Πιττ Πρές Σειρές

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ
ΒΙΒΛΙΑ Α' Β'

HOLDEN
THE CYROPAEDEIA
OF XENOPHON
BOOKS I AND II

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PART I
Introduction and Text

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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 *Cyropædeia* 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 Schulaus-
gaben 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 παροδευμ adesse the meaning
'superare, excellere 1 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

H. A. H.

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H. X.
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THE Cyropaedeia\(^1\), 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 Romance\(^2\), or an idealized

\(^1\) This word is a modern coinage: the title by which the book is quoted by the ancients is Κύροις παιδείας, as by Dionysios quoted in note \(2\), Diogenês Laertius II 57, Athenaeus XI p. 483 B, or simply παιδείας, 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 Astyages. 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 uvara 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 Xenophoni 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 nostri ille Africanus de manibus ponere non solvit; nullum
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Biography with a didactic purpose—not unlike the Télémachus of Fénélon. 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 practiciis historicis describes τὴν Κύρον παιδείαν as εἰκόνα βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ εὐδαιμόνος. Cf. Ausonius in gratiarum actione pro consad Graianiun Imp. p. 728:—Vellem, si rerum natura pateretur, Xenophon Attice, in aevum nostrum venires, tu, qui ad Cyri virtutes exsequandas votum potius quam historiam commodaisti, cum diceres, non qualis esset sed qualis esse deberet; Aristeides περὶ τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν β’ (Rhet. gr. ed. Spengel Vol. II p. 525, 32):—πάντων ἐν τῇ Παιδείᾳ δρα πῶς μετεχειριστα τιμῶν, ἐννοια ποθ’ ἡμῖν ἐγένετο. τὸ μὲν οὖν νόημα ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτον Κύρος παῖς ὡς ἐτέρφετο καὶ τῖνος παιδείας μετέχει, καὶ τίνα ἔργα ἔπραξε, καὶ ὡς εὐδαιμονεύτατος ἄνθρωπων ἐγένετο, τούτο δὲ ἄλλο τι βούλεται τῷ ἄνδρι. οὐ γὰρ Κύρον ἐγκωμίσας προσήρχεται οὐδὲ μέλει αὐτῷ δν τρόπον ἐπαιδεύθη ο Κύρος ἢ ἐτράφη, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἂνθιστήνη τὸν ἄγαθον, ὑπογραφῆ κέχρηται ὡς ὁ πεῖρας τῶν ἔτη οἱ παμφλατικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τίνη τροφῆ καὶ τίνη παιδεία χρήσθαι, καὶ ὡς ὁ πεῖρας τοῦ τραγικῶν τις γένηται, τίνα δὲ ἔργα καὶ ἐπιτυγχανόμενα προσήκοντα τῷ καὶ τῷ τε καὶ ἄγαθος ἄνδρι, δὲ δὲ Κύρος ἀλλὰς διώματα ἐστὶν 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 ἡδόνες τε καὶ πάθος πολλὰς ἔχει τᾶς ἡδονᾶς μιθικῶς πλασθέν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τιγράνην δὲ ὅσαῦτως καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀμανθίαν.
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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 view.

Aulus Gellius tells us that some of the Biographers of Plato and Xenophon believed that the Cyropaedeia was written in opposition to the Republic.

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

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

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4 Not. Att. xiv iii 3, 4: qui de Xenophontis Platonisque vita et moribus plerique omnia exquisitissime scriptse,...id non sinceræ neque amicæ voluntatis indicium crediderunt, quod Xenophon inclito illi operti Platonis, quod de optimo statu reipublicæ civitatise administrandae scripturum est, lectis ex eo duobus fere libris,...opposuit contra conscriptis diversum regiae administrationis genus, quod paideias Kouro inscriptum est. Eo facto scriptoque eius usque permutum esse Platonem ferunt, ut quodam in libro, mentione Cyri regis habita, retractandi levandique eius operis gratia, virum qui dem Cyrum navum et strenuum fuisset dixerit, paideias dé oik òrbhés ἥφθαι τὸ παράτατον; 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. 594 c, where the Athenian interlocutor says:—μαντεύομαι δὴ νῦν περὶ γε Κύρου τα μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν τε ἁγαθὸν ἔτη καὶ φιλότολων, παιδείας δὲ ὡρθὼν οὐχ ἥφθαι τὸ παράτατον. 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, ὅσα περείδησ τῷ γυναικῶν τε καὶ εὐνοῦχων παιδευθέντας, ἀθεναῖος Deipnos. xi 112 p. 504 c has put the same misinterpretation upon the passage. A. Boeckh in his treatise de simulata quae Platonii cum Xenophontis intercessisse fertur has sufficiently disposed of the allegation that there was any open misunderstanding between the two eminent Socratic writers.

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
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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 sovereign.

Such is the glorious picture which Xenophon exhibts 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 history were adapted to the spirit of his romance. With him Cyrus is the son of Cambyses, 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 curiosity. 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 ἐφηβοῦ. 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 ethic spirit in the description of the ingenuous boy’s growing consciousness of the propriety of assuming a more staid demeanour as he approaches manhood' (IV.4). Murel. C. Vol. V p. 409 ed. 2. Cf. Hermogenes l. c. p. 419: κάν ταῖς μυθήσει δὲ τῶν προσώπων μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμεῖ (ὁ Ζευσφόν), οὐτε ἀφέλη καὶ ὃς ὄντως ἀπλαστὰ καὶ ἀπλὰ καὶ ἰδέα ἴθη ἴθη ψυχῶν μιμοῖτο, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κύρου παιδὸς ἐτι δυντος, καὶ ὅσα τοιαύτα.
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. Cyaxarēs applies for aid to his brother-in-law. Cambysēs 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 Assyria. 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 ii; i, 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, Gedrōsians, and Arachōti, 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 Cambysès Cyrus becomes King of Persis, and of Media likewise on the death of Cyaxarès. 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 reversed.  

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 part.

'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 manoeuvres 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 abiuicando, Halis Sax. 1806. His conclusions are challenged, partly at least, by F. A. Bornemann in his 'Der Epilog der Cyropádie 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.
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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 supremacy, 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 degrading.

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

14 I c. 75—c. 214.
Ctēsias\textsuperscript{15}-Nicolaus\textsuperscript{16}, which is presupposed in Deinōn\textsuperscript{17} and

\textsuperscript{15} Ctēsias 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 Artaxerxes, 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 βασιλικά) 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 his author's historical method was antagonism to his distinguished predecessor (fr. 29, 1, σχεδὸν ἐν ἀπάσῳ ἀντικείμενα Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορῶν (Κηθολαν), ἀλλὰ καὶ ψευτικόν αὐτῶν ἀπελεύχων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ λογοποιοῦν ἀποκαλῶν κτλ.). Ctēsias 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 παραφρόνων ἐμβεβληκέν ἐς τὰ βιβλία παντοδαπὴν θυλαν), 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.

\textsuperscript{16} Nicolaus of Damascus, an accomplished polyhistor, was born at that city B.C. 64. His principal work, entitled Ἰστορία, 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 Ctēsias; his account of the Lydian empire is taken from Xanthos, or rather Dionysius of Mytilene. His history of Herod was the most complete, and Josephus in his Antiq. Books xiv—xvi availed himself largely of it. Nicolaus von Damaskus, sein Leben und seine Schriften nebst Uebersetzung der noch erhaltenen Bruchstücke von Friedr. Navet, Simmern, 1853.

\textsuperscript{17} All that is known of Deinōn is that he was the father of
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Polyaenus. In Trogus 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 Diodorus, are based upon the Persian history of Deinôn. The detail and liveliness of the traits in the accounts of Herodotus and Ctesias-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. Herodotus, 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.' Xenophon

Cleitarchus, the historian of Alexander's expedition (Plin. Nat. Hist. x 70), and that he was the author of a History in three parts (σωράξεις), of which the first related to Assyria, the second to Media, and the third to Persia (Περσικά or Περσικὴ πραγματεία). Cornelius Nepos refers to the latter, as the most trustworthy authority on the subject (vit. Conon. c. 5 Diōn. 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.

Polyaenus, the Macedonian, the author of the στρατηγησίματα, 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.

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.

Diodorus Siculus, a contemporary of Caesar and Augustus, the author of the Bibliothēkē 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.

I c. 95 ὃς ὁν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσιν, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κύρων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἔντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ τὰῦτα γράψατο, ἐπιστάμενοι περὶ Κύρων καὶ τριφασίας ἀλλακτικόν λόγων ὀδοὺς φήματι.

Cyrop., I ii 1, λέγεται καὶ ἔσται ἐτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων.
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... tells us that Cyrus 'is even now the theme of song among the barbarians.' In Deinôn’s fragment, 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 Nicolaus, 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 ofMedian poetry of this kind, while in that of Ctêsias and Nicolaus of Damascus we have the Persian account before us and a mixture of the two in the Excerpt from Trogus. Ctêsias 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 novelist.

23 ap. Athenae. xiv. p. 633 c.: τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τῶν ἄρων τὰς πράξεις καὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ὑμοὺς δὴ ὕδης ἐποιούμενον......τὸ δὲ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐσώτερο, ὡς φησί Δείνων ἐν τοῖς Περσαίοις. τὴν γυνήν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρέαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἑσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀστυάγην προείδουτο οἱ ψόλοι. ὡτε γὰρ (φησίν) ἡγήσατο τὴν εἰς Πέρσας ἀποδημήλαν ἡ Κύρος· ἐγεγόνει δὲ αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν ῥαβδοφόρων, εἰρήνης ὑπέρ τῶν ὀπλοφόρων καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εὐσχομένου οὖν τοῦ Ἀστυάγους μετὰ τῶν φιλών τότε, ἀγάρρης ἄνωμα, οὕτως δὴ ἦν τῶν ὑδῶν ὁ ἐνδοεξώτατος, ἦδεν εἰσχλεπεῖ τὰ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν εἰδιπεμένων καὶ τὸ ἐσχατὸν ἐπειν ὡς ἀφεῖται εἰς τὸ ἔλος θηρίου μέγα, θραυσότερον ὡς ἀγρίου· δὲ ἤν κυρεύσῃ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν (αὐτὸ Μεινεκὴ) τόπων, πολλοῖς μετ' ὀλγών (ὁλγὼν C. Müller) ῥάδιος μαχεῖται· ἐρμενέου δὲ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους, τοῖον θηρίον; ἐφ' Κύρον τὸν Πέρσην. νομίζαις οὖν ἰδρός αὐτοῦ ὑποπευκέναι καὶ μεταπεμένειν οὐδὲν ἀνέφην.'

24 Her words are:—ὁ λέων τὸν κάτρον ὑποχείριον ἐχὼν μεθήκεν εἰς τὰς λάχμας τὰς ἄντοι, ἐν αἷς κρείττων γενόμενοι πολύν πόνον αὐτῷ παρέβεβε καὶ τελευτῶν ἀσθενέστερος ὑπὸ τὸν ἐνχυρότερον χειρωταῖς.

25 Anab. iii. iv 7, 12 where on occasion of the Ten Thousand
‘About the origin of Cyrus’ says Duncker⁴⁴ ‘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 Persis⁴⁵....According to the previous custom, the viceroyalty of Persis would descend, at the death of Cambysês, to his son Cyrus’.

The Cyropaedia agrees with Herodotus⁴⁶ 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. Ctesias⁴⁷, 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, ὁτε παρὰ Μηδῶν τὴν ἄρχην ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν οὐδὲν τρόπῳ ἑδύνατο ἔλει), and that the latter afforded a refuge to the Median Queen, ὁτε ἀπώλυσαν τὴν ἄρχην ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μηδοῦ, 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 (1 i 4) ἐκὸντων ἐνέγασεν Μηδῶν, cf. VIII v 19.

⁴⁵ See p. xxv.
⁴⁶ I c. 75, c. 107 sqq.
⁴⁷ See below p. xxv.
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 Herodotus 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 herdsmen, Mitradatês by name, to expose on the mountains. On returning to his hut, the herdsman found that his wife Spako (=Greek Κυνώ, spak being the Median word for κυνώ ‘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.

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 Per-
sians, 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 as-
sembled, 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 trouble.29
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
yesterday. 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 be-
fore 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 cir-
cumdatam excidere. Quod cum strenue fecissent, eosdem postera die
apparatis epulis invitat: dein cum alacriores ipso convivio factos
videret, rogat: si conditio ponatur, utrius vitiae sortem legant, hest-
erni laboris an praesentium epularum? Praesentium ut adclamatione
vere omnes, ait hesterno similèm labori omnem viam 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 Atratatês 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 Atratatês, 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 κύδαρσ 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 Pasargadae. The Persians were put to flight; Oebarēs, 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, Astyagēs, 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. 558. All accounts agree in stating that he was treated generously and with clemency by his conqueror.

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

30 Anaximenēs of Lampsakos, the contemporary of Aristotle and Strabo, relates that Cyrus built Pasargadae at the place where he had overcome Astyagēs in battle. Strabo Geogr. xiv iii 8 p. 730 confirms the statement: τοῦς δὲ Πασαργάδας έτιμησε Κύρος, ὅτι τὴν υπότατην μάχην ένικησεν 'Δστάγγην ἐνταῦθα τὸν Μήδουν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας μετήργηκεν εἰς έαυτὸν. καὶ πόλιν ἐκτισε καὶ βασιλεῖαν κατεσκεύασε τῆς ικης μνημειών. So also Plutarch de mulier. viv. 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 1 130 Ἀστάγγην Κύρος κακῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἰχε παρ' ἐνωτῷ ἐς δ ἐτελεύτησε. Ctēsias 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 Hyrcanians\(^{33}\) beneath his dominion; the Cadusians\(^{34}\), the Armenians and the Cappadocians\(^{35}\) 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 Halys\(^{36}\). 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 him; Polybius observes that Gaza alone among all the cities of Syria offered resistance. With the capture of Gaza Cyrus stood on the borders of Egypt then highly flourishing under the long and prosperous reign of Amasis, but the invasion of that country was left for his son Cambyses. Thus 'the ancient kingdom of Babylon, in which the civilisation of the Semitic stock had taken root some fifteen centuries previously, and had attained 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 Semitic 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 predomiance exercised for so many centuries by Semitic culture and Semitic 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 Iran.

63 Herod. III c. 19; cf. Xen. Cyr. I i 4 κατεστρέψατο Σύρους...
64 XVI 40 (22 a ed. Hultsch) κατὰ τὴν Περσῶν ἐφοδοὺν ἐκπαγέντων τῶν ἄλλων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυναστείας, καὶ πάντων ἐγχειρισάντων σφᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας Μῆδους, (οἱ Γαζαίοι) μόνοι τὸ δεινὸν ὑπέμειναι πάντες, τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀναδείχθησαν.
65 Duncker vi p. 90. Cf. Plato Menex. c. 9 p. 239 e:—ὦν (βασιλέων) ὁ πρῶτος Κύρος...τοὺς δεσπότας Μῆδους ἐδούλωσεν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας μέχρι Αἰγύπτου ἑρέξεν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Αἰγύπτου τε καὶ Δισύφης ὄσον οἶν τ᾽ ἦν ἐπιβάλενεν.
66 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 loi, leurs symboles, leurs dieux; ils veulent être les apôtres du monde. Descendants des hautes 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 monothelistical 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 Egypt.

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 Gedrorsia and reduced the Gandarians on the south of the Cabul on the Indus and the Ačvakas to the north of the Cabul'; that he afterwards advanced to the Indus 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, xliv, xlvii 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 i. c. p. 102.

59 That he did not cross the Indus or set foot in India appears from a statement of Megasthenēs in Strabo xv i 6 p. 686: συναποφαλνεῖται δὲ καί Μεγασθένης τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ...Πέροςας μισθιφδροὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μεταπέμφασθαι Ἕδρακας ἐκεῖ δὲ μὴ στρετεύσαι, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθειν μόνον, ἡνίκα Κύρος ἠλαυνεν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας,
brought into great distress in the deserts of Gedrösia (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 citadels. 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 cold. Henceforward Cyrus fixed his usual residence at Babylon, while Susa, between Babylonia and Persia proper, became his residence in spring, and Ecbatana in summer; 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 ἐν (λέγουσι) καὶ Κῦρον ἐσ τοὺς χῶρος τούτους ὡς ἐμπλαύον ἐσ τὴν Ἡρακλίου γῆν, φθάσαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρμίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας τῆς ὀδοῦ ταύτης ἀπολέσαντα τὴν πόλλην τῆς στρατιάς.

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.
62 Xen. Cyr. viii vi 22.
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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 Herodotus\(^63\) avowedly chose that which appeared to him most worthy of credit (πυθανότατος), 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 Pasargadae\(^64\), where his tomb was honoured and watched until the breaking up of the empire.

As to the regulations with which he is credited for

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\(^63\) 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 Ctêsias (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 Ctêsias 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-Ash (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 (τῷ γυναῖκας) 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; Plato\textsuperscript{65} even puts him on the same level as Lycurgus, the founder of the constitution of Sparta. The same writer tells us\textsuperscript{66} 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 limit\textsuperscript{67}, 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 deliberation\textsuperscript{68}. 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

\textsuperscript{65} Epist. ad Dion. p. 320.
\textsuperscript{66} de legg. III c. 12 p. 693 D τῆς μὲν (μοναρχίας) τὸ Περσῶν γένος ἀκρον ἔχει, τῆς δὲ (δημοκρατίας) ἡμᾶς.
\textsuperscript{67} ib. ἡ μὲν τὸ μοναρχικὸν, ἡ δὲ τὸ ἑλευθερον ἀγαπήσασα μειξόνως ἡ ἐδει μόνον, οὐδετέρα τὰ μέτρια κέκτηται τούτων.
\textsuperscript{68} ib. πάντα δὴ τάτε ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς δι’ ἑλευθερίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ νοῦ κοινοίαν. Cic. de rep. I c. 27 calls Cyrus instissimum sapien-
tissimumque regem.
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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 king 69. 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 sides 70.

70 Cyrop. viii v 22—27.
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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 testimony\(^\text{71}\) that, even assuming the different story told there to be one of the four varieties of Oriental tradition mentioned by Herodotus\(^\text{72}\), it has not been selected by him on account of its historical reality, but of its better adaptation to the spirit of his romance\(^\text{73}\). In the last-quoted extract the conquests of Cyrus are represented as having been made during the lifetime of his father Cambyses 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 Cambyses\(^\text{74}\); and the small portion of India, if any, that Persia ever possessed was, according to Herodotus\(^\text{75}\), acquired by Darius.

Cyaxarès\(^\text{76}\), 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: ἀλλον δὲ οὐδένα (Ἰνδῶν λέγουσιν) ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς γῆν τήν Ἰνδῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, οὐδὲ Κυρων τὸν Καμβσεώ. 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 Herodotus 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 Cyropaedia 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. Herodotus describes, and doubtless truly, the whole of Asia Minor west of Halys as subject to the king of Lydia at this time. Xenophon 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 Cyropaedia (v v 8). Mure l.c. p. 412.

77 1 c. 6 sqq.
78 Cyr. 1 v 3.
dependent powers, whose alliance the king of Assyria courts like that of Croesus himself, by diplomatic missions.

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 Ἄσσυριος, ὁ Ἄρμενιος respectively; the wife of the latter is called Ἄρμενία, the chiefs of the Hyrcanians and Cadusians are, in like manner, designated as ὁ Ὕρκάνιος, 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 Geographical element.

nationalities seats which, in reality, they never 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

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 nought, 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. Xenophon⁶³, on the other hand, represents Persia as an independent 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’

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⁸⁰ ἕθνος πολύ τῇ καὶ ἄλκιμον, 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.
⁶³ Cyr. i iii 18, v 4.
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(ὁμότιμοι) equivalent to the Spartiate ὅμοιοι. Th 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 g ness, is also an idealized counterpart of that of Lacedaemon. 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 Lycurgean system. 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 ῥοοόο alone, being the ὁμότιμοι, were fully armed (ὅπλίται); 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.
to be of any use in alliance with the

e military system attributed to Cyrus in the *Cyropædia* is

eat part borrowed from that of Sparta, as is evident from

a 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 head; the chanting of

the paean before commencing the attack; the formation of

the front rank of the phalanx exclusively of officers; the

preference of red as the colour of military costume; the frequent

change of station in open campaigning. 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 armies, are also represented as

habitually executed, in all their extent and subtlety, by the troops

of Cyrus.


Herodotus gives us a concise summary of Persian

manners and customs, evidently from good sources.

Some of these are mentioned by Xenophon,

but there are not a few which he introduces

that are unnoticed by Herodotus and are palpably Hel-

lenic. To say nothing of his attributing to the mono-

theistic 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 Arês 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. vii iii 21 sqq., vii i 5 sqq.
92 Cyr. vii i 26.
entering battle, and of the local gods and heroes on crossing the frontier, the notion of the gods being subject to sensual love, of the descent of their royal family from Perseus, are all Hellenic peculiarities. Herodotus 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 Xenophon they offer their holocausts and libations, even to the precise Hellenic number. They also practise the Hellenic art of divination in its various forms. Xenophon frequently commends the frugality and abstemiousness of their diet and the sobriety of their habits; 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 author. Both mention their strict regard for truth and their adoption of the Median dress. There is no allusion in the Cyropaedeia to the licentious polygamy which Herodotus 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 i, III iii 21 sqq.
95 Cyr. I ii i, IV i 24, VII ii 24.
96 I c. 132.
97 Cyr. VIII iii 24, III iii 21 sqq. 40, VII I i.
98 Cyr. II iii i.
100 Cyr. I ii 8, 16, iii 4—10, IV V I sq., V ii 16, VIII i 36.
Herod. I. c. 133.
101 Herod. I c. 136, Cyr. I ii.
103 Herod. I c. 135, Cyr. VIII iii i.
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.

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 ἔρθεθαν δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα πειρασθεῖσθαι 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, λέγοντοι, ὁμολογεῖται, ἄδεται, 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 Cyrus, of the passion of Araspas for the captive Pantheia, of the fate of Pantheia and Abradatas, of the hatred of Gobryas for ‘the Assyrian’, which has so much influence over the turn of events,

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106 Cyr. v i 2 ff., vi i 36, iii 14.
107 Cyr. v i 2 ff., VI i 31 ff., iii 14, iv i 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. (Cyaxarès may with more propriety be considered as the counterpart of Cyrus: see note 76 p. xliii.)

The other subordinate personages Chrysantas, Hystaspès 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.' 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 κρύπτεγείν (iv v 5); and the choice of the name ὁμότιμοι with especial reference to their ὀμοίοι. There is every reason to suppose 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 Δῆ ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλεῖστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεθαι, προσκαλῶν τοῦς φίλους ἐκπολείποιοι, ώς δαλαί οὐχ χεῖς τιμᾶ) 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 Ctêsias, 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:—
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 Cyropaedia and the other works of Xenophon, especially the Memorabilia or ‘Recollections of Socratès’. 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 Cyropaedia 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
to matters which they cannot know or learn of themselves\(^{110}\). 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 with\(^{111}\).

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 unwilling\(^{112}\). 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 Kyropädie auftreten, ihrem Äußersten nach Meder und Perser, aber nach ihrem Charakter Hellenen. Auch die Sitten, Gebärude und Einrichtungen, welche in der Kyropädie 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.

\(^{112}\) ΧΧΙ ι 2 οδ γάρ πάντιν μοι δοκεί ὄλον τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαθὸν ἀνδρό-τινον εἶναι ἄλλα θείον, τὸ ἑθελόντων ἀρχεῖν σαφῶς 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 Socratès in the Memorabilia\textsuperscript{113}; and it is this principle of which the Cyropaedia presents us with an illustrative example. Cyrus is assumed to have a natural aptitude for the exercise of command\textsuperscript{114}; 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 Socratic influence is seldom altogether wanting. The conversation of Sokratès 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 Sokratès. 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

\textsuperscript{113} III x ix—12.
\textsuperscript{114} II i φόναι δε 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 orders. 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 soldiers. This, as well as the other duties and functions of a military commander, we find laid down generally in the conversations of Sokratês, 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.

116 Mem. iii i i, Cyr. vi ii 13.
117 Mem. iii i—iv. The treatise of Xenophon called Ἡπαρχικὸς enumerates also the general duties required from a commander of cavalry: among these, ψευδαντρύμολοι are mentioned (iv 7). Now the employment, with effect, of a ψευδαντρύμολος, is described with much detail in the Cyropaedeia. See the case of Araspês (vi i 37, iii 16).
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<td>84. 1. Praxiteles</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>Birth of Xenophon, son of Gryllos, of the deme Erchia, Pheidias superintendent of the public works of art at Athens.</td>
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<td>2. Lysanias</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>Herodotos aet. 43 and Lysias aet. 15 among the colonists of Thurii.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Diphilos</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>Death of Pindar aet. 80, Empedokles.</td>
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<td>4. Timokles</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>Euripides aet. 38 gains the first prize in tragedy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85. 1. Morychides</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>Sophokles aet 55 one of the generals in the Samian War. His Antigone.</td>
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</table>

**Peace between Athens and Sparta, 445-431.** Perikles in sole possession of the government at Athens. Date of the Kimonian peace. Thurii founded by the Athenians on the site of Sybaris (Diod. xii 11). Thukydides, son of Melsias, ostracised. 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 Memmor. 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. 439, 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 always spoken of as a comparatively young man in b.c. 407. 'But' the same writer continues 'the particular passage in that work (ii, 25.2 ὡδὲν προφασίζωμαι τὸν ἴλικαὶ ἄλλα καὶ ᾧ κύματι ὕγιδωμαι ἑρύκειν ἀπ’ ἔμαντος τῷ κακῷ), is rather for than against the supposition that he was then above 40 (see Thucyd. vi 26), and the combination, pointed out by Schneider, of the passages in Xen. Syn. 79, iv 25 and Memor. i iii to proves that Xenophon must have been a young man in b.c. 431. The statement of Pseudo-Lucian (i.e. Philon of Tarsos, Macrob. Saturn. c. 21), that he was more than 90 years old when he died, combined with the statement of Stesikeleides (Diog. Laert. ii 56) that he died in b.c. 350, would imply that he was born even earlier than b.c. 443; but there is reason to believe that Stesikeleides is in error and that Xenophon’s death did not take place till some years later than b.c. 359.'
<table>
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<td>2 Glaucenes</td>
<td>439</td>
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<td>A decree to prohibit comedy for this year and the two next.</td>
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<td>4. Euthymenes</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Repeal of the decree against comedy.</td>
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<td>86. i. Antilochides</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Birth of Isokrates. The Propylaea at Athens commenced. Kratinos, the comic poet. Pheidias at Olympia.</td>
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<td>3. Chates or Crates</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4. Apsueudes</td>
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<td>87. i. Pythodoros</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
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<td>5. Epameinon</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hermippos, the comic poet.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Samos and Byzantine become subjects instead of allies of Athens.

A colony sent to Amphipolis by the Athenians.

Outbreak of the war between Corinth and Corcyra. Naval victory of the Corcyraeans at Actium. Epidamnos compelled to capitulate. Athens forms a defensive alliance with Corcyra. Revolt of Potidae from the Athenian alliance. Congress at Sparta, at which war is resolved on. Exclusion of Megarians from the market of Athens.

**The Peloponnesian War, B.C. 431–404.**

First year of the war. Surprise of Plataea by the Thebans. First invasion of Attica by Spartans under Archidamos.

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<tr>
<th>Olympiads and Archons</th>
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<th>O</th>
<th>Four year of the war.</th>
<th>Fifth year of the war.</th>
<th>Sixth year of the war.</th>
<th>Seventh year of the war.</th>
<th>Eighth year of the war.</th>
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<tr>
<td>2. Eukles</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>Visit of Gorgias of Leontini to Athens. Xenophon enrolled among the periplus.</td>
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<td>3. Euthynos</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>Xenophon composes the Αθηναίων πολίτεια about this time (?). Aristophanis Βαβολωνιοι.</td>
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<td>4. Stratokles</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aristophanes gains the first prize with the Acharnians.</td>
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<tr>
<td>89 ι. Isarchos</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aristophanes gains the first prize with the Equites. Banishment of Thukydides, the historian, for 20 years, in consequence of his failure to save Amphipolis.</td>
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The fortunes of Athens at their culminating point. March of Brasidas into Thrace and revolt of most of the towns of the Chalkidic peninsula from Athens. The Athenians defeated by the Thebans at Delion. The story of the preservation of Xenophon’s life by Sokrates at the battle, recorded by
## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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<tr>
<th>OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS</th>
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<td>2. Amynias</td>
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<td>3. Alkaeos</td>
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<td>4. Aristeion</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>90 1. Astyphios</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Archias</td>
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<td>3. Antiphon</td>
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<td>4. Euphemos</td>
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<td>91 1. Arimnestos</td>
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<td>28</td>
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- **Diogenes 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.**

**Ninth year of the war.**
War continued on the coast of Thrace. The temple of Hera at Argos burnt.

**Tenth year of the war.**
Battle of Amphipolis, in which Brasidas and Cleon fall.

Number of Athenian males above 20 at this time about 20,000: the whole civic population (excluding slaves and μέτοικοι) over 82,000.

**Eleventh year of the war.**
Truce (Peace of Nicias) concluded for 50 years between Athens and the Lacedaemonians.

**Twelfth year of the war.**
Alliance between Sparta and Thebes: counter-alliance between Athens, Argos, Elis and Mantinea brought about by Alkibiades.

**Fourteenth year of the war.**
Battle of Mantinea and complete victory of Spartans over the Argive confederacy.

**Fifteenth year of the war.**
Overthrow of the democracy at Argos. Ostrakism of Hyperbolos.

**Sixteenth year of the war.**

- Aristophanes fails with the *Nubes* (1st Edition).
- Aristophanes *Proagon, Vespa*.
- Death of Kratinos.
- Eupolis exhibits his *Mariakas and Flatterers* (Κόλακες). Aristophanes second with the *Pax*.
- Birth of Isaeos. Euripides *Supplices*.
- Hippias of Elis, Prodikos and Gorgias, the Sophists, Sokrates.
- Hippokrates physician Ἰ. The painters Apollo- doros, Zeuxis, Parrhasios, Timanthes Ἰ.
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<th>OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS</th>
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<td>2. Chabrias</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Plato in his 14th year.</td>
<td>Melos taken by the Athenians.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Euripides <em>Troyades</em>.</td>
<td><em>Seventeenth year of the war</em>.</td>
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<td>Andokides banished.</td>
<td><em>Sicilian expedition</em>.</td>
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<td>3 Peisander</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Aristophanes <em>Amphiaraos</em> and <em>Birds.</em></td>
<td><em>Attack on Alkibiades for offences against the mysteries</em>.</td>
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<td>4. Kleocritos</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>The <em>Gigantomachia</em> of Hegeion was being acted, when the bad news came to Athens from Sicily.</td>
<td><em>Eighteenth year of the war</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>92. 1. Callias</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Euripides exhibits the <em>Helen</em> and the <em>Andromeda</em>.</td>
<td><em>Second campaign in Sicily</em>.</td>
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<td>2. Theopompos</td>
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<td>Return of Andokides.</td>
<td><em>Arrival of the Spartan Gylippos at Syracuse</em>.</td>
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<td>Death of Antiphon.</td>
<td><em>Death of Lamachos</em>.</td>
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<td>End of the History of Thukydides.</td>
<td><em>Occupation of Deceleia by the Spartans</em>.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Xenophoq begins his 'Ελληνικά with the manoeuvres at the Hellespont just after the battle of Kynossema.</td>
<td><em>Third campaign in Sicily</em>.</td>
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<td>Aristophanis <em>Lysistrata</em> and <em>Thesmophoriazusae</em>.</td>
<td><em>Failure of the attack of Demosthenes on Epipolae</em>.</td>
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<td>Θαucippus</td>
<td>410</td>
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<td>Sophoclis <em>Philoctetes</em>.</td>
<td><em>Athenian fleet defeated in the harbour of Syracuse</em>.</td>
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<td>ές</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Herodotos aet. 75 still engaged upon his history.</td>
<td><em>Capitulation and execution of Demosthenes and Nikias. 7000 prisoners taken</em>.</td>
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<td><em>Twenty-first year of the war</em>.</td>
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<td>Most of the former allies of Athens solicit alliance with Sparta.</td>
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<td><em>Twenty-second year of the war</em>.</td>
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<td>Alkibiades takes refuge from Sparta with Tissaphernes; intrigues with the Athenians at Samos for his recall.</td>
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<td>Subversion of democracy at Athens under Antiphon, Phrynichos and Théraménès, and institution of the oligarchic council of 400.</td>
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<td><em>Twenty-third year of the war</em>.</td>
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<td>Annihilation of the Spartan fleet under Mindařos at Kyzicos, Evagoras of Cyprus.</td>
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<td>Chalkedon gained by</td>
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<td>93. 1. Euktemon</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Plato aet. 20 begins to hear Sokrates.</td>
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<td>3. Kallias</td>
<td>406</td>
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<td>Death of Sophocles aet. 90.</td>
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<tr>
<td>94. 1 Anarchia</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Lysias escapes to Megara. Isokrates leaves Athens.</td>
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Alkibiades for the Athenians. 
Byzantium betrayed to the Athenians. Invasion of Sicily by Hannibal of Carthage. 
Twenty-fourth year of the war. 
Cyrus governor of Asia Minor. 
Return of Alkibiades to Athens; he is chosen στρατηγός. 
Twenty-fifth year of the war. 
The Athenian fleet defeated off Notion by Lysander. 
Alkibiades depose and Kônôn made commander of the fleet. 
Twenty-sixth year of the war. 
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. 
Twenty-seventh year of the war. 
The Athenian fleet defeated at the battle of Aegospotami. 
Death of Dareios II, Α' taxexes succeeds I (404–359). 
Athens surrender to Lysander. 
**Supremacy Sparta. 4 379.** Establish the Thirty. 
Enants to re-establish laws and constitution. 
Theramer death at the adtion of Κ. 
Death of in Phr.
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<td>Return of Isokrates.</td>
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<td>3. Mikon</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Victory of the exiles under Thrasybulos at Phylê over their opponents; their return to Athens, universal amnesty; formal restoration of the democracy. Kritia is slain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Xenaeotemos</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>The <em>Oedipus Coloneus</em> of Sophocles exhibited by his grandson. Xenophon accompanies Cyrus at the instigation of his friend Proxenus.</td>
</tr>
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<td>95 1. Laches</td>
<td>400</td>
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<td>Andokides delivers his speech <em>de mysteriis</em> in his sixty-seventh year.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Aristokrates</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>According to some, Xenophon returns to Athens and writes the first two Books of the <em>Heilena</em> between this year and 394 B.C. Death of Sokrates in his seventieth year. Plato act. 30 withdraws to Megara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ithykles</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Ktesias brings his History of the monarchies of the East (πα Πασακα) down to this year. Philoxenos, Timotheos and Telestes, the dithyrambic poets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Suniades</td>
<td>397</td>
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<td>Philistos, the historian.</td>
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**The Lacedaemonians in Asia. 400-394.**

The Spartans under Timbrom 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. The remnant of the 10,000 taken the pay of Timbrom. Campaign of the Spartans against Elis. Conspiracy of Kinaion. Elis submits to the demands of Sparta. Second campaign of Derkyllidas, who succeeded Timbrom, in Asia Minor. Death of Agis King of Sparta: Agesilaos his successor. Third campaign of Derkyllidas in Asia Minor:
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<td>he makes an armistice with Tissaphernes.</td>
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<td>The Spartan fleet under Peisander defeated at Knidos by Konon and Pharnabazos.</td>
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<td>Birth of Aeschines. Plato <em>aet. 40</em> first visits Sicily. His <em>de republica</em> begun before this year.</td>
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<td>Praxiteles and Skopas eminent sculptors The Δακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία of Xenophon written about this time Others assign it to B.C. 394.</td>
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<td>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.</td>
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<td>Rise of the power of Jason of Pherae in Thessaly 375–379 B.C.</td>
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<td>A short peace between Athens and Sparta.</td>
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<td>Supremacy of Athens in Ionian sea by a successful naval expedition of Iphikrates.</td>
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<td>Jason of Pherae assassinated.</td>
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<td>Mantinea rebuilt. Arcadia united into one common state with Megalopolis for its capital.</td>
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<td>First invasion of the Peloponnesos by Epe meinondas. Messenia restored. Peace between Athens and Sparta. Dionysios of Syracuse sends to help the Spartans against the Thebans.</td>
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<td>365</td>
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<td>Xenophon returns to Athens about this time, <em>κατὰ Ἀθήνας</em>.</td>
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<td>Xenophon's <em>Cyropaedia</em> not finished before this date. Deinarchos born. Plato's second visit to Sicily.</td>
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<td>360</td>
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<td>Xenophon's * Agesilaos* composed about this time. <em>Theopompos commences his History from this date; his Philippics in 58 books</em>.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**The Tearless Victory.**
Fruitless attempt of Thebes to establish peace by means of Persian influence.
Third invasion of the Peloponnesos by Epameinondas.
Defensive alliance between Arcadia and Athens.
Phlius and Corinth conclude a separate peace with Thebes.
War between Elis and Arcadia
The Arcadians get possession of Olympia, and use the sacred money.
Pelopidas falls in battle against Alexander of Pherae at Kynoskephalae.
The Thebans extend their hegemony over Thessaaly and send out a fleet under Epameinondas to the Hellas-pont and Bosporos.
Schism among the Arcadians.
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.
The Sacred war.
Repulse of Timotheos at Amphipolis.
## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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<td>The Second Part of the <em>Hellenica</em> written about this time.</td>
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### 106. 1.

| 356 | 88 | The treatise *περὶ πόρων* (*de vectigalibus*) written about this time. |

| 2. Kallistratos       | 355  | 89       | Demosthenes aet. 27. His speech against *Androtion*. |
| 3. Diotimos           | 354  | 90       | Demosthenes' speech *πρὸς Δεσπότην* and *de Symmoriis*. |

Death of *Xenophon* (?)

| 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 Paonians 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 Tisiphonos, who governed when *Xen.* was recording the death of Alexander. |
| Death of Artaxerxes II King of Persia and accession of Ochus. |

**Revolt of the allies from Athens. Social War, 358-356.**


Foundation of *Philippi*. *Philip victor at Olympia. Birth of Alexander the Great.*

Social War ends with the grant of independence to the revolted allies. Commencement of the Phocian or Third Sacred War.

Trial and condemnation of *Timothoös: his death at Chalkis.*
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

P. 102, § 5, l. 45 add:—

'The authority of Xenophon', says Rawlinson (Herodot. I 125 Note I 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 Bahr ad l. supposes, identical with the δικ νάκης, because the latter is mentioned as a distinct weapon in Herod. Bk iv ch. 70.

P. 125, § 9, l. 95 add:—


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 οὕτω δῆλος ἦν θάσσων ἀνώ, καὶ τὸν ἔτεόν μὲν οὐκέτι εἰσορᾶν παρῆν, and l. 1082 καὶ ταῖθ’ ἀμ’ ἡγόρευε καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ γαϊὰν ἐστήριζε φῶς σεμνὸν πυρὸς.
ΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

Προφρον, ὅμως ἐγένετο, ὅσα δημοκρατίαι καταλύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶς ποιῳβουλο-μένων πολιτεύσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, ὅσα τ' αὖ μοναρχίαι, ὅσα τε διληγαρχίαι ἀνήρρηται ἦδη ὑπὸ δῆμων, καὶ ὅσοι τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ταχὺ πάμπαν καταλύθησαν, οἱ δὲ κἂν ὀποσοῦν χρόνον ἀρχοντες διαγένωνται, θαυμάζονται ὧς σοφοὶ τε καὶ εὔτυχεις ἄνδρες γεγενημένοι. πολλοὺς δ' ἐδοκοῦμεν καταμεμαθηκέναι καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις οἴκοις τοὺς μὲν ἐχοντας καὶ πλεῖονας οἰκέταις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πάνω ὀλύγους, καὶ ὄμως οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀλγοῖς τούτοις πάνω τι δυναμένους χρήσθαι πειθομένοις τοὺς δεσπότας. ἐτί δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνενοοῦμεν ὅτι ἀρχοντες μὲν εἰς καὶ οἱ βουκόλοι τῶν βωδον καὶ οἱ ἱπποφορβοί τῶν ἵπ-πων, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ κελουμένοι νομεῖς ὅν ἄν ἔπιστατώσι  ἥσαν εἰκότως ἂν ἀρχοντες τούτων νομιζοῦσιν τάς πάσας τοῖς ναῦν ταύτας τὰς ἀγέλεσ ς ἐδοκοῦμεν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐθελοῦσας πείθεσθαι τοῖς νομεῖσιν ἂν τούς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἀρχοῦσιν. πορεύονται τε γὰρ αἱ ἀγέλει ἦν ἄν αὐτὰς εὐθύνωσιν οἱ νομεῖς, νέμονται τε χωρία ἐφ' ὁποῖα ἂν αὐτὰς ἐπάγωσιν, ἀπέχονται.
τε ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς ἀπείρησε· καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς τοῖς τοῖς 
γιγνομένοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔστι τοὺς νομέας χρῆσθαι ὁμώς ὃς ἂν αὐτὸ 
βούλωνται. ἔτι τοῖς νοῦ 
μόνον πῶς 
ἀγέλην ἴσθημεθα συντάσσαν ἐπὶ τὸν 
νομά 
ότε ὡς μὴ πείθεσθαι οὔτε ὡς μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν 
τῶν καρπῶν χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπώτεραί εἰσιν αἱ 
ἀγέλαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἢ 
τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τα 
ἄφελομένοις ἀπ' 
ἀυτῶν· ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἔτι οὐδένας 
ἄλλων συνιστάνται ἢ ἐπὶ τούτους οὐ 
ἄν αἰσθωνται 
ἀρχεῖν ἐαυτῶν ἐπικεφαλής. ὅτε μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐν-

but not insoluble, 
as is proved by 
the History of 
Cyrus, the Per-
sian King.

3 ἄρχειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνενοῆσαμεν ὅτι Κῦρος ἐγένετο 
Πέρσης, ὃς παμπόλλοις 
μὲν ἄνθρωποις ἐκτῆσατο 
πειθομένους ἐαυτῷ, παμπόλλας 
δὲ τόλεις, 
πάμπολλα 
δὲ ἑθνή, 
ἐκ τούτου 
ἡ ἄγαγκαζόμεθα 
μετανοεῖν μὴ 
οὔτε τῶν 
ἀδυνάτων 
οὔτε 
τῶν χαλεπῶν 
ἔργων ἢ τὸ 
ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν, 
ὅτι 
τοῖς ἐπισταμένως 
τούτῳ πράττῃ.

Κῦρος ὡς 
ἐκκομὲν ἐδείκθη 
στασιάς 
τοὺς μὲν 
ἀπέχουσι 
παμπόλλων 
ἡμερῶν 
οὗ 
τοὺς δὲ 
καὶ 
μηνών, 
τοὺς 
οὔ 
ἐωράκοσται 
πῶς 
αὐτῶν, 
τοὺς 
καὶ 
ἔτι 
ὁδε 
ἐνδίστατο 
ὅτι 
οὔτε 
ἄν 
οἷ 
καὶ 
ὡς 
ἔθελον 
4 
ἀυτῷ ὑπακοῦειν. 
καὶ 
γὰρ 
τοῖς 
τοῖς 
καὶ 
τῶν 
πολύ 
ἀρχῶν 
παρεῖλη-

φότων 
καὶ 
τῶν 
ἐκ 
καὶ 
τοῦ 
ἄνθρωπος 
ἀν ἔθνους 
ἐπάρξαι, ἀγαθῷ 
δὲ 
ἐν 
τοῖς 
ἔθνους 
ἀρχῶν 
διαγένεσιν, καὶ 
ὁ 
Ορᾶξ 
Θρακῶν 
καὶ 
ὁ 
Ἰλλυρίων 
Ἰλλυρίων, 
καὶ 
τὰ 
ὡσ 
ἔθνη 
ἀκούομεν 
τὰ 
ᾠρώτη 
ἐτί
καὶ νῦν αὐτόνομα ἐναὶ [λέγεται] καὶ λελύσθαι ἀπ᾿ ἀλλήλων. Κύρος δὲ παραλαβὼν ὁσαύτως οὖντο καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνη αὐτόνομα ὅντα ὅρμηθεὶς σὺν ὀλίγῃ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ ἑκόντων μὲν ἡγήσατο Μήδων, ἑκόντων δὲ Ὄρκανων, κατεστρέφατο δὲ Σύρους, Ἀσσυρίους, Ἀραβίους, Καππαδόκας, Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους, Λυδίους, Καρασ, Φοίνικας, Βαβυλωνίους, ἦρξε δὲ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Κελίκων, ὁσαύτως δὲ Σακών καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαγαδδών, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ παμπόλλων ἐθνῶν, ὅπως ὁμιλῆσαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἑπετείος, ἐπήρξε δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς πάλαι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἦρξεν οὐτε αὐτῶ ποιμένιος, ἀλλά ὁμοσπονδιακός ἐφικεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην γῆν τῷ ἄφθαρσιν φόβῳ, ὡςτε καταπλῆξαι πάντας καὶ μηδεναὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνυποκλῆς δὲ ἐπιθυμοίμαν ἐμβαλεῖν τοσαύτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρίζεσθαι ὅστε ἀεὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ γνώμη ἄξιον κυβερνᾶσθαι, ἀνερήτησάτο δὲ τοσαῦτα φύλα, ὥσα καὶ διελθεῖν ἔργον ἐστὶν, ὅποι ἀν ἄρξηται τῆς πορείας ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἦν τε πρὸς ἵνω ἦν τε πρὸς εἰσπέραν ἦν τε πρὸς ἀρκτον ἦν τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. ἦμεις 6 μὲν δὴ ὅσ τοι ἵνα ταυμάζοσθαι τοὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνδρὰς ἐσκεφάλεε, τὸς ποτὶ ἐκ γενεᾶς καὶ πολλάς τινας φύσιν ἔχων καὶ πολλά τινα παίδεια παίδευθεῖσ τοσοῦτον διήγερκεν εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ὡσα ὅμως καὶ ἐπιθυμοθεῖσ καὶ σοθηθεῖσαι δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταύτα πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι.  

Πατρὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσου Περσῶν βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Καμβύσης οὗτος τοῦ Περσειδῶν

Plan and purpose of the present biography. 

Birth, parentage and disposition of Cyrus.
γένους ἦν' οί δὲ Περσείδαι ἀπὸ Περσέως κλήζονται. μητρὸς δὲ ὁμολογεῖται Μανδάνης γενέσθαι; ἦ δὲ 5 Μανδάνη αὐτή Ἀστυάγους ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μηδών γεγομένου βασιλέως. φύναι δὲ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται καὶ ἁδετάι ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εἴδος μὲν κάλλιστος, ψυχήν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος καὶ φιλο-
μαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος, ὡστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀνατλήναι, πάντα δὲ κλίνοντο ὑπομείναι τοῦ ἐπαι-
2 νείσθαι ἔνεκα. φύσιν μὲν δὴ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοιαύτην ἔχουν διαμνημονεύεται· ἐπαιδεύθη γε μὴν ἐν Περσῶν νόμοις.

οὕτω δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι ἀρχεσθαι τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ 15 ἐπιμελόμενοι οὐκ ἐνθευτὴρ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσιν ἀρχονταί. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείσται πόλεις ἀφεὶσαι παιδεύειν, ὅπως τις ἔθελεί, τοὺς ἔαυτον παίδας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως ἐθέλουσι, διάγεν ἐπειτα προστάττουσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ κλέπτειν μηδε 20 ἄρπαξεν, μὴ βία, εἰς οἰκίαν παρείναι, μὴ παίειν ὅν μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ μοιχεύειν, μὴ ἀπειθεῖν ἀρχοντι, καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοιαύτα ἀστάτως. ἦν δὲ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνῃ, χείμαρν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν. οἱ δὲ Περσικοῖ 25 νόμοι προδάβοντες ἐπιμέλονται, ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τοιούτοι ἔσωσαν οἱ πολέται, οὗτοι πονηροὶ τίνος ἢ ἀισχροῦ ἔργον ἐφίεσθαι. ἐπιμέλονται δὲ ὡδε. ἔστων αὐτοῖς ἔλευθέρα ἄγορα καλουμένη, ἐνθα τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ τάλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποίηται. ἐντείθεν τὰ μὲν ὅνια καὶ οἱ ἄγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλλιᾷ ἀπελήλανται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ὡς μὴ μυγνύτατι ἢ τούτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ἐνκοσμία. 30 διήρηται δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ ἄγορα ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα τέταρτα.
μέρη τούτων δ' ἔστιν ἐν μὲν παισίν, ἐν
δὲ ἐφήβοις, ἄλλο τελείως ἀνδράσιν, ἄλλο.
tοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἐτή γεγονόσι. νόμῳ δ'
eis τὰς έαυτῶν χώρας ἐκαστοί τούτων πάρεισιν, οἱ
μὲν παῖδες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ τελείοι ἀνδρεῖς,
oi δὲ γεραλτεροὶ ἴνικ' ἄν ἐκάστῳ προχωρῇ, πλὴν
ἐν ταῖς τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις, ἐν αἰσ αὐτοὺς δεὶ παρεῖναι.
oi δὲ ἐφηβοὶ καὶ κοιμῶνται περὶ τὰ ἁρχεῖα
σὺν τοῖς γυμνητικοῖς ὑπὸ τοὺς πλὴν τῶν γεγαμηκότων
οὗτοι δὲ οὔτε ἑπτίζονται, ἢν μὴ προρρηθῇ παρεῖναι,
οὔτε πολλάκις ἅπειναι καλὸν. ἄρχοντες δ' ἐφ' ἂ
ἐκάστῳ τούτων τῶν μερῶν εἰσὶ δώδεκα· δώδεκα γὰρ
καὶ Περσῶν φυλαὶ διήρηνται, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς
παισίν ἐκ τῶν γεραλτέρων ἤρμενοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἄν δοκῶσι
τοὺς παίδας βελτίστους ἀποδεικνύναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς
ἐφήβοις ἐκ τῶν τελείων ἀνδρῶν οἱ ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐφήβους
βελτίστους δοκῶσι παρέχειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τελείοις
ἀνδράσιν οἱ ἄν δοκῶσι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τὰ
tetagmēna ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα υπὸ τῆς
μεγίστης ἁρχῆς· ἐἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν γεραλτέρων προ-
στάται ἤρμενοι, οἱ προστατευόντων, ὅπως καὶ οὕτωι
tὰ καθήκοντα ἀποτελῶσιν. ἃ δὲ ἐκάστῃ ἡλικίᾳ
προστέτακται ποιεῖν διηγησόμεθα, ὡς μᾶλλον δῆλον
γένηται, ἦ ἐπιμελεῖται ὡς ἄν βελτίστοι εἰέν οἱ πολίται.
oi μὲν δὴ παῖδες εἰσὶ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα
Boys.

φοιτῶντες διάγουσι μανθάνοντες δικαίω-
σύνης καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔρχονται ὡσπερ
παρ' ἡμῖν ὅτι γράμματα μαθησόμενοι. οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες
αυτῶν διατελοῦσι τὸ πλείστων τῆς ἡμέρας δικαίων
αὐτῶν. γίγνεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ παίσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
ὡσπερ ἀνδράσιν ἐγκλήματα καὶ κλοπῆς καὶ ἀρπαγῆς

65
καὶ βλας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ κακολογίας καὶ ἄλλων οἴων δὴ εἰκός. οὐς δὲ ἂν γνῶσι τούτων τι ἄδικοντας, τιμωροῦνται. κολάζουσι δὲ καὶ ὅν ἂν ἄδικως ἐγκαλουῦντα εὐρίσκουσι. δικάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκλήματος, οὐ ἔνεκα ἀνθρωποι μισοῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους μάλιστα, δικάζουσι δὲ ἥκιστα, ἀχαριστίας, καὶ ὅν ἂν γνῶσι δυνάμενον μὲν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ ἀποδιδόντα δὲ, κολάζουσι καὶ τούτων ἰσχυρῶς. οἴονται γὰρ τοὺς ἀχαριστοὺς καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἂν μάλιστα ἀμελῶς ἔχειν καὶ περὶ γονέας καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους. ἐπεσθαί δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἡ ἀναισχυντία· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ μεγάλη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἀισχρὰ ἡγεμόν. διδάσκουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ σωφροσύνην· μέγα δὲ συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν σωφρονεῖν αὐτοὺς ὁτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὀρῶσιν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν σωφρόνως διάγνωσι. διδάσκουσι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πειθεσθαί τοὺς ἀρχουσι· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται ὁτι ὀρῶσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πειθομένους τοὺς ἀρχουσιν ἰσχυρῶς. διδάσκουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκράτειας γαστρὸς καὶ ποτοῦ· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται ὁτι ὀρῶσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρόσθεν ἀπίοντας γαστρὸς ἔνεκα πρὶν ἂν ἀφῶσι οἱ ἄρχουντες, καὶ ὅτι οὐ παρὰ μητρὶ συνόνται οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ ὡταν οἱ ἄρχουντες σημῆνωσι. φέρονται δὲ οἰκοθεν σῖτον μὲν ἄρτον, ὕψον δὲ κάρδαμον, πιεῖν δὲ, ἡν τις διψῇ, κάθωνα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρύσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτως μανθάνουσι καὶ τοξεύων καὶ ἀκοπτοῦσι. μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἢ ἔπτακαιδεκα ἑτῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς οἱ παῖδες ταύτα πράττουσιν, ἐκ τοῦτον δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἔφηβους ἐξέρχονται. οὖται δ' αὖ οἱ ἔφη- βοι διάγουσιν ὥδε. δέκα ἔτη ἀφ' οὐ ἄν

Young men.
ἐκ παῖδων ἐξέλθωσι κοιμῶνται μὲν περὶ τὰ ἄρχεια, ὡσπερ προειρήκαμεν, καὶ φυλακῆς ἐνεκα τῆς πόλεως καὶ σωφροσύνης· δοκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ ἥλικια μάλιστα ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι· παρέχουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι Χρῆσθαι ἵνα τι δέωνται ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. καὶ ὅταν μὲν δέχῃ, πάντες μένουσι περὶ τὰ ἄρχεια· ὅταν δὲ ἐξῆγε βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θήραν, ἐξάγει τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις τοῦ μηνός. ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐξιόντας τόξα καὶ παρὰ τὴν φαρέτραν ἐν κολεῖο κοπίδα ἡ σάγαριν, ἔτι δὲ γέρροιν καὶ παλτὰ δύο, ὡστε τὸ μὲν ἀφεῖναι, τῷ δὲ, ἐὰν δέχῃ, έκ χειρὸς Χρῆσθαι. διὰ τούτῳ δὲ δημοσίᾳ τοῦ θηρᾶν ἐπιμέλευσαι, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὡσπερ καὶ ὕπο πολέμῳ ἡγεμόνων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς τε θηρὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλεται ὅπως ἃν θηρῶσιν, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γάρ πρὸ ἀνιστασθαι ἑθίζει καὶ φύχη καὶ θάλπη ἀνέχεσθαι, γυμναζεῖ δὲ καὶ ὀδοιπορίαις καὶ δρόμοις, ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τοξεύσαι θηρίον καὶ ἀκοινίσαι ὅπου ἃν παραπίπτῃ. καὶ τὴν ψυχήν δὲ τολλάκις ἀνάγκη θήγεσθαι, ὅταν τι τῶν ἀλκίμων θηρίων ἀνθιστήται· παλεῖν μὲν γάρ ὑπῆρον δὲ τὸ ὡμὸς γυγνόμενον, φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον· ὡστε οὔ ῥᾴδιον εὑρεῖν, τι ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ ἀπεστὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ παρόντων. ἐξέρχονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἀρίστον ἔχοντες πλεῖον μὲν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τῶν παίδων, τάλλα δὲ ὠμοίου. καὶ θηρῶντες μὲν οὐκ ἃν ἀριστήσειαν, ἴνα δὲ τὴ δέησι ἡ θηρίου ἐνεκα ἐπικαταμείναι ἡ ἄλλως ἐθελήσωσι διατρίβει περὶ τὴν θήραν, τὸ οὐν ἀρίστον τοῦτο δευτηριάτως τῆς ὑστεραίαν αὐθηρωσί μέχρι δείπνου, καὶ μῖαν ἀμφότερον τῶν ἡμέρας λογίζονται, ὦτι μῶς
ημέρας σίτων δαπανώσε. τούτο δέ ποιούσι τού ἑθίζεσθαι ἐνεκα, ἵνα εἶν τι καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δεήσῃ, δύνανται τούτο ποιεῖν. καὶ ὅψον δέ τούτο ἔχουσιν οἱ τηλικοῦτοι δὲ τι ἀν θηράσωσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ κάρδαμον. εἰ δὲ τις αὐτοῖς οἴεται ἡ ἑσθείεν ἀνήδως, ὅταν κάρδαμον μόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, ἡ πίνειν ἀνήδως, ὅταν ὑδωρ πίνωσιν, ἀναμμησθήτω πῶς μὲν ἥδι μᾶξα καὶ ἄρτος

12 πενώντι φαγεῖν, πῶς δὲ ἡδυ ὑδωρ πιεῖν διψώντι. αἱ δ' αὐτοκοινωνία φυλαὶ διατρίβουσι μελετῶσι τὰ τε ἄλλα, ἃ παῖδες ὄντες ἔμαθον, καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν, καὶ διαγωνίζομενοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διατελοῦσιν. εἰς δὲ καὶ δημόσιοι τοῦτων ἁγώνες καὶ ἂθλα προτίθεται· ἐν ᾔ δ' ἀν τῶν φυλῶν πλείστοι ὡς ἄθροισταται καὶ ἀνθρικώταται καὶ εὐτιστότατοι, ἐπανωθῶσιν οἱ πολίται καὶ τιμῶσιν οὐ μόνον τῶν νῦν ἀρχούσα αὐτῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ὡστε αὐτοὺς παῖδας ὄντας ἐπαιδεύσει. χρώναται δέ τοῖς μένουσι τῶν ἐφήβων αἱ ἀρχαῖ. ἤν τι ἢ φρουρῆσαι δεήσῃ ἢ κακούργους ἔρευν· νησταὶ ἡ λησταὶ υποδραμεῖν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι, ὅσσα ἵσχυοι τε καὶ τάχους ἔργα ἔστη· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐφήβοι πράττουσιν. ἔπειδαν δὲ τὰ δέκα ἐτή διατελέσωσιν, ἐξερχομαι εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας. ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἃν ἐξέλθωσι χρόνου οὕτωι αὐτῶν πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐτή διάγονσιν ὅδε. πρῶτον μὲν ὡσπερ οἱ ἐφήβοι παρέχουσιν ἐαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρήσθαι, ἤν τι δὴ υπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὅσα φρονοῦσιν τε ἤδη ἔργα ἐστὶ καὶ ἔτι δυνάμενον. ἤν δὲ ποιν δὴ στρατεύονται, τόξα μὲν οἱ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένοι οὐκέτι ἔχοντες οὐδὲ παλτὰ στρατεύονται, τὰ δ' ἀγχέμαχα ὡθλα καλούμενα, θώρακά τε περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις καὶ ἤρρον ἐν τῇ ἄριστερῃ, οἴνοπερ γράφονται οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχοντες, ἐν δὲ
τῇ δεξιᾷ μάχαιραν ἥ κοπίδα. καὶ αἱ ἄρχαι δὲ πᾶσαι
ἐκ τοῦτον καθίστανται πλὴν οἱ τῶν παιδῶν διδάσκαλοι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐτή διατελέσωσιν, εἶχαν μὲν ἀν ὁὗτοι πλεῖόν τι γεγονότες ἢ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἐτῆ ἀπὸ γενεάς. ἐξέχρονται δὲ τηνύκαντα
εἰς τοὺς γεραίτερους ὄντας τε καὶ καλομένους, οἱ δ' αὐτῶ

κέτι ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οὖκοι δὲ μένοντες δικάζουσι τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἱδια πάντα. καὶ θανάτου δὲ ὁὗτοι κρίνουσιν, καὶ τὰς ἄρχας ὁὗτοι πᾶσας αἰροῦνται· καὶ ἢν τις ἡ ἐν ἐφήβωι ἢ ἐν τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἐλλήπη τι τῶν νομίμων, φαίνουσι μὲν οἱ φύλαρχοι ἔκαστοι καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ὁ βουλόμενος, οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι ἀκούσαντες ἐκκρίνουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς ἀτιμος διατελεῖ τὸν λυτὸν βίον.

"Ἰνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν τοι-
λυτεία, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι· νῦν γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἂν δηλωθεῖν διὰ τὰ προειρημένα. λέγονται μὲν γὰρ Πέρ-
σαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἰναὶ· τοῦ-
των δ' οὕδεις ἀπεληλάτατο νῦμῳ τιμῶν καὶ ἄρχων, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι πᾶσι Πέρσαις πέμ-
πειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παιδας εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς

δικαίωσύνης διδασκαλεῖα, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι τρέ-
φειν τοὺς παιδας ἀργοῦντας πέμπουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ
dυνάμενοι οὐ πέμπουσιν. οὗ δ' ἂν παιδευθῶι παρὰ
toῖς δημοσίοις διδασκαλοῖς, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις νεανισκευεῖτε, τοῖς δὲ μὴ διαπαιδευθεῖσιν

οὕτως οὐκ ἔξεστιν. οὗ δ' ἂν αὖ τοῖς ἐφήβοις διατε-
λέσωσι τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντες, ἔξεστι τοῦτοι εἰς τοὺς
tελείους ἀνδρας συναλίζεσθαι καὶ ἄρχουν καὶ τιμῶν
μετέχειν, οὗ δ' ἂν μὴ διαγένωνται ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις,
οὐκ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους. οὗ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς

This discipline is open to all Persians, but, in practice, confined to a few.


The visit of Cyrus to his grandfather Astyages.

His boyish keenness of observation and aptness of remark.
καὶ χρώματος ἐντρίψει καὶ κόμαις προσθέτοις, ἀ δὴ νόμιμα ἤν ἐν Μῆδωι ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα Μῆδικά ἐστι, καὶ οἱ πορφυροὶ γινώσκει καὶ οἱ κάρδυσε καὶ οἱ στρεπτοὶ οἱ περὶ τῇ δερῇ καὶ τὰ ψέλια τα περὶ τῶν χερσίν, ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τοὺς οἴκους καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολὺ καὶ ἐσθήτες φαυλότεραι καὶ δίαιτα εὐτελέστεραι· ὅρων δὴ τῶν κόσμων τοῦ πάππου, ἐμβλέπων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν, Ὡ μήτερ, ὥσ καλὸς μοι ὁ πάππος. ἐρωτῶς δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς πότερος καλλίων αὐτῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὁ πατὴρ ἢ οὗτος, ἀπεκρίνατο ἄρα ὁ Κύρος, Ὡ μήτερ, Περσῶν μὲν πολὺ καλλιστος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, Μῆδων μέντοι ὅσοι ἑώρακα ἑγὼ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυραῖς πολὺ οὗτος ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος καλλιστος. ἀνταστασάμενος δὲ ὁ πάππος αὐτόν καὶ στόλην καλὴν ἐνέδυσε καὶ στρεπτοῖς καὶ ψέλλοις ἐτίμα καὶ ἐκόσμει, καὶ εἴ τοι ἐξελαύνοι, ἐφ' ἱπποὺ χρυσοχαλινοῦ περιήγην, ὦστερ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰσῆκε πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀτε παῖς ὁν καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλότιμος ἤθετο τῇ στολῇ καὶ ἰππεῖν πανθάνων ὑπερέχαρεν· ἐν Πέρσαις γὰρ διὰ τὸ χαλέπτον εἶναι καὶ τρέφειν ἱπποὺ καὶ ἰππεῖν ἐν ὀρεινῇ οὐσῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἱππὸν πάνυ σπάνιον ἦν. δειπνών δὲ δὴ ὁ 'Αστυάγης σὺν τῇ θυγατρί καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ, βουλόμενος τὸν παίδα ὥσ ἦδιστα δειπνεῖν, ἦν ἤττον τὰ ὀσκάδε ποδοθέ, προσήγειν αὐτῷ καὶ παροψίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐμβάμματα καὶ βρώματα. τὸν δὲ Κύρου ἐφασαν λέγειν, Ὡ πάππε, ὅσα πράγματα ἔχεις ἐν τῷ δεῖπνῳ, εἰ ἀνάγκη σοι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ λεκάρια ταῦτα διατείνειν τὰς χέρας καὶ ἀπογεύεσθαι τούτων τῶν παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων. Τὶ δὲ, φᾶναι τὸν 'Αστυάγην, οὐ γὰρ πολὺ σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καλλιοῦ τὸ
δείπνον τοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις; τὸν δὲ Κύρον πρὸς ταύτα ἀποκρίνασθαι [λέγεται]. Οὐκ, ὁ πάππε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἀπλουστέρα καὶ εὐθυτέρα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἡ ὄδος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμπληκθῆναι ἢ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἡ ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ κρέα εἰς τοῦτο ἀγεί, ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰς μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν σπεύδετε, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἐλιγμοὺς ἄνω καὶ κατὰ πλανώμενοι μόλις ἀφικνεῖσθε ὧτοι ἡμεῖς πάλαι ἡκο-5 μεν. 'Ἀλλ', ὁ παῖ, φάναι τὸν 'Ἀστυάγην, οὐκ ἀχθο-μενοὶ ταύτα περιπλανώμεθα: γενόμενος δὲ καὶ σὺ, 55 ἐφι, γνώσει ὃτι ἠδέα ἐστίν. 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ, φάναι τὸν Κύρον, ὅρω, ὁ πάππε, μυστατόμενον ταύτα τὰ βρῶ-ματα. καὶ τὸν 'Ἀστυάγην ἐπερέσθαι, Καὶ τίνι δὴ σὺ τεκμαιρόμενος, ὁ παῖ, λέγεις; Ὅτι σε, φάναι, ὅρω, ὅταν μὲν τοῦ ἄρτου ἁψη, εἰς οὐδὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἀπο-ψάμενον, ὅταν δὲ τούτων τινὸς θίγης, εὐθὺς ἀποκα-3 τήρει τὴν χεῖρα εἰς τὰ χειρόμακτρα, ὅς πάνω ἀχθο-6 μενος ὃτι πλέα σοι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. πρὸς ταύτα δὲ τὸν 'Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν, Εἰ τοιῶν οὕτω γυνώσκεις, ὁ παῖ, ἀλλὰ κρέα γε εὐωχοῦ, ἵνα νεανίας οἴκαδε ἀπέλ- 65 θης. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντα πολλὰ αὐτῷ παραφέρειν καὶ θήρεια καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων. καὶ τὸν Κύρον, ἔπει ἐώρα πολλὰ τὰ κρέα, εἰπεῖν, Ἡ καὶ δίδως, φάναι, ὁ πάππε, πάντα ταῦτα μοι τὰ κρέα ὅ,τι ἄν βούλωμαι αὐτῶς 3 κρῆσθαι; Νῦ Δία, φάναι, ὁ παῖ, ἐγωγεί σοι. ἐνταῦ-70 θα δὴ τὸν Κύρον λαβόντα τῶν κρεῶν διαδίδοναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν πάππον θεραπευταῖς, ἐπιλέγοντα ἐκάστῳ, ἴ σοι μὲν τοῦτο ὃτι προθύμως με ἱππεύειν διδάσκεις, σοι δὲ ὃτι μοι παλτῶν ἐδοκας: νῦν γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἔχω, σοι δὲ ὃτι τὸν πάππον καλῶς θεραπεῦεις, σοι δ’ ὃτι 75 μου τὴν μητέρα τιμᾶς: τοιαῦτα ἐποίει, ἐως διεδίδου 8 πάντα ὃ ἔλαβε κρέα. Σάκα δὲ, φάναι τὸν 'Ἀστυάγην,
τῷ οἶνοχῷ, ὅν ἔγω μάλιστα τιμᾶτ, οὐδὲν δίδως; ο ἐκ Σάκας ἀρα καλὸς τε ὁν ἐτύγχανε καὶ τιμῆν ἔχων
προσάγεσιν τοὺς δεομένους ᾧς ἀστυάγοντας καὶ ἀποκολύειν
οὐς μὴ καίρος αὐτῷ δοκολὴ εἶναι προσάγεσιν. καὶ τὸν
Κύρων ἐπερέσθαι προπετῶς ὡς ἀν παῖς μηδὲν ὑπο-
πτήσων, Διὰ τὰ δή, ὦ πάππε, τοῦτον οὔτω τιμᾶς;
καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην σκῶψαντα εἰπεῖν, Ὡς ὅρις, φά-
ναι, ὡς καλὸς οἶνοχοεὶ καὶ ἐυσχημόνως; οἱ δὲ τῶν
βασιλέων τούτων οἶνοχοι κομψῶς τε οἶνοχοῦσι καὶ
καθαρεῖσι ἐγχέοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις
ἐχούντες τὴν φιάλην καὶ προσφέροντός, ὡς ἀν ἐνδοίεν
τὸ ἐκπομα εὐλήπτοτατα τὸ μέλλοντι πίνειν. Κέλευν-
σον δή, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, τὸν Σάκαν καὶ ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τὸ
ἐκπομα, ἵνα κἀγαλ καλὸς σοι πιεῖν ἐγχέαι ἀνακτήσω-
μαι σε, ἵνα ὑμνωμαι. καὶ τὸν κελεύεσαι δοῦναι.
λα-
βόντα δὲ τὸν Κύρων οὔτω μὲν δὴ εὐ κλύσαι τὸ ἐκπομα
ὡσπερ τὸν Σάκαν ἐώρα, οὔτω δὲ στῆσαι τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον στουδαῖος καὶ εὐσχημόνως πως προσευγκεῖν
καὶ ἐνδούναι τὴν φιάλην τῷ πάππῳ, ὥστε τῇ μητρί
καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγει πολὺν γέλωτα παρασχεῖν. καὶ
αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸν Κύρων ἐκγελάσαντα ἀναπηδῆσαι πρὸς
τὸν πάππος καὶ φιλούντα ἄμα εἰπεῖν, Ὡ Σάκα, ἀπό-
λωλας ἐκβαλὼ σε ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα,
φάναι, σοῦ κάλλιον οἰνοχοήσω καὶ οὐκ ἐκπλοῦμαι αὐτὸς
τῶν οἴνων. οἱ δ' ἀρα τῶν βασιλέων οἰνοχοῶν, ἐπειδὲ
διδῶσι τὴν φιάλην, ἀρύσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῷ κύαθῳ
eis tηn αἰαυτηρεὰn χεῖρα ἐγχεάμενου καταρρωφοῦσι, τού
δή, εἰ φάρμακα ἐγχέοιειν, μὴ λυσίτελειν αὐτοῖς. ἐκ τοῦ
τούτου δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔπισκόπτων, Καὶ τὶ δή, ἐφη,
ὦ Κύρε, τᾶλλα μιμούμενοι τὸν Σάκαν οὐκ ἀπερροφή-
σας τῷ οἴνου; Ὡς ὦ, ἐφη, ὑπ' Δία ἐδεδολκείν μὴ ἐν τῷ
κρατήρι πάρμακα μεμυγμένα εἰς. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε εἰστίασας σὺ τοὺς φίλους ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις, σαφῶς κατέμαθον πάρμακα ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐγχέαντα. Καὶ πῶς δὴ σὺ τοῦτο, ἐφη, ὦ παῖ, κατέγνωσ; "Οτι νὴ Δί' ὑμᾶς ἔωρων καὶ ταῖς γυνόμαις καὶ τοὺς σώμασι σφαλλομένους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅ τι οὐκ ἔστε ὑμᾶς τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα αὐτὸ ἐποιεῖτε. πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἀμα ἐκεκράγετε, ἐμαυθάνετε δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων, ἦδετε δὲ καὶ μάλα γελοίως, οὐκ ἀκροῦμενοι δὲ τοῦ ἄδοντος ὁμνύσετε ἄριστα ἄδειν· λέγων δὲ ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ῥώμην, ἐπετεῖ, εἰ ἀνασταίητε ὀρχισόμενοι, μὴ ὅπως ὀρχείσθαι εἰν μυθῳ ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὀρθοῦσθαι ἐδύνασθε. ἐπελέξασθε δὲ παντάπασι σὺ τε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἦσθα, οἳ τε ἄλλοι, ὅτι σὺ ἄρχων. τότε γὰρ δὴ ἐγὼγε καὶ πρῶτον κατέμαθον ὅτι τούτ' ἄρ' ἢν ἡ ἱστηρία ὁ ὑμεῖς τότ' ἐποιεῖτε' οὐδὲποτε γούν ἐσιωπᾶτε, καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης λέγει, Ὡ δὲ σὺς πατήρ, ὦ παῖ, πίνων οὐ μεθύσκεται; Ὁν μὰ Δί', ἐφη. Ἀλλὰ πῶς ποιεῖ; Διψών παντεῖ, ἂλλο δὲ κακῶν οὐδὲν πάσχει; οὐ γὰρ, οἷμαι, ὦ πάππε, Σάκας αὐτῷ οἰνοχεῖ. καὶ ἡ μήτηρ εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ τῆς ποτε σὺ, ὦ παῖ, τῷ Σάκα οὕτω πολεμεῖς; τὸν δὲ Κύρων εἶπεν, Ὅτι νὴ Δία, φάναι, μισῶ αὐτὸν πολλάκις ὁμὴ μὲ πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐπιθυμοῦντα προσδραμεῖν οὕτος ὁ μιαρώτατος ἀποκωλύει. ἀλλ' ικετεύω, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, δὸς μοι πρέις ἡμέρας ἀρξαί αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἶπείς. Καὶ πῶς ἂν ἄρξαις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Κύρων φάναι, Στὰς ἂν ὄσπερ οὕτος ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ, ἐπείτα ὅτι θέλει βούλουτο παρίεναι ἐπὶ ἄριστον, λέγοιμ' ἂν ὅτι οὕτω δυνατὸν τῷ ἄριστῳ ἐντυχεῖν' σπουδάζει γὰρ πρὸς τινας' εἰδ' ὅτοτε ἦκοι ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον, λέγοιμ' ἂν ὅτι λούτας εἰ δὲ πάνυ
σπουδάζων φαγεῖν, εἴποιμ' ἂν ὦτι παρὰ τὰς γυναιξίν ἔστιν' ἡώς παρατείναιμι τοῦτον, ἀσπερ οὕτως ἐμὲ παρατείνει ἀπὸ σοῦ κωλύων. τοσαῦτας μὲν αὐτοὶς 12 εὐθυμίας παρεῖχεν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ· τὰς δ' ἡμέρας, εἰ τινος αἶσθοιτο δεόμενον ἢ τὸν πάππον ἢ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφόν, χαλεπῶν ἂν ἂλλον φθάσαι τοῦτο ποιήσαι· ὅτι γὰρ δῦναι τὸ Κύρος ὑπερέχαιρεν αὐτοῖς χαριζόμενος.

'Επεὶ δὲ ἡ Μανδάνη παρασκευάζετο ὡς ἀπιούσα 13 πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἁγία, εἶδείτο αὐτῆς ὁ Αστυάνης καταλατεῖν τὸν Κύρον. ἢ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι βούλοιτο μὲν ἀπαντα τῷ πατρί χαρίζοσθαι, ἀκοντα μὲντοι τὸν παῖδα χαλεπῶν εἶναι νομίζειν καταλατεῖν. ἐνθα δὲ ὁ Αστυάνης λέγει πρὸς τὸν Κύρον, Ἡ ὁ παῖ, ἴνα μένης 14 παρ' ἐμοὶ, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρ' ἐμὲ εἰσόδου σοι οὐ Σάκας ἄρξεί, ἀλλ' ὅποταν βούλη εἰσίεναι ὡς ἐμὲ, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐσται· καὶ χάριν σοι εἰσομαι ὡς ἂν πλεονάκις εἰσίης ὡς ἐμὲ. ἐπείτα δὲ ἢπποις τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρήσει καὶ ἄλλοις ὅποτας ἂν βούλη, καὶ ὅποταν ἄπις, ἔχων ὑπει οὐς ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐθέλης. ἐπείτα δὲ ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ ἐπὶ τῷ μετρίως σοι δοκοῦν ἔχειν ὅποιαν βούλει ὅδον πορεύσει. ἐπείτα τὰ ταῦτα ἔν τῷ παραδέσσω θηρία πιθοὶ συνακτεῖν συνάξει, ὅ σὺ ἐπείτα παντοδειπτάτῳ διώκοι, καὶ ἀλλὰ παντοδειπτὰ συνάξει, ὅ σὺ ἐπείτα ταῦτα ἢππεινεί τοῖς, διώκει καὶ τοξεῦναν καὶ κολοκεῖραν καταβάλεις ὅσπερ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες. καὶ ταῦτας δὲ σοι ἕως συμπαίστορας παρέξε, καὶ ἀλλὰ πόσα ἂν βούλη λέγον πρὸς ἐμὲ οὐκ ἀτυχίσεις. ἐπεὶ 15 αὕτα εἶπεν ὁ Ἀστυάνης, ἡ μήτηρ δείκνυται τὸν Κύρον, πότερον βούλουτο μένειν ἀπιέαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ Σhe consults Cyrus, who expresses his wish to stay because he will learn more.
ταχὺ εἶπεν ὅτι μένειν βούλοιτο. ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς διὰ τῆς, εἶπεν λέγεται: "Ὅτι οἶκοι μὲν τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ εἰμί καὶ δοκῶ κράτιστος εἶναι, ὃ μήτερ, καὶ ἀκοπτήκαν καὶ τοξεύων, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ἵππευον ἢττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ 173 τοῦτο εὖ ἔσθι, ὃ μήτερ, ἐφη, ὅτι ἐμὲ πάνυ ἀνιὰ. ἢν δὲ με καταλύτης ἐνθάδε καὶ μάθω ἵππευον, ὅταν μὲν ἐν Πέρσαις ὃ, οἶμαι σοι ἑκείνους τοὺς ἀγαθούς τὰ πεζικὰ ραδίως νυκῆσεις, ὅταν δ᾽ εἰς Μῆδους ἐλθὼς, ἐνθάδε περάσομαι τῷ πάππῳ ἀγαθῶν ἵππεων κράτισσος- 180 τοῖς ὄν ἵππευς συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ μητέρα εἰπείν,

16 Τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, ὃ παί, πῶς μαθήσει εἰνθάδε, εἰκεὶ ἄντων σοι τῶν διδασκάλων; καὶ τὸν Κύρον φάναι: Ἄλλ᾽, ὃ μήτερ, ἀκριβῶς ταῦτα γε οἶδα. Πῶς σὺ οἴσθα; τὴν Μαυδάνην εἰπείν. Ὁτι, φάναι, ὃ διδά- 185 σος με ὃς ἤδη ἀκριβοῦντα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἄλλοις καθότης δικάζειν. καὶ τούτων, φάναι, ἐπὶ μιᾷ

17 ποτε δίκη πληγάς ἐλαβοῦν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικάσας. ἢν δὲ ἡ δίκη τοιαῦτη παῖς μέγας μικρὸν ἔχων χυτῶνα παῖδα μικρὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα χυτῶνα ἐκδύσας αὐτὸν 190 τὸν μὲν ἐαυτὸν ἔκεινον ἡμφίεστε, τὸν δ᾽ ἐκείνον αὐτὸς ἐνέδυ. ἐγὼ οὖν τούτων δικάζων ἔγνων βέλτιον εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις τὸν ἀρμόττοντα ἐκάτερον χυτῶνα ἔχειν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ με ἐπαισεν ὁ διδάσκαλος, λέξας ὅτι, ὅποτε μὲν τοῦ ἀρμόττοντος εὐην κριτῆς, οὕτω δέοι ποιεῖν, 195 ὅποτε δὲ κρίναι δέοι, ποτέρου ὁ χυτῶν εὐη, τοῦτ᾽ ἐφη σκεπτέοι εἶναι, τὸς κτῆσις δικαία ἐστὶ, πότερα τὸν βία ἀφελόμενον ἔχειν ἡ τὸν ποιητάμενον ἡ πριάμην κεκτήσαν ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐφη, τὸ μὲν νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἄνομον βίαιον, σὺν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευεν ἀεὶ τῶν δικαστῶν τὴν ψήφον τίθεσθαι. οὕτως ἐγὼ σοι, ὃ
μήτερ, τά γε δίκαια παντάπασιν ήδη ἀκριβῶ· ἣν δέ τι ἀρα προσδέωμαι, ὁ πάππος με, ἐφη, οὗτος ἐπιδι-

δάξει. Ἄλλ' οὖ ταύτα, ἐφη, ὡ παῖ, παρά τῷ πάππῳ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις δίκαια ὁμολογεῖται. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν Μήδων πάντων ἐαυτὸν δεσποτὴν πεποίηκεν, ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τὸ ἱσον ἔχειν δίκαιον νομίζεται. καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ πρῶτος τὰ τεταγμένα μὲν ποιεῖ τῇ πόλει, τὰ τεταγμένα δὲ λαμβάνει, μέτρον δὲ αὐτῷ οὖχ ἡ

ψυχὴ ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολεῖ μαστι-

γούμενος, ἐπειδὰν οἶκοι ἡς, ἀν παρὰ τοῦτο μαθῶν ἡκης ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τὸ τυραννικὸν, ἐν ὃ ἔστι τὸ πλεῖον οἶκαί χρήναι πάντων ἔχειν. Ἄλλ' ὁ γε σὸς πατὴρ, εἶπεν ὁ Κύρος, δειυότερος ἔστω, ὁ μήτερ, δι-

dάσκειν μεῖον ἡ πλεῖον ἔχειν· ἡ οὖχ ὅρας, ἐφη, ὅτι καὶ Μήδων ἀπαντας δεδίδαξεν αὐτὸν μεῖον ἔχειν; ὥστε θάρρει, ὅς ὁ γε σὸς πατὴρ οὔτ' ἄλλον οὔδενα οὔτ' ἐμὲ πλεονεκτεῖν μαθόντα ἄποπεμψείν.

IV Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἔλαλε ὁ Κύρος· τέλος δὲ ὡς 1

μὲν μήτηρ ἄπηλθε, Κύρος δὲ κατέμενε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπέφετο. καὶ ταχὺ μὲν τοῖς ἡλικιω-

tαις συνεκέκρατο ὡστε οἰκείως διακεῖσθαι, ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἀνήρτητο, προσωπίων καὶ ἐνδήλου ὡς ὅτι ἢσπάζετο αὐτῶν τοὺς νεῖδις, ὡστε, εἴ τι τοῦ βασιλέως δέοις, τοὺς παιδάς ἐκέλευον τοῦ Κύρου 

dεῖσθαι διαπράξασθαι σφϊσιν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὅτι δέοις τοῖς αὐτῶν οἱ παιδεῖς, διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο διαπράττεσθαι, καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης

dὲ, ὅτι δέοις αὐτῶν ὁ Κύρος, οὐδὲν ἐδύνατο αντέχειν μὴ οὖ χαρίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀσθενής αυτῶν οὐδὲ-

ποτὲ ἀπέλευτε τὸν πάππον οὖδὲ κλάων ποτὲ ἐπανετο,
Γοργόνος συν τῷ μεγάλῳ εἰς ὧν ἄρα τοῦ πρόσηθην γενέσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις μανοτέροις ἔχρητο καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἡσυχαίτερα, αἰδοὺς δὲ ἐνεπίμπλατο, ὡστε καὶ ἐρυθραίωσθαι ὁπότε συνυγχάνοι τοῖς πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ τῷ σκυλακόδε τῷ πᾶσιν ὤμοιος προσπίπτειν οὐκέθα ὤμοιος [προπετές] εἰχεν. οὕτω δὴ ἡσυχαίτερος μὲν ἦν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνυσσαλεῖ πάρμπαν ἐπίχαρις. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα διαγωνίζονται πολλάκις ἡλικεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλους, οὐχ ἀκείτων ἵδει ὃν, ταῦτα προὐκαλεῖτο τοὺς συνώντας, ἀλλὰ ἀπερ ἐν ἰδίει ἐαυτὸν ἴττονα ὄντα, ἔξηρχε, φῶς-κων κάλλιον αὐτῶν ποιῆσειν, καὶ κατήρχεν ἰδὴ ἀνα-
πηδῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὕππους ἡ διατοξευσόμενος ἡ διακον-
τιούμενος ἄπο τῶν ὕππων οὐπω πάνυ ἐποχὸς ὁ ἡ-
ττώμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐφ' έαυτῷ μάλιστα ἐγέλα. ὡς δ' 5
οὐκ ἀπεδίδρασκεν ἐκ τοῦ ἡττᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν ὁ
HeaderText incomplete or corrupted
δὲ ἔλαφοι καὶ δορκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι οἶκες καὶ οἱ ὅνοι
οἱ ἄγριοι ἀσινεῖς εἰσὶν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, τὰς
dυσχώριας ὅτι δέοι φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲν ἄττον ἢ τὰ
θηρία: πολλοὺς γὰρ ἤδη αὐτῶς τοὺς ὕπποις κατα-
κρημνισθῆναι. καὶ ὁ Κύρος πάντα ταῦτα ἐμάνθανε
προθύμως· ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἐλαφον ἐκπηδήσασαν, πάντων
ἐπιλαθόμενος ὅτι ἦκουσεν ἐδίωκεν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅρων ἢ
ὄπη ἔφευγε. καὶ πως διαπηδῶν αὐτῷ ὁ ὕππος πάττει
eἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικρὸν κάκειον ἐξετραχήλισεν. οὐ ἔμεν
ἄλλο ἐπέμενεν ὁ Κύρος μόλις τῶς, καὶ ὁ ὕππος
ἐξανέστη. ὡς δὲ εἶς τὸ πεδίον ἤλθεν, ἀκοντίσας
cαταβάλλει τὴν ἐλαφον, καλὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ μέγα.
cαὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ ὑπερέχαρεν· οἱ δὲ φύλακες προσ-
elάσαντες ἐλοιδόρους αὐτῶν [καὶ ἔλεγον], εἰς οἶον
κύδυνον ἔλθοι, καὶ ἐφασαν κατερεῖν αὐτῶν. ὁ οὖν
Κύρος εἰσῆλθε καταβεβηκός, καὶ ἀκοῦσον ταῦτα
ἡμέτερον. ὡς δὲ ὕσθεν εὐαγγείον ἀνετῆδησεν ἐπὶ τὸν
ὕππον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, καὶ ὡς εἶδεν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
κάπρου προσφερόμενον, ἀντίος εἶλαι καὶ διατείνα-
μενος εὐστόχως βάλλει εἰς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ κατέσχε
τὸν κάπρον. ὑπαίθα μέντοι ἢδη καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῷ
ἔλοιδορεῖτο, τὴν θρασύτητα ὅρων. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ λοιδο-
ρομένου ὁμοί ὕδειτο ὃσα αὐτῶς ἔλαβε, ταῦτα έδάφει
εἰσκομίσαντα δοῦναι τῷ πάππῳ. τὸν δὲ θείον εἰπεῖν
φασιν, 'Ἀλλ' ἢν αἰσθηται ὃτι ἐδίωκε, οὐ σοὶ μόνον
 λοιδορήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοί, ὅτι σε εἶν. Καὶ ἢν
βούληται, φάναι αὐτῶν, μαστιγωσάτω, ἐπειδὰν γε ἐγὼ
δῶ αὐτῶ. καὶ σὺνη, ὅτι βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ θείε, τιμω-
ρησάμενος ταῦτα ὅμως χάρισαι μοι. καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης
καὶ οἱ μέντοι τελευτῶν εἶπε, Πολεῖ ὁπώς βούλει· σὺ γὰρ ὑν
γε ἢμῶν ἔοικας βασιλεύεσ εἰναι. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος εἰς-
κομίσας τα θηρία ἐδίδου τε τῷ πάππῳ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ταῦτα θηράσεις εἶκεν· καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια ἐπε- 
δείκνυ μὲν οὐ, κατέθηκε δὲ ἡματωμένα ὅπου ἐπέτο τὸν πάππον ὑφεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ἄρα εἶπεν, Ἀλλ',
ω παῖ, δέχομαι μὲν ἐγωγε ἡδεὼς ὅσα σὺ δίδωσ, οὐ μέντοι δέομαι γε τούτων οὐδενός, ὥστε σε κινδυνεύειν. 
καὶ δὲ Κύρος ἔφη, Εἰ τοῖνυν μὴ σὺ δέει, ἰκετεύω, ω 
πάππε, ἐμοι δὸς αὐτά, ὅτως τοῖς ἠλκιωτάις ἑγὼ 
διαδώ. Ἀλλ', ὦ παῖ, ἔφη δ Ἀστυάγης, καὶ ταῦτα 
λαβὼν διαιδίδου ὅτῳ σὺ βούλει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσα 
ἐθέλεις. καὶ δὲ Κύρος λαβὼν ἐδίδου τε ἄρας τοῖς 
παισὶ καὶ ἁμα ἔλεγεν, Ω παιδε, ὡς ἁρὰ ἐφλυαιρούμεν 
ὅτε τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἐθηρώμεν' ὁμοιον 
ἔμουγε δοκεῖ εἰναι, οἴοντερ εἳ τις δεδεμένα ξώα θηρών· 
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ χωρίῳ ἦν, ἔπειτα λεπτὰ καὶ 
ψωραλέα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν χωλόν ἦν, τὸ δὲ κολοβῶν· 
τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσὶ καὶ λειμασὶ θηρία ὡς μὲν καλά, ὡς 
δὲ μεγάλα, ὡς δὲ λιπαρὰ ἐφαίνετο. καὶ αἱ μὲν 
ἐλαφοὶ ὡσπερ πτημαὶ ἤλλουτο πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, οἱ 
δὲ κάπροι, ὡσπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας φασὶ τοὺς ἄνδρελον, 
ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο· ύπὸ δὲ τῆς πλατύτητος οὐδὲ ἀμαρ- 
τεῖν οἶον τ' ἦν αὐτῶν· καλλίω δή, ἔφη, ἔμουγε δοκεῖ 
καὶ τεθυγκῶτα εἶναι ταῦτα ἣ ἔωτα εἶκενα τὰ περιφ- 
κοδομημένα. ἀλλ' ἁρὰ ἄν, ἔφη, ἄφειν καὶ ὑμᾶς οἱ 
πατέρες ἐπὶ θήραν; Καὶ ῥαδίως γ' ἄν, ἔφασαν, εἰ 
Ἀστυάγης κελεύω. καὶ δὲ Κύρος εἶπε, Τὸς οὖν ἂν 
ἡμῖν Ἀστυάγει μνημεία; Τὸς γὰρ ἄν, ἔφασαν, σοῦ 
γε ἰκανώτερος πεῖσαι; Ἀλλά, μὰ τὸν Δία, ἔφη, ἐγὼ 
μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις ἀνθρωπὸς γεγένημαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶος 
τ' εἰμὶ λέγειν ἐγώγε οὐδ' ἀναβλέπειν πρὸς τὸν πάπ- 
πον ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἔτι δύναμαι. ἦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδιδῶ,
δέδοικα, ἐφη, μή παντάπασι βλάξ τις καὶ ἕλθιος
gένωμαι, παιδάριον δ' ἅν δεινότατος λαλεῖν ἐδόκοιν
εἶναι. καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς εἶπον, Πονηρὸν λέγεις τὸ πράγ-
μα, εἰ μηδ' ύπερ ἤμων, ἂν τι δέη, δυνήσει πράττειν,
ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινὸς τὸ ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνάγκη ἔσται δεῖσθαι
ἡμᾶς. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἐδήχθη, καὶ συγη
ἀπελθὼν διακελευσάμενος ἑαυτῷ τολμᾶν εἰσῆλθεν, ἐπιβουλεύσας,
ὅπως ἂν ἀλυπότατα εἴποι πρὸς τὸν
πάππον καὶ διαπράξειν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τὸς παισίν ὅν
ἐδέοντο. ἦρξατο οὖν ὅδε·

Εἰπὲ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ πάππος, ἢν τις ἀποδρᾷ σε τῶν
οἰκετῶν καὶ λάβῃς αὐτὸν, τί αὐτῷ χρήσεις; Τί ἄλλο,
ἐφη, ἡ δῆσας ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκάσω; Ἡν δὲ αὐτόματος
πάλιν ἔλθῃ, πῶς ποιήσεις; Τί δὲ, ἐφη, εἰ μὴ μαστι-
γώσας γε, ίνα μη ἄθις τοῦτο ποιή, εξ ἅρχης χρή-
σομαι; Ὡρα αὖ, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, σοὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι
εἰ μόνῳ μαστιγώσεις με, ὅσ Βουλεύομαι γε, ὅπως σε
ἀποδρῶ λαβῶν τοὺς ἠλικιώτας ἐπὶ θήραν. καὶ ὁ
Ἀστυάγης, Καλῶς, ἐφη, ἐποίησας προεπτῶν ἐνδοθεν
γάρ, ἐφη, ἀπαγορεύοι σοι μὴ κινεῖσθαι. χαρίεν γάρ,
ἐφη, εἰ ἔνεκα κρεαίδων τῇ θυγατρί τὸν πάιδα ἀποβου-
κολήσαμι. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἐπείθετο μὲν καὶ
ἐμενεν, ἄνιαρος δὲ καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ὅν σιωπῇ δύηγεν.
ὁ μέντοι Ἀστυάγης ἐπεὶ ἐγὼν αὐτῶν λυπούμενον ἕμυ-
ρῶς, Βουλόμενος αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ἐξάγει ἐπὶ θήραν,
καὶ πεζοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἵππας συναλίζας καὶ τοὺς
παιδᾶς καὶ συνελάσας εἰς τὰ ἅπασιμα χωρία τὰ
θηρία ἐποίησε μεγάλην θήραν. καὶ βασιλικὸς δὴ
παρῶν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευε μηδένα βάλλειν, πρὸν Κύρος
ἐμπλησθεὶς θηρῶν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος οὐκ εἶα κωλύειν, ἀλλ'εἰ
βούλει, ἐφη, ὁ πάππος, ἢδεως με θηρᾶν, ἄφες τοὺς
ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ Α.

170 κατ' ἐμὲ πάντας διόκεις καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὅπως <ἀν> ἐκαστὸς κράτιστα δύνατο. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης 15 ἀφύσι, καὶ στὰς ἑθέατο ἀμιλλωμένους ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ φιλοικούντας καὶ διόκοντας καὶ ἀκοντιζοῦντας. καὶ Κύρῳ ἦδετο ὡς δυναμένως συγάν ὑπὸ τῆς ἠδονῆς, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ σκύλακι γενναίῳ ἀνακλάζοντι, ὅποτε πλησιάζοι θηρίῳ, καὶ παρακαλοῦντι ὄνομαστὲ ἐκαστον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν καταγελῶντα αὐτὸν ὅρων ηὐφραίνετο, τὸν δὲ τινα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα [αὐτὸν ἦσθαν] ποῦ ὑπωστὶ- σθε σὺν φθορῶς. τέλος δ' ὤν πολλὰ θηρία ἔχων ὁ
175 Ἀστυάγης ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὄντως ἤσθη τῇ τότε θῆρᾳ, ὡστε ἀεί, ὅποτε οἴον τ' εἴη, συνεξῆς τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς παρελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς παίδας Κύρου ἑνεκα. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλείστον χρόνον ὄντω διῆγεν οὐ Κύρος, πᾶσιν ἠδονῆς μὲν καὶ ἄγαθοῦ
180 τινος συναίτιος ὄν, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενός.

'Αμφὶ δὲ τὰ πέντε ἠ ἐκκαλίδεκα ἐτή γενομένου 16 αὐτοῦ ὁ νῦς τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως γαμεῖν μέλλων ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτὸς θηρά- σαι εἰς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ἀκούον, οὖν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις τοῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς Μήδων πολλὰ θηρία εἶναι ἀδηρεύτα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐξελθεῖν. ὅπως οὖν ἀσφαλῶς θηροῦ, ἵππεας τε προσέλαβε πολλοὺς καὶ πελταστάς, οὐτίνες ἐμελλὼν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν λασίων τὰ θηρία ἐξελᾶν
190 εἰς τὰ ἀργάσιμα τε καὶ εὐήλατα. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὅπου ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ φρούρια καὶ ἡ φυλακή, ἐνταῦθα ἐδει- πνοποιεῖτο, ὡς πρὸ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θηράσων. ἦδη δὲ 17 ἐσπέρας γενομένης ἡ διαδοχῇ τῇ πρόσθεν φυλακῇ ἔρχεται ἐκ πόλεως καὶ ἵππεις καὶ πεζοὶ. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ πολλὴ στρατιὰ παρεῖναι· δύο γὰρ ὅμω ἦσαν
φυλακαί, πολλοὺς τε αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἔχων ἐπτέας καὶ πεζοὺς. ἐβουλεύσατο οὖν κράτιστον ἐστειλάτησαι ἐκ τῆς Μηδικῆς, καὶ λαμπρότερον τῷ ἄν φανῆται τὸ ἔργον τῆς θήρας καὶ ίρελών ἄν πολλὰ ἄφθουλαν ἐνόμιζε γεγένθαι. οὖτω δὴ πρὸ ἀναστάς ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς κατέληπεν ἄθροος ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἰπποὺς προσελάσας πρὸς τὰ τῶν Μήδων φρούρια, τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἔχον μεθ’ ἅλατοι ἐνταῦθα κατέμεινεν, ὡς μὴ βοηθοῖεν οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς καταθέντας, τοὺς δ’ ἐπιτηδεῖοις ἀφῆκε κατὰ φυλάξ ἀλλος ἄλλος καταθεῖν, καὶ ἐκέλευεν περιβαλομένους ὅτι τὰς ἐπιτυγχάνοι ελαύνειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. οἱ μὲν δὲ ταῦτα ἐπραττοῦν.

Σημανθέντων δὲ τῷ Ἀστυάγει ὅτι πολέμιοι εἰσίν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐξεβοηθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰ ὄρια σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ νῖσος αὐτοῦ ὀσαῦτας σὺν τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν ἰππότας, καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς δὲ ἐσήμαινε πᾶσιν ἐκβοηθεῖν. ὡς δὲ εἶδον πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τῶν Ἀσσυρίων συντεταγμένους καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας ἠνυχίναν ἐχουτας, ἐστησαν καὶ οἱ Μήδοι. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὄροιν ἐκβοηθοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς πασυύδη, ἐκβοηθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτον τότε ὅπλα ἐνυθς. οὕτωτος οἴμενος· οὕτως ἐπεθύμει αὐτοὶ ἐξοπλίσασθαι· μάλα δὲ καλὰ ἦν καὶ ἀρμόττοντα αὐτῷ ὅ πάππος περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπεπολήτο. οὕτω δὲ ἐξοπλισάμενος προσῆλκας τῷ ὑππο. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐθαύμασε μὲν, τίνος κελεύ- σαντος ἦκοι, ὀμος δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ μένειν παρ’ ἑαυτόν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὡς εἴδε πολλοὺς ἰππέας ἀντίους, ὑπετο. ὁ οὕτωι, ἐφη, ὁ πάππε, πολέμιοι εἰσίν, οἱ ἐφεστήκασι τοῖς ἰπποῖς ἥρεμα; Πολέμιοι μέντοι, ἐφη. ὁ καὶ
ἐκεῖνοι, ἔφη, οἱ ἐλαύνοντες; Κάκεινοι μέντοι. Νη
tὸν Δι', ἔφη, ὁ πάππε, ἀλλ' οὖν πονηρὸς γε φαινόμενοι
καὶ ἐπὶ πονηρῶν ἰππαρίων ἀγοῦσιν ἥμων τὰ χρήματα·
οὐκοῦν χρὴ ἐλαύνειν τινὰς ἥμων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς. "Ἀλλ'
οὐχ ὃρας, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, ὅσον τὸ στὶφος τῶν ἰππέων
ἔστηκε συντεταγμένον; οὐ ἂν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνοις ἡμεῖς
ἐλαύνομεν, ὑποτεμούνται ἡμᾶς πάλιν [ἐκεῖνοι]. ἥμων
dὲ οὕτω ἢ ἰσχυς πάρεστιν. 'Αλλ' ἂν σὺ μένης, ἔφη
ὁ Κύρος, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνης τοὺς προσβοήθοντας,
φοβήσονται οὔτοι καὶ οὐ κινήσονται, οἱ δ' ἀγοῦτες
εὐθὺς ἀφῆσοντι τὴν λείαν, ἐπειδὰν ἰδοὺ τινὰς ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντας.

Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἔδοξε τι λέγειν τῷ 'Αστυνά-

245 γει. καὶ ἀμα θαυμάζων, ὡς καὶ εὐφώνει καὶ ἐγγυγόρει,
κελεύει τὸν ψίθυν λαβόντα τάξιν ἰππέων ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ
tοὺς ἀγοῦσι τὴν λείαν. ἔγω δὲ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τούσδε, ἂν
ἐπὶ σὲ κινώνται, ἐλά, ὡστε ἀναγκασθῆσονται ἡμῖν
προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. οὔτω δὴ ὁ Κυαξάρης λαβὼν
250 τῶν ἐρρωμένων ἱππῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν προσελαύνει.
καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὡς εἶδεν ὁρμομένους, ἐξορμῶ, καὶ αὐτὸς
πρῶτος ἢγεῖτο ταχέως, καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι
ἔφειτο, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελεύθησαν, ὡς δὲ
ἐξόν αὐτοὺς πελάξονται οἱ λεηματοῦντες, εὐθὺς
255 ἀφέντες τὰ χρήματα ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' ἂμφὶ τὸν Κύρον
ὑπετέμνοντο, καὶ οὐς μὲν κατελάμβανον εὐθὺς ἐπαίνον,
πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Κύρος, ὡςοι δὲ παραλλὰξαντες αὐτῶν
ἐφθασάν, κατοίκην τούτους ἐδιώκον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν,
ἀλλ' ἦρον τινὰς αὐτῶν. ἂσπερ δὲ κύουν γενναῖος
ἀπειρο αὐτροσφητος φέρεται πρὸς κάπρον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ
Κύρος ἐφέρετο, μόνον ὄρον τὸ παίειν τὸν ἀλισκόμενον,
ἀλλ' δ' οὔτεν προνοῶν. οἱ δὲ πολέμωι ὡς ἐωρῶν
πονούντας τοὺς σφετέρους, προὐκίνησαν τὸ στίφος, ὥς παυσομένους τοῦ διώγμου, ἐπεὶ σφᾶς ἱδοευν προ-
ορμῆσαντας. ὁ δὲ Κύρος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνέλει, ἀλλ’ ἵπτο τῆς χάρμονῆς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θείον ἐδίωκε καὶ ἰσχυρᾶν τὴν φυγὴν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατέχον ἐπολεί, καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι ἐφειπετο, ἵσως καὶ ἀἰσχυνό-
μενος τὸν πατέρα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἐἵπτοντο, προθυμότεροι ὁντες ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰς τὸ διώκειν καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνω ὑπὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀλλιώματος ὁντες. ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ὡς ἔφρα τοὺς μὲν ἀπορονήτως διώκοντας, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀδροὺς τε καὶ τεταγμένους ὑπαντῶντας,
δείσας περὶ τε τοῦ νῦν καὶ τοῦ Κύρου, μὴ εἰς παρεσκευασμένοις ἀτάκτος ἐμπεσόντες πάθοιεν τι, 275
23 ἡγεῖτο εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ’ αὐτοὶ πολέμων ὡς εἴδον τοὺς Μήδους προκινηθέντας, διατείναμενοι οἱ μὲν τὰ παλτὰ οἱ δὲ τὰ τόξα εἰστήκεσαν, ὡς αὖ, ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸ ἐξεμμα ἄφικοντο, στήσομενοι, ὡσπερ τὰ πλεῖστα εἰσάχθεις ποιεῖν. μέχρι γὰρ τοσοῦτον, ὅποτε ἐγγύτατα 280
gένοιτο, προσήλαυνον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἱκροβολίζοντο πολλάκις μέχρι ἐσπέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρων τοὺς μὲν
σφετέρους φυγῇ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς φερομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρου ἐτ’ αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ ἀγομένους, τὸν δὲ Ἀστυά-
γην σὺν τοὺς ὑποποι ἐντὸς ἑγώμουν ἡδὴ τοξεύματος, 285
ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ φεύγουσιν ὁμόθεν διώκοντας ἀνὰ κράτος· ἣρουν δὲ πολλοῦς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀλλικομένους
ἐπαινούν καὶ ὑπούν καὶ ἄνδρας, τοὺς δὲ πιπτοῦντας
κατέκαινον· καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐστησαν πρὶν πρὸς τοὺς
πεζοὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἑγέρνουτο. ἐνταῦθα μὲντοι 290
dεισαντες, μὴ καὶ ἐνέδρα τις μείζων ὑπείη, ἐπέσχον.
24 εἰς τούτου δὴ ἀνήγειρ ὁ Ἀστυάγης, μάλα χαίρων καὶ
tῇ ἅπαξρατία καὶ τὸν Κύρον οὐκ ἔχων ὅτι χρή
λέγειν, αὐτὸν μὲν ὄντα εἶδὼς τοῦ ἔργου, μανῶμεν δὲ γνωστοῖς τῇ τολμή. καὶ γὰρ τότε ἀπίστων οὐκάδε μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἐκείνων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἦ τοῦς πεπτωκότας ἐρείπατο, καὶ μόλις αὐτοῦ ἀφελκύσατε οἱ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχέεστε προσήγαγον τῷ Ἀστυάγει, μάλα ἐπὶ προσθεθεὶς ποιούμενον τοὺς προσάγοντας, ὅτι εἴρα τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πάππου ἡγριωμένον ἐπὶ τῇ θέα τῇ αὐτοῦ.

Ἐν μὲν δὴ Μήδοις ταῦτα ἐγεγένητο, καὶ οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες τὸν Κύρον διὰ στόματος εἶχον καὶ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν φώσῃ, ὁ τε Ἀστυάγεις καὶ πρόσθεν τιμῶν αὐτοῦ τότε ύπερεξεπεπληκτὸ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ. Καμβύσις δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κύρου πατήρ ἦδετο μὲν πυνθανομένος ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ οὐκοῦσεν ἐργα ἄνδρος ἦδη διαχειρίζομεν τὸν Κύρον, ἀπεκάλει δὴ, ὡποὶ τὰ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπιχώρει ἐπιτελοῦν. καὶ ο Κύρος δὲ ἔνταῦθα λέγεται ἐπιτείν ὅτι ἀπίεναι βούλοιτο, μὴ ὁ πάτηρ τι ἄχθοιτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μέμφοιτο. καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγει δὲ ἔδοκει εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον ἀποπέμπειν αὐτὸν, ἐνθα δὴ ἦπος τοῖς αὐτῷ δοὺς ὁτι ἀυτοὺς ἐπεθύμει λαβεῖν καὶ ἀλλὰ συσκευάζεις πολλὰ ἐπέμπτε καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἁμα ἐπιθάδες ἐχον μεγάλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνδρα ἐσεθαί ἰκανὸν καὶ φίλους ὥφελεν καὶ ἐχθροὺς ἀνιὼν. ἀπίστοτα δὲ τὸν Κύρον προὔπεμπον ἄπαντες καὶ παιδεῖς καὶ Ἡλίκες καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γέροντες ἐφ᾽ ἦποι καὶ Ἀστυάγης αὐτός, καὶ οὐδένα ἐφασάν ὄντων οὐ δακρύσατε ἀποστρέφεσθαι. καὶ Κύρον δὲ αὐτὸν λέγεται σὺν πολλοῖς δακρύσι ἀποχωρῆσαι. πολλὰ δὲ δῶρα διαδοῦναι φασιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἡλικιώτατοι δὲν Ἀστυάγης αὐτῷ ἑδεδώκει, τελῶς δὲ καὶ ἦν εἰς στολὴν τὴν Μη-
δικήν ἐκόμητα δοῦναι τινι, [δῆλον ὅτι τούτῳ] ὃν μά-
λιστα ἡσπάζετο. τοὺς μὲν τούς λαβόντας καὶ δεξαμένους
tὰ δῶρα λέγεται Ἀστυάγη ἀπευγκειῖν, Ἀστυάγην δὲ
dεξάμενον Κύρῳ ἀποπέμψαι, τὸν δὲ πάλιν τε ἀπο-
πέμψαι εἰς Μῆδους καὶ εἰπεῖν, Εἰ βούλει, ὃ πάππε,
ἐμὲ καὶ πάλιν ἰδῶι ὡς σὲ μὴ αἰσχυνόμενον, ἦν ἔχειν
ἐἴ τῷ τι ἐγὼ δέδωκα· Ἀστυάγην δὲ ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαντα
ποῦσαι ὁσπερ Κύρος ἐπεστείλειν.

27 Εἰ δὲ δεὶ καὶ παιδικοῦ λόγου ἐπιμνησθήναι, λέ-
γεται, ὅτε Κύρος ἀπῆλθε καὶ ἀπηλλάττοντο ἀπ’ ἄλλη-
λων, τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλούντας τῷ στόματι ἀποπέμ-
πεσθήναι αὐτῶν νόμῳ Περσικῷ· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο
ποιοῦσι Πέρσαι· ἀνδρὰ δὲ των τῶν Μῆδων μάλα
καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ὄντα ἐκπεπλῆχθαι πολὺν των χρόνων
ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ Κύρου, ἧνικα δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς
συγγενεῖς φιλούντας αὐτῶν, ὑπολειφθήναι· ἐπεὶ δ’ οἱ
ἄλλοι ἀπῆλθον, προσελθεῖν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ εἰπεῖν, Ἐμὲ
μόνον οὐ γυνώσκεις τῶν συγγενῶν, οὐ Κῦρε; Τί δὲ,
εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύρον, ἢ καὶ σὺ συγγενής εἶ; Μάλιστα,
φάναι. Ταῦτ’ ἀρα, εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύρον, καὶ ἑνέφρας μοι
πολλάκις γὰρ δοκῶ σε γυνώσκειν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα. 345
Προσελθεῖν γὰρ σοι, ἐφη, ἅπαντωμενος ναὶ τοὺς
θεοὺς ἰσχυρόμην. Ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔδει, φάναι τὸν Κύρον,
συγγενή γε ὄντα· ἀμα δὲ προσελθόντα φιλῆσαι αὐτὸν.

28 καὶ τὸν Μῆδον φιληθέντα ἑρέσθαι, Ἡ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις
νόμοι έστιν οὕτως συγγενεῖς φιλεῖν; Μάλιστα, φάναι, 350
ὅταν νὰ ἵδωσιν ἄλληλους διὰ χρόνον ἡ ἀπίωσί ποι
ἀπ’ ἄλληλων. Ὡρα δὲ εἰ, ἐφη ὁ Μῆδος, μάλα πάλιν
σε φιλεῖν ἐμὲ· ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ, ὡς ὑδαῖς, ἡδη. οὕτω
καὶ τὸν Κύρον φιλῆσαντα πάλιν ἀποπέμπειν καὶ
ἀπιέναι. καὶ ὅδων τε οὕτως πολλὴν διηνύσθαι αὐτοῖς 355
καὶ τὸν Μήδον ἥκεν πάλιν ἱδροῦντι τῷ ὑππρ. καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἰδόντα, Ἀλλ’ ἥ, φάναι, ἔπελάθον τι ὅν ἐβούλου εἴπειν; Μᾶ Δία, φάναι, ἀλλ’ ἥκω διὰ χρόνου. καὶ τὸν Κύρον εἴπειν, Νῆ Δί’, ὁ σύγγενες, δι’ ὄλγου γε. Ποιον ὄλγου; εἴπειν τὸν Μήδον. οὐκ οἰσθα, φάναι, ὁ Κύρη, ὅτι καὶ ὅσον σκαραμάττω χρόνου, πάνω πολύς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι σὺ ὁ ὅρῳ σε τὸτε τοιοῦτον ὄντα; ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν Κύρον γελάσαι τε ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν δακρύων καὶ εἴπειν αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἀπιόντι, ὅτι παρέσται αὐτοῖς ὄλγον χρόνου, ἀπὸ σαράντα δὲ καὶ βούληται ἀσκαρδαμυκτὴν.

V

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κύρος οὕτως ἀπελθὼν ἐν

Πέρσαις ἐνιαυτὸν λέγεται ἐν τοῖς παισίν ἐτελευτηθαῖ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ παιδεῖς ἐσκοπήσαν αὐτὸν ὡς ἠδυπαθεῖν εἰς Μήδοις μεμαθηκός ἦκοι εἴπει δὲ καὶ ἐσθιόντα αὐτὸν ἐώρων ἀστερὶ καὶ αὐτὸι ἠδείως καὶ πίνοντα, καὶ εἰ ποτ’ ἐν εὐρθῇ εὐώχιᾳ γένοντο, ἐπιδιδόντα μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τὸν ἑαυτὸν μέρους ἱσθάνοντο ἡ προσδεόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δὲ τάλλα κρατιστεύοντα αὐτῶν ἐὼρων ἑαυτῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάλιν ὑπέπτησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ἥλικες. ἐπεὶ δὲ διελθὼν τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην ἂν ἐστῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἐφήσους, ἐν τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἕδοκεν κρατιστεύειν καὶ μελετῶν ἁ χρήν καὶ καρτέρων καὶ αἰδούμενος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ πειθόμενος τῶν ἄρχουσιν.

Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὅ μὲν Ἀστυάγης ἐν ἔν τοῖς Μήδοις ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς, τῆς δὲ Κύρου μητρὸς ἀδελφός, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε τὴν Μήδων. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατεστραμ-

1 the simplicity of his character unimpaired by their luxurious habits, while he profited by their more advanced civilisation.

2 Astyages dies and is succeeded by his son Cyaxares.
The King of Assyria collects an army for the conquest of Media.

μένος μὲν πάντας Σύρους, φύλον πάμ- 
πολυ, ὑπῆκοου δὲ πεποιημένος τὸν Ἄρα-
βίων βασιλέα, ὑπηκόους δὲ ἔχων ἦδη καὶ
Τρκανίους, πολιορκῶν δὲ καὶ Βακτρίους,
ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ τοὺς Μηδοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ποιήσειε, πάντων 25
γε τῶν πέρις ραδίως ἄρξειν· ἵσχυρότατον γαρ τῶν
3 ἐγγὺς φύλων τούτο ἐδόκει εἶναι. οὐτω δὴ διαπέμπει
πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν πάντας καὶ πρὸς Κροίσον τὸν
Λυδῶν βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καππαδοκῶν καὶ πρὸς
Φρύγας ἀμφότερος καὶ πρὸς Παψλαγόνας καὶ Ἰνδοὺς 30
καὶ πρὸς Κάρας καὶ Κήλκας, τὰ μὲν καὶ διαβάλλων
tοὺς Μηδοὺς καὶ Πέρσας, λέγων ὅσ μεγάλα τ’ εἰ̄ 
tαῦτα ἑθνη καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ συνεστηκότα εἰς ταύτο,
cαὶ ἐπιγαμίαις ἀλλήλοις πεποιημένοι εἶν, καὶ κωδι-
ضνεύσονεν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς φθάσας ἀσθενοῦσι, ἐπὶ ἐν
ἔκαστον τῶν ἑθνῶν ἱόντες καταστρέφασθαι. οἱ μὲν
δὴ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις πειθόμενοι συμμαχιαν
αὐτῷ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ δῶροι καὶ χρήματιν
ἀναπειθόμενοι· πολλὰ γαρ καὶ τοιαύτα ἢν αὐτῷ.

4 Cyaxares applies for aid to his brother-in-
law Cambyses, and begs Cyrus
to take the com-
mand of any
troops the Persian
Council might
send.

Κυαξάρης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς 40
ἐπεὶ ἔστανε τὴν τ’ ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὴν
παρασκευὴν τῶν συνισταμένων ἐφ’ ἑαυ-
τόν, αὐτός τε εὐθέως ὅσα ἐδύνατο ἀντι-
παρεσκευάζετο καὶ εἰς Πέρσας ἔστησε
πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς Καμβύσην 45
τὸν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντα καὶ βασιλεύοντα ἐν Πέρσαις.
ἔστησε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κύρον, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ πειράσθαι
ἄρχοντα ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἰ τινας πέμποι στρατιώ-
tας τὸ Περσῶν κοινὸν. ἦδη γαρ καὶ ὁ Κύρος δια-
τετελεκὼς τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις δέκα ἐτη ἐν τοῖς τελείωσιν 50
ἀνδράσιν ἦν. οὕτω δὴ δεξαμένον τοῦ Κύρου οἱ
βουλεύοντες γεραλτεροί αἱροῦνται αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς
eἰς Μῆδους στρατιᾶς. ἔδοσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προσ-
elέσθαι διακοσίους τῶν ὀμοτίμων, τῶν δ' αὐτὸς διακοσίων

55 ἐκάστῳ τέτταρας ἔδωκαν προσελέσθαι καὶ τούτους ἐκ
tῶν ὀμοτίμων· γνήσιοι μὲν δὴ οὗτοι χίλιοι· τῶν δ' aυ
χιλίων τούτων ἐκάστῳ ἔταξαν ἐκ τού δῆμου τῶν
Περσῶν δέκα μὲν πελταστὰς προσελέσθαι, δέκα δὲ
σφευδονήτας, δέκα δὲ τοξότας· καὶ οὕτως ἐγένοντο

60 μύριοι μὲν τοξόται, μύριοι δὲ πελτασταί, μύριοι δὲ
σφευδονήται· χωρίς δὲ τούτων οἱ χίλιοι ύπήρχον.
tοσαυτῇ μὲν δὴ στρατιᾷ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐδόθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦ
ηρέθη τάχιστα, ἦρχετο πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν·
cαλλιεργήσαμενος δὲ τότε προσηρεῖτο τὸις διακοσίοις·

65 ἐπεὶ δὲ προσελέσθοντο καὶ οὕτως δὴ τοὺς τέτταρας
ἐκαστοί, συμβέλεσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπε τότε πρῶτον ἐν
αὐτοῖς τάδε.

"Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐγὼ προσειλόμην μὲν ûμᾶς, οὐ ἴ
vůn πρῶτον δοκιμάσας, ἀλλ' ἐκ παιδῶν Address of
70 ὁρῶν ûμᾶς ἃ μὲν καλὰ ἡ πόλις νομίζει,
προθύμως ταύτα ἐκπονοῦντας, ἃ δὲ αἵσχρα ἤγειται,
pαντελῶς τούτων ἀπεχομένους. ὅν δ' ἐνεκα αὐτός τε
οὐκ ἁκών εἰς τόδε τὸ τέλος κατέστη καὶ ûμᾶς παρε-
κάλεσα, δηλώσαι ûμῶν βουλομαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ κατευθύνα, 8
75 ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι χείρονες μὲν ûμῶν οὐδὲν ἐγένοντο·
ἀσκούντες γοῦν κάκεινοι διετέλεσαν ἀπερ ἔργα ἀρετῆς
νομίζεται· δ', τι μέντοι προσεκτήσαντο τοιοῦτοι ὄντες
ἥ τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν κοιῷ ἁγαθὸν ἡ αὐτοῖς, τοῦτ
οῦκετί δύναμαι ἰδείν. καλτοί ἐγὼ σῆμαι οὐδεμιᾶν ἀρε-
9 ὅτι τῶν ἀσκείσατε ὑπ' ἄνθρωπον ὡς μηδὲν πλέον ἐχω-
σιν οἱ ἐσθλοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ τε τῶν
παρατικὰ ήδονῶν ἀπεχόμενοι οὐχ, ἵνα μηδέποτε εὐ-
φρανθώσι, τούτο πράττοσι, ἀλλ' ὡς διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐγκράτειαν πολλαπλάσια εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον εὐφρανούμενοι οὕτω παρασκευάζονται· οἱ τε λέγειν προθυμούμενοι δεινοὶ γενέσθαι οὐχ, ἵνα εὐ λέγοντες μηδὲποτε παύσωνται, τούτῳ μελετῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτίζοντες τῷ λέγειν ἐν πειθοντες ἀνθρώπους πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ διαπράξεσθαι· οἱ τε αὐτὰ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῦντες οὐχ, ὡς μαχόμενοι μηδέποτε παύσωνται, τοῦτ' ἐκπονοοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες καὶ οὕτωι τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθὸν γενόμενοι πολὺν μὲν ὅλβουν, πολλῆν δὲ εὐδαιμονίαν,

10 μεγάλας δὲ τιμὰς καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ πόλει περιάψειν. εἰ δὲ τινὲς ταύτα ἐκπονήσαντες, πρὶν τινα καρπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κομίσασθαι, περιεῖδον αὐτοὺς γῆρα ἀδυνάτους γενομένους, ὃμοιον ἔμοινε δοκοῦντες πεπονθέναι, οἴον εἰ τις γεωργὸς ἀγαθὸς προθυμηθεὶς γενέσθαι καὶ εὐ σπείρων καὶ εὐ φυτεύων, ὡτὸτε καρποῦσθαι ταύτα δέοι, ἐφ' τὸν καρπὸν ἀσυγκόμιστον εἰς τὴν γῆν πάλιν καταρρεῖν. καὶ εἰ τίς γε ἄσκητης πολλὰ πονῆσας καὶ ἀξίωνικος γενόμενοι ἀναγωνίστως διατελέσσειν, οὐδὲ ἄν οὕτως μοι δοκεῖ δικαιῶς ἀναιτίως εἶναι ἀφροσύνης.

11 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ὁ ἀνδρεῖς, μὴ πάθωμεν ταύτα, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περ σύνισμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀπὸ παῖδων ἀρξάμενοι, ἂσκηταὶ οἴτε τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἔργων, ἱμῶμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὗς ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἐπισταμαί ἰδίωτας οἴται ὧς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ποῦ οὕτω ικανοί εἰσιν ἀγωνισταί, οἳ ἀν τοξεύωσι καὶ ἀκοντίζωσι καὶ ἐπτεύοσιν ἐπιστημόνως, ἡν δὲ που πονῆσαι δέρ, τούτῳ λείπονται, ἀλλ' οὕτω ιδίωται εἰσὶ κατὰ τοὺς πόνους· οὐδὲ γε οὕτως, ἀγρυπνήσας δεόν, ἣττοῦνται τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτω ιδίωται κατὰ τὸν ἔτυνος· οὐδὲ γε οἱ ταύτα μὲν ικανοί, ἀπαίδευτοι δὲ ὃς χρή καὶ
συμμάχους καὶ πολεμίως χρήσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὖτοι δῆλον ὡς τῶν μεγίστων παιδευμάτων ἀπείρως ἐχοῦσιν. ὑμεῖς δὲ νυκτὶ μὲν δῆπον ὅσαπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄμερα 12 δύνασθ᾽ ἂν χρήσθαι, πόνοις δὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἥδεως ἕγεμόνας νομίζετε, λιμῷ δὲ ὅσαπερ ὑψω διαχρήσθηκε, ὑδροποσίαν δὲ ρᾶω τῶν λεόντων φέρετε, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων καὶ πολεμικότατον κτῆμα εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς συγκεκόμισθ᾽ ἐπανοῦμενοι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ χαίρετε. τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπαινοῦ ἔραστάς ἀνάγκη διὰ τοῦτο πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ἥδεως ὑποδ-visible χαῖρετε. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λέγω περὶ 13

υμῶν ἄλλη γιγνώσκων, ἐμαυτὸν ἐξαπατῶ. δ᾽,τι γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβῆσατε παρ᾽ υμῶν, εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐλλείπον ἥξει. ἀλλὰ πιστεύω τοῖς τῇ πείρᾳ καὶ τῇ υμῶν εἰς ἐμὲ εὐνοία καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνοίᾳ μὴ ψεύσεσθαι με ταῦτα πᾶσαι ἀγάθαι ἐλπίδας. ἀλλὰ θαρροῦντες ὑπομέμβαστε, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἑκποδῶν ἡμῖν ἐγενήθη τὸ δόξαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀδίκως ἐφίεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ ἔρχονται μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι ἀρχοντες ἀδίκων χειρῶν, καλοῦσι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐπικούρους οἱ φίλοι. τὶ οὖν ἔστω ἡ τοῦ ἀλέξασθαι δικαιότερον ἂν τοῦ τοὺς φίλους ἀρίστειν κάλλιον; ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεινο οὐμαι 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 ἀεὶ ἀπὸ θεῶν ὀρμάσθαι. τέλος εἰπε, Τί δεῖ ἐτὶ λέγειν; ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς μὲν τούς ἀνδρὰς ἐλόμενοι καὶ ἀναλαβόντες καὶ τάλλα παρεσκευασμένοι ἵτε εἰς Μήδους ἕγω δ᾽ ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πρόειμι δή, ὅτι, τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς τάχιστα μαθῶν οἷα ἔστι, παρασκευάζωμαι ὅ,τι ἀν ἦν.
δέωμαι, ὃτες ὃς κάλλιστα σὺν θεῷ ἀγωνιζόμεθα. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπτραττοῦν.

VI

Κύρος δὲ ἐλθὼν οὐκάδε καὶ προσευχάμενος 'Εστία πατρόφα καὶ Διὶ πατρῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὁρμᾶτο ἑπὶ τὴν στρατεῖαν, συμπρούπεμπτε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πατήρ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἐγένοντο, λέγονται ἀστραπαῖ καὶ βρονταὶ αὐτῷ αἰσιοὶ γενέσθαι. τούτων δὲ φανέρων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐτι οἰωνιζόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, ὅσα οὐδένα ἀν λύσαντα τὰ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ σημεῖα.

2 Προϊόντι δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ ὁ πατήρ ἥρχετο λόγου τοιούτῳ: "Ὡ παί, ὅτι μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἱλεῖ τε καὶ εἰμενεῖς πέμπτον τό σε, καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἰδίοι καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημείοις· γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ σε ταῦτα ἐπὶ- τῆς ἐδιδαξάμην, ὡς μὴ δὶ ἄλλων ἐρμηνεύων τὰς τῶν θεῶν συμβουλίας συνεἰς, ἀλλ' αὐτῶς καὶ ὅρῶν τὰ ὅρατα καὶ ἀκούών τὰ ἀκούστα γυνάκειοι καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ μάντεσιν ἔνει, εἰ βούλομεν τό σε ἐξαπατάν ἔστερα λέγοντες ὅ τα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν σημαινόμενα, μηδ' αὖ, εἰ ποτὲ ἀρα ἁνε μάντεως γένοιο, ἀποροῦσι θεοῖς σημείοις· τί χρῆ, ἀλλ' γυνάκειοι διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμβουλεύομενα, 3 τούτοις πεῖθοι. Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ὃ πάτηρ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὥς ἀν ἱλεῖ οἱ θεοὶ ὅντες ἡμῶν συμβουλεύειν ἔθελον, ὅσον δύναμαι κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον διατελεῖ ἐπιμελομενος. μέμνημαι γὰρ, ἔφη, ἀκούσας ποτὲ σου, ὅτι εἰκότως ἂν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν πρακτικότερος εἶν ὁσπερ καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὅστις μὴ ὁπότε ἐν ἀπόροις ἔνει, τότε κολακεύοι, ἀλλ' ὅτε τὰ ἁριστά πράττοι, τότε μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν μεμνητὸ καὶ τῶν φίλων δ' ἔφησθ' ἡ χρῆναι
ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ Α

30 ὁσαύτως οὕτως ἐπιμέλεσθαι. Ὄνυκὼν νῦν, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, διὰ γ' ἐκείνας τὰς ἐπιμελείας ἦδιον μὲν ἔρχει πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δεσμόμενος, ἐλπίζεις δὲ μᾶλλον τεῦχεσθαι διὸν ἂν δῇ, ὡς συνειδέναι σαυτῷ δοκεῖς οὐπώπωποτ' ἀμελῆσας αὐτῶν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὁ πάτερ, ὃς πρὸς φίλους μοι οὖντας τοὺς θεοὺς οὕτω διάκειμαι. 

Τῇ γάρ, ἔφη, ὃ παῖ, μέμνησαι ἐκείνα ἃ ποτε ἐδοκεῖ ἡμῖν, ὃς ἄπερ δεδώκασιν οἱ θεοὶ μαθόντας ἀνθρώπους βέλτιον πράττειν ἡ ἀνεπιστήμονας αὐτῶν ὄντας καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἀνύτευιν ἡ ἀργοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμελομένους ἀσφαλεστερον διάγειν ἡ ἀφυλακτοῦντας, τούτων <πέρι> παρέχουσα οὖν τοιούτους ἐαυτοὺς οἶους δεῖ, οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐδοκεῖ δεῖν καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι τάγαθα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν; Ναὶ μὰ Δλ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, μέμνημαι μὲν τοιαύτα ἀκοῦσας σοῦ καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη με πείθεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ γὰρ οὐδὰ σὲ λέγοντα ἀεὶ, ὃς οὔδὲ θέμις εἴη αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὔτε ἑπτεύειν μὴ μαθόντας ἑπομαχοῦντας νικᾶν οὔτε μὴ ἑπισταμένους τοξεύειν τοξεύουσας κρατεῖν τῶν ἑπισταμένων οὔτε μὴ ἑπισταμένους κυβερνῶν σώζειν εὐχεσθαι ναῦς κυβερνῶν, οὔδὲ μὴ στείροντάς γε σίτον εὐχεσθαι καλῶν αὐτοῖς φύεσθαι, οὔδὲ μὴ φυλαττομένους γε ἐν πολέμῳ σωτηρίαν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν θέσμοις πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα εἶναι τοὺς δὲ ἄθεμίτα εὐχομένους ὁμολογεῖν ἐφήσθα εἰκὸς εἶναι παρὰ θεῶν ἄτυχεὺν ὀσπέρ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπρακτεῖν τοὺς παράνομα δεομένους.

Ἐκείνων δὲ, ὁ παῖ, ἑπελάθου, ἃ ποτε ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἐλογιζόμεθα, ὅς ἴκανον εἴη καὶ καλὸν ἀνδρὶ ἐργον, εἴ τις δύνατο ἐπιμεληθηθῆναι, ὅπως ἀλλ' αὐτός τε καλὸς καὶ γιαθὸς δοκίμως γένοιτο καὶ τάπιτηδεια αὐτός τε καὶ
οἱ οἶκεται ἵκανῶς ἔχοιεν; τὸ δὲ, τοῦτον μεγάλου ἔργου ὄντος, οὕτως ἐπίστασαθαί ἀνθρώπων ἄλλων προστατεύειν, ὡς ἔξουσι πάντα τάπτιτήδεια εἴκπλεω καὶ ὅπως ἔσονται πάντες οἶνος δὲ, τοῦτο θαυμαστόν δή· 8 που ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι. Ναὶ μᾶ Δι', ἐφη, ὦ πάτερ, μένωναι καὶ τοῦτο σου λέγοντος· συνεδόκει οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερμέγεθες εἶναι ἔργον τὸ καλὸς ἀρχειν· καὶ νῦν γ', ἐφη, ταῦτα μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ὅταν πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχεῖν σκοπῶν λογίζομαι. ὅταν δὲντοι γε πρὸς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἰδίων καταθήκω, οἷον ὄντες διαγγελλοῦνται ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ οὗτες ἀνταγωνίσται ἡμῖν ἔσονται, πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτος αὐτούς ὄντας ὑποπτῆδει καὶ μὴ ἐθέλειν ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἀνταγωνισμένους· οὕς, ἐφη, ἐγὼ αἰσθάνομαι ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων τοῦτόν ἡγουμένους δεῖν τὸν ἀρ- 75 χοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν τὸ καὶ πολυτελέστερον δειπνεῖν καὶ πλεον ἔχειν ἐνδον χρυσόν καὶ πλεί- ονα χρόνον καθεύδειν καὶ πάντα ἀποψωτερον τῶν ἀρ- χομένων διάγειν. ἐγώ δὲ οἶμαι, ἐφη, τὸν ἀρχοντα οὐ τῷ ῥαδιοὺργεών χρήναι διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ 80 τῷ προνοεῖν καὶ φιλοτοπεῖν. Ἄλλα τοι, ἐφη, ὦ παῖ, ἐνια ἐστὶν ὃ ὑπὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἁγωνιστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τα πράγματα; ὃν οὐ ράδιον εὐτύρως περι- γενέσθαι. αὐτικὰ δὴ τοῦ σοφοῦ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἔξει τάπτι- δεια ἥ στρατιά, καταλελύσεται σου ἡ ἀρχή. Ὁυκοῦν 85 ταῦτα μὲν, ἐφη, ὦ πάτερ, Κυνάρης φησὶ παρέξειν τοῖς ἐντεύθεντο οὐσί πᾶσι δράσιν, ὅποιοι ἀν δοῦν. Τούτως δὴ σὺ, ἐφη, ὦ παῖ, πιστεύουν ἔρχει τοῖς παρὰ Κυνάρου χρήμασιν; Ἐγωγ', ἐφη ο Κυρος. Τί δὲ, ἐφη, οἰσθα, ὅποσα αὐτῷ ἐστὶ; Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἐφη ο Κυρος, οὐ μὲν δὴ. Ὁμως δὲ τοῦτοι πιστεύουσι τοῖς ἀδήλοις; ὅτι δὲ
πολλῶν μὲν σοι δεήσει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα νῦν ἀνάγ-?
κη δαπανᾶν ἐκεῖνον, οὐ γιγνασκεῖς; Γιγνώσκω, ἐφη
ὁ Κύρος. 'Ἡ νῦν, ἐφη, ἐπιλήψη αὐτὸν ἡ δαπάνη ἡ
καὶ ἐκών ψεύσται, πῶς σοι ἕξει τὰ τῆς στρατίας; Δὴ-
λον ὅτι οὐ καλῶς. ἀτάρ, ἐφη, ὦ πάτερ, σὺ εἰ ἑνόρας
ti va pórōn καὶ ἀπ' ἑμοῦ ἀν προσγενόμενον, ἐως ἑτὶ
ἐν φιλία ἐσμέν, λέγε. Ἕρωτᾶς, ἐφη, ὦ παῖ, ποῦ ἀν
ἀπὸ σοῦ πόρος προσγένοιτο; ἀπὸ τίνος δὲ μᾶλλον εἰ-
κός ἔστι πόρον γενέσθαι ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ δύναμιν ἑχοντος;
σὺ δὲ πεζὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐνθένει ἐχὼν ἐρχεί, ἀνθ' ἂς
οἶδ' ὅτι πολλαπλασίαν ἄλλην οὐκ ἂν δέξιοι, ὑπεικον
dε σοι, ὅπερ κράτιστον, τὸ Μήδων σύμμαχον ἔσται.
ποίον οὖν ἔθνος τῶν πέριξ ὦ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ χαρίζε-
σθαί βουλὸμενον ύμῖν ὑπηρετῆσειν καὶ φοβοῦμενον μὴ
τι πάθη; ἡ χρή σε κοινή σὺν Κουαξάρη σκοπεῖσθαι, ἡ-
pote ἐπιλήσῃ τι ύμᾶς ὧν δεὶ υπάρχειν, καὶ ἐθνός δὲ
ἐνέκα μηχανᾶςθαί προσδοκού πόρον. τόδε δὲ πάνω
μάλιστα μοι μέμνησο, μηδέποτε ἀγαμέμνον τὸ πορίζε-
σθαι τάπιτῃδεία, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ ἄρειά σε ἀναγκάσῃ ἄλλον
ὅταν μᾶλιστα εὐπορίης, τότε πρὸ τῆς ἀπορίας μηχανῶ.
καὶ γὰρ τεύξει μᾶλλον παρ' ὧν ἂν δὲν μὴ ἂπορος δοκῶν
einai, καὶ ἐτι ἁναλίτως ἔσει παρὰ τῶν σαυτοῦ στρατι-
ώτασι, ἐκ τούτων δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων αἰδοὺς
tεύξει, καὶ ἂν τινας βούλῃ ἡ εὖ ποιῆσαι τῇ δυνάμει
ἡ κακῶς, μᾶλλον, ἐως ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ δέοντα, οἱ στρατι-
ώται ὑπηρετήσουσι σοι, καὶ πειστικωτέρους, σάφει ἵσθι,
λόγους δυνῆσε τότε λέγειν, ὅτανπερ καὶ ἐνδεικνύοντα
μᾶλιστα δύνη καὶ εὖ ποιῆσαι ἰκανός ὧν καὶ κακῶς.
'Αλλ', ἐφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἄλλως τέ μοι καλῶς δοκεῖς τἀντα
λέγειν πάντα, καὶ ὅτι ὃν μὲν νῦν λέγονται λήψεσθαι
οἱ στρατιώται, οὕδεις αὐτῶν ἐμοὶ τούτων χάριν εἰσε-
ταῦτα ἵσασι γὰρ ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτοὺς Κυαξάρης ἐπάγεται συμμάχους. ὁ, τι δ’ ἂν πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους λαμβάνῃ τις, ταῦτα καὶ τιμὴν νομίζῃ καὶ χάριν τούτων εἰκός εἰ- δέναι τῷ διδόντι. τὸ δ’ ἑχοντα δύναμιν, ἢ ἔστι μὲν φίλους εὐ ποιοῦντα ἀντωφελείσθαι, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐχθροὺς [ἅχοντα] πειρᾶσθαι τίσασθαι, ἐπειτ’ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ πορίζεσθαι, οὐ οὐ, ἑφ’, ἤπτον τι τούτο εἶναι αἰσχρόν ἡ εἰ τις ἑχων μὲν ἄγροις, ἑχουν δὲ ἐργατας οἷς ἂν ἐργαζόμενο, ἐπειτ’ ἑφ’ τὴν γην ἀργοῦσαν ἀνωφέλητον εἶναι; ὡς γ’ ἐμοῦ, ἑφ’, μηδέποτε ἀμελήσοντος τοῦ τᾶπτηδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις συμμηχανάσθαι μητ’ ἐν φιλία μὴν ἐν πολεμία οὕτως ἔχε τὴν γνώμην.

12 Τί γὰρ, ἑφ’, ὃ παῖ, τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπερ ἐδόκει ποθ’ ἡμῖν ἀναγκαίον εἶναι μὴ παραμελεῖν, ἢ μέμνησαι; ὡς γὰρ, ἑφ’, μέμνημαι ὅτε ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς σὲ ἢλθον ἐπ’ ἀργύριον, ὅπως ἀποδοίην τῷ φάσκοντι στρατηγεύει μὲ πεπαίδευκέναι, σὺ δὲ ἄμα διδοὺς μοι ἐπηρώτας ὡδὲ πῶς. Ἄρα γε, εἴπας, ὃ παῖ, ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς καὶ οἰκονομίαις τί σοι ἐπεμνήσθη ὁ ἀνήρ, ὃ τὸν μισθὸν φέρεις; οὐδὲν μὲντοι ἢττον οἱ στρατιώται τῶν ἐπιτιθ- δεῖων δέονται ὡς οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ οἰκείαι. ἐπεῖ δ’ ἐγὼ σοι λέγων τάληθ᾽ εἴπον, ὅτι οὐδ’ ὅτιον περὶ τούτου ἐπ- εμνήσθη, ἐπήρου με πάλιν, ἐί τί μοι ὑγιέας πέρι ἡ ῥώμης ἔλεξεν, ὡς δεήσον καὶ τούτων ῥᾶπερ καὶ τῆς

13 στρατηγίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἀπεφησα, ἐπήρου με αὖ πάλιν, εἰ τίνας τέχνας ἐδίδαξεν, αἱ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων κράτισται ἂν σύμμαχοι γένοιτο. ἀποφήσαντος δὲ μου καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέ- κρινας αὖ σὺ καὶ τόδε, εἰ τί μ’ ἐπαίδευσεν ὡς ἂν δυ- ναίμην στρατιά προθυμών ἐμβαλεῖν, λέγων ὅτι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρει ἑν παντὶ ἕργῳ προθυμία ἄλλης. ἐπεὶ
δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἀνένευον, ἡλεγχεῖς αὐ τινα λόγον 
πονήσατο διδάσκων περὶ τοῦ πειθεσθαι τήν στρατιάν,
ός ἂν τις μάλιστα μηχανότο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ παν-
tάπασιν ἄρρητον ἐφαίνετο, τέλος δὴ μ’ ἐπήρου ὅ,τι
ποτὲ διδάσκων στρατηγήλαν φαίη με διδάσκειν. καγὼ
δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι τὰ τακτικά. καὶ σὺ γε-
λάσας δηλθές μοι παρατιθέεις ἐκαστον, τί εἰ ὄφελος
στρατιὰ τακτικῶν ἅνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τί δ’ ἅνευ
τοῦ ύμιαλείνην, τί δ’ ἅνευ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι τὰς ἑβρη-
μένας εἰς πόλεμον τέχνας, τί δ’ ἅνευ τοῦ πειθεσθαι.
ός δὲ μοι καταφανεῖς ἐποίησας, ὅτι μικρὸν τι μέρος

165 εἰὴ στρατηγίας τὰ τακτικά, ἐπερομένου μοι, εἰ τοὺ-
των σὺ με διδάξαι ἰκανῶς εἰῆς, ἀπίόντα με ἐκέλευσας
τοὺς στρατηγικοῖς νομιζομένους ἀνδράσι διαλέγεσθαι
καὶ πυθέσθαι, τὴ ἐκαστα τούτων γίγνεται. ἐκ τούτου 15
δὴ συνήν τούτος ἐγὼ, οὐς μάλιστα φρονίμους περὶ

170 τούτων ἤκουον εἶναι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἐπείσθην
ἰκανοῦ εἶναι ύπάρχον ὅ,τι Κυαξάρης ἐμελλε παρέξειν
ἡμῖν, περὶ δὲ ύμιαλας, ἀκούων καὶ ὁρῶν ὅτι καὶ τό-
λεις αἱ χρήζουσαι ύμιαλείν ἱατροὺς αἱροῦνται καὶ οἱ
στρατηγοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνεκεῖν ἱατροὺς ἕξαγονοιν,

175 οὖτω καὶ ἔγω ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει τούτῳ ἐγενόμην, εὑθὺς
τούτοις ἐπεμελήθην, καὶ οἴμαι, ἐφῇ, ὁ πάτερ, πάνω
ἰκανοῦ τῆς ἱατρικῆς τέχνης ἐξειν μετ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀν-
δρας. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ πατὴρ εἶπεν, Ἄλλ’ ὁ παῖ, 18
ἐφῇ, οὖτοι μὲν οὐς λέγεις, ὡσπερ ἰματιῶν ῥαγέντων
eis τινες αἰκεσταί, οὖτω καὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ, ὅταν τινὰς νο-
σήσωσί, τότε ἰδοῦνται τούτους· σοὶ δὲ τούτου μεγαλο-
πρεπεστέρα ἐσται ἢ τῆς ύμιαλείας ἐπιμελεία· τὸ γὰρ ἀρ-
χὴν μὴ κάμνειν τὸ στράτευμα, τούτου σοι δεῖ μέλειν.
Καὶ τίνα δὴ ἐγὼ, ἐφῇ, ὁ πάτερ, οδὸν ἰὼν τοῖτο
πράττειν ἰκανὸς ἔσομαι; Ἡν μὲν δὴ ποὺν χρόνον τινὰ μέλλης ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένειν, ύγιεινοῦ πρῶτον δεὶ στρατοτέδου μὴ ἀμελήσαι· τούτου δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτωσι, ἐάντερ μελήσῃ σοι. καὶ γὰρ λέγουσιν οὔδεν παύονται ἀνθρώποι περὶ τε τῶν νοσηρῶν χωρίων καὶ περὶ τῶν ύγιεινῶν μάρτυρες δὲ σαφεῖς ἐκατέρως αὐτῶν παρ᾽ ἑστανται τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρώματα. ἐπειτὰ δὲ οὐ τὰ χωρία μόνον ἄρκεσει σκέψασθαι, ἀλλὰ μνήσθητι,

17 σὺ πῶς πειρᾶ σαντοῦ ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως ύγιαίνῃς. καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Ἐρώτον μὲν νη Δία πειρῶμαι μηδὲ- ποτε ὑπερτήμπλασθαι· δύσφορον γὰρ ἐπειτὰ δὲ εκ- πονὼ τὰ εἰσίοντα· οὔτω γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε ύγιεία μᾶλλον παραμένειν καὶ ἵσχυς προσγενέσθαι. Οὖν τοῖνυν, ἐφη, ὃ παῖ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεὶ ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

Ἑ καὶ σχολὴ, ἐφη, ὃ πάτερ, ἔσται σομασκεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις; Ὁυ μὰ Δί, ἐφη ὁ πατήρ, οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη. δεὶ γὰρ δήπου στρατιῶν, εἰ μέλλει πράξειν τὰ δέοντα, μηδέποτε παύεσθαι ἢ τοῖς πολε- μίοις κακὰ πορσύνουσαν ἢ έαυτῆ ἁγαθῆ· ὃς χαλεπὸν μὲν καὶ ἐνα ἀνθρώπον ἀργὸν τρέφεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ ἐτὶ χαλεπώτερον, ὃ παῖ, οἴκον ὅλον, πάντων δὲ χαλεπώ- τατον στρατιῶν ἀργὸν τρέφειν. πλεῖστά τε γὰρ τὰ ἑσθίοντα ἐν στρατιᾷ καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἐλαχύστων ὀμίῳ κενα καὶ ὅσ ἂν λὰβῃ δαψίλεστα ἄρεμα, ὅστε οὔποτε ἁρ-

18 γείν δεῖ χείρει στρατιῶν. Δέγεις σὺ, ἐφη, ὃ πάτερ, ὅς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅστερ οὐδὲ γεωργοῦ ἄργῳ οὔδὲν ὀφελός, οὔτως οὔδὲ στρατηγοῦ ἀργοῦτος οὐδὲν ὀφελός εἶναι. Τὸν δὲ γε ἐργάτην στρατηγὸν ἐγὼ, ἐφη, ἀναδέχομαι, ἢν μὴ τις θεὸς βλάπτῃ, ἀμα καὶ τὰ πυτίδεια μάλιστα ἐχοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποδεῖξειν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀριστα ἐχοντας παρασκευάσειν, ἂν γε ἐμὸς τε, ἐφη, τὸ
γε μελετᾶσθαι ἔκαστα τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων, ἀγώνιας ἀν τίς μοι δοκεῖ, ἐφη, ὥ πάτερ, προευπτῶν ἐκάστοις καὶ ἀθλα προτιθεὶς μάλιστ' ἀν ποιεῖν εὐ ἄσκεισθαι ἔκαστα, ὡστε, ὅποτε δέουτο, ἔχειν ἄν παρεσκευασμέ- υνος χρῆσθαι. Καλλιστα λέγεις, ἐφη, ὥ παι· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσας, σάφ' ἵσθι, ὥσπερ χόρους τὰς τάξεις ἀεὶ τὰ προσήκοντα μελετῶσας θεάσει.

'Αλλὰ μὴν, ὦ Κὺρος ἐφη, εἰς γε τὸ προθυμίαν 19 ἐμβάλειν στρατιώταις οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἰκανότερον εἰ- ναι ἡ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐλπίδας ἐμποιεῖν ἀνθρώποις. 'Αλλ', ἐφη, ὥ παι, τοῦτό γε τοιούτων ἔστιν, οἴοντερ εἰ τις κύνας ἐν θήρᾳ ἀνακαλύτοις ἀεὶ τῇ κλήσει, ἤπερ ὅταν τὸ θηρίον ὀρᾶ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον προθύμως εῦ ὁδ' ὅτι ἔχει ὑπακουούσας· ἡν δὲ πολλακισις ψεύδηται αὐτάς, 220 τελευτῶσαι οὐδ' ὅποταν ἀληθώς ὅρων καλῆ, πείθονται αὐτῷ. οὕτω καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἔχει· ἡν πολ- λακίας προσδοκίας ἀγαθῶν ἐμβαλών ψεύδηται τις, οὐδ' ὅποταν ἀληθεῖς ἐλπίδας λέγη ὁ τοιοῦτος πείθειν δύ- ναται. ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἃ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδεῖν 230 εὑρέσθαι δεῖ, ὥ παι, ἄλλοι δ' ἐνετοί λέγοντες ταύτ' ἀν διαπράττοιεν· τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ παρακέλευσιν εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους δεί ὅς μάλιστα εὐ πίστει διασώ- ξειν. 'Αλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἐφη ὦ Κὺρος, ὥ πάτερ, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, καὶ ἔμοι οὕτως ἥδιον. τὸ γε 240 μὴν πειθομένους παρέχεσθαι τοῦσ στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἀπείρως μοι δοκῶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ὥ πάτερ· σὺ τε γὰρ με εὐθὺς τοῦτο ἐκ παιδίου ἐπαίδευσε, σαυτῷ πείθεσ- θαι ἀναγκάζων· ἐπεῖτα τοῖς διδασκάλοις παρέδωκας, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὐταὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπράττουν· ἐπεί δ' ἐν τοῖς 235 εὑρέσθαι ἦμεν, ὦ ἀρχον τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἱσχυρῶς ἐπεμέλετο· καὶ οἱ νόμοι δὲ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ
ταύτα δύο μάλιστα διδάσκειν, ἀρχεῖν τε καὶ ἀρχεῖσθαι. καὶ τούτων κατανοών περὶ τούτων ἐν πᾶσιν ὅραν μοι δοκῶ τὸ προτρέπον πείθεσθαι μάλιστα ὅν τὸ τὸν πειθόμενον ἐπαίνειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα ἀτιμάζειν τε καὶ κολάζειν. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν γι' ἄναγκη ἐπεσθαί αὐτῇ, ὧ παῖ, ἡ ὅδος ἐστιν ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κρείτ-
tου τούτου πολύ, τὸ ἐκόντας πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶ συν-
tομωτέρα. ὃν γὰρ ἂν ἡγήσωνται περὶ τοῦ συμφέρον-
tος ἑαυτοῦς φρονιμῶτερον ἑαυτῶν ἐναίνη, τούτῳ οἱ ἂν ἥθελον ὑπερηδέως πείθονται. ἢμιής δὲ ἂν ὅτι τοῦτ’ ὦτως ἔχει ἐν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς καμπυλοῦσιν, ὡς προθύμως τοὺς ἐπιτάξοντας ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν καλοῦσιν καὶ ἐν θαλάτῃ δὲ ὃς προθύμως τοὺς κυβερνήταις οἱ συμπλέοντες πείθονται καὶ οὔς γ’ ἂν νομίσωσί τινες βελτιόν αὐτῶν ἴδετοι εἰδέναι, ὡς ἰσχυρῶς τούτων οὐδὲ ἀπολείπεσθαι ἐθέλουσιν. ὅταν δὲ διονυσοῖς παῖς τι ἐθέλουσιν οἰκεῖοι οὔτε δῷς ἐπαιρέσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ δῶρα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶν κακοῖ ἐκῶν οὔδεις λαμβάνει. 265

22 Δέγετις σὺ, ὃς πάτερ, εἰς τὸ πειθόμενους ἔχειν οὔδεν ἐναι ἀνυσιμωτέρον τοῦ φρονιμώτερον δοκεῖν ἐναι τῶν ἀρχομένων. Δέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. Καὶ πῶς δὴ τις ἂν, ὃς πάτερ, τοιαύτην δόξαν τάχιστα περὶ αὐτοῦ παρασχέσθαι δύνατο; Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη, ὃς παῖ, συντο-

μωτέρα ὅδε <ἐπιτώ>, περὶ ὅν βούλει, δοκεῖν φρόνιμος ἐναι ἢ τὸ γενέσθαι περὶ τούτων φρόνιμον. καθ’ ἐν δὲ ἐκαστὸν σκοπῶν γνώσει ὃτι ἐγὼ ἄλλῃ λέγω. ἢν γὰρ βούλη μὴ ὁν ἀγαθὸς γεωργὸς δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀγα-
θός, ἢ ἐπειδ’ ἡ ἱατρὸς ἡ ἀύλητης ἡ ἄλλο ὤτιον, ἢν- νοεῖ, πόσα σοι δέοι ἂν μηχανᾶσθαι τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐνεκα. καὶ εἰ δὴ πείσας ἐπαινεῖν τέ σε πολλούς, ὃπως δόξαν
λάβοις, καὶ κατασκευάζας καλάς ἔφ' ἐκάστῃ αὐτῶν κτήσαι, ἀρτι τε ἐξηπαθηκὼς εἶναι ἃν καὶ ὀλίγος ύστερον, ὅπον πείραν δούναι, εξεληφθησάμενον ἃν προσέτι καὶ ἀλαζών φαύνου. Φρόνιμος δὲ περὶ τοῦ συνοισεῖν μέλλους τοῦ πῶς ἃν τις τῷ ὄντι γένοιτο; Δήλον, ἐφὶ, ὡς παῖ, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ἔστι μαθόντα εἰδέναι, μαθὼν ἂν, ὡσπερ τὰ τακτικὰ ἐμάδες; ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μαθητὰ οὔτε προορᾶτα ἀνθρωπίνη προοίμια, διὰ μαντικῆς ἂν παρὰ θεῶν πυθανόμενος φρονιμώτερος ἄλλων εἴης· ὅ, τι δὲ γνώςις βέλτιον ὅν πραχθήμαι, ἐπιμελόμενος ἄν τοῦτο ὡς ἂν πραχθῇ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιμέλεσθαι οὐ ἂν δέῃ φρονιμωτέρου ἀνδρὸς ἢ τὸ ἀμελεῖν. 'Αλλὰ μέντοι ἐπὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρχομένων, ὡστε ἐμοιγε ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δοκεῖ εἶναι, δῆλον ὅτι ἡ αὐτῇ ἡ ὁδὸς, ἢπερ εἰ τις ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων στεργεσθαι ἐπιθυμομοίη. εὐ γὰρ οἵμαι δείν ποιοῦντα φανερὸν εἶναι. 'Αλλὰ τοῦτο μέν, ἐφὶ, ὡς παῖ, χαλεπῶς, τὸ αἰεὶ δύνασθαι εὐ ποιεῖν οἷς ἂν τις ἔθελη· τὸ δὲ συνήθομεν ὑπὸ φαλνεῖσθαι, ἂν τὶ ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνῃ, καὶ συναχθομεν, ἂν τὶ κακὸν, καὶ συνεπικουρεῖν προθυμομένου ταῖς ἀπορίαις αὐτῶν καὶ φοβομένου, μὴ τι σφαλώσι, καὶ προνοεῖν πειρόμενων, ὡς μὴ σφάλλωνται, ταύτα πῶς δεῖ μᾶλλον συμπαραμαρτεῖν. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων δὲ, ἂν μὲν ἐρ θέρει ὡς, τῶν ἁρχοντάς δεῖ τοῦ ὕλου πλεονεκτοῦντα φανερὸν εἶναι· ἂν δὲ ἐν χειμῶνι, τοῦ ψύχους· ἂν δὲ διὰ μόχθων, τῶν πόνων· πάντα γὰρ ταύτα εἰς τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρχομένων συλλαμβάνει. 'Δέγεις σὺ, ἐφὶ, ὡς παῖ, ὡς καὶ καρτερώτερον δεῖ πρὸς πᾶντα τῶν ἁρχομένων εἶναι. Δέγας γὰρ οὖν, ἐφὶ. θάρρει μέντοι τούτο, ὡς παῖ· εὐ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὅτι τῶν ὀμοίων σωμάτων
οἱ αὐτοὶ πόνοι οὖν ὀμοίως ἀποτνηταὶ ἄρχοντός τε ἀν-
δρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτου, ἀλλὰ ἐπικουρίζει τι ἢ τιμῇ τοὺς πό
νους τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὐ λαν-
θάνει ὅ,τι ἂν ποιῇ.

26 Ὅπωτε δὲ, ὦ πάτερ, σοι ἡδὴ ἔχοιεν μὲν τάπιτη-
δεια οἱ στρατιώται, ὑγιαίνοιεν δὲ, προείν δὲ δύναντο,
τὰς δὲ πολεμικὰς τέχνας ῥήσκηκότες ἐλευ, φιλοτίμωσ
δὲ ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν φαύσθαι, τὸ δὲ πείθο-
θαι αὐτοῖς ἦδιον εἰή τοῦ ἀπειθεῖν, οὐκ ἂν τηνικάδα
σωφρονεῖν ἂν τὰς σοι δοκοῖ διαγωνίζεσθαι βουλό-
μενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς τάχιστα; Ναὶ μᾶ Δί',
ἔφη, εἰ μέλλοι γε πλέον ἔξειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔγωγ' ἂν ὅ-
ὁσῳ οἰόμην καὶ αὐτὸς βελτίων εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐπο-
μένους βελτίωνας ἔχειν, τόσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον φυλαττόμην,
ὅσπερ καὶ τάλλα ἂν οἰόμεθα πλείστον ἡμῖν ἄξιον εἰ-
ναι, ταῦτα πειράμεθα ὡς ἐν ἑξυρωτάτῳ ποιεῖσθαι.

27 Πλέον δ' ἔχειν, ὦ πάτερ, πολεμίοι πῶς ἂν τις δύ-
νατο μᾶλιστα; Οὐ μᾶ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκέτι τοῦτο φαύ-
λον, ὦ παῖ, οὗτ' ἀπλοῦν ἔργοιν ἐρωτᾶς· ἀλλ' ἐν ἱσθι,
ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τοῦτο ποιήσειν καὶ ἐπιβουλήν
εἶναι καὶ κρυψώμουν καὶ δολοπ λ καὶ ἀπαθεώνα καὶ
κλέπτην καὶ ἀρπαγα καὶ ἐν παντὶ πλεονέκτην τῶν πο-
λεμίων. καὶ ὁ Κόρος ἐπυγελάσας εἴπεν, Ὡ Ἡρά-
κλεις, ὦν σὺ λέγεις, ὦ πάτερ, δεῖν ἀνδρα με γενέσ-
θαι. Ὁδος ἂν <ὦν>, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, δικαιώτατος τε καὶ

28 νομιμώτατος ἀνήρ εἰς. Πῶς μήν, ἔφη, παῖδας ὄντας ἡ-
μᾶς καὶ ἐφήβους ταναντία τούτων ἐδιδάσκετε; Ναὶ μᾶ
Δί', ἔφη, καὶ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ πολι-
τας· ὅπως δὲ γε τοὺς πολεμίους δύνασθε κακῶς ποι-
εῖν, οὐκ οἴσθα μανθάνοντας ὑμᾶς πολλὰς κακουργίας;
Οὐ δὴ, ἔφη, ἔγωγε, ὦ πάτερ. Τίνος μὴν ἐνεκα,
already advanced towards the Bactrians and Sacae\(^{37}\) must remain uncertain, owing to the contradiction which exists on this point between the summary narrative of Herodotus\(^{38}\) and the Excerpt from Ctêsias\(^{39}\). 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 Astyagês, whose wife Aryanis was Croesus' sister, was overthrown.

\(^{37}\) In Xen. and Ctêsias the Sacae are the allies of Cyrus as early as B.C. 549'. Duncker \textit{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 Ctêsias §§ 2, 3, Cyrus after the conquest of Astyagês marches against the Bactrians; the battle was undecided. But when they found that Astyagês 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 Amorgês captive: but his wife Srapeithra collected an army of 300,000 men and 200,000 women, with which she took the field and defeated Cyrus, taking among other captives Parmisês the brother of Amytis and his three children. As a ransom for these Amorgês was restored to Srapeithra, 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 Astyagês 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 Gygês had won it. We know from Herodotus and Ctêsias 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 Cambysês, 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 viceroy 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 viceroy, 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 Pactolus of Lydians, Phrygians, Paphlagonians and Lycaonians, who were joined by the Cilicians and Cappadocians. The Egyptians and Cyprians came on board ship; envoys went to Lacedaemon 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 over-throwing 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 Herodotus 40 '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 Iran 41. 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 ἦ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιοι καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αλγύπτιοι ἐπὶ οὗς ἐπέιχε στρατηλατεῖν αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνᾶς ἄλλον πέμπει στρατηγὸν.

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 εἶναι πῶς ὄμμολωτίν παρὰ μικρῶν); 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 ἐποίευ), τὰν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριέως, καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ πάντα τῆς ἦπειρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο. We know that the war between Babylon and Persia took place in B.C. 538, ten years after the Lydian war.

When Cyrus appeared before the walls of Babylon, where he had been long expected, 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 holds.' 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 Berosus 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

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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: Οὔσης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑπτακαὶκάκῳ ἔτει, προέκειλθαι Κῦρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καὶ καταστρέφομενος τὴν λοιπὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν, ὄμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Nabonetus, we know, began to reign in B.C. 555. He was the father of Bil'sar-ussur (Belshazzar).
44 The date of the accession of Nabonetus (the Labyrinthus 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. ii 30.
47 ap. Joseph. c. Apion. I c. 20 Ναβονητος—ηττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὄλγοστὸς σωκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορειοττηθῶν 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 life.\(^{48}\)

The accounts of the actual taking of Babylon in the Bible, Herodotus\(^{49}\) and Xenophon\(^{50}\) 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 palaces\(^{51}\), its vast walls and gates injured. Cyrus stepped into the place of the native king\(^{52}\) 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, Sidda 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 ἄλλῃ ἐγχειρήσαντος αὐτὸν πρῶτον, χρησάμενος Κῆρος φιλανθρώπως, καὶ δοὺς οἰκτήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανλα, ἐξεσπέραξεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ναβοννήδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἑκείη τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. Berosus ap. Joseph. i. c.
\(^{49}\) i. 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'. Opert et Ménant Document. Jurid. p. 266 quoted by Duncker
εφη, ἐμαυθάνετε τοξεύειν; τίνος δ’ ἐνεκά ακούτίζειν; τίνος δ’ ἐνεκά δολοῦν ὡς ἄγριους καὶ πλέγμασι καὶ ὀρνύμασι; τί δ’ ἑλάφους ποδάγραις καὶ ἀρτεδόναις; τί δὲ λέοντι καὶ ἄριστοι καὶ πάρδαλεσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἱσον καθιστάμενοι ἐμάχεσθε, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλεονεξίας τινὸς αἰεὶ ἐπειράσθε ἄγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτά; ἢ οὐ πάντα γυνώσκεις ταῦτα ὅτι κακουργίαι τέ εἰς καὶ ἀπαταὶ καὶ δολοσεῖς καὶ πλεονεξίαι; Ναὶ μᾶ Δί’, ἐφη, θηρίων γε’ ἀνθρώπων δὲ εἰ καὶ δόξαιμ βουλεσθαι ἐξαπατήσαι τινα, πολλὰς πληγὰς οἶδα λαμβάνων.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοξεύειν, οἶμαι, οὐδ’ ἀκούτιζειν ἀνθρώποιν ἐπτρεπομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σκοπὸν βάλλειν εἰδιδάσκομεν, ἵνα γε νῦν μὲν μὴ κακουργοίητε τοὺς φίλους, εἰ δὲ ποτὲ πόλεμος γένοιτο, δύνασθε καὶ ἀνθρώπων στοχάζεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν δὲ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπαιδεύομεν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἐν θηρίοις, ἵνα μηδὲν τοῦτον τοὺς φίλους βλαπτοῦτε, εἰ δὲ ποτὲ πόλεμος γένοιτο, μηδὲ τούτων ἀγόμναστοι εὑρήτε. Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη, ὁ πάτερ, εἰπέρ χρήσιμα ἔστιν ἁμφότερα ἐπίστασθαι, εἰ τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διδασκεῖν ἁμφότερα ταῦτα ἐδεί ἐν ἀνθρώποις. Ἀλλὰ λέγεται, ἐφη, ὁ πάτερ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἀνήρ διδάσκαλος τῶν παιδῶν, ὡς ἐδιδάσκειν ἀρα τοὺς παιδὰς τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὡσπερ σὺ κελεύεις, μὴ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐξαιτᾶν καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ μὴ διαβάλλειν καὶ διὰβαλλεῖν, καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. διόριζε δὲ τοῦτων ἃ τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ποιητέον καὶ ἃ πρὸς ἕχθρος. καὶ ἔτι γε ταῦτα ἐδιδασκεῖν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς φίλους δίκαιον εἰς ἐξαιτᾶν ἐπὶ γε ἁγαθῷ, καὶ κλέπτειν τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ ἁγαθῷ. ταῦτα δὲ διδάσκοντα ἀνάγκη.
καὶ γυμνάζειν ἡν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς παίδας ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ὅσπερ καὶ ἐν πάλη φασὶ τοὺς "Ελλήνας δι-
δάσκειν ἐξαπατῶν, καὶ γυμνάζειν δὲ τοὺς παίδας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τούτο δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. γενόμενοι οὖν τινές
οὕτως εὐφυεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὗ ἐξαπατῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὸ 375 εὗ πλεονεκτεῖν, ἦσος δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φιλοκερδεῖν οὐκ
ἀφεῖς ὅντες, οὖκ ἀπελθοῦτο οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸ
33 μὴ οὐ πλεονεκτεῖν αὐτῶν πειρᾶσθαι. ἐγένετο οὖν ἐκ
tούτων ῥήτρα, ἦ καὶ νῦν χρώμεθα ἐτί, ἀπλῶς διδά-
sκειν τοὺς παίδας ὅσπερ τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐ-
tοὺς διδάσκομεν ἀληθεύειν καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατῶν καὶ μὴ
πλεονεκτεῖν· εἰ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοῦν, κολάζειν, ὅπως
ἐν τοιούτῳ ἔθει ἑκεῖθεν τεῖς πρῶτοι πολλαὶ γένοντο.
34 ἔπει δὲ ἔχουν τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἦν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις, ἤδη καὶ
τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους νόμιμα ἔδοκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι 385
didáskειν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦτι ἐξενεχθῆναι δοκεῖτε πρὸς
τὸ ἄγριοι πολλαὶ γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ αἰδείσθαι ἀλλήλους
συντεθραμμένοι· ὅσπερ γε καὶ περὶ ἀφροδίσιον οὐ
dιελεγόμεθα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγάν νέους, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὴν
ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῶν ραδιουργία προσγενομένης
390
35 ἀμέτρως αὐτῇ χρῶντο οἱ νέοι. Νὴ Δι', ἔφη· ὅς το-
λυν ὑπιμαθῆ ὄντα ἐμὲ τούτων τῶν πλεονεκτῶν, ὦ
πάτερ, μὴ φείδου εἰ τὰ ἔχεις διδάσκειν, ὅπως πλεονεκ-
tήσῳ ἐγώ τῶν πολεμίων. Μηχανῶ τοις, ἔφη, ὡπόσῃ
ἔστι δύναμις, τεταγμένοι τοὺς σαυτοῦ ἀτάκτους λαμ-
βάνειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ὁπλισμένους ἀστόλους καὶ
ἐγκηγορόσι καθεύδοντας, καὶ φανεροὺς σοι ὄντας ἀφα-
νῆς αὐτῶς ἄν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ αὐτῶν γυγνο-
36 μένους ἐν ἐρμυνῷ αὐτῶς ὃν [ὕποδεξεί]. Καὶ πῶς ἂν,
ἔφη, τις τοιαῦτα, ὦ πάτερ, ἀμαρτάνοντας δύνατ' ἄν 400
tοὺς πολεμίους λαμβάνειν; ὃτι ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, πολλά
μὲν τοῦτων ἀνάγκη ἦστι καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ τούς πολεμίους παρασχεῖν· σιτοποιεῖσθαι τε γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἀμφότερος, κοιμᾶσθαι τε ἀνάγκη ἀμφότερος, καὶ ἐωθὲν ἐπὶ τά-νυστικαὶ σχέδων ἄμα πάντας δεῖ ἔσθαι, καὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ὁποῖαι ἂν ὦσι, τοιούτως ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι. ὃ χρῆ σε πάντα κατανοοῦντα, ἐν ὃ μὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς γεγυμώσκεις ἀσθενεστάτους γεγυμόμενους, ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα φυλάττεσθαι· ἐν ὃ δὲ ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθάνῃ εὐχερωτοτάτους γεγυμόμενους, ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

Πότερον δ’, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἐν τούτους μόνον ἔστι 37 πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισί· Καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλ-λον, ἔφη, ὥ παλ· ἐν τούτοις μὲν ὡρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πάντες ἰσχυρᾶς φυλακὰς ποιοῦνται εἰδότες, ὅτι δεόν-
ται. οἱ δ’ ἔξαπατῶντες τοὺς πολεμίους δύνανται καὶ
θαρρήσαι ποιήσαντες ἀφιλάκτους λαμβάνειν καὶ διώ-
ξαι παραδόντες ἔσωντος ἀτάκτους ποιήσαι καὶ εἰς δυσ-
χωρίαν φυγῇ ἐπαγαγόντες ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. δει 38
δὴ, ἔφη, φιλομαθῇ σε τούτων ἀπάντων ὡντα οὐχ ὡς
ἀν μάθης τούτων μόνοις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν
ποιήσῃ εἶναι τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους μηχανημάτων,
οὕσπερ καὶ οἱ μουσικοὶ οὐχ οἷς ἂν μάθωσι τοῦτοις
μόνον χρῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλὰ νέα πειρώνται ποιεῖν.
καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μούσικοις τὰ νέα καὶ ἀν-
θηρὰ εὐδοκιμεῖ, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς μᾶλ-
λον τὰ καὶ μηχανήματα εὐδοκιμεῖ· ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλ-
lον καὶ ἔξαπαταν δύναται τοὺς ὑπεναρτίους. εἰ δὲ 39
σὺ γε, ἔφη, ὥ παλ, μηδὲν ἄλλο ἡ μετενέγκιος ἐπὶ ἀν-
θρώπους τὰς μηχανὰς, ἃς καὶ πάνω ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς
θηρίοις ἐμεχανῶ, οὐκ οἶει ἂν, ἔφη, πρὸςω πάνω ἐλα-
occty
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους πλεονεξίας; σὺ γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὰς ὀρνιθὰς ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ χειμῶνι ἀνιστα-
μενος ἐπορεύον υπκτός, καὶ πρὶν κινεῖσθαι τὰς ὄρνυθας ἐπεπολυντό σοι αἱ πάγαι αὐταῖς καὶ τὸ κεκινημένον χωρίον ἐξελκαστο τῷ ἀκινήτῳ ὄρνυθες δ' ἐπεπαί- δευντό σοι ὡστε σοι μὲν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπηρετεῖν, τὰς δὲ ὅμωφυλους ὄρνυθας ἐξαπατῶν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐνή- δρευς, ὡστε ὅραν μὲν αὐτάς, μὴ ὄρασθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐ- τῶν ἡπικηκεῖς δὲ φθάνων ἐλκεῖν ἢ τὰ πτημα φεύγειν.

πρὸς δ' αὖ τὸν λαγό, ὅτι μὲν ἐν σκότει νέμεται, τῆς δ' ἡμέραν ἀποδιδρασκεί, κύνας ἔτρεφες, αἱ τῇ ὁμήρῃ αὐτῶν ἀνηρίσκον. ὅτι δὲ ταχὺ ἐφευγεν, ἐπεὶ εὐρεθείη, ἄλλας κύνας εἶχες ἐπιτετηθηκεὶν πρὸς τὸ κατὰ πόδας αἱρεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀποφύγει, τοὺς πό- ρους αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνων καὶ [πρὸς] οἱ χωρία φεύ- γοντες αἱροῦνται οἱ λαγῇ, ἐν τούτοις δίκτυα δυσό- ρατα ἐνεπετάννυν ἂν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ σφόδρᾳ φεύγειν αὐ- τὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐμπεσῶν συνέδει. τοῦ δὲ μηδ' ἐντεύθεν διαφεύγειν σκόπους τοῦ γνωμομένου καθίστης, οὐ ἐγ- γύθεν ταχὺ ἔμελλον ἐπιγενηθῆσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν σὺ ὑπισθεν κραυγῇ οὐδὲν ὑπεριζοῦσθη τοῦ λαγῶ βοών ἐξεπληττες αὐτὸν, ὡστε ἀφρον ἄλησκεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐμπροσθεὶς σιγῶν διδάξας ἐνεδρέφοντας λαυθάνειν ἐπολ- ει 41 εἰς. ὅσπερ οὖν προείπον, εἰ τοιαύτα ἐθελήσαις καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μηχανᾶσθαι, οὐκ οἷοί ἔγνοι εἰ- τινος λείποι τῶν πολεμῶν. ἣν δὲ ποτὲ ἄρα ἀνάγ- κη γένηται καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱσοπέδῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ ὑπολομένους ἀμφότερος μάχην συνάπτειν, ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ δῆ, ὡς παῖ, αἱ ἐκ πολλῶν παραεσκευασμέναι πλεονεξίας μέγα δύνανται. ταῦτας δὲ ἐγὼ λέγω εἶναι, 460 ἢν τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὺ μὲν τὰ σώματα ἡσκημένα ἢ, εὗ δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ τεθηκεῖν, εὗ δὲ αἱ πολεμικὰ 42 τέχνα μεμελετημέναι ὅσιν. εὗ δὲ χρῆ καὶ τοῦτο εἰ-
δέναι ὅτι ὁπόσοις ἄν ἄξιοὶς σοι πείθεσθαι, καὶ ἔκεινοι πάντες ἄξιώσουσι σὲ πρὸ ἑαυτῶν βουλεύσθαι. μηδὲν
ποτ' οὖν ἀφροντίστως ἔχε, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς προσκο-
πει τι σοι ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, ἐπειδὰν ἡμέρα γέ-
nηται, τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ὅπως τὰ εἰς νῦκτα κάλλωστα ἐξεῖ.
ὅπως δὲ χρὴ τάττειν εἰς μάχην στρατιάν ᾧ ὅπως ἄγειν ἡ
ἡμέρας ἡ νυκτὸς ἡ στενᾶς ἡ πλατείας ὁδοὺς ἡ ὅρεινας
ἡ πεδινᾶς, ἡ ὅπως στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἡ ὅπως φυλα-
κας νυκτερινῶς καὶ ἡμερῶς καθιστάναι, ἡ ὅπως προσ-
ἀγειν πρὸς πολεμίους ἢ ἀπάγειν ἀπὸ πολεμίου, ἢ
ὅπως παρὰ πόλιν πολεμίαν ἄγειν ἢ ὅπως πρὸς τείχος
ἀγειν ἢ ἀπάγειν, ἢ ὅπως νάπτῃ ἡ ποταμοὺς διαβαίνειν,
ἣ ὅπως ἵππους φυλάττεσθαι ἢ ὅπως ἀκούστας ἡ
τοξότας, καὶ εἰ γε δὴ σοι κατὰ κέρας ἄγουτι οἱ πολέ-
μοι ἐπιφανεῖν, πῶς χρὴ ἀντικαθιστάναι, καὶ εἰ σοι
ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἄγωντι ἀλλοθέν ποθὲν οἱ πολέμιοι φαῖ-
νοιτο ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὅπως χρὴ ἀντιπαράγειν, ἢ
ὅπως τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἃν τις μάλιστα αἰσθάνοιτο, ἢ
ὅπως τὰ σὰ οἱ πολέμιοι ἡκίστα εἰδέειν, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τὶ ἂν ἐγὼ λέγομι σοι; ὅσα τε ἡ γὰρ ἔγωγε ὑδειν, πολ-
λάκες ἀκίνδυνας, ἀλλος τε ὅστις ἑδοκεὶ τι τούτων ἐπὶ-
στασθαι, οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἡμέληκας οὔδ᾽ ἀδαὴς γεγέ-
nησαι. δὲι οὖν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, οἴμαι, τούτων
χρῆσθαι ὅποιον ἄν συμφέρειν σοι τούτων δοκῆ.
Μάθε δὲ μοι καὶ τάδε, ὅ παϊ, ἔφη, τὰ μέγιστα: παρὰ γὰρ ἑρὰ καὶ οἰωνοὺς μὴτε σαντῷ μηδέποτε
μήτε στρατιά καὶ συνεύρης, κατανῦν ὡς ἀνθρώποι
μὲν αἱροῦνται πράξεις εἰκάζοντες, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ
πολίων ἦσται αὐτῶς τάγαθα. γνοῦτις δ᾽ ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν
γνωριμοί των πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἢ ἔτη πόλεις ἐπεισαγ
καὶ ταῦτα οἱ δοκοῦντες συμφάται εἶναι πόλεμον ἀρα-
σθαι πρὸς τούτους ύφ’ ὧν οἱ πεισθέντες ἐπιθέσθαι ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἅξησαν καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ τόλεις ύφ’ ὧν ἀυξηθέντων τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἔπαθον, πολλοὶ δὲ, οἷς ἔξην φίλοις χρήσθαι καὶ εὐ ποιεῖν καὶ εὐ πάσχειν, τούτοις δούλους μᾶλλον βουληθέντες ἡ φίλοις χρήσθαι, ὧπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων δίκην ἔδοσαν. τούτοις δ’ οὐκ ἦρκεσσεν αὐτοῖς τὸ μέρος ἔχουσι ζῆν ἠδέως, ἐπιθυμήσαντες δὲ πάντων κύριοι εἶναι, διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὃν εἰχόν ἀπέτυχον’ πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν πολύενυκτον πλούτον κατακτησάμενοι διὰ τούτον ἀπώλοντο. οὗτως ή ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶδε τὸ ἄριστον αἱρεῖσθαι ἢ εἰ κληρούμενος ὁ,τι λάχοι τοῦτο τις πράττοι. θεοὶ δὲ, ὦ παῖ, ἀεὶ οὕτε πάντα ἵσασι τὰ τε γεγενημένα καὶ τὰ ἄντα καὶ ὥτι ἐξ ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἀποβήσεται, καὶ τῶν συμβουλευομένων ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἂν ἴλεφ ὡσι, προσημαίνουσιν ἃ τε χρῆ ποιεῖν καὶ ὅ ὦ χρῆ. εἰ δὲ μὴ πᾶσιν ἔθελον πολύενυκτον συμβουλεῦναι, οὐδὲν θαυμαστῶν’ οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς ἔστων ὧν ἂν μὴ ἐθελοσιν ἐπιμέλεσθαι.
Τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ ἀφίκοντο διαλεγόμενοι μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Περσίδος. ἔπει δ' αὐτοῖς ἄετος δεξίως φανείς προηγεῖτο, προσευχόμενοι θεοῖς καὶ ἱρωσι τοῖς Περσίδα γῇ κατέχοντο ἠλέως καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπτειν σφᾶς, οὕτω διέβαινον τὰ ὅρια. ἔπειδη δὲ διέβησαν, προσήκοντο αὖθις θεοῖς τοῖς Μῆδαις γῇ κατέχουσιν ἠλέως καὶ εὐμενεῖς δέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ὠστερ εἰκός, ὁ μὲν πατὴρ πάλιν εἰς Πέρσας ἀπῆκε, Κύρος δὲ εἰς Μῆδους πρὸς Κυαζάρην ἐπορεύετο. ἔπει δὲ ἀφίκοντο ὁ Κύρος εἰς Μῆδους πρὸς τὸν Κυαζάρην, πρῶτον μὲν ὠστερ εἰκός ἔσπασαν ἀλλήλους, ἐπειτὰ δὲ ἱρετὸ τὸν Κύρον ὁ Κυαζάρης, πόσον τι ἄγοι τὸ στράτευμα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Τρισμυρίους μὲν οἴοι καὶ πρόσθεν ἐφοίτον πρὸς ὑμᾶς μισθοφόροι ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐδέποτε ἐξελθόντων προσέρχονται τῶν ὁμοτίμων. Πόσοι τινὲς; ἔφη ὁ Κυαζάρης. Οὐκ ἂν ὁ ἀριθμὸς σε, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀκούσαντα εὐφράνειεν ἀλλ' ἐκείνω ἐννοήσαν, ὅτι ὁλίγοι ὄντες οὕτωι οἱ ὁμότιμοι καλοῦμενοι πολλῶν ἄνω τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν ῥαδίως ἄρχουσιν. ἄταρ, ἔφη, δέει τι αὐτῶν ἢ μάτην ἐφοβήθης, οἱ δὲ πολέμωι οὐκ
4 ἔρχονται; Ναὶ μᾶ Δὶ, ἔφη, καὶ πολλοὶ γε. Πώς τοῦτο σαφές; "Οτι, ἔφη, πολλοὶ ἢκοντες αὐτόθεν ἄλλος ἄλλον τρόπον πάντες ταῦτα λέγουσιν. Ἀγωνιστέον μὲν ἄρα ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ, ἔφη. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οὐ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐλεξάς μοι, εἰ οὐσθά, πόση τις ἡ προσιούσα, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἠμετέραν, ὅπως εἰδότες ἀμφοτέρας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευόμεθα ὅπως ἀν ἀριστα ἀγωνιζόμεθα; "Ακούε δὴ, ἔφη 30 ὁ Κυνάγαρης.

5 Κροίσου μὲν ὁ Λυδὸς ἄγειν λέγεται μυρίους μὲν ἰππέας, πελταστᾶς δὲ καὶ τοξότας πλείους ἡ τετρακισμυρίους. Ἀρτακάμαν δὲ τὸν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας ἄρχοντα λέγουσιν ἰππέας μὲν εἰς ὀκτακισχίλιους ἄγειν, λογχοφόρους δὲ σὺν πελτασταῖς οὐ μείους τετρακισμυρίων, Ἀρῖβαίον δὲ τὸν τῶν Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέα ἰππέας μὲν ἐξακισχίλιους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ πελταστὰς οὐ μείους τρισμυρίων, 40 τὸν Ἀράβιον δὲ Ἀραγόν ἰππέας τε εἰς μυρίους καὶ ἄρματα εἰς ἔκατον καὶ σφενδοντῶν πάμπολυ τὰ χρήμα. τοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οἰκοῦντας οὐδέν πω σαφές λέγει τα, εἰ ἐπιτυχαί. τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλησπόντῳ συμβαλεῖν 45 φασὶ Γάβαϊδων ἔχοντα εἰς Καυστροῦ πεδίον ἐξακισχίλιους μὲν ἰππέας, πελταστὰς δὲ εἰς μυρίους. Κάρας μὲν τοῖς καὶ Κίλικας καὶ Παφλαγόνας παρακληθέντας οὐ φασίν ἔπεσαί. ὁ δὲ Ἀσσύριος ὁ Βαβυλωνά τε ἔχον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀσσυριαν, ἐγὼ μὲν οἴμαι, ἰππέας μὲν ἄξει οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, ἄρματα δὲ εἰ οἶδ' οὐ μείον διακοσίων, πεζοὺς δὲ οἴμαι παμπόλλους· εἰώθει γοῦν, ὅποτε δεῦρ' ἐμ—
βάλλοι. Σὺ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, πολεμίους λέγεις ἵππεας 6
μὲν ἐξακισμυρίους εἶναι, πελταστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας
πλείων ἢ ἐκεῖσι μυριάδας. ἄγε δὴ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως
τὰ φῆς πλήθος εἶναι; Εἰςὶν, ἔφη, Μήδων μὲν ἱππεῖς
πλείους τῶν μυρίων· πελτασταὶ δὲ καὶ τοξόται γέ-
νοντ' ἀν πὼς ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ ἐξακισμυρίου. Ἀρ-
μενίων δ’, ἔφη, τῶν ὀμόροιν ἦμιν παρέσονται ἱππεῖς
μὲν τετρακισχίλιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ δισμύριοι. Δέγεις σὺ,
ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἱππεάς μὲν ἦμῖν εἶναι μειὼν ἡ τρίτων
μέρος τῶν πολεμίων ἱππικῶν, πεζοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ
tοὺς ἡμίσεις. Τι οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ὅλγους 7
νομίζεις Περσῶν εἶναι, οὐς σὺ φῆς ἄγειν; Ἀλλ’
eἰ μὲν ἀνδρῶν προσδεῖ ἢμῖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἴτε καὶ
μή, ἀύθες συμβούλευσόμεθα· τὴν δὲ μάχην μοι, ἔφη,
λέξον ἓκαστῶν ἢτις ἔστι. Σχεδὸν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης,
pάντων ἢ αὖτ’ ἥξονται γάρ εἰς καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ ο’
τ’ ἐκείνων καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος,
ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον γε τῶν ὁπλῶν
ἀντων. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης. Οὐκοῦν 8
ἐν τούτῳ μὲν τῶν πλείων ἑτής πολὺ γὰρ ἄν
θάττων οἱ ὅλγοι ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τιτρωσκόμενοι ἀνα-
λωθεῖσαι η οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὅλγων. Εἰ οὖν οὕτως
ἐχει, ὁ Κῦρη, τι ἐὰν ἄλλο τις κρεῖττων εὕροι ἡ πέρ-
πειν εἰς Περσᾶς καὶ ἄμα μὲν διδάσκεις αὐτοὺς ὅτι,
eἰ τι πεῖσονται Μήδοι, εἰς Περσᾶς τὸ δεινὸν ἥξει,
ἄμα δὲ αἰτεῖν πλείων στράτευμα; Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, 90
ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εὖ ἤσθι ὅτι, οὐδ’ εἰ πάντες ἐλθοιεν
Περσαῖ, πλήθει οὐχ ὑπερβαλοῦμεθ᾽ ἀν τοὺς πολεμίους.
Τι μὴν ἄλλο ἐνορᾷς ἄμεινον τοῦτον; Ἔγω μὲν ἂν, 90
ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰ σὺ εὗρην, ὡς τάχιστα ὑπὲρ ποιοῖς
πᾶσι Περσαῖς τοῖς προσιούσιν οὐαπερ ἐχοντες ἔρχον-
ταί παρ’ ἡμῶν οἱ τῶν ὀμοτίμων καλούμενοι· ταύτα δ’ ἐστὶ θώραξ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα, γέρρων δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀριστεράν, κοπὶς δὲ ἡ σάγαρις εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν· κἂν ταύτα παρασκευάσῃς, ἡμῖν μὲν ποιήσεις τὸ ὀμόσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἴναι ἀσφαλέστατον, τοὺς πολεμίους δὲ τὸ φεύγειν ἢ τὸ μένειν αἱρετότερον. τάττομεν δὲ, ἐφη, 90 ἡμᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς μένοντας· οὐ γε μεντὰν αὐτῶν φεύγοσι, τοῦτος υἱὸς καὶ τοῖς ἰπποῖς νέμονες, ὡς μὴ σχολάξωσι μήτε μένειν μήτε ἀναστρέφεσθαι.

10 Κύρος μὲν οὖτως ἔλεγε· τῷ δὲ Κυαξάρη ἐδοξέ τε εὐ λέγειν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πλείους μεταπέμπεσθαι οὐκέτι ἐμέμνητο, παρασκευάζετο δὲ ὅπλα τὰ προειρημένα. καὶ σχεδὸν τὸ ἐτοιμα ἤν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ ὀμότιμοι παρῆσαν ἔχοντες τὸ ἄπο Περσῶν στρατεύμα. ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ εἴπειν λέγεται ὁ Κύρος συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς· "Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι, 100 ἐγὼ υἱῶν ὀρὸν αὐτοὺς μὲν καθωπλισ-μένους οὖτω καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς παρεσκευασμένους ὡς εἰς χείρας συμμιζόντας τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐπομένους υἱῶν Πέρσας γηγοῦσκων ὅτι οὖτως ὀπλισμένοι εἰσίν, 105 ὡς ὅτι προσωτάτῳ ταχέντες μάχεσθαι, ἐδεισά, μὴ ὀλύνοι καὶ ἐρημοὶ συμμάχων συμπλήρωσθαι πολεμίοις πολλοῖς πάθοιτε τι· νῦν οὖν, ἐφη, σῶματα μὲν ἔχοντες ἀνδρῶν ἱκετε οὐ μεμπτα· ὅπλα δὲ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ὄμοια τοῖς ἡμετέροις· τὰς γε μέντοι ψυχὰς θήγειν αὐτῶν ἡμέτερον ἔργου. ἀρχοντος γὰρ ἔστιν οὐχ ἑαυτῶν μόνον ἀγαθὸν παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ δεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως ὦς βέλτιστοι ἐσονται.

12 Ὅ μὲν οὖτως εἴπειν· οἱ δὲ ἤσθησαν μὲν πάντες, 115
νομίζοντες μετὰ πλειώνων ἀγωνισθαι· εἰς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστά, ἔφη, ἵσως δόξῳ λέγειν, εἰ Κύρῳ συμβουλεύσω τι εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν τὰ ὀπλα λαμβάνωσιν οἱ ἡμῶν μέλλοντες συμμάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γινώσκω γὰρ, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ τῶν ἰκανωτάτων καὶ εὗ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν λόγοι οὔτοι καὶ μάλιστα ἐνδύονται ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἁκονύτων καὶ δόρα ἢν διδόσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, καὶ μεῖον τυχάνη ὄντα ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅμως μείζονος αὐτὰ τιμῶνται οἱ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, οἱ Πέρσαι παραστάται ὑπὸ Κύρου πολὺ μάλλον ἡσθησονται ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν παρακαλούμενοι, εἰς τε τοὺς ὀμοτίμους καθιστάμενοι βεβαιοτέρως σφίσθων ἠγήσονται ἐξειν τοῦτο ὑπὸ βασιλείως τε παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ γενόμενον ἢ εἰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γιάροιτο. ἀπεῖναί μεντοι οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμετέρα χρή, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ δει τῶν ἀνδρῶν θήγειν πάντως τὸ φρόνημα. ἡμῖν γὰρ ἐσται τοῦτο χρῆσιμον ὑπ' ἑν οὕτωι βελτίωνες γένωνται.

Ὁντω δὴ ὁ Κύρος καταθεῖς τὰ ὀπλα εἰς τὸ μέσον Αдресс of Cyrus to the assembled Persian continuation.
The Persians, each and all, take the arms that Cyaxares had prepared for them.

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 λαβὸν παρὰ Κναξάρου ὑπηρέτας 180 προσέταξεν ἐκάστοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἴκανῶς ὅν ἐδέοντο πάντα πεποιημένα παρασχεῖν· τούτῳ δὲ παρασκευάσας οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐλελούπει ἄλλο ἢ ἀσκεῖν τὰ ἀμφὶ τῶν πόλεμον, ἐκεῖνο δοκῶν καταμεμαθηκέναι ὅτι οὕτωι κράτιστοι ἐκαστα γίγνονται, 185 οὐ ἂν ἄφέμενοι τοῦ πολλοῖσ προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν ἐπὶ ἐν ἔργον τράπωνται. καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν περιελῶν καὶ τὸ τόξο μελετῶν καὶ ἀκοντίῳ κατέλυπτο τούτῳ μόνον αὐτοῖς τὸ σὺν μαχαῖρα καὶ γέρρῳ καὶ θώρακι μάχεσθαι· ὅπερ εὐθὺς αὐτῶν παρε- 190 σκεύασε τὰς γνώμας, ὥς ὀμοσε ἢτεον εἰή τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἢ ὁμολογητέον μηδενὸς εἰναι ἄξιοις συμμάχους· τούτῳ δὲ χαλεπῶν ὁμολογησάισιν ὀύτεις ἀν εἰδώσων, ὅτι οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν ἄλλο τρέφονται ἢ ὅπως μαχοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν τρεφόντων. ἐτὶ δὲ 195 πρὸς τούτοις ἐνυνήσας ὅτι, περὶ ὅποισιν ἀν ἐγγένωται ἀνθρώποις φιλονικίας, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσι ταύτ' ἀσκείν, ἀγῶνας τε αὐτοῖς προεύπειν ἀπάντων ὀπόσα ἐγγενω- σκευ ἀσκείσθαι ἀγάθον εἰναι ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ 200 προεύπε τάδε, ἰδιώτῃ μὲν ἐαυτὸν παρέχειν εὑπειθή τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐθελόπονοι καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον μετ᾽ ἐυταξίας καὶ ἐπιστήμων τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ φιλόκαλον περὶ ὀπλα καὶ φιλότιμον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις, πεμπταδάρχῳ δ' αὐτὸν ὄντα οἰόντερ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἰδιώτη τοι καὶ τὴν πεμπάδα εἰς τὸ δυνατόν του- 205 αὐτὴν παρέχειο, δεκαδάρχῳ δὲ τὴν δεκάδα ὡσαυτός, λοχαγῷ δ' τὸν λόχον, καὶ ταξιάρχῳ ἀνεπικλητον αὐ- τὸν ὄντα ἐπιμέλεσθαι καὶ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἀρχόντων,
ὥσπος ἔκεινοι αὐ τὸν ἄρχωσι παρέξουσι τὰ δέοντα
ποιοῦντας. ἂθλα δὲ προσφήνει τοῖς μὲν ταξιάρχοις
ός τοὺς κρατίστας δόξαντας τὰς τάξεις
παρεσκευάσθαι χιλιάρχους ἔσεσθαι, τῶν
dὲ λοχαγῶν οἱ κρατίστους δόξειαν τοὺς
λόχους ἀποδεικνύναι, εἰς τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων χώρας
ἐπαναβήσεσθαι, τῶν δὲ αὖ δεκαδάρχων τοὺς κρα-
tίστους εἰς τὰς τῶν λοχαγῶν χώρας καταστήσεσθαι,
tῶν δὲ αὖ πεμπταδάρχων ὡσαύτως εἰς τὰς τῶν
dεκαδάρχων, τῶν γε μὴν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς κρατιστεύον-
tας εἰς τὰς τῶν πεμπταδάρχων. ὑπήρχε δὲ πᾶσι τού-
tοις τοῖς ἄρχουσι πρῶτοι μὲν θεραπεύονται ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀρχομένων, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ αἱ πρέπουσαι
ἐκάστοις συμπαρείποντο. ἐπανετείνοντο δὲ καὶ μεί-
ζουσε ἐλπίδες τοῖς ἄξιοις ἐπαίνου, εἰ τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιώντι
χρόνῳ ἀγαθὸν μείζον φανοῖτο. προεῖπε δὲ νικητήρια
καὶ ὅλαις ταῖς τάξεις καὶ ὅλοις τοῖς
λόχους, καὶ ταῖς δεκάσιν ὡσαύτως καὶ
tαῖς πεμπάσιν, αὐδ αὖν φαίνονται εὔπισ-
tόται τοῖς ἄρχουσι ὁυσαὶ καὶ προθυμότατα ὕσ-
κοισα τὰ προειρημένα. ἦν δὲ ταύταις τὰ νικητήρια
οία δὴ εἰς πλῆθος πρέπει. ταύτα μὲν δὴ προείρητό
tε καὶ ἡσκείτο ἡ στρατιά. σκηνὰς δ' αὐτοῖς κα-
tεσκεύασε, πλῆθος μὲν ὅσου ταξιάρχοι
ήσαν, μέγεθος δὲ ὡστε ἰκανὰς εἰναι τῇ
tάξει ἐκάστη τῇ δὲ τάξει ἦν ἐκατὸν
ἀνδρεῖς. ἐσκῆνουν μὲν δὴ ὄντω κατὰ
tάξεις· ἦν δὲ τῷ ὀμοί σκηνοῦν ἐδόκον ἐπὶ ἀυτῷ
ωφελείσθαι πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγώνα τοῦτο, ὅτι
ἐῶρων ἄλληλους ὁμοίως τρεφομένους καὶ οὐκ ἐνὴ
πρόφασις μειονεξίας, ὡστε ὑφεσθαι τινας κακίω

He also studies
the wants of the
privates by pro-
viding each com-
pany with a tent,
ἔτερον ἐτέρου εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὥφελεῖσθαι
δὲ ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γυνώσκειν ἀλλήλους
ὀμοὶ σκηνοῦντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ γυνώσκεσθαι καὶ τὸ
αἰσχύνεσθαι πᾶσι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἐγγύνεσθαι, οἱ δὲ
ἀγνοοῦμενοι ῥαδιουργεῖν πως μᾶλλον δοκοῦσιν, ὡσπερ
ἔν σκότει ὄντες. ἐδόκουν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸ τὰς
τάξεις ἀκριβῶς μεγάλὰ ὥφελεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν συ-
σκηνίαν. εἰχον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ταξιαρχοὶ ύφ’ ἑαυτοῖς
tὰς τάξεις κεκοσμημένας ὡσπερ ὅποτε εἰς ἑνα
τορεύοιτο ἡ τάξις, οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ τοὺς λόχους ὁσαῦ-
τως, οἱ δὲ διεδαρχοὶ διεδάδας, πεμπτάρχοι πεμ-
πάδας. τὸ δὲ διακριβῶν τὰς τάξεις σφόδρα ἐδόκει
αὐτῷ ἀγαθῶν εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ταραττεσθαι καὶ,
eἰ ταραχθεῖν, θάττων καταστήναι, ὡσπερ γε καὶ
λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἄν δὲ σωμαρμοσθήναι, ἐστὶ, καὶ
ὀπωσοὺν καταβεβλημένα τύχη, συναρμόσαι αὐτὰ
eυπτετῶς, ἢν ἔχῃ γνωρίσματα ὅστ’ εὐθύλην εἶναι εἰς
ὁποῖας ἔκαστον χώρας αὐτῶν ἔστω. ἐδόκουν δ’ ὥφε-
λείσθαι αὐτῷ ὁμοῦ τρεφόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἢττον ἀλ-
λήλους ἐθέλεων ἀπολείπειν, ὅτι ἐώρα καὶ τὰ θηρία
tὰ συντρεφόμενα δεινῶν ἔχοντα πόθον, ἢν τις αὐτὰ
dιαστὰ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων. ἐπεμέλετο δὲ καὶ τούτου ὁ
Κύρος ὁπως ἦποτε ἁνιδρωτοί γενόμενοι
ἐπὶ τὸ ἁριστὸν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον εἰσίοιεν.
ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ θήραν ἔξοιγον ἰδρῦτα αὐτῶς
παρείχεν ἢ παιδιὰς τοιαύτας ἐξηύρισκεν, αἱ ἰδρῶτα
ἐμελλῶν παρέχειν, ἢ καὶ πράξαι εἰ τι δεόμενος
tύχων, ὁτιος ἐξηγεῖτο τῆς πράξεως ὡς μὴ ἐπανίσχειν
ἀνιδρωτε. τούτῳ γὰρ ἡγεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἡδέως ἐσθή-
ειν ἀγάθων εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ
dύναται ποιεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀλλήλους δὲ προστέρους

and by giving them opportunities of healthy bodily exercise.
εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἡγεῖτο τοὺς πόνους εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱπποι συμπονοῦντες ἅλλους πράττεροι συνεστήκασι. πρὸς γε μὴν τοὺς πολέμους μεγαλοφρονέστεροι γίγνονται οὐ ἀν συνειδώσων ἑαυτοῖς εὖ ἡσκηκότες.

30 Κῦρος δὲ ἐαυτῷ σκηνήν μὲν κατεσκευάσατο ὡστε ἰκανὴν ἔχειν οἷς καλοίη ἐπὶ δείπνον. ἐκάλει δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ταξιάρχων οὐς καυρὸς αὐτῷ δοκοῖ ἐιναι, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν δεκαδάρχων τινὰς καὶ τῶν πεμπταδάρχων ἐκάλει, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἔστε δὲ ὅτε καὶ πεμπάδα ὅλην καὶ δεκάδα ὅλην καὶ λόχον ὅλον καὶ τάξιν ὅλην. ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ ἑνία ὑπὸ τινὰς ἴδοι τοιούτων τι ποιήσαντας, ὅ αὐτὸς ἐβοῦλετο ποιεῖν. ἂν δὲ τὰ παρατιθέμενα ἀεὶ ὑσα αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς καλομένοις ἐπὶ δείπνον. καὶ τοὺς ἄμφι τὸ στράτευμα δὲ ὑπηρέτας ἴσομοίρους πάντων ἀεὶ ἐπολεῖ: οὔδεν γὰρ ἠπτον τιμῶν ἄξιον ἑδοκεί αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς ἄμφι τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ὑπηρέτας οὕτε κηρύκων οὕτε πρέσβεων. καὶ γὰρ πιστοὺς ἡγεῖτο δεῖν εἶναι τούτους καὶ ἔπιστήμονάς τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ συνετούς, προσέτι δὲ καὶ σφοδροὺς καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ ἀόρκους καὶ ἀταράκτους. πρὸς δὲ ἔτι ὃ οἱ βέλτιστοι νομιζόμενοι ἔχουσιν ἐγκύνωσκεν ὁ Κῦρος δεῖν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν, καὶ τούτο ἄσκειν ὅσι ποιησαμένοντο ἔργον, ἀλλὰ πάντα νομίζοιεν πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πρᾶττειν ὡσα ἄρχων προστάττοι.  

II Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπεμέλετο ὁ Κῦρος, ὅποτε συσκηνοῖεν, ὅπως εὐχαριστήτατοι τε ἀμα λόγοι ἐμβληθήσονται καὶ παρομοίωσις εἰς τα-
γαθὸν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸντην τοῦ
λόγου. Ἀρα γε, ἐφη, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐνδεσπετροὶ
tι ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦτο φαίνονται εἰναί ό οἶται-
ροὶ, ὅτι οὐ πεπαῖδευνται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐδὲν ἀρα διοίκειν ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς συνουσί-
αις οὔτε ὅταν ἄγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δέη;
καὶ Ἡστάσπας ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' Ἡστασπάς a-
ὁποίοι μὲν τινὲς ἔσονται εἰς τοὺς πολεμί-
ους οὕτω ἔγωγε ἐπίσταμαι· ἐν μέντοι τῇ
συνουσίᾳ δύσκολοι ναί μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰνοὶ αὐτῶν
φαίνονται. πρόφην μὲν γε, ἐφη, Κυαξάρης ἐπεμψεν
15 εἰς τὴν τάξιν ἐκάστην ἱερεία, καὶ ἐγένοντο κρέα ἐκάστῳ
ἡμῶν τρία ἡ καὶ πλεῖον τὰ περιφερέμενα. καὶ ἦρξατο
μὲν ὁ μάγειρος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πρῶτην περίοδον περι-
φέραν· ὅτε δὲ τὸ δεύτερον εἰσήγη περιοίσαν, ἐκέλευσα
ἐγώ ἀπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου ἀρχησθαι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν φέρειν.
ἀνακραγὼν οὖν τις τῶν κατὰ μέσον τὸν κύκλον κατα-
κειμένων στρατιωτῶν Μᾶ Δι', ἐφη, τῶν δὲ μὲν οὔδὲν
ισον ἐστὶν, εἴγε ἀφ' ἡμῶν γε τῶν εἰς μέσῳ οὐδές οὐδέ-
pote ἄρξεται. καὶ ἐγώ ἀκούσας ἡχέσην, εἰ τι μεῖον
δοκοῦν ἔχειν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα εὐθὺς αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμε. δὲ
25 μάλα γε τοῦτο εὐτάκτως ὑπήκουσεν. ὡς δὲ τὰ
περιφερέμενα ἦκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀτε, οἶμαι, ὡστάτους
λαμβάνοντας, τὰ μικρότατα λειεμμένα ἢν. ἐνταῦθα
dη ἐκείνος πάνω ἁνιαθεὶς δῆλος ἦν καὶ ἐπεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν,
ἡς τύχης, τὸ ἐμὲ νῦν κληθέντα δεύρῳ τυχεῖν. καὶ ἐγὼ 4
30 εἶπον, Ἀλλὰ μη φροντίζει: αὐτικὰ γὰρ ἀφ' ἡμῶν
ἄρξεται καὶ σὺ πρῶτος λῆψιν τὸ μέγιστον. καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ περιέφερε τὸ τρίτον, ὅπερ δὴ λοιπὸν ἦν τῆς
περιφοράς· κάκεινος ἔλαβε, κατ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ μεῖον
λαβεῖν· κατέβαλεν οὖν ὁ ἔλαβεν ὡς ἐτερον ληψόμενος.
καὶ ὁ ἄρταμος, οἶμενος αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τι δεῖσθαι ὤψου, 35

5 ὡχετο παραφέρων πρὶν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτερον. ἐνταῦθα
dὴ ὦτω βαρέως ἤμεγκε τὸ πάθος, ὡστε ἀνήλωτο μὲν
αὐτῷ ὁ εἰλῆφει ὤψου, ὁ δὲ ἐτὶ αὐτῷ λυπῶν ἢν τοῦ
ἐμβάπτεσθαι, τούτῳ πως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι τε
cαὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὄργίζεσθαι δυσθετούμενος ἀνέτρεψεν. ὁ
mὲν δὴ λοχαγὸς ὁ ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν ἰδὼν συνεκρότησε
τῷ χείρᾳ καὶ τῷ γέλωτι ἡφραίνετο. ἐγὼ μὲν τοῖς,
προσεποιοῦμην βήττειν' οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην τὸν
γέλωτα κατασχεῖν. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ σοι ἕνα, ὁ Κύρε,
tῶν ἐταῖρων ἐπιδεικνύω. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτῳ, 45

6 ὄσπερ εἰκός, ἐγέλασαν. ἄλλος δὲ τις ἐλέξε τῶν
tαξιάρχων. Ὑδοτὸς μὲν δὴ, ὁ Κύρε, ὡς
ἐσωκεν, ὦτῳ δυσκόλῳ ἐπέτυχεν. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὡς σὺ διδάξας
ἡμᾶς τὰς τάξεις ἀπεπεμψας καὶ ἐκέλευσας διδάσκεις τὴν
ἐαυτοῦ ἐκαστὸν τάξιν ἄ παρὰ σοῦ ἐμάθομεν, 50
οὔτω δὴ καὶ ἐγώ, ὄσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποιοῦν, ἐλθὼν
ἐδίδασκον ἐνα λόχον. καὶ στήσας τὸν λοχαγὸν
πρῶτον καὶ τάξας δὴ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἄνδρα νεανίαν καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ φῶνυ δεῖν, ἔπειτα στὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπροσ-
θεν βλέπων εἰς τὸν λόχον, ἡνίκα μοι ἐδόκει καίρος 55

7 εἰναι, προϊέναι ἐκέλευσα. καὶ ἀνὴρ σοι ὁ νεανίας
ἐκεῖνος προελθὼν τοῦ λοχαγοῦ πρότερος ἐπορεύετο.
καγώ ἰδὼν εἴπον, Ἁνθρωπε, τί ποιεῖς; καὶ ὅς ἔφη,
Προέρχομαι, ὄσπερ σὺ κελεύεις. καγώ εἴπον, Ἄλλο
οὐκ ἔγω σὲ μόνου ἐκέλευον ἄλλα πάντας προϊέναι. 60
καὶ ὅς ἀκούσας τοῦτο μεταστραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς
λοχίτας εἴπεν, Οὐκ ἀκούετε, ἔφη, λοιπονευμένου;
προϊέναι πάντας κελεύει. καὶ ἄνδρεσ πάντες παρελ-

8 θόντες τὸν λοχαγὸν ἦσαν πρὸς ἐμὲ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λοχαγὸς
αὐτῶν ἀνεχώριζε, ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ ἐλεγον, Ποτέρφ
δὴ πείθεσθαι χρῆ; νῦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν κελεύει προϊέναι, ὁ
δὲ οὐκ ἔδ. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἐνεγκὼν ταῦτα πράσως ἐξ
ἀρχῆς αὐτοὶ καταχώρισας ἔποιον μηδένα τῶν ὀπισθεν
κινεῖσθαι, πρὶν ἄν ὁ πρόσθεν ἤγηται, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
70 μόνον ὅραν πάντας, τῷ πρόσθεν ἐπεσθαί. ὡς δὲ εἰς 9
Πέρσας τις ἀπίων ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ἐκέλευσε με τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν, ἦν ἑγραφαί οἴκαδε, δοῦναι, κἀγὼ, ὁ γὰρ
λοχαγὸς ἴδει ὅπου ἐκείνο ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν
dραμόντα ἐναγκεῖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐξερέχεν, ὁ
75 δὲ νεανίὰς ἐκείνους ἐπέτετο τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ
θώρακι καὶ τῇ κοπίδι, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δὲ πᾶς λόχος ἵδον
ἐκείνον συνέτρεχον· καὶ ἥκουν οἱ ἄνδρες φέροντες τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν. οὔτως, ἐφη, ὁ γὰρ ἐμὸς λόχος σοι ἀκριβῶς
πάντα τὰ παρὰ σοῦ. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι, ὡς εἰκός, ἐγέλων 10
80 ἐπὶ τῇ δορυφορίᾳ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς. ὁ δὲ Κὺρος εἶπεν,
Ὤ Ζεὺς καὶ πάντες θεοί, οἴδας ἄρα ἡμεῖς ἐχομεν
ἀνδράς ἑταῖρος, οἳ γε εὐθεράπευτοι μὲν οὔτως εἰσίν,
ὡστε εἶναι αὐτῶν καὶ μικρὸν ὡς παμπόλλοις φίλοις
ἀνακτήσασθαι, πιθανοὶ δὲ οὔτως εἰσίν τινες, ἀμέτρω
85 εἰδέναι τὸ προστάταυμενον πρότερον πείθονται. ἐγὼ
μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, ποῖος τινᾶς χρῆ μᾶλλον εὐξασθαί ἢ
toiouitous stratiaiastos exhein. ὁ μὲν δὴ Κὺρος ἅμα γελῶν
11 οὔτως ἐπήγεσε τοὺς στρατιῶτας. ἐν δὲ τῇ
σκηνῇ ἐνυγχαίνει τις ὁν τῶν ταξιάρχων
90 Ἀγλαίτάδας ὄνομα, ἀνήρ τὸν τρόπον τῶν
στρυφνοτέρων ἀνδρῶπων, ὅς οὔτωσι πῶς εἶπεν· Ἠ
γὰρ οἶει, ἐφη, ὁ Κὺρε, τούτους ἀληθῆ λέγειν ταῦτα;
Ἀλλὰ τί μὴν βουλόμενοι, ἐφη ὁ Κὺρος, ψεύδονται;
Τί δὲ ἄλλο γ', ἐφη, εἰ μὴ γέλωτα ποιεῖν θέλοντες
95 υπὲρ οὗ λέγουσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀλαζονεύονται. καὶ ὁ
12 Κὺρος, Εὐφήμει, ἐφη, μηδὲ λέγε ἀλαζόνας εἰναι τοῦ-
τούς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀλαξῶν ἐμοιγε δοκεὶ ὄνομα κείσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς προσποιουμένοις καὶ πλουσιωτέροις εἶναι ἢ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνδρειστέροις καὶ ποιήσειν ἢ μὴ ἰκανὸν εἰσὶν ὑπισχυνομένοις, καὶ ταῦτα φανεροὶ γιγανομένοις ὅτι τοῦ λαβεῖν τι ἐνεκά καὶ κερδάναι ποιοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ μηχανώμενοι γέλωτα τοῖς συνούσι μῆτε ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶν κέρδει μῆτ᾽ ἐπὶ ζημία τῶν ἀκουόντων μῆτε ἐπὶ βλάβῃ μηδεμίᾳ, πῶς οὐχ οὖτοι ἀστεῖοι ἄν καὶ εὐχάριτες δι-καϊότερον ὄνομαξοντο μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλαξόνες; ὁ μὲν δὴ
13 Κύρος οὖτος ἀπελογήσατο περὶ τῶν τῶν γέλωτα παρασχόντων· αὐτῶς δὲ ὁ ταξιαρχὸς ὁ τὴν τοῦ λόχου χαριτίαν διηγησάμενος ἐφή, ὁ Ηπποῦ ἂν, ἐφή, ὁ Ἀγλαϊτάδα, ἔγερεν ἐπειρώμεθα σε ποιεῖν, σφόδρα ἃν ἡμῖν ἐμέμφου, ὥσπερ ἐνὶ καὶ ἐν ὀδίας καὶ ἐν λόγοις 110. οὐκτρά τινα λογοποιοῦντες εἰς δάκρυα πειρῶνται ἄγειν, ὅποτε γε νῦν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς, ὅτι εὐφραίνειν μὲν τῷ σε βουλόμεθα, βλάψαι δ᾽ οὐδὲν, ὁμος οὖτος ἐν πολλῇ
14 ἀτμίσα ἡμᾶς ἔχεις. Ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἐφη ὁ Ἀγλαϊτάδας, καὶ δικαίως γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ κλάοντας καθίζουν- 115 τος τοὺς φίλους πολλαχοῦ ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ ἐλάπτονοι ἄξια διαπράττεσθαι ὁ γέλωτα αὐτῶς μηχανώμενος. εὐχίσεις δὲ καὶ σύ, ἢν ὀρθῶς λογίζῃ, ἐμε ἀληθὴ λέγοντα. κλαύμασι μὲν γε καὶ πατέρες νιὸσ σωφρο- σύνῃ μηχανώνται καὶ διδάσκαλοι παις ἁγαθὰ μαθῆματα, καὶ νόμοι γε πολίτας διὰ τοῦ κλάοντας καθίζειν εἰς δικαιοσύνῃ προτρέπονται· τοὺς δὲ γέλωτα μηχανωμένους ἔχους ἂν εἶπειν ἢ σώματα ὕφελοντας ἡ ψυχὰς οἰκονομικώτερας τοι ποιοῦντας
15 ἡ πολιτικώτερας; ἐκ τοῦτον ὁ Ἱστάσπας ὁδὲ πως 125 εἶπε· Σύ, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀγλαϊτάδα, ἢν ἐμοὶ πελθή, εἰς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔθαρρων δαπανήσεις τοῦτο τὸ πολλοῦ
άξιον, καὶ κλάοντας ἐκείνους πειράσει καθίζειν· ἦμιν δὲ πάντως, ἔφη, τοίσδε τοὺς φίλους τούτου τοῦ οἴκου ἀξίων, τοῦ γέλωτος, ἐπιδαπνίσθησε. καὶ γὰρ οἴδ᾽ ὅτι πολύς σοὶ ἐστίν ἀποκείμενος· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς χρώμενος ἀνησύχωκας αὐτόν, οὐδὲ μὴν φίλοις οὐδὲ ἐξένοις ἐκών εἶναι γέλωτα παρέχεις· ἄστε οὐδεμία σοι πρόφασις ἔστιν, ὡς οὐ παρεκτέον σοι ἦμιν γέλωτα.

καὶ ὁ Ἀγαλαίτάδας εἶπε, Καὶ οἴει γε, ὁ Ἀτσάττα, γέλωτα περιποιεῖν ἔξ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὁ ταξίαρχος εἶπε, Ναὶ μᾶ Δι', ἀνόητος ἄρα ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ ἐκ γε σοῦ πῦρ, οἴμαι, ῥὸν ἂν τις ἐκτρέψειν ἢ γέλωτα ἔξαγαγοιτο. ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν δὴ οὐ τε ἅλλοι ἐγέλασαν, τὸν τρόπον εἰδότες αὐτοῦ, ὅ τ᾽ Ἀγαλαίτάδας ἐπεμείλασε. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἴδὼν αὐτόν φαινομένην, Ἀδικεῖς, ἔφη, ὁ ταξίαρχε, ὅτι ἀνδρὰ ἦμιν τὸν σπουδαιότατον διαφθείρεις γελᾶν ἀναπείθων, καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, οὕτω πολέμιον ὄντα τῷ γέλωτι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Χρυσάντας ὅδε ἔληξεν.

'Αλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρη καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες, ἐννοοῦ ὅτι συνεξεληλύθασι μὲν ἦμιν οἱ μὲν καὶ βελτίωνες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μείνοις ἄξιοι· ἦν δὲ τι γένηται ἀγαθῶν, ἀξιώσουσιν οὗτοι πάντες ἱσομοιρεῖν. καὶ τοῖς ἐγώ-γει οὐδὲν ἀνισώτερον νομίζω ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι ἡ τοῦ ἱσου τὸν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄξιοῦσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτο, Ἀρ᾽ οὖν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ ἄνδρες, κράτιστον ἦμῖν ἐμβελεῖν περὶ τοῦτού βουλὴν εἰς τὸ στράτευμα, πότερα δοκεῖ, ἢν τι ἐκ τῶν πόλων ὃ θεὸς ἁγαθῶν, ἱσομοιροὺς πάντας ποιεῖν, ἢ σκοπούντας τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστου πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐκάστῃ προστίθεναι; Καὶ τι δεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, δὴ τὸ Χ. X.
ἐμβαλεῖν λόγον περὶ τούτου, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ προεπείν ὡτι οὕτω ποιήσεις; οὐ καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας οὕτω προεῖπας καὶ τὰ ἄθλα; 'Αλλὰ μᾶ Δῆ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οὔχ ὤμοια ταύτα ἐκεῖνοι· ἀ μὲν γὰρ ἀν στρατεύομεν κτήσωνται, κοινὰ οἴμαι ἑαυτών ἡγησόμαι εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ἀρ-χὴν τῆς στρατιάς ἐμὴν ἅπασι ἔτι οἴκοθεν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, ὡστε διατάττοντα ἐμὲ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας οὐδὲν οἶ·

20 μαί αἰδίκειν νομίζουσιν. Ἡ καὶ οἶει, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάν-τας, ψηφίσασθαι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος συνεκλήθων ὡστε μὴ ἵσων ἐκαστὸν τυχχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ δύροις πλεονεκτεῖν; Ἕγωγ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οἴμαι, ἀμα μὲν ἡμῶν συναγορευόντων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ αἴσχρον ὃν ἀντιλέγειν τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τὸν πλεῖστα καὶ πο- νούντα καὶ ὡφέλούντα τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο καὶ μεγίστων ἁξιοῦσθαι. οἴμαι δ', ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις συμφέ-

21 ρον φανεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κύ-ρος ἐβούλετο καὶ αὐτῶν ἔνεκα τῶν ὁμοτίμων γενέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα· βελτίστως γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτῶν ἤγείτο τούτους εἶναι, εἰ εἰθεὶν ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ αὐτοῦ κρινόμενοι τῶν ἁξίων τεῦξονται. καιρὸς οὖν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι νῦν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τοῦτον ψήφου, ἐν δ' καὶ οἱ ὁμότιμοι ὁκύνου τὴν τοῦ ὅχλου ἱσομοιρίαν. οὕτω δὲ συνεδόκει τοῖς εἰν τῇ σχημῇ συμβαλέσθαι περὶ τοῦτον λόγου καὶ συναγορεύειν ταύτα ἐφάναν χρῆναι, ὅστισπερ ἀνὴρ οὕτω εἶναι.

22 Ἐπιγελάσας δὲ τῶν ταξιάρχων τις εἶπεν, Ἡalysis ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀνδρὰ οἶδα καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ὃς συνερεί ὡστε μὴ εἰκῇ οὕτως ἱσομοιρίαν εἶναι. ἄλλος δ' ἀντήρετο τοῦτον τίνα λέγω. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἔστι νη Δῆ' ἀνὴρ ἡμῶν σύσκεψις, ὃς ἐν παντὶ μαστεύει πλέον ἔχειν. ἄλλος δ' ἐπήρετο αὐτῶν, Ἡ καὶ τῶν πόλισιν; Μᾶ Δῆ',
190 ἐφὶ, οὐ μὲν δὴ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γε φευγόμενος ἐάλωκα. 
καὶ γὰρ πόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ὅρῳ 
πάνυ θαρραλέως βουλόμενον μείον ἔχειν παρ’ ὀντι-
ναοῦν. Ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἐφὶ ὁ Κύρος, ὁ ἀνδρεῖς, 
γυνώσκω τούς τοιούτους ἀνθρώ-
ποὺς οἶον καὶ οὗτος νῦν λέγει, εἶπερ δεῖ ἐνεργὸν καὶ 
πειθόμενον ἔχειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐξαιρετέοις εἶναι ἐκ 
τῆς στρατιᾶς. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τὸ μὲν πολὺ τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν εἶναι οἶον ἔπεσθαι ἢ ἂν τὶς ἥγηται. ἄγειν δ’ 
οἶμαι ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἱ μὲν καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ 
καλὰ 
κἀγαθὰ, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά. καὶ πολλάκις 
τοῖνυν πλείονας ὁμογνώμονας λαμβάνουσιν οἱ φαίλοι 
ἡ οἱ σπουδαῖοι. ἢ γὰρ πονηρία διὰ τῶν παρατικά 
ἡδονῶν πορευμένη ταῦτας ἔχει συμπειθοῦσας πολ-
λοὺς αὐτῇ ὁμογνωμονεῖν. ἢ δ’ ἁρετῇ πρὸς ορθὸν ἄγου-
σα οὐ πάνω δεινὴ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ παρατικά εἰκῇ συνεπι-
σπάσθαι, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἢν ἄλλοι δοσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρανὲς 
καὶ τὸ μαλακὸν ἀντιπαρακαλοῦντες. καὶ τοῖνυν ὅταν 
μὲν τινες βλακεία καὶ ἀπονία μόνον κακοὶ ὤσι, τού-
τους ἐγὼ νομἴζω ὀσπερ κηφῆνας δαπάνη μόνον ξημιοῦν 
τοὺς κοινῶνας· οὐ δ’ ἂν τῶν μὲν πόνων κακοὶ ὤσι 
κοινοί, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν σφοδροὶ καὶ ἀναίσ-
χυντοι, οὕτω καὶ ἱγεμονικὸς έἰσι πρὸς τὰ πονηρὰ 
pολλάκις γὰρ δύνανται τὴν πονηρίαν πλεονεκτοῦσαν 
ἀποδεικνύονται· ὡστε παντάπασιν ἐξαιρετέοι ἢμῖν οἱ 
toιοῦτοι εἰσὶ. καὶ μὴ μέντοι σκοπεῖτε ὡπώς ἐκ τῶν 
poltiων ἀντιπληρώσετε τὰς τάξεις, ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ 
ἵπποι οὐ ἂν ἄριστοι ὤσιν, οὕτως οὐ ἂν πατριώται, 
toûtous ἁγεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πάντων οὐ 
ἀν ὡμῖν δοκῶσι μάλιστα συνισχυρισθεῖν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ 
συγκοσμήσειν, τοûtous λαμβάνετε. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι.
καὶ τόδε πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀρμα δίπου ταχῶς γένοιτ' ἀν ἑραδέων ἵππων ἐνὸντον οὔτε δίκαιον ἄδικον συνεζευγμένων, οὔδε οἶκος δύναιτ' ἀν εὖ οἰκείοισθαι πόνηροις οἰκέταις χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδεόμενος οἰκετῶν ἤπτον σφάλλεται ἦ ὑπὸ ἄδικων ταραττόμε- 
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27 νοσ. εὖ δ' ἦστε, δ' ἀνδρές, ἦφη, φίλοι, ὥστι οὔδὲ τοῦτο μόνον ὑφελήσουσιν οἱ κακοὶ ἀφαιρεθέντες, ὡς κακοὶ ἀπέσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καταμενόντων οἱ μὲν ἀνετίμπλαντο ἦδη κακίας, ἀποκαθαροῦνται πάλιν ταύτης, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἱδόντες ἀτμισαθέντας πολὺ

230 εὐθυμότερον τῆς ἁρετῆς ἀνθέξονται. οἱ μὲν οὕτως εἰπτε· τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πᾶσι συνεδόξε ταύτα, καὶ οὕτως ἐποίουν.

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦτο πάλιν αὐτοῖς σκόμματος ἦρχετο δ' Κῦρος. κατανοήσας γὰρ τινα τῶν λο- χαγῶν σύνδειτυν καὶ παρακλάτην πε- 

235 ποιημένον ἀνδρα ὑπέρδασιν τε καὶ ὑπέρασχρον, ἀνακαλέσας τὸν λοχαγὸν ὠνομαστὶ εἰπεν ὀδε· ὩΣ Σαμβαύλα, ἦφη, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ σὺ κατὰ τὸν Ἐλλη- νικόν τρόπον, ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ, περιάγει τοῦτο τὸ μειράκιον τὸ παρακατακείμενὸν σοι; Νὴ τὸν Δ', ἐφη Ὁ Σαμβαύλας, ἰδομαι γοῦν καὶ ἐγὼ συνών τε καὶ 

240 θεῶμενος τοῦτον. ἀκούσαντες ταύτα οἱ σύσκηνοι προσέβλεψαν· ὡς δὲ εἴδον τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπερβάλλον αἶσχε, ἐγέλασαν πάντες. καὶ τις εἰπε, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὃ Σαμβαύλα, πούρ ποτὲ σε ἔργῳ δ' 

245 ἀνήρ οὐτος ἀνήρτηται; καὶ δς εἰπεν, 'Εγώ ὑμῖν νὴ τὸν Δλα, ὃ ἀνδρες, ἔρω. ὅποσάκις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσα εἰτε νυκτὸς εἰτε ἡμέρας, οὐπώποτε μοι οὔτε ἀσχολίαν προνα- φασισατο οὕτε βάδην ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τρέχων· ὅποσάκις τε αὐτῷ πράξας τι προσέταξα, οὔτεν ἀνε- 

250 δρωτὶ ποτε αὐτὸν εἴδον ποιοῦντα. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ
τοὺς δεκαδέας πάντας τουούτους, οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ’ ἔργῳ ἀποδεικνύσας οὖνς δεὶ εἶναι. καὶ τις εἶπε, Κάπειτα 31 τουούτων ὄντα οὐ φιλείς αὐτοῦ ὀστερ τοὺς συγγενεῖς; 255 καὶ ὁ αἰσχρὸς ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τότῳ ἔφη· Μά Δία· οὐ γὰρ φιλόπονόν ἔστιν· ἐπεὶ ἤρκει ἀν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἐμὲ ἦθελε φιλεῖν, τότῳ ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων.

III Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἰδὶ καὶ γελοῦσα καὶ στουδαία καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐπράττετο ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. τέλος δὲ τὰς τρίτας στουδὰς ποιήσαντες καὶ εὐξάμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς τάγαθα τήν σκηνήν εἰς κοίτην διέλυν. τῇ δ’ ύστερᾳ γὰρ Κῦρος 5 συνελέξε πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐλέγει τοιάδε·

"Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι, ὃ μὲν ἁγὼν ἔγχυς ἡμῖν· προσέρχονται γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι. τὰ δ’ ἄθλα τῆς νίκης, ἤν μὲν ἥμείς νικῶμεν, τοῦτο γὰρ, ἔφη, δεῖ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν, δῆλον 10 ὅτι οὐ τε πολέμιοι ἥμετεροι καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμών ἀγαθὰ πάντα· ἤν δὲ ἥμείς αὐτοῖς νικόμεθα, καὶ οὕτω τὰ τῶν νικώμενων πάντα τοῖς νικώσων αἰὲ ἄθλα πρόκειται. οὕτω δὴ, ἔφη, δεῖ ύμᾶσ 3 γιγνώσκειν, ὅσ ὅταν μὲν ἀνθρωποί κοινωνεῖν πολέμων 15 γενόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκαστοί ἕχοσιν, ὅσ, εἰ μὴ ἑαυτὸς τις προβυβρίσται, οὐδὲν ἐσόμενον τῶν δεόντων, ταχὺ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπράττονται· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἁρ- γεῖται τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων· ὅταν δ’ ἐκαστος δια- νοηθῇ ὅσ ἄλλος ἔσται ὁ πράττων καὶ ὁ μαχόμενος, 20 κἂν αὐτὸς μαλακίζηται, τοῦτος, ἔφη, εὖ ἵστε ὅτι πά- σιν ἀμα πάντα ἤκει τὰ χαλεπὰ φερόμενα. καὶ ὁ θεὸς 4 οὕτω πως ἐποίησε· τοῖς μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς προστάτ- τεν ἐκπονεῖν τάγαθα, ἄλλους αὐτοῖς ἑπιτακτήρας δι- δώσῃ. νῦν οὖν τις, ἔφη, λεγέτω ἐνθάδε ἀναστάς περὶ 25 αὐτοῦ τοῦτο, ποτέρως ἀν τὴν ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον οἶςται
άσκεισθαί παρ’ ἡμῖν, εἰ μέλλοι δ’ πλείστα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλων πλείστης καὶ τιμῆς τεῦξεσθαι, ἢ ἀν εἰδόμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει κακὸν εἶναι· ὡμόως γὰρ πάντες τῶν ἱσων τεῦξεσθαι· ἑνταῦθα δὴ ἀναστάσ

Χρυσάντας, εἰς τῶν ὁμοτίμων, ἀνὴρ οὔτε 30 μέγας οὔτε ἱσχυρὸς ίδείν, φρονήσει δὲ δια-

φέρων, ἔλεξεν· Ἄλλα οἶμαι μὲν ἔφη ὡς Κύρη, οὐδὲ διανοούμενον σε, ὡς δεὶ ἱσον ἔχειν τούς κακοὺς τοὺς ἀγαθοῖς, ἐμβαλεῖν τούτων τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ’ ἀποπειρῶ-

μενον, εἰ τις ἀρα ἔσται ἄνηρ ὅστις ἑθελήσει ἐπιδείξαι 35 ἐαυτὸν ὃς διανοεῖται μηδὲν καλὸν κάγαθον ποιῶν, ἣν ἄλλοι τῇ ἀρετῇ καταπράξωσι, τοῦτων ἵσομοιρεῖν.

6 ἐγὼ δ’, ἔφη, οὔτε ποσίν εἰμι ταχὺς οὔτε χερσίν ἱσχυρός, γυνώσκω τε ὅτι ἐξ ὧν ἀν ἔγω τῷ ἐμῷ σώματι ποιήσω, οὐ κριθεὶν οὔτε ἀν πρῶτος οὔτε ἀν δεύτερος, οἶμαι δ’ 40 ὦν ἐπὶ ἕλιοντός, ἵς ὥς δ’ οὔδ’ ἀν μυριστός· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνο, ἔφη, σαφῶς ἐπίσταται ὅτι, εἰ μὲν οἱ δυνα-

τοί ἐρρωμένους ἀντιλήψονται τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς μοι μετέσται τοσοῦτον μέρος ὅσον ἀν δίκαιον ἢ· εἰ δ’ οἱ μὲν κακοὶ μηδὲν ποιήσονται, οἱ δ’ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ 45 δυνατοὶ ἀθύμοις ἔξουσι, δέδοικα, ἔφη, μὴ ἄλλου τινὸς μᾶλλον ἦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεθέξω πλείον μέρος ἢ ἔγω βούλομαι. Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ ούτως εἶπεν.

ἀνέστη δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Φεραύλας Πέρσης τῶν
dημοτῶν, Κύρῳ πώς ἔτι οἶκοθεν συνήθης 50 καὶ ἀρετῶς ἄνηρ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ ἄνδρι οὐκός, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

7 Περαύλας, οὗτος ζεύστης τῶν
dημοτῶν, Κύρῳ πώς ἔτι οἶκοθεν συνήθης 50 καὶ ἀρετῶς ἄνηρ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ ἄνδρι οὐκός, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

8 ἕγω’ ἔφη, ὡς Κύρη καὶ πάντεσ τε ἐν τῇ ἑσματίζεσθαι, ἤγομαι μὲν ἱμάς πάντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱσον νῦν ὅρ-

μάσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς· ὡρῷ γὰρ 55 ὀμοῖο μὲν τροφὴ πάντας ἱμᾶς τὸ σῶμα ἀσκοῦντας,
όμοιας δὲ συνενώσεις πάντας ἀξιομένους, ταύτα δὲ πάσιν ἡμῶν πρόκειται. τὸ τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄρχουσι πεί-
θεσθαι πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ κεῖται, καὶ ὃς ἂν φανῇ τοῦτο ἀπροφασίστως ποιῶν, τοῦτον ὅρῷ παρὰ Κύρου τιμῆς
τυγχάνοντα· τὸ τε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλκιμὸν εἶναι οὗ τῷ μὲν προσήκον τῷ δὲ οὖ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καὶ τοῦτο
προκέκριται κάλλιστον εἶναι. νῦν δὲ ἐφη, ἡμῖν καὶ
deίκνυται máχη, ἦν ἐγὼ ὅρῳ πάντας ἀνθρώπους φύσει
ἐπισταμένους, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τάλλα ξώα ἐπίσταται
τινα máχην ἐκαστα οὐδὲ παρ’ ένὸς ἄλλου μαθόντα ἡ
παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, οἷον οἱ βούς κέρατα παλεῖν, οἱ ἵππος
ὀπλῆς, ὁ κύων στόματι, ὁ κάρπος ὀδόντως. καὶ φυλάτ-
tεσθαί γ’, ἐφη, ἀπαντα ταύτα ἐπίσταται, ἀφ’ ὃν μᾶ-
λιστα δεί, καὶ ταύτα εἰς οὐδενὸς διδασκάλου πώποτε
φοιτήσαντα· καὶ ἐγώ, ἐφη, ἐκ παιδίον εὐθὺς προβάλ-
λεσθαὶ ἡπιστάμην πρὸ τοῦτον ὃ,τι όμην πληρήσεσ-
θαί· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔχομι, τῷ χείρι προέχουν
ἐνεπόδιξον ὃ,τι ἑδυνάμην τὸν πάλιντα· καὶ τοῦτο
ἐποίουν οὐ διδασκόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τοῦτο,
παιδείμενος εὶ προβάλοιμην. máχαιράν γε μὴν εὐθὺς
παιδίον ὅν ἡρπαξον ὅπου ἵδοιμι, οὐδὲ παρ’ ἐνὸς οὐδὲ
τοῦτο μαθῶν ὅπως δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἡ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως,
ὡς ἐγώ φημι. ἐποίουν γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο κωλυόμενος,
οὐ διδασκόμενος· ὥσπερ καὶ ἀλλὰ ἔστιν ὁ εἰργόμε-
νος καὶ ὑπὸ μητρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ πατρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως
πράττειν ἡμαγκαζόμην. καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ἔπαινον γε τῇ
μαχαίρα πᾶν ὁ,τι δυναίμην λαυθάνειν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον
φύσει ἦν, ὥσπερ τὸ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
᾿ἡδὺ πρὸς τῷ περικεῖναι τοῦτο ἔδοκει μοι εἶναι. ἐπεὶ
δ’ οὖν ἐφη, αὕτη ἡ máχη καταλείπεται, ἐν ἥ προθυ-
μίας μᾶλλον ἡ τέχνης ἔργον ἐστι, πῶς ἡμῖν οὐχ
ἡδέως πρὸς τούς δεταρόμενος ἀγωνιστέων; ὅπου
γε τὰ μὲν ἀθλα τῆς ἀρετῆς Ἰσα πρὸκειται, παραβαλ-
λόμενοι δὲ οὐκ ἵσα εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον ἱμεν, ἀλλὰ οὕτωι νὸ
μὲν ἔντιμον, ὅσπερ μόνος ἢδιστος, βίον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπι-
πονον μὲν, ἀτιμον δὲ, ὅσπερ οἴμαι χαλεπώτατος.
12 μάλιστα δὲ, ὁ ἄνδρας, τούτοι με [εὐθύμως] εἰς τὸν
ἀγώνα τὸν πρὸς τούς παρομακά, ὅτι Κύρος ὁ κρίνων
ἐσται, ὃς οὐ φθόνος κρίνει, ἀλλὰ σὺν θεῶν ὥρκῳ λέγω
ἡ μὴν ἐμοί δοκεῖ Κύρος οὐστινας ἃν ὄρα ἁγαθοὺς
φιλεῖν οὐδὲν ἠτοῦ ἐαυτὸν. τούτως γονὺ ὅρῳ αὐτὸν
ὁ,τι ἀν ἔχῃ ἡμῖν διδόντα μᾶλλον ἡ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα.
13 καλτοῖ, ἐφι, οἶδα ὅτι οὕτωι μέγα φρονοῦσιν, ὅτι πεπαι-
δευνται δὴ καὶ πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ δίψαν καὶ πρὸς ρύγος
καρτερεῖν, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ταύτα ἡμεῖς ύπὸ
κρείττονος διδασκάλου πεπαιδεύμεθα ἡ οὕτωι. οὐ
γὰρ ἐστὶ διδάσκαλος οὐδεὶς τούτων κρείττον τῆς
ἀνάγκης, ἡ ἡμᾶς καὶ θαν ταύτ ἀκριβοῦν ἐδίδαξε.
14 καὶ πονεῖν οὕτωι μὲν τὰ ὄπλα φέροντες ἐμελέτων, ἂ
ἐστιν ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἡμηρμένα ὡς ἀν εὐφορότατα
ἐίη, ἡμεῖς δὲ γ', ἐφη, ἐν μεγάλοις φορτίοις καὶ βαδίζων
caille τρέχειν ἡμαγακζόμεθα, ὅστε νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ
τῶν ὄπλων φόρημα πτεροῖς μᾶλλον ἕσκεναι ἡ φορτίω.
15 ως οὖν ἐκόη γε καὶ ἀγωνισμένον καὶ, ὅποιος ἀν τις ᾧ,
κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν με τιμῶν ἀξιώσωντος, οὕτως, ἐφη, ὁ
Κύρη, γίγνωσκε. καὶ ὡμῖν γ', ἐφη, ὁ ἄνδρες δημόται,
παρανω ἐις ἔριν ὀρμᾶσθα ταύτης τῆς
μάχης πρὸς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους τούς, ἔν γὰρ ἄνδρες εἰλημένοι εἰσίν ἔν ὅμο-
16 τικῇ ἀγωνίᾳ. Φεραύλας μὲν δὴ οὕτως
ἐπειν. ἀνίσταντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ
ἐκατέρων συναγορεύοντες: ἐδοξε κατὰ
τὴν ἀξίαν τιμᾶσθαι ἐκαστὸν, Κύρον δὲ τὸν κρίνοντα ἐναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω προσκεχωρήκει.

'Εκάλεσε δὲ ἐπὶ δείπνων ὁ Κύρος καὶ ὅλην ποτὲ τάξιν σὺν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ, ἱδον αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἠμίσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τάξεως ἀντι- τάξαντα ἐκατέρωθεν εἰς ἐμβολὴν, θάρα- κασ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ἐχοντας καὶ γέρρα ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς, εἰς δὲ τὰς δεξιὰς νάρ- θηκας παραίει τοὺς ἠμίσεις ἐδώκε, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέρους ἐπεν ὅτι βάλλειν δεῖσθοι ἀναι- ρουμένους ταῖς βάλοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρασκευασμένοι

οὕτως ἐστησαν, ἐσήμηνεν αὐτοῖς μάχεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐβάλλον ταῖς βάλοις καὶ ἔστων οἱ καὶ ἐτύγχανον καὶ θαράκων καὶ γέρρων, οἱ δὲ καὶ μηροῦ καὶ κη- μίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὦμοὶ ἐγένοντο, οἱ τοὺς νάρθηκας ἐχοντες ἐπαίουν τῶν μὲν μηρῶν, τῶν δὲ χεῖρας, τῶν δὲ κυήμας, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπικυπτόντων ἐπὶ βάλοις ἐπαίουν τοὺς τραχήλους καὶ τὰ νώτα. τέλος δὲ τρεψά- μενοι ἐδώκον οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι παίουτες σὺν πολλῷ γέλωτι καὶ παιδία. ἐν μέρει γε μὴν οἱ ἐτεροὶ λα- βόντες πάλιν τοὺς νάρθηκας ταῦτα ἐποίησαν τοὺς ταῖς βάλοις βάλλοντας. ταῦτα δ’ ἀγασθεὶς ὁ Κύρος, τοῦ μὲν ταξιάρχου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν πειθό, ὅτι ἁμα μὲν ἐγυμνάζοντο, ἁμα δὲ ψυχιμοῦντο, ἁμα δὲ ἐνίκων οἱ ἑκασθέντες τῇ τῶν Περσῶν ὑπέλειε, τούτοις δὴ ἡσθεὶς ἐκάλεσε τέ ἐπὶ δείπνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἱδον τινας αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδεμένους, τὸν μὲν τινα ἀντικυμίου, τὸν δὲ χεῖρα, ἡρώτα τι πάθοιεν. οἱ δ’ ἐλεγον ὅτι πληγεῖεν ταῖς βάλοις. δὲ πάλιν ἐπη- ρώτα, πότερον ἐπεὶ ὦμοὶ ἐγένοντο ἢ ὅτε πρόσω ἠσαν. οἱ δ’ ἐλεγον ὅτε πρόσω ἠσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὦμοὶ ἐγένοντο,
παιδιαν ἔφασαν εἶναι καλλίστην οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι· οἱ δὲ συγκεκομμένοι τῶν νάρθηξιν ἀνέκραγον ὅτι οὐ σφίσι δοκοῖ παιδιὰ εἶναι τὸ ὁμόθεν παίεσθαι· ἀμα δὲ ἐπεδείκνυσαν τῶν ναρθηκών τὰς πληγὰς καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐν τραχήλοις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἐν προσώποις.

καὶ τότε μὲν, ὡσπερ εἰκός, ἐγέλων ἐπὶ ἀλ- κῆλος. τῇ δ᾽ ὠστεραλῇ μεστὸν ἦν τὸ πεδίον πάν τῶν τούτων μιμομένων· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἄλλο τι σπουδαιότερον πράττοιεν, ταύτη τῇ παιδίᾳ ἐχρῶτο.

21 Ἄλλον δὲ ποτε ἰδὼν ταξιαρχον ἄχοιτα τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ του ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ἐφ᾽ ἑνός, καὶ ὅπως δοκοῖ αὐτῷ καροῦ εἶναι, παραγγέλλουτα τὸν ὠστερον λόχον παράγειν, καὶ τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον, εἰς μέτωπον, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐν μετώπῳ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐγένοντο, παραγγέλησεν εἰς δύο ἄγειν τὸν λόχον· ἕκ τούτου δὴ παρῆγον οἱ δεκάδαρχοι εἰς μέτωπον· ὅποτε δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἑδόκει αὐτῷ καιρὸς εἶναι, παράγηγελεν εἰς τέταρας τὸν λόχον· οὗτο δὴ οἱ πειπαδάρχοι αὐτῷ παρῆγον εἰς τέταρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς σκηνῆς ἐγένοντο, παραγγέλουσα 155 αὐτῷ εἰς οὕτως εἰσῆγεν τὸν πρῶτον λόχον, καὶ τὸν δεύτερον τούτου κατ᾽ οὐράν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπεσθαι, καὶ τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον ὁσαύτως παραγγέλουσα ἠγεῖτο εἰςω· οὗτο δ᾽ εἰσαγαγὼν κατέκλυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον, ὡσπερ εἰσεπορεύόντο· τούτον οὖν ὁ Κύρος ἀγασθεὶς τῆς τε πραότητος τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐκάλεσε ταύτῃ τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον σὺν τῷ ταξιαρχῷ.

22 Παρῴν δὲ τὶς ἐπὶ τῷ δεύτερῳ κεκλημένοις ἄλλος ταξιαρχὸς, τῇ δ᾽ ἐμήν, ἐφη, τάξιν, ὁ Κύρος, οὐ καλεῖς.
eis tēn skēnēn; kai μὴν ὅταν γε παρῆ ἐπὶ τὸ

deῖπνον, πάντα ταῦτα ποιεῖ· καὶ ὅταν
télos ἡ σκηνή ἐχῇ, ἔξαγε μὲν ὁ οὐραγός,
ἔφη, ὁ τοῦ τελευταίου λόχου τῶν λόχων,

185 ὑστάτους ἔχων τοὺς πρῶτους τεταγμένους εἰς μάχην'
ἐπειτὰ ὁ δεύτερος τοὺς τοῦ ἐτέρου λόχου ἐπὶ τούτους,
καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ὁσαύτως, ὅπως, ἔφη, καὶ
ὅταν ἀπέγει δέχ ἀπὸ πολεμίου, ἐπιστονται ὅσ δεὶ
ἀπιέναι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ, ἔφη, καταστῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν δρόμον

190 ἐνθα περιπατοῦμεν, ὅταν μὲν πρὸς ἔω ἱσθον, ἐγὼ μὲν
ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος λόχος πρῶτος, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος
ὡς δεὶ, καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, καὶ αἱ τῶν λόχων
dekádes καὶ πεμπάδες, ἐως ἀν παραγγέλλω ἐγὼ·
ὅταν δ', ἔφη, πρὸς ἐστέραν ἱσθον, ὁ οὐραγός τε καὶ οἱ
teleuται τῶν πρῶτοι ἀφηγοῦνται· ἐμοὶ μέντοι ὄντω
πεῖθουνται ὑστέρῳ ἱστε, ἵνα ἐθίζωνται καὶ ἐπεσθαί
καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ὡμοίως πειθόμενοι. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔφη,

195 Ἡ καὶ ἀεὶ τούτο ποιεῖτε; Ὅπωςάκις γε, ἔφη, καὶ
dευνυποποίουμεθα νή Δια. Καλῶ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς, 23

200 ἀμα μὲν ὅτι τὰς τάξεις μελετᾶτε καὶ προσιόντες καὶ
ἀπιόντες, ἀμα δ' ὅτι καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ἀμα δ'
ὅτι τὰ σῶματα περιπατοῦντες ἀσκεῖτε καὶ τὰς
ψυχὰς ὠφελεῖτε διδάσκοντες. ἐπεὶ οὐν πάντα διπλὰ
ποιεῖτε, διπλὴν ὑμῖν δίκαιοι καὶ τὴν εὐώχιαν παρέχειν.

205 Μάλ' ἔφη ὁ ταξιαρχὸς, μήτοι ν' ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, εἰ' 24
μὴ καὶ διπλὰς ἡμῖν τὰς γαστέρας παρέξεις. καὶ τότε
μὲν δὴ ὀὕτω τὸ τέλος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐποιήσαντο. τῇ δ'
ὕστεραίς ὁ Κύρος ἐκάλεσεν ἐκείνην τὴν τάξιν, ὡσπερ
ἔφη, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι

210 τὸ λοιπὸν πάντες αὐτοὺς ἐμμοῦντο.

IV 'Εξέτασιν δὲ ποτε πάντων τοῦ Κύρου ποιουμένου
Έν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ σύνταξιν ἦλθε παρὰ Κυαξάρου ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι Ἰνδῶν παρεῖν προσβελα· κελεύει όων σε ἐλθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα. φέρω δέ σου, ἐφη δ' ἄγγελος, καὶ στολήν τήν καλλιστὴν παρὰ Κυαξάρου· ἐβούλετο γάρ σε ὡς λαμπρότατα καὶ εὐκοσμότατα προσάγειν, ὡς ὄψομένων τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὅπως ἂν προσῆγ. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα δ' Κύρος παρῆγγειλε τῷ πρῶτῳ τεταγμένῳ ταξιάρχῃ εἰς μέτωπον στῆναι, ἐφ' εὖς ἄγοντα τὴν τάξιν, ἐν δὲξίᾳ ἔχοντα ἑαυτόν, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτό τούτῳ παραγγέλλαι, καὶ διὰ πάντων οὕτω παραδίδοναι ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι ταχύ μὲν παρῆγγελλον, ταχὺ δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐποίοιν, ἐν ὁλίγῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἔγενοντο τὸ μὲν μέτωπον ἐπὶ τριακοσίων, τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ταξιάρχοι, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἑκατόν. ἔπελ δὲ κατέστησαν, ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἦγηται· καὶ εὔθυς προχάζον ἤγείτο. ἔπελ δὲ κατενόησε τὴν ἁγιαίνη τὴν πρὸς τὸ βασίλειον φέρουσαν στενωτέραν οὕτων ἦ γάρ εἰς μετώπον πάντας διενέα, παραγγείλας τὴν πρώτην χιλιοστῶν ἔπεσθαι κατὰ χώραν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν κατ' οὐρὰν ταύτης ἀκολουθεῖν, καὶ διὰ πάντως οὕτως, αὐτὸς μὲν ἤγείτο οὐκ ἀναπαυόμενος, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι χιλιοστῖες κατ' οὐρὰν ἐκάστη τῆς ἐμπροσθεν εἴποντο.

Η ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέτας δύο ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς ἁγιαίνης, ὡς, εἰ τὰς ἁγιολη, σημαινοῦν τὸ δέον ποιεῖν. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξάρου θύρας, παρῆγγειλε τῷ πρῶτῳ ταξιάρχῃ τὴν τάξιν εἰς δώδεκα τάττειν βάθος, τοὺς δὲ δώδεκάρχους ἐν μετώπῳ καθιστάναι περὶ τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ταύτα ἐκέλευσε παραγγείλαι, καὶ διὰ πάντως οὕτως. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν'
ο δ' εἰσῄει πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ στολῇ καὶ 
οὐδέν τι υβρισμένη. ἵδιν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κυαξάρης τῷ 
μὲν τάχει ἤσθη, τῷ δὲ φαυλότητι τῆς στολῆς ἡχθέσθη, 
καὶ εἴπε, Τί τούτο, ὁ Κύρη; ὅσον πεπολήκας οὔτω 
φανεῖς τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς; ἐγὼ δ', ἐφή, ἐβουλόμην σε ὧς 
λαμπρότατον φανήναι· καὶ γὰρ ἔμοι ἀν κόσμος ἢν 
τούτο, ἐμὴς ὡμὴν ἀδελφῆς ὑιόν ὦτι μεγαλοπρεπέστα-
τον φανεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κύρος πρὸς ταύτα εἴπε, Καὶ ὁ 
ποτέρως ἂν, ὁ Κυαξάρης, μάλλον σε ἐκόσμου, ἐίπερ 
πορφυρίδα ἐνδὺς καὶ ψέλλα λαβὼν καὶ στρεπτῶν περι-
θέμενος σχολῇ κελεύοντι ὑπήκοον σοι, ἢ νῦν ὦτε σὺν 
τοιαύτῃ καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυνάμει οὕτω σοι ὄξεος ὑπακοοῦ 
διὰ τὸ σὲ τιμῶν ἱδρώτι καὶ στούν ὁ καὶ αὐτῶς κεκοσμη-
μένος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιδεικνύς σοι οὕτω πειθομέ-
νους; Κύρος μὲν οὖν ταύτα εἴπεν. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης 
νομίζας αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς λέγειν ἐκάλεσε τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. οἱ 7 
δὲ Ἰνδοὶ εἰσελθόντες ἔλεξαν ὦτι πέμψεις σφᾶς ὁ 
Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς κελεύων ἐρωτάν, εἴς ὅτι ὁ πόλεμος 
ἐίη Μῆδος τε καὶ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ· ἐπεὶ δὲ σοῦ ἀκού-
σαιμεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντας αὐ τῶν τὸν Ἀσσυρίον 
κακελουν ταύτα πυθέσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἄμφοτέροις εἰπεῖν 
ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, τὸ δίκαιον σκεψάμενος, 
φαίη μετὰ τοῦ ἰδικημένου ἔσεσθαι. πρὸς ταύτα ὁ 8 
Κυαξάρης εἴπεν ὁ Ἔμοῦ μὲν τοῖνυν ἀκοῦτε, The reply 
ὅτι οὐκ ἀδικούμεν τὸν Ἀσσυρίον οὐδέν· Cyaxares. 
ἐκείνου δ', εἰ δεῖσθε, ἐλθόντες νῦν πύθεσθε ὦ,τὶ λέγει. 
παρῳ δὲ ὁ Κύρος ήρετο τὸν Κυαξάρην, Ἡ καὶ ἐγώ, 
60 ἐφη, εἴπτω ὁ, τι γιγνώσκω; καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἐκέλευσεν. 
Τμεῖς τοῖνυν, ἐφή, ἀπαγγέλλατε τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ 
τάδε, εἰ μὴ τῷ ἄλλῳ Κυαξάρῃ δοκεῖ, ὅτι 
φαμὲν ἤμεῖς, εἰ τί φησιν υφ' ἡμῶν ἀδι- The reply of 
Cyrus.
κείσθαι ὁ Ἅσσυριος, αἴρείσθαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα δικαστήν. οἱ μὲν δὲ ταύτα ἀκούσαντες ἄχοντο. 65

9 Ἡσπεῖ δὲ ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ὁ Κύρος πρὸς τὸν Κυναξάρην ἦρξετο λόγου τοιοῦτος:

"Ω Κυναξάρη, ἐγώ μὲν ἢλθον οὐδὲν τι πολλὰ ἔχων ὑδα εχρήματα οὐκοθεν· ὅποσα δ' ἦν, τούτων πάνω ὅληγα λοιπὰ ἔχω· ἀνήλωκα 70 δέ, ἑφη, εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ τούτῳ ἱσως, ἑφη, θαυμάζεις σὺ πῶς ἐγὼ ἀνήλωκα σοῦ αὐτοὺς τρέφοντος· εὖ δ' ἵσθι, ἑφη, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶν ἢ τιμῶν καὶ χάρις ὁμοιός, ὅταν τινὶ ἁγασθῶ τῶν στρατιῶτων. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι, ἑφη, πᾶντας μὲν, οὐς ἂν τὶς βούληται ἁγαθοὺς συνεργοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ὅπολον τινὸς οὐν πράγματος, ἥδιον εἶναι εῦ τε λέγοντα καὶ εὖ ποιοῦντα παρορμᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ λυποῦντα καὶ ἄναγκαζοντα· οὔς δὲ δὴ 80 τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων ποιήσασθαι τῖς βούλιοτο συνεργοὺς προθύμους, τούτους παντάπασιν ἔμοιρη δοκεῖ ἁγαθοῖς θηρατέον εἶναι καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις. φίλους γάρ, οὐκ ἔχρονας, δεῖ εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀπροφασίστους συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ μῆτε τοῖς 85 ἁγαθοῖς τῷ ἄρχοντος φθονήσοντας μῆτε ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς προδόσοντας. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ οὕτω προγυνώσκων χρημάτων δοκῶ προσδείσθαι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν σὲ πάντα ὅραν, δι' αἰσθάνομαι πολλὰ δαπανῶτα, ἀτοπών μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι· σκοπεῖν δ' ἄξιόν κοινὴ καὶ ὧν σὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ὅπως σὲ μὴ ἐπιτελέσεις χρήματα. ἐὰν γὰρ σὺ ἀφθονα ἔχως, οἶδα ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἣν εἰσ λαμβάνειν, ὅποτε δεόμην, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ εἰς τοιοῦτον τι λαμβάνοιμι, δ' μέλλοι καὶ σοὶ δαπανηθέν
βέλτιον εἶναι. ἔναγχος οὖν ποτὲ σου μέμνημαί ἀκούσας, ὃς ὁ Ἄρμενιος καταφρονοῦσας σου νῦν, ὅτι ἀκούει τόυς πολεμίους προσίόντας ἢμῖν, καὶ οὕτε τὸ στρατεύμα πέμπτοι οὕτε τὸν δασμόν οὖν ἔδει απάγοι. Ποιεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρης, ἐκείνος· ἀστε ἐγωγε ἀπορῶ πότερον μοι κρείττον στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πειράσθαι ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἔσαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, μὴ καὶ τούτων πολέμιον πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις προσθάμεθα. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπήρετο, Αὐτῷ ἀποκήσεις αὐτῷ πότερον ἐν ἔχροις χρώλιος εἰσὶν ἢ καὶ που ἐν εὐεφόδοις; καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἔπευ, Αὐτῷ μεν οἰκήσεις οὐ πάνυ ἐν ἔχροις· ἐγὼ γὰρ τούτων οὐκ ἡμέλουν· ὅρη μέντοι ἐστίν ἐνθα δύναι ἀν ἀπελθῶν ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ εἶναι τοῦ μὴ αὐτὸς γε ὑποχέριος γενέσθαι, μηδὲ ὅσα ἐνταῦθα δύνατο ὑπεκκουμίσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τις πολυροκόη προσκαθήμενος, ὡςπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ τοῦτο ἑποίησεν. ἕκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει τάδε: Ἀλλ' εἰ θέλοις, ἐφη, ἐμὲ πέμψαι, ἵππεας μοι προσβεῖς ὅποσοι δοκοῦσι μέτριοι εἰναι, οἶμαι ἃν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ποιήσαι αὐτόν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πέμψαι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν δασμόν σοι· ἐτὶ δ' ἐλπίζω καὶ φίλον αὐτόν μᾶλλον ἢμῖν γενήσεσθαι ἡ νῦν ἔστι. καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἔπε, Καλ' ἐγὼ, ἐφη, ἐλπίζω εκείνους ἐλθεῖν ἂν πρὸς σὲ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἐμὲ· ἀκούοι γὰρ καὶ συνθηρεύτας τινας τῶν παίδων σοι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ· ὡστ' ἵσως ἂν καὶ τάλων ἐλθοιεν πρὸς σὲ· ὑποχειρίων δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν πάντα πραχθεῖν ἂν ἢ ἡμέοις βουλόμεθα. Οὐκοῦν σοι δοκεῖ, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, σύμφορον εἶναι τὸ λεληθέναι ἡμᾶς ταῦτα βουλεύοντας; Μᾶλλον γὰρ ἄν, ἐφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, καὶ ἐλθοι τοις αὐτῶν εἰς
κέιρας, καὶ εἰ τις ὄρμῳτο ἐπʼ αὐτούς, ἀπαράσκευοι
16 ἂν λαμβάνωτο. Ἀκούει τοίνυν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ἦν τι
σοι δόξω λέγειν. ἔγω πολλάκισ ἤ δὴ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς
μετ’ ἐμοῦ τεθήρακα ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀρία τῆς τε σῆς χώρας
καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων, καὶ ἵππεας τινὰς ἦδη προσ-
λαβῶν τῶν ἐνθέντε ἔταλαν ἀφικόμην. Τὰ μὲν
τοίνυν ὄμοια ποιῶν, ἐφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ἂν ὑπο-
πτεῦοι· εἰ δὲ πολὺ πλεῖών ἡ δύναμις φαίνοτο ἢς
ἐχων εἰσθαν θηρᾶν, τούτῳ ἦδη ὑποπτον ἂν γένοιτο.

17 Ἄλλ’ ἔστω, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ πρόφασιν κατα-
σκευάσαι καὶ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἄπιστον, καὶ ἦν τις ἐκεῖσε
ἐξαγγείλῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ βουλοῖμην μεγάλην θήραν ποιῆσαι·
kαὶ ἵππεας, ἐφη, αἰτολίν ἃν σε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ.
Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἐφη ὁ Κυαξάρης· ἐγὼ δὲ σοι
οὐκ ἐθελήσω διδόναι πλὴν μετρίους τινὰς, ὡς βουλό-
μενος πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ἐλθεῖν τὰ πρὸς τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ.
καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι, ἐφη, βοῦλομαι ἐλθὼν κατασκευάσαι
ἀυτὰ ὡς ἐχυρῶτατα. ὅπως δὲ σὺ προεληνυθοῖς
σὺν ἢ ἔχων δυνάμει καὶ θηρών καὶ δὴ δύο ἡμέρας,
πέμψαμι ἃν σοι ἰκανούς ἵππεας καὶ πεζοὺς τῶν
παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἠθρωσμένων, οὐσ σὺ λαβῶν εὐθὺς ἂν ἦς,
kαὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἂν ἔχων τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν πειράμην
μὴ πρὸσ ὑμῶν εἶναι, ἤνα, εἰ που καίρος εἴη,
ἐπιφανεῖν.

18 Οὔτω δὴ ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης εὐθέως πρὸς τὰ φρούρια
ἡθροιζεν ἵππεας καὶ πεζοὺς, καὶ ἀμάξας δὲ σίτου
προὔπεμπε τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια ὅδον. ὁ δὲ Κύρος
ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ ἄμα πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸν
Κυαξάρην ἧτε τῶν νεωτέρων ἵππεων. ὁ δὲ πάνω
πολλῶν βουλομένων ἐπεσθαί σὺ πολλοὺς ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ.
155 προεληνυθότος δ’ ἦδη τοῦ Κυαξάρου σὺν δυνάμει
πεζή καὶ ἵππικὴ τὴν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ὁδὸν γῆγνεται τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ ἑρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμενίων ἱέναι καλὰ· καὶ ὁὔτως ἐξάγει δὴ ὡς εἰς θήραν παρεσκευασμένος. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ εὔθυς ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ χωρίῳ ὑπανιστᾶται λαγῶς· αετὸς δ' ἐπιπτόμενος αὐξίος, κατίδων τὸν λαγὸν φεύγοντα, ἐπιφερόμενος ἐπαισύ τε αὐτὸν καὶ συναρπάζας ἐξήκει, καπενεγκών ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ οὐ πρόσω ἔχριτο τῇ ἄγρᾳ ὅ,τι ἦθελεν. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Κύρος τὸ σημεῖον ἠσθήτη τε καὶ προσεκύνησε Δία βασιλέα, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς πάροντας, Ἡ μὲν θῆρα καλὴ ἔσται, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἦν ὁ θεὸς θελήσῃ. ἡς δὲ πρὸς τὸις ὀρίους ἐγένοντο, εὐθὺς ὠστερ εἰώθει ἐθῆρα· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὁμομενον αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐπίντετο τὰ θηρία ἐξανισταίεν· οἵ δὲ ἀριστοὶ καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς διέστασαν καὶ τάνιστάμενα ὑπεδέχοντο καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἤρουν πολλοὺς καὶ σὺς καὶ ἐλάφους καὶ δορκάδας καὶ ὄνους ἀγρίους· πολλοί γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ὅνοι καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ γῆγνονται. ἔπει δ' ἐλήξε τῆς θῆρας, προσμίξας πρὸς τὰ ὀρία τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐδειπνοποιῆσατο· καὶ τῇ ψτεραλῇ αὕθες ἐθῆρα προσεέλθων πρὸς τὰ ὅρη, ὃν ἀρέγετο. ἔπει δ' αὐτὸ ἐλήξεν, ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο. τὸ δὲ παρὰ Κυναξάρου στράτευμα ὡς ᾔσθητο προσιών, ὑποτέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπεν ἀπέχοντας αὐτοῦ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι ὡς δύο παρασάγγας, τοῦτο προϊδὼν ὡς συμβαλεῖται πρὸς τὸ λανθάνειν· ἔπει δὲ δειπνησειαν, εἰπε τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δείπνου τοὺς ταξιάρχους παρεκάλει· ἔπει δὲ παρῆσαν, ἐλέξεν ὅδε· Ῥ ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ Ἀρμενίως πρόσθεν μὲν καὶ σύμ.
μαχος ἦν καὶ ὑπῆκοος Κυαξάρη. νῦν δ’ ὡς ἥσθετο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπίστευσα, καταφρονεὶ καὶ οὔτε τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει 190 ἡμῖν οὔτε τῶν δασμῶν ἀποδίδωσι. νῦν οὖν τούτων θηρᾶσαι, ἦν δυνώμεθα, ήλθο-μεν. ὅδ’ οὖν, ἔφη, δοκεὶ ποιεῖν. σὺ μέν, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐπειδὰν ἀποκομηθῆς ὡςον μέτριον, λαβὼν τοὺς ἠμί-σεις Περσῶν τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἵνα τῇ ὡρευῆν καὶ κατα- 195 λαβε τὰ ὅρη, εἰς ἂ φασιν αὐτῶν, ὅταν τι φοβηθῇ, καταφεύγειν ἡγεμόνας δὲ σοι ἐγὼ δῶσο. φασὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ δασέα τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα εἶναι, ὡστ’ ἔλπὶς ἡμᾶς μὴ ὄφθηναι· ὅμως δὲ εἰ προπέμποις πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύμα- τος εὐγένους ἀνάρας λησταῖς ἐδικότας καὶ τὸ πλήθος 200 καὶ τὰς στολὰς, οὕτω ἂν σοι, εἰ τινὶ ἐνυγχάνοιευν τῶν Ἀρμενίων, τοὺς μὲν ἂν συλλαμβάνοντες αὐτῶν κολύοιεν τῶν ἐξαγγελίων, οὐς δὲ μή δύναιντο λαμβά- νειν, ἀποσοβοῦντες ἂν ἐμποδῶν ἡγούμεντο τῷ μὴ ὅραν αὐτοὺς τὸ ὅλον στράτευμά σου, ἀλλ’ ὃς περὶ κλωτῶν 205 βουλεύεσθαι. καὶ σὺ μέν, ἔφη, οὕτω ποιεῖ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς ἠμίσεις μὲν τῶν πεζῶν ἔχων, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἱππεὰς, πορεύομαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ ἂν μὲν ἄνθιστηται, δῆλον ὅτι μάχεσθαι δεῖσθε· ἂν δ’ αὐ ὑποχωρῆ τοῦ 210 πεδίου, δῆλον ὅτι μεταθεῖν δεῖσθε· ἂν δ’ εἰσ τὰ ὅρη φεῦγῃ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ἔφη, σὺν ἔργον μηδένα ἀφιέναι τῶν πρὸς σὲ ἀφικνουμένων. νόμιζε δὲ ὡστερ ἐν θήρα ἡμᾶς μὲν τοὺς ἐπίζητοντας ἐσεθαί, σὲ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἅρκυσι· μέμνησο ἄν ἐκείνῳ ὅτι φθάνειν δεῖ 215 πεφραγμένοις τοὺς πόρους πρὶν κινεῖσθαι τὴν θήραν. καὶ λειτήθεναι δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς στόμασιν, εἰ μελ- 26 λουσι μὴ ἀποτρέψειν τὰ προσφερόμενα. μὴ μέντοι,
έφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, οὕτως αὖ πολεί ὀσπερ ἐντολε διὰ τὴν φιλοθεριλαν' πολλάκις γὰρ ὅλην τὴν ὑκτα ἀντινος πραγματεύει· ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐὰςαι χρη τοὺς ἀνδρας τὸ μετριον ἀποκομιμηθήναι, ὅς ἂν δύνονται ὑπονομακεῖν·

μηδὲ γε, ὦτι οὐχ ἤγεμόνας ἔχων ἀνθρώπουσ πλανᾶ 27 ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη, ἀλλ' ὄρη ἂν τὰ θηρία ψηφηγήται, ταύτη μεταθεῖς, μήτι καὶ νῦν οὔτω τὰ δύσβατα πορεύον, ἀλλὰ κέλευε σοι τοὺς ἤγεμόνας, ἡν μὴ πολυ μάσσων ἡ ὁδός ἥ, τὴν ράστην ἤγεισθαι· στρατιὰ γὰρ ἡ ράστη ταχίστη. μηδὲ γε, ὦτι σὺ εἴθισαι τρέχειν ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη, 28 μήτι δρόμῳ ἤγηση, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν δύνηται σοι ὁ στρατὸς ἐπεσθαί, τὸ μέσω τῆς σπουδῆς ἤγοι. ἀγαθῶν δὲ καὶ 29 τῶν δυνατῶτατων καὶ προθυμων ὑπομένοντας τινας ἐνλοτε παρακελεύεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ παρέλθῃ τὸ κέρας, παροξυντικὸν εἰς τὸ σπεύδειν πάντας παρὰ τοὺς βαδίζοντας τρέχοντας ὀρᾶσθαι.'

Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκοῦσας καὶ ἐπιγναυρω- 30 θείς τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κύρου, λαβὼν τοὺς ἤγεμόνας, ἀπελθὼν καὶ παραγγείλας ἃ ἐδεῖ τοῖς ἁμα αὐτῷ μέλλουσι πορεύσθαι, ἀνεπαύετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκομιμηθησαν ὅσον ἐδόκει μέτριον εἴναι, ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη. Κύρος δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἀγγελον μὲν προϋπέμπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμενιον, εἰπὼν αὐτῷ λέγειν ὅδε Κύρος, ἡ Ἀρμενίει, κελεύει οὗτω ποιεῖν σε ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα ἔχων ἀπίθαν τὸν δασμὸν καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα. ᾧν δ' ἐρωτᾶ ὑπὸν εἰμὶ, λέγει τάληθη ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄριοις. ᾧν δ' ἐρωτᾶ εἰ καὶ αὐτῶς ἔρχομαι, λέγει κάνταυθα τάληθη, ὅτι οὐκ οἴσθα. εὰν δ' ὅποιοι ἐσμὲν πυνθάνεται, συμπέμπειν τινὰ κέλευε καὶ μαθεῖν. τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄγγελον ἐπιστείλας ταῦτα ἐπεμψε, νομίζων 32

The next day he sends an envoy to the King of Armenia, and makes his arrangements for marching and, if need be, for fighting.
φιλικότερον ούτως εἶναι ἡ μὴ προεπόντα πορεύεσθαι. 230
ἀυτὸς δὲ συνταξάμενος ἢ ἀριστον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνύτειν
τὴν ὀδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, εἶτι δέοι, ἐπορεύετο.
προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδένα ἀδικεῖν, καὶ εἰ
tὶς Ἀρμενίων τῷ ἐντυγχάνοι, θαρρεῖν τε παραγγέλλειν
καὶ ἀγορᾶν τὸν θέλοντα ἄγειν ὅπου ἀν ὥσιν, εἰτε 255
σιτία εἰτε ποτὰ τυγχάνοι πωλεῖν βουλόμενος.

LIBRI SECUNDI FINIS