως φυλα-
 κας νυκτερινὰς καὶ ἡμερινὰς καθιστάναι, ἢ ὅπως προσ-
 ἀγειν πρὸς πολεμίους ἢ ἀπάγειν ἀπὸ πολεμίων, ἢ
 ὅπως παρὰ πόλιν πολεμίαν ἄγειν ἢ ὅπως πρὸς τεῖχος
 475 ἄγειν ἢ ἀπάγειν, ἢ ὅπως νάπη ἢ ποταμούς διαβαίνειν,
 ἢ ὅπως ἱππικὸν φυλάττεσθαι ἢ ὅπως ἀκοντιστὰς ἢ
 τοξότας, καὶ εἴ γε δὴ σοι κατὰ κέρας ἄγοντι οἱ πολέ-
 μιοι ἐπιφανεῖεν, πῶς χρή ἀντικαθιστάναι, καὶ εἴ σοι
 ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἄγοντι ἄλλοθεν ποθεν οἱ πολέμιοι φαί-
 480 νοιντο ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὅπως χρή ἀντιπαράγειν, ἢ
 ὅπως τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἂν τις μάλιστα αἰσθάνοιτο, ἢ
 ὅπως τὰ σὰ οἱ πολέμιοι ἤκιστα εἰδεῖεν, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα
 τί ἂν ἐγὼ λέγοιμί σοι; ὅσα τε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἤδειν, πολ-
 λάκις ἀκήκοας, ἄλλος τε ὅστις ἐδόκει τι τούτων ἐπί-
 485 στασθαι, οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἡμέληκας οὐδ' ἀδαῆς γεγέ-
 νησαι. δεῖ οὖν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, οἴμαι, τούτοις
 χρῆσθαι ὅποῖον ἂν συμφέρειν σοι τούτων δοκῇ.

Μάθε δέ μου καὶ τάδε, ὦ παῖ, ἔφη, τὰ μέγιστα· 44
 παρὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ καὶ οἰωνοὺς μήτε σαυτῷ μηδέποτε
 490 μήτε στρατιᾷ κινδυνεύσης, κατανοῶν ὥς ἄνθρωποι
 μὲν αἰρούνται πράξεις εἰκάζοντες, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ
 ποίας ἔσται αὐτοῖς τάγαθά. γνοίης δ' ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν 45
 τῶν γιγνομένων· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη πόλεις ἔπεισαν
 καὶ ταῦτα οἱ δοκοῦντες σοφώτατοι εἶναι πόλεμον ἄρα-

σθαι πρὸς τούτους ὑφ' ὧν οἱ πεισθέντες ἐπιθέσθαι 495
ἀπώλουντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἠΰξησαν καὶ ιδιώτας
καὶ πόλεις ὑφ' ὧν αὐξηθέντων τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἔπα-
θον, πολλοὶ δέ, οἷς ἐξῆν φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν
καὶ εὖ πάσχειν, τούτοις δούλοις μᾶλλον βουλευθέντες
ἢ φίλοις χρῆσθαι, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων δίκην ἔδοσαν· 500
πολλοῖς δ' οὐκ ἤρκεσεν αὐτοῖς τὸ μέρος ἔχουσι ζῆν
ἡδέως, ἐπιθυμήσαντες δὲ πάντων κύριοι εἶναι, διὰ
ταῦτα καὶ ὧν εἶχον ἀπέτυχον· πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν πολύευκ-
τον πλοῦτον κατακτησάμενοι διὰ τοῦτον ἀπώλουντο.
46 οὕτως ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶδε τὸ ἄρι- 505
στον αἰρεῖσθαι ἢ εἰ κληρούμενος ὅ,τι λάχοι τοῦτό τις
πράττοι. θεοὶ δέ, ὧ παῖ, ἀεὶ ὄντες πάντα ἴσασι τά
τε γεγενημένα καὶ τὰ ὄντα καὶ ὅ,τι ἐξ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν
ἀποβήσεται, καὶ τῶν συμβουλευομένων ἀνθρώπων
οἷς ἂν ἴλεω ὦσι, προσημαίνουσιν ἅ τε χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ 510
ἃ οὐ χρὴ. εἰ δὲ μὴ πᾶσιν ἐθέλουσι συμβουλεύειν,
οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὧν ἂν
μὴ ἐθελωσιν ἐπιμέλεσθαι.



ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ

Ι Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀφίκοντο διαλεγόμενοι μέχρι τῶν 1
ὀρίων τῆς Περσίδος· ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοῖς αἰτὸς
δεξιὸς φανεὶς προηγείτο, προσευξάμενοι
θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς Περσίδα γῆν κατέ-
5 χουσιν ἱλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπειν σφᾶς,
οὕτω διέβαινον τὰ ὄρια. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διέβησαν, προσ-
ηύχοντο αὐθις θεοῖς τοῖς Μηδῖαν γῆν κατέχουσιν
ἱλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς δέχεσθαι αὐτούς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιή-
σαντες, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, ὁ μὲν
10 πατὴρ πάλιν εἰς Πέρσας ἀπῆει, Κῦρος δὲ εἰς Μήδους
πρὸς Κυαξάρην ἐπορεύετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο ὁ Κῦρος 2
εἰς Μήδους πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην, πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ
εἰκὸς ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἤρετο τὸν Κῦ-
ρον ὁ Κυαξάρχης, πόσον τι ἄγοι τὸ στράτευμα. ὁ δὲ
15 ἔφη, Τρισμυρίους μὲν οἶοι καὶ πρόσθεν ἐφοίτων πρὸς
ὕμᾶς μισθοφόροι· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐδέποτε ἐξελ-
θόντων προσέρχονται τῶν ὁμοτίμων. Πόσοι τινές;
ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρχης. Οὐκ ἂν ὁ ἀριθμὸς σε, ἔφη ὁ Κῦ- 3
ρος, ἀκούσαντα εὐφράνειεν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἐννόησον, ὅτι
20 ὀλίγοι ὄντες οὗτοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι καλούμενοι πολλῶν ὄν-
των τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν ῥαδίως ἄρχουσιν. ἀτάρ, ἔφη,
δέει τι αὐτῶν ἢ μάτην ἐφοβήθης, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ

On their arrival
at the frontier of
Media, Camby-
sēs returns home,
Cyrus goes on to
join Cyaxarēs.

4 ἔρχονται; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ πολλοί γε. Πῶς τοῦτο
 σαφές; "Οτι, ἔφη, πολλοὶ ἤκουντες αὐτόθεν ἄλλος ἄλ-
 λον τρόπον πάντες ταῦτ' ἀλέγουσιν. Ἀγωνιστέον μὲν ²⁵
 ἄρα ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας. Ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἔφη. Τί
 οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐλεξάς μοι,
 εἰ οἶσθα, πόση τις ἢ προσιοῦσα, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἡμε-
 τέραν, ὅπως εἰδότες ἀμφοτέρας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευώ-
 μεθα ὅπως ἂν ἄριστα ἀγωνιζόμεθα; Ἀκουε δὴ, ἔφη ³⁰
 ὁ Κυαξάρης.

5 Κροῖσος μὲν ὁ Λυδὸς ἄγειν λέγεται μυρίους μὲν
 ἱππέας, πελταστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας πλείους
 ἢ τετρακισμυρίους. Ἀρτακάμαν δὲ τὸν
 τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας ἄρχοντα λέγουσιν ³⁵
 ἱππέας μὲν εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους ἄγειν, λογ-
 χοφόρους δὲ σὺν πελτασταῖς οὐ μείους
 τετρακισμυρίων, Ἀρίβαιον δὲ τὸν τῶν
 Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέα ἱππέας μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους,
 τοξότας δὲ καὶ πελταστὰς οὐ μείους τρισμυρίων, ⁴⁰
 τὸν Ἀράβαιον δὲ Ἀραγδὸν ἱππέας τε εἰς μυρίους
 καὶ ἄρματα εἰς ἑκατὸν καὶ σφενδονητῶν πάμπολύ
 τι χρῆμα. τοὺς μέντοι Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ
 οἰκοῦντας οὐδέν πω σαφές λέγεται εἰ ἔπονται. τοὺς
 δὲ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλησπόντῳ συμβαλεῖν ⁴⁵
 φασι Γάβαιδον ἔχοντα εἰς Καῦστρου πεδῖον ἑξα-
 κισχιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, πελταστὰς δὲ εἰς μυρίους.
 Κᾶρας μέντοι καὶ Κίλικας καὶ Παφλαγόνας παρα-
 κληθέντας οὐ φασιν ἔπεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀσσύριος ὁ
 Βαβυλῶνά τε ἔχων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀσσυρίαν, ἐγὼ ⁵⁰
 μὲν οἶμαι, ἱππέας μὲν ἄξει οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυ-
 ρίων, ἄρματα δ' εἷ οἷδ' οὐ μείον διακοσίων, πεζοὺς
 δὲ οἶμαι παμπόλλους· εἰώθει γοῦν, ὅποτε δεῦρ' ἐμ-

Cyrus, being
 informed of the
 strength of the
 invader, prevails
 upon Cyaxarès
 to let the whole
 of his army be
 equipped like the
 Thousand Peers.

βάλλοι. Σύ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, πολεμίους λέγεις ἱππέας 6
 55 μὲν ἑξακισμυρίους εἶναι, πελταστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας
 πλείον ἢ εἴκοσι μυριάδας. ἄγε δὴ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως
 τί φῆς πλήθος εἶναι; Εἰσὶν, ἔφη, Μήδων μὲν ἱππεῖς
 πλείους τῶν μυρίων· πελτασταὶ δὲ καὶ τοξόται γέ-
 νοιντ' ἂν πως ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ ἑξακισμύριοι. Ἄρ-
 60 μενίων δ', ἔφη, τῶν ὁμόρων ἡμῖν παρέσονται ἱππεῖς
 μὲν τετρακισχίλιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ δισμύριοι. Λέγεις σύ,
 ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἱππέας μὲν ἡμῖν εἶναι μείον ἢ τρίτον
 μέρος τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππικοῦ, πεζοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ
 τοὺς ἡμίσεις. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ὀλίγους 7
 65 νομίζεις Περσῶν εἶναι, οὓς σὺ φῆς ἄγειν; Ἄλλ'
 εἰ μὲν ἀνδρῶν προσδεῖ ἡμῖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἴτε καὶ
 μῆ, αὐθις συμβουλευσόμεθα· τὴν δὲ μάχην μοι, ἔφη,
 λέξον ἐκάστων ἥτις ἐστί. Σχεδόν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης,
 πάντων ἡ αὐτὴ· τοξόται γάρ εἰσι καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ
 70 τ' ἐκείνων καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος,
 ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ τοιούτων γε τῶν ὅπλων
 ὄντων. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης. Οὐκοῦν 8
 ἐν τούτῳ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἡ νίκη· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν
 θᾶττον οἱ ὀλίγοι ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τιτρωσκόμενοι ἀνα-
 75 λωθείησαν ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων. Εἰ οὖν οὕτως
 ἔχει, ὦ Κῦρε, τί ἂν ἄλλο τις κρείττον εὔροι ἢ πέμ-
 πειν εἰς Πέρσας καὶ ἅμα μὲν διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι,
 εἴ τι πείσονται Μῆδοι, εἰς Πέρσας τὸ δεινὸν ἥξει,
 ἅμα δὲ αἰτεῖν πλεῖον στράτευμα; Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν,
 80 ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες ἔλθοιεν
 Πέρσαι, πλήθει οὐχ ὑπερβαλοίμεθ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους.
 Τί μὴν ἄλλο ἐνορᾷς ἄμεινον τούτου; Ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν, 9
 ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰ σὺ εἶην, ὡς τάχιστα ὅπλα ποιοίμην
 πᾶσι Πέρσαις τοῖς προσιούσιν οἷάπερ ἔχοντες ἔρχον-

ται παρ' ἡμῶν οἱ τῶν ὁμοτίμων καλούμενοι· ταῦτα δ' ⁸⁵
 ἐστὶ θώραξ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα, γέρρον δὲ εἰς τὴν
 ἀριστεράν, κοπίς δὲ ἡ σάγαρις εἰς τὴν δεξιάν· καὶ
 ταῦτα παρασκευάσης, ἡμῖν μὲν ποιήσεις τὸ ὁμόσε τοῖς
 ἐναντίοις ἰέναι ἀσφαλέστατον, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ τὸ
 φεύγειν ἢ τὸ μένειν αἰρετώτερον. τάττομεν δέ, ἔφη, ⁹⁰
 ἡμᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς μένοντας· οἳ γε μεντὰν αὐ-
 τῶν φεύγωσι, τούτους ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις νέμομεν,
 ὥς μὴ σχολάζωσι μήτε μένειν μήτε ἀναστρέφεσθαι.
 10 Κῦρος μὲν οὕτως ἔλεξε· τῷ δὲ Κυαξάρῃ ἔδοξέ τε εὖ
 λέγειν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πλείους μεταπέμπεσθαι οὐκέτι ⁹⁵
 ἐμέμνητο, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὅπλα τὰ προειρημένα.
 καὶ σχεδόν τε ἔτοιμα ἦν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ ὁμότιμοι
 παρήσαν ἔχοντες τὸ ἀπὸ Περσῶν στρά-
 τευμα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὁ Κῦ-
 ρος συναγαγὼν αὐτούς· Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ¹⁰⁰
 ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς μὲν καθωπλισ-
 μένους οὕτω καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς παρεσκευ-
 ασμένους ὥς εἰς χεῖρας συμμίζοντας τοῖς
 πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐπομένους ὑμῖν Πέρσας
 γιγνώσκων ὅτι οὕτως ὀπλισμένοι εἰσίν, ¹⁰⁵
 ὥς ὅτι προσωτάτω ταχθέντες μάχεσθαι,
 ἔδεια, μὴ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἔρημοι συμμάχων
 συμπίπτοντες πολεμίοις πολλοῖς πάθοιτέ τι. νῦν
 οὖν, ἔφη, σώματα μὲν ἔχοντες ἀνδρῶν ἦκετε οὐ
 μεμπτά· ὅπλα δὲ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ὅμοια τοῖς ἡμετέ- ¹¹⁰
 ροις· τάς γε μέντοι ψυχὰς θήγειν αὐτῶν ἡμέτερον
 ἔργον. ἄρχοντος γάρ ἐστιν οὐχ ἑαυτὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν
 παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπιμέλεσθαι
 ὅπως ὥς βέλτιστοι ἔσονται.

12 Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· οἱ δ' ἡσθησαν μὲν πάντες, ¹¹⁵

11 On the arrival of the army at the Capital, Cyrus communicates his plan to the One Thousand, and urges them to inspire the men with courage while inducing them to wear their new arms. But one of them advises him to address the soldiers himself on the ground that his words would carry more weight with them.

νομίζοντες μετὰ πλειόνων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· εἰς δ' αὐτῶν
καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστά, ἔφη, ἴσως δόξω 13
λέγειν, εἰ Κύρῳ συμβουλευσῶ τι εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν,
ὅταν τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνωσιν οἱ ἡμῖν μέλλοντες συμμα-
120 χεσθαι· ἀλλὰ γινγνώσκω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ τῶν ἱκανω-
τάτων καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν λόγοι οὗτοι καὶ μά-
λιστα ἐνδύονται ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀκουόντων· καὶ
δῶρα ἦν διδῶσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, καὶ μείω τυγχάνη ὄντα
ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅμως μείζονος αὐτὰ τιμῶνται
125 οἱ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, οἱ Πέρσαι παραστάται
ὑπὸ Κύρου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡσθήσονται ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν
παρακαλούμενοι, εἰς τε τοὺς ὁμοτίμους καθιστάμενοι
βεβαιωτέρως σφίσιν ἡγήσονται ἔχειν τοῦτο ὑπὸ βασι-
λέως τε παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ γενόμενον ἢ εἰ ὑφ'
130 ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γίγνοιτο. ἀπεῖναι μέντοι οὐδὲ
τὰ ἡμέτερα χρή, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ δεῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
θήγειν πάντως τὸ φρόνημα. ἡμῖν γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο
χρήσιμον ὅ,τι ἂν οὗτοι βελτίονες γένωνται.

Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος καταθεὶς τὰ ὅπλα εἰς τὸ μέσον 14
135 καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς Περσῶν
στρατιώτας ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες Πέρ-
σαι, ὑμεῖς καὶ ἔφυτε ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμῖν καὶ
ἐτράφητε, καὶ τὰ σώματά τε οὐδὲν ἡμῶν χείρονα
ἔχετε, ψυχὰς τε οὐδὲν κακίονας ὑμῖν προσήκει ἡμῶν
140 ἔχειν. τοιοῦτοι δ' ὄντες ἐν μὲν τῇ πατρίδι οὐ με-
τείχετε τῶν ἴσων ἡμῖν, οὐχ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαθέντες
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰπιτήδεια ἀνάγκην ὑμῖν εἶναι πορί-
ζεσθαι. νῦν δὲ ὅπως μὲν ταῦτα ἔξετε, ἐμοὶ μελήσει
σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἔξεστι δ' ὑμῖν, εἰ βούλεσθε, λαβόντας
145 ὅπλα, οἷάπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κίν-
δυνον ἐμβαίνειν, καὶ τι ἐκ τούτων καλὸν κάγαθόν

Address of Cyrus
to the assembled
Persian contin- 15
gent.

- 16 γίγνηται, τῶν ὁμοίων ἡμῖν ἀξιοῦσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν πρόσθεν χρόνον ὑμεῖς τε τοξόται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ ἦτε καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ εἴ τι χεῖρους ἡμῶν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἦτε, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὑμῖν σχολὴ ὥσπερ ἡμῖν 150 τούτων ἐπιμέλεσθαι· ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ὀπλίσει οὐδὲν ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν προέξομεν. θώραξ μὲν γε περὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀρμόττων ἐκάστω ἔσται, γέροντον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, ὃ πάντες εἰθίσμεθα φορεῖν, μάχαιρα δὲ ἢ σάγαρις ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, ἣ δὴ παλεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους δεήσει οὐδὲν 155
- 17 φυλαττομένους μὴ τι παίοντες ἐξαμάρτωμεν. τί οὖν ἂν ἐν τούτοις ἕτερος ἑτέρου διαφέρει ἡμῶν πλὴν τόλμῃ; ἦν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἥττον προσήκει ἢ ἡμῖν ὑποτρέφεσθαι. νίκης τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἢ τὰ καλὰ πάντα καὶ τὰγαθὰ κτᾶται τε καὶ σώζει, τί μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ 160 ὑμῖν προσήκει; κράτους τε, ὃ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἡττόνων τοῖς κρείττοσι δωρεῖται, τί εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ὑμᾶς τούτου δεῖσθαι; τέλος εἶπεν Ἀκηκόατε πάντα· ὁρᾶτε τὰ ὅπλα· ὁ μὲν χρήζων λαμβανέτω ταῦτα καὶ ἀπογραφέσθω πρὸς τὸν ταξίαρχον εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν 165 τάξιν ἡμῖν· ὅτῳ δ' ἄρκεῖ ἐν μισθοφόρου χώρᾳ εἶναι, καταμενέτω ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ὅπλοις· ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι ἐνόμισαν, εἰ παρακαλούμενοι ὥστε τὰ ὅμοια πονοῦντες τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν μὴ ἐθε- 170 λήσουσι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, δικαίως ἂν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀμνηχανοῦντες βιοτεύειν. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογράφονται πάντες ἀνέλαβόν τε τὰ ὅπλα πάντες.
- 20 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ πολέμοιοι ἐλέγοντο μὲν προσιέναι, παρήσαν δὲ οὐδέπω, ἐν τούτῳ ἐπειράτο ὁ 175 Κῦρος ἀσκεῖν μὲν τὰ σώματα τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς ἰσχύν, διδάσκειν δὲ τὰ τακ-

Cyrus tries to arouse their valour and promote discipline among them by regular martial exercises,

τικά, θήγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὰ πολεμικά. καὶ 21
 πρῶτον μὲν λαβὼν παρὰ Κυαζάρου ὑπηρετάς
 180 προσέταξεν ἐκάστοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἱκανῶς
 ὧν ἐδέοντο πάντα πεποιημένα παρασχεῖν· τοῦτο
 δὲ παρασκευάσας οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐλελοίπει ἄλλο ἢ
 ἀσκεῖν τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκείνο δοκῶν καταμε-
 μαθηκέναι ὅτι οὗτοι κράτιστοι ἕκαστα γίνονται,
 185 οἳ ἂν ἀφέμενοι τοῦ πολλοῖς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἐπὶ
 ἓν ἔργον τράπωνται. καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν
 περιελὼν καὶ τὸ τόξῳ μελετᾶν καὶ ἀκοντίῳ κατέλιπε
 τοῦτο μόνον αὐτοῖς τὸ σὺν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ γέρρῳ
 καὶ θώρακι μάχεσθαι· ὥστε εὐθύς αὐτῶν παρε-
 190 σκεύασε τὰς γνώμας, ὡς ὁμόσε ἰτέον εἴη τοῖς πο-
 λεμίοις, ἢ ὁμολογητέον μηδενὸς εἶναι ἀξίους συμ-
 μάχους· τοῦτο δὲ χαλεπὸν ὁμολογήσαι οἵτινες ἂν
 εἰδῶσιν, ὅτι οὐδὲ δι' ἓν ἄλλο τρέφονται ἢ ὅπως
 μαχοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν τρεφόντων. ἔτι δὲ 22
 195 πρὸς τούτοις ἐννοήσας ὅτι, περὶ ὀπόσων
 ἂν ἐγγένωνται ἀνθρώποις φιλονικίαι,
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσι ταῦτ' ἀσκεῖν,
 ἀγωνάς τε αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ἀπάντων ὀπόσα ἐγίγνω-
 σκεν ἀσκεῖσθαι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ
 200 προεῖπε τάδε, ἰδιώτῃ μὲν ἑαυτὸν παρέχειν εὐπειθῇ
 τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐθελόπονον καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον μετ'
 εὐταξίας καὶ ἐπιστήμονα τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ
 φιλόκαλον περὶ ὅπλα καὶ φιλότιμον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
 τοιούτοις, πεμπαδάρχῳ δ' αὐτὸν ὄντα οἷόνπερ τὸν
 205 ἀγαθὸν ἰδιώτην καὶ τὴν πεμπάδα εἰς τὸ δυνατόν τοι-
 αύτην παρέχειν, δεκαδάρχῳ δὲ τὴν δεκάδα ὡσαύτως,
 λοχαγῷ δὲ τὸν λόχον, καὶ ταξιάρχῳ ἀνεπὶ κλητὸν αὐ-
 τὸν ὄντα ἐπιμέλεσθαι καὶ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἀρχόντων,

and to provoke
 their emulation in
 the performance
 of military duties
 by the institution
 of contests,

- ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι αὐτῶν ἂν ἄρχωσι παρέξουσιν τὰ δέοντα
 23 ποιούντας. ἄθλα δὲ προῦφηνε τοῖς μὲν ταξιάρχους ²¹⁰
 and by offering prizes and promotion both to individual officers and men, ὥς τοὺς κρατίστας δόξαντας τὰς τάξεις
 παρεσκευάσθαι χιλιάρχους ἔσσεσθαι, τῶν
 δὲ λοχαγῶν οἱ κρατίστους δόξειαν τοὺς
 λόχους ἀποδεικνύναι, εἰς τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων χώρας
 ἐπαναβήσεσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ δεκαδάρχων τοὺς κρα- ²¹⁵
 τίστους εἰς τὰς τῶν λοχαγῶν χώρας καταστήσεσθαι,
 τῶν δ' αὖ πεμπαδάρχων ὡσαύτως εἰς τὰς τῶν
 δεκαδάρχων, τῶν γε μὴν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς κρατιστεύον-
 τας εἰς τὰς τῶν πεμπαδάρχων. ὑπῆρχε δὲ πᾶσι τού-
 τοις τοῖς ἄρχουσι πρῶτον μὲν θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ²²⁰
 ἀρχομένων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ αἱ πρέπουσαι
 ἐκάστοις συμπαρείποντο. ἐπανετείνοντο δὲ καὶ μεί-
 ζονες ἐλπίδες τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπαίνου, εἴ τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι
 24 χρόνῳ ἀγαθὸν μείζον φανοῖτο. προεῖπε δὲ νικητήρια
 καὶ ὅλαις ταῖς τάξεσι καὶ ὅλοις τοῖς ²²⁵
 and likewise to their sections and companies. λόχοις, καὶ ταῖς δεκάσιν ὡσαύτως καὶ
 ταῖς πεμπάσιν, αἱ ἂν φαίνωνται εὐπισ-
 τόταται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὔσαι καὶ προθυμότατα ὑσ-
 κοῦσαι τὰ προειρημένα. ἦν δὲ ταύταις τὰ νικητήρια
 οἷα δὴ εἰς πλῆθος πρέπει. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεῖρητό ²³⁰
 25 τε καὶ ἡσκέετο ἡ στρατιά. σκηναὺς δ' αὐτοῖς κα-
 τεσκευάσε, πλῆθος μὲν ὅσοι ταξιάρχους
 ἦσαν, μέγεθος δὲ ὥστε ἱκανὰς εἶναι τῇ
 τάξει ἐκάστη· ἡ δὲ τάξις ἦν ἑκατὸν
 ἄνδρες. ἐσκήνουν μὲν δὴ οὕτω κατὰ ²³⁵
 τάξεις· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὁμοῦ σκηνοῦν ἐδόκουν μὲν αὐτῷ
 ὠφελείσθαι πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγῶνα τοῦτο, ὅτι
 ἐώρων ἀλλήλους ὁμοίως τρεφομένους καὶ οὐκ ἐνῆν
 πρόφασιν μειονεξίας, ὥστε ὑφίεσθαι τινὰς κακίῳ

240 ἕτερον ἑτέρου εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὠφελεῖσθαι
 δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γινγνώσκειν ἀλλήλους
 ὁμοῦ σκηνοῦντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ γινγνώσκεσθαι καὶ τὸ
 αἰσχύνεσθαι πᾶσι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἐγγίγνεσθαι, οἱ δὲ
 ἀγνοοῦμενοι ῥαδιουργεῖν πως μᾶλλον δοκοῦσιν, ὥσπερ
 245 ἐν σκότει ὄντες. ἐδόκουν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸ τὰς 26
 τάξεις ἀκριβοῦν μεγάλα ὠφελεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν συ-
 σκηνίαν. εἶχον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ταξίάρχοι ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς
 τὰς τάξεις κεκοσμημένας ὥσπερ ὅποτε εἰς ἓνα
 πορεύοιτο ἡ τάξις, οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ τοὺς λόχους ὡσαύ-
 250 τως, οἱ δὲ δεκάδαρχοι δεκάδας, πεμπάδαρχοι πεμ-
 πάδας. τὸ δὲ διακριβοῦν τὰς τάξεις σφόδρα ἐδόκει 27
 αὐτῷ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ταραττεσθαι καί,
 εἰ ταραχθεῖεν, θᾶπτον καταστῆναι, ὥσπερ γε καὶ
 λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἂν δέῃ συναρμοσθῆναι, ἔστι, κἂν
 255 ὅπως οὖν καταβεβλημένα τύχη, συναρμόσαι αὐτὰ
 εὐπετῶς, ἣν ἔχῃ γνωρίσματα ὥστ' εὐδῆλον εἶναι ἐξ
 ὁποίας ἕκαστον χώρας αὐτῶν ἐστιν. ἐδόκουν δ' ὡφε- 28
 λείσθαι αὐτῷ ὁμοῦ τρεφόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἡττον ἀλ-
 λήλους ἐθέλειν ἀπολείπειν, ὅτι ἑώρα καὶ τὰ θηρία
 260 τὰ συντρεφόμενα δεινὸν ἔχοντα πόθον, ἣν τις αὐτὰ
 διασπᾷ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ἐπεμέλετο δὲ καὶ τούτου ὁ 29
 Κῦρος ὅπως μήποτε ἀνίδρωτοι γενόμενοι
 ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσίοιεν.
 ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξάγων ιδρώτα αὐτοῖς
 265 παρείχεν ἡ παιδίᾳς τοιαύτας ἐξηύρισκεν, αἱ ιδρώτα
 ἔμελλον παρέχειν, ἡ καὶ πράττειν εἴ τι δεόμενος
 τύχοι, οὕτως ἐξηγεῖτο τῆς πράξεως ὥς μὴ ἐπανίοιεν
 ἀνιδρωτί. τοῦτο γὰρ ἡγεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἡδέως ἐσθί-
 ειν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ
 270 δύνασθαι πονεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀλλήλοις δὲ πραότεροὺς

and by giving
 them opportuni-
 ties of healthy
 bodily exercise.

εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἡγεῖτο τοὺς πόνους εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἵπποι συμπονοῦντες ἀλλήλοις πρῶτεροι συνεστή-
 κασι. πρὸς γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους μεγαλοφρονέ-
 τεροι γίνονται οἱ ἂν συνειδῶσιν ἑαυτοῖς εὖ ἡσκη-
 κότες.

275

- 30 Κῦρος δ' ἑαυτῷ σκηνὴν μὲν κατεσκευάσατο ὥστε
 ἱκανὴν ἔχειν οἷς καλοῖη ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.
 His own pav-
 lion large enough
 for occasional
 entertainment of
 officers and men.
 ἐκάλει δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ταξιάρχων
 οὓς καιρὸς αὐτῷ δοκοῖη εἶναι, ἔστι δ' ὅτε
 καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν δεκαδάρχων 280
 τινὰς καὶ τῶν πεμπαδάρχων ἐκάλει, ἔστι δ' ὅτε
 καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πεμπάδα ὅλην
 καὶ δεκάδα ὅλην καὶ λόχον ὅλον καὶ τάξιν ὅλην.
 ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ ἐτίμα ὁπότε τινὰς ἴδοι τοιοῦτόν τι
 ποιήσαντας, ὃ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο ποιεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ 285
 παρατιθέμενα αἰὲν ἴσα αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις
 31 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα δὲ ὑπη-
 ρέτας ἰσομοίρους πάντων αἰὲν ἐποίει· οὐδὲν γὰρ
 ἦττον τιμᾶν ἄξιον ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς ἀμφὶ
 τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ὑπηρέτας οὔτε κηρύκων οὔτε πρέσ- 290
 βεων. καὶ γὰρ πιστοὺς ἡγεῖτο δεῖν εἶναι τούτους
 καὶ ἐπιστήμονας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ συνετούς,
 προσέτι δὲ καὶ σφοδροὺς καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ ἀόκνους
 καὶ ἀταράκτους. πρὸς δ' ἔτι ἂ οἱ βέλτιστοι νομι-
 ζόμενοι ἔχουσιν ἐγίγνωσκεν ὁ Κῦρος δεῖν τοὺς 295
 ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀσκεῖν ὡς μηδὲν ἀναίνοντο
 ἔργον, ἀλλὰ πάντα νομίζοιεν πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πράτ-
 τειν ὅσα ἄρχων προστάττοι.

- II Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπεμέλετο ὁ Κῦρος, ὁπότε συσκη-
 νοῖεν, ὅπως εὐχαριστότατοί τε ἅμα λόγοι
 How Cyrus
 turns the plea-
 santries of social
 ἐμβληθήσονται καὶ παρορμῶντες εἰς τὰ-

- γαθόν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ εἰς τόνδε ποτὲ τὸν
 5 λόγον. Ἄρά γε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐνδεέστεροί
 τι ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦτο φαίνονται εἶναι οἱ ἐταί-
 ροι, ὅτι οὐ πεπαίδευνται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
 ἡμῖν, ἢ οὐδὲν ἄρα διοίσειν ἡμῶν οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς συνουσί-
 αῖς οὔτε ὅταν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δέη;
 10 καὶ Ὑστάσπας ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' Hystaspas a-
muses them with
recording his own
experience;
 ὁποῖοι μὲν τινες ἔσονται εἰς τοὺς πολεμί-
 οὺς οὐπω ἔγωγε ἐπίσταμαι· ἐν μέντοι τῇ
 συνουσίᾳ δύσκολοι ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔνιοι αὐτῶν
 φαίνονται. πρῶτῃν μὲν γε, ἔφη, Κυαξάρης ἔπεμψεν
 15 εἰς τὴν τάξιν ἐκάστην ἱερεῖα, καὶ ἐγένοντο κρέα ἐκάστῳ
 ἡμῶν τρία ἢ καὶ πλείω τὰ περιφερόμενα. καὶ ἥρξατο
 μὲν ὁ μάγειρος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πρώτην περίοδον περι-
 φέρων· ὅτε δὲ τὸ δεύτερον εἰσῆει περιόισων, ἐκέλευσα
 ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν φέρειν.
 20 ἀνακραγῶν οὖν τις τῶν κατὰ μέσον τὸν κύκλον κατα-
 κειμένων στρατιωτῶν Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τῶνδε μὲν οὐδὲν
 ἴσον ἐστίν, εἴγε ἀφ' ἡμῶν γε τῶν ἐν μέσῳ οὐδεὶς οὐδέ-
 ποτε ἄρξεται. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας ἠχθέσθην, εἴ τι μείον
 δοκοῖεν ἔχειν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα εὐθύς αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμέ. ὁ
 25 δὲ μάλα γε τοῦτο εὐτάκτως ὑπήκουσεν. ὥς δὲ τὰ
 περιφερόμενα ἦκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄτε, οἶμαι, ὑστάτους
 λαμβάνοντας, τὰ μικρότατα λελειμμένα ἦν. ἐνταῦθα
 δὴ ἐκείνος πάννυ ἀνιαιθεὶς δῆλος ἦν καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν,
 Τῆς τύχης, τὸ ἐμὲ νῦν κληθέντα δεῦρο τυχεῖν. καὶ ἐγὼ 4
 30 εἶπον, Ἀλλὰ μὴ φρόντιζε· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἀφ' ἡμῶν
 ἄρξεται καὶ σὺ πρῶτος λήψει τὸ μέγιστον. καὶ ἐν
 τούτῳ περιέφερε τὸ τρίτον, ὅπερ δὴ λοιπὸν ἦν τῆς
 περιφορᾶς· κακεῖνος ἔλαβε, κατ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ μείον
 λαβεῖν· κατέβαλεν οὖν ὁ ἔλαβεν ὥς ἕτερον ληψόμενος.

καὶ ὁ ἄρταμος, οἴόμενος αὐτὸν οὐδέν τι δεῖσθαι ὄψου, 35
 5 ὥχετο παραφέρων πρὶν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἕτερον. ἐνταῦθα
 δὴ οὕτω βαρέως ἤνεγκε τὸ πάθος, ὥστε ἀνήλωτο μὲν
 αὐτῷ ὃ εἰλήφει ὄψου, ὃ δὲ ἔτι αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἦν τοῦ
 ἐμβάπτεσθαι, τοῦτό πως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι τε
 καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὀργίζεσθαι δυσθετούμενος ἀνέτρεψεν. ὁ 40
 μὲν δὴ λοχαγὸς ὁ ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν ἰδὼν συνεκρότησε
 τῷ χεῖρι καὶ τῷ γέλωτι ἠὺφραίνετο. ἐγὼ μέντοι, ἔφη,
 προσεποιούμεν βήττειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην τὸν
 γέλωτα κατασχεῖν. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ σοι ἔνα, ὦ Κῦρε,
 τῶν ἐταίρων ἐπιδεικνύω. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτῳ, 45
 6 ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐγέλασαν. ἄλλος δὲ τις
 ἔλεξε τῶν ταξιάρχων, Οὗτος μὲν δὴ, ὦ Κῦρε, ὡς
 ἔοικεν, οὕτω δυσκόλῳ ἐπέτυχεν. ἐγὼ δέ, ὡς σὺ διδάξας
 ἡμᾶς τὰς τάξεις ἀπέπεμψας καὶ ἐκέλευσας διδάσκειν
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον τάξιν ἂν παρὰ σοῦ ἐμάθομεν, 50
 οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποιοῦν, ἐλθὼν
 ἐδίδασκον ἕνα λόχον. καὶ στήσας τὸν λοχαγὸν
 πρῶτον καὶ τάξας δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄνδρα νεανίαν καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἦ ὥμην δεῖν, ἔπειτα στας ἐκ τοῦ ἔμπροσ-
 θεν βλέπων εἰς τὸν λόχον, ἡνίκα μοι ἐδόκει καιρὸς 55
 7 εἶναι, προϊέναι ἐκέλευσα. καὶ ἀνὴρ σοι ὁ νεανίας
 ἐκεῖνος προελθὼν τοῦ λοχαγοῦ πρότερος ἐπορεύετο.
 καὶ ἐγὼ ἰδὼν εἶπον, Ἄνθρωπε, τί ποιεῖς; καὶ ὃς ἔφη,
 Προέρχομαι, ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις. καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον, Ἄλλ'
 οὐκ ἐγὼ σὲ μόνον ἐκέλευον ἀλλὰ πάντας προϊέναι. 60
 καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας τοῦτο μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς
 λοχίτας εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἀκούετε, ἔφη, λοιδορουμένου;
 προϊέναι πάντας κελεύει. καὶ ἄνδρες πάντες παρελ-
 8 θόντες τὸν λοχαγὸν ἦσαν πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λοχαγὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώριζεν, ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ ἔλεγον, Ποτέρῳ 65

likewise another
 of the officers.

δὴ πείθεσθαι χρή; νῦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν κελεύει προῖέναι, ὁ
 δ' οὐκ ἔῃ. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἐνεγκὼν ταῦτα πράως ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς αὖ καταχωρίσας εἶπον μηδένα τῶν ὀπισθεν
 κινεῖσθαι, πρὶν ἂν ὁ πρόσθεν ἡγήται, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
 70 μόνον ὁρᾶν πάντας, τῷ πρόσθεν ἔπεσθαι. ὥς δ' εἰς 9
 Πέρσας τις ἀπὼν ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ἐκέλευσέ με τὴν
 ἐπιστολήν, ἣν ἔγραψα οἴκαδε, δοῦναι, καὶ γὰρ
 λοχαγὸς ἦδει ὅπου ἔκειτο ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν
 δραμόντα ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔτρεχεν, ὁ
 75 δὲ νεανίας ἐκεῖνος εἶπετο τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ
 θώρακι καὶ τῇ κοπίδι, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δὲ πᾶς λόχος ἰδὼν
 ἐκείνον συνέτρεχον· καὶ ἦκον οἱ ἄνδρες φέροντες τὴν
 ἐπιστολήν. οὕτως, ἔφη, ὃ γ' ἐμὸς λόχος σοι ἀκριβοῖ
 πάντα τὰ παρὰ σοῦ. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι, ὡς εἰκός, ἐγέλων 10
 80 ἐπὶ τῇ δορυφορίᾳ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν,
 ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ πάντες θεοί, οἷους ἄρα ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν
 ἄνδρας ἐταίρους, οἳ γε εὐθεράπευτοι μὲν οὕτως εἰσίν,
 ὥστ' εἶναι αὐτῶν καὶ μικρῷ ὄνῳ παμπόλλους φίλους
 ἀνακτῆσασθαι, πιθανοὶ δ' οὕτως εἰσὶ τινες, ὥστε πρὶν
 85 εἰδέναι τὸ προσταττόμενον πρότερον πείθονται. ἐγὼ
 μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, ποίους τινὰς χρή μᾶλλον εὐξασθαι ἢ
 τοιούτους στρατιώτας ἔχειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἅμα γελῶν 11
 οὕτως ἐπήνεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἐν δὲ τῇ
 σκηνῇ ἐτύγχανέ τις ὢν τῶν ταξιάρχων
 90 Ἀγλαῖτάδας ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ τὸν τρόπον τῶν
 στρυφνοτέρων ἀνθρώπων, ὃς οὕτωςί πως εἶπεν· ὦ
 γὰρ οἶει, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, τούτους ἀληθῆ λέγειν ταῦτα;
 Ἀλλὰ τί μὴν βουλόμενοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ψεύδονται;
 Τί δ' ἄλλο γ', ἔφη, εἰ μὴ γέλωτα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες
 95 ὑπὲρ οὗ λέγουσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀλαζονεύονται. καὶ ὁ 12
 Κῦρος, Εὐφήμει, ἔφη, μηδὲ λέγε ἀλαζόνας εἶναι τού-

A third officer,
 Aglaítidas by
 name, taxes both
 of them with false-
 hood and vanity.

τους. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀλαζὼν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ὄνομα κείσθαι
 ἐπὶ τοῖς προσποιουμένοις καὶ πλουσιωτέροις εἶναι ἢ
 εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνδρειοτέροις καὶ ποιήσιν ἂ μὴ ἱκανοὶ εἰσιν
 ἱπισχνουμένοις, καὶ ταῦτα φανεροῖς γιγνομένοις ὅτι ¹⁰⁰
 τοῦ λαβεῖν τι ἔνεκά καὶ κερδᾶναι ποιοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ
 μηχανώμενοι γέλωτα τοῖς συνοῦσι μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶν
 κέρδει μήτ' ἐπὶ ζημίᾳ τῶν ἀκουόντων μήτε ἐπὶ βλάβῃ
 μηδεμιᾷ, πῶς οὐχ οὔτοι ἀστείοι ἂν καὶ εὐχάριτες δι-
¹³ καίωτερον ὀνομάζονται μάλλον ἢ ἀλαζόνες; ὁ μὲν δὴ ¹⁰⁵
 Κῦρος οὕτως ἀπελογήσατο περὶ τῶν τὸν γέλωτα
 παρασχόντων· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ταξίαρχος ὁ τὴν τοῦ λόχου
 χαριτίαν διηγησάμενος ἔφη, Ἦπου ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγλαϊ-
 τάδα, εἴ γε κλάειν ἐπειρώμεθά σε ποιεῖν, σφόδρ' ἂν
 ἡμῖν ἐμέμφου, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι καὶ ἐν ῥδαῖς καὶ ἐν λόγοις ¹¹⁰
 οἰκτρά τινα λογοποιοῦντες εἰς δάκρυα πειρῶνται ἄγειν,
 ὁπότε γε νῦν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδώς, ὅτι εὐφραίνειν μὲν τί σε
 βουλόμεθα, βλάψαι δ' οὐδέν, ὅμως οὕτως ἐν πολλῇ
¹⁴ ἀτιμίᾳ ἡμᾶς ἔχεις. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀγλαϊτάδας,
 καὶ δικαίως γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλάοντος καθίζον- ¹¹⁵
 τος τοὺς φίλους πολλαχοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἐλάττονος
 ἄξια διαπράττεσθαι ὁ γέλωτα αὐτοῖς μηχανώμενος.
 εὐρήσεις δὲ καὶ σύ, ἣν ὀρθῶς λογίζῃ, ἐμὲ ἀληθῆ
 λέγοντα. κλαύμασι μὲν γε καὶ πατέρες υἱοῖς σωφρο-
 σύνην μηχανῶνται καὶ διδάσκαλοι παισὶν ἀγαθὰ ¹²⁰
 μαθήματα, καὶ νόμοι γε πολίτας διὰ τοῦ κλαίοντος
 καθίζειν εἰς δικαιοσύνην προτρέπονται· τοὺς δὲ
 γέλωτα μηχανωμένους ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἢ σώματα
 ὠφελούντας ἢ ψυχὰς οἰκονομικωτέρας τι ποιοῦντας
¹⁵ ἢ πολιτικωτέρας; ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ὑστάσπας ὠδέ πως ¹²⁵
 εἶπε· Σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγλαϊτάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ, εἰς μὲν
 τοὺς πολεμίους θαρρῶν δαπανήσεις τοῦτο τὸ πολλοῦ

ἄξιον, καὶ κλάοντας ἐκείνους πειράσει καθίζειν· ἡμῖν
 δὲ πάντως, ἔφη, τοῖσδε τοῖς φίλοις τούτου τοῦ ὀλίγου
 130 ἄξιον, τοῦ γέλωτος, ἐπιδαψιλεύσει. καὶ γὰρ οἶδ'
 ὅτι πολὺς σοί ἐστιν ἀποκείμενος· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς
 χρώμενος ἀνησίμωκας αὐτόν, οὐδὲ μὴν φίλοις οὐδὲ
 ξένοις ἐκὼν εἶναι γέλωτα παρέχεις· ὥστε οὐδεμία σοι
 πρόφασίς ἐστιν, ὡς οὐ παρεκτέον σοι ἡμῖν γέλωτα.
 135 καὶ ὁ Ἀγλαϊτάδας εἶπε, Καὶ οἶει γε, ὦ Ὑστάσπα,
 γέλωτα περιποιεῖν ἐξ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὁ ταξίαρχος εἶπε, Ναὶ
 μὰ Δῖ', ἀνόητος ἄρα ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ ἐκ γε σοῦ πῦρ, οἶμαι,
 ῥᾶον ἂν τις ἐκτρίψειεν ἢ γέλωτα ἐξαγάγοιτο. ἐπὶ 16
 τούτῳ μὲν δὴ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἐγέλασαν, τὸν τρόπον εἰδότες
 140 αὐτοῦ, ὃ τ' Ἀγλαϊτάδας ἐπεμειδίασε. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος
 ἰδὼν αὐτὸν φαιδρωθέντα, Ἀδικεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ταξίαρχε,
 ὅτι ἄνδρα ἡμῖν τὸν σπουδαιότατον διαφ-
 θείρεις γελᾶν ἀναπείθων, καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη,
 οὔτω πολέμιον ὄντα τῷ γέλωτι. ταῦτα μὲν
 145 δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Χρυσάν-
 τας ὧδε ἔλεξεν·

Chrysantas
 starts a discussion
 about the distri-
 bution of prize
 money. Ought
 merit to be speci-
 ally rewarded?

‘Ἄλλ’ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες, 18
 ἐννοῶ ὅτι συνεξεληλύθασι μὲν ἡμῖν οἱ μὲν καὶ βελ-
 τίονες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μείονος ἄξιοι· ἣν δέ τι γένηται ἀγα-
 150 θόν, ἀξιόσουσιν οὗτοι πάντες ἰσομοιρεῖν. καίτοι ἔγω-
 γε οὐδὲν ἀνισώτερον νομίζω ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι ἢ
 τοῦ ἴσου τὸν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀξιούσθαι. καὶ
 ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτο, Ἄρ’ οὖν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ
 ἄνδρες, κράτιστον ἡμῖν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τούτου βουλὴν
 155 εἰς τὸ στράτευμα, πότερα δοκεῖ, ἣν τι ἐκ τῶν πόνων
 δῶ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθόν, ἰσομοίρους πάντας ποιεῖν, ἢ σκο-
 ποῦντας τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστου πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς
 ἐκάστῳ προστιθέναι; Καὶ τί δεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, 19

- ἐμβαλεῖν λόγον περὶ τούτου, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ προειπεῖν ὅτι οὕτω ποιήσεις; οὐ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας οὕτω προείπας ¹⁶⁰ καὶ τὰ ἄθλα; Ἄλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐχ ὅμοια ταῦτα ἐκείνοις· ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἂν στρατευόμενοι κτήσονται, κοινὰ οἶμαι ἑαυτῶν ἡγήσονται εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐμὴν ἴσως ἔτι οἴκοθεν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, ὥστε διατάττοντα ἐμὲ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας οὐδὲν οἶ- ¹⁶⁵
- 20 ^{μαι} ἀδικεῖν νομίζουσιν. Ἡ καὶ οἶει, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, ψηφίσασθαι ἂν τὸ πλήθος συνελθὼν ὥστε μὴ ἴσων ἕκαστον τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ δώροις πλεονεκτεῖν; Ἐγὼ γ', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οἶμαι, ἅμα μὲν ἡμῶν συναγορευόντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ¹⁷⁰ αἰσχυρὸν ὃν ἀντιλέγειν τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τὸν πλεῖστα καὶ πονοῦντα καὶ ὠφελούντα τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτον καὶ μεγίστων ἀξιούσθαι. οἶμαι δ', ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις συμφέ-
- 21 ^{ρον} φανεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐβούλετο καὶ αὐτῶν ἕνεκα τῶν ὁμοτίμων γενέσθαι ¹⁷⁵ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα· βελτίους γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡγείτο τούτους εἶναι, εἰ εἶδεῖεν ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ αὐτοὶ κρινόμενοι τῶν ἀξίων τεύξονται. καιρὸς οὖν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι νῦν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τούτου ψήφον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ ὁμότιμοι ὥκνουν τὴν τοῦ ὄχλου ἰσομοιρίαν. ¹⁸⁰ οὕτω δὴ συνεδόκει τοῖς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ συμβαλέσθαι περὶ τούτου λόγους καὶ συναγορεύειν ταῦτα ἔφασαν χρῆναι, ὅστις περ ἀνὴρ οἶοιτο εἶναι.
- 22 Ἐπιγελάσας δὲ τῶν ταξιάρχων τις εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἄνδρα οἶδα καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ὃς συνερεῖ ὥστε ¹⁸⁵ μὴ εἰκῇ οὕτως ἰσομοιρίαν εἶναι. ἄλλος δ' ἀντήρετο τοῦτον τίνα λέγοι. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἔστι νῆ Δί' ἀνὴρ ἡμῖν σύσκηνος, ὃς ἐν παντὶ μαστεύει πλεόν ἔχειν. ἄλλος δ' ἐπήρετο αὐτόν, Ἡ καὶ τῶν πόνων; Μὰ Δί',

- 190 ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δὴ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε ψευδόμενος ἐάλωκα.
καὶ γὰρ πόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ὀρώ
πάννυ θαρραλέως βουλόμενον μείον ἔχειν παρ' ὄντι-
ναοῦν. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὧ ^{How to deal} 23
ἄνδρες, γιγνώσκω τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώ- ^{with lazy soldiers.}
- 195 πους οἷον καὶ οὗτος νῦν λέγει, εἴπερ δεῖ ἐνεργὸν καὶ
πειθόμενον ἔχειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐξαιρετέους εἶναι ἐκ
τῆς στρατιᾶς. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τὸ μὲν πολὺ τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν εἶναι οἷον ἔπεσθαι ἢ ἂν τις ἡγήται· ἄγειν δ'
οἶμαι ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἱ μὲν καλοὶ καγαθοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ
- 200 καγαθὰ, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά. καὶ πολλάκις 24
τοῖνυν πλείονας ὁμογνώμονας λαμβάνουσιν οἱ φαῦλοι
ἢ οἱ σπουδαῖοι. ἡ γὰρ πονηρία διὰ τῶν παραντίκα
ἡδονῶν πορευομένη ταύτας ἔχει συμπειθούσας πολ-
λοὺς αὐτῇ ὁμογνωμονεῖν· ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἄγου-
- 205 σα οὐ πάννυ δεινὴ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραντίκα εἰκῇ συνεπι-
σπᾶσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἦν ἄλλοι ὧσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρηνὲς
καὶ τὸ μαλακὸν ἀντιπαρακαλοῦντες. καὶ τοῖνυν ὅταν 25
μὲν τινες βλακείᾳ καὶ ἀπονίᾳ μόνον κακοὶ ὧσι, τού-
τους ἐγὼ νομίζω ὥσπερ κηφῆνας δαπάνῃ μόνον ζημιοῦν
- 210 τοὺς κοινῶνας· οἱ δ' ἂν τῶν μὲν πόνων κακοὶ ὧσι
κοινωνοί, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν σφοδροὶ καὶ ἀναίσ-
χυντοι, οὗτοι καὶ ἡγεμονικοὶ εἰσι πρὸς τὰ πονηρά·
πολλάκις γὰρ δύνανται τὴν πονηρίαν πλεονεκτοῦσαν
ἀποδεικνύναι· ὥστε παντάπασιν ἐξαιρετέοι ἡμῖν οἱ
- 215 τοιούτοί εἰσι. καὶ μὴ μέντοι σκοπεῖτε ὅπως ἐκ τῶν 26
πολιτῶν ἀντιπληρώσετε τὰς τάξεις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
ἵπποι οἱ ἂν ἄριστοι ὧσιν, οὐχ οἱ ἂν πατριῶται,
τούτους ζητεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πάντων οἱ
ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῶσι μάλιστα συνισχυριεῖν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ
- 220 συγκοσμήσειν, τούτους λαμβάνετε. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι

- καὶ τότε πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄρμα δῆπου ταχὺ
γένονται ἂν βραδέων ἵππων ἐνόντων οὔτε δίκαιον ἀδί-
κων συνεξευγμένων, οὐδὲ οἶκος δύναιτ' ἂν εὖ οἰκεῖσ-
θαι πονηροῖς οἰκέταις χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδεόμενος
οἰκετῶν ἦττον σφάλλεται ἢ ὑπὸ ἀδίκων ταραττόμε- 225
27 νος. εὖ δ' ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, φίλοι, ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῦτο
μόνον ὠφελήσουσιν οἱ κακοὶ ἀφαιρεθέντες, ὅτι κακοὶ
ἀπέσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καταμενόντων οἱ μὲν ἀνεπίμ-
πλαντο ἤδη κακίας, ἀποκαθαροῦνται πάλιν ταύτης,
οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἰδόντες ἀτιμασθέντας πολὺ 230
28 εὐθυμότερον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνθέξονται. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε·
τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πᾶσι συνέδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ οὕτως ἐποιοῦν.
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὐτοῖς σκώμματος ἤρχετο ὁ
Cyrus converses
in a merry mood. Κῦρος. κατανοήσας γὰρ τινα τῶν λο-
χαγῶν σύνδειπνον καὶ παρακλίτην πε- 235
ποιημένον ἄνδρα ὑπέρδασύν τε καὶ ὑπέραισχρον,
ἀνακαλέσας τὸν λοχαγὸν ὀνομαστὶ εἶπεν ὧδε· ὦ
Σαμβαύλα, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ σὺ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλη-
νικὸν τρόπον, ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ, περιάγει τοῦτο τὸ
μειράκιον τὸ παρακατακείμενόν σοι; Νῆ τὸν Δί', 240
ἔφη ὁ Σαμβαύλας, ἡδομαι γοῦν καὶ ἐγὼ συνών τε καὶ
29 θεόμενος τοῦτον. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ σύσκηνοι
προσέβλεψαν· ὥς δὲ εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ὑπερβάλλον αἴσχει, ἐγέλασαν πάντες. καὶ τις εἶπε,
Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Σαμβαύλα, ποῖω ποτέ σε ἔργῳ ὁ 245
30 ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀνήρτηται; καὶ ὃς εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ ὑμῖν νῆ τὸν
Δία, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐρῶ. ὅποσάκις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσα εἴτε
νυκτὸς εἴτε ἡμέρας, οὐπώποτε μοι οὔτ' ἀσχολίαν προ-
φασίσατο οὔτε βάδην ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τρέχων·
ὅποσάκις τε αὐτῷ πρᾶξαί τι προσέταξα, οὐδὲν ἀνι- 250
δρωτί ποτε αὐτὸν εἶδον ποιοῦντα. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ

τοὺς δεκαδέας πάντας τοιούτους, οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ
ἀποδεικνὺς οἷους δεῖ εἶναι. καὶ τις εἶπε, Κ᾿πειτα 31
τοιούτον ὄντα οὐ φιλεῖς αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς συγγενεῖς;
255 καὶ ὁ αἰσχροὺς ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τοῦτο ἔφη· Μὰ Δία· οὐ
γὰρ φιλόπονός ἐστιν· ἐπεὶ ἤρκει ἂν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἐμὲ ἤθελε
φιλεῖν, τοῦτο ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων.

III Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ γελοῖα καὶ σπονδαῖα καὶ ἐλέ-
γετο καὶ ἐπράττετο ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. τέλος δὲ τὰς τρίτας
σπονδὰς ποιήσαντες καὶ εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰγαθὰ
τὴν σκηνὴν εἰς κώτην διέλυνον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κῦρος
5 συνέλεξε πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

“Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ἐγγὺς ἡμῖν·
προσέρχονται γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι. τὰ δ' ἄθλα
τῆς νίκης, ἣν μὲν ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, τοῦτο
γάρ, ἔφη, δεῖ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν, δῆλον
10 ὅτι οἷ τε πολέμιοι ἡμέτεροι καὶ τὰ τῶν
πολεμίων ἀγαθὰ πάντα· ἣν δὲ ἡμεῖς αὖ
νικώμεθα, καὶ οὕτω τὰ τῶν νικωμένων πάντα τοῖς
νικῶσιν αἰεὶ ἄθλα πρόκειται. οὕτω δὴ, ἔφη, δεῖ ὑμᾶς 3
γυγνώσκειν, ὥς ὅταν μὲν ἄνθρωποι κοινωνοὶ πολέμου
15 γενόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστοι ἔχωσιν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ αὐτός
τις προθυμήσεται, οὐδὲν ἐσόμενον τῶν δεόντων, ταχὺ
πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπράττονται· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀρ-
γεῖται τῶν πρᾶττεσθαι δεομένων· ὅταν δ' ἕκαστος δια-
νοηθῇ ὥς ἄλλος ἐσται ὁ πρᾶττων καὶ ὁ μαχόμενος,
20 καὶ αὐτὸς μαλακίζεται, τούτοις, ἔφη, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πᾶ-
σιν ἅμα πάντα ἥκει τὰ χαλεπὰ φερόμενα. καὶ ὁ θεὸς 4
οὕτω πῶς ἐποίησε· τοῖς μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς προστάτ-
τειν ἐκπονεῖν τὰγαθὰ, ἄλλους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτακτῆρας δί-
δωσι. νῦν οὖν τις, ἔφη, λεγέτω ἐνθάδε ἀναστὰς περὶ
25 αὐτοῦ τούτου, ποτέρως ἂν τὴν ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον οἶεται

2 On the mor-
row Cyrus ad-
dresses the as-
sembled troops
on the subject
of the distri-
bution of the
spoil taken in
war, and asks
for opinions.

- ἀσκεῖσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν, εἰ μέλλοι ὁ πλείστα καὶ πονεῖν
καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλων πλείστης καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι,
ἢ ἂν εἰδῶμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει κακὸν εἶναι· ὁμοίως
5 γὰρ πάντες τῶν ἴσων τευξόμεθα.' ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀναστὰς
Chrysantas, a
Peer, speaks first. Χρυσάντας, εἰς τῶν ὁμοτίμων, ἀνὴρ οὔτε 30
μέγας οὔτε ἰσχυρὸς ἰδεῖν, φρονήσει δὲ δια-
φέρων, ἔλεξεν· 'Ἄλλ' οἶμαι μὲν' ἔφη 'ὦ Κῦρε, οὐδὲ
διανοοῦμενόν σε, ὥς δεῖ ἴσον ἔχειν τοὺς κακοὺς τοῖς
ἀγαθοῖς, ἐμβαλεῖν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἀποπειρώ-
μενον, εἴ τις ἄρα ἔσται ἀνὴρ ὅστις ἐβελήσῃ ἐπιδεῖξαι 35
ἑαυτὸν ὥς διανοεῖται μηδὲν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν, ἂν
ἄλλοι τῇ ἀρετῇ καταπράξωσι, τούτων ἰσομοιρεῖν.
6 ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, οὔτε ποσὶν εἰμι ταχὺς οὔτε χερσὶν ἰσχυρὸς,
γινγνώσκω τε ὅτι ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ σώματι ποιήσω,
οὐ κριθείην οὔτε ἂν πρῶτος οὔτε ἂν δεύτερος, οἶμαι δ' 40
οὐδ' ἂν χιλιοστός, ἴσως δ' οὐδ' ἂν μυριοστός· ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ἔφη, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι, εἰ μὲν οἱ δυνα-
τοὶ ἔρρωμένως ἀντιλήψονται τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀγαθοῦ
τινὸς μοι μετέσται τοσοῦτον μέρος ὅσον ἂν δίκαιον ᾖ·
εἰ δ' οἱ μὲν κακοὶ μηδὲν ποιήσουσιν, οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ 45
δυνατοὶ ἀθύμως ἔξουσιν, δέδοικα, ἔφη, μὴ ἄλλου τινὸς
μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεθέξω πλεῖον μέρος ἢ ἐγὼ
7 βούλομαι.' Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν.
Pheraulas, a
Commoner, his
delivers opinion next. ἀνέστη δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ Φεραύλας Πέρσης τῶν
δημοτῶν, Κῦρῳ πως ἔτι οἴκοθεν συνήθης 50
καὶ ἀρεστὸς ἀνὴρ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ
ἀγεννεῖ ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·
8 'Ἐγὼ' ἔφη, 'ὦ Κῦρε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Πέρ-
σαι, ἡγούμαι μὲν ἡμᾶς πάντας ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου νῦν ὀρ-
μᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς· ὁρῶ γὰρ 55
ὁμοίᾳ μὲν τροφῇ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὸ σῶμα ἀσκούντας,

ὁμοίας δὲ συνουσίας πάντας ἀξιουμένους, ταῦτα δὲ
 πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πρόκειται. τό τε γὰρ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πεί-
 θεσθαι πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ κεῖται, καὶ ὃς ἂν φανῇ τοῦτο
 60 ἀπροφασίστως ποιῶν, τοῦτον ὁρῶ παρὰ Κύρου τιμῆς
 τυγχάνοντα· τό τε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄλκιμον εἶναι
 οὐ τῷ μὲν προσήκον τῷ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καὶ τοῦτο
 προκέκριται κάλλιστον εἶναι. νῦν δ', ἔφη, ἡμῖν καὶ 9
 δείκνυται μάχη, ἣν ἐγὼ ὁρῶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους φύσει
 65 ἐπισταμένους, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τᾶλλα ζῶα ἐπίσταται
 τινα μάχην ἕκαστα οὐδὲ παρ' ἐνὸς ἄλλου μαθόντα ἢ
 παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, οἷον ὁ βοὺς κέρατι παίζειν, ὁ ἵππος
 ὀπλῇ, ὁ κύων στόματι, ὁ κάπρος ὀδόντι. καὶ φυλάτ-
 τεσθαί γ', ἔφη, ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐπίσταται, ἀφ' ὧν μά-
 70 λιστα δεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς οὐδενὸς διδασκάλου πώποτε
 φοιτήσαντα. καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλ- 10
 λεσθαι ἠπιστάμην πρὸ τούτων ὅ,τι ὥμην πληγῇσεσ-
 θαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔχοιμι, τῷ χεῖρε προέχων
 ἐνεπόδιζον ὅ,τι ἐδυνάμην τὸν παίοντα· καὶ τοῦτο
 75 ἐποιοῦν οὐ διδασκόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ
 παιόμενος εἰ προβαλοίμην. μάχαιράν γε μὴν εὐθὺς
 παιδίον ὧν ἤρπαζον ὅπου ἴδοιμι, οὐδὲ παρ' ἐνὸς οὐδὲ
 τοῦτο μαθὼν ὅπως δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἢ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως,
 ὥς ἐγὼ φημι. ἐποιοῦν γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο κωλυόμενος,
 80 οὐ διδασκόμενος· ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλα ἔστιν ἃ εἰργόμε-
 νος καὶ ὑπὸ μητρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ πατρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως
 πράττειν ἠναγκαζόμεν. καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ἔπαιόν γε τῇ
 μαχαίρᾳ πᾶν ὅ,τι δυναίμην λανθάνειν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον
 φύσει ἦν, ὥσπερ τὸ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 85 ἡδὺ πρὸς τῷ πεφυκέναι τοῦτο ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι. ἐπεὶ 11
 δ' οὖν ἔφη, αὕτη ἡ μάχη καταλείπεται, ἐν ᾗ προθυ-
 μίας μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης ἔργον ἐστί, πῶς ἡμῖν οὐχ

- ἡδέως πρὸς τοῦσδε τοὺς ὁμοτίμους ἀγωνιστέον; ὅπου γε τὰ μὲν ἄθλα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἴσα πρόκειται, παραβαλλόμενοι δὲ οὐκ ἴσα εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον ἵμεν, ἀλλ' οὗτοι ⁹⁰ μὲν ἔντιμον, ὅσπερ μόνος ἡδιστος, βίον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπιπονον μὲν, ἄτιμον δέ, ὅσπερ οἶμαι χαλεπώτατος.
- 12 **μάλιστα** δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτό με [εὐθύμως] εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πρὸς τοῦσδε παρορμᾷ, ὅτι Κῦρος ὁ κρίνων ἔσται, ὃς οὐ φθόνῳ κρίνει, ἀλλὰ σὺν θεῶν ὕρκῳ λέγω ⁹⁵ ἥ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ Κῦρος οὕστινας ἂν ὁρᾷ ἀγαθοὺς φιλεῖν οὐδὲν ἥττον ἑαυτοῦ· τοῦτοις γοῦν ὁρῶ αὐτὸν ὅ,τι ἂν ἔχῃ ἡδίων διδόντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα.
- 13 **καίτοι**, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι οὗτοι μέγα φρονοῦσιν, ὅτι πεπαίδευνται δὴ καὶ πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ δίψαν καὶ πρὸς ῥίγος ¹⁰⁰ καρτερεῖν, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ κρείττονος διδασκάλου πεπαιδευμέθα ἢ οὗτοι. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι διδάσκαλος οὐδεὶς τούτων κρείττων τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἢ ἡμᾶς καὶ λίαν ταῦτ' ἀκριβοῦν ἐδίδαξε.
- 14 **καὶ** πονεῖν οὗτοι μὲν τὰ ὅπλα φέροντες ἐμελέτων, ἅ ¹⁰⁵ ἔστιν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἡνύρημένα ὥς ἂν εὐφορώτατα εἴη, ἡμεῖς δέ γ', ἔφη, ἐν μεγάλοις φορτίοις καὶ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν ἡναγκαζόμεθα, ὥστε νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ τῶν ὅπλων φόρημα πτεροῖς μᾶλλον εἰκέναι ἢ φορτίῳ.
- 15 **ὥς οὖν** ἐμοῦ γε καὶ ἀγωνιουμένου καί, ὅποῖος ἂν τις ὦ, ¹¹⁰ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν με τιμᾶν ἀξιώσοντος, οὕτως, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, γίγνωσκε. καὶ ὑμῶν γ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες δημόται, παραινῶ εἰς ἔριν ὁρμᾶσθαι ταύτης τῆς μάχης πρὸς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους τοῦσδε· νῦν γὰρ ἄνδρες εἰλημμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν δημο- ¹¹⁵ τικῇ ἀγωνίᾳ. Φεραύλας μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν. ἀνίσταντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἑκατέρων συναγορεύοντες· ἔδοξε κατὰ

After others had spoken, it was unanimously resolved that the most deserving should be rewarded by receiving the largest share, the Commander-in-chief to be the judge of merit.

τὴν ἀξίαν τιμᾶσθαι ἕκαστον, Κῦρον δὲ τὸν κρίνοντα
 120 εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω προῦκεχωρήκει.

Ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ὅλην ποτὲ 17
 τάξιν σὺν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ, ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τοὺς
 μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τάξεως ἀντι-
 τάξαντα ἐκατέρωθεν εἰς ἐμβολήν, θώρα-
 125 κας μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ἔχοντας καὶ γέρρα
 ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς, εἰς δὲ τὰς δεξιὰς νάρ-
 θηκας παχεῖς τοῖς ἡμίσεσιν ἔδωκε, τοῖς
 δ' ἑτέροις εἶπεν ὅτι βάλλειν δεήσοι ἀναι-
 ρουμένους ταῖς βώλοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι 18
 130 οὕτως ἔστησαν, ἐσήμηνεν αὐτοῖς μάχεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ
 οἱ μὲν ἔβαλλον ταῖς βώλοις καὶ ἔστιν οἱ καὶ ἐτύγγανον
 καὶ θωράκων καὶ γέρρων, οἱ δὲ καὶ μηροῦ καὶ κνη-
 μίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, οἱ τοὺς νάρθηκας
 ἔχοντες ἔπαιον τῶν μὲν μηρούς, τῶν δὲ χεῖρας, τῶν
 135 δὲ κνήμας, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπικυπτόντων ἐπὶ βώλους
 ἔπαιον τοὺς τραχήλους καὶ τὰ νῶτα. τέλος δὲ τρεψά-
 μενοι ἐδίωκον οἱ νάρθηκοφόροι παίοντες σὺν πολλῷ
 γέλωτι καὶ παιδιᾷ. ἐν μέρει γε μὴν οἱ ἕτεροι λα-
 βόντες πάλιν τοὺς νάρθηκας ταῦτ' ἐποίησαν τοὺς
 140 ταῖς βώλοις βάλλοντας. ταῦτα δ' ἀγασθεὶς ὁ Κῦρος, 19
 τοῦ μὲν ταξιάρχου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν πειθῶ,
 ὅτι ἅμα μὲν ἐγυμνάζοντο, ἅμα δὲ ἠὺθυμοῦντο, ἅμα δὲ
 ἐνίκων οἱ εἰκασθέντες τῇ τῶν Περσῶν ὀπλίσει, τούτοις
 δὴ ἡσθεὶς ἐκάλεσέ τε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ
 145 σκηνῇ ἰδὼν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδεμένους, τὸν μὲν τινα
 ἀντικνήμιον, τὸν δὲ χεῖρα, ἠρώτα τί πάθοιεν. οἱ δ' 20
 ἔλεγον ὅτι πληγεῖεν ταῖς βώλοις. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐπη-
 ρώτα, πότερον ἐπεὶ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο ἢ ὅτε πρόσω ἦσαν.
 οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτε πρόσω ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο,

On one occa-
 sion Cyrus enter-
 tained a whole
 company also, to
 do honour to them
 for their ready
 compliance with
 an original device
 of their captain
 for the exercise
 and diversion of
 his men.

παιδιὰν ἔφασαν εἶναι καλλίστην οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι· οἱ ¹⁵⁰
 δὲ συγκεκομμένοι τοῖς νάρθηξιν ἀνέκραγον ὅτι οὐ
 σφίσι δοκοίη παιδιὰ εἶναι τὸ ὁμόθεν παῖσθαι· ἅμα
 δὲ ἐπεδείκνυσαν τῶν ναρθήκων τὰς πληγὰς καὶ ἐν
 χερσὶ καὶ ἐν τραχήλοις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἐν προσώποις.

The sham fight is afterwards generally imitated by the other companies. καὶ τότε μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐγγέλων ἐπ' ἀλ- ¹⁵⁵
 λήλοις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία μεστὸν ἦν τὸ
 πεδῖον πᾶν τῶν τούτους μιμουμένων· καὶ
 εἰ μὴ ἄλλο τι σπουδαιότερον πρᾶττοιεν, ταύτῃ τῇ
 παιδιᾷ ἐχρῶντο.

- 21 Ἄλλον δὲ ποτε ἰδὼν ταξίαρχον ἄγοντα τὴν τάξιν ¹⁶⁰
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερόν ἐφ'
 ἑνός, καὶ ὁπότε δοκοίη αὐτῷ καιρὸς εἶναι,
 παραγγέλλοντα τὸν ὕστερον λόχον παρά-
 γειν, καὶ τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον, εἰς μέτωπον,
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν μετώπῳ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐγένοντο, παρηγγύησεν ¹⁶⁵
 εἰς δύο ἄγειν τὸν λόχον· ἐκ τούτου δὴ παρήγον οἱ
 δεκάδαρχοι εἰς μέτωπον· ὁπότε δ' αὖ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ
 καιρὸς εἶναι, παρήγγειλεν εἰς τέτταρας τὸν λόχον·
 οὕτω δὴ οἱ πεμπάδαρχοι αὖ παρήγον εἰς τέτταρας·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς σκηνῆς ἐγένοντο, παραγγείλας ¹⁷⁰
 αὖ εἰς ἓνα οὕτως εἰσήγε τὸν πρῶτον λόχον, καὶ τὸν
 δεύτερον τούτου κατ' οὐρὰν ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι, καὶ
 τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον ὡσαύτως παραγγείλας
 ἡγείτο εἴσω· οὕτω δ' εἰσαγαγὼν κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὸ
 δεῖπνον, ὥσπερ εἰσεπορεύοντο· τούτου οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ¹⁷⁵
 ἀγασθεὶς τῆς τε πραότητος τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ τῆς
 ἐπιμελείας ἐκάλεσε ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον
 σὺν τῷ ταξίάρχῳ.

- 22 Παρὼν δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ κεκλημένος ἄλλος
 ταξίαρχος, Τὴν δ' ἐμήν, ἔφη, τάξιν, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐ καλεῖς ¹⁸⁰

εἰς τὴν σκηνήν; καὶ μὴν ὅταν γε παρίῃ ἐπὶ τὸ
 δεῖπνον, πάντα ταῦτα ποιεῖ· καὶ ὅταν
 τέλος ἡ σκηνὴ ἔχῃ, ἐξάγει μὲν ὁ οὐραγός, and a third also—
 the latter on two
 successive days.
 ἔφη, ὁ τοῦ τελευταίου λόχου τὸν λόχον,

- 185 ὑστάτους ἔχων τοὺς πρώτους τεταγμένους εἰς μάχην·
 ἔπειτα ὁ δεύτερος τοὺς τοῦ ἐτέρου λόχου ἐπὶ τούτοις,
 καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ὡσαύτως, ὅπως, ἔφη, καὶ
 ὅταν ἀπάγειν δέῃ ἀπὸ πολεμίων, ἐπίστωνται ὡς δεῖ
 ἀπιέναι. ἐπειδὴν δέ, ἔφη, καταστῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν δρόμον
 190 ἔνθα περιπατοῦμεν, ὅταν μὲν πρὸς ἔω ἴωμεν, ἐγὼ μὲν
 ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος λόχος πρῶτος, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος
 ὡς δεῖ, καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, καὶ αἱ τῶν λόχων
 δεκάδες καὶ πεμπάδες, ἕως ἂν παραγγέλλω ἐγώ·
 ὅταν δ', ἔφη, πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἴωμεν, ὁ οὐραγός τε καὶ οἱ
 195 τελευταῖοι πρῶτοι ἀφηγοῦνται· ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὕτω
 πείθονται ὑστέρω ἰόντι, ἵνα ἐθίζωνται καὶ ἐπεσθαι
 καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ὁμοίως πειθόμενοι. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη,
 Ἦ καὶ ἀεὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖτε; Ὅποσάκις γε, ἔφη, καὶ
 δειπνοποιούμεθα νῆ Δία. Καλῶ τοῖνυν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς, 23
 200 ἅμα μὲν ὅτι τὰς τάξεις μελετᾶτε καὶ προσιόντες καὶ
 ἀπιόντες, ἅμα δ' ὅτι καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ἅμα δ'
 ὅτι τὰ τε σώματα περιπατοῦντες ἀσκεῖτε καὶ τὰς
 ψυχὰς ὠφελεῖτε διδάσκοντες. ἐπεὶ οὖν πάντα διπλᾶ
 ποιεῖτε, διπλὴν ὑμῖν δίκαιον καὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν παρέχειν.
 205 Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ ταξίαρχος, μήτοι γ' ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, εἰ 24
 μὴ καὶ διπλᾶς ἡμῖν τὰς γαστέρας παρέξεις. καὶ τότε
 μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὸ τέλος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐποιήσαντο. τῇ δ'
 ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κῦρος ἐκάλεσεν ἐκείνην τὴν τάξιν, ὥσπερ
 ἔφη, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 210 τὸ λοιπὸν πάντες αὐτοὺς ἐμιμοῦντο.

IV Ἐξέτασιν δέ ποτε πάντων τοῦ Κύρου ποιουμένου

An Embassy to
Cyaxarès from an
Indian monarch.
Cyrus is sent for
to consult with
him about the
answer to be
given to them.

- ἐν τοῖς ὕπλοις καὶ σύνταξιν ἦλθε παρὰ
Κυαξάρου ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι Ἰνδῶν παρ-
εῖη πρεσβεία· κελεύει οὖν σε ἐλθεῖν ὡς
τάχιστα. φέρω δέ σοι, ἔφη ὁ ἄγγελος, 5
καὶ στολὴν τὴν καλλίστην παρὰ Κυα-
ξάρου· ἐβούλετο γάρ σε ὡς λαμπρότατα καὶ εὐκοσ-
μότατα προσάγειν, ὡς ὀψομένων τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὅπως
2 ἂν προσίης. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος παρήγγειλε
τῷ πρώτῳ τεταγμένῳ ταξιάρχῳ εἰς μέτωπον στήναι, 10
ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἄγοντα τὴν τάξιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα ἑαυτόν, καὶ
τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτ' οὗτο παραγγεῖλαι, καὶ
διὰ πάντων οὕτω παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ πει-
θόμενοι ταχὺ μὲν παρήγγελλον, ταχὺ δὲ τὰ παραγ-
γελλόμενα ἐποιοῦν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἐγένοντο τὸ 15
μὲν μέτωπον ἐπὶ τριακοσίων, τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ
3 ταξίαρχοι, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἑκατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστη-
σαν, ἔπεισθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἡγήται· καὶ
εὐθὺς τροχάζων ἡγείτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατενόησε τὴν ἀγυῖαν
τὴν πρὸς τὸ βασίλειον φέρουσιν στενωτέραν οὖσαν 20
ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ μετώπου πάντας διέναι, παραγγείλας τὴν
πρώτην χιλιοστὺν ἔπεισθαι κατὰ χώραν, τὴν δὲ δευτέ-
ραν κατ' οὐρὰν ταύτης ἀκολουθεῖν, καὶ διὰ παντὸς
οὕτως, αὐτὸς μὲν ἡγείτο οὐκ ἀναπαυόμενος, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι
χιλιοστὺς κατ' οὐρὰν ἐκάστη τῆς ἔμπροσθεν εἶποντο. 25
4 ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέτας δύο ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς ἀγυῖας,
ὅπως, εἴ τις ἀγνοοίη, σημαίνοιεν τὸ δέον ποιεῖν. ὡς δ'
ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξάρου θύρας, παρήγγειλε τῷ
πρώτῳ ταξιάρχῳ τὴν τάξιν εἰς δώδεκα τάττειν βάθος,
τοὺς δὲ δωδεκάρχους ἐν μετώπῳ καθιστάναι περὶ τὸ 30
βασίλειον, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ταῦτ' ἐκέλευσε παραγ-
γεῖλαι, καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν·

ὁ δ' εἰσῆει πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ στολῇ 5
 οὐδέν τι ὑβρισμένη. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κυαξάρχης τῷ
 35 μὲν τάχει ἤσθη, τῇ δὲ φανυλότητι τῆς στολῆς ἠχθέσθη,
 καὶ εἶπε, Τί τοῦτο, ὦ Κῦρε; οἶον πεποίηκας οὕτω
 φανείς τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς; ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ἐβουλόμην σε ὡς
 λαμπρότατον φανῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἂν κόσμος ᾗν
 τοῦτο, ἐμῆς ὄντα ἀδελφῆς υἱὸν ὅτι μεγαλοπρεπέστα-
 40 τον φαίνεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε, Καὶ 6
 ποτέρως ἂν, ὦ Κυαξάρη, μᾶλλον σε ἐκόσμου, εἴπερ
 πορφυρίδα ἐνδὺς καὶ ψέλια λαβὼν καὶ στρεπτόν περι-
 θέμενος σχολῇ κελεύοντι ὑπήκουόν σοι, ἢ νῦν ὅτε σὺν
 τοιαύτῃ καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυνάμει οὕτω σοι ὀξέως ὑπακούω
 45 διὰ τὸ σὲ τιμᾶν ἰδρῶτι καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ αὐτὸς κεκοσμη-
 μένος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιδεικνύς σοι οὕτω πειθομέ-
 νους; Κῦρος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρχης
 νομίσας αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς λέγειν ἐκάλεσε τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. οἱ 7
 δὲ Ἰνδοὶ εἰσελθόντες ἔλεξαν ὅτι πέμψειε σφᾶς ὁ
 50 Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς κελεύων ἐρωτᾶν, ἐξ ὅτου ὁ πόλεμος
 εἴη Μήδοις τε καὶ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ· ἐπεὶ δὲ σοῦ ἀκού-
 σαιμεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντας αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον
 κακεῖνον ταῦτα πυθέσθαι· τέλος δ' ἀμφοτέροις εἰπεῖν
 ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, τὸ δίκαιον σκεψάμενος,
 55 φαίη μετὰ τοῦ ἡδικομένου ἔσεσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ 8
 Κυαξάρχης εἶπεν, Ἐμοῦ μὲν τοίνυν ἀκούετε, ^{The reply of}
 ὅτι οὐκ ἀδικοῦμεν τὸν Ἀσσύριον οὐδέν. ^{Cyaxarès.}
 ἐκεῖνον δ', εἰ δεῖσθε, ἐλθόντες νῦν πύθεσθε ὅ,τι λέγει.
 παρῶν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἤρετο τὸν Κυαξάρην, Ἡ καὶ ἐγώ,
 60 ἔφη, εἴπω ὅ,τι γιγνώσκω; καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρχης ἐκέλευσεν.
 Ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπαγγείλατε τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ
 τάδε, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο Κυαξάρη δοκεῖ, ὅτι ^{The reply of}
 φαμὲν ἡμεῖς, εἰ τί φησιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀδι- ^{Cyrus.}

κείσθαι ὁ Ἀσσύριος, αἰρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα δικαστήν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὄχοντο. ⁶⁵

9 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἰνδοί, ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς τὸν Κναξάρην ἤρξατο λόγου τοιοῦδε·

“ὦ Κναξάρη, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον οὐδέν τι πολλὰ ἔχων ἴδια χρήματα οἴκοθεν· ὅποσα δ’ ἦν, τούτων πάνυ ὀλίγα λοιπὰ ἔχω· ἀνήλωκα ⁷⁰ δέ, ἔφη, εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ τοῦτο ἴσως, ἔφη, θαυμάζεις σὺ πῶς ἐγὼ ἀνήλωκα σοῦ αὐτοὺς τρέφοντος· εὖ δ’ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐδέν ἄλλο ποιῶν ἢ τιμῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος, ὅταν τινὶ ἀγασθῶ τῶν στρα- ⁷⁵ τιωτῶν. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι, ἔφη, πάντας μὲν, οὓς ἂν τις βούληται ἀγαθοὺς συνεργοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ὁποίου τινὸς οὖν πράγματος, ἥδιον εἶναι εὖ τε λέγοντα καὶ εὖ ποιῶντα παρορμᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ λυποῦντα καὶ ἀναγκάζοντα· οὓς δὲ δὴ ⁸⁰ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων ποιήσασθαι τις βούλοιτο συνεργοὺς προθύμους, τούτους παντάπασιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀγαθοῖς θηρατέον εἶναι καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις. φίλους γάρ, οὐκ ἐχθροὺς, δεῖ εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀπροφασίστους συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ μήτε τοῖς ⁸⁵ ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ ἄρχοντος φθονήσοντας μήτε ἐν τοῖς ⁹⁰ κακοῖς προδῶσοντας. ταῦτ’ οὖν ἐγὼ οὕτω προ- γιγνώσκων χρημάτων δοκῶ προσδεῖσθαι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν σὲ πάντα ὄραν, ὃν αἰσθάνομαι πολλὰ δαπανῶντα, ἄτοπόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι· σκοπεῖν δ’ ἀξιῶ κοινῇ καὶ ⁹⁵ σὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ὅπως σὲ μὴ ἐπιλείψει χρήματα. εἰ γὰρ σὺ ἄφθονα ἔχῃς, οἶδα ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἂν εἴη λαμβάνειν, ὅποτε δεοίμην, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ εἰς τοιοῦτόν τι λαμβάνοιμι, ὃ μέλλοι καὶ σοὶ δαπανηθῆν

Cyrus, having spent his money in bestowing gratuities and rewards on his men—a more successful and agreeable method than coercion—suggests to Cyaxarès that, to provide the sinews of war, he should make the King of Armenia return to his allegiance and former position as a tributary ally.

- 95 βέλτιον εἶναι. ἔναγχος οὖν ποτέ σου μέμνημαι 12
ἀκούσας, ὡς ὁ Ἀρμένιος καταφρονοίη σου νῦν, ὅτι
ἀκούει τοὺς πολεμίους προσιόντας ἡμῖν, καὶ οὔτε
τὸ στράτευμα πέμποι οὔτε τὸν δασμόν ὃν ἔδει ἀπά-
γοι.' Ποιεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἐκείνος· ὥστε
100 ἔγωγε ἀπορῶ πότερόν μοι κρεῖττον στρατεύεσθαι καὶ
πειρᾶσθαι ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἑᾶσαι ἐν τῷ
παρόντι, μὴ καὶ τοῦτον πολέμιον πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
προσθώμεθα. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπήρετο, Αἱ δ' οἰκήσεις 13
αὐτῷ πότερον ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις εἰσὶν ἢ καὶ πού ἐν
105 εὐεφόδοις; καὶ ὁ Κναξάρης εἶπεν, Αἱ μὲν οἰκήσεις οὐ
πάνυ ἐν ἐχυροῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ τούτου οὐκ ἡμέλουν· ὅρη
μέντοι ἔστιν ἔνθα δύναται· ἂν ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῷ παρα-
χρήμα ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι τοῦ μὴ αὐτός γε ὑποχείριος
γενέσθαι, μηδὲ ὅσα ἐνταῦθα δύναίτο ὑπεκκομίσασθαι,
110 εἰ μὴ τις πολιορκοίη προσκαθήμενος, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς
πατὴρ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγει 14
τάδε· Ἀλλ' εἰ θέλοις, ἔφη, ἐμὲ πέμψαι, He offers to
ἱππέας μοι προσθεῖς ὁπόσοι δοκοῦσι head an attack
μέτριοι εἶναι, οἶμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς upon him under
the disguise of a
hunting expedi-
tion.
115 ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πέμψαι
καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν δασμόν σοι· ἔτι δ' ἐλπίζω καὶ φί-
λον αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν γενήσεσθαι ἢ νῦν ἐστι. καὶ 15
ὁ Κναξάρης εἶπε, Καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἐλπίζω ἐκείνους ἐλ-
θεῖν ἂν πρὸς σέ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἐμέ· ἀκούω γὰρ καὶ
120 συνθηρευτάς τινας τῶν παίδων σοι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ·
ὥστ' ἴσως ἂν καὶ πάλιν ἔλθοιεν πρὸς σέ· ὑποχειρίων
δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν πάνταπραχθεῖν ἂν ἢ ἡμεῖς βου-
λόμεθα. Οὐκοῦν σοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σύμφορον
εἶναι τὸ λεληθέναι ἡμᾶς ταῦτα βουλευόντας; Μᾶλλον
125 γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κναξάρης, καὶ ἔλθοι τις αὐτῶν εἰς

- χειρας, καὶ εἴ τις ὀρμῶτο ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀπαράσκευοι
 16 ἂν λαμβάνοιντο. Ἄκουε τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἣν τί
 σοι δόξω λέγειν. ἐγὼ πολλάκις δὴ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς
 μετ' ἐμοῦ τεθήρακα ἀμφὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς τε σῆς χώρας
 καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων, καὶ ἱππέας τινὰς ἤδη προσ- 130
 λαβὼν τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐταίρων ἀφικόμην. Τὰ μὲν
 τοίνυν ὅμοια ποιῶν, ἔφη ὁ Κυμαξάρης, οὐκ ἂν ὑπο-
 πτεύοιο· εἰ δὲ πολὺ πλείων ἡ δύναμις φαίνοιτο ἡς
 ἔχων εἴωθας θηρᾶν, τοῦτο ἤδη ὑποπτον ἂν γένοιτο.
- 17 Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ πρόφασιν κατα- 135
 σκευάσαι καὶ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἄπιστον, καὶ ἣν τις ἐκείσε
 ἐξαγγείλῃ, ὥς ἐγὼ βουλοίμην μεγάλην θήραν ποιῆσαι·
 καὶ ἱππέας, ἔφη, αἰτοίην ἂν σε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ.
 Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Κυμαξάρης· ἐγὼ δέ σοι
 οὐκ ἐθέλήσω διδόναι πλὴν μετρίους τινάς, ὥς βουλό- 140
 μενος πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ἐλθεῖν τὰ πρὸς τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ.
 καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι, ἔφη, βούλομαι ἐλθὼν κατασκευάσαι
 αὐτὰ ὥς ἐχυρώτατα. ὅποτε δὲ σὺ προεληλυθοῖς
 σὺν ἡ ἔχοις δυνάμει καὶ θηρώῃς καὶ δὴ δύο ἡμέρας,
 πέμψαιμι ἂν σοι ἱκανοὺς ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς τῶν 145
 παρ' ἐμοὶ ἡθροισμένων, οὓς σὺ λαβὼν εὐθὺς ἂν ἴοις,
 καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἂν ἔχων τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν πειρώμενη
 μὴ πρόσω ὑμῶν εἶναι, ἵνα, εἴ που καιρὸς εἴῃ,
 ἐπιφανείην.
- 18 Οὕτω δὴ ὁ μὲν Κυμαξάρης εὐθέως πρὸς τὰ φρούρια 150
 ἡθροίζεν ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς, καὶ ἀμάξας δὲ σίτου
 προὔπεμπε τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια ὁδόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος
 ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ ἅμα πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸν
 Κυμαξάρην ἥτει τῶν νεωτέρων ἱππέων. ὁ δὲ πάνυ
 πολλῶν βουλομένων ἔπεσθαι οὐ πολλοὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ. 155
 προεληλυθότος δ' ἤδη τοῦ Κυμαξάρου σὺν δυνάμει

πεζῇ καὶ ἵππικῇ τὴν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ὁδὸν γίγνεται
 τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἰέναι καλὰ· καὶ
 οὕτως ἐξάγει δὴ ὡς εἰς θήραν παρεσκευ- Favourable
 160 ασμένους. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐν sacrifices and
 τῷ πρώτῳ χωρίῳ ὑπανίσταται λαγῶς· omens for the 19
 αἰτὸς δ' ἐπιπτόμενος αἴσιος, κατιδὼν τὸν λαγῶ
 φεύγοντα, ἐπιφερόμενος ἔπαισέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ συναρ-
 πάσας ἐξήρε, κάπνευγκὼν ἐπὶ λόφον τινα οὐ πρόσω
 165 ἐχρήτο τῇ ἄγρᾳ ὅ,τι ἤθελεν. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Κύρος τὸ
 σημεῖον ἥσθη τε καὶ προσεκύνησέ Δία βασιλέα, καὶ
 εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς πάροντας, Ἡ μὲν θήρα καλὴ ἔσται, ὧ
 ἄνδρες, ἣν ὁ θεὸς θελήσῃ. ὡς δὲ πρὸς τοῖς Arrival at the 20
 ὁρίοις ἐγένοντο, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἰώθει ἐθήρα· frontier, where
 170 καὶ τὸ μὲν πλήθος τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν they remain
 ἵππέων ὥγμευον αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐπιόντες τὰ θηρία ἐξανι-
 σταῖεν· οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς διέστασαν
 καὶ τὰνιστάμενα ὑπεδέχοντο καὶ ἐδίωκον· καὶ ἤρουν
 πολλοὺς καὶ σὺς καὶ ἐλάφους καὶ δορκάδας καὶ ὄνους
 175 ἀγρίους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ὄνοι καὶ
 νῦν ἔτι γίγνονται. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔληξε τῆς θήρας, προσμῖξας
 πρὸς τὰ ὄρια τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐδειπνοποιήσατο· καὶ
 τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ αὖθις ἐθήρα προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, ὧν
 ὠρέγετο. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ἔληξεν, ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο. τὸ δὲ 21
 180 παρὰ Κναξάρου στράτευμα ὡς ἥσθητο προσιόν, ὑπο-
 πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ἀπέχοντας αὐτοῦ δειπνο-
 ποιεῖσθαι ὡς δύο παρασάγγας, τοῦτο προῖδὼν ὡς
 συμβαλεῖται πρὸς τὸ λανθάνειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ δειπνήσειαν,
 εἶπε τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτόν. μετὰ
 185 δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τοὺς ταξιάρχους παρεκάλει· ἐπεὶ δὲ
 παρήσαν, ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ Ἀρμένιος πρόσθεν μὲν καὶ σύμ- 22

Cyrus explains the real object of his expedition to the taxiarchs, and gives special instructions to Chrysantas.

- μαχος ἦν καὶ ὑπήκοος Κρυαζάρη· νῦν δ' ὥς
 ᾗσθητο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας, κατα-
 φρονεῖ καὶ οὔτε τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει 190
 ἡμῖν οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ἀποδίδωσι. νῦν
 οὖν τοῦτον θηρᾶσαι, ἣν δυνώμεθα, ἤλθο-
 μεν. ὧδ' οὖν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ ποιεῖν. σὺ μὲν, ὦ Χρυσάντα,
 ἐπειδὴν ἀποκοιμηθῆς ὅσον μέτριον, λαβὼν τοὺς ἡμί-
 σεις Περσῶν τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἴθι τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ κατὰ 195
 λαβε τὰ ὄρη, εἰς ἃ φασιν αὐτόν, ὅταν τι φοβηθῇ,
 23 καταφεύγειν· ἡγεμόνας δέ σοι ἐγὼ δώσω. φασὶ μὲν
 οὖν καὶ δασέα τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα εἶναι, ὥστ' ἐλπίς ὑμᾶς μὴ
 ὀφθῆναι· ὅμως δὲ εἰ προπέμποις πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύμα-
 τος εὐζώνους ἄνδρας λησταῖς ἐοικότας καὶ τὸ πλήθος 200
 καὶ τὰς στολάς, οὗτοι ἂν σοι, εἴ τιμι ἐντυγχάνοιεν
 τῶν Ἀρμενίων, τοὺς μὲν ἂν συλλαμβάνοντες αὐτῶν
 κωλύοιεν τῶν ἐξαγγελιῶν, οὓς δὲ μὴ δύναιντο λαμβά-
 νειν, ἀποσοβοῦντες ἂν ἐμποδὼν γίγνοιεν τὸ μὴ ὁρᾶν
 αὐτοὺς τὸ ὅλον στράτευμά σου, ἀλλ' ὥς περὶ κλωπῶν 205
 24 βουλευέσθαι. καὶ σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, οὕτω ποιεῖ· ἐγὼ δὲ
 ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν τῶν πεζῶν ἔχων,
 πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἵππείας, πορεύσομαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου
 εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀνθιστῆται,
 δῆλον ὅτι μάχεσθαι δεήσει· ἦν δ' αὖ ὑποχωρῇ τοῦ 210
 πεδίου, δῆλον ὅτι μεταθεῖν δεήσει· ἦν δ' εἰς τὰ ὄρη
 φεύγη, ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ἔφη, σὸν ἔργον μηδένα ἀφίεναι
 25 τῶν πρὸς σέ ἀφικνουμένων. νόμιζε δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν
 θήρᾳ ἡμᾶς μὲν τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας ἔσεσθαι, σέ δὲ τὸν
 ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄρκυσι· μέμνησο οὖν ἐκεῖνο ὅτι φθάνειν δεῖ 215
 πεφραγμένους τοὺς πόρους πρὶν κινεῖσθαι τὴν θήραν.
 καὶ λεληθέναι δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς στόμασιν, εἰ μέλ-
 26 λουσι μὴ ἀποτρέψειν τὰ προσφερόμενα. μὴ μέντοι,

ἔφη, ὦ Χρυσάντα, οὕτως αὖ ποίει ὥσπερ ἐνίοτε διὰ
 220 τὴν φιλοθηρίαν· πολλάκις γὰρ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἄνπνος
 πραγματεύει· ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐᾶσαι χρὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τὸ μέ-
 τριον ἀποκοιμηθῆναι, ὥς ἂν δύνωνται ὑπνομαχεῖν·
 μηδέ γε, ὅτι οὐχ ἡγεμόνας ἔχων ἀνθρώπους πλανᾷ 27
 ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, ἀλλ' ὕπη ἂν τὰ θηρία ὑφηγῇται, ταύτη
 225 μεταθεῖς, μήτι καὶ νῦν οὕτω τὰ δύσβατα πορεύου,
 ἀλλὰ κέλευέ σοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐὰν μὴ πολὺ μάσσω
 ἡ ὁδὸς ἦ, τὴν ῥάστην ἡγεῖσθαι· στρατιᾷ γὰρ ἡ ῥάστη
 ταχίστη. μηδέ γε, ὅτι σὺ εἴθισαι τρέχειν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, 28
 μήτι δρόμῳ ἡγήσῃ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν δύνῃται σοι ὁ στρατὸς
 230 ἔπescθαι, τῷ μέσῳ τῆς σπουδῆς ἡγοῦ. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ 29
 τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ προθύμων ὑπομένοντάς τινας
 ἐνίοτε παρακελεύεσθαι· ἐπειδὴν δὲ παρέλθῃ τὸ κέρας,
 παροξυντικὸν εἰς τὸ σπεύδειν πάντας παρὰ τοὺς
 βαδίζοντας τρέχοντας ὁρᾶσθαι.'

235 Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ἐπιγαυρω- 30
 θείς τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κύρου, λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας,
 ἀπελθὼν καὶ παραγγείλας ἃ ἔδει τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ μέλ-
 λουσι πορεύεσθαι, ἀνεπαύετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκοιμήθησαν
 ὅσον ἐδόκει μέτριον εἶναι, ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ

240 τὰ ὄρη. Κύρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, The next day
hesends an envoy
to the King of
Armenia, and
makes his ar-
rangements for
marching and, if
need be, for fight-
ing. 31
 ἄγγελον μὲν προῦπεμπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμέ-
 νιον, εἰπὼν αὐτῷ λέγειν ὧδε· Κύρος, ὦ
 Ἀρμένιε, κελεύει οὕτω ποιεῖν σε ὅπως ὡς
 τάχιστα ἔχων ἀπήν καὶ τὸν δασμὸν καὶ

245 τὸ στράτευμα. ἦν δ' ἐρωτᾷ ὕπου εἰμί, λέγε τάλῃθῃ
 ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις. ἦν δ' ἐρωτᾷ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχομαι,
 λέγε κἀνταῦθα τάλῃθῃ, ὅτι οὐκ οἶσθα. ἐὰν δ' ὁπόσοι
 ἐσμὲν πυνθάνηται, συμπέμπειν τινὰ κέλευε καὶ μαθεῖν.
 τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄγγελον ἐπιστείλας ταῦτα ἐπεμψε, νομίζων 32

φιλικώτερον οὕτως εἶναι ἢ μὴ προειπόντα πορεύεσθαι. ²⁵⁰
 αὐτὸς δὲ συνταξάμενος ἢ ἄριστον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνύτειν
 τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, εἴτι δέοι, ἐπορεύετο.
 προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδένα ἀδικεῖν, καὶ εἴ τις
 Ἀρμενίων τῷ ἐντυγχάνοι, θαρρεῖν τε παραγγέλλειν
 καὶ ἀγορὰν τὸν θέλοντα ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν ὦσιν, εἴτε ²⁵⁵
 σιτία εἴτε ποτὰ τυγχάνοι πωλεῖν βουλόμενος.

LIBRI SECVNDI FINIS