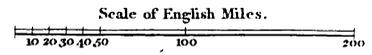


A MAP
descriptive of the advance and retreat of the
TEN THOUSAND GREEKS
employed in the expedition of
Cyrus against Artaxerxes, King of Babyl'n.
By
XENOPHON.



Long^o East from Greenwich

- Reference.
- A. The Foss.
 - B. Canals from the Tigris to the Euphrates.
 - C. the great Median wall.
 - D. the place where the Battle was fought.
 - E. where the greek generals were slain.

ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

OR,

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS
INTO PERSIA,

AND

THE RETREAT
OF
THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS,

BY

XENOPHON.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

FROM THE EDITIONS OF HUTCHINSON AND ZEUNE,

WITH COPIOUS CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

SELECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES,

By N. S. SMITH,

TRANSLATOR OF TACITUS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1827.

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1827

TO

LORD JOHN RUSSELL,

WHOSE MORAL CHARACTER

IS NO LESS ESTEEMED

THAN HIS LITERARY IS ADMIRIED,

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PREFACE.

I DEEM it necessary to inform the reader, that, on commencing this translation, I fully intended it should have been given *literal*. But I had not proceeded many pages before I felt convinced that a translation of that nature would ill suit an English ear; and as the greater number of my readers, I considered, would be mere English scholars, to please them became the paramount object of attention. Another consideration that had some weight with me, was, that had I pursued my original plan, and it should have fallen in that state into the hands of a Tyro, it would have rendered him indolent;¹ but *now* he has the sense and spirit of the author as a cue, yet must labour to give the grammatical arrangement. The translation therefore, in its present shape, need not be kept out of his hands; on the contrary, it will offer him that aid which the immortal Locke contended was absolutely necessary.² I am aware that

¹ Every literal translation may be fairly considered a *Ready Reckoner*.

² It is presumed also that the notes, which have been chiefly collected by the translator, will render him every other aid he can possibly require.

this opinion has its opposers; but these are generally made up of *Διδάσκαλοι*, or literary tradesmen, whose interest it is, they conceive, to keep their customers under hand as long as possible. The more liberal opinion, however, is the most prevalent; and I have generally observed, those Tutors who adopt it, have the greater quantum of gratitude from their pupils at that period when they are best able to appreciate the *value of time*.

Having thus stated my reasons for offering a translation of Xenophon in its present form, I proceed to give a brief history of the author. Xenophon was born at Athens, in the first year of the eighty-third Olympiad.¹ His father's name was Gryllus, a gentleman of fortune, as may be inferred from his having selected the great Socrates for his son's tutor. Whether he followed any profession in the intermediate time that elapsed after the completion of his studies, and his engaging in the expedition, we have no means of ascertaining; the probabilities are, that he did not, but contented himself by enjoying the friendship and conversation of his great master, and following up his enquiries. We infer this the more strongly, from the consideration of his great, and I may almost say universal, acquirements. For his *Cyropædia* shews him to have been well versed in the science of

¹ Lucian.

government: his conduct in *this expedition* proves that he possessed in an eminent degree the qualifications of a General: in his other writings,¹ we discover — a faithful Historian, — a good Orator, — a Lover of Truth, — his Tutor, and his Friend; — and what is more, a strict observer of the maxims of his Religion. Notwithstanding, those talents and virtues were unable to ward off the persecution of his country; for as Cyrus had *secretly* assisted the Lacedæmonians in crushing the Athenian power, so the government of Athens in return considered every Athenian who served under Cyrus in the light of an enemy, and accordingly Xenophon was banished by a decree of the Senate for so doing.² After this, he accompanied Agesilaus into Asia, and made Artaxerxes again to tremble; and had not Persian money been disseminated in the Athenian cabinet, and thereby brought about a war between Athens and Lacedæmon, Artaxerxes would have suffered from them, what his successor, Darius, ex-

¹ The works which Xenophon has left us, are the *Anabasis*, the *Cyropædia*, *Greek History*, *Panegyric on Agesilaus*, an *Apology for his Tutor*, and a *Treatise on Horsemanship and Field Sports*.

² Socrates had suggested to Xenophon, previous to his engaging in this expedition, the probability of its being resented by the government. See page 153, for illustration. But I much doubt, whether his adherence to the *principles* of Socrates himself had not something to do with it.

perienced from Alexander. On the recall of Agesilaus from Asia, he was ordered to proceed against the Thebans and their allies, and soon after fought the battle of Coronea, and tho' wounded, yet was he victorious. At this battle Xenophon was present. After which he retired to Scillus,¹ where he spent his time, as he tells us, in writing history, enjoying the conversation of his friends, and in field-sports. Having lived here many years, his retirement was finally interrupted by the country being overrun by a people called Elians, which caused him to remove to Corinth, where he died in the ninety-first year of his age, and in the one hundred and fifth Olympiad. To shew the texture of his mind, and how much it resembled his great master's, it will only be necessary to state one circumstance. At the battle of Mantinea, his son Gryllus, whom he had so named after his grandfather, was present, and with his own hand killed the great Theban general Epaminondas ;² after this, it was next to impossible that Gryllus could

¹ When Voltaire retired to Ferney, had he Xenophon in his eye? The two pictures have a great resemblance. See page 320 et seq.

² This statement has been doubted by some writers : but one of the best ancient authorities, Diodorus Siculus, asserts it with confidence. The contrary opinion originated in the silence which Xenophon, in his Greek history, has observed on this subject. But that may be accounted for in his extreme modesty.

escape, and accordingly fell in his turn. When the news of his death was brought to Xenophon, he said, “ Well ! I knew he was mortal ! ” and retired. Whether Xenophon had sent his son to the assistance of the Athenians under the hope that he should be recalled, or from what other motive, ’tis impossible now to determine ; but certain it is, that the Athenians never did so ; and thus Xenophon, like most others of his illustrious countrymen, died in exile.



THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK I.

Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσά-
τιδος γίνονται παῖδες
δύο· πρεσβύτερος μὲν
Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος
δὲ Κύρος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἤσθηνει Δαρεῖος, καὶ
ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ
βίου, ἐβούλετο τῶ παί-
δε ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι.
Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος

FROM the union of Darius¹ and Parysatis sprang two sons: the elder was named Artaxerxes², the younger Cyrus.³ Darius, having been taken seriously ill and apprehending speedy dissolution, wished an interview with his children.⁴ Artaxerxes, indeed, was

¹ This was Darius the Second, commonly called, by historians, Darius Nothus, or the Bastard, to distinguish him from the first monarch of that name. He was an illegitimate son of Ahasuerus, the monarch mentioned in the book of Esther, by his concubine Ochus. He bore his mother's name till the death of Xerxes the Second, which Xerxes was the legitimate and only son of the same monarch, by Vashti, who, my readers will recollect, was repudiated for disobedience, and the pretty Jewess, Esther, chosen in her stead. (Vide Esther, c. ii.) On ascending the throne, he assumed his father's name.

² The Great King. Sometimes the King of Kings was implied in the term, to designate him in particular, as having many vassals, or minor kings, under him. The title Grand Signor had its origin here.

³ Commonly called by historians *Cyrus minor*, to distinguish him from the great monarch of that name. In the opinion of Xenophon, however, he was his rival. — See the fine character given him by our author at the termination of the first book.

⁴ Very natural. He had not lost the man in the monarch; but, at this parting interview, we may dare to affirm that he did not advise discord.

παρῶν ἐτύγχανε· Κῦρον δὲ μετεπέμπετο ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε· καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων, ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλῆ πεδίων ἀθροίζονται. Ἀναβαίνει ἔν ὃ Κῦρος, λαβὼν Τισσαφέρην ὡς φίλον· καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρράσιον.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος, καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρης διαβάλλει τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ πειθεταί τε καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κῦρον, ὡς ἀποκτενῶν ἢ δὲ μήτης, ἔξαιτησαμένη αὐ-

then at Babylon, but Cyrus was sent for from his seat of government; his father having previously appointed him satrap and viceroy of all the people who assemble on the plains of Castolos.¹ Cyrus obeys the mandate, and comes to court, accompanied by his friend Tissaphernes.² His escort consisted of three hundred heavy-armed Greeks,³ commanded by Xenias, a native of Parrhasia.⁴

On the demise of Darius and the accession of Artaxerxes to the throne, Tissaphernes accuses Cyrus to his brother of entertaining treasonable intentions. Artaxerxes credits the fact, and orders his apprehension, with a determination to inflict summary punishment; but at the moment Cyrus was about to suffer, his mother's tears both

¹ The plains of Castolos were situated by Doris, in Asia Minor.

² Let the reader, as he proceeds, mark well the character of this villain. It was bad policy in Cyrus, taking him to court: there was more salubrity in the Babylonish air than in Asia Minor, more pelf under the great than under the lesser king: hence he sows, like many a modern courtier, discord between the brothers, as a step-ladder to power.

³ The heavy-armed Greeks were called, by themselves, in our author's time, *Oplitæ*; but they had different names at different periods, as is the case with the military in every nation.

⁴ The Greeks often let themselves out as mercenaries, as the Swiss and Germans of modern times are wont to do. The Germans, it will be recollected, acted as a body-guard to George the First, but were soon scouted. The British choose to guard their own monarch; they will not suffer their honour to be called in question. We see, however, that it is a very ancient custom for kings to have soldiers of a different nation for an escort, as though the mania of distrust was natural to the race.

τὸν, ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, βουλευέται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ' ἦν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει αὐτ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῖσα αὐτὸν, μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξη. Ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀνεπέμπετο, ὥστ' αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλος εἶναι, ἢ βασιλεῖ. Καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο, ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν, καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. Τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἤθροιζεν, ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρουστέμενος, ὅπως ὀτιωπαρσκειαστότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. Ὅτε ἔν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν, ὁπόσους εἶχε φύλακας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἕκαστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι κλείσ-

respite him and restore him to his government.¹ Cyrus, stung with rage, and free from immediate danger, forms the bold design of terminating his brother's power, and, if possible, to possess the kingdom himself. In furtherance of this design, he took care, when persons from the court visited him, to send them from his presence with more favourable impressions of himself than of the king. His mother, Parysatis, lends him her aid; her attachment being much stronger for Cyrus than for Artaxerxes. In addition to this, Cyrus took great care of the Barbarians² who were with him; and so effectually did he gain their good opinion, that he not only made them good soldiers, but they became zealous in his service. Nor did he omit to levy an army of Greeks with all possible secrecy, that he might attack the king defenceless and unprepared; nor, in recruiting the garrisons for the cities under his government, was he unmindful to enjoin every officer to enlist able-bodied Peloponnesians, and *those,*

¹ Plutarch, in his Life of Artaxerxes, confirms the whole of this statement.

² The Greeks were always in the habit of designating every people but themselves by this epithet; nor did they over-rate their mental acquirements, since *Time* has shewn them to have been in possession of qualifications which have fairly entitled them to be styled *the Tutors of the world.*

τους, καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρους ταῖς πόλεσι. Καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν Ἴωνι-καὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρους τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐκ βασιλείως δεδομέναι· τότε δ' ἀπέστησαν πρὸς Κύρον πᾶσαι, πλὴν Μιλήτη. Ἐν Μιλήτῳ δ' ὁ Τισσαφέρους προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βηλεομένης, ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κύρον, τὸς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φευγοντας, συλλέξας στρατεύματα, ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατὰγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. Αὕτη οὖν ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στρατεύματα. Πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα πέμπων, ἡγεῖται, ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτῷ, δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον, ἢ Τισσαφέρην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπρα-τεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα, ὥστε βασιλεὺς τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐκ ἤσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρους δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα

picked men. The pretext for this was, that Tissaphernes had his eye on the Ionian cities. This pretext appeared the more specious, inasmuch as formerly those cities had been placed under the command of Tissaphernes by the king himself, but had all revolted from him to Cyrus, with the exception of Miletus.¹ It was well known, also, that the inhabitants of this latter city were engaged in forming plans with the same design; which coming to the ears of Tissaphernes, he caused some of the conspirators to be executed, and banished the rest. Cyrus received those banished fugitives cordially, and, raising an army, invests Miletus both by sea and land, under a show of restoring the exiled citizens to their homes, but, in reality, for the purpose of keeping up another army. Nor did Cyrus forget to solicit the king that he might, as being his brother, have the preference of his opponent in the command of those cities. His mother backs these solicitations, and arranges the affair so well, that the king was altogether unsuspecting of any plan being in agitation

¹ Miletus, a city of Caria, distant from Ephesus about thirty miles. It gave birth to Thales. Mela states it to have made a prominent figure both in the arts of peace and war. It is now called Melasso.

αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρα-
τεύματα δαπανᾶν ὥσ-
τε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν
πολεμούντων· καὶ γὰρ
ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε
τοὺς γιγνομένους δασ-
μοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν
πόλεων, ὧν ὁ Τισ-
σαφέρνης ἐτύχχανεν
ἔχων.

* Ἄλλο δὲ στρατεύ-
μα συνελέγετο αὐτῷ,
ἐν Χερρόνησῳ τῆς κα-
ταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου,
τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· Κλέ-
αρχος ἦν Λακεδαι-
μόνιος, φηγᾶς· τούτῳ

against him, but regarded those pre-
parations simply as intended against
Tissaphernes, and was totally indif-
ferent of the result.¹ He was lulled
into this security the more easily, from
the circumstance of Cyrus punctually
remitting the taxes arising from those
cities which had revolted to him.

He had another army raised for him
in the Chersonesus,² opposite Abydos,³
in a manner worth recording. There
was a fugitive named Clearchus,⁴ a
Lacedæmonian, with whom Cyrus

¹ A fine fellow to have the command of an extensive empire! The
lives of his subjects were nothing, so that he might enjoy repose.

² Chersonesus Thracia is here intended; now the Peninsula of
Gallipolis. See Map.

³ Abydos. This is the city of Love and Romance—the birth-place
of Leander. It was situated opposite Sestos, and was founded by the
Milesians. It fell into the hands of the Turk, in the reign of Orchanes.
The circumstance of its capture is worth relating:—“The governor’s
daughter, sleeping on bride-cake, or, more probably, contemplating the
scene of

--- the swimming lover and the nightly bride,
How Hero loved, and how Leander died,

dreamt—that among the besiegers she had seen her future husband,
and, being unwilling to check her destiny, threw a note over the wall to
him, with the offer of her person and the delivery of the castle. The
officer shewed it to his general, who consented to try the sincerity
of her intentions. He withdrew his army, commanding the young
man to return with a select body of troops at midnight. She admitted
him at the appointed hour. He destroyed the garrison, took her
father prisoner, and made her his wife. It is on this story, though much
mutilated, that Lord Byron has constructed his beautiful poem entitled
The Bride of Abydos.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus, in his fourteenth book, p. 243, relates the cause
of this general’s flight from his native country.

συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος, ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίουσ δαρεικούσ. Ὁ δὲ λαθὼν τὸ χρυσίον, στρατεύμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει, ἐκ Χερρόνησου ὀρμώμενος, τοῖς Θραξῖ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλησποντον οἰκῶσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τὲς Ἑλληνας ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντικαὶ πόλεις ἐκῶσαι. Τῆτο δ' αὖ ἔτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατεύμα. Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς ἐτύγχανε ξένος ἂν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ αἰτεῖται αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους, καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθὸν, ὡς ἔτω περιγεγόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἕξ μηνῶν μισ-

contracts an acquaintance, *simply on the ground of his military talents.*¹ To this man he makes a present of ten thousand darics,² with which money he raises an army, and, marching out of the Chersonesus, commences hostilities against those Thracians who reside above the Hellespont. As the movements of this army were found beneficial to the Greeks, it operated as an excitement to those cities on the Hellespont,³ to send Clearchus the necessary supplies; and thus was another army secretly supported for the intended expedition. There was also a celebrated Thessalian, named Aristippus, with whom Cyrus had exchanged the rites of hospitality, who, in consequence of a faction at home, applied to him for the loan of two thousand mercenaries and pay for three months, that he might suppress this faction. Cyrus doubles the loan sought, desiring Aristippus, at the same time, not to

¹ The words marked in italics are not in the original, but are inserted as a necessary amplification of ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν, *he admires him*; for the general's military talents were the ground of Cyrus's admiration. Amplifications of this sort will frequently be found in this translation.

² The *daric* was a piece of money worth 1*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* English.

³ Hellespont. A strait of the sea between Thrace and Phrygia, dividing Europe from Asia. Its name is said to have been derived from Helle, the daughter of Athamas, king of Thebes; who, flying from her cruel step-mother, was drowned in crossing it. It is now called the Dardanelles.

δόν· και δεΐται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλύσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευῆσθαι. Οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στρατεύμα. Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίον, φίλον ὄντα αὐτῷ, ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ Πεισίδας βυλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων Πεισιδῶν τῇ αὐτῆ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνεται δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον, καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιὸν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τέτθες, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρην σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. Καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως ἔτσι.

Ἐπει δ' ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἤδη πορεύεσθαι ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς Πεισίδας βυλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό, τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐνταῦθα στρατεύμα· καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλέαρχῳ λαβόντι ἤκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στρατεύμα· καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ, συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τὰς οἰκοί, ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε

¹ A people who inhabited that part of the mountains in Asia Minor situated between Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria. Vide Map.

στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενία
 τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ
 προειστήκει τῆ ἐν ταῖς
 πόλεσι ξενικῆ, ἦκειν
 παρήγγειλε, λαβόντα
 τὸς ἀνδρας, πλὴν ὅπο-
 σοι ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν τὰς
 ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν.
 Ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τὸς
 Μίλητον πολιορκούν-
 τας, καὶ τὸς φυγάδας
 ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ
 στρατεύεσθαι· ὑπο-
 σχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ
 καλῶς καταπράξειεν
 ἐφ' ἃ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ
 πρόσθεν παύσασθαι,
 πρὶν αὐτὸς καταγάγοι
 οἴκαδε. Οἱ δὲ ἠδέως
 ἐπέθοντο· (ἐπίστευον
 γὰρ αὐτῷ) καὶ λα-
 βόντες τὰ ὄπλα, προσ-
 ἦσαν εἰς Σάρδεϊς.
 Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τὸς ἐκ
 τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν
 παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρ-
 δεϊς, ὀπλίτας εἰς τε-
 τρακισχιλίους· Προξ-
 ενος δὲ παρῆν ἔχων
 ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεν-
 τακοσίους καὶ χιλίους,
 γυμνήτας δὲ πεντακο-
 σίους· Σοφαινέτος δὲ
 ὁ Στυμφάλιος, ὀπλί-
 τας ἔχων χιλίους· Σω-
 κράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς,

back his mercenaries. He gave simi-
 lar orders to Xenias the Arcadian,
 who commanded the troops in the
 distant garrisons, pressing him imme-
 diately to join the army, and to leave
 only just sufficient soldiers behind him
 to man the citadels. The troops em-
 ployed in the investment of Miletus
 were commanded to raise the siege; and
 proceed, in company with the banished
 citizens, to head-quarters. He assured
 the latter that, in the event of his
 expedition being successful, he would
 not lay down his arms until he had
 restored them to their fire-sides. Those
 exiles, giving credit to his declaration,
 obeyed him cheerfully, and, taking
 arms, arrived expeditiously at Sardis.¹
 Xenias repairs also to head-quarters,
 bringing with him the garrison-troops,
 amounting to four thousand heavy-
 armed veterans. Proxenus joined the
 grand army also, with fifteen hundred
 heavy and five hundred light-armed
 men.² Sophænetus the Stymphalian
 brought a thousand heavy-armed men,

¹ Sardis. The capital of Lydia: it was selected by Cyrus for the general rendezvous of the combined army.

² The light-armed Greeks chiefly used missiles, and were called, in their own language, Ψιλοὶ. They were, in *honour* and *dignity*, inferior to the heavy-armed; hence, when Teucer, in Sophocles, quarrels with Menelaus, he is scoffingly reproved by him thus:

Ὁ τοξότης ἔοικεν ἰ σμικρὰ φρονεῖν.

This archer seems to think himself somebody. SOPH. AJAC. v. 1141.

ὀπίστας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους· Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς εἰς ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ἄνδρας παρεγενέτο· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἔτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. Οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεϊς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἠγησάμενος εἶναι, ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πεισιδάς, τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, ἰππέας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. Καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνης τὸν Κύρου στόλον ἀντιπαρασκευάζετο.

Κύρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἶπον, ὡρμάτο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελεύνη διὰ τῆς Λυδίας, σταδμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἰκοσι καὶ δύο, ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. Τότε τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὶν ἐξευγμένη

and the Achaian Socrates, about five hundred. Pasion the Megarean brought seven hundred. The two last chiefs had been, previous to their arrival at Sardis, employed in the siege of Miletus. Tissaphernes, contemplating these movements, judged the preparations too extensive for simply acting against the Pisidians, and, betaking himself and five hundred horse, with all possible despatch to Babylon,¹ reports to the king the intended expedition. Artaxerxes prepares to meet the emergency.

Cyrus, with the forces enumerated, marches from Sardis, and, pressing through Lydia, makes the river Mæander in three days; being a distance of twenty-two parasangas.² The Mæander, where the troops crossed on a pontoon-bridge, is two plethra³ in breadth. From

¹ Babylon. The capital of Assyria; the ruins are now called Hella.

² A parasanga is nearly an English league.

³ The exact measurement of a Plethron is unknown. The Latins translated a Πλεθρον Jugerem. Plin. 18. 3. inquit — Quod uno jugo boum in die exarari possit est Πλεθρον, *i. e.* What one yoke of oxen is able to plough in a day is a Plethron. *This is indeed very indefinite.* The Romans also called a Plethron *centum pedes* — a hundred feet. Cicero, A. M. says, *cxx facit duplicatum jugerem.* This is another variation. Arbuthnot, on ancient measures, says, “that some authors make a Plethron consist of 1444, others of 10,000 square feet.” I have taken some pains in my enquiries, and from the circumstances in which I find the term *Plethron* used, I am of opinion that the bridge mentioned by Xenophon two plethra in breadth, simply means, that two yoke of oxen were able to go abreast on it with their baggage waggons.

πλοίοις ἑπτὰ. Τῦτον διαβάς, ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταδμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας ὀκτώ, εἰς Κολοσέας, πόλιν οἰκημένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ ἦκει Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιῶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταδμὸς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Κελαινὰς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκημένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα Κύρω βασιλεία ἦν, καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης,

hence he advanced through Phrygia, till he arrived at the city Colosea,¹ rich, magnificent, and well peopled. This march, which consisted of eight parasangas, was performed in one day. Here Cyrus halted a week; during which interval he received a reinforcement of a thousand heavy-armed veterans and five hundred targeteers,² composed of Dolopians, Ænians, and Olynthians, commanded by Menon of Thessaly.³ From Colosea he marched on Celænæ, a city of Phrygia,⁴ equally magnificent with the former: the distance between the two cities was twenty parasangas, which was performed in three days. Here stood the palace of Cyrus, in the middle of an extensive park, full

¹ To the citizens of this place the great Apostle of the Gentiles wrote an epistle, from which the reader may gather something of the character of its inhabitants. Here also the great Colossus was cast, that was set up at Rhodes. It is a city of Mysia, situated at the confluence of the Mæander and Lycus. Vide Map.

² The targeteers received the appellation originally from the material of which their shields were made, viz. pelts or hides, Πελτασᾶς. Archbishop Potter thinks that the narrowness of the shield had something to do with it. Vide Archæology, vol. ii. p. 10.

³ Thessaly sent forth the best cavalry of any of the Grecian states. Its capital was anciently called Thessalonica, now Larissa. From the epistles which St. Paul wrote them, we are led to discover, that its inhabitants believed much in magic and demonology. This province is now called Janna.

⁴ Phrygia. This is an error that has crept into the Greek text. Celænæ is in Mysia. The reader may be convinced of it by perusing with attention the march of the army to the market-town of the Cramians, as well as by the Map: indeed Xenophon himself calls it the last town of Mysia, in page 13 of this work.

ἂ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἴωπυ, ὁπότε γυμνάσαι βέλοιο ἐαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. Διὰ μέσθ δὲ τῆ παραδείσθ ρεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος πόταμος· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτῆ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ρεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαιῶν πόλεως. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνά, ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τῆ Μαρσύε ποταμῆ, ὑπὸ τῆ ἀκροπόλει· ρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἕτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τῆ δὲ Μαρσύε τὸ εὖρος εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. Ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντα οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέγμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρον, ἔθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τῆτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. Ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠττηθεὶς τῆ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασιλεία, καὶ τὴν Κελαιῶν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαι-

of wild beasts, which he was accustomed to hunt whenever it suited his royal pleasure to exercise himself and his horses.¹ The river Mæander runs through this park and through the city of Celænæ, having its rise immediately in the palace. There is also a *royal palace* at Celænæ, seated at the head of the river Marsyas, protected by a citadel. This river flows through the city also, and disembogues into the Mæander. The Marsyas is twenty-five feet broad; on the banks of which Apollo is fabulously represented to have flayed Marsyas for presuming to contend with him on the lyre, and to have hung up his skin in the cave from whence springs the river. From this circumstance it is said the Marsyas² took its name. The royal palace and citadel at Celænæ is reported to have been built by Xerxes,³ after his defeat and return from Greece. Here Cyrus halted thirty days, when Clearchus the exile joined

¹ The Persian manner of hunting is illustrated in page 18 of the *Cyropædia*.

² Marsyas was the great Phrygian musician, the competitor of Apollo, whom the latter vanquished. Ovid refers to this in *Fast. lib. 6. v. 703*.

³ This was the Xerxes that was defeated by Themistocles at Thermopylæ. His biographer, Nepos, says that Xerxes was conquered rather by the stratagem of his opponent, than by the arms of Greece. "Victus ergo est magis consilio Themistoclis, quam armis Græciæ."

μόνιος, φυγάς, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾷκας ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας Κρητὰς διακοσίους· Ἄμα δὲ καὶ Σωσίας παρῆν ὁ Συρακῆσιος, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους· καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκᾶς, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. Ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες, ὀπλῖται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἄμφι τοὺς δισχιλίους.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταδμῶς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκᾶς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἔησαν, στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθέρωρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος.

him with a thousand heavy-armed soldiers, five hundred Thracian targeteers, and two hundred Cretan archers. It was here also that the army was augmented by Sosias the Syracusian and Sophænetus the Arcadian, each bringing with him a thousand heavy-armed men. He reviews his Grecian forces in his own park, and takes a census. He found them eleven thousand heavy-armed, and nearly two thousand targeteers.

From hence Cyrus marches on Peltæ,¹ a well-inhabited city, a distance of ten parasangas, which the army performed nobly in two days. Here he halted three days, during which time Xenias the Arcadian solemnized the Lupercalian sacrifice,² and celebrated a game, at which Cyrus presided. The prizes for the victors were

¹ A city of Mysia.

² Lupercalian sacrifice, called by the Greeks τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε. It was an Arcadian festival resembling the Roman Lupercalia; it was celebrated with games, in which the conqueror was rewarded with a suit of brazen armour. A human sacrifice was offered at this ceremony. It was first observed by Lycaon, in honour of Jupiter, surnamed Lycæus, either from Lycaon's own name, or the Arcadian mountain Lycæus, which the Arcadians declare to be the true Olympus; hence they call it ἱερὰν κορυφήν, *i. e. the sacred hill*, because Jupiter was there said to have received his education; in memory of which there was an altar, where a certain mysterious worship was paid to that god, and a plot of ground consecrated to him, upon which it was unlawful for any person to set his foot. Vide *Archæology*, vol. i. p. 472, Dunbar's edition.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταδμὸς δύο, παρασάγγας δώδεκα, εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκεμένην, ἐσχάτην ἐντῆ Μυσία χώρα. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταδμὸς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς Καύστρου πεδῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθός, πλεόν ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν· καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήτουν. Ὁ δὲ ἐλπιδας λέγων διῆγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· ἔ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου, ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. Ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα, ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως, παρὰ Κῦρον· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κύρω δῶναι χρῆματα πολλά. Τῇ ἔν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. Εἰχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπεν-

golden curry-combs.¹ Marching from hence, he made twelve parasangas in two days, and came to the general market of the Cramians, which is the last city of Mysia, and is well peopled. The next march he performed thirty parasangas, which was accomplished in three days, when the army halted five. This city is situated on the plains of Caystrus,² and swarms with inhabitants. Here the soldiers became clamorous, and demanded at the tent-door of Cyrus the three months' pay that was due to them. He gave them hopes, and was evidently much affected that he could not immediately comply with their wishes; for he possessed too noble a disposition to deny money when he had it. It was on this plain that Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, king of the Cilicians, paid Cyrus a visit; and report said that she presented him with great sums of money. Certain it is that he immediately advanced the army four months' pay. This elegant princess was attended by a guard of Cilicians and

¹ ἡλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ, I have translated curry-combs, the aureæ strigiles of the Latins. It might be translated scrapers, or flesh-brushes. The Greeks were in the habit of using gold-wire brushes when in the bath. But, in translating a disputed term, we ought to look to the persons to whom these prizes were awarded: they were military men. Curry-combs for their horses, therefore, appear to the translator the most appropriate prizes.

² In Phrygia Superior.

δίης· ἐλέγετο δὲ Κύρον
καὶ συγγίνεσθαι τῇ
Κιλίσσῃ.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει
σταδμοὺς δύο, παρα-
σάγγας δέκα, εἰς
Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκη-
μένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν
παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἢ
Μίδα καλεσμένη, τοῦ
Φρυγῶν βασιλέως· ἐφ'
ἣ λέγεται Μίδα τὸν
Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι,
οἶνω κεράσας αὐτήν.
Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει
σταδμῶς δύο, παρα-
σάγγας δέκα, εἰς Τυ-
ριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκημέ-
νην· ἔνταῦθα ἔμεινεν
ἡμέρας τρεῖς. Καὶ
λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἢ
Κίλισσα Κύρου ἐπι-
δεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα
ἑαυτῇ· βεβλόμενος ἔν
ἐπιδείξει, ἐξέτασιν
ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ,
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν
βαρβάρων. Ἐκέλευσε
δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς
νόμος αὐτοῖς, εἰς μά-
χην ἔτω ταχθῆναι
καὶ στῆναι, συντάξαι
δὲ ἕκαστον τὸς ἑαυτοῦ.
Ἐτάχθησαν ἔν ἐπὶ
τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ
μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ
οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· τὸ δ'
εὐώνυμον, Κλέαρχος

Aspendians; and fame gave Cyrus the honour of an amour with her.

From hence he next marched on Thymbrium,¹ a city well inhabited. He accomplished this in two days, being a distance of ten parasangas. It was here, very near the roadside, that the celebrated fountain of Midas,² king of Phrygia, presented itself, and where that singular personage is reported to have caught the Satyr by mingling wine with its waters. From hence, in two days, he marched ten parasangas, and arrived at the commercial city of Tyriæum,³ full of people, where he halted three days. It was here the Cilician queen expressed a wish to see the army. Cyrus complies with her wish; and reviews both his Greek and Barbarian forces on the plain. He orders the Greeks to manœuvre in their usual manner, and to form in order of battle, each general to command his own division. The line was drawn up four deep. Menon took post on the right, Clearchus on the left; the rest of the generals formed in

¹ A city of Phrygia Superior.

² Midas, a foolish king, whose story may be seen in Ovid. Met. Book XI. An English burletta has been founded on it, named *Justice Midas*.

³ A city of Phrygia Superior.

καὶ οἱ ἐκείνῃ· τὸ δὲ μέσον, οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. Ἐθεώρει ἔν ὁ Κύρος πρῶτον μὲν τὰς βαρβάρους, (οἱ δὲ παρήλαυον τεταγμένοι κατ' ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις) εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρλαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος, καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης. Εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ, καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικῆς, καὶ κνημίδας, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαθαρμένας. Ἐπει δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνεὺν παρὰ τὰς στρατηγὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἐπήεσαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου θάττον προΐόντων σὺν κραυγῇ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτη δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης· καὶ αἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια, ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἦλθον. Ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἰδῶσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐθαύμαζε. Κύρος δὲ ἤσθη, τὸν ἐκ τῶν

the centre. Cyrus first reviews the Barbarians, who marched past him in companies and squadrons; then the Greeks, riding by them in his military car, accompanied by the Cilician princess in her carriage. The Greek soldiers were attired in brass helmets, scarlet jackets, greaves, and polished shields. Having rode by the whole army, he halted, presenting himself, elevated on his car, in front of the Greek centre. He sends Pigres, his Grecian interpreter, to the generals, desiring them to command their respective divisions to present pikes and advance to the charge. On the word of command being given, the trumpets sounded, and the Greeks charged at the quick-step, shouting, and terminating the charge by every soldier running to his tent. On viewing this, the Barbarians were terror-struck, and the queen so much so, that she quitted her chariot and fled; the sutlers left their commodities and ran, while the Greek soldiers enjoyed the laugh. The Cilician queen was overcome with admiration at the military discipline and splendour of the Greek forces; and Cyrus himself was

τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια, ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἦλθον. Ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἰδῶσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐθαύμαζε. Κύρος δὲ ἤσθη, τὸν ἐκ τῶν

Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς
βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδῶν.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει
σταθμὸς τρεῖς, παρα-
σάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς
Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας
πόλιν ἐσχάτην. Ἐν-
ταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς
ἡμέρας. Ἐντεῦθεν
ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυ-
καονίας, σταθμὸς πέν-
τε, παρασάγγας τριά-
κοντα. Ταύτην τὴν
χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρ-
πάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν,
ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν.
Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Κύρος τὴν
Κίλισσαν εἰς Κιλικίαν
ἀποπέμπει, τὴν τα-
χίστην ὁδὸν καὶ συν-
έπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρα-
τιώτας, οὓς Μένων
εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸν Μέ-
ωνα τὸν Θεσσαλόν.
Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν
ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ
Καππαδοκίας, σταθ-
μὸς τέσσαρας, παρα-
σάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ
πέντε, πρὸς Δάναν,
πόλιν οἰκουμένην, με-
γάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα.
Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε ἡμέ-
ρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Κύρος
ἀπέκτεινε ἄνδρα Πέρ-
σην, Μεγαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων
δυναστὴν αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο

not a little pleased at the terror which they had produced on the Barbarians.

Marching hence, he makes twenty parasangas in three days, and finds himself, at Iconium,¹ a city at the extremity of Phrygia. Here he halted three days. The next five days the army accomplished thirty parasangas, through the province of Lycaonia.² This being an enemy's country, the Greeks had liberty to plunder. Here the Cilician queen, by a short route, took her departure to her own country. Cyrus ordered Menon the Thessalian, *personally*, and his division, to escort her. The rest of the army pressed through Cappadocia, and in four days reached Dana,³ a distance of twenty-five parasangas. This city is large, rich, and populous. Three days was the time appointed to halt, during which period he put to death Megaphernes, and another Persian commander, for treachery. The former was a nobleman. Here the army disposed itself in that order best calculated to

¹ Now called Cogni: it is situated on the confines of Taurus.

² The people of this province were extremely superstitious. The Biblical reader will readily recollect how desirous they were to offer sacrifice to St. Paul and Barnabas. See Acts of the Apostles, chap. xiv. ver. 8 to 18.

³ The city of laurels, now called Adana.

ἔσθ' ἀλλεῖν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἢ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτῶς, ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμύχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσιν εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, φυλάττουσιν τὴν εἰσβολὴν· δι' ὃ ἔμεινεν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων, ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἶη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἕσπεϊ ἦσθετο τό, τε Μένωνος στρατεύμα ὅτι ἐν Κιλικίᾳ εἶη εἰσὼ τῶν ὄρεων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλέσσας ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμών ἔχοντα, τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. Κύρος δὲ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, ἔδενος κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶλε τὰς σκηνάς, ἃ ἐφύλαττον οἱ Κίλικες. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατεβαίνεν εἰς πεδίον μέγα, καλὸν καὶ ἐπίρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν ἔμπλεον καὶ ἀμώλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σῆσαμον καὶ μελίην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυρρὸς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. Ὅρος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρον, καὶ ὑψηλόν, πάντη ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

force the passes into Cilicia. Indeed, the principal pass would only admit one carriage a-breast, extremely steep, and perfectly unapproachable to an opposed army. Moreover, it was reported, that Syennesis, the king of Cilicia, was in possession of the eminences with a view to defend them. This report influenced Cyrus to remain one day on the plain. The following morning, the videttes brought information that Syennesis had abandoned the eminences in consequence of its being rumoured, that the army of Menon was within the mountains of Cilicia in his rear, ready to co-operate with Tamos who was then sailing from Ionia into Cilicia in the Lacedæmonian fleet. Cyrus immediately scales the mountains without opposition, and seizes on the Cilician camps, where the army had lain to oppose him. From hence he descended into a fine champaign country, full of trees, vines, and springs of water; abounding in sesame,¹ panic,² millet, wheat, and barley. This plain was protected on every side from sea to sea³ by a strong chain of mountains.

¹ Sesame is an oily grain resembling hemp-seed, but much larger, as a consequence of its growing within the tropics. In botany it is a genus of plants of the class Didynamia, and of the order Angiospermia.

² Panic, in botany, is a genus of the Digynia order, belonging to the Triandria class of plants. It ranks in the fourth order of Gramina. It has thirty-five species.

³ That is, from the Euxine to the Sea of Cilicia. Vide Map.

Καταβάς δὲ διὰ τέττα τοῦ πεδίου, ἤλασε σταδμῶς τέσσαρας, παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς Ταρσῶς, πόλιν τῆς Κιλικίας μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασιλεία, τῆ Κιλικίων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμὸς, Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλεθρών. Ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικῶντες, μετὰ Συεννέσιος, εἰς χωρίον ὄχυρόν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη. πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεῖα ἔχοντες ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκῶντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἴσσοις. Ἐπύαξα δὲ, ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνή, προτέρα Κυρῆ πέντε ἡμέρας, εἰς Ταρσῶς ἀφίκετο. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὄρων τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίου, δύο λόχοι τῆ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλικίων· οἱ δὲ, ὑπολειφθέντας, καὶ ὁ δυναμῆνης εὐρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα, ἐδὲ τὰς

The troops descending, marched on Tarsus, and made it in four days; a distance of twenty-five parasangas. Tarsus¹ is a rich, powerful, and extensive city, the capital of Cilicia, where stands the king's palace. The Cydnus, a river two plethra in breadth, glides through the middle of it. The king and the inhabitants, on the approach of the army, abandoned the city, *with the exception of the caravanseras*, and resorted to a fastness on the mountain. The inhabitants of Soli² and Issi,³ two towns on the margin of the sea, remained quiet. Epyaxa, the queen and the wife of Syennesis, arrived at Tarsus five days before Cyrus. Menon who had escorted her, lost, in his passage over the mountains into the plain, two companies of his division. It was supposed, that, while intent on plunder, they were either cut off by the Cilicians, or losing their way when separated from the main body, had missed

¹ Tarsus. This city gave birth to St. Paul; it was celebrated for the cultivation of the arts and learning. Here also Cleopatra paid her celebrated visit to Anthony. The story of her sailing down the Cydnus in her splendid galley, must be familiar to every mind. It was in this river that Alexander nearly lost his life through bathing.

² Soli; afterwards called Pompeio-Polis. It was here that Pompey established the Cilician pirates, whom he admitted to a capitulation. The city stands on the river Lamus, whence the adjacent country was called Lamotis; now Lamuzo.

³ Issi. See note 3, page 30.

ὁδὸς, εἶτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι· ἦσαν δὲ ἕτοι ἐκατὸν ὀπλίται. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπειδὴ ἦγον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασιλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δὲ, ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο Συέννησιν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν· ὁ δὲ ἄτε πρότερον ἔδενίπω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφη, οὐχὲ τότε Κύρω ἰέναι ἤθελε, πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε, καὶ πίστις ἔλαβε. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συέννησις μὲν Κύρω ἔδωκε χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κύρος δ' ἐκείνῳ δῶρα, ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῦσι τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον, καὶ στρεπτόν χρυσοῦν, καὶ ψέλλια, καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν, καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀρπάξουσιν· τὰ δὲ ἤρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἣν περ ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινε Κύρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἐκ ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ πρόσω ὑπέπτεον γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλεια ἰέναι, μισθω-

the pass, and had perished by the hands of the peasantry. The number amounted to one hundred; all heavy armed men. The other divisions, immediately on the arrival of Menon, began to bemoan their comrades, and in the height of resentment plundered Tarsus, not even sparing the king's palace. On the entrance of Cyrus into the city, he despatched a messenger for Syennesis; but he refused to come to him, alledging, he would never put himself in the power of an enemy. His wife, on receiving assurances from Cyrus, prevailed on him to comply. On their meeting, Syennesis presented Cyrus with large sums of money for the army; and he, in return, made the king such presents as kings are generally pleased with: viz. a golden bit, chain, bracelets, a scimitar of gold, with a rich Persian robe: at the same time Cyrus guarantees his territories from any further plunder, and restores the prisoners.

It was in this city, after Cyrus and his army had regaled themselves twenty days, that the troops appeared refractory, declaring that, they would march no further; for they suspected that Cyrus was leading them against

ᾤηται δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶ
ἔφασαν. Πρῶτος δὲ
Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτῷ
στρατιώτας ἐβιάζετο
ιέναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε
ἔβαλλον, καὶ τὰ ὑπο-
ζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ
ἤρξατο προίεναι. Κλέ-
αρχος δὲ τότε μὲν
μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε τῷ μὴ
καταπετρωθῆναι· ὕσ-
τερον δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι
ἂ δυνήσεται βιάσασ-
θαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλη-
σίαν τῶν αὐτῷ στρα-
τιωτῶν· καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν ἐδάκρυε πολλὸν
χρόνον ἐστῶς· (οἱ δὲ
ὄραντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ
ἔσιώπων) εἶτα ἔλεξε
τοιαύδε·

“ Ἄνδρες στρατιώ-
ται, μὴ θανμάζετε,
ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω
τοῖς παρῶσι πράγ-

Artaxerxes, and alledged that they had not been enlisted for that service. Clearchus was the first of the Grecian generals who made an effort to push forward his division, but no sooner had he began to march, than the troops mutinied, and stoned both him and his baggage-horses, and it was with some difficulty that he escaped the death of lapidation. Contemplating the circumstances under which he was placed, and feeling his utter inability to prevail by the authority of his commission, he called his soldiers together. He stood for some time motionless and silent, speaking only by his tears, which his men beheld with equal silence and astonishment. He finally addressed them as follows:—

“ Gentlemen of the Army¹— You ought not to feel astonished at seeing a soldier weep under the present posture

¹ Ἄνδρες στρατιώται—literally, “Armed Men,” smartly translated, “Gentlemen of the Army.” The Greeks were remarkable for their elegant simplicity, and, of all people that ever existed, had the most correct taste; notwithstanding, we find that there was no epithet by which they could address their fellow-mortals, so dignified, in their conceptions, as that of Ἄνδρες—*MEN*. It sounded better in a Grecian ear than “Your Grace,” or “My Lord”—hence Demosthenes, the prince of orators, usually began his Philippics, Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι—Men of Athens; and St. Paul follows his example, Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεῖς ἄλλοι θεοῶν.—“Men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.” Vide Acts xvii, 22. And we are too silly. Male and female are the distinctions of *Nature*; bad and good the distinctions of *Heaven*—let us attend to this.

μασιν. Ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κύρος, ξένος ἐγένετο, καὶ με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησε, καὶ μυρίας ἔδωκε δαρεϊκῆς· οὓς ἐγὼ λάβων, οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεδέμην ἐμοί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθηδυπάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔδωκα πάντων. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τὰς Θρᾶκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐτιμωρήμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρόνησου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων, βηλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικῶντας Ἕλληνας, τὴν γῆν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κύρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορευόμην, ἵνα, εἴ τι δέοιτο, ὠφελοίην αὐτόν, ἀνδ' ὃν εὖ ἔπα-

of affairs: particularly as you are aware that *I am* bound to Cyrus by the rites of hospitality and friendship; for when a fugitive and an exile, he met with me; nor was he content with conferring honours on my person only, but added a donation of ten thousand darics.¹ But to what purpose did I employ his kindness? When I had received his money, did I dispose of it for the purposes of usury, or did I spend it in luxury and voluptuousness? Nay! did I not spend it *on you*? Did not *you* participate? And first, I led you against the Thracians,² and by the aid of your arms, I revenged the injuries done to Greece by expelling those reptiles from the Chersonesus when in the act of despoiling your fellow-countrymen of their lands. At the moment we had accomplished this, I was sent for by Cyrus; and being impelled by a feeling of grateful recollections, I went to him, in your company, with a proffer, if it would accom-

¹ Ten thousand darics was a sum of money equal to 16,225*l.* English.

² The Thracians are said to have sprung from **תִּירָס**, Thiris, one of the sons of Japheth. Vide Gen. x. 2. Certain it is, that, like the ancient Batavians, they were extremely ferocious, and from this ferocity of temper some of the critics will have *Θρᾶκας* derived. The country this people inhabited lay along the Propontis, on the European side; but so populous did they become, that they colonized a great part of Bithynia, which occasioned that province frequently to be called by historians *Thracia Asiatica*.

δον ὑπ' ἐκείνου. Ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ὑμεῖς ἔβλεσθε
 συμπορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη
 δέ μοι ἢ ὑμᾶς προ-
 δόντα τῇ Κύρῳ φιλίᾳ
 χρῆσθαι, ἢ πρὸς ἐκεί-
 νον ψευδάμενον μεθ'
 ὑμῶν εἶναι· εἰ μὲν δὴ
 δίκαια ποιήσω, οὐκ
 οἶδα, αἰρήσομαι δ' ἔν
 ὑμᾶς, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν, ὅ,
 τι ἂν δέη, πείσομαι.
 Καὶ ἔποτ' ἔρεῖ ἐδδεις,
 ὡς ἐγὼ Ἕλληνας ἀγα-
 γῶν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους,
 προδὸς τὸς Ἕλληνας,
 τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φι-
 λίαν εἰλόμην. Ἄλλὰ
 ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐκ
 ἐθέλετε πείθεσθαι, ἐδδῆ
 ἔπεσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν
 ἔψομαι, καὶ ὅ,τι ἂν
 δέη, πείσομαι. Νο-
 μίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ
 εἶναι πατρίδα, καὶ φί-
 λους, καὶ συμμάχους,
 καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν
 εἶναι τίμιος, ὅπως ἐὰν ὦ
 ὑμῶν δ' ἐρημωθεῖς, οὐκ
 ἂν ἰκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι,
 ἔτ' ἂν φίλον ὠφελῆ-
 σαι, ἔτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλ-
 ἐξήσασθαι. Ὡς ἐμὲ
 ἔν ἰόντος ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ
 ὑμεῖς, ἔτω τὴν γνώμην
 ἔχετε." Ταῦτα εἶπεν·

modate him, of your services; but
 since I perceive that you are unwilling
 to march with me, I am driven to the
 distressing alternative of either aban-
 doning and betraying *you* or *him*. My
 fellow-soldiers, you ought to see that
 before I could come to a decision on
 such a delicate point, that it must have
 cost me much anxiety: but *now* I have
 determined to throw in my lot with
 you, and in your company am content
 to suffer whatever misfortunes may
 arise, dreading above all things, that
 posterity should say, that Clearchus, a
 Grecian general, led an army of his
 countrymen among Barbarians and
 betrayed them; or, that preferring
 Barbarian friendship to the Greeks, he
 abandoned them. And since you object
 to march and to obey my orders, I have
 resolved to obey yours; and will sub-
 mit, as far as possible, to whatever you
 shall command: For you are *to Me as
 my Country, my Friends, my Comrades*.
 To live with *you*, I have concluded, is
 to live a life of honour; and to be
without you, I can neither be useful
 to my friends nor formidable to my
 enemies: therefore, be under no sort of
 apprehension, as I am determined that
 wherever you go I will follow." ¹ Hav-

¹ Dionysius Halicarnassensis, on the Art of Rhetoric, page 85, has selected this speech as a model of eloquence; but fine as it is, he might

οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἳ τε αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἀκέσαντες, ὅτι ἔφαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν παρὰ δὲ Ξενίας καὶ Πασίανος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι, λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλέαρχῳ.

Kyros δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Κλέαρχον· ὁ δ' ἰέναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε. λάδρα δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον, ἔλεγε θάρρειν, ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον μεταπέμπεσθαι· ὃ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἰέναι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν, τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ,

ing thus said, he concluded. The soldiers of his division, and the major part of the army, hearing of Clearchus's resolution not to march against the king, praised him for adopting it, and above two thousand soldiers from the corps of Xenias and Pasion, with their baggage and arms, passed over to him, and encamped with his men.¹

The report of those proceedings gave Cyrus much uneasiness; and so greatly was he disconcerted, that he resolved to send for Clearchus; but the General refused to go; yet failed not to despatch a courier secretly, stating the hopes he entertained of bringing the affair to a favourable issue. Nor did he forget to enjoin Cyrus frequently to send for him, but never to expect his compliance. After, therefore, Cyrus had often done so, Clearchus called a council of war. At this council, the

have found a better. There is no military address on record equal to that ascribed to Calgacus by Tacitus. But why is this? because Tacitus was a smarter writer than Xenophon; for there can be no doubt but Tacitus composed the one, and Xenophon the other, *from the raw material*: for Historians, like ladies' maids, frequently condescend to become mere *dressers*, and all the difference between them is, that, one dresses the Hero and the other the hero's mistress. The Statesman also, he has *his dresser*; for who does not know how many of them are employed within the pale of St. Stephen's? and so well versed are those interior-dressers in their profession, that they frequently make of a very *Donkey within the walls, a Demosthenes without*.

¹ This army was extremely insubordinate, and yet it must really astonish a military man to observe their discipline and coolness in the presence of the enemy.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν
βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοι-
άδε·

“ Ἄνδρες στρατι-
ῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου
δηλονότι οὕτως ἔχει
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡς περ τὰ
ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνον·
οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔτι
ἐκείνου στρατιῶται,
(ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα
αὐτῷ) οὔτε ἐκείνος
ἡμῖν ἔτι μισθοδότης·
Ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι
νομίζει ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, οἶδα·
ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπο-
μένου αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἐθέλω
ἔλθειν, τὸ μὲν μέγισ-
τον, αἰσχυρόμενος, ὅτι
σύνοιδα ἑμαυτῷ πάντα
ἔψευσμένος αὐτόν· ἔπ-
εῖτα δὲ καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ
λαθῶν με, δίκην ἐπιθῆ-
ῶν νομίζει ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ
ἠδικῆσθαι. Ἐμοὶ οὖν
δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι
ἡμῖν, καθεῦδειν, οὐδ’
ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν,
ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθαι ὅ,
τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ τού-
των· Καὶ εἴτε μένομεν
αὐτοῦ, σκεπτέον μοι
δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅπως ἀσ-
φαλέστατα μένωμεν·
εἴτε δὴ δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι,
ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα
ἀπίωμεν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ

last messengers from Cyrus, and a great many soldiers from the other divisions of the army were present, when the General thus addressed them :—

“Gentlemen of the Army—I believe I need not inform you, that in some respects our circumstances, and those of Cyrus, are nearly on the same footing ; for as we have refused to march with him, he considers us no longer his soldiers, neither can we in justice expect to receive his pay. I am also aware, that he considers himself much injured by us ; hence, when he sends for me, I refuse to go to him. Chiefly, however, I confess, *through shame*, because in promising him your services, I have deceived him ; but I refuse to go to him also *through fear*, lest he should arrest and punish my person, for those wrongs which he imagines I have done him. There is, therefore, no time to sleep, nor to be lost in preparing for our personal safety ; nor ought this council to be dissolved before some salutary resolutions are adopted : we ought to consider, that if we remain here, how we may do so with the greatest security ; and if we depart, how our retreat may be conducted with the greatest safety. Moreover, it is a matter of importance to reflect also, in what manner

ἔπιτιθήδεια ἔχομεν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων, οὔτε στρατηγῶ οὔτε ἰδιώτῃ ὄφελος οὐδέν. Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος, ὃ ἂν φίλος ᾖ· χαλεπώτατος δ' ἐχθρὸς, ὃ ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ. Ἔτι δὲ δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἰππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν, ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὀρωμέν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθέζεσθαι· ὥστε ὦρα λέγειν ὅτι τις γινώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι." Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἐπαύσατο.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο, οἱ μὲν, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου λέγοντες ἀεὶ γινώσκον· οἱ δὲ, καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες οἷα εἴη ἀπορία, ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης, καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. Εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, στρατηγούς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπι-

we may supply ourselves with forage and provisions; for without *these*, no soldier nor commander can render us service. You are aware also, that Cyrus is a *friend indeed* where he is a friend; but an enemy of no common order where he is an *enemy*. Nor need you be informed, that Cyrus is both formidable by sea and land, as his infantry, cavalry, and navy, are before your eyes; nor are we encamped at any great distance from him. I have, therefore, thought proper to call you together, in order to impress on your minds our real circumstances; so that every soldier might have an opportunity of delivering his opinion, and of advising whatever plans he considers would be the most beneficial to be adopted."

Clearchus here paused; on which several rose and delivered their opinions. There were others also whom Clearchus had *secretly* instructed, stood up and began by stating the difficulties in which they were involved, whether they departed or remained, *unless they had Cyrus's permission*: but a soldier, who seemed over-hasty to return to Greece, declared that if Clearchus refused to conduct them *there*, they ought immediately to elect another General, to

τῆδεῖα ἀγοράζεσθαι, (ἢ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι) καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κῦρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα ὡς ἀποπλείειν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῶ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κῦρον, ὅστις ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· ἐὰν δὲ μὴδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῶ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην· πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μῆτε ὁ Κῦρος μῆτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες· ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἡρακότες. Οὗτος μὲν δὲ τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον.

Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν, μηδεῖς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· (πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ, δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον) ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὃν ἂν ἔλησθε, πείσομαι ἢ δυνατὸν μάλιστα· ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὅτι καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνύς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τῶν πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὡσπερ πάλιν στόλον Κῦρος μὴ ποιημένου· ἐπιδεικνύς δὲ ὡς εὐήθεις εἶη, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ

purchase provisions, (as there was plenty in the Persian camp), to wait on Cyrus and demand ships; and if he did not comply, to ask from him a leader who might conduct them as through a friendly country; but that in the event of this being refused also, to draw up in order of battle, to despatch a detachment to secure the eminences, that neither Cyrus, nor the Cilicians whom they had plundered, might impede their retreat: To whom Clearchus immediately replied:—

“Let none of you choose me as commander in this expedition, for I see it fraught with obstacles; you must therefore only consider me as a private soldier, willing to follow any general you may think proper to appoint, and as a man who knows as well how to *obey* as to *command*.” Then another soldier addressed the army, the purport of which was to ridicule the folly of that man who advised them to demand transports; as if Cyrus would give up at *their instance* his intended expedition: this man also demonstrated the weakness of him who should advise them to demand a guide

τούτη, ἧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. Εἰ δέ τι καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν, ἧ ἂν Κύρος δῶ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κύρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοίην μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν, ἀ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι, ἧ ἂν δοίη, ἔπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγοι, ὅθεν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν· βουλοίμην δ' ἂν, ἄκοντος ἀπαιῶν Κύρου, λαθὼν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν· ὃ οὐ δυνατὸν ἔστιν. Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε φημὶ ταῦτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κύρον, οἵτινες ἐπιτήδειοι, σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἔρωτᾶν ἐκείνον, τί βέλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσασθαι· καὶ μὲν ἢ ἢ πρᾶξις παραπλησία οἷαπερ καὶ πρότερον ἐχρήτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ, συναναβάντων· ἐὰν δὲ μείζων ἢ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνηται, καὶ ἐπιπικνωτέρα καὶ ἐπικιν-

from the very man whose schemes they were endeavouring to defeat; and he added, that if the army could place any reliance on any guide that Cyrus might give them, why not demand of Cyrus himself to secure the passes? “For my part,” said he, “I should much fear to embark on board any ships he might lend us, lest he should sink them; and as for his guide, I should expect him to lead us into some defile from whence we could not extricate ourselves; and since that individual has advised us to depart without *the consent* of Cyrus, I should feel obliged if he would inform us how to effect that without *his knowledge*. But since, my fellow-comrades, that is impossible, my opinion is that we ought to despatch Clearchus with other competent persons to Cyrus, and to get informed from his own mouth of the nature of that service in which he purposes to employ us; and to tell him plainly, that if the present expedition bears any affinity to that carried into execution by our countrymen on a former occasion, that we are not only willing to follow him, but to conduct ourselves with as much bravery as they did. But if this enterprize should be of greater moment, or attended with greater peril,

δυνατέρα, ἀξιῶν ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἄγειν, ἢ πεισθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφιέναι· ἔτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῶ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα, καὶ ἀπιόντες, ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίοιμεν· ἔτι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι δεῦρο· ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκέσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βελεύεσθαι. Ἔδοξε δὲ ταῦτα.

Καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν, οἱ ἡρώτων Κύρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. Ὁ δ' ἀπεκίνατο ὅτι ἀκόοι Ἀβροκόμαν, ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα,

fatigue, and danger, than on the occasion alluded to, that we desire he will present us with some *motive*, that may induce us to follow him cheerfully, or to suffer us to return home unmolested. If this plan be adopted, the consequence will be, that we shall either follow Cyrus as friends, or we shall return home amicably, and without fear; and I vote also, that those individuals deputed with this commission should report to us his answer, at which time we will reconsider the subject.”¹ All the soldiers came into this man’s opinion, and proper persons being chosen, they were despatched, in company with Clearchus, to Cyrus, with those questions which the army had proposed; to which Cyrus replied, “That he had been given to understand that Abrocomas his enemy

¹ This may be considered as a fair specimen of all meetings of this nature. In *them* there is generally one man, like Clearchus, that wants to carry his *point*. The better to effect his purpose, he employs emissaries of various qualifications. The minor fry are instructed to oppose their Principal in *trivials*, but to *recommend nothing themselves*. Then, out brays the ass (*the soldier in haste to return*) and thinks his auditors much obliged to him for recommending impossibilities. Now is the time for the *Talented hireling* (like the last speaker); He, drives immediately at the same goal with his Employer, but, taking another road, is not discovered. The purse is then unstrung, and the malcontents are appeased, and thereby “hangs a tale;” but it is a *tale* that all those persons likely to be called into such situations may study to advantage; ’tis an exhibition of human nature in her ignorance and cunning: — but I only throw out hints, that men of reflection may multiply them into volumes, and make their *finis* with a tear or a smile, according to the rules of their respective schools of philosophy.

ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τῆτον ἔν ἔφη βέλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· καὶ μὲν ἦ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρῆζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ φεύγη, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βελευσόμεθα· Ἀχέσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἰρετοὶ, ἀναγγέλ- λουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν ἦν, ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἔπεσθαι. Προσαιτῆσι δὲ μισθὸν ὁ Κῦρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον ἀντι δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμι- δαρικὰ τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγοι, ἐδ' ἐν- ταῦθ' ἤκων ἐδεις, ἐν γε τῷ φανερῷ.

was encamped on the banks of the Euphrates, which was about twelve days' march distant; that if he found him there he intended to chastise him, but should Abrocomas decamp before his arrival, he would *there* consider of the questions the Greeks had proposed to him more fully, and they might *there* consult with him again." When the embassy returned and reported to the soldiers this answer, they were of opinion that it was only a feint; that he finally intended to lead them against Artaxerxes: notwithstanding, they determined to follow him, and many asked for an increase of pay. He readily granted it, and instead of one daric a man per month, he promised they should have one and a half.¹ But even then it was not generally known that Cyrus intended to march against the king; it rested only on conjecture, except to a few.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει στραθμὸς δύο, παρα- σάγγας δέκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Σάρον ποταμὸν, ἔξ ἦν

From hence, Cyrus proceeded, in junction with his Greek forces, ten para- sangas, and arrived at the river Sarus: ²

¹ One daric and a half per month, supposing the Grecian *month* four weeks, was paying the private soldier 2s. 1d. per diem. The British soldier has not yet reached *this*, though he is paid better than any soldier in Europe. As a lover of liberty, I am not for pampering the military, nor am I for starving them. When the British soldier received fourpence per diem, which is no longer back than 1785, thousands of them died through the operation of hunger.

² Pharus, or Sarus, now the Seihoun. This river has its sources in Cappadocia, a short distance from the city of Coma; and after flowing

τὸ εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας πέντε, ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμὸν, ὃ τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸς δύο, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, εἰς Ἰσσοῦς, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινον ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρω παρῆσαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύταις ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. Ἦγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ταμῶς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἑτέρας Κύρω πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν· αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον, ὅτι Τισσαφέρην φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρω πρὸς αὐτόν. Παρῆν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετὰπεμπτος

this was performed in two marches. The Sarus was found by admeasurement three plethra in breadth. Going forward, he makes, in five parasangas, the Pyramus,¹ which river extended to the breadth of one stadium.² The next two marches, the army made fifteen parasangas, and arrived at Issus,³ the last city in Cilicia. It is situated on the margin of the sea, and is large, opulent, and well peopled. Here the army halted three days, during which time Cyrus was joined by a maritime force of thirty-five ships, from the Peloponnesus, commanded by Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian, but navigated by Tamos, an Egyptian, who brought with him from Ephesus other twenty-five vessels of Cyrus, with which he had, in junction with that commander, invested Miletus, as a consequence of that city being friendly to Tissaphernes. On board this fleet also, was Cheirisophus, a Lacedæmonian general, with seven hun-

through Cilicia, disembogues into the Cilician Sea. It is situated between the Pyramus and Cydnus. Vide Map.

¹ Pyramus, anciently called Leucosyrus, now the Delison, is a river of Cilicia, having its rise in Mount Taurus. Vide Map.

² A stadium, reduced to English measure, is found to be 200 yards $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

³ Issus, now Ajazzo, or Aiasse, once, as seen by our author, a flourishing city, but now reduced to little more than a village. It was here that Alexander defeated Darius; and in A.D. 194, the Emperor Severus defeated Niger.

ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἐστράφηγε παρά Κύρου. Αἱ δὲ νῆες ᾤρμεν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνὴν. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρά Κυρον, τετρακόσιοι ὀπλίται, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει στραθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας πέντε, ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. Ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν, πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας, Συέννησις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικίων φυλακὴ· τὸ δ' ἔξω, τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας, βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τούτων ῥεῖ ποταμὸς, Κέρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. Ἀσπίαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν, ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίβη· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ, καὶ τὰ τείχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερβεν δὲ ἦσαν πέτραι ἠλίβατοι. ἐπὶ

dred heavy-armed men, who had been sent for, and over which troops Cyrus had made him commander. This fleet lay at anchor opposite the royal tent. It was here also Cyrus was joined by four hundred heavy-armed Greeks, who had been in the pay of Abrocomas, but had deserted the service of that commander, from a wish to be employed in the expedition against the king.

With this additional force, Cyrus marches forward, and the first day, in five parasangas, came to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. These so-called-gates, are large fortresses, of which the inside one, next Cilicia, was occupied by the king Syennesis, and a body of Cilician troops; and the outer, looking towards Syria, was reported to be held by the soldiers of Artaxerxes himself. A river, called the Kersus,¹ the breadth of a plethron, flows between these two fortresses; but the whole space between the fortresses themselves was about three stadia, through which it was impossible to force a passage, on account of the narrowness of the road; for the works of the fortresses reached quite down to the sea, and were secured above from attack, by inaccessible

¹ See the Map, and the mountainous country in the vicinity, and through which the river passes, for illustration.

δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἀμφο-
τέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν
πύλαι. Ταύτης ἕνεκα
τῆς παρόδου Κῦρος τὰς
ναῦς μετεπέμψατο,
ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποβι-
βάσειεν εἴσω καὶ ἔξω
τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασά-
μενοι τῆς πολεμίας
παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φυλάτ-
τοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις
πύλαις· ὅπερ ᾤετο
ποιήσειν τὸν Ἀβροκό-
μαν ὁ Κῦρος, ἔχοντα
πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀ-
βροκόμας δὲ ἔ τῆτο
ἐποίησατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ
ἤκουε Κῦρον, ἐν Κιλι-
κίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας
ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ
βασιλείᾳ ἀπήλαυεν,
ἔχων, ὡς ἐλέγετο,
τριάκοντα μυριάδας
στρατιᾶς.

¹ Ἐντεῦθεν ἔξλαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας πέντε, εἰς Μυ-

rocks. Within these fortresses were the gates, to force which Cyrus employs his navy, to land both within and without the Syrian fortress his heavy-armed veterans, who expected those gates would have been defended by Abrocomas, at the head of a very formidable force. This, however, did not take place; for no sooner had that commander heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, than he left Phœnicia¹ in haste, and went back to the king: report said that he retreated with an army of three hundred thousand men.² From hence; Cyrus presses through Syria, and the first march making five parasangas, arrives at the city Myriandrus.³ This

¹ Phœnicia, a large province in Syria. Its capital was Tyre, before the days of Alexander; but after that monarch defeated the Tyrians, and built Alexandria, Tyre lost, as predicted by the Jewish prophets, its glory and commerce; and the latter city became the capital, and is now, indeed, a place of considerable importance.

² Three hundred thousand men, is a reading taken from the Eton manuscripts *Τριάκοντα μυριάδας*. But, Amasæus reads, *τρεις μυριάδας*, three thousand; which, in my opinion, is the most probable. Classical men know, also, that Amasæus is great authority.

³ The Myriandrus, has been minutely described by Strabo, and is in substance, to the same effect as our author. It is now called Scandrun, but its glory is no more. Once, their merchants visited our Cornwall, and, at that time, a Phœnician, and a man of wealth was synonymous; but we are authorised to say, from Biblical authority, that, their opulence engendered pride, and pride destruction. Alexander began the work, and shewed the road to other conquerors. The Romans completed it. But Alexander himself, had his cue from Xenophon. His description of its *opulence* and *weakness*, corroborated by his safe retreat, excited

ρίανδρον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, ἐν τῇ Θαλάττῃ ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὤρμουν αὐτόθι ὀγκάδες πολλαί. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς στρατηγός, καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς, ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον, καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐνθέμενοι, ἀπέπλευσαν, ὡς μέντοι πλείστοις ἐδόκει, φιλοτιμηθέντες ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας, ὡς ἀπιόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα, εἶα Κύρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διήλθεν ὁ λόγος, ὅτι διώκοι αὐτοὺς Κύρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐχοντο ὡς δολίους ὄντας αὐτὰς ληφθῆναι· οἱ δ' ὑπεκτερον εἰ ἀλώσοιντο.

Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τὰς στρατηγὰς, εἶπεν, “ Ἀπολελοίπισιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων· ἀλλ' εὖ γε

city is also built on the margin of the sea, and inhabited by Phoenicians, and forms a commercial depôt between Syria and Cilicia. Its harbour was thronged with ships. The army halted in this city seven days; during which interval Xenias the Arcadian, and Pasion the Megarean, took shipping, and placing their effects on board, sailed off. The opinion of the army was, that this conduct originated in the umbrage taken by these generals, in consequence of Clearchus having been suffered to retain the command of those troops that went over from their divisions to him, at the time when the soldiers of Clearchus called in question the propriety of marching against the king. No sooner, therefore, had they sailed, than it was reported that Cyrus would follow them with his galleys; and some, indeed, wished he would do so, to punish their perfidy: others, commiserated their misfortunes in the event of their being brought back. While these things formed the topic of conversation, Cyrus called the Greek generals together, and thus addressed them: “I find, that Xenias and Pasion

the cupidity of the Macedonian, and led to the destruction of this fine empire. The expedition of Cyrus, was to Alexander; what the expedition of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, was to Napoleon.

μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀποδεδράκασιν, (οἶδα γὰρ ὅπη οἰχόνται) οὔτε ἀποπεφύγασιν, ἔχω γὰρ τρίηρεις, ὥστε ἐλείν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον. Ἄλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διάξω· οὐδὲ ἔρεϊ οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ, ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῆ τις, χρῶμαι· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυλῶ. Ἄλλὰ ἰόντων ἂν, εἰδότες ὅτι κακίης εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. Καὶ τοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται· ἀλλ' ἀπολήψονται, τῆς πρόσθεν ἕνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς." Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ ἀδυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούσαντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν, ἥδιον καὶ προδυμότερον συνεπορεύοντο.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς τέσσαρας, παρασάγγας εἰκοσιν, ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος πλεθρον,

have left us; but they ought to have known that they cannot escape my vigilance, for I know where they are gone; nor can the ship in which they are embarked out-sail my galleys, by which they might easily be brought back. But I call the gods to witness, that I do not intend to pursue them; nor shall posterity ever say of Cyrus, that he was a man who liked to make use of his friends, but when they wanted to quit him, he despoiled them of their fortunes. Let them therefore depart; but let them also recollect, that they are the aggressors, and have sinned against me. You are aware, also, that I have the wives and children of those men under a guard at Tralles. But of *these* neither, shall they be deprived. No! I will give them those pledges as a reward for their past gallant services." Those Greeks who had before been backward in following Cyrus, *now*, on beholding this piece of magnanimity and virtue, followed him with zeal and cheerfulness; and going forward from this city, with their commander, made, in four marches, twenty parasangas, and found themselves on the river Chalus.¹ This river was one plethron

¹ This river is now called the Alep; near its banks stood the famed Ascalon, the emporium of the Philistines. It was here also, that Richard Cœur de Lion defeated Saladine in the crusade war, excited by Peter the Hermit: —

πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων με-
γάλων καὶ πρᾶέων,
οὓς οἱ Σύριοι θεοὺς ἐνό-
μιζον, καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ
εἶων, οὐδὲ τὰς περισ-

in breadth, and swarmed with large tame fish, which the Syrians regard as so many Divinities; neither do they suffer them to be molested, but hold them in equal reverence with the pigeon.¹

“ Oh mon Richard, oh mon Roy,
Tout le monde t'abandonne,”

was a couplet wrote by a French poet, on that monarch's imprisonment by John, Duke of Austria, when returning from that war; and which Napoleon, *in exile*, frequently sang to his piano-forte; *with what feelings, the intelligent reader may easily judge.* — Dii se mutantur ab adversitate.

¹ Lucianus, on the Worship of the Syrians, p. 1061, says, “ That they abstain from eating fish and pigeons, considering them *Sacred.*” This is corroborated by Clemens Alexand. p. 35, Oxford edition; also by Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. p. 207, who points out the cause of this worship. I cite, in substance, after him: “ There is in Syria a city named Ascalon, and near it a lake (*i. e. the Chalus of Xenophon*) abounding with fish, in the vicinity of which is the beautiful temple of the goddess Derceta. What gave birth to the worship of the fish is, the fable of Venus meeting Derceta, and making her fall in love with a handsome young man that sacrificed to her shrine, and by whom she had a daughter; that the goddess being ashamed of her misdeed — banished the father — exposed her child in a desert to be fed by birds — and went and threw herself into this lake, with a view of drowning herself, when she immediately became metamorphosed into a fish: hence the Syrians abstain from eating fish of *this kind*, but worship them as Divinities.” So that it does not appear, from Diodorus, that they abstain from fish *in general*, but only from a certain species of fish. The same author informs us also, *minutely*, the circumstance that gave birth to the worship of the pigeon. “ The daughter of Derceta, being sustained by the birds of the wilderness bringing curds and cheese to her from a neighbouring cottage, became, in process of time, the adopted child of Simma; the superintendent of the province in which her mother left her, who called her Semiramis (that is, Simma's bird-child). On her arrival at woman-hood, she was considered the beauty of the age. Ninus, king of Nineveh, was about this time visiting his Viceroy, and called on Simma, and seeing his adopted daughter, fell in love with her and married her. By Semiramis, he had two sons. After Semiramis had built Babylon and dethroned her husband, she was informed, that her son Ninus, by means of a eunuch, meditated her life; on which occasion she consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, who commanded her to

τεράς. Αἱ δὲ κῶμαι, ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν, Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζώνην δεδομέναι. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σλαθμοὺς πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δαρδάκος ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσιος βασιλεία, τοῦ Συρίας ἀρχαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλὸς, ἔχων πάντα, ὅσα ὄρει φύουσι. Κῦρος δ' αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία κατέκαυσεν. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σλαθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ

The villages in which the troops quartered were the property of the queen Parysatis, and were given to that Princess to furnish her table.¹ Marching hence, the army made, in five days, thirty parasangas, and arrived at the source of the river Daradax,² one plethron in breadth. Near this river, in the middle of a very extensive park, that yielded every thing proper to the season, stood the palace of Belesis, late governor of Syria, which Cyrus burnt, and laid waste the park. Pressing on, the army made, in three days, fifteen parasangas, and found itself on

forgive him. She then ordered all her governors to obey her son as King, and disappeared, being metamorphosed, as reported, by the command of the oracle, into a pigeon. Hence sprung the Syrian veneration for this bird." I have to remark on the term Derceta, that it is purely Syriac; but the Latins, derived *Dea-cetæ*, from it; that is, the *fish-goddess*. She is represented by Painters with the face and body of a woman, and the tail of a fish. On this fable is founded all our Mermaid stories.

¹ This was the mode of taxing in Cilicia and Persia, in the time of our author; for we find, that when Artaxerxes received into his dominions the persecuted Themistocles, and the general had promised to make him master of Greece, that Themistocles retired into Magnesia. "Namque hanc urbem ei rex donârat, his usus verbis, 'Quæ ei panem præberet: (ex qua regione quinquaginta ei talenta quotannis redibant); Lampsacum, unde vinum sumeret; Myuntem, ex quâ opsonium haberet.'" "For the king had given him this city, using these words, *to furnish him with bread*; out of which territory fifty talents came into him yearly. Lampsacus, from whence he might have his wine, and Myus, from whence he might draw every other necessary." See Nepos's life of Themistocles. The fact is also confirmed by Athenæus, lib. i. c. 1. p. 23.

² The Daradax is supposed to be the Marsyas of Pliny, and the Singas of Ptolemy. It flows into the Euphrates, and has its rise in the mountains of Phœnicia. Vide Map.

τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων σταδίων· καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι ᾤκειτο, μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, Θάψακος ὀνόματι. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ Κύρος μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν, εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ ἀναπεῖθειν ἔπεισθαι. Οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν, ἀπήγγελλον

the Euphrates,¹ a river four stadia in breadth, on the banks of which stood the opulent and flourishing city of Thapsacus;² *here* the soldiers halted five days, during which time Cyrus, according to his promise, sends for the Greek generals, and tells them plainly, that he intended to proceed to Babylon against the king; and desired that the Greek soldiers might be brought acquainted with his determination, and that they would use every effort to persuade them to follow him. They accordingly called a military council, and brought the Greek soldiers ac-

¹ This was one of the noblest rivers in the world. It had its rise, according to our author, whose statement is confirmed by Pliny and Strabo, in the mountains of Armenia; not far distant from the sources of the Tigris. It is called in the Sacred Writings תרפ Phrath. The seventy, who translated the Pentateuch, placed before φραθ the adverb Εὔ, which may be translated *good*, or *gentle*; implying both the value of a large river in a warm country, and also its smooth easy movement. In process of time, Εὔ is joined, by some careless writer, to φραθ, making Εὐφραθ Euphrath; which noun, when declined, makes Εὐφρατης Euphrates, in the nominative case plural. I like its plural form, because the river has many branches, and therefore is appropriate. There was a canal cut from this river to the Tigris, by Darius the Mede; by which means, that prince took Babylon from Belshazzar. Vide Daniel, v. 30, 31.

² Thapsacus. This city was the Amphipolis of Pliny. It is situated in Arabia Deserta, on the Euphrates. In consequence of the Fords discovered by the army of Cyrus, a noble bridge was thrown over it, which was found very accommodating to Alexander's army some years after. In the First Book of Kings, iv. 24, this city is called Tiphseh, and appears to have been under the dominion of the kings of Israel. It is now a place of importance, and is called El Der.

ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶ-
ται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἔφα-
σαν αὐτοὺς πάλαι
ταῦτα εἰδότας κρύπ-
τειν· καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν
ἰέναι, ἂν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς
χρήματα διδῶ, ὥσπερ
καὶ τοῖς προτέροις με-
τὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσι
παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ
Κύρου· καὶ ταῦτα,
οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων,
ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ
πατρὸς Κῦρον. Ταῦ-
τα οἱ στρατῆγοι ἀπήγ-
γελλον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο
ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δῶσειν
πέντε ἀργυρίου μνᾶς,
ἐπὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα
ἦκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν
ἐντελῆ, μέχρῃς ἂν κα-
λασῆσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας
εἰς Ἴωνίαν πάλιν. Τὸ
μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλ-
ληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπέισ-
θη. Μένων δὲ, πρὶν
δηλὸν εἶναι τί ποιήσου-
σιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶ-
ται, πότερον ἔψονται
Κύρῳ, ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε
τὸ αὐτοῦ στρατεύμα
χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ
ἔλεξε τάδε·

“Ἄνδρες, ἐὰν ἐμοὶ
πεισθῆτε, οὔτε κινδυ-
νεύσαντες, οὔτε πονή-
σαντες, τῶν ἄλλων
πλέον προτιμήσεσθε
στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κῦ-

quainted with the fact. But the sol-
diers were angry with their generals,
alleging, that *they* were previously ac-
quainted with it, but had concertedly
kept them in the dark; and, accord-
ingly came to the resolution not to
march, unless a *bounty* equivalent to
that which had been given to the
troops that had escorted Cyrus to see
his father, under the command of
Xenias, was given to them. They ad-
ded, that the soldiers under Xenias,
had been employed, and received
bounty, simply for parade; but, in the
event of *their marching*, they were to
be engaged in actual warfare. The
generals immediately reported to Cyrus
the determination of the army, who, in
acquiescence with their wishes, promised
to every man, on his arrival at Babylon,
seven silver minæ, and their full pay
'till they should return again into Ionia;
by which promise, the major part of
the Greeks were prevailed on to
march. But, before their determi-
nation was publicly known, Menon
called his division together, and spoke
to them as follows:—

“ My fellow comrades, if you will be
guided by my instructions, you may,
without any extra labour or fatigue,
raise yourselves more in the estimation
of Cyrus, than any other corps of the

ρου. Τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; Νῦν δεῖται Κύρος ἔπεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ· ἐγὼ οὖν φημὶ ἡμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται Κύρω. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσωνται ἔπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι, ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις ὑμῖν οὐσι χάριν εἴσεται Κύρος, καὶ ἀποδώσει· (ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος) ἦν δ' ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἅπιμεν μὲν πάντες εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ὑμῖν δ' ὡς μόνοις πειθόμενοις, πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας· καὶ ἄλλου οὔτινος ἂν δέησθε, οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλα τεύξεσθε Κύρον." Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, ἐπείθοντο, καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κύρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἤσθητο διαβεβηκότας, ἤσθη τε καὶ τῶ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν, εἶπεν· "Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὃ

army. What I have to advise is simply this. You are aware, that Cyrus is now this moment engaged in persuading the Greeks to march against the king; let us, therefore, immediately pass the Euphrates, before the answer of the other corps shall be told him: we shall then have the merit, in the event of their following us, of having excited them to that act, and Cyrus will think himself under an obligation to us for shewing such zeal in his service, and will requite it, in a manner which no man understands the doing better than himself; and even should the other divisions finally refuse to march, it will be only for us to return to them again; and you will be viewed as the only corps in obedience, and will accordingly be selected with confidence to command cohorts, and citadels; and I am persuaded, that in whatever manner you should ask to be employed, Cyrus will grant your request." The soldiers reflecting on what was proposed to them, followed their general's advice; and before the other divisions of the army had given Cyrus a final answer, *they* had crossed the Euphrates, which no sooner had Cyrus understood, than he expressed his satisfaction by sending Glus to them with this message: "Soldiers,

ἄνδρες, ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαι-
νῶ ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς
ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσητε, ἐμοὶ
μελήσει ἢ μηκέτι με
Κῦρον νομίσετε.” Οἱ
μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται, ἐν
ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες,
εὐχολοιοῦντες αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆ-
σαι· Μένωνι δὲ καὶ
δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι
μεγαλοπρεπῆ. Ταῦ-
τα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε·
συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ
ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῶ
ἅπαν· καὶ τῶν δια-
βαιόντων τὸν ποταμὸν
οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωλέρω-
τῶν μασθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
ποταμοῦ. Οἱ δὲ Θαψ-
ακηνοὶ ἔλεγον, ὅτι
οὐ πάποθ' οὗτος ὁ
ποταμὸς διαβατὸς
γένοιτο πεζῆ, εἰ μὴ
τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις·
ἂ τότε Ἀβροκόμας
προῖων κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα
μὴ Κῦρος διαβῆ. Ἐδύ-
κει δὲ θεῖον εἶναι, καὶ
σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν
ποταμὸν Κῦρι, ὡς
βασιλεύσουσι.

now I praise you, and it shall be my care that you shall praise me. If I do not, think me no longer Cyrus.” On the delivery of this message, the hopes of this division were greatly excited, and the men put up an ejaculatory prayer for his success. It was reported, also, that Menon received magnificent presents on the occasion.¹ After this, Cyrus himself, at the head of his army, crossed the river, the water reaching no higher than the men’s breasts; though the people of Thapsacus declared, that the Euphrates had never before been fordable, nor crossed without boats; and, that Abrocomas had burnt those that had transported his troops, to prevent Cyrus from following him; and considered the circumstance as miraculous, and indicative of the submission of the river itself to the power of Cyrus, as to its future sovereign.²

¹ Menon seems to have been pretty well acquainted with his master’s disposition, and accordingly makes a market of it. Cyrus, also, *for a young man*, appears to be a pretty good judge of human nature; which, by the by, is a *primary qualification* for a commander. In Menon, we discover a littleness of soul, which is perceivable in *the motive*; but in Cyrus, a princely generosity. The little man, however, *in this case*, served the great man’s purpose. The Lilliputian let Gulliver free.

² There is a *possibility* that this ford might have been unknown to the Thapsacians; but the *probabilities* are, that they were acquainted with it, and that the whole of this declaration was a piece of flattery offered to *rising power*, and is analogous to that story recorded in English history, respecting the courtiers of Canute, who wished to have persuaded that monarch that the sea would obey him.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμούς ἐννέα, παρασάγγας πενήκοντα, καὶ ἀρικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαὶ, μεσταὶ σίτου καὶ οἴνου. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεσίισαντο. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, σταθμούς ἐρήμους πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδῖον, ἅπαν ὀμαλὸν ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πλήρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη, ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν. Θηρία δὲ, πλεῖστοι μὲν οἱ ἄγριοι ὄνοι, οὐκ ὀλίγαι δὲ στρουθοὶ αἱ μεγάλαι. ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ αἰλίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐδίωκον ἐνίοτε.

¹ The Araxes is a river of Mesopotamia, that discharges its waters into the Euphrates. It was the Χαβώρας of Strabo; and by Marcellinus was called Ἀβόρρας. Its modern name is Chaboud. Vide Map.

² This Arabia, according to the authority of Strabo, only comprehended Eastern Mesopotamia: but there are three Arabias mentioned by historians, viz. Arabia Felix, Arabia Deserta, Arabia Sterilis or Petræa. Arabia Deserta, the reader will discover, is here intended.

³ Absinthium is supposed by English botanists to have had some resemblance to our wormwood.

⁴ The wild ass is fond of solitude and sterility. Vide Hosea, viii. 9, where the Prophet compares the journey of the Israelites going into captivity, to the local and natural attachments of this animal. "They are gone up to Assyria, a *wild ass* alone by himself." Job also, xxiv. 5, "As *wild asses* in the desert; the wilderness yieldeth fruit for them." Idem, xxxix. 5—8.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἀνειστήκεσαν· (πολὺ γὰρ τοῦ ἵππου θᾶττον ἔτρεχον) καὶ πάλιν ἕπει πλησιάζοι ὁ ἵππος, ταυτὰ ἕποιν· ὥστε οὐκ ἦν λαθεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἵππεῖς θηρῶεν διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις. Τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἐπαλώερα δέ. Στραθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἵππων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέωτα ἀποφεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν ἄρασα, ὥσπερ ἰστίῳ χρωμένη. Τὰς δὲ ὀπίδας, ἂν τις ταχὺ ἀνίστη, ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχὺ, ὥσπερ πέρδικες, καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. Τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἤδιστα ἦν.

Πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικ-

wild ass, however, being swifter on foot than our horse,¹ would, on getting a-head, stand still and look round; and when our men got nearly up to them, would again serve them the same trick: so that there remained no other means to the hunters of taking them, than by dividing themselves into parties, and thus succeed each other in the chase. The flesh was found to resemble that of the red deer, except that it was more tender. None of our horses were a match for the ostrich,² and those who made an attempt to catch them soon found their efforts fruitless; for those birds would fly at an amazing distance at one stretch, making use both of their wings and feet; the former serving the same purposes as the sails for a ship, to waft the animal forward. But the bustards, if you spring them often, may be caught easily; because they make short flights, like the partridge, and are soon fatigued. The flesh of the bustard is highly palatable.

In proceeding through this region,

¹ The speed of the wild ass, seems indicated in Jer. ii. 24. "A wild ass, used to the wilderness, snuffeth up the wind at her pleasure; in her occasion who shall turn her away?" &c. &c.

² The very best Arabian horses are a match for this bird; and travellers tell us, that the horse that can keep pace with them is highly esteemed by the Arabs themselves, and, if ever sold, is sure to bring a very high price: yet it should seem, that very few of them are adequate to this task. Vide Job, xxxix. 18. "What time the ostrich lifteth up herself, she scorneth the horse and his rider."

γούνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασ-
κᾶν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος
πλεθριαῖον. Ἐνταῦθα
ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη, με-
γάλη, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῆ
Κορσωτή· περιεῖρετο
δὲ αὐτὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μασ-
κᾶ κύκλω. Ἐνταῦθα
ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς,
καὶ ἐπεσιτίσατο τὸ
στράτευμα. Ἐντεῦθεν
ἔξελαύνει σταθμοὺς
ἐρήμους τρεισκαίδεκα,
παρασάγγας ἐνενήκον-
τα, τὸν Εὐφράτην πο-
ταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων,
καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ
Πύλας. Ἐν τούτοις
τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ
τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπώ-
λετο ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ·
οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος,
οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐ-
δὲν, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν
ἅπαντα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ
ἐνοικοῦντες, ὄνους ἀλέ-
τας περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιῶν-
τες, εἰς Βαβυλῶνα
ἦγον καὶ ἐπώλουν, καὶ
ἀνταγοράζοντες σῖτον
ἔζων. Τὸ δὲ στρά-
τευμα ὁ σῖτος ἐπέλιπε,
καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἦν,
εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ
ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῷ Κύρου

we came to the river Masca, which was one plethron in breadth; and it surrounded a large uninhabited city, called Corsote,¹ where the soldiers halted three days and took in necessaries. From hence we marched thirteen days through a desert; at the expiration of which time, we had accomplished ninety parasangas, still with the Euphrates on our right, and came to the city of Pilæ.² During this march, many of our baggage horses died of hunger; for the country produced no kind of herb, but presented to the eye a complete wilderness. The inhabitants of this country chiefly employ themselves in digging and fashioning mill-stones, which they sell to the Babylonians, and with the money purchase provisions for their sustenance. Here also the Greek soldiers wanted corn, and were incapable of supplying themselves from any other quarter but in the Lydian market,³ which was fixed in the midst of those barbarians who

¹ Corsote surrounded by the Masca, simply means, that it was nearly so. Vide Map. Neither was it entirely without inhabitants, or the army could not have procured provisions there. It was a large city on the decline; indeed, its name is found in no other author.

² Pilæ, a large city, situated at the extremity of Eastern Mesopotamia. Vide Map.

³ By the Lydian market, I understand, that, the sutlers that, followed the army were generally understood by Xenophon to be from Lydia. This opinion, I am aware, lies open to queries.

βαρβαρικῶ, τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίλων, τεττάρων σίγλων. Ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιόβολιον Ἀττικοῦς· ἢ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικοῦς ἐχώρει. Κρέα οὖν ἐσθίουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. Ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν, οὓς πάνυ μακρὰς ἤλαυνεν, ὅπως ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιο διατελεῖσθαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν. Καὶ δὴ τότε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου, ἐπέστη ὁ Κύρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀριστοῖς καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις, καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγρητα, λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεκβιάζειν τὰς ἀμάξας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας

had followed Cyrus; and so scarce was corn generally become, that a capithe of wheat or barley flower fetched four sigli. The equivalent for a siglus is seven and a half Attic oboli, and for the capithe, two Attic chœnixes;¹ which circumstance compelled the Greeks to subsist chiefly on animals. The marches through the desert were long and fatiguing, and particularly so when Cyrus wanted the army to go on to water or to forage. On one occasion, where the roads were narrow, and so cut up that it was with great difficulty the baggage-waggons could pass, he halted suddenly with his staff, and commanded Glus and Pigres,² to take some of the barbarian soldiers, and help the waggons through; these men not obeying his orders with so much promptitude as he wished, he commanded, as though angry, his staff

¹ An Attic obolus was worth $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ $\frac{1}{6}$ English; consequently, $7\frac{1}{2}$ oboli must be about $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ Two Attic chœnixes answered to three pints, English dry measure; consequently, an English bushel was worth, in the Lydian market, $16s. 10\frac{2}{3}d.$ $\frac{2}{3}$. A Grecian soldier then could eat very little bread, when corn was at this price; and yet we have seen that his pay was more than $2s.$ per diem English. How happened this? Because he had to find his own greaves, &c. &c. I think there are some draw-backs quite analogous to this from the British soldier.

² Glus and Pigres appear to have been officers attached to the commissariat department of the army, and occasionally officiated as interpreters. See back to the review, page 15, at which the Cilician queen was present.

τοὺς κρατίστους, συν-
 επισπεύσαι τὰς ἀμαξί-
 ας. Ἐνθα δὴ μέρος
 τὶ τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν
 θεάσασθαι. Ρίψαντες
 γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροῦς
 κάνδους, ὅπου ἕκαστος
 ἔτυχεν ἐστηκῶς ἵεντο,
 ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τὶς
 περὶ νίκης, καὶ μάλα
 κατὰ φρανοῦς γῆλό-
 φου ἔχοντες τούτους
 τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς,
 χιτῶνας, καὶ τὰς ποικί-
 λιας ἀναξυρίδας ἔνιοι
 δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ
 τῶν τραχήλων, καὶ ψέλλ-
 λια ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν·
 εὐθύς δὲ σὺν τούτοις
 εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν
 πηλὸν, θᾶττον ἢ ὡς τις
 ἂν ᾤετο, μετεώρους
 ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμαξί-
 ας. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν,
 δῆλος ἦν Κύρος σπεύ-
 δων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν,
 καὶ οὐ διατριβῶν, ὅπου
 μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα,
 ἢ τινὸς ἄλλου ἀναγκαι-
 οῦ ἐκαθέζετο· νο-
 μίζων, ὅσω μὲν ἂν
 θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τοσοῦ-
 τῶ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέ-
 ρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσ-
 θαι· ὅσω δὲ σχολαί-
 οτερον, τοσοῦτῶ πλέον
 βασιλεῖ συναγείρεσθαι
 στρατεύμα. Καὶ συν-
 ιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῶ προσέ-
 χοντι τὸν νοῦν ἢ βασιλέως ἀρχὴ πλῆθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσ-
 χυρὰ οὖσα, τῶ δὲ μήκει τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ τῶ διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀσ-

officers to assist: on which occasion they exhibited a striking instance of ready obedience; for throwing off their robes on the spot, they ran as for a prize down a hill of considerable declivity, and with their rich vests and embroidered trowsers, with their chains about their necks, and bracelets round their wrists,¹ leaped into the ruts and mud, and quickly extricated the baggage-waggon. Indeed, throughout the whole march, Cyrus was extremely anxious to press forward, stopping nowhere except when absolutely obliged to do so for provisions and other necessaries for the army; for he judged that the more rapid he advanced, the less prepared would be the king to meet him; and the slower, the more his brother's army would be augmented: in fact it was obvious to every observer, that although the Persian empire was powerful in resources, in numbers, and in extent of territory, yet was weakened by the great distance the cities were situated from each other; and hence, in the event of a sudden invasion, was

¹ The love of glare and military splendour of the East has travelled west; but a more correct taste is now shewn in the equipment of *les hommes militaires*, than at the time of our author; in fact, we have copied from the Greeks and Romans.

θενῆς, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέ-
ων τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο.

Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐ-
φράτου, κατὰ τοὺς
ἐρήμους σταθμούς, ἦν
πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ
μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ
Καρμάνδη· ἐκ ταύτης
οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαίς
διαβαίνοντες ὡδε· Διφ-
θέρας, ἃς εἶχον στε-
γάσμαλα, ἐπίμπλα-
σαν χόρτου κούφου,
εἶτα συνῆγον καὶ
συνέσπων, ὡς μὴ ἄπ-
τεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ
ὔδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέ-
βαινον, καὶ ἐλάμβανον
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνον τε
ἐκ τῆς βαλάνης πεποιη-
μένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοί-
νικος, καὶ σίτον με-
λίνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν
τῇ χώρᾳ πλείστον.
Ἀμφιλεξάντων δὲ τι
ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ
Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν
καὶ τοῦ Κλεάρχου, ὁ
Κλεάρχος κρίνας ἀδι-
κεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος,
πληγὰς ἐπέβαλεν· ὁ δ'
ελθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
στράτευμα, ἔλεγεν·
ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρα-
τιῶται, ἐχαλέπαινον,
καὶ ἀργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. Τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλεάρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν

liable to a surprise from the division of
its forces.

As the army proceeded through the
desert, they discovered on the other
side of the Euphrates a large magnifi-
cent city called Carmandæ,¹ where the
soldiers took in provisions; to effect
this, they crossed the Euphrates on
rafts made with the skins of their tents,
stuffed with rushes, and sewed so
strongly together as to render them
totally impervious to the water. The
provisions which the army collected
consisted chiefly of panic and wine
made from the fruit of the palm-tree;²
with the former the country abounded.
It was in the vicinity of this city also
that a quarrel took place between the
soldiers of Clearchus and Menon.
Clearchus thinking that one of Menon's
soldiers behaved disorderly, struck him;
the soldier reported this conduct to his
comrades, who resented it, and were
uncommonly incensed against the ge-
neral. It happened on the same day,
that Clearchus went to inspect the

¹ Carmandæ. This city is the Chilmud of Ezekiel, mentioned in c. xxvii. v. 23. The Tyrians traded here, and with many other cities *then* in the neighbourhood, as may be collected from the same writer. It is situated in Arabia Deserta. Vide Map.

² Pliny, lib. xiii. c. 4, and Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. p. 136, speak highly of this wine.

διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκευάμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἀφιππεύει ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος, σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· (Κῦρος δ' οὐπω ἦκεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι προσήλανε) τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σχίζων τις, ὡς εἶδε τὸν Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἴησι τῇ ἀξίῃ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθω, καὶ ἄλλος· εἶτα πολλοὶ, κραυγῆς γενομένης· Ὁ δὲ καταφύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ μείναι, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας· αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, οἳ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, (τούτων δ' οἱ πλείστοι Θρᾶκες) ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστε ἐκείνους ἐκπεπληῆσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἕστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι. Ὁ δὲ Προξένος (ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερον προσιῶν, καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν ὀπλιτῶν) εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων, ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ εἶδετο τοῦ Κλέαρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. Ὁ δὲ ἐχαλέπαινε,

place where the troops had landed, and to examine into the state of their provisions; and when in the act of returning through Menon's division, with only a very few attendants, and before Cyrus himself was come up, whose course was directed thither, that one of Menon's soldiers who was splitting wood saw Clearchus ride by, and immediately threw his axe at him; but missing his aim many others with stones followed his example, and a great bustle ensued, the stones flying thickly. Clearchus, however, escaped to his own men, and immediately orders them to arm: he commands his heavy-armed soldiers to rest their shields against their knees; and taking his Thracian horse, above forty in number, nearly all natives of that country, rode up to Menon's soldiers, who, with their commander, were greatly alarmed, and ran to their arms: as the by-standers were astonished, and dreading the issue, Proxenus opportunely came up with his heavy-armed division, and marched right between them, commanding his soldiers instantly to stand to the charge. He then advanced towards Clearchus, begging him most earnestly to thwart his resentment; but Clearchus took his

ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεή-
σαντος καταλευσθῆναι,
πρῶως λέγοι τὸ αὐτοῦ
πάθος· ἐκέλευέ τε αὐ-
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίσ-
τασθαι. Ἐν τούτῳ
δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἦκε Κῦρος καὶ
ἐπύθετο τὸ πρᾶγμα,
εὐθύς ἔλαβε τὰ ὄπλα
εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ
σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν
Περσῶν, ἦκεν ἐλαύνων
εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει
αὐτῷ· “Κλέαρχε καὶ
Πρόξενε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι,
οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες,
οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ποιεῖτε.
Εἰ γὰρ τινα ἀλλήλοις
μάχην συνάψετε, νο-
μίσετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέ-
ρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκό-
ψεσθαι, καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ
πολὺ ἐμοῦ ὕστερον·
κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμε-
τέρων ἐχόντων, πάντες
οὔτοι, οὓς ὄρατε βάρ-
βαροι πολεμιώτεροι
ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν πα-
ρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων.”
Ἀκουσας ταῦτα ὁ
Κλέαρχος, ἐν ἑαυτῷ
ἐγένετο· καὶ παυσά-
μενοι ἀμφότεροι, κατὰ
χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

interference as unkind, and felt hurt that Proxenus should treat his nearly being stoned to death as a thing of little moment, and therefore command- ed him to withdraw his men. At this instant Cyrus came up; and hearing of the affair, immediately took his arms in his hand, and with those Persians who were about his person, rode between them, and addressed the army to this effect: “O Clearchus and Proxenus, and you Greeks who are present, you know not what you are doing; for if *you* fight with each other, rest assured that I shall this day be destroyed, and you *yourselves* will not long survive me; yes, those barbarians who are before you, should they see any probability that our expedition will fail, would immediately become greater enemies to you than the soldiers of the king.” Clearchus hearing this so earnestly delivered by his friend, *became, himself*; and both the generals laying aside their anger, ordered the troops to pile arms in the accustomed manner.¹

¹ This unfortunate affair offers much matter for reflection. Imprimis, Clearchus ought not to have struck a soldier *at all*; much less had he a right to inflict punishment on a soldier belonging to another general's division. But to crown his folly, he engages all his soldiers in the quarrel. It is very properly said by our author, after Cyrus had addressed him, “*That Clearchus became himself*,” for he certainly had much *forgotten himself*. The practice of striking a soldier, at any time, in every country, must always have had the effect of deteriorating his

Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων, ἐφαίνετο ἵχνη ἵππων καὶ κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δὲ εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχιλίων ἵππων. Οὗτοι προϊόντες ἕκαιον καὶ χιλόν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὅροντας δὲ Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν, ἐπιβλεῦει Κύρω, καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας. Καταλλαγεῖς δὲ οὗτος Κύρω, εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοιῆ ἱππέας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἱππέας ἢ κατακαίνοι ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας, ἢ ζῶντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔλοι, καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ καίειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειεν ὥστε μὴ ποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς, ἰδόντας τὸ Κύρου σφάλευμα, βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. Τῷ δὲ Κύρω ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα

Not long after we had marched from this place, there appeared on the ground the fæces and footsteps of horses; and forming an opinion of their numbers from the prints of their feet, judged them about two thousand. These, were employed in setting fire not only to what was necessary to subsist our horse, but to every thing that could be of any sort of service to an army. On discovering this, Orontas, a Persian nobleman allied to the royal family, and of considerable military abilities, and who formerly had been opposed to Cyrus in war, but was now in amity, being desirous to betray him to the king, volunteered his services; and told Cyrus, that if he would grant him a thousand horse, he would, either by ambuscade or by capture, prevent the country from being laid waste by the king's cavalry in advance, and what was still more desirable, would keep back from Artaxerxes the knowledge of the relative situation of the armies. Cyrus, considering the proposal might, if carried into execution, be of considerable service to his enterprize, fell

manhood and courage; for it is in the nature of man to resent a blow, and to retaliate on him that offers one. This practice is happily done away in the British army; no old Veteran's blood boils *now* by being struck by a Boy. I consider the British army to be under great obligations to Sir Francis Burdett.

εἶναι· καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων.

Ὁ δὲ Ὀρόντας, νομίσας ἐτοιμοὺς αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς ἰππέας, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα, ὅτι ἤξει ἔχων ἰππέας ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς ἑαυτῆ ἰππεύσιν ἐκέλευεν, ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. Ἐνῆν δ' ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίσεως. Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὡς ᾤετο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν, Κύρω δείκνυσιν. Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν Κύρος, συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόνην, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν Περσῶν τὰς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ· καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγὰς ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τοὺτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτῆ σκηνὴν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίουσ ὀπλίτας. Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἰσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ὡς ἐγέ-

in with his views, and accordingly ordered detachments to be taken from the commanders of every troop, and given to him. But at the moment that Orontas thought the cavalry was ready to advance, he despatches a letter to the king, informing him that he was now ready to come to him with all the cavalry he could muster, and not to fail in giving orders to his own horse to receive him as a friend; nor did he omit to remind Artaxerxes of his former friendship and fidelity, and his *present wish* to renew it: accordingly, he selects a confidential, as he supposed, to deliver this letter to the king, who immediately put it into the hands of Cyrus. When Cyrus had read it, he orders Orontas instantly to be taken into custody, at the same time deposes seven of his Persian nobility to try him in his own tent. The Greek generals, with heavy armed men to the amount of three thousand, were commanded to surround him; and Clearchus himself was called to the court-martial, as being in the estimation of Cyrus and of the army, a general of the first rank. The court-martial being ended, Clearchus came forth from the tent, and no secrecy being enjoined, related to his friends what sentence had been passed on Orontas; he also made

νετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. Ἔφη δὲ Κύρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ᾧδε.

“ Πανεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος ὅ,τι δικαιοτάτον καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τῷτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντου τοῦτου. Τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον ἐμοὶ εἶναι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτὸς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοί, ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα, ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τῷ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμῳ παύσασθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα.” Μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὅ,τι σε ἠδίκησα; Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ἔ. Πάλιν ὁ Κύρος ἠρώτα· Οὐκ ἔν ὑσερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσσοὺς, κακῶς ἐποίηεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὅ,τι ἐδύνω; Ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. Οὐκ ἔν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὅποτ’ αὐτὸς ἔγνωσ τὴν σεαυτῆ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρλίμιδος βωμὸν, μεταμεμελησθαι σοὶ ἔφησθαι, καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ, πῖσά παλιν ἔδωκάς μοι, καὶ

known Cyrus’s address on the occasion, which was contained in these words:—

“ I have summoned you hither, my fellow-soldiers and friends, that I might confer with you in council on what might be the most just sentence, both in the sight of Gods and men, to be passed on this traitor Orontas. But it will be necessary to state to you, that in the *first place* my father placed this man under my command, but by the orders of my brother, *as he says himself*, he made war on me when he was in possession of the citadel of Sardis; but so effectually did I prosecute the siege, that Orontas was soon led to desire peace. On peace being concluded I received his hand, and in return gave him mine. Since that period, say, Orontas, what injury have I done you?” He answered, “None.” Cyrus again asked him, “Did you not, after *this*, go over, without any provocation, to the Mysians, as you yourself have acknowledged, and depopulate my lands to the utmost of your ability?” To which Orontas bowed consent. “Did you not afterwards,” continued Cyrus, “as soon as you discovered your weakness, fly to the altar of Diana, profess repentance, and, having induced me again to think you sincere, pledged me

ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμῆ; Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμολόγει ὁ Ὀρόντης. Τί ἔν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, νῦν τοτρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας; Εἰπόντος δὲ τῷ Ὀρόντου ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος αὐτὸν, Ὁμολογεῖς ἔν περὶ ἐμῆ ἀδικος εἶναι; Ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. Ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος, Ἐπι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ φίλος καὶ πιστός; Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ἔδ' εἰ γεινοίμην, ὦ Κύρε, σοὶ γ' ἂν ἔτι ποτὲ δόξαιμι.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος εἶπε τοῖς παρῆσιν. Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὅτι σοὶ δοκεῖ. Κλέαρχος δὲ εἶπε τάδε· Συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆλον ἐκποδῶν ποιείσθαι ὡς τάχιστα· ὡς μηκέτι δεοὶ τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ἡμῖν, τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, τοὺς ἐθέλοντας φίλους τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν. Ταύτη δὲ

your faith and received mine?" *This also* he confessed. "What injury then have I done you," said Cyrus, "that you should have been induced the third time to betray my confidence?" On Orontas declaring that he was not induced to revolt from any injury he had received, Cyrus again said, "Then you admit you have done me an unprovoked injury." "That," said Orontas, "I am under the necessity of confessing." After this, Cyrus again asked him, "Can you *yet*, O Orontas! on my forgiving you, be an enemy to my brother, and a friend to me?" To which Orontas replied, "Were I to say so, O Cyrus! neither you nor any other person would believe me." "Such, my fellow-soldiers, are the deeds of this man," rejoined Cyrus, "and such are his acknowledgements; — but as you, Clearchus, are the first in rank of my generals, give us your opinion, what sentence does this man deserve?" To which Clearchus replied, "That his opinion was decidedly that Orontas ought immediately to be led to the place of execution; that the army ought not to be any longer at the trouble of watching a traitor, but to have leisure given it to do good to those who wished to be their friends." The whole court,

τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τὰς
 ἄλλους προσθέσθαι.
 Μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύ-
 οντος Κύρου ἐλάβοντο
 τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόνην,
 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἅπαντες
 ἀναστάντες, καὶ οἱ
 συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δὲ
 ἐξήγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσ-
 ετάχθη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
 εἶδον αὐτὸν ὅπερ πρόσ-
 θεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ
 ἴσπερ προσεκύνησαν, καί-
 περ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ
 θανάτῳ ἄγοιτο. Ἐπεὶ
 δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτα
 σκηνὴν εἰσῆχθη, τοῦ
 πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου
 σκηπτούχων, μετὰ
 ταῦτα ἔτε ζῶντα
 Ὀρόνην, ἔτε τεθνεῶτα
 οὐδεὶς πώποτε εἶδεν,
 οὐδ' ὅπως ἀπέθανεν
 ἄδεις εἰδῶς ἔλεγεν·
 εἰκαζον δ' ἄλλοι ἄλ-
 λ'· τάφος δ' οὐδεὶς
 πώποτε αὐτῷ ἐφάνη.
 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει
 διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας

not even excepting the traitor's rela-
 tions, came into this opinion, and
 rising from their seats, did, by order of
 Cyrus, lay hold of his girdle as a signal
 of his being condemned. He was then
 delivered over to the proper officers, to
 be conducted to the place of punish-
 ment. Notwithstanding, when those
 who had been in the habit of paying
 him reverence saw him leading to
 death, though covered with obloquy,
 they still shewed him marks of respect.
 Being then conducted into the tent of
 Artapates, the most faithful of Cyrus's
 sceptre-bearers, he was never heard of
 after; neither was it ever known in
 what manner he suffered, nor where he
 was interred, but rested only on con-
 jecture.¹

This business being ended, the army
 pressed on through the province of

¹ This court-martial seems to have been conducted with great fairness, nor can the princely generosity of Cyrus be too much applauded; it offers a fine lesson to Kings. Notwithstanding, the opinion of Clearchus, I think, must be the opinion of every military man on such an occasion: few such traitors as Orontas are exhibited in history. He seems to have been *born one*; and had such a man as Spurzheim investigated his cranium, he would, no doubt, have been able to have added to his list of organic indications. However, should the doctor have failed, the lady who designated the indication to tipling, the *Barrel-organ*, would possibly have helped him out, and have called this treacherous indication, the *Under-hand-organ*. For my part, I should have had no objection for her to have named it *downright at once*, the *Grinder*. It would have been, in my opinion, exceedingly appropriate; For who are those who *grind society*, but the *Traitors* who are in it?

σταθμούς τρεῖς, παρα-
 σάγγας δώδεκα. Ἐν
 δὲ τῷ τριτῷ σταθμῷ
 Κύρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεί-
 ται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ
 πεδίῳ, περὶ μέσας
 νύκτας· (ἐδόκει γὰρ
 εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω
 ἕξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ
 στρατεύματι μαχού-
 μενον) καὶ ἐκέλευε
 Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ
 δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι,
 Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετ-
 τάλων, τοῦ εὐωνύμου·
 αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
 διέταττε. Μετὰ δὲ
 τὴν ἐξέτασιν, ἅμα τῇ
 ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτό-
 μολοι παρὰ μεγάλου
 βασιλέως ἦκοντες ἀπ-
 ἡγγελλον Κύρῳ περὶ
 τῆς βασιλείας Σραϊᾶς.
 Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας
 τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ
 λοχαγούς τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων, συνεβούλευε τότε,
 πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην
 ποιοῖτο· καὶ αὐτὸς
 παρήνει θαρρύνων τοι-
 ᾶδε· “ὦ ἄνδρες Ἑλ-
 ληνες, οὐκ ἀνδρώπων
 ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων
 συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω,
 ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνο-
 νας καὶ κρείττους
 πολλῶν βαρβάρων
 ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο
 προσέλαβον· Ὅπως
 οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι
 τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἧς
 κέκλησθε, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἧς
 ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω.
 Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι τὴν
 ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν

Babylonia; and in three marches accom-
 plished twelve parasangas. As Cyrus
 expected to meet the king the next
 morning in order of battle, he drew
 up in a plain, at midnight his Barbarian
 and Grecian forces, and reviewed them.
 He gave the command of the right
 wing to Clearchus, the left to Menon
 the Thessalian. The Barbarian forces
 he commanded himself. The review
 being ended, just as the day was breaking
deserters from the king's army were
 seen coming towards our camp, who
 reported to Cyrus the strength and
 situation of the great king's army.
 Whereupon, Cyrus calls a council of
 war of the captains and generals of the
 Greek forces, and consulted with them
 on the order of battle and mode of at-
 tack; at the same time raised their
 ardour by the following address:—
 “ Brave Greeks — It is not for want of
 Barbarian soldiers that I employ *you*,
 but because I know that your little
 band is worth a host of them. It is
 from this conviction I wish to re-
 tain you in my service; therefore, shew
 yourselves worthy of this opinion, and
 of the *liberty* you enjoy, in the posses-
 sion of which I think you highly happy:
 I judge thus, because I prefer *liberty*
 myself to every other blessing, and

ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων
καὶ ἄλλων πολλὰ-
πλασίων. Ὅπως δὲ

would exchange every thing I possess, even were my possessions much greater than they are, for its enjoyment.¹ But

¹ How true it is, "That vice in every shape involuntarily pays homage to virtue." Here, we have an exhibition of a man bred a despot, and to whom despotism must have been a second nature, declaring that he preferred *liberty* to every other blessing. From whence did this arise? Because he saw that Grecian liberty produced Grecian courage; the inspiration of the fair goddess had just flitted across his mind, directing him to look to the *true cause* of difference between a Greek and a Persian soldier. I will risk the assertion, and here throw down the gauntlet to prove, that a *love of liberty* is the forerunner of all the virtues; and that a man without it is unqualified to give an opinion upon any given subject of importance. I say *unqualified* — because his intellectual powers are muddled at the source; he views every thing through false mediums; and hence, instead of exhibiting the open manly virtues of frankness and sincerity; instead of his face being the index to his soul, he is always on the shift, — cunning and trick being his resources: even in argument, he never comes up boldly to his opponent; he is always "about it, and about it;" equivoque on equivoque — having manufactured, like a recent courtier, an equivocal vocabulary for himself. He is never bolt up. No; a despot *must be* a coward *in every thing*. If he fights, he must apply to Bacchus for a nostrum; and when he dies neither expects nor hopes for a resurrection; and all arising from a conscious sense of his utter worthlessness. For illustration, see "Louis the Fourteenth's Confessions to Madame de Maintenon." "Oh!" says he, "I have been too fond of war, I have not studied enough the happiness of France; I have been gratifying myself instead of benefiting her. Do, Madame, leave me." Such were the dying confessions of a man who but a few years before cracked his whip at his senators. Senators did I say? Beagles — who, with their huntsman at their head, hunted the poor lace-manufacturer into Brussels, and the silk-weaver to Spitalfields, because, forsooth, those men dared to think for themselves. Vide the Edict of Nantes.

"A Despot, like some accursed fiend just 'scaped from hell,
Poisons the balmy air thro' which he flies.
He blasts the bearded corn and loaded branches,
The lab'ring hind's best hopes, and marks his way with ruin."

ROWE'S *Tamerlane*.

"Curs'd is the man, and void of law and right,
Unworthy property, unworthy light,
Unfit for public rule or private care,
That wretch, that monster, that delights in war;
Whose lust is murder, and whose horrid joy,
To tear his country and his kind destroy.

POPE'S *Homer*.

εἰδῆτε εἰς οἶον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς διδάξω. Τὸ μὲν πληθους, πολὺ, καὶ πολλῆ κραυγῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τᾶλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι μοι δοκῶ οἶους ἡμῶν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. Ἵμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων, καὶ εὐτόλμων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἴκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν πολλοὺς δ' οἶμαι ποιήσειν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ αἰρήσεσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι."

Ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρῶν, φυγῆς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρω, εἶπε· “Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Κῦρε, λέγουσι τινὲς ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνῆ νῦν, διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ προσιόντος· ἂν δ' εὐγένηται τι, οὐ μεμνήσθαι σε· ἔνιοι δὲ,

waving this consideration for a moment, I presume that it will be necessary I should explain to you the Barbarian mode of attack. As their numbers in the field are generally great, they advance to the charge shouting, — but only withstand the first shock, and it is over; indeed, I am ashamed to think, or to call them countrymen: but *you* are soldiers, and are not to be terrified by a shout; shew then those barbarians what *true courage is*, and I promise you that in the event any soldier (after the battle) should wish to return home, to send him *there*, the envy of his country. But it shall be my care so to conduct myself, that very few of you shall ever again wish to return to Greece; nay, I feel confident that you *all* will be induced to follow my fortunes.” On which address, a banished Samian, *then present*, whose name was Gaulites, and a friend of Cyrus,¹ remarked, “That there are men in the army who declare, O Cyrus! that the liberality of your promises rises out of your imminent dangers, and that, being extricated from the *one*, you will forget the *other*.

¹ Xenophon need not have told us, that this native of Samos was a friend to Cyrus. The frankness of his remarks, and the fidelity couched in them, sufficiently indicate it. Moreover, he was a man of ability: his speech is neat in the extreme. I have not translated it literally, though I have endeavoured to do it justice.

οὐδ' εἰ μέμνηοί τε καὶ βούλοιο, δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδῶναι, ὅσα ὑπισχνηῖ." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρος. "Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρῴα, πρὸς μὲν τὴν μεσημβρίαν, μέχρῃς, οὐ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον, μέχρῃς ὅτου διὰ χειμῶνα τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἅπαντα σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. Ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ὑμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρας φίλους τέλων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. Ὡστε οὐ τέλο δέδοικα, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ,τι δῶ ἐκάσῳ τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὖ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς, οἷς δῶ. Ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Σέφανον ἐκάσῳ χρυσῶν δώσω." Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, αὐτοὶ τε ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελλον. Εἰσήεσαν δὲ

There are others assert, "that though you might remember, and *even wish* to fulfil them, yet are of opinion that you will want *the capabilities*." To which Cyrus replied, "Comrades in Arms—My paternal kingdom stretches so far south as those climates that are rendered uninhabitable through heat, and so far north as to be uninhabited through cold. All the provinces between are governed by my brother's friends, with the power and authority of Satraps. Should I conquer, *these men* will lose their governments, and *you* will gain them; so little apprehension have I, therefore, lest I should not be able to give situations to my friends, that I am anxious on the other side, lest I should not *have friends* sufficient to fill them; but to *you*, my Grecian generals *individually*, I swear in addition, that I will adorn your brows with the coronets of princes."¹ This generous declaration operated on the Greek generals like a talisman, influencing them to espouse his cause with redoubled ardour;² which was no sooner reported

¹ This is a fine specimen of Oriental eloquence, and the points of insinuation are ably met. Perhaps some of my readers may add, *sarcastically* as well as *ably*. With them I fully agree in opinion, and have therefore laid an emphasis on *friends*. But the *point* of sarcasm will mainly depend on the good sense the reader shall display in reading.

² Ah! then the Bauble had some influence on Republican generals, had it? How few military men have *fixed political principles*! It was

παρ' αὐτὸν οἱ τε στρα-
τηγοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἑλλήνων τινὲς, ἀξιῶν-
τες εἰδέναι τί σφισιν
ἔσαι, εἰάν κρατήσωσιν.
Ὁ δὲ, ἐμπιπλᾶς ἀ-
πάντων τὴν γνώμην,
ἀπέπεμπε. Παρε-
κελεύοντο δ' αὐτῷ
πάντες, ὅσοι περ διε-
λέγοντο, μὴ μάχεσ-
θαι, ἀλλ' ὀπίσθεν
ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι.
Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τέτρω
Κλέαρχος ᾧδὲ πως
ἤρετο Κύρον· Οἷε γάρ

to the army, than other officers, and even privates, came to Cyrus, requesting to know (in the event of victory) his intentions towards them? He dismissed all applicants big with expectations; nor was there an individual to whom audience was granted, who omitted to solicit Cyrus to be careful of his person, and in the approaching action to take his stand in the rear.¹ It was at this time, that Clearchus asked him *plainly*, whether, he really thought

the lack of these, that ruined Napoleon, and prevented him from doing more good, than ever before fell to the lot of one man to perform: but it never seems to have entered his head, that a sound policy was always united to an enlarged morality; but simply, that men fought on the same principles as governed them in ordinary life. This is evinced, I think, in his repartee, said to have been made to a Russian officer. "Sire," said the officer, "the Russians fight for glory; the French for gain." "True, friend," replied Napoleon, "we *both* fight for *that* we have not got." A vice-royship and a coronet, were to the Greek generals great attractions: it was something *new*, a child's plaything that pleases for the hour. "These little things are great to little man."* But, let my Coronet be a sound understanding, and my Star a pure heart; of which the coronet and star were the original symbols. But the things that are intrinsically valuable are frequently lost in their emblems; the shadow becomes adopted for the substance, which, in one word, is the great vice in religion of an emblematical ritual.

¹ This advice was dictated by self interest; but it was impossible that it could ever have been expected, from the character of Cyrus, that *he* would attend to it. It is true, a commander-in-chief never ought to expose his person *unnecessarily*. But where is the line of demarcation to be drawn? "Debemus scire militarem turbam sine duce esse corpus sine spiritu," said Quintius Curtius; and all military men know this. Besides, a *leader* must, if he wishes to infuse spirit into his men, be conspicuous in action; the rear cannot be his place. To be brief, the lofty spirit of Cyrus, like every other master-spirit, wished to owe empire to its own prowess.

* Goldsmith.

σοι, ὦ Κύρε, μαχεῖσθαι τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νῆ Δι', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰπέρ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάιδος ἐσι παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀμαχεῖ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λήψομαι.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἄσπιδες μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία· πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχιλίοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι· τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξακισχιλίοι ἵπ-

that Artaxerxes would hazard a battle? “Most certainly;” replied Cyrus, “if he is the son of Darius and Parysatis, and *my brother*,¹ I shall not gain empire without a struggle.”

While the soldiers were equipping and preparing for action, a census of the Greek forces was taken;² they mustered ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed, and two thousand four hundred targeteers. The barbarian army attached to Cyrus were found one hundred thousand strong, and nearly twenty armed chariots, having scythes on their axles. The forces of Artaxerxes were reported to be twelve hundred thousand infantry, two hundred armed chariots, and six thousand horse, having

¹ This shows at once, the opinion Cyrus had of his own courage; at the same time indicates, that it was a disposition inherent in his family. It might lead to the inference also, that if his brother did not fight *he must be illegitimate*. The Germans used to think that courage was the only indication of being *born free*; and that where a man wanted that disposition, no greater proof could be adduced of its being the intention of nature that he should be a slave. “*Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas. Inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec ætus separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat.*”—Tacitus de Mor. Germ. Sect. 20.

² This is sometimes done in European armies, for the purposes of exaggeration or diminution, according to circumstances. If the army opposed is beaten, the victor probably will give a pretty fair census of his own men; but if he *should lose the battle*, it is in consequence of his being out-numbered; or, “the Duke of Richmond sends balls to Dunkirk too large for the cannon!” “Marshal Grouchy did not obey orders in keeping the Prussians in check!” &c. &c. &c.

πείς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἤρχεν· οὔτοι δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες, καὶ στρατηγοί, καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης· Τέτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα· Ἀβροκόμας γὰρ ὑσέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. Ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγελλον πρὸς Κῦρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸ τῆς μάχης· καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ὑσερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων, ταῦτα ἡγγελλον. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας τρεῖς, συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ὥς ετο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφος ἦν ὀρυκτῆ, βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυιαὶ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυιαὶ τρεῖς. Παρε-

Artagerses as their commander-in-chief; all of whom deployed before the king. There were other commanders, prefects, and generals, attached to the army, whose names were Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. These were employed as generals of division, and had, each of them, the command of three hundred thousand: but the fact is, that there were only nine hundred thousand, and about one hundred and fifty armed chariots actually in the battle; for Abrocomas, *whom we have already stated to have marched out of Phœnicia, on the report of Cyrus being in Cilicia,* did not join the king until five days after the battle. This, was partly ascertained from the deserters, before the action took place, and was afterwards confirmed by the prisoners. From hence Cyrus advanced, with his Greek and Barbarian forces marshalled in order of battle, three parasangas, which occupied the whole of the day; for Cyrus really thought that on *that day* the king would fight. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, from the circumstance of their discovering a ditch in the middle of the march, nearly five fathoms broad and three deep, that had been lately thrown up by the king, and

τέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας, μέχρι τοῦ Μηδί-
 ας τείχους. *Ἐνθα δὴ εἰσὶν αἱ διώρυχες ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ρέουσαι· εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγὰ· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσιν δὲ ἑκάστη παρασάγγην, γέφυραι δὲ ἔπεισιν.

*Ἦν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ μεταξύ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου, ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς μέγας ποιεῖ ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ συνθάνεται Κύρον προσελαύνοντα. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πάροδον Κύρος τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρήλαθε, καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰσὼ τῆς τάφρου Ταύτη μὲν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ ἑμαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούντων φανερὰ ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά. Ἐνταῦθα Κύρος Σιλαὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην μάντιν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαριεκοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι ἑνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας πρότερον θύομενος,

extended to the length of twelve parasangas, traversing the whole plain quite up to the Median wall. In addition to this, there were just in that neighbourhood four canals,¹ each a plethron in breadth, taken up at the Tigris, and disembogued into the Euphrates, sufficiently deep for vessels transporting corn to navigate; each having bridges over them, and about a parasanga's distance from each other. Besides these, there was a Fosse, full five hundred feet wide, which ran in a line with the Euphrates, to enter which was a strait. This fosse the great king had thrown up as a breast-work and fortification for his army, on his being informed of the approach of Cyrus. But as soon as Cyrus had entered this strait, and had advanced within the fosse, and had discovered vestiges of a retreating army, he changed his opinion, and thought the king would not engage him; whereupon, he sends for Silanus, the Ambracian soothsayer, and presented him with three thousand darics; for about eleven days before,

¹ There have been, at different periods, a great many Canals of a large description, cut from the Tigris to the Euphrates; many of them have been choaked up with mud, scarcely leaving the appearances of their having ever been. The great Median wall, extending from one river to the other, may still be traced. Vide Map; and, for further information, Volney's Travels in Syria.

εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι βασι-
 λεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα
 ἡμερῶν· Κύρος δ' εἶπεν,
 Οὐκ ἄρα ἐτι μαχεῖ-
 ται, εἰ μὴ ἐν ταύταις
 ταῖς ἡμέραις μαχεῖ-
 ται· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης
 ὑπισχνῶμαι σοι δέκα
 τάλαντα. Τοῦτο τὸ
 χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδω-
 κεν, ἐπεὶ παρήλθον αἱ
 δέκα ἡμέραι. Ἐπει
 δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ
 ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ
 Κύρου σφάτευμα δια-
 βαινεῖν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύ-
 ρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μα-
 χεῖσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑσ-
 τεραίᾳ Κύρος ἐπορεύετο
 ἡμελημένως μᾶλλον.
 Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε
 τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμε-
 νος τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖ-
 το, καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν
 τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ·
 τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνα-
 τεταραγμένον ἐπο-
 ρεῦετο, καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν

when this priest was offering sacrifice, he told Cyrus that the king would not engage within ten days. To which Cyrus replied, that if the king did not fight within that time, he would not fight at all; and added, that if his prediction proved correct, he would give him ten talents: accordingly, having sent for him, Cyrus tendered to the prophet the money.¹ The circumstance of the king having suffered Cyrus to pass this strait, and to get inside the fosse without opposition, so wrought upon him, as well as on many others, that he concluded the king had given over all idea of fighting; and, accordingly, the army advanced the next day quite carelessly. The third day Cyrus rode on his car, with very few attendants about him; the soldiers observing no order, and the greater part had placed

¹ Cyrus appears to have been a little sceptical, and hence promises a reward to the priest on *conditions*. “*If his prediction proved correct,*” &c. It did prove correct, and Cyrus, like a man of honour, fulfils his promise. But I would observe, as a *general remark*, that *scepticism* is always allied to *confidence*; and it would be impossible to say which of the two manias have produced the worst consequences. Hence arises the necessity of our consulting *reason* at all times. *Here*, it had nearly proved fatal; for as soon as his belief that the king *would fight* had been metamorphosed into a confidence that he *would not*, without any reason but the priest's prediction, and his entering the strait, carelessness and disorder ensued, and the army had well nigh been cut off. Perhaps it would not be too much to advance, if we were to say, that the failure of the expedition had its origin *here*: but it is my business only to touch on *generals*; the reader may, if he pleases, follow on to *particulars*.

τοῖς στρατιώταις πολ-
λὰ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν καὶ
ὑποζυγίων ἤγετο.

Καὶ ἦδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ
ἀγορὰν πλήθυσαν, καὶ
πλησίον ἦν ὁ σταδμὸς,
ἐνθα ἔμελλε καταλύ-
σειν; ἠνίκα Παταγύας
ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, τῶν
ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν,
προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων
κατὰ κράτος ἰδροῦν-
τι τῷ ἵππῳ· καὶ
εὐδὺς πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐνε-
τύγχανεν, ἐβόα καὶ
βαρβαρικῶς καὶ Ἑλ-
ληνικῶς, ὅτι βασιλεὺς
σὺν στρατεύματι πολ-
λῷ προσέρχεται, ὡς
εἰς μάχην παρεσκευ-
ασμένος. Ἐνθα δὴ
πολὺς τάραχος ἐγένε-
το· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδό-
κουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ
πάντες δὲ, ἀτάκτοις
σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι.
Καὶ Κῦρός τε κατα-
πηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ ἄρμα-
τος τὸν δώρακα ἐνέδου,
καὶ ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν
ἵππον, τὰ παλτὰ εἰς
χεύρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε
ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγ-
γελλεν ἐξοπωλίζεσθαι,
καὶ καδίστασθαι εἰς
τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκασ-
τον. Ἐνθα δὴ σὺν
πολλῇ σπουδῇ καδί-
σταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν
τὰ δεξιά τοῦ κέρατος
ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Εὐφρά-
τη ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος
δὲ ἐχόμενος· οἱ δ' ἄλ-
λοι μετὰ τῆτον. Μέ-
νων δὲ, καὶ τὸ στρα-

their arms on the baggage-horses and waggons. Nor was it until the hour had arrived, when the market is generally full, and the army was about to pitch tents, that they discovered their conclusions to be erroneous; for all at once was seen, Patagyas, a Persian officer, a person with whom Cyrus was familiar, and in whom he had the greatest confidence, riding towards them at full gallop, his horse foaming and lathered with sweat; and was heard crying to every one he met, both in the Greek and the Persian language, that "the king was at hand with a tremendous force, drawn up in order of battle." This information produced much confusion, the Greeks fearing the king would charge before they could form; but Cyrus leaped from his car, put on his corslet, and with javelins in his hand, mounted his horse and rode among the soldiers, commanding every man to take his station. In consequence of the activity of Cyrus, the army formed with the greatest promptitude, Clearchus taking post with his right wing close up to the Euphrates; Proxenus and his division next; the others stretching on till they joined the corps of Menon, which was posted on the extreme left of the Greek

τευμα, τὸ εὐάνυμον κέρας εἶχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. Τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἵππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἕστασαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελτασικόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν. Κύρος δὲ, καὶ ἵππεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἑξακόσιοι, κατὰ τὸ μέσον, ὀπλισμένοι θώραξι μεγάλοις, καὶ παραμηριδίοις, καὶ κράνεσι πάντες, πλὴν Κύρου. Κύρος δὲ, ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. Οἱ δ' ἵπποι ἅπαντες, οἱ μετὰ Κύρου, εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προσερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἵππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἠνίκα δὲ δειλὴ ἐγένετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ συχνῶ ὕσπερον, ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπιπολύ. Ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκὸς τις ἤστραπτε, καὶ αἱ λόγχοι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. Καὶ ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων. (Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν) ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων,

forces. The Paphlagonian horse of the barbarian army, a thousand strong, and the Greek targeteers, supported Clearchus's right; Ariæus, the lieutenant-general of Cyrus, with his Barbarians, formed on the left, who were all equipped with corslets, cuirasses, and helmets. Cyrus himself, with six hundred horse, took post in the centre, and stood ready for the charge, with head uncovered, according to Persian manners, looking extremely heroic. His horse, were protected by head-armour and breast-plates, and his horsemen were equipped with Grecian sabres. By the time the army was thus formed, mid-day had arrived, and no enemy had made his appearance. But in the afternoon a white cloud was seen at a distance, which presently grew into a tremendous black one, and extended quite across the plain; and now the polished armour flashed, and pikes and men arranged in order of battle, were to be discovered. On the left we observed a body of horse, accoutred with white corslets, and said to be commanded by Tissaphernes in person. Immediately in their rear was a Persian

γεῖροφόροι· ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλίται σὺν ποδήρσι ξυλίαις ἀσπίσιν· (Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οὔτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι) ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. Πάντες δὲ οὔτοι κατὰ ἔθνη, ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνδρῶπων ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. Πρὸ δ' αὐτῶν, ἄρματα διαλείποντα συχρὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τὰ δρεπανηφόρα λεγόμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὄτω ἐντύχοιεν. Ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν, ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλόντων καὶ διακοψόντων. Ὁ μὲντοι Κύρος εἶπεν, ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνασχέσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγῆ, ἀλλὰ σιγῆ ὡς ἀνυστὸν, καὶ ἡσυχῆ, ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσήεσαν. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κύρος παραλύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ, καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ

corps, with Persian bucklers, supported by heavy-armed soldiers, with shields manufactured from wood, reaching quite down to their feet. The latter was said to be an Egyptian corps.¹ Besides these, there were other squadrons of horse and archers, each marching according to their respective nations, drawn up in massive columns, and every column furnished with its proper complement of armed chariots, with charioteers attached, who manoeuvred in advance. These war-chariots have scythes fixed aslant at the axle-trees, and others placed under, pointing downwards; so that on the charge they cut every thing they meet asunder, and break the ranks of an opposing army.² By this time it was obvious, that what Cyrus had said relative to the Barbarian mode of attack was incorrect; for instead of shouting, as represented, they advanced quite steady and silent, at the slow march: and now it was that Cyrus was seen riding along the ranks with Pigres, and two or three other officers of

¹ Egypt, although in Africa, was *at this time* tributary to Persia, as were most of the Asiatic states; hence the Persian monarchs were frequently styled the King of Kings.

² The ancients of every nation, who have left us their history, were accustomed to use war-chariots of this description. What is more familiar to the scholar, than “*Ipse ante se falcatos currus habebat,*” &c.?

τέτταρσι, τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα, ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἴη· καὶ τούτου, ἔφη, νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται. Ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλεάρχος τὸ μέσον σίφος, καὶ ἀκίων Κύρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εὐωνύμου βασιλεία, (τοσοῦτω γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν βασιλεὺς, ὥστε μέσον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων, τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔξω ἦν) ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλεάρχος οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀποσπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρα, φοβούμενος μὴ κυκλωθεῖν ἑκατέρωθεν· τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι, ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι.

Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προΐει· τὸ δ' Ἑλληνικὸν ἄτ' ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον, συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἔτι προσίοντων. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος παρελαύνων ἐπὰνυ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι, κατεθεῖατο ἑκατέρας ἀποδεν, τῆς τε πολεμίου ἀποβλέ-

distinction with him, who signified to Clearchus by a shout, that he should bring his men opposite the Barbarian centre, for there stood the king, saying, "If we subdue him our work is complete." But Clearchus observing the enemy's centre, and being given to understand by Cyrus, that in consequence of the king's superior force, it was opposed to Cyrus's extreme left, and rather out-flanked it, declined compliance with his orders; for Clearchus feared, that by withdrawing from the river, a facility would be offered to the enemy of surrounding them, as the Greek army would have stood opposed to the king's army out-flanked on both wings: he therefore told Cyrus, that he would take care that all should go well.¹

The Barbarians were all this time coming regularly on, and the Greeks standing on the same ground, formed as the men came up. Cyrus rode between the both armies, sometimes viewing the one and then the other, alternately darting his eyes on his enemies

¹ Clearchus was a better general than Cyrus; yet I am of opinion, that the Greek forces ought to have been posted in the centre opposite to the king; and they probably would have been, had not the army, in junction with their commander, suffered themselves to have been lulled into security.

πων, τοὺς τε φιλίους.
 Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆ
 Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν
 Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπελάσας
 ὡς συναντῆσαι, ἤρετο
 εἴτι παραγγέλλοι. ὁ
 δ' ἐπισήσας εἶπε,
 καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε
 πᾶσιν, ὅτι τὰ ἱερά καὶ
 τὰ σφάγια καλὰ εἶη.
 Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων, Θο-
 ρύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν
 τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ
 ἤρετο τίς ὁ Θόρυβος.
 Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν,
 ὅτι τὸ σύνθημα παρ-
 ἔρχεται δευτέρον ἦδη.
 Καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε, τίς
 παραγγέλλει, καὶ ἤρε-
 το ὅτι καὶ εἶη τὸ σύν-
 θημα. Ὁ δὲ ἀπε-
 κρίνατο, ὅτι ΖΕΥΣ
 ΣΩΤΗΡ καὶ ΝΙΚΗ.
 Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀκούσας,
 Ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τε,
 εἶφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω.
 Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν, εἰς
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν
 ἀπήλαυε· καὶ οὐκ
 ἔτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα
 στάδια ἀπειχέτην τῷ
 φάλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλή-
 λων, ἤνικα ἐπαιάνιζόν

and on his friends, which Xenophon,¹ an Athenian belonging to the Greek army observing, rode up to Cyrus, requesting to know his pleasure? and whether he had any thing to command? Cyrus, stopping his horse, desired him to inform the army, that the sacrifices and auguries were propitious.² While Cyrus was in the act of uttering this, a clamour was heard running down the lines, which on Cyrus enquiring what it meant, was told by Xenophon, that the word was now giving the second time: Cyrus being somewhat astonished, and wondering who it was that had presumed do this, asked Xenophon what the word was, and was told, “Jupiter the preserver, and Victory.” “I accept it,” said Cyrus, “let that be the word,” and so saying, he rode to his post.³ The two armies were now within three or four stadia of each other, when the Greeks chaunted the

¹ Our historian introduces himself very modestly *in the third person*. Cæsar copied from him in his Commentaries.

² Augury, was a Machine in ancient politics and in war; no military expedition was undertaken without it. “Dum sacra secundus aruspex nunciet.” Since, however, the *spell* has lost its influence, the moderns have consulted Bacchus. Vide Lalley’s Description of the Rations, &c. for the French army before action, in his *Chirurgie Militaire*.

³ Three times was the usual custom. It was tantamount to three petitions put up to the God of armies for success. There was more piety in it, than in the custom adopted by our sailors of giving three cheers before action; or than in the word passed by Nelson —

τε οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. Ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινε τι τῆς φάλαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες, οἷόν περ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίξουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθειον. Λέγουσι δὲ τινες, ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδάπησαν, φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. Πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ φεύγουσι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις, μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἐπεσθαι. Τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἐφέρετο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κενὰ

Pæan,¹ and advanced to the charge; but the rapidity of their movement had caused a little irregularity by leaving a few in the rear, who no sooner had joined, than the whole soldiery invoked the god of war by a shout,² (a national custom,) and ran with presented pikes to charge the enemy's horse; but the Greeks, striking their pikes against their shields as they advanced, so affrighted the enemy's cavalry, that neither they nor their riders stopped to be within reach of a Grecian dart. The Greeks pursued with ardour, warning each other as they advanced, not to run, but to keep the ranks complete. Some of the charioteers wheeled about, and went right through their own ranks: some passed through the Greek army; but the Grecian soldiers

“ England expects every man to do his duty.”

I know not whether it be the custom to have a *word* as a signal with the British army previous to action or not; but, I believe, where the action is likely to be protracted through the night, it is customary to pass a Signal, that they might avoid taking a friend for an enemy.

¹ The Pæan was a national hymn. There were two Pæans used by the Greek military; the one in honour of Mars, Ἄρεϊ: the other of Apollo, Ἀπόλλωνι. Vide Scholiastes ad Thucyd. lib. 1.

² This war-whoop, was called by the Greeks, Ἐλελεῖ, and has been used by every nation. The Term sounds much like the Hebrew Hallelujah, and appears to have been derived from it. The war-whoop of the Caledonians, Germans, and Canadian Indians, we have illustrated in our translation of Tacitus De Moribus Germ. Page 8. Note 22.

ἡνίοχων. Οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ
 προΐδοιεν, ἴσταντο ἕσι
 δ' ὅς τις καὶ κατε-
 λήφθη, ὥσπερ ἐν ἰπ-
 ποδρόμῳ, ἐκπλαγείς·
 καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ
 τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν·
 οὐδὲ ἄλλος δὲ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
 μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς
 οὐδὲν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ
 εὐωνύμῳ τοξευδηναί
 τις ἐλέγετο.

seeing them coming, opened and let them pass unmolested. Some, however, being astonished, like the spectators at the Hippodrome,¹ were, through incaution, knocked down, but were reported to have received no hurt; nor was there a Grecian soldier wounded in the attack *but one*, who was posted at the left, and he was said to have received a wound from an arrow.

¹ Hippodrome, so called from its being the place where feats of horsemanship were performed. There were many in Greece; but the Hippodrome, or riding-school, of Athens, was the most splendid. Chariot-racing was the principal exercise. Great numbers of people, as at Astley's, attended to witness those feats; they were performed on a piece of ground deeply covered with sand; by this means, the ingenuity and skill of the driver was exhibited: so much time was finally spent there, that the philosophers at Athens set their faces against them.

“ A Grecian youth of talents rare,
 Whom Plato's philosophic care
 Had form'd for virtue's nobler view,
 By precepts and example too,
 Would often boast his matchless skill
 To curb the steed and guide the wheel.
 And as he pass'd the gazing throng
 With graceful ease, and smack'd the thong,
 The *idiot wonder* they express'd,
 Was praise and transport to his breast.
 Triumphant to the goal return'd,
 With nobler thirst his bosom burn'd;
 And now along the indented plain,
The self-same tract he marks again,
 Pursues with care the nice design,
 Nor ever deviates from the line.
 Amazement seized the circling crowd,
 The youths with emulation glow'd;
 Ev'n bearded sages hail'd the boy,
 And all but Plato gazed with joy;
 For he, deep-judging sage, beheld
 With *pain* the triumphs of the field.” — WHITEHEAD.

Κῦρος δὲ, ὁρῶν τὰς
 "Ἑλληνας νικῶντας τὸ
 καδ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώ-
 κοντας, ἠδόμενος καὶ
 προσκυνόμενος ἤδη ὡς
 βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, ἐδ' ὡς
 ἐξήχθη διώκειν· ἀλλὰ
 συσσωρευμένην ἔχων
 τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ
 ἐξακοσίων ἰππέων
 τάξιν, ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅτι
 ποιήσει βασιλεὺς.
 Καὶ γὰρ ᾗδει αὐτὸν,
 ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ
 Περσικοῦ στρατεύ-
 ματος. Καὶ πάντες
 δὲ οἱ τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων ἄρχοντες μέ-
 σον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν
 ἠγούντο, νομίζοντες
 οὕτως ἐν ἀσφαλεστά-
 τῳ εἶναι, ἢ ἡ ἰσχυρὸς
 αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἦ,
 καὶ εἴ τι παραγγείλαι
 χρῆζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἐν
 χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι
 τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ
 βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέ-
 σον ἔχων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 στρατιᾶς, ὁμως ἔξω
 ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου
 εὐωνύμου κέρατος.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ
 ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐναν-
 τίου, οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ
 τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσ-
 θεν, ἐπέκαμπεν ὡς
 εἰς κύκλωσιν. Ἐνθα
 δὴ Κῦρος δείσας, μὴ
 ἵπισθεν γένομενος κα-
 τακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνι-

When Cyrus discovered, that the
 Greeks had broken the enemy's line,
 had turned their flank, and were hot
 in pursuit, he was seen to rejoice, and
 was hailed by all those about his per-
 son as king. But Cyrus knew there
 was still work to be done, nor did he
 so far forget himself, as to leave his post
 and join in the pursuit; but preserving
 his six hundred horse in close order
 about him, steadily watched the king's
 movements; for he knew the king was
 posted in the centre, from its being the
 general custom of Persian commanders
there to place themselves; *first*, because
 the centre is considered by them the
 most secure; *secondly*, because orders
 from a general thus posted, will pass
 through an army in one-half less time
 than from the wings. It happened, as
 Cyrus had conjectured, that the king
 was in the centre of his army. But
 the king's centre extended far beyond
 the extreme left of Cyrus, and seeing
 nothing opposed to him in front, nor
 any endeavour for attack made by the
 enemy, he wheeled to the left, with a
 view of taking the army of Cyrus in
 flank and rear, and if possible to sur-
 round it. Cyrus fearing the king
 should effect his purpose, and thus cut
 off the retreat of the Greeks, pushed

κόν, ἐλαύνει ἀντίος·
καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν τοῖς
ἑξακοσίοις, νικᾷ τοὺς
πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγ-
μένους, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν
ἔθρεψε τὸς ἑξακισχι-
λίους· καὶ ἀποκτείναι
λέγεται αὐτὸς τῇ ἐαυ-
τοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην
τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν.

Ὡς δὲ ἡ τροπῆ
ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται
καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἑξα-
κόσιοι, εἰς τὸ διώκειν
ὀρμήσαντες· πλὴν πά-
νυ ὀλίγοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
κατελείφθησαν, σχε-
δὸν οἱ ὀμοτράπεζοι
καλούμενοι. Σὺν τού-
τοις δὲ ὦν, καθορᾷ
βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ'
ἐκείνον στίφος· καὶ
εὐθύς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο,
ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, Ὀρῶ τὸν
ἄνδρα, ἔτετο ἐπ' αὐτόν·
καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ
σῆρνον, καὶ τιρώσκει
διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὡς
φησὶ Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρός,
καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ
τραῦμά φησι. Παί-
οντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκον-
τίζει τις παλτῶ ὑπὸ
τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως·
καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχό-
μενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς
καὶ Κύρος, καὶ οἱ
ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκα-
τέρου, ὅποσοι μὲν τῶν
ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέδα-
νον, Κτησίας λέγει·
(παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν)
Κύρος δὲ, αὐτὸς τε
ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὀκτῶ οἱ

forward against the king in person, and furiously charging him with his six hundred horse, broke the six thousand cavalry who were opposed to him, and killed, (as it is reported,) Artagerses, who commanded them, with his own hand in single combat.

It happened, that the six hundred horse belonging to Cyrus pursued those whom they had routed too far, leaving none about their commander, except those who ate at his table, and officiated as aid-de-camps. It was at this juncture that Cyrus espied the king's person; and although the king was properly surrounded with his guard, yet was Cyrus unable to restrain his natural impetuosity, but putting spurs to his horse, dashed at him, exclaiming, as he charged, "I see him!" and actually wounded the king through his corslet (Ctesias, the king's physician, who cured the wound, asserts this); but at the same moment, received a wound from a javelin thrown with great force, and by an unknown hand, immediately under the eye; but no ways intimidated, he and the king engaged single-handed, as did their respective attendants: on which occasion, as Ctesias states, a great many fell on their side; but on ours, Cyrus himself was killed, and eight of

ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Ἀρταπάτης δὲ, ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτέχων θεράπων, λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε πεπρωκότα Κύρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τῆ ἵππου, περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. Καὶ οἱ μὲν φασὶ βασιλέα κελεύσαι τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ· οἱ δὲ, ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξαι, σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσούν. Καὶ σρεπίον δὲ ἐφόρει, καὶ ψέλλια, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὡσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὐνοίαν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ὅπως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν, τῶν μετὰ Κύρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον

his principal friends fell dead on his body. Artapates being determined not to survive him, threw himself upon his person, where the king ordered him to be slain. Others assert, that he died by his own scimitar. For Artapates, as we have already stated, was his principal sceptred minister; wore a golden scimitar, a chain and bracelets, and all other marks of distinction used by the Persian nobility; and for his great fidelity and attachment to his master, was deservedly held in the greatest esteem.

Thus surrounded, and under those circumstances, died Cyrus,¹ a man acknowledged by all who knew him to

¹ Most horribly, indeed, in the eyes of every moralist. Let the reader look at it in detail, calmly. Two brothers sprang from the same parents; sucked the same pap; suing each other with a ferocity that was never exceeded by the wild beasts of the forests; and yet Xenophon, a disciple of the *pure Socratic school*, never offers a moral reflection on it; no, but passes on praising his hero's princely virtues. Princely virtues, indeed, are Plebeian vices! William the Conqueror and Queen Bess had princely virtues; but what became of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and Mary, Queen of Scots? Shall I go on with the annals of kings? — Of Menes (first of the African race), of Gnefactus, Vecchoris, Busiris, the Nēchos, the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, the Sesostrises, the Actisaneses, and leaving Egyptian for Asiatic ruffians, pass on to Ninus, who was murdered by *his ancient Catharine*, Semiramis, the founder of Babylon; and making a stand *here*, view the Nebuchadnezzars, Belshazzars, the Cambyseses, the Cyruses, the Dariuses; and then crossing the Hellespont, view the Alexanders, the Cæsars, the Capets, &c. &c. Oh! what a picture of princely virtues should we have then! The paper that contained them, would be very likely to become ignited by the glory thereof. Flagitia abscondi.

γενομένων, βασιλικώ-
 τατος τε καὶ ἄρχων
 ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ
 πάντων ὁμολογεῖται
 τῶν Κῦρου δοκούντων
 ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι.
 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῖς
 ἔτι ὢν, ὅτε ἐπαιδεύετο
 καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ,
 πάντων πάντα κράτισ-
 τος ἐνομίζετο. Πάν-
 τες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίσ-
 των Περσῶν παῖδες ἐν
 ταῖς βασιλέως δούραις
 παιδεύονται. ἔνθα πολ-
 λὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην
 καταμάθοι ἂν τις,
 αἰσχρὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε
 ἀκοῦσαι οὔτ' ἰδεῖν
 ἔστι. Θεῶνται δ' οἱ
 παῖδες καὶ τοὺς τιμω-
 μένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως
 καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλ-
 λους ἀτιμαζομένους·
 ὥστ' εὐθύς παῖδες ὄν-
 τες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν
 τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.
 *Ἐνθα Κῦρος εὐμα-
 δέστατος μὲν πρῶτον
 τῶν ἡλίκων ἐδόκει

have been possessed of the most princely virtues, and with the finest capacity for empire of any prince since the great Cyrus. Indeed so prominently indicated were his princely qualifications, *even when a boy*, that though he was educated with his brother, and other youths of distinction, yet did he always lead the way, and was involuntarily paid deference to as their superior in all things; for in Persia, the children of the nobility are bred up at court, and have the first examples of modesty placed before them, and, where meanness and baseness of every description is discountenanced. Indeed, these youths have always before their eyes those persons who are honoured and disgraced by the king; and the king's reasons for his conduct are explained to them; hence, from boys, they not only learn how to command, but how to obey.¹ Cyrus was observed to be in possession of a greater share of docility of temper also than ordinarily falls to the lot of those youths who are born

¹ This may be an advantage in the eyes of Xenophon; but I confess I do not see it. The *reasons* of an Eastern monarch are generally his *caprices*. All history, ancient and modern, proves this assertion; and as for their Modesty — *Seraglios for that*. Indeed I should consider it a bad school altogether; for a Court is, and ever has been, the birth-place of Nondescripts, and it is there you can always find that *rara avis in terris*. But what he is like, it is difficult to say; but certainly like nothing in heaven or earth besides.

εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσ-
 βυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυ-
 τοῦ ὑποδεεσέζων μάλ-
 λον πείθεσθαι· ἔπειτα
 δὲ φιλιππότατος, καὶ
 τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα
 χρῆσθαι. Ἐκρίνον δ'
 αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν
 πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξί-
 κῆς τε καὶ ἀκονίσεως,
 φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι,
 καὶ μελετηρότατον.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ
 ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοδηρό-
 τατος ἦν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ
 θηρία μέντοι φιλοκιν-
 δυνώτατος. Καὶ ἄρχ-
 τον ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην
 οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ
 συμπεσὼν κατεσπᾶσ-
 θη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου· καὶ
 τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν
 καὶ τὰς ἀτειλὰς φα-
 νεράς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ
 κατέκτανε· καὶ τὸν

to *Fortune*; and for *deference* to the opinion of elders,¹ he surpassed even his inferiors in rank. He was particularly fond of horses also, and none could exceed him in the manage, nor in any of those exercises that relate to war: of archery and hurling the javelin he was never tired; nor in hunting could any person of his age take more pleasure, nor be more daring. On one occasion a bear rushed on him from a neighbouring thicket, nor did Cyrus decline the encounter, but closed with her, and though torn from his horse and wounded, the marks of which he ever afterwards bore on his person, yet did he succeed single-handed in killing her, though the hunter that ran to his

¹ Deference to the opinion of elders has something pleasing in it at first sight, but like every other maxim, it requires to be qualified. *Imprim.* — We ought to recollect that *wisdom*, and not *time alone*, is the grey hair to man; and, secondly, — That many a youth has been ruined by adhering to the opinions of his father. Thirdly, — That there are *nearly* as many old fools as young. Deference therefore to the opinion of an elder is all very well, with a proviso *that Elder* has cultivated his understanding; and even then it would be better for the youth to investigate his opinions than to rely implicitly on them. For my part, I shall think my sons, and I have many, will pay sufficient respect to my opinions, if they so far call them in question as to lead them to look to the basis on which they are founded. I have no fear of the result. If there is sufficient evidence for adopting them, they will unquestionably be respected and adopted; if not, they will be discarded, *as they ought*. I mortally hate the saying, “My father did so before me,” because it may go to perpetuate folly; and God knows, we have enough springing up among us every day, without encouraging the growth of past ages.

πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν εἶναι ἐποίησεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατραπῆς Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης, καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀδροῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν, ὅτι περὶ ωλείσου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ σπείσαιοτο, καὶ εἴ τῳ συνθεῖτο, καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστεινον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιγε-

assistance he ever afterwards made happy.¹

When sent by his father governor of Lydia, the greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and was proclaimed viceroy of all those who were compelled to assemble on the plains of Castolos, his first acts went to shew, that if ever he entered into an engagement, made a contract, or a promise, he scrupulously fulfilled them;² hence, not only those cities immediately under his authority,

¹ Hunting in eastern nations might be truly styled a warlike exercise. Where a man had frequently to face a *lion*, a *tiger*, or a *bear* in the chase, we may easily imagine how soon such an individual might be brought to combat a man in armour. Indeed, we have the most ancient and respectable authority for stating, that for a man to have done such a feat as Cyrus is here represented to have done, was considered a sufficient qualification for the undertaking of any martial enterprise. The story, which I offer in illustration, is so well told that I shall be content to give it verbatim.

“And Saul said to David, thou art not able to go against this Philistine to fight with him, for thou art but a youth, and he a man of war from his youth. And David said to Saul, Thy servant kept his father’s sheep, and there came a *lion* and a *bear* and took a lamb out of the flock, and I went out after him and smote him, and delivered it out of his mouth, and when he arose against me I caught him by his beard and smote him and slew him. Thy servant slew *both the lion and the bear*, and this uncircumcised Philistine shall be as one of them, seeing he hath defied the armies of the living God. And Saul said to David, Go, and the Lord be with thee.” 1 Sam. xvi. 33—35.

The killing the lion and the bear in this instance led to Empire; and in Cyrus and David they were unquestionably acts of great valour. For further illustration of the manner of hunting in the east, vide Bruce’s Abyssinia. — Also the Cyropædia.

² The reader who has any discrimination, will readily see, that this laudable conduct in Cyrus was rather the result of *Policy* than principle.

πόμηναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπεισαμένου Κύρου ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς παθεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἔκβησαι Κύρον εἴλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνης, πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. Καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυε, καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προεῖτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ αὐτοῖς φίλος ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἴ ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιτο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κάκιον πράξειαν. Φανερός δ' ἦν, καὶ εἴ τις ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον, ὡς εὐχοίτο τοσῶτον χρόνον ζῆν, ἕξ τε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιῶντας ἀλεξόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι δὴ αὐτῶ ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρῶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ

but even private individuals placed in him the greatest confidence, nor did *even an enemy*, after he had once made peace with Cyrus, ever apprehend suffering from a violation of it; from which it happened, that when he declared war against Tissaphernes, all the Ionian cities, with the exception of Miletus, came over to him; and that city was afraid lest he should desert their banished citizens.¹ But Cyrus shewed, not only by his words, but by his actions, that having once given *them* assurance of his friendship, he would never abandon them, however diminutive their number, or miserable their condition.² In fact, he demonstrated, that he took pride in out-doing his friends in good actions, nor would he be exceeded in retaliating on evil ones; from which it became reported that he wished to live long enough to *conquer both by returning both*.³ Certain it is that he had no contemporary to whom men were so willing to deliver up their

¹ I have given the *sense* of this passage, not a literal translation of it, for the latter would go to destroy the former, as proved in page 4.

² It is said that Napoleon pledged himself to Poland, and had he fulfilled it, no Russian army could have ever visited Paris. A breach of promise is at all times and under every circumstance reprehensible; but in a Prince must necessarily lead to ruin.

³ To conquer both simply means that he wished to exceed the good in goodness, and to extirpate vice by severity.

χρήματα, καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι.

Οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι, ὡς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελάξῃ, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. Πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς σειβομένας ὁδοὺς, καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερουμένους ἀνθρώπους ὥστε ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο, καὶ Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι, ὅποι τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι ὅτι προχωροῖη. Τοὺς μέντοιγε ἀγαθούς εἰς πόλεμον ὡμο-

*cities, lives, and fortunes, as to himself, which speaks volumes on his talents for government.*¹

Nor did malefactors or robbers triumph under his reign, for he shewed *them* no mercy; hence it was no uncommon thing to see these miserable beings lying in the high roads deprived of their eyes, hands, and feet, *as examples*; and travellers, whether Grecians or Barbarians, might go where they pleased, and on any business, through the country under his government; and provided they did no injury, were sure to suffer none.² It is also acknowledged *by all*, that he honoured those men in a particular manner who distinguished themselves

¹ The words in italics are not in the original, but are implied.

² This is not the case with travellers in the east *now*; the merchants are frequently under the greatest apprehensions, though some of the governments are vigilant. Sir John Malcolm relates an interesting scene between a Merchant who had been robbed and the Emperor of Persia, Carim Khan, which will confirm my assertion. "Carim was one day on the point of returning from his judgment-seat, harassed and fatigued with a long attendance, when a man rushed forward in apparent distraction, calling out in a loud voice for Justice. 'Who are you?' said Carim. 'I am a merchant,' replied the man, 'and have been robbed and plundered by thieves of all I possess.' 'What were you about,' said the prince, 'when you were robbed?' 'I was asleep,' answered the man. 'And why did you sleep?' exclaimed Carim, in a peevish and impatient tone. 'Because,' said the undaunted Persian; 'I made a mistake, and thought *you* were awake.' The irritation of the royal judge vanished immediately, and turning to his Vizier, he bade him pay the amount of the man's losses from the treasury. 'We must,' he added, 'try to recover this money from the robbers.'" Vide Colonel Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, in two vols. 1815.

λόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν πόλεμος πρὸς Πεισίδας καὶ Μυσάς· στρατεύόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας, οὓς ἐώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίησε ἢ κατεστρέφετο χώρας, καὶ ἄλλοις δῶροις ἐτίμα· ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς, εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τὰς δὲ κακοὺς, δούλους τῶν ἀξιῶσθαι εἶναι. Τοιγαροῦν πολλή ἦν ἀφθονία τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἴοιτο Κύρον αἰσθήσεσθαι.

Εἰς γαμῆν δικαιοσύνην, εἰ τις αὐτῶν φανερός γένοιτο ἐπιδεικνύσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τοῦτους πλεσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδέων. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ δίκαιως αὐτῶν διεχειρίζετο, καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῶν ἐχρήσατο. Καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ οὐ χρημάτων ἐνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνω-

in arms; for in his first expedition, which was directed against the Pisidians and Mysians, and in which he personally commanded, did he ever suffer any individual whom he observed forward in exposing himself to danger, to go unrewarded. If no government of the conquered countries offered itself, he made them other presents; hence under his auspices a *brave man* and a *fortunate one* were synonymous, as were a *coward* and a *slave*.¹ It was for this very reason in particular that so many men offered themselves to danger wherever Cyrus appeared, and where they expected he would notice them.]

But for *justice*, if he observed any individual in his service that paid particular respect to her injunctions, his chief care was that such a man should enjoy greater affluence than those who attempted to raise themselves by sinister means.² One instance of the justice of his administration is worth naming, and that is, that he had an *army worthy of that appellation*, for his officers who came to him from the other side the Hellespont,

¹ This opinion always prevails in a *half civilized* country, but under the government of Cyrus it was singularly exemplified in practice.

² This was princely, and worthy of imitation by modern governments; but, alas! *ad sinistram ad sinistram* is more the order of the day than *ad dextram*.

σαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρω καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν, ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. Ἄλλα μὴν εἴ τις γέ τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. Τοιγαρῶν κράτιστοι δὴ ὑπηρεταὶ παντὸς ἔργου Κύρω ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι. Εἰ δέ τινα ὀργήν δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἤς ἄρχοι χώρας, καὶ προσόδους ποιεῖντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείω προσεδίδου ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν, καὶ θαρραλέως ἐκτῶντο, καὶ ἀπέπαλο αὐτοὺς, ἥκιστα Κύρον ἐκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φρονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλετῦσιν ἐφαινεῖο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ὑποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι. Φίλος γεμὴν ὄσως ποιήσαιτο, καὶ εὖνης, γνοίη ὄντας, καὶ ικανὸς κρίνειε συνεργὸς εἶναι ὅτι τυγχάνει βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τῷτο· οὐπερ

did not offer him their services simply for the sake of pay, but because they were sensible that a prompt obedience to his wishes was to be preferred to every other consideration, as he was well known to be a man that never suffered the punctual execution of his orders to go unrewarded; hence it came to pass that he was better and more zealously served than any Prince of his day. If he observed a governor of a province joining economy with justice, and improving his province to increase his revenue, he never availed himself of those advantages, but *was pleased* to add to them: hence his officers laboured with cheerfulness, and enriched themselves with confidence, nor concealed their riches from their benefactor; for Cyrus was never known to avail himself of the property of those who disclosed it, but he *did draw* on the funds of those who made an effort to conceal them.¹ In fact, he possessed in an eminent degree the art of cultivating the friendship of those who exhibited any frankness of character, and who had given any indications of attachment to his service, as he considered those the only proper instru-

¹ All the Pashas now plead poverty. To be rich in Turkey is tantamount to being covered with crime; 'tis the passport to decapitation.

αὐτὸς ἕνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοῦς ἔχει, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου, ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα.

Δῶρα δὲ πλεῖστα μὲν, οἶμαι, εἰς γε ἀνῆρων, ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολυτά. ταῦτα δὲ δὴ πάντα μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις ἐδίδου, πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ἕκαστη σκοπῶν, καὶ ὅτε μάλιστα ὀρώη ἕκαστον δεόμενον. Καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτῷ κόσμον πέμποι τις, ἢ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον, ἢ ὡς εἰς καλλωπισμὸν, καὶ περὶ τέτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτῷ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τέτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλος δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένος, μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιῆναι, οὐδὲν θαυμάσδν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. Κύρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βικουὺς οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλὰκις, ὁπότε πάνυ ἦδυν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλῆ χρόνῃ τέττε ἡδίονι οἴνω ἐπιτύχοι· τῆτο ἔν σοι ἔπεμψε, καὶ δεῖταί σε τῆτον ἐκπιεῖν τῆμερον σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς. Πολλάκις δε χῆνας ἡμιθρότους ἔπεμπε, καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεια,

ments for accomplishing his purposes, and he took great pains to acknowledge his obligations, by granting in return those favours which he discovered were more particularly agreeable to them.

As he received, in my opinion, more presents than any other man, so did he distribute them to his friends with the most princely generosity, consulting not only their wants but their tastes; and as for those ornaments that were given him either for the embellishment of his person, or usefulness in war, he expressed himself thus:—“That he could not use nor wear them all, but considered a prince’s friends elegantly dressed as his greatest ornaments.” But those elevated sentiments ought not to surprize us, for as he possessed greater abilities than his friends, ’tis not to be wondered that he should exceed them in liberality, but, that he should excel in *his care* and the art of obliging, is in my opinion still more worthy of our admiration. It was no uncommon circumstance for Cyrus to send his favourites half firkins of wine *when he had received any of a particular flavour*, or half geese and half loaves

καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα, Τέτοις ἤσθη Κύρος· βέλεια οὖν καὶ σὲ τέτων γεύσασθαι. Ὅπως δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι, διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ἔχειν ὑπηρετάς, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τὰς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγασιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τὸν τὸν χιλὸν, ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν φίλους ἄγασιν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορευοίτο, καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλὼν τὰς φίλους ἐσσηδαιολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖ οὐς τιμᾶ· ὥστε ἔγωγε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκέρως, ἐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων περιλήσθαι, οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων. Τεκμήριον δὲ τέττι καὶ τὸδε· παρὰ μὲν Κύρου, δέλεον ὄντος, ἐδεῖς ἀπῆει πρὸς βασιλέα· πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· (καὶ οὗτος δὲ, ὃν ᾤετο

when particularly good; and in general accompanied with this message:— “Cyrus thinks them extraordinarily good, pray taste, and give your opinion.” And when forage was scarce, and Cyrus, from the great number of his retinue, had greater facilities of supply than his generals, he would send them some to be given to their riding-horses, that his friends, he said, might be carried handsomely and with pleasure. And when on any extraordinary occasion he appeared in public, and knew that the eyes of the people would be directed towards him, he usually called his particular favourites together, and affected to converse freely with them, in order that it might be seen whom he personally honoured. So that, by all I have been able to collect, no Grecian nor Barbarian prince was ever held in more esteem by his subjects.¹ A remarkable instance of it is, that no man, with the exception of Orontas, ever deserted from his service;² and even that prince, *too late*

¹ He went the right way to gain it. How much there is in *mannerism*! Some people never gain a Friend, though they are giving all their lifetime; they destroy by their *Hauteur* the works of their hands.

² Xenophon in general is very particular, and there are internal marks in his writings of his great love of truth; but here he seems to have forgot himself. Page 16, he mentions the names of two persons who were executed for treachery, &c.

πιστόν οἱ εἶναι, ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὗρε Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον, ἢ ἑαυτῷ) παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κῦρον ἀπῆλθον, ἕπει πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγένοντο· καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι, οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες, παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ, ἀξιωτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν, ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. Μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τῷ βίῳ αὐτῷ γένομενον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς, καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τῆς πιστοῦς καὶ εὖνους καὶ βεβαίους. Ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐτῷ, πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεζοι μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον ὑπὲρ Κύρου, πλὴν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ ἄρχων· ὡς δ' ἤσθετο Κῦρον πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ σφάτευμα πᾶν, οὗ ἠγεῖτο.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμενεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ χεὶρ ἢ δεξιὰ. Βασιλεὺς δὲ, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κυρεῖον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου τῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι τὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ

discovered, that the person on whose fidelity he trusted preferred the friendship of Cyrus to his. Indeed, many persons of distinction came over to Cyrus from the king, after the war broke out, well knowing that in his service, *merit would find its reward*. The circumstances attending his death demonstrated that, he was not only a good Prince, but knew how to select faithful and affectionate officers; for all his favourites, with the exception of Ariæus, died fighting over his dead body. That officer, indeed, having the command of the horse on the left wing, and hearing of Cyrus's death, fled with precipitation; and Cyrus being dead, and his head and right hand cut off, the king in pursuit broke into his camp, while the Paphlagonian horse, under the command of Ariæus, no longer making a stand, galloped off *shamefully*; nor did they cease to retreat 'till they had reached their former post, which was four parasangas from the field of battle. The king and his forces, among many others, took the military wife of Cyrus, prisoner. This lady was a Phocæan by birth, and is reported to οὐκέτι ἴσανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτὸν σταθμὸν, ἔνθεν ὠρμηγνο· (τέτταρες δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶναι) βασιλεὺς δὲ, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, διαρπαζόουσι, καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου καλ-

λακίδα, τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι, λαμβάνει. Ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἢ νεωτέρα, ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες· καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν διαρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι, ἐγένοντο, πάντα ἔσωσαν. Ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες, τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς πάντας νικῶντες· οἱ δὲ ἀρπάζοντες, ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. Ὡς δὲ ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὐτῶν ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνου, ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶεν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχοιντο διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ συντάττεται· ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο, Πρόξενον καλέσας (πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν) εἰ πέμποιεν τινας, ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ραῆξινας.

¹ If we had not seen what a dastardly set of cowards those Persians were, to talk of sending a detachment to relieve the camp would look like Bravado.

have possessed great talents and beauty. Cyrus had another concubine, a native of Milesia, younger than the former, and although made prisoner, she contrived to escape in a state of nudity to those Greeks who were appointed to guard the baggage-waggons. Indeed, those men formed of themselves, and killed many of the Persians who were plundering their camp; and though they lost some of their own body in the attempt, yet did they save the Milesian lady, the sick, and every thing committed to their charge. The distance by this time between the king and the Grecian main force was nearly thirty stadia; each pursuing the enemy opposed to him, and each supposing victory certain. The Persian troops, as already observed, were plundering the Greek camp, which as soon as the Greek generals understood, they held a consultation whether they should send a detachment or march in a body to relieve it.¹ The king, on his part, as soon as he heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks had routed the body opposed to them, and were hot in the pursuit, rallied, left the Greek camp, and placed his

Ἐν τῷ βασιλεὺς πάλιν δῆλος ἦν προσιών, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὀπισθεν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληες συστραφέντες παρασκευάζονται, ὡς ταύτη προσιόντες καὶ δεξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτη μὲν οὐκ ἦγεν, ἣ δὲ παρηλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐνούμου κέρατος, ταύτη καὶ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς τῆς Ἑλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας, καὶ Τισσαφέρην, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε καὶ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τῆς Ἑλληνας πελταστῶν διελαύνων δεκτέκτανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληες ἔπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς. Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν, καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. Ὁ οὖν Τισσαφέρης ὡς μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη· εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. Ἐπεὶ δ'

forces in regular order of march. On the advance of the king being discovered, and that he manœuvred with a view of falling on the Greek rear, the Greeks faced about, and prepared to receive him; but the king declined the encounter, and passed at some distance from the Grecian left wing, making those prisoners who had deserted from him to the Greeks during the battle; at the same time covering and aiding the retreat of Tissaphernes: — for that commander did not fly on our first charge, but penetrated with his cavalry as far as where our targeteers were posted, which was on the margin of the Euphrates, and though he passed through them, he did not hurt a single man; on the contrary, those light-armed troops opening, wounded his horse, both with their swords and darts, as they passed, and displayed on the occasion a fine specimen of military tactics. Episthenes, of Amphipolis, commanded them, a soldier well tutored in the school of Mars, and whose conduct was the admiration of the army. Tissaphernes being sensible of his disadvantageous position, passed on to the Greek camp, and finding the king there, united his forces to the king's, and presently coming back *together*, they advanced to attack the

ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, εἶδισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας, καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφότερωθεν αὐτοὺς διακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας, καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὀπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα, κατέστησεν ἐναντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχοῦμενος συνηει. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγύς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὖθις παιανίσαντες ἐπῆσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον, ἢ τοπρῶσθεν. Οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλείονος, ἢ τοπρῶσθεν, ἔφρουγον· οἱ δ' ἐπέδιωκον μέχρι κώμης τίνος· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα· πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἰππέων ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη· ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γιγνώσκειν. Καὶ τὸ

left of the Greeks, who began to be fearful lest they should be out-flanked by the king's troops wheeling to the right and left, and be thus attacked in front and rear at the same moment. The Greeks therefore determined to open their wing, and cover their rear with the Euphrates; but while consulting on the best mode of doing this, the king marches by them, and draws up his men quite opposite the Greeks, and in the same order as he first engaged them. The Greeks seeing the king advance in order of battle, immediately sung the Pæan, and began the charge with a greater impetuosity than at the first; but the Barbarians would not stop to receive them, but fled with precipitation to a neighbouring village, whither the Greeks pursued them, and there halted; for there was an eminence that overlooked the village where the king's forces stopped before they faced about. Artaxerxes had no infantry with him,¹ but he completely covered the hill with his cavalry, who were posted in such a manner as to render it impossible for the Greeks to discover what were their intentions. Some of our men said they

¹ What was become of the Infantry? There is some obscurity in this relation. I expect *Time* has injured the original text. The minutiae of facts are handed down three thousand years with great difficulty.

βασίλειον σημεῖον ὄραν
ἔφασαν, ἄστὸν τινα
χρυσῶν ἐπὶ πέλλης, ἐπὶ
ξύστου ἀνατεταμένον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα
ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλλη-
νες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ
τὸν λόφον οἱ ἰππεῖς·
οὐ μέντοι ἔτι ἀθρόοι,
ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν
ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος
τῶν ἰπέων· τέλος δὲ
καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρη-
σαν. Ὁ οὖν Κλέ-
αρχος οὐκ ἀνετίβαζεν
ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ'
ὑπὸ αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ
στράτευμα, πέμπει
Λύκιον τὸν Συρακού-
σιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ
τὸν λόφον, καὶ κελεύει
κατιδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ
τοῦ λόφου, τί ἐστὶν
ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Καὶ ὁ
Λύκιος ἤλασε, καὶ ἰδὼν
ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύ-
γουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος.
Σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα
ἦν, καὶ ἥλιος ἔδυετο.
Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν
οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ θέ-
μενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἀνε-
παύοντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν
ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι οὐδα-
μοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο,
οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
οὐδεὶς παρῆι· οὐ γὰρ
ᾔδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνη-
κότα, ἀλλ' εἵκαζον
ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι,
ἢ καταληψόμενόν τι
προελληλακέαι· καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύοντο, εἰ
αὐτοῦ μείναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἀγάγοιντο, ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ
στρατόπεδον. Ἐδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀπίεσαι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἀμφὶ δόρυπιστον
ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. Ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Κα-

saw the royal standard plainly, which was a golden eagle with wings extended, resting on the point of a spear.

The Greeks now began to mount the hill, which the king's cavalry observing, immediately quitted, not in a body, but in irregular detachments, and without order, and in this manner they continued galloping off, 'till the whole had disappeared. Clearchus and his division did not march up, but waited at the foot of the hill; he therefore commands Lycius, the Syracusan, and another officer, to reconnoitre and make their report; the purport of which was, "That the enemy were flying in all directions." Upon *this*, the Greeks halted, it being near sunset, and rested on their arms, wondering that they neither saw nor heard from Cyrus; for at this time they had no suspicion of his death, but imagined, from his well-known temperature, that being led away in the pursuit, he had advanced on Babylon, for the purpose of taking up some advantageous post. They therefore consulted among themselves whether they had better return to their camp, or send for their baggage waggons. They resolved on the former; and having arrived about the time of supper,

ταλαμβανούσι δὲ τῶν
 τε ἄλλων χρημάτων
 τὰ πλείστα διηρπασ-
 μένα, καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον
 ἢ ποτόν ἦν· καὶ τὰς
 ἀμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύ-
 ρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς πα-
 ρεσκευάσατο Κύρος,
 ἵνα εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ
 λάβοι τὸ στρατόπεδον
 ἐνδεια, διαδιδοίῃ τοῖς
 Ἕλλησιν· (ἦσαν δ'
 αὐταί, ὡς ἐλέγοντο,
 τετρακόσαι ἀμάξαι)
 καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ
 σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασ-
 σαν· ὥστε ἄδειπνοι
 ἦσαν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ
 ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ
 δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στρα-
 τευμα πρὸς ἄριστον,
 βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. Ταύ-
 την μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγένοντο.

found, to their astonishment, waggons,
 provisions, and corn carriages plun-
 dered. The latter was said to amount
 to four hundred, full of flour and wine,
 which Cyrus had collected with a view
 of giving to the Grecian forces, and as
 a reserve against an emergency; but
 so completely were they sacked, that
 the major part of the Greek soldiers
 were obliged to be content supperless;
 neither had any of them taken din-
 ner that day, for before the army had
 halted in order to do so, the king
 made his appearance: and under this
 deprivation did the soldiers pass the
 night.¹

¹ There is a confusedness in this description, occasioned by Xenophon's eternal Parenthesis, which goes to prove, what I have frequently remarked, "That where a man wants to tell *every thing*, he tells nothing as he ought." Compare the description of the battle at the Grampian Hills, by Tacitus, and this together, and you will see the difference between a master writer and a half-bred one. Xenophon may always be relied on as telling truth, but he frequently bungles. When I began this translation, I had it in contemplation to take the parenthetical parts and place them as Notes. I am sure the *manes* of Xenophon would have thanked me for it, though the critics might have lashed me.

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK II.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρω τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὥστε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς Κύρος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν, οἴομενοι πάντα νικᾶν, καὶ Κύρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι Κύρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμποι σημανοῦντα ὅτι χρῆ ποιεῖν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. Ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, συσκευασαμένοις ἅ εἶχον, καὶ ἐξοπλισαμένοις, προΐεναι εἰς τὸ

WE have succinctly stated in the preceding pages,¹ the means which Cyrus used to raise his Greek forces, for the purpose of attacking his brother — what occurred during his march — the order of battle, — and the death of Cyrus; — that the Greeks, supposing they had gained a complete victory, that Cyrus was alive, had returned to their camp, and had retired to rest. At break of day the generals assembled, and were surprised that neither Cyrus himself nor an aide-de-camp had arrived with orders from him, and began to be confirmed in those suspicions which we have before related, viz: “That Cyrus had advanced on Babylon for the purpose of taking

¹ Ὡς μὲν ἔν was a common mode of expression among the Greeks when they recapitulated the substance of a book which was to be followed by others; though they had other much more significant terms, ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, &c. &c.

πρόσθεν, ὡς Κύρω
 συμμίξειαν. Ἦδη δὲ
 ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων, ἅμ'
 ἠλίω ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε
 Προκλῆς, ὁ Τευθρανίας
 ἄρχων γεγονώς, ἀπὸ
 Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λά-
 κωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ
 Ταμώ. Οὗτοι ἔλεγον,
 ὅτι Κύρος μὲν τέθνη-
 κεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πε-
 φυγώς, ἐν τῷ σαθμῶ
 εἶη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 βαρβάρων, ὅθεν τῇ
 προτέρα ὡρμῶντο· καὶ
 λέγοι ὅτι ταύτην μὲν
 τὴν ἡμέραν περιμει-
 νειεν ἂν αὐτοὺς, εἰ
 μέλλοιεν ἕκειν· τῇ δὲ
 ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη
 ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ
 ἦλθε. Ταῦτα ἀκού-

up some advantageous position." They accordingly resolved to collect the remains of their baggage, to resume arms, and to advance with a view of joining him. When, behold! just as the sun was rising, and the army going to move forward, Procles and Glus arrived with the melancholy news of the death of Cyrus; that Ariæus had fled from the field of battle, and had retired with the rest of the Barbarians to the camp they had occupied the day before the action; and that Ariæus had directed them to tell the Greeks, "That he would remain *there* that day to give them an opportunity of joining him; but on the morrow he purposed to retrograde for Ionia."¹ Procles, who brought this information, had been governor of Teuthrania, and was a descendant of Demaratus, the Lacedæmonian; and Glus was the son of Tamos. The generals

¹ This was a death-blow to all their hopes. Blotting out the sun that had just risen, as also the sun of their expectations. Viceroyships vanished, and coronets fell from their heads; the soldiers imaginary farms and independencies were gone; and nothing now remained but to contend for an existence: no wonder therefore that the army, as Xenophon tells us, "were incapable of containing their grief." Let the reader contemplate the situation in which these men were:—sixteen hundred miles from home,—surrounded by thirty millions of enemies,—their retreat cut off,—an army of eight hundred thousand before them, ready to oppose and contend every step they should take. If they should ever return to Ionia, they must force a passage through an unknown country, and hostile unknown nations. Let the military man look at it. Who would have been a commander under such circum-

σαντες οἱ στρα-
τηγοὶ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ἕλληνες, βαρέως ἔφε-
ρον. Κλέαρχος δὲ
τάδε εἶπεν, Ἄλλ'
ᾧφελε μὲν Κύρος ζῆν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν,
ἀπαγγέλλειε Ἀργαίω

and the army, hearing these melancholy tidings, were incapable of concealing their grief; and Clearchus, in a paroxysm of anguish, exclaimed, "Oh that Cyrus was alive!—but since the gods have taken him, and he is no more, tell

stances? What was the retreat from Moscow compared to this? "*The Elements!*" it may be whispered. So had the Greeks to contend with the elements; they sometimes, it will be seen, slept under the snow. "*The latitude of the country,*" says some one. The latitude of a country is not so much to be considered as *locality*. The mountains of Corsica, as the cordilleras of South America, are covered with eternal snow, not from latitude, but from altitude. Look at the Carduchian, the Armenian, and Phasianian mountains, over which this army passed, (vide Map,) and consider, that from the field of battle they persevered marching north nearly 10 degrees, then making a sweep to the west, travelled the amazing distance of 22 degrees more; and then let us consider, whether there is any military exploit like it in all history. The journey from Moscow to Paris might be performed by a good walker in a fortnight; but the French troops got effectual relief in Saxony, so much so as to enable them to fight the battle of Leipsic. But here was fighting all the way; and should it be remarked, that the defection and treachery of De Yorck injured the French, yet what was that considered to the conduct of Tissaphernes and Ariæus? The fact is, that the Greeks never once lost their courage; and it was *this, and this alone, in conjunction with so able a soldier as Xenophon for a commander*, that enabled them to perform the most wonderful retreat on record. One cannot help being more than ordinarily astonished at hearing Clearchus tell Ariæus that he would place him on the throne; and particularly when we feel convinced that he certainly would have done so (had Ariæus consented *and that* in the presence of 800,000 men; but the fact is, that Artaxerxes expected it, hence, he crosses the Tigris and leaves his capital exposed. I would pursue these reflections, but I shall anticipate probably too much for the reader. The military reader will see a great deal both to applaud and condemn in the generals. Clearchus, in the first place, ought to have been posted in the centre of the army, and to have changed positions as requested by Cyrus; secondly, he ought not to have followed the force opposed to him, so far as to lose sight of the Barbarian allies: but these mistakes would have been all obviated, had Cyrus himself been more prudent. The Greeks would have beaten them all in detail.

ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε νικῶμεν βασιλέα, καὶ, ὡς ὀράει, οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἔτι μάχεται· καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἦλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. Ἐπαγγελόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίω, ἔαν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείου αὐτὸν καθιεῖν· τῶν γὰρ μάχην νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἔστί. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα, καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Μένων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. Οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. Τὸ δὲ σθένος ἐπορίζετο σῖτον, ὅπως ἐδύνατο, ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντο, μικρὸν προιόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τοῖς τε δίστοῖς, πολλοῖς οὖσιν (οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως) καὶ τοῖς γέβροις, καὶ ταῖς ξυλίναῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται,

Ariæus that the Greeks have gained the victory, and that if he will come to them, they will place him on the throne; for, that *this* was in their power, and was attached to the right of conquest."¹ Having thus spoke, he despatched back the messengers, in company with Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, and Menon, the Thessalian; for he knew that Menon wished a share in this embassy, in consequence of his being allied to Ariæus by friendly intercourse, and the rites of hospitality. Clearchus himself thought proper to remain where he was 'till *these* returned, improving the interim, as well as he could, by killing the oxen and asses that had drawn the baggage-waggons; and for fuel, made use of the arrows which they found on the field of battle, which was at no great distance from where they lay, making the deserters to pull them out of the ground. The wooden Egyptian shields, and the Persian buck-

¹ Some poet informs us, that "The law of conquest is the law of brutes," and that *right* in this case is only another term for *might*. Society will do well to foster this idea, and to contend for it; though experience shews us, that in nineteen cases out of twenty, *might* robs *right* of her plumes. What *right* could a set of mercenary Greeks have to dethrone a legitimate monarch of another nation?

----- "Injustice, unconfined,—
Sweeps the wide earth and tramples on mankind,
While pray'rs to heal her wrongs move slow behind."

POPE.

καὶ ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι, κρέα ἔφαντες ἡσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ πλῆθους ἀγορὰν, καὶ ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρους κήρυκες, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, βάρβαροι· ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν Φαλίνοσ εἰς Ἑλληνα, ὃς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρει ὄν, καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν περὶ τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. Οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες, καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας, λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τὸς Ἑλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει, καὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα, ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως δύρας, εὐρίσκεσθαι ἦν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. Ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνας βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν· ὁμῶς δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἶη τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὅτι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἀριστόν ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ

lers, and the empty waggons also, he had broke up, and with these making fires, dressed their victuals, and supported the army that day.

The time had arrived when the market is generally full (i. e. mid-day), when a flag of truce with a message from the king and Tissaphernes came to the Greek camp. Those who composed it, were all Barbarians, with the exception of Philinus, who was a Greek, in the service of Tissaphernes, and held in much esteem by him for his *pretended* knowledge of the military art. *These*, called on the Greek generals collectively, and gave them to understand, that the king, having gained the victory and killed Cyrus, now called on them to deliver up their arms; and further stated, “That if they wanted any thing, they were to repair to the king, and see what they could obtain from his clemency.” The Greeks heard this message with indignation; yet Clearchus contented himself by saying, “That it was not usual for *conquerors* to deliver up their arms.” When, turning to the Greek generals, who stood by, he said, “I am going to inspect the Sacrifice, — my servant has just called me, — I will return almost immediately; in the interim, speak to those Barba-

αὐτίκα ἦξα. Ἐκάλεσε γὰρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος. Ἐνθα δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκὰς, πρὸς βύτατος ὢν, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν, ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῖεν. Πρὸξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλίνε θαυμάζω πότρεα ὡς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὄπλα, ἢ ὡς διὰ φιλίαν καὶ δῶρα. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῶ ταῦτα χαρίσονται. Πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε· Βασιλεὺς νικᾶν ἠγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε. Τίς γὰρ αὐτῶ ἐστὶν ὅστις ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; Νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτῶ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ χώρᾳ, καὶ ποταμῶν ἐν τὸς ἀδιαβάτων· καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον, οὐδ' εἰ παρῆχοι ὑμῖν, δύναισθ' ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι.

Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν· ὦ Φαλίνε, νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὀφείεις, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἄλλο

rrians smartly as become Greeks." On this Cleanor, the Arcadian, the oldest man in company, immediately addressed the embassy thus, "Go tell your master, that we shall not deliver up our arms but with our lives." Then Proxenus, the Theban, interrogated Philinus *thus*:—"Does your master, Philinus, demand our arms as a conqueror, or as a friendly present? If as a conqueror, why does he demand them, why rather does he not come and take them? If, as a *present* he asks them, what does he purpose to give the Greeks in return for conferring on him so great a favour?" Philinus replied, "That the king considered himself as the victor, seeing that he had killed Cyrus, and that there was no one *now* to dispute the kingdom with him; moreover, that he looked on the Greek forces as his property, since they were penned up within his territories, surrounded by mountains and impassable rivers, and with such an army to oppose them as would completely wear down the Greeks with fatigue, were the king even to offer them to the slaughter."

Whereupon Xenophon, the Athenian, remarked, "That Philinus was aware that the Greeks had nothing *now* to depend

ἔστιν ἀγαθόν, εἰ μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἀρετή. Καὶ ὄπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες, οἴομεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι· παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. Μὴ οὖν οἴου τὰ μόνα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ ὄντα ἡμᾶς παραδώσειν· ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχούμεθα. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε, καὶ εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μὲντοι ἀνόητος ἂν, εἰ οἶεῖ ἂν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως." Ἄλλους δὲ τινὰς ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακίζομενους, ὡς καὶ Κύρω

on but their arms and their courage; and that while they possessed the one, *He knew*, that they possessed and could exercise the other: nor ought Philinus to suppose the Greeks quite so ignorant, as not to be fully aware, that when they deliver up their arms, they at the same moment deliver up their persons also; you cannot, therefore, Philinus, be so weak as to imagine that we shall give up the only treasure we possess. On the contrary, so far are we from doing this, that we intend to contend *with* the Barbarians to dispossess them of theirs." On hearing which, Philinus *smiled*, and said, "You speak, young man, *certainly* like a *Philosopher*, and quite eloquently; but if you suppose yourselves capable of contending, or of overcoming the king, such a supposition, be assured, though clothed in sounding language, will only turn out to be sounding folly."¹ At this moment it was whispered that some of the Greek soldiers were timorous and wavering, and were heard to say, "That they could

¹ The intelligent reader will consider this remark of Philinus as *severe*: the Greek generals had only exercised a little satire; yet it should seem they had said quite enough to rob Philinus of his temper. His smiling on Xenophon, and calling him a philosopher, and no doubt accompanying his words with a certain indescribable action, to make them more poignant, was altogether unbecoming; the more so, as addressed to a *young man*. Indeed, he dared not to have made this remark to Cleanor.

πιστοὶ γένοιτο, καὶ βασιλεῖ γ' ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γένωνται, εἰ βούλοιο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴ τί τι ἄλλο βέλεται χρῆσθαι, εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαιντ' ἂν αὐτῶ. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλίνοσ δ' ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν. Οὔτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλοσ ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἶπε, τί λέγεις; Ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Φάλινε, ἄσμενοσ εἰσακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντεσ οὔτοι· σὺ τε γὰρ Ἕλλην εἶ, καὶ ἡμεῖσ, τοσοῦτοι ὄντεσ ὅσοουσ σὺ ὄρασ· ἐν τοιοῦτοισ δὲ ὄντεσ πράγμασι, συμβουλεύομεδά σοι, τί χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. Σὺ οὖν, πρὸσ Θεῶν, συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὅτι σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι,

exercise the same fidelity towards the king as they had towards Cyrus, was the king disposed to receive them as friends; and would obey his orders with cheerfulness, if he wanted their services; nor had they any objections to assist him in the conquest of Egypt if he desired it, and would march with him.”¹ At which moment Clearchus returned, and immediately asked whether the Greek generals had given their answer to the messengers. To whom Philinus replied, “That *they* were divided in their opinion, and desired that Clearchus would impart his.” Clearchus immediately said to Philinus, “That he was happy to see him, as were the army in general; the more so, as he was a Greek and a countryman to the whole of them. Tell us, therefore, plainly, what would *you advise us to do* under our present circumstances, relative to those proposals you bring?—and I ask you to do this *sincerely*, as in the presence of the gods,

¹ What shall we say of *mere mercenary soldiers*. Are they men, or nondescripts?

“Ruin, like a vulture, waits on their conquests.”

OTWAY.

How different a being is a patriotic soldier, who, like a Washington, only fights on the defensive. But a mere *mercenary* will march to the conquest of Egypt or Persia, it is no difference to him. Nay, to the conquest and enslaving of his own country, *if you will pay him for it*. The historical reader will recollect, that Roman mercenaries destroyed Rome's empire.—“*Verbum quantum sufficit sapientibus.*”

καὶ ὁ σοὶ τιμὴν οἴσει
 εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον
 ἀναλεγόμενον, ὅτι Φα-
 λῖνος ποτὲ πεμφθεὶς
 παρὰ βασιλέως κε-
 λεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας
 τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι,
 συμβουλευόμενος συ-
 νεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς
 τάδε. Οἶσθα δὲ ὅτι
 ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν
 τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ὃ ἂν συμ-
 βουλεύσῃς. Ὁ δὲ
 Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπή-
 γετο, βουλόμενος καὶ
 αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασι-
 λέως πρεσβεύοντα συμ-
 βουλεύσαι μὴ παρα-
 δίδόναι τὰ ὄπλα, ὅπως
 εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον οἱ
 Ἕλληνες εἶεν. Φαλῖνος
 δ' ὑποστρέψας, παρὰ
 τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν
 ὧδε.

Ἐγὼ, εἰ μὲν τῶν
 μυθίων ἐλπίδων μία
 τις ὑμῖν ἐστι σωθῆναι
 πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ,
 συμβουλεύω μὴ παρα-
 δίδόναι τὰ ὄπλα· εἰ
 μέντοι μηδεμία σωτη-
 ρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκον-
 τος βασιλέως, συμ-
 βουλεύω σώζεσθαι ὅπη
 δυνατόν. Κλέαρχος
 δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν,
 Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ
 σὺ λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν
 δὲ ἀπάγγελλε ταῦτα,
 ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα, εἰ
 μὲν θεοὶ βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι, ἔχοντες τὰ ὄπλα, ἢ

and with an eye to the opinion of posterity, when your advice shall be spoken of. For you are fully aware, Philinus, that your counsel, whatever it may be, will be reported in Greece.”¹

Clearchus submitted to hear his opinion, under the expectation that the king's ambassador *himself* would advise them to retain their arms, with a view of obtaining more favourable conditions. But Philinus was not to be caught, he was too wary; and, contrary to Clearchus's expectations, replied to him thus: — “Upon my honour, Clearchus, I declare, that if I saw one chance in a million of your preserving yourself by waging war against the king, I would be the last man to advise you to deliver up your arms; but since I can discover no means for you to escape without his concurrence, my advice is that you submit to the only one that offers.” “Indeed!” replied Clearchus; “Then, since this is *your opinion*, deliver to the king *mine*, — and that is, that if he desires our friendship, we shall be able to give him greater proofs of it with our arms in our hands than

¹ This was a manly appeal — putting Patriotism to the Test. The opinion of Posterity was more regarded by the ancients than the moderns though *here* was an exception.

παραδόντες ἄλλω· εἰ δὲ θεοὶ πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὄπλα, ἢ ἄλλω παραδόντες. Ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν βασιλεὺς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ, σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προϊῶσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι, πόλεμος. Εἶπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου, πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν, ἢ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ. Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεξεν, Ἀπάγγελε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τῶν, ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταυτὰ δοκεῖ, ἄπερ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐστίν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. Ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος, Ἦν μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαὶ ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προϊῶσι, πόλεμος. Ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε, Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταυτὰ πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο, Σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ἢ προϊῶσι, πόλεμος, Ὅτι δὲ ποιήσοι, οὐ διεσήμανε. Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ἔρχετο, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.

Οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦγον, Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος· (Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ) οὗτοι δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ Βελτίους, οὓς

without them; but if he desires us as enemies to make war with, tell him that these arms will aid our enmity.” “I will report this answer,” said Phalinus, “and have only to observe *finally*, that the king instructed me to inform you, that in the event of your remaining where you are, you will have peace; but if you either advance or retreat, you must expect war. What answer shall I return to him? Do you accept peace, or are you for war?” “Tell him,” said Clearchus, “that our opinion is in unison with his own.” “What is that opinion *definitely*?” said Phalinus. Clearchus answered, “If we stay, *peace*; if we retreat or advance, *war*.” Phalinus again asked, “Must I report *peace* or *war*?” “*Peace*, if we remain; *war*, if we retrograde or advance.” For Clearchus would not disclose himself *definitely*, nor give a hint of his ultimate intentions; and thus Phalinus departed.

While this conversation was going on Procles and Cheirisophus returned from Ariæus, leaving Menon with him. The answer of Ariæus to Clearchus was, “That in Persia there were many men of much greater distinction than

οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἤκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς πρῶτ' ἀπιέναι φησίν. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἂν μὲν ἤκωμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πράττετε ὅποιον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴησθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. Ὅτι δὲ ποιήσοι, οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἤδη ἡλίου δύνοντος, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ ἰέναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα, οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. Καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο. Ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυθάνομαι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι ναυσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. Οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν

himself, whom he was assured would never let him enjoy the kingdom in peace, and he had only to desire, that if Clearchus intended to join him, that he would do so immediately, as he purposed to march early in the morning.”¹ To which Clearchus replied, “That *his* advice ought to be followed, if the Greeks were determined to join him, and that *they* should do what they considered the most to their advantage.” For so well did Clearchus conduct himself on this urgent occasion, that he would not make known his views to *any one*, but was completely his own counsellor. By this time the sun was setting, when Clearchus immediately called a council of war of the Grecian captains and generals, and addressed them to this effect: — “Gentlemen of the Army — Having consulted the will of the gods by sacrifice, concerning marching against the king, I have found that the indications of the victims justly forbid it; — I say justly, because I have been recently informed that the king is encamped the other side of the Tigris, a large navigable river, which it is impossible for us to cross without boats, neither is it possible for us to remain

¹ Ariæus here acted like a wise man, though he ultimately proved a perjured villain.

τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν· ἰέναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους, πάνυ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν. Ὡς οὖν χρῆ ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν, ὅ,τι τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὴν δὲ σημήνη τῷ κέρατι ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπόζυγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑπόζυγια ἔχοντες πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἔξω. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλθον, καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτω· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἦρχεν, οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὀράντες, ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπειροὶ ἦσαν. Ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἣν ἦλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης, σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἑνεήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πενήκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι·

in this camp without provisions; but the victims did fairly indicate that we should join the friends of our late worthy commander: I desire, therefore, that every man will respect this my order. Let every soldier retire to his tent, and sup on what he may have in reserve, and when the bugle sounds for rest, pack baggage; on its second sounding, load the baggage-horses; on its third sounding, follow your officers, and direct the baggage-waggons to march next to the river, and let the heavy-armed soldiers cover it.”¹ On receiving these orders the generals and officers departed, and implicitly obeyed his instructions, *and as it were by intuition*, the whole army voluntarily obeyed him; not as though he had been elected to the command, but from a conviction that no other officer among them, through lack of experience, was adequate to the task.² From Ephesus, an Ionian city, the place from whence the Greeks set out, to the field of battle, was a distance of five hundred and thirty-five parasangas, or sixteen thou-

¹ See how difficulties call forth talent. Clearchus never spoke so well, as on this occasion, nor never gave so great a proof of his qualifications for a commander.

² This is very modest in Xenophon, particularly when we recollect that he wrote *this*, after he himself had conducted the retreat.

ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, στάδιοι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ, ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θράξ, ἔχων τοὺς τε ἰππέας τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὡς τριακοσίου, ἠύτομόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἠγεῖτο, κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρὰ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιάν, ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα, συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὤμοσαν οἷτε Ἑλληνες καὶ Ἀριαῖος, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι, μῆτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν, καὶ ἠγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως. Ταῦτα δ' ὤμοσαν, σφάξαντες κάπρον, καὶ λαῦρον, καὶ λύκον, καὶ κριὸν, εἰς ἀσπίδα βάπτοντες οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην.

sand and fifty stadia,¹ which the army accomplished in ninety-three marches; and from the field of battle to Babylon was computed no less than three thousand and sixty stadia.

No sooner was this order given, and night arrived, than Miltocythes the Thracian, in company with forty horse and three hundred Thracian foot, deserted to Artaxerxes; the remaining part, Clearchus led in the order commanded, and about midnight arrived at the first camp of Ariæus, where they found him in the midst of his army. The soldiers being drawn up, and resting on their arms, the generals and captains of the Greeks went forward to meet him; when Ariæus, with his most distinguished officers, advanced also and mutually exchanged oaths, not only never to betray each other, but to become an allied army. The Barbarians also swore most solemnly to conduct the Greeks with the greatest fidelity, and prefaced their oath by sacrificing a bull, a wolf, and a ram, in whose mingled blood, coagulated in the hollow of a shield, the Greeks dipped their swords, and the Barbarians their spears.²

¹ That is, 1605 miles English; making the army march $17\frac{1}{4}$ per diem.

² This I call a solemn oath—*ratified by blood*. It unquestionably was

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπεὶ περὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ὑμῖν, εἰπέ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας; πότερον ἀπιμεν ἢνπερ ἦλθομεν, ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννεονημέλαι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω; Ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἦν μὲν ἦλθομεν ἀπιόντες,

Having pledged their faith, Clearchus addressed Ariæus to this effect:—
 “Since then we have resolved to retrograde in company, and our route is the same, give me your opinion, Ariæus. Had we better return by the way we came, or have you thought on any other line of march more agreeable?”¹
 To which Ariæus replied, “That to march back by the road they came,

derived from the Levitical economy, where all things were ratified and purified by blood. It was a custom among the Scythians also, and indeed has been practised by all nations. Vide Herodotus, lib. iv. c. 70. Ὅρνια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι, &c. But why a bull, a wolf, and a ram, in particular, were sacrificed, must rest, I think, *now* only on conjecture. Certain it is that the fairest and most handsome of the kind were always chosen as being the most acceptable; but even this idea was derived from Moses. The animals, offered under the Jewish economy, were to be *without blemish*, in which particular the heathen nations imitated them.

- - - “We, heaven itself to bribe,
 Do recompense with death their creatures' toil,
 Then call the bless'd above to share the spoil;
 The fairest victim must the Powers appease—
 So fatal 'tis sometimes too much to please!”

DRYDEN'S *Ovid*.

¹ This question, I conceive, was only proposed as a compliment. Clearchus was not so inexperienced a commander as not to be fully aware how improbable it was for a retreating, discomfited army, to procure provisions in those towns through which it had previously marched, flushed with hope, and headed by a favourite Viceroy. What would the Thapsacians have said, now their Idol was dead? or how would the Tarsians, whom they had plundered, have received them? or the gates of Cilicia have been repassed without a navy? or, in fact, provisions only have been procured, in places that had been just traversed by one hundred and twenty thousand men? It was an introductory conciliatory compliment, at commencing co-operations.

πάντες ἂν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἶχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἔνθα δ' εἴτι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν. Νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. Πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἂν δυνάμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλείστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνῃαι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. Ὀλίγω μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον, οὐ δυνήσεται ταχὺ πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. Ταύτην, ἔφη, γνώμην ἔχω.

Ἦν δ' αὐτῇ ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη, ἢ ἀποδράναι, ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἢ δὲ τύχη

was to perish by famine ; that, *even then*, the army was nearly destitute of *every thing*, and for the last seventeen days, while advancing to where they then stood, the little that was procured out of the country, was collected with the greatest difficulty ; and, although the line of march that he should point out was circuitous and much longer, yet, by following it, provisions of every kind would be certain. I propose, therefore, that we make, in the first instance, *very long marches*, in order to stretch as far in advance of the king's army as possible ; and when we shall have gained two or three marches of him, he will never more get up with us ; since, with a small army, he dares not, and with a large army he cannot. Moreover, he might also be deterred by want. He offered *this*," he said, " simply as his opinion."¹

But this plan, had it been put into execution, would have had all the appearance of a flight, or a retreat. *Fortune*,² however, interposed, and

¹ There are many military men who think, *even now*, that this plan ought to have been adopted.

² Fortune, called by the Greeks *τύχη*, was, in ancient mythology, a Goddess, that was considered to preside over the affairs of men, distributing riches and honours at her pleasure. Painters represent her by

ἔστρατήγησε κάλλιον.
Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο,
ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον,
λογιζόμενοι ἕξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς
κάμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας
χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν.

proved a more glorious conductor;¹ for, at break of day, the army began to march northward, (this we discovered from the sun rising on our right hand) expecting, by the evening, to arrive at some of those villages in the vicinity of Babylon.² These expectations were

the figure of a blind woman, standing on the top of a Wheel, with wings at her feet. She was characterized by the Romans, who built many temples to her honour, by a multiplicity of Hieroglyphics, and had more votaries than all the Heathen Hierarchy. Sometimes *τύχη* is used in the same sense as that indefinite thing called *chance*. Vide the 527th line of the Ajax of Sophocles, also, 628th of the Hecuba of Euripides, for illustration.

¹ Here we have the goddess personified, marching at the head of the Greek army, as *Στρατηγία*, aut *Præfectura exercitus* — Female commander; for this is the unequivocal meaning of the word, as proved by Plutarch, and is consented to by all our Lexicographers. I suppose, on this occasion, the goddess put on her Amazonian uniform, as being about to perform a deed that should excite the astonishment of posterity. She was a *glorious conductor* indeed, using *glorious* in the same sense as *astonishing*.

² Babylon, we have already stated, is supposed to have stood on the present site of the village Hella, and was founded by Belus, but reared under the auspices of Semiramis. Old writers affirm, that there was a Babylon in Egypt, that stood on the present site of Grand Cairo, built long before Babylon in Assyria. But taking Diodorus Siculus for a guide, (“the best ancient authority,” says Eusebius,) I will quote on this subject what appears to me interesting. “Sesostris, king of Egypt, marched into Asia with six hundred thousand men, and subdued it. He planted a colony near the lake Mæotis, which people gave birth to the Colchians. The probabilities of this being true, arise from the circumstance of the Colchians practising, as do the Jews, the ancient Egyptian custom of circumcision. Having completed his conquest, he returned into Egypt, erecting pillars in every place of importance, as he went back, with this inscription cut in Egyptian Hieroglyphics:—

Ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δειλίην
ἔδοξαν πολέμιους ὄρῶν

realized. But in the afternoon, on that day, our men thought they saw the

*'The King of Kings, Sesostris, did this land,
By force of arms, subject to his command.'*

Ctesias Gnidus, however, saith, "That the cities that are found in Egypt with *Asiatic names*, were built by those persons whom Semiramis left behind, after the conquest of that country. There was a Troy standing on the banks of the Nile in Dio's time; but the Troy of Homer was in Asia Minor. But the probabilities whether Asia or Africa originally gave laws to mankind, are much in favour of the latter. The Chaldæans, or Astrologers of Babylon, were a colony of Egyptians: Homer acquired his Theology, and Pharmacy also, in Egypt. As proof of the latter, the drink of oblivion which Helena gives Telemachus was first discovered by Polydamna, the wife of Thonis, a native of Thebes, in Egypt. The Egyptians also called Venus by her ancient name *Golden Venus*. The travels of Juno and Jupiter into Ethiopia are drawn from the Egyptians carrying the Tabernacle of Jupiter over the Nile into Lybia, and returning with it *on certain days* to its usual place; making by this means, Jupiter return out of Ethiopia. Lycurgus, Plato, and Solon, brought many laws and constitutions of their republics from Egypt. Pythagoras learned geometry, arithmetic, and the transmigration of souls, from the sacred books of Egypt. Inopis also transported into Greece the knowledge of the sun's motion, and the course of the stars, from the same quarter; all which circumstances combined amount nearly to proof positive of Egypt being the most ancient *recorded* seat of the arts. What *chiefly* gave birth to the opposite opinion is this: — in Eastern Asia there was a province named Babylonia, long before Babylon, which derived its name from it, was built; from which *province* Sesostris brought his conquered slaves into Egypt. But there is no proof on record that he ever visited a *city* called Babylon. These slaves, after some time, revolted, and built the city by that name that once stood where Cairo now stands. This fact Dio records, and seems to believe; but, like a modest historian, leaves his readers to form their own opinion. The philosopher, however, will place his evidence of its antiquity *upon that certain knowledge*, viz. that all *recorded theories of theology* have been derived from that quarter. But should it be said in reply, "That the analogy that subsists between African and Asiatic dogmas renders this ground uncertain," I reply, "That, this analogy has resulted from reciprocal conquest; but as long as the certainty remains, that the Egyptians *first* overrun Asia, so long will all arguments on this subject be in favour of Dio's position."

ἰππέας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οὐ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες, εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθρον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος (εἰλύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος, διότι ἐτέτρωτο) καταβάς ἐθωρακίζετο, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο, ἤκον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ, ὅτι οὐχ ἰππεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ ὑποζύγια νέμοιτο. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες, ὅτι ἔγγύς σου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεύς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμαις οὐ πρόσω. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· (ἦδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότητας τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἀσίτους ὄντας· ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὄψε ἦν) οὐ μέντοι οὐδ' ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος μὴ δοκοίη φεύγειν· ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων, ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας τοὺς πρῶτους ἔχων κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι ὁμοίῳ τρόπῳ τινὶ ἔστρατοπεδεύοντο, οἱ δ' ὕσ-

enemies' cavalry; upon which, all who had quitted their ranks fell into them with great haste. Ariæus himself sprung from his car, (for being wounded in the action, he was carried on one,) and hastily put on his corslet, as did his aid-de-camps; and while all were preparing for action, the videttes, who had been despatched in advance, returned, bringing information that the horses they had seen were not cavalry, but only baggage-horses at pasture; hence we concluded that the king was not far off: we were confirmed in this opinion the more, from the villages at a distance appearing more than usually smoky. Clearchus, however, resolved not to lead his men against the enemy that day, for they were fatigued, and had eaten nothing, and night was approaching. Nor, would he appear to avoid the king, by marching out of his way, lest his conduct should have the semblance of *fear* or *flight*; but pressing on straight forward, did at sunset quarter the soldiers, who composed his vanguard, in those villages that were before him; and out of which, the king's troops had carried even the timber from the roofs of the houses. The first division that arrived encamped something like soldiers, but those who

τεροι σκοταῖοι προσ-
 ἰοντες, ὡς ἐτύγχανον
 ἕκαστοι ἠύλιζοντο, καὶ
 κραυγὴν πολλὴν ἐποί-
 ουν καλοῦντες ἀλλή-
 λους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
 πολεμίους ἀκείνῳ ὥσε
 οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν
 πολεμίων καὶ ἔφυγον
 ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων.
 Δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ
 ὑστεραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε
 γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτι οὐ-
 δὲν ἐφάνη, οὔτε στρα-
 τόπεδον, οὔτε καπνὸς
 ἕδαμῶ πλησίον. Ἐξε-
 πλάγη δὲ, ὡς εἴοικε,
 καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφῶδα
 τοῦ στρατεύματος·
 ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο, οἷς
 τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε.
 Προϊούσης μέντοι τῆς
 νυκτὸς ταύτης, καὶ
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι φόβος
 ἐμπίπτει, καὶ Θόρυβος
 καὶ δούπος ἦν, οἷον εἰ-
 κὸς, φόβη ἐμωεσσόντος,
 γίγνεσθαι. Κλέαρχος
 δὲ Τολμίδην Ἠλεΐ-
 ον, ὃν ἐτυγχανεν ἔχων
 παρ' ἑαυτῷ κήρυκα
 ἄριστον τῶν τότε, τοῦ-
 τον ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε,
 σιγὴν κατακρηρῦξαντα,
 ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ
 ἄρχοντες, ὅς ἂν τὸν
 ἀφιέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ
 ὄπλα καταμηνύσῃ, ὅτι
 λήψεται μισθὸν τά-
 λαντον ἀργυρίᾳ. Ἐπεὶ

came on when dark, sat down disor-
 derly, and kept such a noise, by calling
 on each other, that the king's troops
 not only heard them, but those who
 were nearest to our men, decamped,
 leaving even their tents behind them.
 This circumstance, however, was not
 discovered 'till the next morning, when,
 behold! neither baggage-horses, nor
 camps, nor smoking villages were to be
 discovered. It should seem that the
 king himself, from his conduct the
 next day, was terror-struck at our ap-
 proach; and on our side, *we also*, as
 the night advanced, had our fears,
 which were accompanied with noise
 and tumult, usual concomitants on such
 a feeling; when Clearchus, with a pre-
 sence of mind common *to him*, desired
 Tolmides, of Elis, the best crier in the
 army, who happened to be in his tent,
 to command silence, and to make
 known to the soldiers, "That their com-
 manders would reward that man with
 a silver talent who would inform them
 of the individual who had *dared* to
 drive an Ass¹ among the heavy-armed
 troops:" by which stratagem the fears

¹ *Fear* is an *ass*, as proved by its effects; its tendency being always to deprive men of their reason. How unreasonably did those Greeks act! If they had had an enemy to contend with, possessing any courage, they would have been cut off to a man.

δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη, ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σῶοι. Ἄμα δὲ ὄρθρω παρήγγειλε Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα τιθεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἧπερ εἶχον, ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ τῆδε, δῆλον ἦν. Τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων, τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἄμα ἠλίφ ἀνατέλλοντι κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τὰς προφύλακας, ἐζήτην τὰς ἄρχοντας. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχῶν τότε τὰς λάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν, εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι, κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περιμένειν, ἄχρις ἂν σχολάσῃ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στρατεύμα, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι πάντη φάλαγγα πυκνὴν, τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῆ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτῶ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔφρασεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἦσαν, ἠρώτα τί βέλοιντο. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν ἄνδρες, οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τὰ τε

of the men were allayed, knowing their commanders were with them in safety. On the break of day Clearchus commanded his troops to stand to their arms, observing the same order as on the day of action; when it became obvious what we have said respecting the king's fears, for instead of demanding our arms, as he had done the day before, he despatches messengers at sunrise, soliciting a *Truce*. These messengers came to our camp, requesting to speak with our commanders. Clearchus was at that moment engaged in drawing up the army, and on being informed of the arrival of the messengers, desired those who brought him the information, to tell them "*to wait his leisure*." When he had formed his divisions, with the utmost elegance, with flanks closed, and his unarmed completely out of sight, he steps forward, accompanied with some of the finest of his men, most handsomely accoutred, and at his beckon the other commanders did the same, demanding from the messengers their business? They answered, "*That they now waited on them to treat respecting a truce, being deputed by the*

παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, βασιλεῖ. Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο. Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖνυν αὐτῷ, ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι λέγειν, μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλαινον, καὶ ἦκον ταχύ· (ὧ καὶ δηλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγύς που ἦν βασιλεὺς ἢ ἄλλος τις, ὧ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν) ἔλεγον δὲ, ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἦκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, οἱ αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ὁ δ' ἠρώτα, εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ἴσσι καὶ ἀπιούσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. Οἱ δὲ, πᾶσιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρις ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει ταχὺ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. Ὁ

king for that purpose, and were invested with full powers to report whatever message the Greeks might have to deliver." "Tell your master then," replied Clearchus, "*that we must first fight*, for we have nothing to eat, nor is there a man among you who dares talk to the Greeks about a truce without providing them with a dinner." The messengers immediately departed, but speedily returned, by which it appeared, that either the king himself, or his prime minister, was not far off; bringing this reply, viz: — "That the king thought their demand perfectly reasonable, — that they had guides in company, who would, in the event of a Truce being concluded, conduct the Greeks where they should find every thing necessary." Clearchus then demanded of the messengers "to tell him *unequivocally*, whether only those who passed and repassed were to be included in the truce, or all?" They replied, "The whole army, 'till your wishes can be made known." Upon which, Clearchus orders the messengers immediately to withdraw, and calls a council of his officers, who resolve on a truce, and to march peaceably to those places appointed for provisions, and to supply themselves. Clearchus

δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μὲν καὶ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα· οὐ μὲντοι ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελαῖ, ἀλλὰ διακρίψω' ἔστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι, μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἷμάι γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. Ἐπει δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἠγοῦντο.

Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο, τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησόμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὠπισθοφυλάκει. Καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις

then told his officers "That he perfectly coincided with them in opinion, but that it would be quite impolitic to acquaint the messengers *immediately* with their determination; he would, therefore, keep them some time in suspense relative to their accepting the proposed truce, as such a hesitation, he thought, would also encourage the army."¹ When, therefore, he judged sufficient time had elapsed, he gave the messengers to understand, through the medium of his officer on guard, that he would accept the proffered truce, and commands the guides, at the same moment, to conduct them to the place appointed for collecting provisions. With *this*, they immediately complied, and Clearchus instantly followed them with his forces drawn up in order of battle.² Clearchus himself, on this occasion, took the command of the rear-guard, and meeting in his march with

¹ This was a master-piece of policy. Nelson is reported to have done something analogous at Copenhagen. He despatched a letter to the Prince of Denmark, sealed with a *wafers only*, but recollecting himself, that this might have the appearance of *haste*, and lead the prince to defer the surrender, called back the messenger, and handsomely sealed it with the Nelson arms. Report says that his ship was nearly aground at the same moment. But it produced the effect. The prince saw he was deliberate, and conjectured he was *indifferent*, and gave up his fleet to England immediately.

² This was acting like a general. It would have been well if he had continued to have acted with this precaution.

καὶ αὐλῶσι πλήρῃσιν ὕδατος, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιούντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων, οἱ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὡς ἐπεστάτῃ, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἰ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς τῷο τελαγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαυσεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνῃ εἶναι, μὴ οὐ σπυδάζειν. Καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον εὗρων σπυδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. Πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδα-

many canals and dykes, orders temporary bridges to be thrown over them with the palm trees that lay on the ground; and where there were not sufficient fallen for the purpose, he orders others to be cut down. It was on this march, *in particular*, that Clearchus showed to the army his great military talents, and how equal he was to the command; for, with pike in left hand, and his stick in the right, he was every where present, looking into and assisting in every kind of service. When he saw any man that he had appointed to cut down trees, or to construct the bridges, negligent in performing his duty, he immediately displaced him, and appointed another more zealous in the service, whilst he himself was seen frequently to leap into the mud, where he perceived his presence necessary to produce activity; so that, finally, every man was ashamed not to be seen on the alert. Clearchus had appointed to this service young men, about thirty years of age, but when those who were farther advanced in life saw the general *personally exert himself*, they failed not to imitate so laudable an example. Moreover, Clearchus was the more urgent on this business, since he suspected the dykes had been filled with

τος· (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἶα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδαιν) ἀλλ' ἵνα πολλὰ τὰ ἄπορα φαίνοιτο τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἶναι εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπάπτειεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι.

Πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφί-
κοντο εἰς κώμας, ὅθεν
ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες
λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτή-
δεια. Ἐνῆν δὲ σίτος
πολύς, καὶ οἶνος φοινί-
κων, καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν
ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. Αὐ-
ται δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν
φοινίκων, οἷας μὲν ἐν
τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔστιν
ἰδεῖν, τοῖς οἰκέταις
ἀπέκειντο· αἱ δὲ τοῖς
δεσπότηαις ἀποκείμεν-
αι, ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι,
θαυμάσιοι τὸ κάλλος
καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· ἡ δὲ
ὄψις ἡλέκτρου οὐδὲν
διέφερε. Τὰς δὲ τινας
ξηραίνοντες, τραγή-
ματα ἀπετίθεισαν. Καὶ
ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον
ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαγῆς
δέ. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν

water from a principle of policy; (for Clearchus had been informed, that it was not *then* the season for watering the country,) and, therefore, concluded that the waters had been let into the dykes by order of the king, with a view to impress the Greeks with the difficulties that would accompany their march.

At last, the troops arrived at those villages pointed out, and where the guides directed them to collect provisions. The soldiers found in them plenty of corn and wine, made from the fruit of the palm tree; and what is more extraordinary, vinegar is also produced from the same fruit, by boiling. The kind of dates produced in Greece, those Asiatics gave to their servants; but the fruits used by the heads of families are fine in the extreme, both for beauty and size, differing little in appearance from amber, and are so exquisitely sweet as to cause the natives of this country to dry them for preserves.¹ We found the wine pressed

- This statement relative to the size and sweetness of those dates is confirmed by Dio, lib. 17. Ancient History. "The fruit of the date in Lybia is small and sour, but in Lower Syria, the dates, which they call *cariotes*, are better than in other countries, both for *sweetness*, *flavour*, and *size*, except Arabia and Babylonia, where they grow to the amazing bigness of six fingers broad; whereof some are *yellow*, some *red*,

ἐγκέφαλον τῷ φοίνικος
 πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρα-
 τιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ
 ἐθαύμαζον τό, τε εἶδος,
 καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς
 ἡδονῆς. Ἦν δὲ σφόδρα
 καὶ τῷτο κεφαλαλγές.
 Ὁ δὲ φοίνιξ, ὅθεν
 ἐξαιρεθείη ὁ ἐγκέφα-
 λος, ὅλος αὐαίνεται.
 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔμειναν
 ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ πα-
 ρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως
 ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ
 ὁ τῆς βασιλείως γυναι-
 κὸς ἀδελφὸς, καὶ ἄλλοι
 Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δοῦ-
 λοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἶποντο.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν
 αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων στρατηγοί, ἔλεγε
 πρῶτον Τισσαφέρνης
 δι' ἑρμηνέως τοιάδε·

“ Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἕλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ

from them to produce violent head-
 aches,¹ as did the pith of the tree itself,
 which our soldiers admired, and eat of
 plentifully, *for the first time*. The tree,
 however, withered immediately on the
 pith being removed.² It was in these
 villages the army rested three days,
 during which time Tissaphernes came
 to us from the great king, accompanied
 by the queen's brother and three Persian
 noblemen of distinction, followed by a
 host of vassals; when, on meeting the
 Greek generals, Tissaphernes addressed
 them, through the medium of his inter-
 preters, in these words:—

“ My government and local resi-
 dence, you are aware, Greek generals,

and others *purple*; delightful to the eye, and excellent in taste. The palm, or date tree, is tall and straight to the very top, with large branches that spread themselves exceedingly wide.”

¹ This might arise from not being accustomed to drink it, or perhaps from drinking too much; though Pliny, the elder, in his *Nat. Hist.* lib. xiii. chap. 4. seems in some measure to confirm what Xenophon has said relative to the effects of the pith. “*Dulcis medulla palmarum in cacumine, quod cerebrum appellant.*” Where *cerebrum* is, *I think*, used *significantly* for head-ache itself ἐγκέφαλον. I have translated ἔφαγον, they eat. The same term means also, they sucked, or masticated, in the same way the West-Indian does the sugar-cane; for I cannot suppose that the spongy pith itself could be eaten without serious consequences. “They sucked the pith of the palm tree,” would be, perhaps, the best reading.

² This was that species of palm called by Pliny and Theophrastus χαμαιριφεῖς, not ἐγκέφαλος. The latter species, *vivant exempta medulla*, “lived after the pith was removed.”

τῆ Ἑλλάδι· καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ ἀμήχανα πεπτωκότας, εὖρημα ἐποιησάμεν, εἴ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναί μοι ἀποσῶσαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑμᾶς. Οἶμαι γὰρ, οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔξειν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν, οὔτε πρὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης. Ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς, ἡτῶμένην βασιλεία, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κύρον τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἠγγεῖλα, καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην· καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ δῆλασα καὶ συνέμιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ τοὺς σὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παρῶσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετο

is in the vicinity of Greece ;¹ and perceiving that you are surrounded with difficulties, consider it as fortunate, that an opportunity has offered itself to solicit the king to grant *me* permission to become your conductor into Greece. Nor do I suppose that any want of gratitude will be evinced, either by yourselves or nation, for so signal a service ; particularly when I shall inform you, that my request of the king was accompanied by alledging *my right to do this from the nature of my services*. For you are aware, that I was the first to give the king information of the expedition, and was the first Persian commander who brought an army to his assistance, and was the *only officer* who stood my ground, on the day of action, against the Greek forces.² — Nay ! I even broke through your targeteers, and joined the king in your camp, whither the king had directed his course after he had killed Cyrus ; and with these faithful soldiers present, I pursued the Persians in the pay of Cyrus : all which services³ the king

¹ We have before seen that he had the command of the Ionian cities, which were situated on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, right opposite Græcia Antiqua ; all of whom, with the exception of Miletus, had revolted and gone over to Cyrus. These cities, as might be expected, suffered in the extreme on his reassuming the government.

² This was publishing the shame of his countrymen.

³ How Clearchus must have inwardly laughed to have heard this fellow enumerate his *great services*.

μοι βουλευσασθαι· ἔρσεσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἑλθόντα, τίνος ἕνεκα ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. Καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾦ, ἢ, εἰάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπραξασθαι."

Πρὸς ταῦτα μελαστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνας ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο (Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν) "Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες, οὔτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος εὔρισκεν, (ὡς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἶσθα) ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρσκευάσους λάβοι, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀναγάγοι. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη ἐωρῶμεν αὐτὸν ἐν δεινῶ ὄντα, ἡσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνδρώπους προδοῦναι

was graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration, and has granted my request. But the king desired me to ask what motives actuated you to make war upon him? To which question I have to solicit, that you will return a temperate and polite answer, to the end I may obtain from the king, *with greater facility*, some favour for you."¹

The Greek generals, on hearing this question proposed, withdrew for a moment, and held a consultation; when Clearchus, being deputed as their organ, stepped forward, and told Tissaphernes plainly, "That they did not enter Persia with a view of making war on the king,² neither did they *intentionally* march against him. But Cyrus, (as He very well knew,) having framed many pretences for his services, intended by that means to attack the king unprepared, by which it happened they were led on unconsciously to where the king met them;—that on seeing Cyrus surrounded with difficulties, and having suffered themselves *previously* to have received obligations from him,

¹ This speech was framed with a great deal of art; villany was at its base. I have already warned the reader to mark well the character of Tissaphernes; it is about to shew itself.

² This was true as it related to the Greek army, but it was not true relative to Clearchus himself, as we have already seen that he knew the intentions of Cyrus from the beginning. But no man is bound to implicate himself.

αὐτὸν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κύρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε ἀντιποιοῦμεθα βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὔτ' ἔστιν οὐ ἕνεκ' ἀνβουλοίμεθα τὴν βασιλείᾳς χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν· οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἀν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἀν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικῶντα μὲν τοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι. Ἐὰν μὲντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δυναμὶν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες." Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν·

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, ἔφη, Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἀν ἐγὼ ἦκω, αἰσπονδαὶ μενόντων ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν. Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ

dared not desert him under *those circumstances*. But since Cyrus was dead, their obligations had ceased; nor were they to be considered *now* as hostile to the king, nor did they wish to infest his territories, or wage war against his person, but intended peaceably to return to Greece, with a proviso they were not interrupted on their march; but should any force *dare* to prevent them from accomplishing their wishes, they fully intended, by the assistance of the gods, to avenge themselves of such an insult; on the contrary, should any facilities be offered them to accomplish their journey, they should neither be unmindful of those obligations, nor of the persons who should confer them." ¹

To which Tissaphernes replied, "That he would report to the king their answer;" and desired "that the truce might continue;" pledging himself, "that if the Greeks stayed where they were, a market should be provided for them, and he would speedily return with the king's sentiments." Tissaphernes, however, did not return as expected the following day, nor did he visit them 'till the third day, which rendered the Greeks

This was a manly speech, and eloquently expressed. It was full of truth and firmness, and must have created in the mind of Tissaphernes a high opinion of their character.

ἤκων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι δια-
 πεπραγμένος ἦκοι πα-
 ρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι
 αὐτῶ σῶζειν τοὺς Ἑλ-
 ληνας· καίπερ πάνυ
 πολλῶν ἀνίλεγοντων,
 ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασι-
 λεῖ, ἀφείναι τοὺς ἐφ'
 ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμέ-
 νους. Τέλος δ' εἶπε,
 Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν
 πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ'
 ἡμῶν, ἢ μὴν φιλίαν
 ὑμῖν παρεῖν τὴν χώ-
 ραν, καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπά-
 ξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
 ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας.
 Ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ παρέ-
 χωμεν ἀγορὰν, λαμ-
 βάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς
 χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια. Ἵμᾶς δ'
 αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι,
 ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς
 διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς,
 σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμ-
 βάνοντας, ὅποτε μὴ
 παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν·
 ἐὰν δὲ παρέχωμεν
 ἀγορὰν, ἄνουμένους
 ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
 Ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ ἄμο-

uneasy. He *then* told them “That he had happily prevailed on the king to suffer him to conduct them into Greece, though his views of its policy had been opposed by many, who alledged *strenuously* that this concession would be derogatory to the king’s honour,¹ who never ought to suffer those who had made an unprovoked war on him to return to their native country:” but added, finally, “that *now* the Greeks might rely on the assurance he gave them, that he would effectually cause the countries through which they might pass to treat them friendly, would conduct them into Greece without hypocrisy, and would provide them with a plentiful market; and in the event of his failing to do so, they were at liberty to supply themselves out of the countries they should traverse. We require, therefore, in return, that you will swear to respect and treat as friends the king’s subjects; restraining your soldiery from plunder, and only take when we do not provide; and when we do, that you will *pay* for what we offer you.”² This was agreed

¹ They alledged a very great truth.

² Mark this insidious fellow: he says nothing about the Greeks paying for their provisions, 'till the very last. The Greeks did wrong by acceding to it, as they knew themselves incapable of fulfilling it, and that it must finally lead to a quarrel. The treachery of Tissaphernes, however, would not wait for this pretext.

σαν, και δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρηνς και ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς, τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς και λοχαγοῖς, και ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρηνς εἶπε· Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὴν δὲ διαπραξῶμαι ἂ δέομαι, ἤξω συσκευασάμενος, ὡς ἀπάξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, και αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀρχήν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρηνς οἶτε Ἑλληνας και Ἀριαῖος, ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι, ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. Ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον και οἱ ἀδελφοὶ και οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι, και πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινὲς παραδαρῶνόντες τε και δεξιὰς ἐνιοὶ παρὰ βασιλέως φέροντες, μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας, μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων. Τῶν δὲ γιγνομένων, ἔνδηλοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριαῖον ἦττον τοῖς Ἑλλησι προσέχοντες τὸν νῦν ὥστε και τῶτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων

on, and Tissaphernes, in junction with the queen's brother, exchanged oaths¹ with the Greek generals, and gave each other the right hand of friendship; which ceremony being ended, Tissaphernes observed, "That he must then return to the king, and when he had provided all things necessary for their march, he would come back to them, and conduct them safely into Greece, and proceed to the seat of his own government."

Upon which understanding, the Greeks, in junction with Ariæus, whose camps were not far asunder, waited his return twenty days, during which interval the brothers and relatives of Ariæus, in company with many others of distinction, visited him; giving him and his associates encouragement and promises from the king, that his majesty would overlook their taking up arms against him, and that every thing past should be buried in oblivion. When Ariæus had received these assurances, both he and his officers *openly* paid less respect to the Greeks than before, which displeased

¹ Those who wish to be acquainted with the Grecian modes of taking oaths, may see them copiously illustrated in lib. iv. of the Archæology, by Archbishop Potter.

οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσίοντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς, Τί μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν ποιήσαιοτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι φόβος ᾖ ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύειν; Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν, διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάλιν ἀλισθῆναι αὐτῷ ἢ στρατιὰ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. Ἴσως δέ που ἢ ἀποσκάπτει τὴν ἢ ἀποτειχίζει, ὡς ἀπορος ἢ ἡ ὁδός. Οὐ γὰρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὡς ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως.

many of our discriminating soldiers, who made it their business, in company with their commanders, to wait on Clearchus, and to remonstrate with him *thus*: — “ Why do we, sir, remain here so long? Is it not obvious to all, who consult their common sense, that the first wish of the king *must be* our destruction, and by that example to deter all Greeks for the future from making war on him? His seducing us to stay in those villages suits his present policy, because his armies are dispersed and scattered; but when they are collected, we ought to be assured that he will not refrain from attacking us: nay! and if he should restrain himself from a *direct attack*, the probabilities are, that he will annoy us by such other means as cutting a fosse, or building a wall across some defile, and thereby render our return impracticable; nor ought we to cherish the thought for a moment, that Artaxerxes can *willingly* suffer us to return to Greece, and publish to all mankind — ‘ That a handful of Greeks defeated him at the very gates of his own palace, and returned to their native country triumphant. ’ ”

¹ This was conclusive reasoning, and ought to have had greater weight with Clearchus; the more so, as Tissaphernes had previously

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν, Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμούμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δὲ ὅτι εἰ νῦν ἀπιμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι, καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. Ἐπειτα, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν παρέξει, οὐδ' ὀπίθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὐθις δὲ ὁ ἠγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθύς Ἀριαῖος ἀφιστήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελίψεται, ἀλλ' οἱ καὶ πρόσθεν ὄντες, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. Ποταμὸς δὲ εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἔστι διαβατέος, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι, κωλυόντων πολεμίων. Οὐ μὲν δὴ, ἀν' μάχεσθαι δέη, ἵππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι· τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἵππεῖς εἰσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείν-

Clearchus replied to those who had made these remarks, "That similar ideas had passed across his own mind; but that he thought, they ought not *then* to depart, since *that act* would be immediately construed into a breach of the truce, and would be the certain signal for re-commencing hostilities; would cut off all future supplies and guides, and what was more, would render Ariæus and his forces their most inveterate enemies; — that being without a friend or an ally, they would become suspected by all those nations through which they had to pass, and would be treated as a *common enemy*. Moreover, he was personally *unacquainted* with what rivers they had to pass; but they all knew, that it was necessary to cross the Euphrates, and to effect such a passage in the presence of an enemy was impossible. That if they came to action, they had no cavalry to assist them, whereas the cavalry of the king was numerous and good; and, even in the event of being victorious, how very few should they

told him, that the return of the Greeks was opposed by nearly all the Persian nobility. But the project of being employed by Tissaphernes had just entered his head; and, as Xenophon has told us, that Clearchus could not remain inactive, that he was a soldier *by nature*, it is possible that this very passion completely thwarted his better judgment.

ναιμεν; ἡττωμένων δὲ μὴν οὐδένα αἰὼν τε σωθῆναι. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ᾧ πολλὰ οὕτως ἐστὶ τὰ σύμμαχα, εἶπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι, καὶ δεξιὰν δεῖναι, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιρκῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάρους. Τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε πολλά.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Τισσαφέρνης ἦκεν, ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ὡς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιῶν, καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέχοντος ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἔχων τὸ Κύρου βαρβαρικὸν

be able to destroy *when destitute of that species of force*; but, should they suffer reverses, the destruction of every Greek was certain. Hence," said he, "I cannot conceive how the king, possessing so many advantages, should, if he wishes to destroy us, judge it necessary first to swear fidelity, and to pledge *his honour*, thereby provoking the gods by perjury, and making it manifest, both to the Greeks and his own people, how very little his oath is to be relied on." And many other arguments did the general adduce to the same effect.

While these debates were carrying on, Tissaphernes and Orontas,¹ with the queen's sister, whom he had married, arrived with their joint forces, under the shew of returning to their respective governments; when the whole army immediately marched, Tissaphernes leading in advance, and providing a market. On observing Ariæus and his Barbarians, who had served under Cyrus, march and en-

¹ We were told by Xenophon, page 53, that after Orontas had entered the tent of Cyrus's sceptred minister, that he was never heard of after; nor did any one know how he died, or where he was buried. The probabilities are, that he was suffered to escape, as being allied to the royal family. We are told *hæc* that he had married the queen's sister, and we have seen how particularly anxious Cyrus was to save him, by the last question he proposed. Vide page 52.

στράτευμα, ἅμα Τις-
σαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντα,
καὶ συνεστρατοπεδεύετο
σὺν ἐκείνοις. Οἱ δὲ
Ἕλληνες ὑφορῶντες ἑ-
αυτῶν ἐχώρην, ἡγεμόνας
ἔχοντες. Ἐστρατο-
πεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε
ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων
παρασάγγην, καὶ μεί-
ον ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ οἱ
ἀμφοτέροι, ὥσπερ πο-
λεμίαις, ἀλλήλαις, καὶ
εὐθύς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν
παρεῖχεν. Ἐνίοτε δὲ
καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ, καὶ χόρτον καὶ
ἄλλα τοιαῦτα συλλέ-
γοντες, πληγὰς ἐνέτει-
νον ἀλλήλοισι ὥσε καὶ
τῆτο ἔχθραν παρεῖχε.
Διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς
σταδμούς, ἀφίκοντο
πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας ἰεῖχος,

camp in company with Tissaphernes and Orontas, the Greeks had *their suspicions increased*, and became more cautious, choosing to march by themselves, and to have their own guides; they moreover, had a separate encampment, keeping nearly a parasanga distance, and finally the two armies became reciprocally suspicious, watching each other as though they were enemies. This feeling particularly evinced itself when the troops were collecting wood or forage, or things of that nature, for then it was, they sometimes came to blows, and their animosities became, as a consequence, increased. Having marched three days, we arrived at, and passed through the great Median wall,¹

¹ The Median wall, so called because it was built by the Medes to prevent the incursions of the Assyrians. The Medes finally triumphed over their opponents. This happened in the reign of Sardanapalus, the Belshazzar of the Bible, who was the thirtieth in succession from Ninus, after the Assyrians had held the empire one thousand three hundred years. It was the Assyrians, says Ctesias, lib. ii., in the reign of Theutamus, the twentieth of the line from Ninus and Semiramis, that sent Memnon as commander, with twenty thousand Susians and Ethiopians, and two hundred chariots, to the siege of Troy. This was done by the solicitation of Priam himself, Theutamus being then tributary to him, which leads us to suppose, that Troy was at the head of the Asiatic states. Memnon was a prince of extraordinary valour; but after he had given great assistance to the Trojans, was slain by a Thessalian ambuscade, and his bones sent to his father, Tithon, who was then governor of Persia. The Palace of Memnon was built on an elevated spot in the centre of Susa, and was called after his name, Memnonia. He paved also the highway of Leophora, which was also called by his name. "Yet do the Ethiopians claim him," says Dio, "and shew a Palace of his in Egypt,

καὶ παρῆλθον αὐτοῦ
εἶσω· ἦν δὲ ἀποδομη-
μένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς
ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις,
εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν,
ὑψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μήκος
δὲ ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι
παρασαγγῶν· ἀπέϊχε
δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ.

which we discovered to be erected with burnt bricks, cemented together with bitumen.¹ We found this wall, by admeasurement, to be twenty feet thick, one hundred feet in height, and was reported to be no less than twenty parasangas in length, and situated at a very short distance from Babylon.²

called Memnonia, though it is certain he was at the siege of Troy, as his acts are recorded in the Chronicles of the Kings." If he was an Asiatic prince, what shall we say respecting the head of Memnon, brought by M. Belzoni from Egypt, and lodged in the British Museum? Vide Dio, lib. iii. p. 84-5.

¹ Bitumen, called by the Greeks Ἀσφαλτος, is an ignitable mineral, found in a soft state, and was used by the Asiatics instead of lime or mortar. It is much more durable than lime: the walls of Babylon were built of it, as proved by Herodotus, lib. i. c. 29. See Strabo also, lib. 16. p. 1078.; and Pliny's Nat. His., lib. xxxv. c. 15. "There is a lake in Arabia," says Dio, "in the country of the Abatæes, one hundred and thirty leagues long, and four broad, that yieldeth asphaltā, or bitumen, that produces no little profit. The water of this lake is bitter, having also a bad smell; no fish can live in it; and though replenished by many streams of fresh water that fall into it, yet does its nature remain unchanged. A moiety of this lake yieldeth, every year, threescore square fathoms of asphaltā; some years, however, it is not more than forty square fathoms; the neighbouring Barbarians calling the larger quantity the cow, the smaller the calf. When this lake is about to cast forth its asphaltā, it assumes, at a distance, the appearance of an island, emitting a very disagreeable stench and vapour, that changes the colour of gold, silver, or brass, and injures the health, and shortens the lives of the residents near it." This lake is called, by the Jewish writers, *The Lake of Gomorrah*. One would like to account naturally for this phenomenon; it certainly must have some affinity to volcanoes. Yet, from its making an *annual appearance*, we are at a loss precisely to account for it. There are many ingenious suppositions, but none demonstrative; I shall, therefore, omit their insertion. It may not be uninteresting to the naturalist to be informed, that bitumen, mixed with goats' hair, is used by the Asiatics as a smelling bottle, and is an amazing stimulus. Vide Dio, lib. iii. c. 13.

² See Map. The great wall of Tartary much exceeds this: also,

Ἐνλεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν, ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δ', ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἑπτὰ· (αὐταὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέμνητο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν αἱ μὲν πρῶται, μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάσσους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὄχετοί, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας) καὶ ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἣ ὄνομα Σιτάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίου πεντεκαίδεκα. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνωσαν, ἐγγύς

From hence we made, in two marches, eight parasangas, and on our journey crossed two canals; over the one we found a stone bridge erected, the other was a bridge of boats. These canals are taken up at the Tigris,¹ from which dykes are cut that run completely into the interior of the country. The mouths of those dykes are wide, but continue to decrease in breadth 'till they finally become no broader than those artificial rivulets produced in the fields of Greece for the purpose of watering panic.² From hence we made the Tigris, near which stood a large and magnificent city, called Sitace.³ It was situated about fifteen stadia from the river. The Greeks encamped close to the city, by the side of a large

the wall built by Sesostris across the deserts, from Pelusium to the City of the Sun. The latter, says Dio, was ninety-four leagues long; *i. e.* two hundred and eighty-two miles. Twenty parasangas are only sixty miles.

¹ The bed of the Tigris being seated on the more elevated ground, always caused the streams of those refreshing canals to run from that river to the Euphrates; yet were they equally navigable both ways, though the former with the greater facility.

² We have already stated, note 2, page 17, the order to which this plant belongs in botanical arrangements; but from the circumstance of watering it as related above, the probabilities are, that the grain it produced was in its nature like to rice.

³ Sitace, called by some writers Psittace, was a city situated on the Tigris, in the province of Babylonia. Its history is unknown. Strabo visited it, and it was called in his day Apollonia. It was about five hundred stadia from Babylon itself.

παραδείσου καλοῦ καὶ
 μεγάλου, καὶ δασέος
 παντοίων δένδρων· οἱ
 δὲ βάρβαροι διαβεβη-
 κότες τὸν Τίγρητα, ἔ-
 μέντοιγε καταφανεῖς
 ἦσαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ
 δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν πε-
 ριπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν
 ὀπλων Πρὸξενος καὶ
 Ξενοφῶν καὶ προσελ-
 θὼν ἐρώτησεν ἀνθρώ-
 πος τις τοὺς προφύλα-
 κας, πῶς ἂν ἴδοι Πρὸξ-
 ενον ἢ Κλέαρχον.
 (Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐζήτηι,
 καὶ ταῦτα, παρὰ Ἀρι-
 αίου ὧν τοῦ Μένωνος
 ξένος.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρὸξ-
 ενος εἶπεν ὅτι αὐτὸς
 εἶναι, ὃν ζητεῖ, εἶπεν ὁ
 ἄνθρωπος, Ἐπεμφάν
 με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρ-
 τάεζος, πιστοὶ ὄντες
 Κύρω, καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι,
 καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάτ-
 τεσθαι, μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπι-
 θῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ
 βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ σρά-
 τευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ
 πλησίον παραδείσῳ.
 Καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν
 τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμῆ
 πέμφει κελεύουσι φυ-
 λακὴν, ὅτι διανοεῖται λῦ-
 σαι αὐτὴν Τισσαφέρ-
 νης τῆς νυκτὸς, ἥνπερ
 δύνηται, ὡς μὴ διαβῆτε,
 ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφ-
 θῆτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ
 τῆς διάρρυχος. Ἀκέ-

handsome park, planted with trees of
 various descriptions; but the Barba-
 rians encamped the other side of the
 river, entirely out of sight of the Greeks.
 The troops having supped, Proxenus
 and Xenophon¹ took a walk in that part
 of the camp where the heavy-armed
 Greeks lay, when they espied a man
 asking the out-post where he might
 speak with Proxenus or Clearchus;
 (for he did not enquire for Menon,
 though he professedly came from
 Ariæus, with whom Menon lived in
 friendship,) when Proxenus told him
 that he was the person he enquired
 for. The man told him, "That he was
 deputed by Ariæus and Artæzus, men
 friendly to Cyrus and to himself, to de-
 sire the Greeks to stand on their guard,
 as the Barbarians purposed to attack
 them to-night, and that they had a
 very numerous force in ambuscade in
 the park, concealed for that purpose.
 They therefore desire you to send a
 detachment to secure the bridge over
 the Tigris, as Tissaphernes purposes to
 make an effort to destroy it, with a
 view of enclosing you between the
 river and the canal, and consequently
 to prevent your crossing it." They

¹ We have seen that Proxenus and Xenophon were particular friends; that the latter served in this expedition at the request of the former.

σαντές ταῦτα ἄγχιον αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον, καὶ φράζουσιν ἃ λέγει. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη, καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο σφόδρα. Νεανίσκος δὲ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας, εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἶη, τό, τε ἐπιθῆσθαι καὶ τὸ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει αὐτούς, ἢ ἠττᾶσθαι. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ αὐτούς λύειν τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γὰρ, ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ᾖσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν, ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν. Ἄν δ' αὖ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅποι ἂν φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθῆσαι, πολλῶν ὄντων, πέραν, ἐδεῖς αὐτοῖς δυηῆσθαι, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον, πόση τις εἶη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν

immediately conducted this soldier to Clearchus, who, on receiving this information, was much agitated. After a young officer who was present had reflected a little on what the man had said, he observed, "That the story was a farce, and unworthy the notice of a military man, for to attack us, and break down the bridge at the same moment, was too pregnant of improbability; since, if the Barbarians fought, there remained no alternative but that they must either *conquer* or be *conquered*; and in the event of their being victors, the breaking down of the bridge would be altogether useless; for, if there were fifty bridges, the Greeks, in that case, could find no safe retreat; whereas, should the Barbarians be routed, by destroying the bridge they would not only cut off their own retreat, but would render it impossible to receive any assistance from the other part of their army."¹

Clearchus immediately saw the full force of this reasoning,² and instantly asked the man, "What extent of country lay between the river and the canal?"

¹ This quick-sighted young man, I suspect, was Xenophon himself, though his great modesty prevented him from disclosing his name.

² Were we not somewhat acquainted with the character of Clearchus, we should feel some surprise that his own penetration had not superseded the necessity of this young man's remarks. But he was unsuspecting a sure mark of an elevated mind.

ὅτι πολλή, καὶ κῶμαι ἔνεισι, καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. Τότε δὲ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν, ὀκνηῖτες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελθόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἔρύματα ἔχοντες, ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας, πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὐσης, καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνότων· εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἀποσροφῇ γένοιτο, εἴ τις βούλοιτο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὁμως φυλακὴν ἐπέμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῶθεν, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἕως ἐγένετο, διέβησαν τὴν γέφυραν ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ, ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένους· ἐξήγγελλον γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνηους Ἑλλήνων, ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῆ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι Γλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφάνη μετ'

He answered, "That it was of vast extent, and contained, besides a number of villages, many large and powerful cities." From which answer Clearchus immediately saw that this message was altogether a feint, that had its origin in the fear, lest the Greeks themselves should break down the bridge, and remain in the island formed by the canal and the Tigris, and thus, by having an extensive country, stocked with all kind of provisions and labourers, might, with the greater probability of success, declare war against the king.¹ Having come to this conclusion, the Greeks retired to rest, though Clearchus took the necessary precaution of placing a guard on the bridge; but no attempt was made on our camp, neither did any of the Barbarians, as the guards reported, come to the bridge. The next morning, however, by break of day, we crossed this bridge with great precaution, which was constructed on thirty-seven boats, for even *some Greeks* in the pay of Tissaphernes had sent us word that he fully intended to attack us while crossing it; which was another fabrication, though it was true that Glus and many others made their ap-

¹ This was unquestionably the case, as subsequent events proved.

ἄλλων, σκοπῶν εἰ δια-
βαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμόν·
ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν, ᾗχέτο
ἀπελαύνων.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρη-
τος ἐπορεύθησαν σαθ-
μοὺς τέτταρας, παρα-
σάγγας εἴκοσιν, ἐπὶ
τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν,
τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου ἑσῶν
δὲ γέφυρα. Καὶ ἐν-
ταῦθα ᾤκειτο πόλις
μεγάλη, ἣ ὄνομα Ὀπις·
πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς
Ἕλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ
Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀ-
δελφός, ἀπὸ Σούσων
καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρα-
τιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων, ὡς
βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ
στήσας τὸ ἑαυτῷ στρα-
τευμα, παρερχομένους
ἐθεώρει τὰς Ἕλληνας.
Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἠγεῖτο
μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο
δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε
ἐπιστάμενος. Ὅσον δ'
ἂν χρόνον τὸ ἠγούμε-
νον τοῦ στρατεύματος
ἐπιστῆ, τοσῶτον ἀνάγκη
χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ
στρατεύματος γίνεσ-
θαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν·
ᾧστε τὸ στρατευμα
καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἕλλη-
σι δόξαι πάμπλου εἰ-

pearance while we were in the act of doing so, but observing that our intentions were sincere, rode off.

From the Tigris we marched, in four days, twenty parasangas, and found ourselves on the river Physcus, which was one plethron in breadth, having a bridge over it. Here stood a large and populous city named Opis.¹ It was in the vicinity of this city that we met with a natural brother to Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was marching to the king's relief with a formidable army, which he had drawn from the cities of Susa² and Ecbatana,³ when, on perceiving the Greek forces, he made a dead halt, and particularly viewed them as they passed him. Clearchus perceiving this, orders his men to file off in double ranks only, thereby making his line appear, by occasional haltings, extremely long; for while the van-guard halted, the whole army apparently stood still, which materially added to the formidable appearance of the Greeks, both to the enemy and to

¹ Opis, a city on the Physcus, supposed to have stood on the present site of Bagdat.

² Susa, a royal city, the winter residence of the Persian kings. Here stood the palace of Memnon. Biblical writers call it Shushan. Vide Daniel, c. viii. v. 2.

³ Ecbatana, the capital of Media, the summer residence of the Persian kings, was built for their accommodation, in order to avoid the heats of Susa and Ctesiphon. Its modern name is Hamedan.

ναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐκπεπλήχθαι θεωρῆντα. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταδμοὺς ἐρήμους ἕξ, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας, τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρὸς. Ταύτας Τισσαφέρνης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν Διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. Ἐνῆν δὲ σίτος πολὺς, καὶ πρόβατα, καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταδμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ στραθμῷ, πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πόλις ᾤκειτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, ὄνομα Καιναι, ἕξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διηγγὸν ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερῶν ἄρτους, τυρὸν, οἶνον.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ζάβατον ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος τετάρτων πλεθρῶν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαί μὲν ἦσαν,

themselves. The Persians were visibly struck with our appearance. From this place we marched, in six days, through the Median desert, a distance of thirty parasangas, and found ourselves in those villages belonging to the queen-mother, Parysatis, which, to insult the memory of Cyrus, Tissaphernes gave the Greeks liberty to plunder of every thing but slaves. By this circumstance, the Greek forces acquired a plentiful supply of every thing. From hence we marched through another desert, keeping the Tigris on our left hand, a distance of twenty parasangas, which the army accomplished in five days. On the evening of the first day's march, we saw on the other side of the Tigris a large and opulent city, called Cænæ, from whence the Barbarian merchants transport bread, cheese, and wine, upon rafts made of skins.

From hence we made the river Zabatus,² which measured four plethra in breadth, on whose banks we halted three days, and though jealousies still continued to make their appearance

¹ Cænais, *Kainai*, a city situated on the Tigris; which River was the Hiddekal of Scripture.

² Now called the Zab, or Lycus. It was the Hebrew **לִבְיָ** Diaba, that is, Lupus, or Wolf. The Greeks called it **Λύκος**, from its banks being infested with those animals.

φανερὰ δ' οὐδεμίᾳ
 ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή.
 Ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλε-
 ἀρχῷ συγγενέσθαι
 Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ εἴ-
 πως δύναίτο, παῦσαι
 τὰς ὑποψίας, πρὶν ἐξ
 αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσ-
 θαι· καὶ ἐπεμψέ τινα
 ἔρῃντα, ὅτι συγγενέ-
 θαι αὐτῷ χρήσοι. Ὁ
 δὲ ἐτοιμῶς ἐκέλευσεν
 ἕκειν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συν-
 ἦλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέ-
 αρχος τάδε·

among the soldiery, yet every one ab-
 stained from bickering, nor was there
 any manifest treachery on the side of
 the Barbarians.¹ Clearchus, however,
 was uneasy, and resolved to have a
 meeting with Tissaphernes on the
 business, being desirous of terminating
 those jealousies previous to their putting
 on a more formidable appearance. He
 therefore sent a confidential to Tissa-
 phernes, desiring to hold a conference
 with him. Tissaphernes replied, that
 he was at liberty to come to his tent :
 on which meeting Clearchus addressed
 him as follows :—

“ Ἐγὼ, ὦ Τισσα-
 φέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν
 ὄρκους γεγενημένους,
 καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας,
 μὴ ἀδικήσῃν ἀλλήλους·
 φυλαττόμεγον δὲ σε
 ὄρῳ ὡς πολεμῖς ἡμᾶς·
 καὶ ἡμεῖς ὄρωντες ταῦ-
 τα, ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐδὲν
 δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ αἰσ-
 θέσθαι πειρώμενον ἡ-
 μᾶς κακοποιεῖν, ἐγὼ
 τὲ σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι
 ἡμεῖς γε οὐδ' ἐπινοῦ-
 μεν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον,
 ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους
 σοι ἔλθεῖν, ὅπως, εἰ
 δυναίμεθα, ἐξέλοιμεν
 ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν.
 Καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἤδη ἀν-
 δρώπους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ

“ I have not forgotten, O Tissa-
 phernes, that we have mutually sworn
 and pledged our faith to abstain from
 injuring each other, though I perceive
 that you are always on your guard
 against us, as if at open hostilities ; nor
 ought you to feel surprise, while *you act*
thus, at our adopting similar precautions.
 But seeing that you abstain from doing
 us any *real injury*, I am desirous of
 convincing you, that we do not intend
 to offer you any ; and have accordingly
 sought this conference with a view of
 terminating our mutual jealousies. I
 enter on this business the more readily,
 from a knowledge, that many men, while

¹ I should have thought the bridge affair quite sufficient to have demonstrated the intentions of Tissaphernes.

Διαβολῆς, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους, φθάσαι βεβλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν, ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτε βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. Τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνησῖαις μάλιστ' ἂν παύεσθαι, ἤκω, καὶ διδάσκειν σὲ βούλομαι, ὡς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μεγιστον, οἱ θεῶν ὅρκοι ἡμᾶς κωλύουσι πολέμιους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύνειδεν, αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὔποτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονίσαιμι. Τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποιοῦ ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι, οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον ἂν σκότος ἀποδραίῃ, οὔδ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς εχθρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίῃ. Πάντη γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχὰ, καὶ πανταχῇ πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὀρκῶν οὕτω γιγνώσκω, παρ' οὓς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνδέμενοι κατεδέμεθα·

entertaining reciprocal fears, have, *unjustly to each other*, inflicted reciprocal and irreparable injuries, which, by investigating the causes of them too late, have been found to have had their origin in ill-founded calumnies. I have judged, therefore, that such mistakes are best removed by conference and mutual explanations; and hope that on this occasion I shall be able to demonstrate, that *you* have no real ground to distrust us. In the first place, I would advert to that act, which is of the greatest consideration to us all—*our oaths*—to which we have called the gods to witness: *these* imperiously forbid our being enemies. Nor am I ignorant that the wretch who can violate such sacred obligations, and be conscious of the act, can never be happy. For, being under the influence of the anger of the gods, whither can he flee for succour? *Swiftness* cannot save him, nor *darkness* hide him, nor fortresses defend him, since all *times, circumstances, and places* equally yield to them as *lords of all things*. This is my undisguised opinion, both of our oaths, and of the gods whom we have made their depositaries.¹ As to what

¹ Those ideas of the Divinity, and of the sacred obligations of an oath, are in perfect unison with those inculcated in the Old and New

τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων σὲ
 ἔγωγε ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 νομίζω μέγιστον ἡμῖν
 εἶναι ἀγαθόν. Σὺν
 μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα ἡμῖν
 ὁδὸς εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ
 ποταμὸς Διαβατὸς,
 τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ
 ἀπορία· ἀνευ δέ σου
 πᾶσα μὲν ἡ ὁδὸς διὰ
 σκότους, (οὐδὲν γὰρ
 ἀκτῆς ἐπισάμεθα) πᾶς
 δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος,
 πᾶς δ' ὄχλος φοβερός·
 φοβερῶτατον δ' ἐρημία·
 μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς
 ἀπορίας ἐστίν. Εἰ δὲ
 δὴ καὶ μανέντες σὲ
 κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο
 τι ἂν, ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην
 κατακτείναντες, πρὸς
 βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον
 ἔφεδρον ἀγωνιζοίμεθα;
 Ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἶων
 ἐλπίδων ἑμαυτὸν ἂν
 στερήσασθαι, εἴ σέ τι
 κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσασθαι
 ποιῶν, ταῦτα λέξω.
 Ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύρον ἐπε-
 δύμησά μοι φίλον γε-
 νέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν
 τότε ἰκανώτατον εἶναι
 εὐ- ποιεῖν, ὃν ἂν βού-

I expect from my fellow-mortals, *under present circumstances*, I promise myself *more and greater* benefits from *you* than I can rationally do from any other individual. I am sensible, that while I enjoy your friendship, every road will be pervious, and every river passable; and without it every road will be uncertain (for we are totally ignorant of the country), and every river impassable, every banditti terrible, and solitude more appalling than all, since that is only another name for the want of all things. Should we ever, therefore, arrive at such a state of insanity as to deprive you of existence, what would that act demonstrate, but that by the destruction of our chief friend, we had destroyed ourselves, and brought down the vengeance of the king on our guilty heads. Permit me, in the next place, to lay before you what *personal hopes* I should destroy by such an act.¹ 'Tis true I desired to make Cyrus my friend, because I considered him above all men the most capable of serving those who

Testament, and have been entertained by *sensible men* in all ages, and of every nation. See Cicero's Offices, lib. i. c. 22.; also the 139th Psalm of David, v. 7—12. "Whither shall I flee from thy presence," &c.; "If I make my bed in hell, thou art there; if I take the wings of the morning," &c.; "Thy right hand shall lead me," &c.; "If I say darkness shall cover me, the darkness is light to thee."

¹ I, that is the point — *personal hopes*!

λοιτο. Σὲ δὲ νῦν ὄρω
 τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν
 καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα, καὶ
 τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν
 σώζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασι-
 λέως δύναμιν, ἣν Κύρος
 πολεμῖα ἐχρῆτο, σοὶ
 ταύτην σύμμαχον οὐ-
 σαν. Τούτων δὲ τοιεί-
 των ὄντων, τίς οὕτω
 μάλιστα, ὅστις οὐ σοὶ
 βούλεται φίλος εἶναι;
 Ἄλλὰ μὴν, ἐρῶ γὰρ
 καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ἔχω
 ἐλπίδας, καὶ σε βου-
 λήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν
 εἶναι. Οἶδα μὲν γὰρ
 ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηρὰς
 ὄντας, οὓς ἐλπίζω ἂν
 σὺν τῇ παρουσίᾳ δυνά-
 μει ταπεινὰς ὑμῖν πα-
 ρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ
 Πεισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ
 καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ
 τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι
 ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα
 ἀεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαι-
 μονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δὲ,
 οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν
 γιγνώσκω τεθυμωμέ-
 νους, οὐχ ὄρω ποῖα
 δυνάμει συμμαχῶ
 χρῆσάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν
 κολάσεσθε τῆς νῦν
 σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. Ἄλλὰ
 μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς περίξ
 οἰκοῦσι σὺ, εἰ μὲν βέλ-
 λοῖό τω φίλος εἶναι,
 ὡς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης·
 εἰ δὲ τις σὲ λυποίῃ, ὡς
 δεσπότης ἀνασρέφοιο,

were faithful to his interest; but on seeing that you have not only obtained his army, but the very country of which he was viceroy, and that you are supported by that very *power* which destroyed him, how is it you should think me so mad as not to desire your friendship? ¹ In the next place, I would advert to other circumstances, and those comprehend why I expect that you will desire and cultivate *our friendship*: the Mysians, *I know*, are troublesome to you, and with my forces I can compel them to yield to your authority. You are similarly circumstanced with the Pisidians and many other petty states, who, by the aid of my Greeks, shall for ever cease to disturb your tranquillity. The Egyptians also, I find, have particularly incensed you; and where can you find a band of men better calculated to chastise them than my veterans? And in one word, should you at any time wish to serve a neighbouring prince, by whom can you oblige him, or enhance your friendship, so much as by us? On the other hand, should any of those states infringe on your territories, you may, by our aid, with equal ease punish them: and I should suppose that our services would

¹ Certainly; I would as soon serve you as Cyrus: *I must be employed*. I will go against Egypt, or chastise any Prince at your nod; only do keep me in action.

ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἱ σοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μόνον ὑπηρετοῖμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος, ἣν σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοι ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. Ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ δαυμαστὸν εἶναι, τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν, ὥς τε καὶ ἤδιστ' ἂν ἀκέσαιμι τοῦνομα, τίς ἐστὶν ἔτιω δεινὸς λέγειν, ὥς τε πείσαι λέγων, ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύοιμεν." Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ᾧδε ἀπημείφθη.

“ Ἄλλ' ἤδομαι μὲν, ᾧ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων, εἴ τι ἔμοι κακὸν βουλεύοις, ἅμα ἂν μοὶ δοκῆς καὶ σεαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. Ὡς δ' ἂν μάθῃς, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἔμοι ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκθεσον. Εἰ

be doubly enhanced, from the consideration, that we shall not only serve you for the sake of pay, but as a *friend*, a *benefactor*, and a *deliverer*. 'Tis these considerations that both impress me, and equally surprise me, that you should treat us with distrust; and I would fain, Tissaphernes, be informed on this occasion, who it is that has such powers of persuasion as to lead you to think that we possibly can have any perfidious designs against you?"¹ To which Tissaphernes replied:—

“ That he was extremely pleased to hear Clearchus deliver himself so clearly, and with such correct views, since it was sufficiently obvious, that by entertaining any design against him, the Greeks must equally design against themselves; but as he had given Clearchus a patient hearing, he hoped, in return, that he would hear the arguments he had to adduce, in pointing out the injustice of the Greeks entertaining any improper thoughts respecting himself or the king. In the first place, he would ask Clearchus, if either the king or himself had had any wish to

¹ This speech is pregnant with folly and weakness, and had its origin in a desire of being employed by Tissaphernes. How silly and impolitic are his confessions of his dependence on this scoundrel, and in fact untrue, as the subsequent part of the retreat proved. O Clearchus! you had lost yourself, and by it lost your life!

γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερὰ σοι δοκοῦμεν ἰππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν, ἢ πεζῶν, ἢ ὀπλίσεως, ἐν ἧ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ ἂν ἦμεν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ ἄδεις κίνδυνος; Ἄλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἂν σοι δοκοῦμεν; Οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἡμῖν φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῶ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὑμῖν ὀραῖται ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἕξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἄπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν; τοσούτοι δὲ εἰσι ποταμοὶ, ἐξ ὧν ἕξεσιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ὀπόσοις ἂν ὑμῶν βουλοίμεθα μάχεσθαι; Εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν, οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παντάπασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν. Εἰ δὲ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἠττώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γε πῦρ τοῦ καρποῦ κρεῖττον ἐστίν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι· ᾧ ὑμεῖς, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε, μάχεσθαι ἂν δύνησθε. Πῶς οὖν ἂν ἔχοντες τοσούτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοί-

have destroyed the Greeks, whether he did not think they possessed sufficient force to do so at pleasure?¹ Have we not," said Tissaphernes, "numerous horse and foot, means offensive and defensive, without the possibility of being injured in return? Do we want proper places to attack you? Are there not plains through which you must pass, all inhabited by the king's friends? and mountains, the defiles of which being guarded, would become impervious to you? Rivers, in fording which, we can attack what numbers of you we please? Indeed, some of them you even *cannot* cross without our assistance. But should we fail in all these, of becoming conquerors, yet we have the element of fire in our hands, which will necessarily destroy the fruits of the earth: and therefore by opposing you only with that simple, yet *powerful enemy*, your destruction is certain; for even Grecian bravery is unable to contend against famine. Why, therefore, should *we*, who have so many means of destroying you, select that which is the most wicked and dishonourable? Why should *we* adopt that means only, which is the last resource of the distressed and ignoble, and who, being driven to extre-

¹ No; they did not, or they would have done so on the field of battle, —and Clearchus ought to have said so point blank, and not *tacitly* to have yielded consent; but he was fishing for employ.

μεθα, ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβῆς, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρὸς; παντάπασιν δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἀνάγκη ἔχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐδέλουσι δι' ἐπιτοκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς, καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρᾶττειν τι; Οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὦ Κλεάρχῃ, οὔτε ἡλίθιοι οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι ἐσμέν. Ἄλλὰ τί δὴ, ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡλδομεν; Εἰ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ τούτου αἷτιος, τοῦ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὃ Κῦρος ἀνέβη ξενικῶν διὰ μισθοδοσίαν πιστεύων, τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίας ἰσχυρόν. Ὅσα δέ μοι ὑμεῖς χρήσιμοι ἐστέ, τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἕξειστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, ἴην δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν πάροντων καὶ ἕτερος εὐπειῶς ἔχοι."

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη, οἵτινες, τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων, πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες πολεμίας

mities, resolve to accomplish, through perjury towards the gods, and infidelity towards men, what they were incapable of effecting by any other means? Be assured, Clearchus, that we are not so weak nor so wicked: on the contrary, rest satisfied, that the reason why I did not destroy you when in my power, arose out of the desire I had of serving you; and that as Cyrus had marched against the king, relying on a foreign force, *through the medium of his bounty*, so, I might return to my government, escorted by the same troops, *impelled by a feeling of gratitude to me as their deliverer*. And relative to those things in which you can *serve me*, and to which you have justly alluded, I will tell you the greatest of them all, and that is, that though it is the prerogative of the king to wear an upright crown on his head, yet, *I may by your assistance wear it in my heart.*"¹

Clearchus taking the hint, and believing all he said to be true, replied, "That since there were so many motives for reciprocal friendship, were not those worthy of the severest punish-

¹ Here is an insidious scoundrel; — how he probes the lost Clearchus; and how many lies he tells the general, without ever receiving any sort of contradiction! Had not self been at the bottom of the Greek general's views, he would have spurned at his insinuations and kicked Tissaphernes from his presence.

ποιῆσαι ἡμᾶς, ἄξιοι εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βέλεσθέ μοι οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμφανει ἔλθειν, λέξω τὰς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας, ὡς σὺ ἐπιβουλευεῖς ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας· καὶ σοὶ αὖ ἐγὼ δηλώσω, ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σου ἀκούω. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονούμενος, τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ σύνδειπνον ἐποίησατο· τῇ δ' ὕστεραιχ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ το στρατόπεδον, δηλὸς τε ἦν πάνυ φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν· ἔφη τε χρῆναι ἰέναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει οὓς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οἱ ἂν ἐξελεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. Ἐπίπτει δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα· εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγεγενημένον Τισσαφέρνει μετὰ Ἀριαίου, καὶ σασιάζοντα αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα αὐτῷ,

ment, who by their calumnies endeavoured to make them enemies?"¹ "If," says Tissaphernes, "you will come with your captains and generals, and meet me publicly, I will disclose the names of those who affirm that you are plotting against me."² "I will bring *every one*,"³ said Clearchus, "and will let you also know who are my informers." This subject being ended, Tissaphernes shewed Clearchus great civility, and invited him to remain to supper. The following day Clearchus returned to the camp, evidently much impressed in favor of Tissaphernes, and related to his officers what he proposed. He declared that no one person whom Tissaphernes wished to be present ought to refuse to go; and repeated, that the individuals who were found to be the inventors of those calumnies, ought to receive the punishment of traitors, for they were in fact, plotting against the Grecian army. Indeed, Menon fell under his suspicions, as he knew that *that general* had been in conference with Ariæus and Tissaphernes, and was endeavouring to intrigue with some officers, with a view of making the

¹ This crowns the folly.

² He is now caught: Tissaphernes baited the right hook.

³ If the soldiers had been as mad as their commander, every officer would have perished.

ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λαβὼν, φίλος ἢ Τισσαφέρνει. Ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδῶν εἶναι. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀνιέλεγον τινες αὐτῷ, μὴ ἰέναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγούς μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνει. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἔστω διεπράξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγούς ἰέναι, εἰκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ, ὡς εἰς ἀγοράν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὡς διακόσιοι.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἰσῶ, Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, Μένων Θετταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκὰς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιοί· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ἔμεινον. Οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἱ τε ἔδον συλεαμβάνοντο, καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν· Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἰπέων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες, ᾧτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἕλλησι ἢ

army dependent on his own views, and thus recommend himself to the attention of Tissaphernes: nor was Clearchus less solicitous than Menon in engaging the good opinion of the army, and of removing those officers who opposed *his views*. But the private soldiers themselves thwarted him on this occasion, and insisted on the impropriety of all the officers placing themselves in an enemy's power.¹ Notwithstanding, Clearchus opposed them so vehemently, that he influenced no less than five generals and twenty captains to accompany him, and two hundred soldiers followed, under the pretext of visiting the market.

When they had arrived at the tent door of Tissaphernes, the generals, Proxenus, a Bœotian; Menon, a Thesalian; Agias, an Arcadian; Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian; and Socrates, an Achaian, were introduced. But little time had elapsed, before, at a proposed signal, both those within the tent were seized on, and those without were cut to pieces; and the Barbarian horse, making a charge, killed every Greek they met with, not even excepting the

¹ The private soldiers in this army frequently exhibited more good sense than their generals: as for Clearchus, he was drunk, at this time, with anticipation.

δούλω, ἢ ἐλευθέρω, πάντας ἔκτεινον. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τὴν τε ἰππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον, ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὄρωντες, καὶ ὅτι ἐποίην ἠμφιγόνον, πρὶν Νίκαρχος Ἀρκὰς ἦκε φεύγων, τετραμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔδειον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι, καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἕξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάοχος καὶ Μιθραδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν Κύρω πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑρμηνεὺς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄραν καὶ γινώσκειν· συνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Περσῶν ἰεθωρακισμένοι, εἰς τριακοσίους. Οὗτοι, ἔπει ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἴ τις εἶη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασιλείως. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον τῶν Ἑλλήνων φυλαττό-

μεινοὶ, στρατηγοὶ μὲν, Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος, καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμφάλιος, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθῃ τὰ περὶ

officers' servants. The soldiers from our camp, on seeing the charge of the cavalry, were surprised, doubting what it could mean, 'till Nicarchus, an Arcadian, came flying from them; for being wounded by a sword in the abdomen, his intestines fell out into his hands, and in that condition did he arrive at our camp, and related the circumstance.¹ On this, the Greeks were astonished, and expecting an immediate attack on their camp, flew to arms; but the Barbarian whole force did not approach them; for only Ariæus, Artæzus, and Mithridates came, with other persons who had been faithful to Cyrus, and Tissaphernes's brother, (as an interpreter of the Greeks declared, who knew him,) escorted by about three hundred Persian cuirassiers, who, on approaching our camp, desired, "That if any generals or captains of the Greeks were present, that they would step forward and hear the king's pleasure." Whereupon Cleanor, an Orchomenian, and Sophænetus, a Stymphalian, both Greek generals, ventured out of their camp with great precaution: Xenophon also, the Athenian, accompanied them,

¹ This murderous affair is recorded by Plutarch, in his Life of Artaxerxes; also by Dio, lib. xiv. p. 257.

Προξένου. (Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐτύγγαθεν ἀπὼν ἐν κάμῃ τινὶ σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζόμενος) Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔστησαν εἰς ἐσθήκοον, λέγει Ἀριαῖος· Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιορκῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέθνηκε· Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτῶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσὶν ὑμᾶς δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ ὄπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ εἶναι φησὶν, ἐπέειπερ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, (ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος) ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων Ἀριαῖε, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεῶς οὔτε ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες ὀμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομιεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τὰς τε ἀνδρας αὐτοὺς, οἷς ὤμνητε, ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προδεδωκότες, σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔρχεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; Ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος εἶπε, Κλέ-

being anxious to know the fate of Proxenus; for Cheirisophus was absent with a party in the adjacent villages, collecting provisions. When they arrived within hearing of Ariæus, he told the Greek generals, "That Clearchus having been found guilty of perjury, and a violation of the articles of the truce, had been justly punished with death; while Proxenus and Menon, who had communicated to the king his designs, were in great esteem. But," he added, "that the king had sent him also to demand *their arms*, alledging that they were his, as they were originally the property of Cyrus, who was his subject."

On which the Greek general Cleonor, the Orchomenian, in the name of all the rest, replied, "O Ariæus! thou most perfidious and wicked of all men! and all you who professed friendship for Cyrus. Have you forgotten your obligations both to the gods and men? who, after having sworn most solemnly to regard our friends and enemies as your own, have now conspired with that deceitful wretch Tissaphernes in destroying those very persons whom you had pledged yourselves to protect, and of deceiving us: and to crown your infamy, you now come in company with our enemies, to invade our camp." To which Ariæus replied, "That *perfidy*

αρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόντα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς σὺν τούτοις. Ἐπὶ τέτοις δὲ Ξενοφῶν τάδε εἶπε, Κλέαρχος μὲν τοίνυν, εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἔλυε τὰς σπονδὰς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει· (δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιορκούντας) Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ἐπεὶ περ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροί τε εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροί τε στρατηγοὶ πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι, φίλοι γε ὄντες ἀμφοτέροισ, πειράσσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν. Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι, πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις, ἀπῆλθον, οὐδὲν ἀποκρινόμενοι.

Οἱ μὲν δὲ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες, ἀνήχθησαν ὡς βασιλεία, καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν· εἷς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος, ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπείρους αὐτοῦ ἔχόντων, δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς

first exhibited itself in Clearchus, whose designs against Tissaphernes, Orontas, and himself, were well known." On which Xenophon said, "That if Clearchus, in opposition to his oath, had been guilty of a violation of the truce, he had received a just punishment; for it was equitable that all perjured persons should suffer the punishment of death; but if Proxenus and Menon were friendly to Tissaphernes, so ought they to be to the Greeks, since they are their commanders; send them, therefore, to us, that being friends to both, they may, the more likely, be useful in adjusting all differences."¹ On these remarks of Xenophon, the Barbarians consulted together, but departed without making any reply.²

The generals thus perfidiously apprehended, were immediately conducted to the king, who ordered them to be beheaded. The Lacedæmonian, Clearchus, was allowed by all that knew him, to have been a legitimate son of Mars, for his great military genius led him *to delight in war*, whether carried on abroad or at home: for as long as the Lacedæmonians were engaged in hos-

¹ This was a reply full of search. His friendship and anxiety for *Proxenus's* fate gave birth to it.

² Xenophon's well concerted reply completely baffled their perfidious intentions; they were struck dumb by his penetration, and choked by their own lies.

Ἄθηναίους, παρέμεινεν ἐπεὶ δ' εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς οἱ Θραῖκες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν Ἐφόρων, ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρόνησου καὶ Πειρίνου Θραξίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγρόντες πως οἱ Ἐφοροί, ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτῆ, ἀποσρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρώντο· ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ἄρχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελλῶν, ὡς ἀπειθῶν. Ἦδη δὲ φυγὰς ὢν, ἔρχεται πρὸς Κύρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἐπεισε Κύρον, ἀλλαχῆ γέγραπται· δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ Κύρος μυρίους δαρεϊκοῦς· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥαθυμίαν ἔώραπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στρατεύμα, ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξίν· καὶ μάχη τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔφερε, καὶ ἦγεν αὐτούς· καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο, μέχρις οὗ Κύρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐ πολεμήσων.

ilities against the Athenians, he continued in the service of his country; but on the cessation of hostilities between these powers, he persuaded his countrymen that the Thracians oppressed the Greeks, and prevailing on the Ephori,¹ by his eloquence, or some other means, set sail to chastise those Thracians who reside north of the Perinthus and Chersonesus. Some time after the Ephori altered their minds, and recalled him from the Isthmus; but Clearchus refused his compliance, and sailed off for the Hellespont; for which disobedience he was condemned to death by the Spartan magistrates. Being banished his country, he comes to Cyrus, and gains his friendship by the means we have already mentioned, on which Cyrus made him a present of ten thousand darics; but with this money he seeks *not repose*, but raises an army, and making war on the Thracians, overcame them, and plundered their territories; and while hot in following up his conquests, Cyrus gives him to understand, that his army would be serviceable to him; he therefore leaves Thrace, and joins his friend for the intended expedition.

¹ The Ephori: the Spartan senate were so called. The president was styled Archon.

Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμῳ δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις, ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνῃς καὶ βλάβῃς, αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν· ἐξὸν δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν, βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν· ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως, αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ, ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικὰ, ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινα ἡδονήν, ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον· οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. Πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτῆ εἶναι ἐδόκει, ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ὡμολόγην. Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δὲ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, ὡς δυνατὸν, ἐκ τῆ τοιούτου τρόπου, οἷον καὶ ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν. Ἰκανὸς μὲν γὰρ, ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος, φρονιζέειν ἦν, ὅπως ἕξει ἢ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ἢ ἐπιήδεια, καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα· ἰκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποῖῃσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἀπιστέον εἶη Κλέαρχω.

It is these actions that lead us to infer, that he took pleasure in war, because he had an opportunity to live in peace and safety, but chooses war and danger in preference; and, in fact, spent his money with as much delight in warlike exploits, as many would in exploits of gallantry,¹ or any other natural pleasure. His martial temper particularly exhibited itself in his contempt of danger, whether he attacked by night or day, as his comrades in arms universally acknowledged; and, for a man of his temperature, possessed the art of commanding in an eminent degree. He was behind no general of his day in seeing his army provided for; nor was he second to any in inspiring them with a dread of disobedience.

¹ I have no hesitation in saying, that Sterne took the hint of drawing the *military character* of "My uncle Toby" from this picture. My readers will, no doubt, quickly recollect Toby's justification of his principles to his brother Shandy, for carrying on the war, and of condemning the peace of Utrecht:—"If, when I was a school-boy, I could not hear a drum beat, but my heart beat with it—was it *my fault*? Did I plant the propensity there?—Did I sound the alarm within, or nature? When *Guy Earl of Warwick*, and *Parismus*, and *Parismenus*, and *Valentine and Orson*, and the *Seven Champions of Christendom*, were handed about the school—did I not purchase them with my own pocket-money?—And yet, was I not as much concerned at the siege of Troy for the sufferings of the Greeks and Trojans as any boy in the school?" *Tristram Shandy*, vol. iii. c. 75.

Τούτο δὲ ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ ὄρᾶν στρυγνὸς ἦν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς· ἐκόλαζέ τε αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνόητε, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῶ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. Καὶ γνώμη δὲ ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἠγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι. Ἄλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν, ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι, ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἰέναι πρὸς τὰς πολεμίους. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἠροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ στρυγνὸν τότε παιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν, ἐβρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι· ὥστε σωτήριον καὶ οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν

He produced the latter by severity : for his look was commanding, and his voice harsh ; punishing generally with rigour, and frequently in a passion, which often made him relent his actions. He frequently, however, punished his men *deliberately* ; as he considered an undisciplined army, to be no army at all, and held it as a maxim, “ That a soldier ought to fear his commander more than an enemy ;”¹ for without this feeling, he contended, that few soldiers would be faithful on guard, abstain from plunder, or voluntarily attack an enemy. Hence, when danger was at its greatest height, he was the most scrupulously obeyed, for then, his soldiers said, he always looked pleased and cheerful ;² and at those periods it was, that they never wished any other commander, as his sternness seemed metamorphosed into a daring resolution, which the soldier always construed favourably, and as exercised for their preservation. But danger being over,

¹ The late General Sir John Moore held the same maxim ; but he died unregretted by his soldiers.

² An unaccountable feeling, unless solved by the doctrines of fatalism.

“ Ravish'd with wars, and danger's horrid charms,
He with impetuous ardour flies to arms :
Soon as the ranged battalions came in sight,
He felt fierce joy, and terrible delight,
And shudder'd with his eagerness to fight.” }

ἐφαίνετο. "Ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο, καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς καὶ ὠμὸς ἦν· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον· καὶ γὰρ οὐν φιλία μὲν καὶ εὐνοία ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἷτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινι ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι παρεῖσαν αὐτῶ, σφόδρα πειθόμενοι ἐχρήτο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν σὺν αὐτῶ τοὺς πολεμίους, μεγάλα ἤδη ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῶ στρατιώτας· τότε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν, καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίησε. Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεισθαι δ' ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο.

and an opportunity offering for his soldiers to serve under other commanders, many of his veterans left him; for habit had so wrought on Clearchus, that he knew not how to relax his severity, nor to mingle rigour with kindness; hence his soldiers always felt as school-boys who are under the dread of a severe master, never obeying from love or attachment.¹ This was particularly manifest in those men placed under his command at the instance of his government, or that were compelled, through want or necessity, to enlist under him; for being generally successful in battle, confidence in the commander was produced, which being combined with the fear of disobedience, co-operately conjoined in producing the Clearchian soldier, and thus was his character exhibited by its effects: though in finishing it, I must add, that report said, he was equally averse to

¹ I would say something on this subject, were I not convinced that military men have always been divided in opinion on it; some preferring an army *purely mechanical*, insisting that a soldier should have *no opinion*; others preferring an army that has in it some *moral force*. It would be an interesting subject for debate, "Which of the two armies would last longest, or perform the most signal acts; arguing purely from the principles of a mechanical and moral force?" &c. &c. The great Napoleon was in favour of the latter, and acted accordingly. His soldiers loved him.

Ἦν δὲ, ὅτε ἐτελεύτα,
ἀμφὶ τὰ πενήκοντα ἔτη.

Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιω-
τιος, εὐθύς μὲν μαιρά-
κιον ὄν, ἐπεθύμει γε-
νέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγά-
λα πράττειν ἱκανός·
καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν
ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γορ-
γία ἀργύριον τῷ Λεον-
τίνῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνε-
γένετο ἐκεῖνω, ἱκανὸς
ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ

being commanded.¹ He lost his life
at the age of fifty.²

In drawing the character of Proxe-
nus, the Bœotian, it is necessary to ob-
serve that he was desirous of being a
Commander from a child, and for that
purpose gave a sum of money to Gor-
gias, the Leontine,³ in order to acquire
the necessary qualifications. When he
had been sufficient time under his tu-
ition, to lead him to conclude that he

¹ This was perfectly natural: Master Spirits have no right to be
commanded, *Nature* having sufficiently indicated, by giving them great
talents, that she intended them to *direct* and *command* those she has not
so favoured; though I know not whether ignorance or knowledge be
the greater blessing, if *happiness alone be considered*: For,

“ Since ignorance is bliss,
’Tis folly to be wise.”

Yet, I believe, none of us would like to have the bliss of ignorance,
except when we are under the influence of hypochondria, or have got
ourselves into some scrape through ambition; *then*, the flaxen-headed
cow-boy becomes an object of envy, &c. &c.

² “ Full fifty years, harness’d in rugged steel,
He endured the biting winter’s blast,
And the severer heats of parching summer.” ROWE.

³ Military schools were common in Greece; yet, not exactly on the
same plan as those of France and England. For with them, the arts of
fortification, and military tactics, were not sufficient; the young officer
must, also, be versed in the science of rhetoric, eloquence, and philo-
sophy, as qualifications equally necessary with the former. A thousand
instances might be adduced in proof of this, if necessary. I shall con-
tent myself, however, by shewing, from Diodor. Sic., that this Gorgias,
the Leontine, *professionally* taught all those sciences, and was a military
master of great eminence.

Γοργίας ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ τέχνας ῥητορικὰς πρῶτῳ ἐξεῦρε, καὶ κατὰ τὴν σοφιστεῖαν
τοσοῦτον τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστε μισθὸν λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μῆδὲ
κατὸν. Lib. xii. p. 106.

ἄρχειν, καὶ φίλος ὦν τοῖς πρώτοις, μὴ ἤτῃσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τῶν ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην, καὶ χρήματα πολλά· τῶν δ' ἐπιθυμῶν, σφύδρα ἔνδηλον αὐτῷ καὶ τούτο εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τῶν τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή. Ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἱκανὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποιοῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον τῆς στρατιώτας, ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνον· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερός τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. Ὡς δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν, τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ τῶν

was equal to the task : his next step was to enter into the views and friendship of *great men*, with a desire of returning all obligations he might receive, and accordingly engaged himself in the Cyrean expedition, promising himself, that *reputation, riches, and fame*, would follow. Though actuated by all those powerful motives, yet did his conduct plainly evince, that he wished to acquire them through *justice, honour, and probity*; and if they were not to be purchased by these means, to be contented without them.¹ It is true, that he was capable of commanding an orderly, well-disciplined army, but incapable of *producing one*; for differing too much from Clearchus on the lenient quarter, he failed in producing *respect*, and was, as a consequence, evidently more afraid of disobliging his soldiers, than they were of disobeying their commander. All this originated in a false maxim; viz. “that the primary qualification in a general is to reward merit, and to shun the unworthy;” by which it happened, that he was loved by men of *worth and honour*, while the

¹ A noble resolution : yet I should wish to be informed, how fortune is to be acquired in war, by *justice, honour, and probity*? The conqueror's *right is might*; his *Honour*, even in modern warfare, is, *not entirely to strip an enemy*, but only to well fleece him; but, in ancient warfare, the retaliating system was dreadful.

συνόντων εὔνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἄδικο ἐπεβέβλευον, ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. "Ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκειν, ἦν ἑτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

Μένων δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλούτου ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι· ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδάνοι· φίλος τ' ἐβέβλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοῖν δίκην. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ἂν ἐπιθυμοίη, συντομωτάτην ὁδὸν ᾤετο εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιπροκεῖν τε, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἐξαπαλᾶν· τὸ δὲ ἀπλῆν τε καὶ ἀληθῆς, τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. Στέργων δὲ φανερός μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἐνδηλος ἦν ἐπιβουλεύων. Καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν) τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾤετο εἰδέναι ὅτι ῥᾶσον

wretched and the worthless were ever conspiring to overthrow him.¹ When he died he was about thirty.

As for Menon, the Thessalian, *he* was careless about any one knowing his immoderate desire of wealth, or that his only wish of being a commander was to acquire it, or of his desiring *respect* on *that account*; for he only wished to be on terms, *even with men in power*, that his injustice and rapine might escape punishment; it being a settled maxim of his, "That the *shortest* and *surest* way to wealth was through the channels of perjury and falsehood, and that simplicity and truth were only other terms for ignorance and weakness." He was never known to love any man; and where he professed friendship, it was a sure indication of his intentions to betray the individual who credited him. Of a professed enemy he never spoke contemptuously, but ridiculed all who talked on such a subject; nor did he ever think of trepanning any man who was at variance with him, as he always conceived such an individual was on the look out; but piqued himself on being an adept in

¹ I will leave the military reader to spin out his own reflections on this subject.

ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ὅσους μὲν ἠσθάνετο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς εὖ ὠπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο τοῖς δ' ὀσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκήσιν ὡς ἀνάνδρους ἐπειράτο χρῆσθαι. "Ὡσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, οὕτω καὶ Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῆ, τῷ φίλους διαγελαῖν τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοῦργον, ἀπαίδευτον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. Καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλίᾳ διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους, τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. Τὸ δὲ πειθόμενους τὰς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμχανᾶτο. Τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἤξιον, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναίτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἀνὰδικεῖν. Εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὅποτε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι· ἃ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι, τὰ δ' ἐστί. Παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν, ἔτι ὠραῖος ὢν, στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν

laying hold of the unguarded possessions of his friend. Of the perjured and unjust he only was afraid, considering them his match and his equals; but on persons of religion and truth he preyed as the vulture does on a defenceless victim; and as men in general value themselves in proportion as they practise truth, justice, and religion, so Menon valued himself for the practice of their opposites.¹ If he wished to gain the esteem of a man, the most effectual way of acquiring it, he conceived, was to backbite such a man's friend; and even to produce obedience in his soldiers, he thought the most certain mode was in participating in their crimes; and, in fact, aimed at being courted and esteemed simply on the grounds of his great capabilities to injure and destroy. If a man, on the discovery of his villainies, abandoned him, he used to say, "such a man ought to congratulate himself for being in existence;" and, indeed, whatever part of his character remains unknown may probably appear fictitious, but the following facts are known to all Greece: When in the flower of his age he obtained the command of the mercenaries under Aristippus, it was then

¹ See Athenæus, lib. ii. c. ult. for illustration and proof.

ξένων Ἀρῖαίῳ δὲ βαρ-
 βάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μειρα-
 κίοις καλοῖς ἤδετο,
 οικειότατος ἔτι ὠραῖος
 ὧν ἐγένετο· αὐτὸς δὲ
 παιδικὰ εἶχε Θαρύ-
 παν, ἀγένειος ὧν γε-
 νειῶντα. Ἀποθησ-
 κόντων δὲ τῶν στρα-
 τηγῶν, ὅτι ἐστράτευ-
 σαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα σὺν

also that he formed a connection with the Barbarian Ariæus, on the ground of his attachment to *handsome boys*; and before his own chin was barbed, he had a barbed courtezan called Tharypas :¹ nor had he the satisfaction of suffering the honourable death of decapitation with the other generals who

¹ This fellow seems to have been a compound of all the bad qualities; and were it not for the well-known probity of the writer, we should think the character overcharged: yet I wish there were none such now to be found. But suppose we were to survey the interior of a *gambling-house*; hear the plans there formed for way-laying the unwary; mark the innuendos, the significant slang, the legerdemain tricks, &c.; or take a peep into one of those shops visited by *equivocals*, — what should we think *then*? I fear we should find many Menons. But the vice complained of at Sodom, is more particularly *peculiar to the East*; though the Romans seem to have been pretty active pupils of their Asiatic masters; so much so, that little or no shame appears to have been felt on disclosing it.

“ Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin,
 Delicias domini.”

VIRGIL.

I know the poet has had his apologists, but none that are satisfactory to me. Pope, in his essay on Homer, prefixed to the quarto edition, seems to be of the same opinion. Nor was even Socrates, nor Plato entirely exempt. Those, however, who wish to dive into the particular virtues of the former philosopher, may see them more impartially illustrated in Mitchell's translation of Aristophanes. I dare to assert, from the evidence there adduced, that if Frederic of Prussia was now alive, he would be ashamed of ever having compared the character of Socrates with Jesus of Nazareth. But, from *this*, let no one suppose me an advocate of those who take pleasure in lowering the characters of the departed; on the contrary, I assure my readers, that I viewed the evidence adduced by Mr. Mitchell with extreme pain; but I could not shut my eyes, nor could a preconceived prejudice blind my reason; the evidence is conclusive, and from henceforward, *I think*, the moral bust of Socrates must come down in the Temple of Fame several niches; whilst that of Aristophanes will rise higher. *A satirist will frequently do the work of a moralist.*

Κύρω, τὰ αὐτὰ πε-
ποιηκῶς οὐκ ἀπέθανε·
μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων
θάνατον στρατηγῶν,
τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασι-
λεως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ
ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς· (ὅσπερ κάλλιστος θανάτων
ἐδόκει εἶναι) ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν, ὡς πονηρὸς, λέγεται τελευτῆς
τυχεῖν.

Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκ-
ὰς, καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ
Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τούτῳ
ἀπεθανέτην· τούτων δὲ
οὐδεὶς οὔδ' ὡς ἐν πο-
λέμῳ κακῶν κατεγέ-
λα, οὔτ' ἐς φιλίαν αὐτὰς ἐμέμφετο. Ἦστην τε ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τετταράκοντα
ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

waged war against the king; but was,
as reported, put to death by Arta-
xerxes, after having suffered imprison-
ment and the rack for a whole year,
like a malefactor.

As for Agias, the Arcadian, and So-
crates, the Achaian, they died together,
irreproachable as *soldiers*, and estima-
ble as *friends*; quitting life at forty.

Ἦστην τε ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τετταράκοντα
ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK III.

Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα, ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐγένετο, ἀπίόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνηι ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ βιβλίῳ δεδήλωται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπόμενοι ἀπολώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνδυμούμενοι ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δ' αὐτοῖς πάντῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμια ἦσαν ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρῆξειν ἔμελλεν,

IN the preceding books we have detailed minutely the conduct of the Greeks, from the commencement of the expedition, to the death of Cyrus; the peace that followed that event, and the commencement of the retreat, in junction with Tissaphernes, of the Greek forces. We have also related the means made use of for the treacherous apprehension and death of the Greek commanders, with the captains and soldiers that followed them, and the great distress of the Greeks consequent on that treachery. That, being conscious, they were at no great distance from the seat of government, encompassed on every quarter by powerful nations and cities, the whole of whom were enemies; that provisions were no longer peaceably to be procured; that they were at no less dis-

ἀπειχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πλέον ἢ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διείργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ· προδεδώκασι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἰππέα ἀδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες· ὡς τ' εὐδήλον ἦν, ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἕνα φεύγοντα κατακαίνοιν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν λειψθεῖη· Ταῦτα ἐννοούμενοι, καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πυρὰ ἔκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἤλθον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί· ἀνεπαύετο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος, ἔδυνάμενοι καταθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης, καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὐ ποτε ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο·

tance from Greece than ten thousand stadia, without a guide or conductor, and their retreat intercepted by impassable rivers; that even the Barbarians themselves, who previously had co-operated with them while Cyrus lived, now sought their destruction; that they were quite alone, without cavalry; so that, should *they* even overcome in action, not an enemy could be slain in pursuit; whereas, should *they* be worsted, not a soul would survive the defeat: all which reflections, conjointly co-operating, produced in the Greeks such depression of spirits, that few ate any thing that evening, few made fires, and many soldiers *that night* never came to their tents, but laid themselves down promiscuously where they were, their minds being completely absorbed with the desire of Country, Parents, Wives, and Children, whom they never more expected to behold; while the despair of ever doing so, entirely robbed them of sleep. Under these feelings, did the army retire to rest.¹

¹ To behold an individual in despair, is a very melancholy scene: what must it be then to see an army? The participation in the general sorrow felt and expressed by Xenophon, arose more from his character as a philosopher, than from the consideration of his being personally involved in the calamity: his subsequent conduct proves this. Indeed, philanthropy itself would view ten thousand men robbed of hope, with more acute feelings than the like number robbed of life; so true

Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς, ἔτε λοχαγὸς, ἔτε στρατιώτης ὢν συνηκολάθει, ἀλλὰ Προξένος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἰκοθεν, ξένος ὢν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον Κύρω ποιήσειν· ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. Ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτέυσας μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὑπαίτιον εἶη Κύρω φίλον γένεσθαι, (ὅτι ἔδόκει ὁ Κύρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμήσαι) συμβλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἔλθόντι εἰς Δελφούς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. Ἐλ-

Among the number was a young man named Xenophon, who was neither a general, captain, nor a soldier,¹ but served only as a volunteer. The circumstance which gave birth to his employment, arose from his having been a long time engaged to Proxenus by the ties of friendship; who, indeed, sent for him from his home, promising in the event of his visiting Sardis, to present him to Cyrus. On Xenophon's reading this letter, he consulted his friend Socrates,² the Athenian, on the subject of it, and the propriety of his compliance; who, fearing that his country might view the act as traitorous, because Cyrus was suspected to have taken part with the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, advised him, before he complied, to consult the oracle at Delphos.³ Xenophon accordingly repaired thither, and asked

is it, that a legitimate feeling of the heart always concurs with the rational deductions of the head, which has long since concluded, "That the apprehension of *death* is *more terrible* than death itself."

¹ This is extremely modest in a man who possessed the qualifications of all three in so eminent a degree; but at this time Xenophon knew not his own powers; nor, in fact, does any man till pressed to extremity.

² This was the celebrated Socrates, the philosopher, who was subsequently put to death for being supposed to have laughed at the religion of the state, and for his teaching his pupils to do so; though no proof but the opposite shews itself in Xenophon, who, with Plato, were his two most eminent pupils.

³ The most famous of any in Greece.

θῶν δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπῆρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστ' ἂν καὶ ἀριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθεῖη. Καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων, θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. Ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἠτιᾶτο αὐτὸν, ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρότερον ἤρώτα, πότερον λῶιον αὐτῷ εἴη πορεύεσθαι, ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἤτερον εἶναι, τῷτο ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθεῖη. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔτως ἤρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν, ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός, ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Προξένον καὶ Κύρον, μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν· καὶ συνεστάδη Κύρω. Προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου, καὶ ὁ Κύρος συμπροθυμεῖτο μείναι αὐτόν· εἶπε δὲ ὅτι

Apollo to which of the gods he should address his prayers and offer sacrifice, to the end he might perform the journey he contemplated in the most satisfactory manner, and return to his country in safety? Apollo told him, "To sacrifice to those gods to whom the question properly belonged." On his return, he acquainted Socrates with this response, who blamed him for having first made up his mind to do a thing, and then to consult the god respecting it afterwards; whereas the question he ought to have put to Apollo was, Whether he had better undertake the journey, or remain at home? "But since," said he, "you have only consulted Apollo on the best mode of performing it in safety, you ought unquestionably to follow his commands." Upon which Xenophon offered sacrifice and petitions to those deities referred to by Apollo, and finding them propitious, set sail for Sardis, and found Proxenus and Cyrus ready to march into Upper Asia. Proxenus accordingly introduced him to Cyrus, in whose presence he pressed Xenophon to stay, which Cyrus was no less earnest in soliciting than Proxenus himself, and

1 That was to Jupiter and Mars. The former being considered the preserver, and the latter, the inspirer of courage.

ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξει, εὐθύς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. Ἐλέγεται δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πεισίδας.

Ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ, οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεῖς, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ Προξένου· (ὃ γὰρ ἤδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν, οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πλὴν Κλεάρχου)· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφές πᾶσιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἶη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. Φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἄκοντες ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἰς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν. Ἐπει δ' ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεῦδειν· μικρὸν δὲ ὑπνου λαχὼν, εἶδεν ὄναρ. Ἐδοξεν αὐτῷ, βροντῆς γενομένης,

assured him, that on the termination of his expedition against the Pisidians he would discharge him.

Xenophon, thus imposed on, engaged in the expedition, though his friend Proxenus had no share in the imposition; for all the Greeks, with the exception of Clearchus, were completely ignorant of its destination till they arrived in Cilicia, when every one saw, to his surprise, that it was directed against the king. The unwillingness the Greeks *then* evinced at going forward, chiefly originated in the terror excited by the greatness of the distance, which finally was overcome through the respect that many bore to Cyrus personally; by others, through the regard they had for each other; which feelings, operating alternately, compelled nearly all to go forward; amongst this number was Xenophon. The Greeks, being plunged in distress, and surrounded with difficulties, *he* participated in the general grief; and though he retired to rest, yet was he unable to sleep. At last fatigue overcoming anxiety, he forgot himself, and dreamt that he heard thunder, accompanied with lightning,¹ which ap-

¹ Βροντῆς γενομένης. "The antients believed in three kinds of thunder," says Meursius: "The one to admonish, the other for pleasure; but the

σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν. Περιφοβὸς δ' εὐθύς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῆ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν· (ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὦν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε) πῆ δὲ καὶ ἐροθεῖτο, (ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλείως τὸ ὄναρ ἔδοκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλα δ' ἔδοκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ,) μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελεθεῖν τῆς βασιλείως, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν.

Ὅποῖόν τι μὲν δὴ ἔστι τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. Γίγνεται γὰρ τὰδε εὐθύς· Ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη, πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει, τί κατάκειμαι; ἢ δὲ νῦξ προβαίνει; ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

peared to fall on his father's house and destroy it; starting up with fright, he began to regard his dream *as happy*, because, though surrounded with difficulties, yet did the immortal Jupiter visit him with a light from heaven. Looking at his dream, however, on the other side, he was filled with terror, from an apprehension that the fire, by blazing all around him, might portend that it would be impossible for him to emerge from his difficulties.¹

Subsequent events, however, solved the vision; for, on being properly awake, the first thought that occurred to his mind produced the following soliloquy: "Why do I lie here? The night passes away, and the probabilities are, that the opening morn will light the enemy to our camp, to commence

greater, was accompanied by lightning, and always portended something extraordinary." "Manubiæ Jovis tres dicuntur esse; quarum unæ sunt minimæ, quæ moneant, placidæque sint. Alteræ quæ majores sint," &c. &c.

¹ This is the way that most people view their dreams; looking at both sides of them. A great deal has been said, pro et contra, on the doctrine of dreams. But a Jewish prophet asked one of those dreamers this *impertinent* question: "What is the chaff to the wheat?" Notwithstanding, it was a favourite doctrine with the antients. Vide Iliad, book i. line 63:—

Γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν.

"For dreams descend from Jove."

POPE.

And, without controversy, much may be said on both sides the question.

εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἤξειν. Εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδῶν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παδόντας, ὑβριζομένους ἀποδανεῖν; Ὅπως δὲ ἀμυνόμεθα, οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδ' ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα, ὥσπερ ἔξὸν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν. Ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίᾳς πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῶ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις. Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται, καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἔλεξεν, “Ἐγὼ, ὡ ἄνδρες λοχαγοὶ, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, (ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, οὐδ' ὑμεῖς) οὔτε κατακείσθαι ἔτι, ὄρων ἐν οἷοις ἔσμεν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολέμιοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμισαν τὰ ἑαυτῶν καλῶς παρασκευάσθαι ἡμῶν

1 “Subsequent events,” says our author, “solved his vision.” *His own actions solved it*, which *his piety* very properly attributed to a *first cause*: but how true is that adage, “That Providence helps him that helps himself;” and, again, “That, *conduct is fate.*” Had not Xenophon adopted the resolution, which he instantaneously reduced to practice, what would have become of the Greek army? A *Necessitarian* may solve the question differently; nor shall I stop to *quarrel* with him if he does.

δ' οὐδείς οὐδὲ ἀντεπι-
 μελείται, ὅπως ὡς
 κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμε-
 θα. Καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑφη-
 σόμεθα, καὶ ἐπὶ βα-
 σιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί
 οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι;
 ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομη-
 τρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρῖου
 ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ τεθνηκό-
 τος ἤδη, ἀποτεμῶν τὴν
 κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα
 ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς
 δὲ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν
 οὐδείς πάρεστιν, ἐσρα-
 τεύσαμεν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 ὡς δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασι-
 λέως, ποιήσοντες, καὶ
 ἀποκτενῶντες, εἰ δυναί-
 μεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα
 παθεῖν; Ἄρ' ἐκ ἂν ἐπὶ
 πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ
 αἰσχίστα αἰκισάμενος,
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον
 παράσχη τοῦ στρατεύ-
 σαι ποτὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτόν;
 Ἄλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ'
 ἐκεῖνῳ γενησόμεθα,
 πάντα ποιητέον. Ἐγὼ
 μὲν οὖν, ἔστ' ἂν μὲν
 αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, οὐ
 ποτε ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς
 μὲν οἰκτείρων, βασι-
 λέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν
 αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, δια-
 θεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσην
 μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν
 ἔχουσαν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα
 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους
 δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθῆτα δέ· τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν

the necessary preparations. But, on our part, I see no care nor activity, nor any plans forming for the best mode of defence. I put the question to you, gentlemen, *emphatically*: what are we to expect at the hands of that man who could cut off the head and hand of his own brother,¹ and transfix them on a pole after he was slain, if *we*, who have endeavoured to degrade him from being a king to a subject, and to put him to death, should fall into his power? Will he not strain every nerve — try the power of every extremity, of every torture, in order to deter all other Greeks for ever from making war on him? We ought, therefore, to be resolved to suffer any and every thing, in preference to falling into his hands. Indeed, as an individual, I confess, that even while the truce lasted, I ceased not to bewail our misery, and to envy the king's happiness; *particularly*, when I looked round and saw this *fine, rich, spacious* country, in his possession; abounding with slaves, provisions, oxen, gold, and costly clothing; and

¹ Ὅς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρῖου ἀδελφοῦ. The Greeks were very fond of a genitive case, and it is certainly more definite and emphatic than an ablative. I have often thought, that the inventor of the latter case produced a grammatical evil, and went to destroy truth.

στρατιωτῶν ὅποτε ἐν-
θυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν
ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐδε-
νὸς ἡμῖν μετείη, εἰ μὴ
πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δὲ
ἀνησόμεθα ἦδειν ἔτι
ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλ-
λως δὲ πῶς πορίζεσ-
θαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ
ἀγνομένους, ὄρκους ἤδη
κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς. ταῦτ'
οὖν λογιζόμενος ἐνίσταμαι,
τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον
ἐφοβούμην, ἢ νῦν τὸν
πόλεμον. Ἐπεὶ μέν-
τοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς
σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι μοι
δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων
ὑβρις, καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα
ὑποψία. Ἐν μέσῳ
γὰρ ἤδη κεῖται ταῦτα
τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἄθλα, ὅπο-
τεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες
ἀμείνονες ὦσιν· ἀγῶ-
νοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν,
οἳ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ
εἶκος, ἔσονται. Οὗτοι
μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπιωρ-
κῆκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, πολ-
λὰ ὑγῶντες ἀγαθὰ,
στερβῶς αὐτῶν ἀπει-
χόμεθα, διὰ τοὺς τῶν
θεῶν ὄρκους· ὥστε
ἐξεῖναι μοι δοκεῖ ἵέναι
ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ
σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι,
ἢ τούτοις. Ἐτι δὲ
ἔχομεν σώματα ἰκα-
νώτερα τούτων καὶ
ψύχη, καὶ θάλαπην, καὶ
πόνους φέρειν· ἔχομέν
τε καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς

observed our men, who had no sort of participation without paying for them; whose finances I knew were nearly exhausted, and whose oaths forbade their enjoying them through any other medium. — Yes, gentlemen, I confess, that when I reflected on these circumstances, I feared peace more than war. But, seeing they have violated the peace, they have also by the same act absolved us from our oaths, and terminated our suspicions, and, *I trust*, their own insolence for ever. This fine country, then, and what it contains, is the prize that lies between us, and is to be fought for; he that is the bravest man will share the greatest portion. And I will add, that the gods themselves will be the umpires in this contest, who will unquestionably award to us the victory, seeing, that out of the regard we had to our oaths and to them, we have abstained from all those things before us; whilst our enemies have insulted and provoked them to anger, by treachery and perjury. It is from hence, I contend, that the greater reason for confidence lies with us.¹ Besides, our bodies are more inured to cold, heat, and fatigue than theirs, and, by the as-

¹ A sense of having done our duty, will always produce this confidence. "He that has his quarrel just, is doubly armed."

θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θηητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἦν οἱ θεοὶ, ὥσπερ το-
 πρόσθεν, νίκην ἡμῖν δι-
 δῶσιν. Ἄλλ' ἴσως
 γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτα
 ἐνθυμῆναι. Πρὸς τῶν
 θεῶν, μὴ ἀναμένωμεν
 ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλ-
 θεῖν, παρακαλοῦντας
 ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα,
 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν
 τοῦ ἐξορμηῆσαι καὶ τῶς
 ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν.
 Φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν
 ἄριστοι, καὶ τῶν στρα-
 τηγῶν ἀξιόστρατηγό-
 τεροι. Καὶ γὰρ δὲ, εἰ
 μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορ-
 μᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἐπισ-
 θαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι· εἰ
 δὲ ὑμεῖς τάττετέ με
 ἠγείσθαι, οὐδὲν προ-
 φασίζομαι τὴν ἡλι-
 κίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκ-
 μάξειν ἠγοῦμαι ἐρύ-
 κειν ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ τὰ
 κακά." Ὁ μὲν ταῦ-
 τα ἔλεξεν·

Οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀκί-
 σαντες ταῦτα, ἠγείσ-
 θαι ἐκέλευον ἅπαντες.
 Πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης
 τις ἦν, βοιωτιάζων τῇ
 φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν

sistance of the gods, our minds more determined; and if, as on the former occasion, heaven grant us victory, their bodies will be more susceptible of wounds and death.¹ Though I have thought proper to bring those things, gentlemen, to your recollections, it is not from the supposition that you are entirely unoccupied by them; I therefore beseech you let us not remain here till soldiers from other divisions come and excite us to noble actions, but rather let us excite and stimulate their courage. Shew yourselves, then, *you friends of Proxenus*, the bravest of all the captains, and the most worthy of command of all the generals; for myself, if *now* you desire to lead the way, I will follow with cheerfulness; and if you desire me to lead, I will not excuse myself from age, but imagine myself in the vigour of it, to ward off an injury."²

Having spoken thus, the whole of the captains and soldiers desired Xenophon to take the command, with the exception of one Apollonides, who endeavoured to address them in the Bœotian dialect, and in the course of his speech declared, "That *that man*

¹ That is, their perfidy will make them feel those punishments more acutely. "Sin is the sting of death."

² All this is admirable; to attempt to praise it would be to detract from its merits, as it is placed beyond all praise.

ὅτι φλυαροίη, ὅστις λέγοι ἄλλως πως σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν, ἢ βασιλέα πείσας, εἰ δύναίτο· καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. Ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβῶν, ἔλεξεν ὧδε. “ὦ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σὺ γε οὐδ’ ὄρῶν γιγνώσκεις, οὐδ’ ἀκέων μέμνησαι. Ἐν ταυτῷ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς, πρὶν Κύρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὄπλα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ’ ἐξωπλισμένοι ἐλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρόσβεις πέμπων, καὶ σπονδὰς αἰῶν, καὶ παρήχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἕς τ’ ἂν σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; Ἐπεὶ δ’ αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἀνευθῶπων ἦλθον, πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παύμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι, οὐδ’ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται;

talked ridiculously, who advised them to return to Greece without the king’s permission,” and enforced his arguments by recounting the difficulties in which they were involved. But Xenophon interrupted him in his address, by exclaiming, “O, thou most accurate observer! that drawest such sublime inferences from what you both see and hear!! were you not present when the king, after the death of Cyrus, elated by his victory over an individual, demanded, in a moment of frenzy, our arms; and we answered him by marching out and offering him battle, and dared even to encamp near him? Did you not see this? And what did the king do on beholding our resolution? Did he cease to court us? Nay; he even sent his ambassadors, begging us to be at peace; and by supplying our necessities he finally obtained it. Yet, how has he conducted himself towards our generals, with whom *you* advised them to hold a conference *unarmed*? *They*, relying on the peace, have been treacherously massacred; though some of those unfortunate individuals suffer, even now, daily scourging, torture, and insult,¹ and are prevented from terminating

¹ This, unquestionably, alludes to Menon, &c., as illustrated in p. 149.

καὶ μάλ', οἶμαι, ἐρῶν-
τες τούτου. "Α σὺ
πάντα εἰδῶς, τοὺς μὲν
ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας
φλυαρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν
δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ἰόν-
τας; Ἐμοὶ δὲ, ὧ ἄν-
δρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἀνθρω-
πον τῆτον μήτε προσ-
ῖεσθαι εἰς ταυτὸ ἡμῖν
αὐτοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε
τὴν λοχαγίαν, σκευή
ἀναθέντας, ὡς τοιάτῃ
χρηῆσθαι. Οὗτος γὰρ
καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κα-
ταισχύνει, καὶ πᾶσαν
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἑλ-
λην ὦν, τοιοῦτός ἐστιν."

Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν
Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλι-
ος, εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τίτῃ
γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας
προσῆκει οὐδὲν, οὔτε
τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντά-
πασιν· ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν
εἶδον, ὥσπερ Λυδὸν,
ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὄτα τε-
τραυπημένον. Καὶ εἶ-

their misery in death, though ear-
nestly soliciting it. And with these
facts before your eyes, Dare you to
say that that man talks ridiculously,
who advises his countrymen to rely on
their arms and courage? Dare you,
in the presence of Greeks, to advise
Greeks themselves to sue the king for
favour?" When, turning to the ge-
nerals, he said, "I think such an indi-
vidual as Appollonides ought to be
expelled our ranks; to have no share
in our councils; to be deprived of his
command, and to be employed, as he
deserves, *as a beast of burthen*, in car-
rying our baggage; for a Greek, *with
such a soul*, dishonours his country,
and brings a reflection on it."¹

When Agasias, the Stymphalian, said,
"Preserve your temper, Xenophon;
for this fellow, thanks to the gods, is
not a Greek, nor has he any relation to
Bœotia; for to my certain knowledge he
is a Lydian, as his ears are bored *like
the slaves of that country*:"² which, on

¹ Every military man must be enthusiastically wrapt up in this timely and noble interruption: indeed, the Anabasis forms a manual for a young officer, and never fails to refresh an old one.

² The words in italics are inserted as a necessary amplification; for boring the ears was practised on slaves *generally* at this period, and was a sign long before this, by which they were recognised when any of them deserted. Vide Exodus, c. xxi. v. 6. "His master shall bring him to the door, or door-post, and shall bore his ear through with an awl. He shall serve his master for ever." *So much for a Jew's slave*. Vide, also, T. Petron. Satires, cap. cii. "Quin tu," inquit Giton, "pertunde aures,

χεν οὕτως. Τοῦτον
 μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν· οἱ
 δ' ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς
 τάξεις ἰόντες, ὅπου
 μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶος
 εἶη, τὸν στρατηγὸν
 παρεκάλουν· ὅπόθεν δὲ
 οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστρά-
 τηγον· ὅπου δὲ λοχα-
 γὸς σῶος εἶη, τὸν λο-
 χαγόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
 πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς
 τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων
 ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγέ-
 νοντο οἱ συνελθόντες
 στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχα-
 γοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν.
 Ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν,
 σχεδὸν ἦσαν μέσαι
 νύκτες. Ἐνταῦθα Ἰε-
 ρώνυμος Ἡλείος πρεσ-
 βύτατος ἂν τῶν Προ-
 ξένου λοχαγῶν, ἤρχε-
 το λέγειν ἄδε· Ἡμῖν,
 ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ
 καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὁρῶσι
 τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ
 αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν, καὶ
 ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι,
 ὅπως βουλευσάμεθα,
 εἴ τι δυναίμεθα, ἀγα-
 θόν. Λέξον δ', ἔφη,

examining, was found to be true. He
 was therefore immediately deprived
 of his command. The other captains
 lost not a moment in dispersing them-
 selves throughout the camp, and where
 they found generals awoke them; but
 where generals were missing, they
 called up their aid-de-camps; and
 where they found captains they roused
 them also. The officers being assem-
 bled, one hundred in number, drew up
 right opposite where the heavy-armed
 soldiers lay, at the hour of midnight;
 when Hieronymus, of Elis, the oldest
 of Proxenus's captains, said, "Gentle-
 men, we have thought proper, under
 the present juncture of affairs, to call
 you together for the purpose of devising
 some plan of operations for our general
 safety and benefit; but I should feel
 obliged, Xenophon, if you would lay
 the same statement before them with
 καὶ σὺ ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἄπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

ut imitemur Arabas servos." "Bore our ears, that we may imitate the
 Arabian slaves." Vide, also, Juvenal, Sat. i. 102, which particularly
 refers to the Asiatic slaves, of which Lydia formed a part.

"Sed libertinus prior est: prior, inquit, ego adsum,
 Cur timeam, dubitémve, locum defendere? Quamvis
 Natus ad Euphratem, molles quod in aure fenestræ
 Arguerint."

"The Prætor's and the Tribune's voice is heard;
 The Freedman justles and will be preferr'd;
 'First come, first served,' he cries; 'and I, in spite
 Of your Great Lordships, will maintain my right.
 Tho' born a Slave, tho' my torn Ears are bored,
 'Tis not the Birth, 'tis *Môney* makes the Lord.'"

DRYDEN.

I don't like this translation; but — 'tis Dryden's — that is enough.

Ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε
Ξενοφῶν.

“ Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἅπαντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης, οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν, συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὡς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀπολέσωσιν. Ἡμῖν δέ γ' οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα, ὡς μή ποτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μάλλον, ἣν δυνώμεθα, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες, ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε, μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. Οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀποθλέπουσι· κἂν μὲν ὑμᾶς ὀρῶσιν ἀθυμοῦντας, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται· ἣν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ᾗτε ἐπὶ τῆς πολεμίας, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλήτε, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἔψονται ὑμῖν, καὶ πειράσσονται μιμῆσθαι. Ἴσως δὲ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστίν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τῶν. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστὲ στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε·

which you have already favoured us.”¹

On which, Xenophon began, by saying, “ That every officer present was fully sensible that the King and Tissaphernes had been instrumental in apprehending and destroying as many of their number as they could, and it was equally clear, that they purposed, by the same treacherous means, if possible, to cut off the rest; my opinion, therefore, gentlemen, is, that it becomes *us* not only to try every possible means to ward off their villanous intentions, but to make an extra effort, to bring them to condign punishment; and seeing that you are assembled in such numbers, I am happy to unfold the glorious opportunities that offer themselves for so doing. But I must premise, gentlemen, that all the soldiers have their eyes fixed on you. If they discover any lack of spirit, of resolution, of courage in *you*, be assured that, their courage will fail also; only put on, then, your native daring, and call the soldiers to their duty, and I am convinced they will imitate your noble example. What I would enforce, at this juncture is *reasonable*; for seeing that you are their captains and generals, and receive better pay, and in peaceful times possess greater enjoyments and honours,

¹ This was paying to Xenophon a deserved compliment.

καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ
 πῶλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιοῦν
 δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμεί-
 νους τε τοῦ πλήθους
 εἶναι, καὶ προβλεῦειν
 τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν,
 ἣν που δέη. Καὶ νῦν
 πρῶτον μὲν οἶμαι ἂν
 ὑμᾶς μέγα ὀνῆσαι τὸ
 σφάτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμελη-
 θείητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν
 ἀπολωλότων ὡς ἰάχισ-
 τα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λο-
 χαγοὶ κατασταθῶσιν.

Ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων
 οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν
 οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο,
 ὡς μὲν συνελόντι εἰ-
 πεῖν, οὐδαμοῦ· ἐν δὲ δὴ
 τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, παν-
 τάσασιν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ
 εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ,
 ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς
 ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. Ἐπει-
 δὴν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε
 τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὅσους
 δεῖ, καὶ ἦν τοὺς ἄλ-
 λους σφρατιώτας συλ-
 λέγητε καὶ παραδαρ-
 ρύνητε, οἶμαι ὑμᾶς
 πάννυ ἂν ἐν καιρῶ
 ποιῆσαι. Νῦν μὲν
 γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς
 αἰσθάνεσθε, ὡς ἀθύ-
 μως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ
 τὰ ὄπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ
 πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς·
 ὥστε οὕτω γε ἐχόντων,
 οὐκ οἶδα ὅτι ἂν τις
 χεῖρα αὐτοῖς, εἴ
 τε νυκτὸς δέοι τι, εἴ
 τε καὶ ἡμέρας. Ἦν δὲ τις
 αὐτῶν τρέψῃ
 τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ
 τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται,
 τί πείσονται, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τί ποιήσασιν, πολὺ
 εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται.
 Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δή-
 σου ὅτι οὔτε πλεονέχεια
 ἐστίν, οὔτε ἰσχύς ἢ ἐν
 τῶν πολέμων τὰς νί-
 κας ποιοῦσα· ἀλλ' ὁπό-
 τεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς
 ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρ-

so in war, you ought unquestionably to shew yourselves superior in *courage*, *council*, and *exertion*. What I advise, in the next place is, *immediately* to elect generals and captains in the place of those cut off, as without Chiefs nothing noble or great can be achieved on any occasion, but least of all in *war*; for as discipline may emphatically be called the Saviour of armies, so insubordination may be styled their Destroyers. After you shall have done this, I advise you to rouse and encourage the soldiers, whom you must have observed, as well as myself, repair to their tents, and on guard, heavy and dejected; nor need I tell you, that while under the influence of this torpor and dejection, nothing is to be expected from them by night nor day. At present, suffering and deprivation only present themselves: it is only for us, therefore, to turn their thoughts to action, and our work is accomplished; for you are aware, that 'tis neither numbers nor strength that gives the victory, but is awarded to those, who, in the strength of the gods, attack with the greatest

ῥωμενέστροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπιτοπωλὸ οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ δέχονται. Ἐντεθύμημαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὅποσοι μὲν μασεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχυρῶς ὡς ἐπιτοπωλὸ ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ὅποσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἔγνωσαν πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὀρεῶ μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνεμένους, καὶ, ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν, εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. Ἄ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας (ἐν τοιοῦτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἔσμην) αὐτῆς τε ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας

ardour. Nor are you ignorant, gentlemen, that those who, in war, endeavour to shun *Danger*, generally die deaths of ignominy; while those who go up to him boldly, from a knowledge that death is common to all, and is not to be shunned, but will come when he will come, and are only solicitous to die deaths of honour¹ — these men, I observe, generally have their lives protracted to a happy old age; and, in fact, whilst they do live, *live in reality*, and are much happier than the timorous and cowardly. Knowing these facts *as true*, it becomes us, on such an

Ἄ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας (ἐν τοιοῦτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἔσμην) αὐτῆς τε ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας

¹ In a former note, we intimated, that Sterne took the hint from Xenophon, for forming the military character of "My Uncle Toby;" from the paragraph just read, what will the reader say respecting "Corporal Trim?" "For my own part, I declare it, Jonathan, (for that was the coachman's name,) that out of doors I value not death at all: — not this" — added the Corporal, snapping his fingers, — but with an air which none but the Corporal could have given to the sentiment, — "in battle I value death not this — and let him not take me cowardly, like poor *Joe Gibbons* in scouring his gun. — What is he? A pull of a trigger — a push of a bayonet — an inch this way or that — makes the difference. — Look along the line: — to the right — see! Jack's down! Well, — 'tis worth a regiment of horse to him. — No — 'tis Dick, then Jack's no worse. Never mind which, — we pass on, — in hot pursuit, the wound itself that brings him is not felt, — *the best way is to stand up to him — the man who flies is in ten times more danger than the man who marches up into his jaws.* — I've looked him," added the Corporal, "an hundred times in the face, and know what he is — he's nothing, *Obadiah*, at all in the field." — "But he's very frightful in a house," quoth *Obadiah*. — "I never mind him myself," said *Jonathan*, "on a coach-box." Vide *Trist. Shandy*, vol. iii. c. 7.

είναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν." Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἐπαύσατο·

Μετὰ τοῦτον δ' εἶπε Χειρίσοφος, Ἄλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σὲ ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅσον ἤκον Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις, καὶ βουλομένην ἂν ὀτιπλείστους εἶναι τοιοῦτους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. Καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἤκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτα ἐκεῖ συγκαλέμεν τὰς ἄλλας στρατιώτας· παρῆστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κήρυξ. Καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὡς

occasion *as this*, to act with courage ourselves, and to exhort the soldiers to follow our examples."¹

On this, Cheirisophus observed, "That 'till that moment he only *knew* Xenophon to be an Athenian; but *now* his words and actions gave proof of it: and when I wish" said he, "that the whole army was like him, it is only wishing the public good."² I therefore exhort you, gentlemen, not to lose a moment, but depart and choose commanders where they are wanting, and when you have done so, come, and bring them with you into the middle of the camp, at which time we will rouse the soldiers, and let Tolmides, the cryer, attend with you."³ So saying, he rose up, intimating, that as they

¹ We cannot forbear remarking again, how *necessity* calls forth the latent powers of the soul: Xenophon rises in our estimation every time he speaks.

—— " No thought of flight,
None of retreat; no unbecoming deed
That argued fear: he on himself relied,
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory."

² This was frank; and elegantly expressed. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians were considered the most honourable of the Greeks.

³ This man was before stated to be the best cryer in the army. It should seem that no drums were used by the Greeks; nor was the trumpet sounded, *only for the charge*; yet this cryer seems always to have been with the commanding officer, serving the modern office of Bugleman. See page 106.

μη μέλλοιτο, ἀλλὰ περαινοῖτο τὰ θέοντα. Ἐκ τούτου ἤρέθησαν ἄρχοντες, ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίῳν Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιῶς, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Ἀρκάδος Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλῆσιος Ἀχαιῶς ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦγον οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, προφύλακας καταστήσαντας, συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὡδε· “ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅσποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιοῦτων στερόμεθα, καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν πρὸς δ’ ἔτι, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον, οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες, προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς. Ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τε εἰλεῖν, καὶ μὴ ὑφίσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι ὅπως, ἦν μὲν δυνώμεθα, κα-

had resolved, it remained *now* to act with the greatest promptitude. The officers returned, bringing Timasion, a Dardanian, whom they had chosen to fill the place of Clearchus; Xanthicles, an Achaian, for Socrates; and Cleanor, an Orchomenian, for Agias: Phylisius, for Menon; and Xenophon was elected for Proxenus.

By the time the elections were finished it was nearly daylight, when the officers advanced into the middle of the camp, and resolved, *first*, to appoint videttes, and then to assemble the army. When the soldiers were in their ranks, and had formed in circle, Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, addressed them, in the following language: — “Soldiers, I am sensible that at present we are labouring under great difficulties, being deprived of some of our first generals, captains, and soldiers, in addition to which, we have lost the support of Ariæus and his auxiliaries, who, in fact, have betrayed us; notwithstanding, it becomes us to extricate ourselves out of our present difficulties *like brave men*, and not to suffer ourselves to be cast down by a *little* reverse of fortune; on the contrary, it becomes us to use every effort to call back her favours by

λῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχέριον δὲ μήποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. Οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν, οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν.”

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “Ἄλλ’ ὀράτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλείας ἐπιτοκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν· ὀράτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνου ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὀμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δὲς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπαλήσας, συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατη-

resolving on a glorious victory. But should *that* be placed without the reach of our courage, let us be content to die with honour.¹ In fact, we ought to resolve on *risking* and *doing* every thing, rather than fall into the king’s power; for, in that case, we should be sure to suffer such torments as I hope the gods have in store to reward his perfidy.”

Then Cleanor, of Orchomenus, addressed them, and said, “You see, my fellow-comrades, to what a state we are reduced by the impiety of the King, and the perjury of Tissaphernes, who, leading us on by saying, ‘That he lived in the neighbourhood of Greece, and should be happy to render us service in our return thither,’ has brought all that our commanders have suffered, and that we apprehend, upon us. For, by giving his oath and pledging his faith to perform his promise, he has betrayed us, and caused our generals to be apprehended. In fact,

¹ One of the chieftains of Homer expresses himself in similar language:—

“The life which others *pay*, let us *bestow*,
And give to *Fame* what we to Nature owe;
Brave, tho’ we fall, and honour’d if we live,
Or let us *Glory* gain, or *Glory* give.”—

In fact, the Iliad and Odyssey of that poet, were to the Greeks, what the Old Testament is to the Jews. It contained their Theology, their History, their Poetry;—and was to them a reservoir of science. For further illustration and confirmation of this statement, see Pope’s Essay on Homer, prefixed to the quarto edition, 1715; for B. Lintott.

γούς· καὶ οὐδὲ Δία
Ξένιον ἠδέσθη, ἀλλὰ
Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτρά-
πεζος γένομενος, αὐ-
τοῖς τούτοις ἔξαπατή-
σας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπο-

he has bid defiance to Jupiter himself, who is, you know, the avenger of the rites of hospitality;¹ for having first entertained our commander at supper, did by this act *deceive*, and

¹ Δία Ξένιον, seu Jovem Hospitalem. These are the epithets by which the rites of hospitality were designated among the Greeks and Latins, and were accordingly held *as sacred*. Imprimis; see line 803, &c. of the Hecuba of Euripides, where the poet makes the distressed Hecuba address Agamemnon thus :

“ Now hear : if justly I endure these ills,
And such thy thought, patient I will endure them ;
If not, avenge me of this *impious man*,
Who, of the gods above or gods beneath
Reckless, hath done a most unholy deed.
Oft at my *hospitable board* received,
And number'd 'mongst the foremost of my friends :
Thus graced, with *full intent* he slew my son ;
Nor, when the deed was done, deign'd to entomb
The dead, but flung him weltering on the wave.
But we are slaves ; but we, perchance, are weak ;
Yet the blest gods are strong, the law is strong
Which rules e'en them ; for by the law we judge
That there are gods, and form our lives, — the bounds
Of justice and injustice mark distinct.
This law looks up to thee : if disregarded,
If he escapes its vengeance, whose bold hand
Inhospitably stabs his guest, or dares
Pollute the *sacred ordinance of heaven*,
There is no justice in the affairs of men.”

POTTER'S *Euripides*.

See, also, line 731 of the *Æneid*, lib. i, to the same effect :

“ Jupiter (hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur).”

O Jove! for by thee, 'tis said, the laws of hospitality were given.

Those rites were for a long time sacred amongst ourselves, when Christianity was *more in practice, and less in fashion* ; and it is only the *over-civilized man* that now discards them. Nor can there be a question, but that *these rites*, primarily arose from the land being the property of all, and were reciprocally exercised ; and it is equally clear, that the love of society, inherent in man, had its share also in producing them ; for the ancient Germans and the Canadian Indians, who knew nothing of any *written moral theory*, equally regarded and practised them ; yet, as every thing that is *good* must necessarily be Divine, Christianity has incorporated this *good* also, and inculcates its practice. For further illustration, see our Tacitus *De Mor. Germ. Sect. xxi.* and Note 144.

λώλεκεν. Ἀριαῖος δὲ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ, μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας, οὔτε Κύρον τὸν τεθνηκότα αἰδεσθεῖς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστάς, ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους κακῶς ποιῆν περιᾶται. Ἄλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσονται ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὀρῶντας, μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνάμεθα κράτις, τῆτο, ὅτι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς, πάσχειν.”

then *destroyed* him. Nor has Ariæus been behind him in treachery, who, you know, we offered to place on the throne; a man who was engaged to us by a mutual exchange of oaths to make common cause: yet he, fearless of the gods, and disrespectful to the memory of his friend, though most of all men esteemed by him during his lifetime, now turns to his greatest enemies with a view to destroy *us*, his chief supporters. But of these wretches may the gods avenge themselves! but for us, who have all their baseness before our eyes as monitors, ought we not so far to listen to them, as effectually to prevent their repetition? — and ought we not also, *thus circumstanced*, to engage those cowards with all possible resolution, and leave the event to the gods?”

Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται, ἐσταλμένος εἰς πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα νομίζων, εἴ τε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῶ νικᾶν πρέπειν· εἴ τε τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν, τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα, ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ δὲ λόγου ἤρχετο ὧδε. “Τὴν

Having concluded, Xenophon arose, completely equipped for action, having previously dressed himself in the most gorgeous apparel and splendid armour he could provide for the occasion; for he judged, in the event of the gods granting victory, that these decorations would well become a Conqueror; whereas, should he perish in the contest, they would add dignity to his fall.¹ He addressed them, by

¹ So thought Nelson, who fell “with all his blushing honours on him.”

μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιορκίαν ἴε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ, οἶμαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς. Εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶντας τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἱ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἳα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μὲντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεπωοῖκασιν δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἰέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς, πολλαὶ ἡμῖν καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες εἰςὶ σωτηρίας.” Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, πτάρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται, πάντες μιᾷ ὀρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν· καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε, “ Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σω-

saying, — “ My Comrades in Arms — Cleanor has ably laid before you the perjury and villany of the Barbarians ; facts, indeed, with which you were previously acquainted. If, then, you wish to try another experiment of their friendship, I need not tell you how cautiously you must act in doing so ; the circumstance of what your generals and fellow-soldiers have already suffered, who trusted to them, will direct that ; but should you resolve to take vengeance on them with your swords, for what they have already done, and be determined to follow them up with war in *every shape*, you have, my comrades, with the assistance of the gods, fair prospects of success.” While Xenophon was thus speaking, one of the Greek officers sneezed, on which the whole army, with one voice, adored the god.¹ “ Since then, my comrades,”

But it is great folly, on ordinary occasions, for a commander to make himself a Target to be shot at. It was not wrong in Xenophon, for the troops must necessarily have felt animated by seeing their general's resolution ; the circumstances were peculiar, and seldom occur.

“ For here, equal Mars, like an impartial lord,
Left all to fortune and the dint of sword.”

But such conduct in a Commander is not to be justified in one case out of a million. Murat, late King of Naples, always did it, and was always laughed at by Napoleon, who notwithstanding, acknowledged he was a brave man in the field, and a coward only in the cabinet.

¹ Πτάρνυται τις· &c. Many of the Greek poets had said of the Deity, “ That it is in *him* men lived, and moved, and had their *being*.” — St.

τηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων
οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασ-
θαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ
θύσειν σωτήρια, ὅπου
ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν
χώραν ἀφικώμεθα·
συνεπέξασθαι δὲ καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν
κατὰ δύναμιν. Καὶ ὅτω
δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνα-
τεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα."
Καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες.

said Xenophon, "Jupiter the preserver has sent us *this omen*, I think it becomes us to make a vow to offer sacrifice to him on that spot where we shall first touch the territories of our friends; nor ought we to confine our thanksgiving and sacrifices to this god only, but to pay our adoration to them all, to the best of our ability. Whoever, therefore, among you are of this opinion, let them hold up their hands as indicative of their approbation." On which the whole

Paul, Acts, c. xvii. v. 28. In conformity to this opinion, the philosophers of Greece called every attribute of God by some distinct name, and assigned to each a certain office; but the ignorant gave the name of God to each of those *attributes*, and hence "*they had gods many*," with symbolical representations of them, and *this* is the unsophisticated history of the Greek Polytheism. Ceres, therefore, looked after corn; Pan curat boves (Pan guards the flocks); Diana the hunters; Neptune the sailor; Mars the soldier; Jupiter men; but Olympic Jove, *alias* Jupiter, had ἀγγελοι, or ministering spirits, or messengers, to guard every part of the human frame; hence, one guarded the head, and, if any thing affected it, the god was said to be present. So, again, another was said to look after the heart when it palpitated; so *sneezing*, because *that sensation* strains the whole system, and by it blood-vessels have been broken and lives lost, was thought to be particularly under the guardianship of Jupiter; and escaping unhurt from the sensation, was considered sufficient to call forth *thanks*, and was *ominous*, or indicative of the favour of Jupiter. So true, therefore, is it, that the Greeks have taught mankind almost every thing they know and practise, that even our Nurses' expression, when a child sneezes, of "God bless you," is derived from them. When astrology was called a science, and believed to be true, the astrologers made something of this idea, and metamorphosed it, by saying ♀ Aries, ♂ Taurus, &c., (as shewn in our old almanacks,) affected; or presided, over different parts of the body; but the original idea was derived from the Greeks. For proof, vide Archæology, by Archbishop Potter. Dunbar's edition.

Ἐκ τέρτε εὐξάντο καὶ ἐπαίανισαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε·

“Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἶεν σωτηρίας. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασί γε, καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λελύκασιν. Οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων, εἰκόσ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, καὶ ἐν δεινοῖς ὧσι, σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βέλωνται. Ἐπει-

army immediately did so, made their vows, and sung the pæan. This duty being finished, Xenophon proceeded:—

“I said that we had before us many fair prospects of success; I will shew you from whence I draw these inferences. First, because we have preserved our oaths inviolate, to which the gods are witnesses. Now, our enemies have no hope arising *from this source*; on the contrary, *they* have been guilty of perjury, have broke their oaths and the truce, from which circumstance *alone we* have reason to hope the gods will fight *for us*, for *they* possess *all power*, and at their pleasure *can humble the insolent and raise the humble*.¹ I think that it may

¹ This is admirable, and shews us, that Xenophon was not only a great man, but a *good man*. His creed was tolerably accurate, but his adherence to it is what we must most applaud; because it is the latter that shows the pious heart. Mental error cannot be criminal in that man who seeks truth, and practises what he already knows; but *here* Xenophon expresses his opinions nearly in Biblical language itself, and from which book, we have reasons to believe, the Socratic school derived their Divinity. Virgil had, unquestionably, seen the Prophetic Books before he wrote his “Fourth Eclogue,” as demonstrated by Mr. Pope; and who shall say that the eminent scholars of this school, who are well known to have visited Egypt, did not visit Palestine? The probabilities are that they did; and if they did not, the five books of Moses were nearly as well known by the Egyptian priests (with whom Plato conversed) as by the Jewish. Was the emigration and history of the Jews unknown in Egypt? Nay, was not their theology known there? Did not Abraham himself, the father of the Israelites, carry it there? I would enlarge, were it necessary; but will only add one cor-

τα δὲ, (ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους· ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάντων δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί) ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφανίσαντων τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποσηναί αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες, ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. Καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὁπόσους ἂν κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων, τοσαύτας χιμαίρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἕπει

not be improper also to remind you now of the dangers to which our forefathers have been repeatedly exposed; and I do *this* to excite you to deeds of heroism from their example, as well as to shew you that the gods *are*, and always have been, the patrons of the brave, *even in the greatest calamities*. When the Persians and their confederates advanced with hostile intentions on Athens, the citizens, though few in number, resolved to oppose them, and did so successfully;¹ though, in the close of the battle, they made a vow to Diana to sacrifice to her as many goats² as they had destroyed of the enemy;

respondent passage out of a hundred that might be adduced, vide Psalm, c. i. v. 52. "He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree."

¹ Xenophon *here* refers to the battle of Marathon, where Miltiades commanded, "Quâ pugnâ nihil adhuc est nobilius," the most famous battle on record: Datis and Artaphanes commanded the Persians. The expedition was undertaken in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Vide C. Nepos, Vita Miltiadis; also Herodotus, lib. 6. c. 112.

² A great many animals were sacred to Diana; *the hare with young, in particular*. Vide Iphigenia in Aulis, of Euripides; where Iphigenia, on account of the death of one of those animals, was demanded as a sacrifice to atone for it, before the fleet of Agamemnon could sail from that port. Ἀρτεμις, Diana, was surnamed Ἀγρότερα, the rustic goddess. Vide Aristoph. v. 657. She is surnamed, *in Tauris*, Ταυροπόλον θεάν. Nepos is silent respecting the vow made by the brave Athenians of sacrificing so great a number of goats to her shrine; but our author is borne out by Herodotus and Plutarch. Vide p. 862. of the latter. But Herodotus says Βοῦς: such a mistake might easily creep in; but even he adds, that not having enough oxen they sacrificed goats. Xenophon is most correct.

ἐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν· καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. Ἐπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Ὡν ἐστὶ μὲν τεκμήρια ὄραν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἀνδρῶπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τῆς θεῆς προσκυνεῖτε. Τοιούτων μὲν ἔσε προγόνων· οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὡς ὑμεῖς καταισχύετε αὐτοῦς· ἀλλ' οὐπω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι, ἀφ' οὗ

but on finding that the Attic states could not furnish as many, they resolve, as an equivalent, to sacrifice to her shrine five hundred annually; and hence it is, that to this day the Athenians offer sacrifice for that victory. Afterwards, when Xerxes invaded Greece with an innumerable host, our ancestors adopted a similar resolution, and conquered them both by sea and land; of which the trophies now to be seen are the lasting monuments.¹ But the monument the *most conspicuous*, and the results the most beneficial, arising from those victories, are the *liberties of those cities from whence you sprang*, and in which you have been educated; for in *these* you acknowledge nor bend to no other power but the gods.² From such ancestors are you, the descendants; nor dare I to say, that you have disgraced them, for 'tis but a few days since that you

¹ This was effected by Themistocles, who beat the Persian fleet at Thermopylæ, by dint of artifice and manœuvre. Vide Vita Themistoclis, by C. Nepos. This battle was fought 480 years before the Christian æra, and ten years after the battle of Marathon.

² The religion of Greece was a part of the law of the land, as Christianity is in England; and very properly, for all religions have a moral base, or they never could stand a moment. All laws, therefore, that have a moral influence, may properly be said to be derived from God; and in obeying such laws we obey or acknowledge *him*. But mark well — *I say, all laws that are founded on a moral base*. I observe again, that every general should be well acquainted with the History of his Country. Let him learn from Xenophon also, what use to make of it.

ἀντιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικάτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ', ὅποτε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶ, πολὺ δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θάρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους. Τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν, τότε πληθὺς ἄμετρον ὀρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἰέναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δ', ὅποτε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ὑμῖν ἔτι προσήκει τήτους φοβεῖσθαι; Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξης ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κυρεῖοι, πρόσθεν σὺν ὑμῖν ταττόμενοι, νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν· ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἠττημένων· ἔφευγον οὖν πρὸς ἐκείνους, καταλιπόντες ὑμᾶς. Τοὺς δὲ ἐθέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν, πολὺ κρείττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττομένους, ἢ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ τάξει, ὄραν.

conquered the offspring of those cowards whose ancestors your forefathers conquered, and vanquished them on similar terms. But *then* you fought simply to give Cyrus a throne; — what am I not then led to expect, when I shall see you fight for your own preservation and safety? — Besides, you have *now* greater reason for the exercise of confidence than before you were acquainted with the enemy, since you have seen and have dared to attack them with the spirit of your forefathers, and are sensible, that though their numbers be superior, they dare not withstand you.¹ Nor ought the defection of Ariæus and those Barbarians, formerly in the pay of Cyrus, in the least to affect you, since they are infinitely worse soldiers than those you have vanquished; their flight should, therefore, be rather viewed as an advantage than otherwise, since I would rather see the first to fly in the enemies' camp than in our own.

¹ Agricola exhorted his troops, previous to the battle of the Gram-pian Hills, by the same motive. "Si novæ gentes ignota acies," &c. If you had to encounter troops whose valour you had not tried, or belonged to a nation with whose military fame you were unacquainted, I would exhort you by the example of former armies. Vide Vita Agricolæ, sect. xxxiv.

Εἰ δὲ τις αὖ ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ, ὅτι ὑμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἵππεις, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πᾶρεισιν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἰσπεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἢ μύριοι ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πάποτε ἔτε διχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅτι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται. Οὐκ οὖν τῶν γε ἵππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεσέρου ὀχήματος ἐσμέν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμανται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βεβηκότες, πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἢν τις προσίῃ, πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὅτου ἂν ἐδέλωμεν τευξόμεθα. Ἐνὶ μόνῳ προέχουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ ἵππεις· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν, ἢ ἡμῖν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρείτε, ὅτι δ' οὐκέτι ἡμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἠγήσεται, οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πώτερον κρεῖττον, Τισσαφέρνην ἠγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβούνας ἠγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν· οἱ εἴσονται ὅτι, ἢν τι περὶ

Should any of you feel disheartened, on the ground of our not having cavalry, reflect again, and say, what are ten thousand horse, but ten thousand men? How few are there killed in action by the bite or kick of a horse? You know, soldiers, that in battle *men do every thing*; besides, infantry are always more steady on the ground than cavalry, for horsemen, while hanging on their horses in the attack, are not only afraid of the infantry, but are assailed with the additional fear of falling, whilst we, standing firmly on foot, strike those who are coming on us with more certainty, and with a greater force: certainly, I do not mean to deny one advantage that cavalry have over us, and that is, they can *run away* with more security than we can.¹ Nor ought the idea of Tissaphernes ceasing to become a conductor, or of supplying a market, in the least to affect men *who rely on their courage*; for if we ask ourselves, but one moment, whether it be better to have Tissaphernes for a guide, (who has already betrayed us,) or such guides as we shall make choice

¹ Xenophon must have been extremely collected to have used irony on such an occasion; but it was timely and to the purpose.

ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀμαρτάνουσι. Τὰ δ' ἐπιλήθεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρεῖττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἧς ἔτοι παρῆχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν ἢ, ἥνπερ κραίῳμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένης ὀπόσῳ ἂν ἑκάστος βούληται. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γιγνώσκετε ὅτι οὕτω κρεῖττον, τῆς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι, καὶ μεγάλως ἠγεῖσθε ἕξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μαρώτατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποταμοὶ, ἣν πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ᾶσι, προῖουσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίγνονται, οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν, ἠγεμῶν τε μηδεὶς φανεῖται, οὐδ' ὡς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. Ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσοὺς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίημεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἱ βασιλέως ἄκοντος ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρα πολλὰς τε καὶ μεγάλας καὶ εὐδαίμονας πόλεις οἰκᾶσιν· ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πεισίδας ὡσαύτως·

Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν ὅτι, ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνά κα-
ταλαβόντες, τὴν τούτου χώραν καρπῶνται. Καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν φαίη

of for ourselves, that must answer for their conduct with their lives; we shall readily decide in favour of the latter. I would also ask, *significantly*, whether it would be more to our advantage to purchase small measures with large sums in the markets they might provide, *now we are so destitute of money*, or to conquer, and have no other measure but our *own wills*? Nor ought we to be in the least apprehensive about the rivers we may have to cross, nor to suppose ourselves deceived by passing those we have already crossed; for should the enemy really have had treachery in view, it was a very impolitic step in them, since all rivers, however difficult to be crossed in some parts, are, nevertheless, fordable at their sources. But should these rivers even refuse us a passage, we have still a remedy at hand; for we are aware that the Mysians, who are not braver men than ourselves, inhabit, in the king's territories *against his will*, many rich and powerful cities: the Pisidians also do the same. We have seen, also, the Lycaonians, who, after seizing on the eminences and strong places on the mountains, *there rest*, and enjoy the fruits of the plains. Nor

ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὄρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι, ὡς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντασ. Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖσ βασιλεὺσ πολλὰσ μὲν ἡγεμόνασ ἀνδοίη, πολλοὺσ δ' ἀνὸ μήρουσ τῷ ἀδόλωσ ἐκωσέμψειν· καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἀν αὐτοὺσ, καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποισ βούλοιντο ἀπιέναι. Καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἀν οἶδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενοσ ταῦτα ἐποίει, εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶσ μένειν παρασκευαζομένησ. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ, ἀν ἀπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν, καὶ ἐν ἀφρόνοισ βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖσ καὶ μεγάλαισ γυναῖξὶ καὶ παρθένοισ ὀμιλεῖν, μὴ, ὡσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι, ἐπιλαθώμεθ

ought we in the least to betray an over anxiety to return home: on the contrary, it will be more politic to make preparations, as though we had an inclination to remain here; for I have been assured, that Artaxerxes would grant guides to the Mysians, and give hostages for their security, and *even make the roads convenient* for their return, and, in addition, give them carriages for conveyance, if they would only consent to leave his territories: and should the king see us in the least disposed to stop in his country, I am convinced he would do the same for us. But what makes me fearful of taking up our abode *here*, is, lest we should be attracted by the fair damsels of the Medes and Persians, and, becoming enamoured with indolence, should *finally* imitate the Lotophagi,¹

¹ Λωτοφάγοι. This is an allusion to the first book of the *Odyssey*, v. 83. of Homer, that contained a story as well known to the people of Greece, as *Robinson Crusoe*, or *John Bunyan*, is to the people of England.

Γαίς Λωτοφάγων, οἵτ' ἀνθινὸν εἶδαρ ἄδουσιν, &c.

This people received their name from eating bread made of the fruit of the Loton-tree. They resided in the Delta of Egypt, where Ulysses met with them. So hospitable were they to strangers, that very few persons who visited their country ever wished to return to their homes: this extreme kindness finally lost them their territories. Vide *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. c. 17.* Diodorus Siculus, treating on the same subject, says, that the generality of the Egyptians ascribe the invention of Loton-bread to Isis, the *Ceres of Greece*; some gave the credit to Menas, one of their ancient kings; but the priests ascribed it to Mercury, the Father of the

τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπιδειῖξαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς νῦν οἴκοι ἀκλήρους πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους, πλουσίους ὄραν. Ἄλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτ' ἀγαθὰ δηλονότι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί. Τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ λέγειν, πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθα τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα, καὶ, εἰ μάχεσθαι δεοί, ὡς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. Πρῶτα μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, ἃς ἔχομεν· ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῆ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ὅσοι ἂν τῆ σραλιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηνάς συγκατακαῦσαι. Αὐταὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι, οὔτ' εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. Ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἕνεκεν, ἢ σίτων, ἢ ποτῶν

and forget to return home. But our *final return*, I think, is only a piece of justice that we owe our countrymen; since we ought to *shew them*, that they live in voluntary poverty, and might remove here and live in affluence; for every thing, soldiers, which you see before you, are the rewards that victory now offers.¹ The next thing to which I would animadvert, is, simply, how we ought to march with the greatest safety; and, in the event of being attacked, with the greatest advantage. First, let us burn all our carriages, that our cares may be lessened, and that our march may not be interrupted by them, but be directed to our advantage, *as men*. The next thing I advise, is, to burn our tents; for they are cumbersome, can be of no service to us in action, nor can they supply us with provisions. In one word, we ought to rid ourselves of all unnecessary baggage, preserving only those things that shall really be serviceable for war,

arts. It was first eaten in that part of the Delta, called, by the sacred writers, "The Land of Goshen;" where, also, grew the Egyptian bean, in great abundance.

¹ Which hint Alexander improved, and demonstrated to all the world to be true.

ἔχομεν· ἴν' ὡς πλείοι
 μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄω-
 λοις ὄσιν, ὡς ἐλάχισοι
 δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. Κρα-
 τουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐ-
 πίστασθε ὅτι πάντα
 ἀλλότρια· ἦν δὲ κρα-
 τῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολε-
 μίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους
 ἡμετέρους νομίζειν.
 Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ
 καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω
 εἶναι· Ὁρᾶτε γὰρ
 καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
 ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγ-
 κεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς πόλεμον, πρὶν
 τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν
 συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες,
 ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόν-
 των, καὶ ἡμῶν πειθο-
 μένων, ἱκανοὺς εἶναι
 ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ
 πολέμῳ· λαβόντας δὲ
 τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ἀναρ-
 χία ἂν καὶ ἀταξία
 ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσ-
 θαι. Δεῖ οὖν πολὺ
 μὲν τοὺς ἀρχοντας
 ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσ-
 θαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσ-
 θεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς
 ἀρχομένους εὐτακτο-
 τέρους, καὶ πειθομένους
 μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀρχουσι
 νῦν, ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν.
 Ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῆ, ἦν
 ψηφίσθησθε τὸν ἀεὶ
 ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα
 σὺν τῷ ἀρχοντι κο-
 λάξειν, οὕτως οἱ πο-
 λέμιοι πλείεον ἐψευς-
 μένοι ἔσονται· τῆδε

or for food ; to the end, that as many of us as possible may be *actually soldiers*, and not baggage-carriers ; for the conquered have nothing, you know, to call their own ; but if we are conquerors, we shall have plenty of every thing, and servants to carry the spoils. I have only to mention one thing more, and I have reserved that 'till the last, because it is of the greatest moment, and, therefore, should be the more deeply impressed on our minds :— You know that the enemy did not dare to declare war against us, till they had destroyed our generals ; for they were thoroughly convinced, that whilst we had *them* with us, and yielded *them* obedience, their efforts to oppose us would be useless. 'But now,' say they, 'we have secured their commanders, discipline will be wanting,' and they will become an easy prey.' Therefore, it is obvious, that our present generals will require even a more prompt obedience than the former, and the soldier, as a consequence, must be more observant of command : therefore, if you will now make an *order*, that whoever happens to be present shall assist the commander in punishing the disobedient, it will furnish the most effectual

¹ This was timely and happily introduced.

γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους
 ὄψονται ἀνδ' ἐνὸς Κλε-
 ἀρχους, τοὺς οὐδενὶ
 ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῶ
 εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ
 περαίνειν ἤδη ὄρα· ἴσως
 γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτί-
 κα παρέσονται. Ὅ,τι
 μὲν οὖν τούτων δοκεῖ
 καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυ-
 ρώσατε ὡς τάχιστα,
 ἵν' ἔργῳ περαίνητε.
 Εἰ δέ τις τι εἶδε τῶν
 ἄλλων βέλτιον ἢ ταύ-
 τη, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ
 ιδιώτης διδάσκειν πάν-
 τες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτη-
 ρίας δεόμεθα."

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χει-
 ρισοφος εἶπεν, Ἀλλ'
 εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ
 πρὸς τούτοις, οἷς λέγει
 Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα
 ἔξεστι ποιεῖν· ἂ δὲ νῦν
 εἴρηκε, δοκεῖ μοι ὡς
 τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι
 ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ
 δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατει-
 νάτω τὴν χεῖρα. Ἀνέ-
 τειναν ἅπαντες. Ἀν-
 αστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε
 Ξενοφῶν· "ὦ ἄνδρες,
 ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδο-
 κᾶν δοκεῖ μοι. Δῆλον
 ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς
 δεῖ, ὅπου ἔξομεν τὰ

means of destroying the designs of the enemy; for the necessary consequence of adopting such an order will be, that instead of one Clearchus to oppose, the enemy will find a thousand. But I conclude—the enemy may, possibly, very soon make his appearance; if you approve of my plans, ratify them immediately, that they may be reduced to execution; but should any other individual be capable of proposing a better plan, *though a private soldier*, let him do so, for a general safety is a general concern, and is the business of all."¹

Cheirisophus then observed, "That if it was necessary to add any thing to what Xenophon had already said, it might be done on a future occasion. But I think," said he, "that we ought to ratify what he has now proposed; and, therefore, whoever is of my opinion, let him signify it by holding up his hand:" on which the whole army immediately did so. Then Xenophon, again addressing them said, — "I think it necessary to animadvert, my fellow-soldiers, to what I expect is *more immediately* before us. We must go, you are aware, immediately to some place

¹ This is an unquestionable fact, both in war and politics. De minoribus rebus principes consultant de majoribus omnes. — Tacitus de Mor. Germ. sect. ix.

ἐπιτήδεια. Ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς, οὐ πλείον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες, τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκουσιν τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἣν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν· εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιούσιν ἐπακολυθοῖεν. Ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὄπλων, ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρω ᾖ. Εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθῆ, τίνα χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου, καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν, καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων εἶναι, καὶ τίνας ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν, βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δεοί, ἀλλὰ χράμεθ' ἂν εὐθύς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος τις βέλτιον ὄρᾳ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγοῖτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστὶ τῶν

to collect provisions. I am assured, that there are many pleasant villages, not more than twenty stadia distance; we ought not, therefore, to be surprised, if the enemy (like cowardly dogs, that follow men's heels to bite them, but fly from those that pursue,) should, immediately on our striking camp, follow our example and harass our rear. I think, therefore, we shall march with much greater security, if the heavy-armed men fall into line, and form a hollow square; the baggage, and the number of men that belong to it, being placed within, will proceed with greater safety. If, therefore, the proper persons be immediately appointed to command each side of the proposed square, we shall not have our attention occupied on this business on the arrival of the enemy; but being prepared, shall have nothing to do but to execute what was previously determined on. If any one thinks we can march in a more secure order, let him point it out; if not, I propose, as Cheirisophus is a Lacedæmonian, that he shall command the van:¹ let

¹ A well-bred man never forgets the laws of courtesy. The Lacedæmonians were at this time at the head of the Grecian states: hence the compliment. "Hail ye sweet courtesies of life! for pleasant do ye make the path of it. It is ye who beget inclinations to love at *first sight*, and open the door to let the stranger in." STERNE.

δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων
 δύο τῶν πρεσβυτάτων
 στρατηγῶ ἐπιμελοίσ-
 θην· ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν
 δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτατοι,
 ἐγὼ τε καὶ Τιμασίων,
 τὸ νῦν εἶναι. Τὸ δὲ
 λοιπὸν, πειρώμενοι ταύ-
 τῆς τῆς τάξεως, βου-
 λευσόμεθα ὅ,τι ἂν αἰ
 κράτιστον δοκοῖ εἶναι.
 Εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο βέλ-
 τιον ὄρα, λεξάτω.”
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέ-
 λεγεν, εἶπεν, “Ὅτω
 δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινά-
 τω τὴν χεῖρα.” Ἐδοξε
 ταῦτα. “Νῦν, ἔφη,
 ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ
 δεδογμένα· καὶ ὅστις
 τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους
 ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμ-
 νήστω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
 εἶναι· (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν
 ἄλλως τοῦτου τυχεῖν)
 ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ,
 πειράστω νικᾶν· τῶν
 μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων, τὸ
 κατακαίνειν· τῶν δὲ
 ἡττωμένων, τὸ ἀπο-
 θνήσκειν ἐστί. Καὶ εἴ
 τις γε χρημάτων ἐπι-
 θυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσ-
 τω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων
 ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν
 σώζειν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡτ-
 τωμένων λαμβάνειν.”

two old generals command the flanks. For myself and Timasion, who are the youngest, we will, for the present, take charge of the rear; and if, on experience, we find that this order of march can be altered for the better, we can do so when an opportunity shall offer. But here, also, I repeat, that if a better plan offers itself to the views of any man, let him propose it immediately.” But, on no one doing so, he said, “Those who approve hold up your hands;” which proposal was, also, unanimously resolved on. “Now, then,” said Xenophon, “depart, and execute what is determined on; and whoever wishes to return to his family, let him recollect, that the most effectual means he can adopt for doing so, is to fight bravely. — I say again, whoever has a mind to preserve life — let him conquer — for the part of a conqueror is to inflict death; of the conquered to receive it. And if you desire riches, you have only to conquer; for conquerors not only preserve their own possessions, but acquire their opponents.”¹

¹ We may observe in Xenophon's addresses the rules of Quintilian, which he well knew, generally attended to — particularly in his observations on Climax. There are none of the *Anti-order* in Xenophon. *This speech is well closed.* Life, and the means of enjoying it, the motives offered, &c.

Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς· τῶν δὲ περιττῶν, ὅτου μὲν δέοιτό τις, μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐβρίπτειν. Ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἤριστοποιεῖντο. Ἄριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθραδάτης σὺν ἰππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγούς εἰς ἐπήκοον, λέγει ὧδε· Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὖνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῶ φόβῳ διάγων. Εἰ οὖν ὀρώην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς δεράποντας πάντας ἄγων. Λέξαίτε οὖν, ἔφη, πρὸς μὲ, τί ἐν νῶ ἔχετε, ὡς πρὸς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνουν, καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι. Βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· (καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος) Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, ἦν μὲν τις ἔᾶ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνάμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δὲ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύη διαπολεμεῖν τέ-

Xenophon having concluded, the soldiers departed, and burnt their carriages and tents; taking only what was needful, and committing what was not so to the flames: this done, they sat down to take refreshment. While they were in the act of eating, Mithridates approached the margin of the Greek camp, with about thirty horse, soliciting the out-post to speak with the Greek generals. On coming within hearing, he said, “O Greeks! you are aware of my fidelity to Cyrus — and I come to assure you, that I am equally *your friend*; and cannot help informing you, that while I remain in this place, I am under dreadful apprehensions; and could I see *you* once take decisive resolutions, I would most willingly come over and make common cause. — Do, therefore, have the goodness to acquaint me with your determinations, as a Friend that desires to march in your company.” On hearing this, the Greek generals held a consultation, and deputed Cheirisophus as their organ, who informed him, “That they had come to the determination of returning to Greece, with as little damage as possible to the king’s subjects, *if they were not opposed*; but if they were, let those who dared to do so

των, ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κρᾶτιστα. Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθραδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον εἶη, βασιλέως ἄκοντος, σωθῆναι. Ἐνθα δὴ ἐγιγνώσκετο ὅτι ὕποπτος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρους τὶς οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστεως ἕνεκα. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι, τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι, ἕς τε ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιώντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν, Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα· καὶ ᾤχετο ἀπῶν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνδράποισι ὡς εἰκοσι.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες, καὶ διαβάαντες τὸν Ζάβατον ποταμὸν, ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι, τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων αὐτῶν, ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθραδάτης, ἰππέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ὡς τετρακοσίους, μάλ' ἑλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνης· καὶ προσήκει μὲν, ὡς φίλος ὦν, πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγύς ἐγένετο, ἑξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἰππεῖς καὶ

take the consequences." Mithridates then began to expatiate *on consequences*; and the difficulties that presented themselves, unless they could procure the king's consent; which intimation caused him immediately to be suspected as a spy. Besides, an officer of Tissaphernes was subsequently seen with him, who was placed as a spy over Mithridates himself; on which discovery, the Greek generals resolved to hold no more conferences, for *these* had already injured the army, as proved by a circumstance which occurred that very night, of Nicarchus, an Arcadian captain, deserting to the enemy, with twenty men.

The soldiers, having taken refreshment, immediately formed, and passed the river Zabatus¹ in order of battle; the baggage being placed in the centre, as proposed. The army had not marched far, before Mithridates again made his appearance, with about four hundred light-armed archers and slingers, all properly equipped for expedition. He advanced as before, with *apparent* friendly intentions; but on coming near, his horse and foot imme-

¹ See note 2, page 128, for illustration.

πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. Οἱ δ' ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δὲ οὐδέν· οἱ τε γὰρ Κρηῆτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἰσω τῶν ὀπλων κατεκέκλιτο· οἱ τε ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἡκόντιζον ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν τε ὀπλιῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῶ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων. Οὔτε γὰρ ἵππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγουσιν ἐδύνατο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἵππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον, εἰς τὸ ὤπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵπ-

diately discharged their weapons; his slingers followed their example, by which many of the Greeks were wounded, and the rear of the army particularly injured, without the possibility of returning the injury; for the Persian bow carried much farther than the Cretan of our army; besides, as our Cretans were but very lightly armed, they were obliged to shelter themselves among the heavy-armed men; nor could even our dart-men reach their slingers. On seeing which, Xenophon immediately resolved to pursue the enemy; and the heavy-armed men and targeteers, who were in the rear, followed him in the pursuit, but they were unable to close with them, on account of the Greeks being destitute of cavalry; nor could our foot close with theirs, in consequence of their having so much the advance of ours on starting: nor did they deem it prudent to separate themselves too far from the main body in pursuit. Indeed, the Barbarian horse even wounded the Greeks in retreating, by shooting with their bows backwards;¹

¹ The Persians were commonly called Parthians, and are famed for cowardice, and offering their backs to the enemy; they had, however, as proved by our author, learnt to do some mischief on the retreat; to which Virgil alludes in the third book of the Georgics:—

πῶν ὁπόσον δὲ προδιώξειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοσοῦτο πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένουσ ἐδει. Ὡστε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διήλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δειλῆς ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας. Ἐνθα δὲ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. Καὶ Χειρισσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ἤτιῶντο, ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐκινδύνευε, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς ἤτιῶντο, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. “Ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δ’ οὐδὲν δυναμένους. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν μᾶλλον ἐδυναμέσθε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ πάνυ χαλεπῶς. Τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις, ὅτι

therefore, so far as the Greeks had advanced, so far had they, also, in their turn, to retreat fighting. Hence, the army did not march *that day* above twenty-five stadia: they, however, made the villages. Discovering these difficulties, the men became low-spirited, and Cheirisophus and the old generals blamed Xenophon for leaving the main body to pursue the enemy, and for exposing himself, without a possibility of gaining any advantage, or injuring them.

Xenophon yielded to their remarks, and acknowledged that they had reason to blame him from the effects; but alledged, that he was under the necessity of taking the steps he did, from the circumstance of seeing his men receive great damage, while they stood in their ranks; but found that the pursuit did not better their circumstances, and, in addition, had to retreat with great difficulty. “But,” said he, “we have reason to thank the gods, that the enemy came on us with a small

“ Addam urbes Asiæ domitas, pulsumque Niphatem,
Fidentemque fuga Parthum, versisque sagittis.”

I will add the vanquished cities of Asia, and subdued Niphates,
And the Parthian, presuming on his flight, and arrows shot backward.

Vide, also, Horace, nineteenth Ode, lib. i. —

“ Et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere.”

And the Parthian furious when his horse is turned for flight.

οὐ σὺν πολλῇ βίῳμη, ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἤλθον· ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλώσαι δὲ ὧν δεόμεθα. Νῦν γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδο- νῶσιν ὅσον οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται, οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἶον τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ὀλίγον δὲ ἔνδα οὐδ' εἰ ταχύς εἴη πεζὸς, πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος. Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔν, εἰ μέλλομεν τέτῃς εἶργειν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδο- νητῶν τε τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἰππέων. Ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλὰς φασὶν ἐπίσασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν. Ἐκεῖναι γὰρ, διὰ τὸ χειροπλήθεσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν, ἐπὶ βραχῦ ἐξικνοῦνται· οἱ δὲ γε Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολιβδίσις ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι. Ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψόμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτων τῷ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον δῶμεν, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον

force, and with so little injury, for by this means they have disclosed to us our wants and necessities; in fact, we have learnt this truth, that the enemy's archers and slingers can throw farther than our Darters and Cretans; and, also, that we must be careful for the future, when we pursue, not to separate too far from the main body, since we discover our men cannot come up with the enemy, should they, at the moment of attack, be any considerable distance in advance: therefore, if we mean for the future to march securely, we must straight forward supply ourselves with cavalry and slingers. Indeed," said he, "there are Rhodians, I hear, in our army, of whom it is commonly reported they are admirable slingers, and are capable of throwing twice as far as the Persians; for the latter throw heavy stones, whereas the Rhodians, in addition to stones, throw leaden balls.¹ If, therefore, we make enquiries throughout the army, who have got slings, and pay their value, and vote money to those who may volunteer to make others, and at the

¹ The Germans used the same sort of missiles. Vide Smith's Tacitus de Mor. Germ. note 39, page 15; also, Eccard, tom. i. page 892.

τελώμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκωμεν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. Ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ ἵππους ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ' ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καταλειμμένους· πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμηλάτως σκευοφορῶντας. Ἄν οὖν τούτους πάντα ἐκλέξαντες, σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἰσώεας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν." Ἐδοξε ταῦτα· καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίαις ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πενήκοντα, καὶ ἰστολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν· καὶ ἵππαρχος ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου, Ἀθηναῖος·

Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρῶτα ἰαίτερον ἀναστάντες·

same time offer a bounty to those individuals who will enlist themselves for that particular service, the probabilities are, that we shall get this deficiency in our army supplied. There are, also, horses among us; some of which, indeed, are my own, and some were left by Clearchus, besides many that have been taken from the enemy, which are now employed carrying baggage. By selecting the best of these, and equipping them for cavalry, supplying their place with horses adapted by nature for hauling, we may, possibly, so far succeed in annoying the enemy, as to prevent our experiencing a repetition of the inconveniences felt to-day." The army accordingly came to the resolution of adopting the mode recommended; and, that very evening, no less than two hundred men enlisted themselves for slingers. The following day fifty horsemen and horses also were selected, peculiarly adapted for this service, and accoutred with buff coats and corslets, and a commander placed over them, whose name was Lycius, the son of Polystratus, an Athenian.

Here, the army halted that evening; but rising next morning before the accustomed hour, the Greeks pressed

χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει διαβῆναι, ἐφ' ἣ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῦντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. Διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαίνεται ὁ Μιθραδάτης πάλιν, ἔχων ἰππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς ἑτρακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἦν τούτους λάβη, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας· καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἔμπροσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων, ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδὲν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμισε ποιῆσαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπειχόν τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτῶ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθραδάτης, ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. Παρήγγελλτο δὲ, τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν, καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν εἶρητο θαρρόῦσι διώκειν, ὡς ἐφεσπομένης ἰκανῆς δυνάμεως. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθραδάτης κατελήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνούντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθύς ἔθεον ὁμόσει οἷς εἶρητο, καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἤλαυον· οἱ δὲ ἐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν.

forward, having a valley to pass, and in crossing which they feared an attack from Mithridates. But that general made not his appearance 'till the Greeks had passed it, when he shewed himself, with the formidable force of a thousand horse and four thousand archers and slingers; for Tissaphernes had granted him this force, at his own request, and under the promise, that with that number he would deliver the Greek army into his power; for imagining, that in the previous action, with a small force, he had done us great injury, and had received none himself, he began to hold us in contempt. The Greeks having advanced about eight stadia beyond the valley, Mithridates also, crossed it with his forces; but the Greek generals had previously issued an order, that a certain number of targeteers and heavy-armed soldiers should pursue the enemy, and for the cavalry to do the same, giving them assurance, that their attack should be sustained by a suitable reserve. When, therefore, Mithridates had finally arrived within reach of our slings and arrows, the trumpet sounded, and the Greeks appointed for the attack, immediately faced about and charged the enemy; but, the

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοί, καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα· τοὺς δ' ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευσοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἤκισαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτερον τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶη ὄρᾱν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. Ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα· ᾠκουν δ' αὐτὴν τοπαλαῖδὸν Μῆδοι· τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἦν αὐτῆς τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασάγγαι· ᾠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμίαις· κρητὶς δὲ ὑπῆν λιθίνη τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. Ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων ἐλάμβανον τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρ-

Barbarians could not sustain the impetuosity of our men, and fled to the valley, in crossing which, they lost a great many of their infantry; eighteen of their cavalry also were made prisoners. The soldiers, immediately, *without orders*, cut to pieces the bodies of the slain, that the enemy might be appalled by such a terrible spectacle.

After this affair, the Persians retired, and the Greeks were no more annoyed that day, but arrived, in the evening, at a branch of the Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city, called Larissa,¹ formerly occupied by the Medes. We found the walls that encompassed it no less than twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and two parasangas in circumference; the whole of which, with the exception of the Plinth, was built with bricks; that part, however, called the Plinth, was built with stone, and was twenty feet high. When this city was wrested from the Medes, by the king of Persia, it was incapable of being taken by any other means

¹ There is no city now, nor for many ages past, in this part of Asia, by that name; which led Bochart to suppose, that it was the ancient Resin of Moses, Gen. x. 12. "And Resin between Nineveh and Celah: the same is a great city." It should seem that the Assyrians declined their noun thus, Resin, La-resin; and the elegant taste of the Greeks selected the genitive Λάρισσαν, 𐤋𐤓𐤂𐤏. This conjecture of Bochart's wears all the air of probability. In *this* also, the French grammarians imitate the Assyrian.

σαι, πολιορκῶν, οὐδενὶ
τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν·
ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ προ-
καλύψασα, ἠφάνισε,
μέχρις οἱ ἄνθρωποι
ἐξέλιπον, καὶ οὕτως
ἔάλω. Παρ' αὐτὴν
τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς
λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος
ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ
ὑψος δύο πλέθρων· ἐπὶ
ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν
βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ
τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν
ἀποπεφευγότες.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύ-
θησαν σταδμὸν ἕνα,
παρασάγγας ἕξ, πρὸς
τείχος ἔρημον, μέγα,
πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον·
ὄνομα δ' ἦν τῇ πόλει
Μέσσιλα· Μῆδοι αὐ-
τὴν ποτε ᾤκουν. Ἦν
δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου
ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου,
τὸ εὖρος πενήκοντα
ποδῶν, καὶ τὸ ὑψος
πεντήκοντα. Ἐπὶ δὲ
ταύτῃ ἐπωκοδόμητο

than, as I may so say, by a miracle ; for every human effort had been made in vain, when behold ! the sun became obscured, and seemed to disappear, on which phenomenon a panic seized the inhabitants, and rendered the conquest of the city easy. In the immediate vicinity of this noble city, stood a pyramid, built *with stone*. It was one plethron square at the base, and two plethra in altitude, into the hollow of which building, a great many of the Barbarians, who had fled from the adjoining villages, had betook themselves.

Marching from hence, the army made, in one day, six parasangas, and arrived at a large deserted fortress, on the site of a city named Messila,¹ which had been, also, inhabited formerly by the Medes. The foundation-wall of this fortress was built with a polished petrified stone, containing great quantities of fish-shells.² We found it, on admeasurement, fifty feet broad, and as many in height. On *this*, was raised

¹ This city is generally called Mespila. Stephanus vocat Mispilam, saying he thus found it in the Ἀνάβασιν, and it is on his authority alone that writers have proceeded. Hutchinson's edition, and all the copies I have seen, read Μέσσιλα.

² Few men under the circumstances of Xenophon, would have been disposed to have looked so narrowly into nature. But were petrifications of this kind unusual in Greece? We are aware they are so plenty in every part of this country, as to render their notice in a book trivial.

πλίνθινον τείχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου περίοδος ἕξ παρασάγγαι· Ἐνλαῦθα ἐλέγξειο Μηδία γυνὴ βασιλέως φυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μηδοί. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν, οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύοντο σταδμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας τέτταρας· εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταδμὸν Τισσαφέρης ἐπέφάνη, οἷς τε αὐτὸς ἦλ-

a brick wall, of the same breadth, but in height one hundred feet; making the wall, in the whole, one hundred and fifty feet high; and was six parasangas in circumference. It was in this fortress that Media, the king's consort, is reported to have taken refuge, when the Medes were deprived of empire by the Persians.¹ When the Persian monarch laid siege to this fortress; it resisted every effort made against it; and it would have resisted *time itself*, had not Jupiter interposed, and terrified its defenders with his Thunders;² from which circumstance, it was captured.

From this place, the army made, in one day, four parasangas; during which time, Tissaphernes and Orontas, who had married the king's daughter,

¹ Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, by conquering Lydia and other parts of Asia Minor, finally subdued Babylon itself; and, on the death of Cyaxares, united the Median territories with his own. By this act, his empire extended from the Indus in the east, to the Mediterranean and the Ægean, on the west; making the Euxine and the Caspian seas his northern boundary. Cyrus lost his life by an expedition against a Scythian tribe, named Massagetæ. After his death, this fine empire underwent all the revolutions of the Persians.

² Ἐμβροντήτους. Vide Ovid's Trist. lib. i. el. 3, v. 11, et seq.—

- - - " Qui Jovis ignibus ictus
Vivit; et est vitæ nescius ipse suæ."

He who is struck with Jove's fires
Lives; but is not conscious of life.

Hesych. to the same effect: Ἐμβροντήτος, παραπεπληγμένος τὴν διάνοιαν μαϊνόμεν Ⓞ.

θεν ἰππέας ἔχων, καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντου δύναμιν, τοῦ τὴν βασιλείως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, καὶ οὓς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβόηθει, καὶ πρὸς τέτοις, ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπλου ἐφάνη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν ὀπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγῶν, ἐμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγελε καὶ τοξεύειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ οἱ Σκυδοτοξόται ἐτόξευσαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρὸς, (οὐδὲ γὰρ, εἰ πάνυ προὔθυμειτο, ῥάδιον ἦν) καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει, καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐπέκειντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ τε Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ τῶν πλείων τοξοτῶν. Μεγάλα δὲ

and the king's natural brother, who had arrived from Susa, appeared with their joint forces, forming a very large army. On their coming up with the Greeks, Tissaphernes disposed of his forces, by placing a certain part against the Grecian rear, and the two other divisions against their flanks, but was evidently afraid to attack them, being unwilling to hazard a battle. The Greek generals, on seeing *this*, commanded the Rhodians to form in platoons, and commence using their slings. The Cretan bowmen followed their example, discharging their arrows after the Scythian custom.¹ On Tissaphernes discovering that every missile and arrow told, (for they could not well help it,) he quickly betook himself and his men at a distance, as did, also, the other divisions. The remaining part of the day, the Greeks continued their march, the enemy following at a cautious distance in the rear, never attempting to interrupt them by skirmishing; for the Rhodian slingers threw farther than the Persians; indeed, much farther than *even their bowmen could shoot*

¹ There is some allusion to this in Æschyl. in Prom. v. 710.

Ἐκηβόλοις τόξοισιν ἐξηρητημένοι,
Οἷς μὴ σπελάζειν.

καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστὶν ὥστε χρησιμα ἦν, ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων τοῖς Κρησί· καὶ διετέλουν χρωμένοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακρὰν. Εὐρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ μόλιθος· ὥστε χρησθῆναι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.

their arrows. The bow of the Persian is very long, and their arrows are in the same proportion.¹ Notwithstanding the Cretans picked up those stuck in the ground, and used them against the enemy; for by taking a greater elevation, on discharging them from the bow, they did, after a little practice, shoot them at a greater distance than even the Persians themselves. We found, also, in the villages, a great quantity of materials for bow-strings, with some lead necessary to be employed as missiles.²

Καὶ ταύτη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι, μείον ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δὲ ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σίτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρηνς εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος.

The Greeks having completed their march, encamped in some villages; and, in consequence of the Barbarians having received a check, they retired also. The Greeks remained the next day in those villages, collecting their provisions, for they abounded in corn. The following day, they marched over an open country, Tissaphernes follow-

¹ Μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ, &c. Herodotus, lib. v. c. 59. de Persis says, ἦτε μάχη αὐτέων ἔσι τοιήδε, τόξα, καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα, from which passage Brisson draws the very opposite conclusions, viz. *short arrows*, &c.; vide lib. iii. de Regno Pers. and he would have taken tenable ground, if no such qualifier as the following had been found in the same author: Αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας ἔχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα. Vide lib. vii. c. 61. But, what can he make of *μεγάλα* an adjective so completely unequivocal?

² Stone balls were sometimes used, with a hole perforated in the centre, through which a thong was passed; the slinger holding both ends in his hand, wielding it to and fro, 'till he took his final aim.

Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον πονηρὰ τάξις εἶη πολεμίων ἐπομένων. Ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἣν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαίσιου, ἢ ὁδοῦ στενοτέρας οὔσης, ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων, ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλιβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένης· ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη, ἀτάκτους ὄντας. Ὅταν δ' αὖ διασχῆ τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη, διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους, καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κερμάτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοῦ, ταῦτα πᾶσχοντας, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπομένων. Καὶ ὅποτε δύοι γεφυραν διαβαίνειν, ἢ ἄλλην τινα διαβάσιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος, βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐποίησαντο ἕξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντηράς, καὶ ἄλλης ἐνωμοτάρχας. Οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι οἱ λοχαγοὶ, ὅποτε μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕσε-

ing, and harassing their rear. The Greek army marched in the form of an equilateral square, a disposition highly improper for an army followed by an enemy; for, whenever a square has a narrow road, a defile, or a bridge to pass, they must necessarily contract into a line, and close the wings; consequently, the heavy-armed men, while moving, are pressed out of their ranks, march uneasy, and in this disorderly disposition, cannot possibly act to advantage: so, again, when a bridge is passed, and an extension of the wings become necessary, they are again shoved out of their ranks, and leave an open centre exposed to an enemy. In addition to *this*, every man, on crossing a bridge, or a defile, always is in a hurry to pass, and wants to be foremost; and from this circumstance, *in particular*, lays himself open to an enemy's attack. On discovering this inconvenience, the generals commanded six companies, of one hundred each, to form, and subdivided them into other divisions, of fifty and twenty-five, appointing to every division an officer. The captains of those companies, when the wings closed on march, fell into the rear, and prevented any disorder from occurring, at the same

ροί, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι· τότε δὲ παρῆγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων. Ὅποτε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξέπιπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ τοὺς λόχους· εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῦς· εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε ἀεὶ ἔκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἰ πού δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρῆσαν οὗτοι. Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σαθμοὺς τέτταρας.

Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο σταδμόν, εἶδον βασιλείον τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς· τὴν τε ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν κώμη. Καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς γηλόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς, τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἰππέων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορεύο-

time kept clear from the wings; and when it became necessary to extend again the sides of the square, *these* covered the centre. If a narrow opening occurred, the squadrons of a hundred, fell in only; if a large opening was necessary, they added those of fifty; and, if a very large opening, those of five-and-twenty, also, fell in; by which means, they always kept a strong centre. When, therefore, the army had to pass a defile, or a bridge, by the captains of those companies bringing up the rear, disorder was avoided; and if, on emergency, any detachment was wanted, *these* were always ready to act; and, in this manner, did the army make four marches.¹

On the fifth day, while on march, the army discovered a royal palace, with many villages scattered round it. The road that led to this palace was over a high hill, which stretched down from a mountain, at the foot of which was a village. The sight of those hills, filled the army with joy; and with great reason, since a great part of the enemy's army consisted of horse, and they knew, in a country of this

¹ From which description, we can only gather this fact, viz., that those divisions *in order*, covered those, who, on crossing a bridge, were thrown into *disorder*.

μενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γήλοφον, κατέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαῖεν Ἐνταῦθα παραγίνονται οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶνές ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων· καὶ πολλοὺς κατετίτρωσκον, καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνητῶν, καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἰσω τῶν ὄπλων ὡσεὶ παντάσῃσι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοί ἦσαν, ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ σφενδο-νῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῆ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνῶνται, ὀπλιταὶ ὄντες· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ταχὺ ἀνεπώδων. Πάλιν δὲ, ὁπότε ἀπώοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο σφάτευμα, ταυτὰ ἔπασχον· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταυτὰ ἐγίνετο· ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τὰς σφρατιώτας· πλὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς

description, that cavalry could act with difficulty. The Greeks having quitted the plain, and ascended the hill, were again descending it, with a view of climbing the next, when they were again surprised on beholding the Barbarians on the eminence, from which they showered down stones, darts, and arrows, on the Greek army, wounding many; and had so decided an advantage over them, that the Greek light-armed were obliged to retire within the heavy-armed, and march with the baggage; consequently, were rendered useless. Being thus pressed, the Greeks made an effort to pursue the enemy with a division of their heavy-armed men, but, in consequence of the weight of their armour, were unable to move with the rapidity necessary; notwithstanding, the enemy retired before them; but when this division again retreated to the main body, the enemy repeated the attack. The same difficulty occurred on passing the next hill, which influenced the Greek generals on ascending the *third*, not to call out the heavy-armed men at all; on the contrary, ordered the targeteers from the right of the square to scale the mountain. On these men getting above them, the enemy no

καταβαίνουσι· δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθῆσαν, καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμιοι. Οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας, καὶ ἰατροὺς κατέστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἕνεκα, καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλὰς. Ταῦτα δὲ συνηγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. Τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τῇ ἀνάγκῃ κατασκηῆσαι οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην, καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπό-

longer annoyed our main body while descending, fearing they should be cut off from their own main body, and be thus attacked in front and rear at the same moment. In this manner did the Greeks march the remainder of the day, some in the road on the hills, others abreast of the enemy on the mountains, 'till they finally arrived in the aforementioned village, where eight surgeons were appointed, as there were many of the Greeks wounded.¹

The army halted in this village three days, to rest the wounded, and to collect provisions; *where* they found a great plenty of wheaten flour, wine, and barley for horses, which the Vice-roy of the country had collected and laid up in his granaries. On the fourth day the army again moved forward, when Tissaphernes, and the soldiers under his command, taught the Greeks the necessity of halting in the first village they came to, and to march no longer fighting; for in consequence of

¹ The Greeks had no *ambulans volences*, indeed, the invention is modern, and owes it origin to Larrey, the surgeon-general of the French forces, whose humanity and care of the wounded soldier has never been exceeded. Corporal Trim's description of being drawn in an open cart, after receiving a wound, and the Beguine's care of it, must be in every one's remembrance. An account of the Greek medical staff, may be seen in *Cyropædia*, page 77. Hutchinsons's edition.

μαχοι, τετραμμένοι, και οι εκείνους φέροντες, και οι των φερόντων τα ὄπλα δεξάμενοι. Ἐπει δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, και ἔπεχειρήσαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οι βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιήσαν οι Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον, ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὀρμῶντας ἀλέξασθαι, ἢ προευμένους ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. Ἦνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δείλη, ὦρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οι βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιδοῖντο αὐτοῖς. Πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτός ἐστι στρατεύμα Περσικόν. Οἷτε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται, και ὡς ἐπιτοσολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσι, τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα, εἰ λυθείησαν· ἕάν τε τις δόρυβος γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ, και χαλινῶσαι δεῖ, και θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὸν νυκτὸς, ἅτε και θορύβου ὄντος, ποιεῖν. Τούτου ἕνεκα πῶρρω ἀπεσκήνου τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

many being employed in carrying the wounded, and others, again, carrying their arms, great part of the Greek force were unable to act. But, on being again encamped in a village, and the Barbarians offering battle, the able-bodied Greeks sallied forth, and quickly put them to flight; for the difference was soon felt, between making a sortie from the camp, and repulsing the enemy, and engaging them *while on march*. On the approach of evening, the Barbarians retired, for they always encamped from us as much as *sixty stadia*,¹ fearing we should visit them in the night; for a Persian army is subject to the greatest inconvenience from a night attack, in consequence of their manner of tying and shackling their horses together, to prevent them from wandering; hence, on being surprised, the Persian horsemen have their housing to put on, horses to bridle, and corslets to fix, before they can mount; and there is very great difficulty attendant on doing this in the night; particularly when under the surprise, or sudden attack of an enemy; hence it was, they always encamped at such a distance.

¹ About one mile and a quarter.

Ἐπει δὲ ἐγγίνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλλη-
νες βουλομένους ἀπιέ-
ναι καὶ διαγγελλο-
μένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς
Ἕλλησι παρασκευά-
σασθαι, ἀκρόντων τῶν
πολεμίων. Καὶ χρό-
νον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον
τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρ-
βαροι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄψῃ
ἐγγίγνετο, ἀπήεσαν· οὐ
γὰρ ἐδόκει λυσιτελεῖν
αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς πορεύεσ-
θαι, καὶ κατάγεσθαι
ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀ-
πίοντας ἤδη εἴρων οἱ
Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο
καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζεύξαν-
τες, καὶ διήλθον ὅσον
ἑξήκοντα σταδίων· καὶ
γίγνεται τὸσῶτον με-
ταξὺ τῶν στρατευμά-
των, ὥστε τῇ ὑσεραΐᾳ
οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πο-
λέμιοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ·
τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ, νυκτὸς
προελθόντες, καλαλαμ-
βάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερ-
δέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἢ
ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες
παριέναι, ἀκρωρυχίαν
ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατά-
βασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἴργα Χει-
ρίσοφος προκατειλημ-
μένην τὴν ἀκρωρυχί-
αν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα
ἀπὸ τῆς οὐραῆς· καὶ
κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς
πελλασὰς παραγέεσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὰς μὲν πελλασὰς ἐκ

On the Greek generals seeing the enemy about to retire, and hearing the Persian commanders give the word to that effect, they also gave the word so *loud* for the Greeks to go forward, as for the enemy to hear them; on which, the Barbarians made a stand. On growing more towards evening, however, they retired, not holding it safe to arrive at their camp at night. On the Greeks perceiving them clear off, they decamped, and, *that night*, gained on the enemy sixty stadia¹ in advance. The two armies being separated at such a distance, caused them to have no further rencounters, 'till four days after, when the Barbarians, in their turns, marched by night, and got in advance of the Greeks, and possessed themselves of an eminence, commanding the road through which the Greeks must pass. It was a hill that overhung the descent into the plain. On Cheirisophus perceiving the eminence to be in possession of the enemy, he despatched orders for Xenophon to bring up the targeteers to the front. Xenophon immediately obeyed, *personally*, but omitted to bring up the

¹ Some error has *here* crept into the Greek text; because the distance could not be quite three miles. Six hundred stadia is warranted by the context. Phavorinus thinks the same.

ἦγεν· (ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρην, καὶ τὸ σράτευμα πᾶν) αὐτὸς δὲ προσελάσας ἠρώτα, Τί καλεῖς; Ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἐξεστὶν ὄραν· προκατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ ἔκ ἐστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν. Ἄλλὰ τί οὐκ ἦγες τοὺς πελταστάς; Ὁ δὲ λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἔδοκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν, ἐπιφαινόμενων τῶν πολέμιων. Ἄλλὰ μὴν ὦρα γ', ἔφη, βουλεύεσθαι, πῶς τις τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀπελᾶ τοῦ λόφου. Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὄρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὖσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ λέγει, Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἰεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Ἄλλ', εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρεῖζεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. Ἄλλὰ

men, because the main army of Tisaphernes hung on his rear, in full sight. On coming up, he asked Cheirisophus, wherefore he had sent for him. "Behold," said he, "the hill before you covered with the enemy; and, unless we dislodge him, we cannot possibly descend into the plain: but why brought you not up the targeteers?" Xenophon answered, because he thought it highly imprudent to leave the rear exposed to an enemy in sight.¹ "Well," said Cheirisophus, "these men, you see, must be dislodged." On which, Xenophon began to view the hill; and, observing from an eminence, that hung just over the left of the Greeks, *a road* that communicated with the hill possessed by the enemy, immediately said, "That the only thing to be done, *in his opinion*, was, to possess themselves of *that eminence* with all possible despatch; for if they could once seize *that*, the hill occupied by the enemy would be no longer tenable:" at the same time, volunteered his services to put his plan into execution, if Cheirisophus would permit; "Otherwise," said he, "do you seize the eminence, and I will remain with the army." On which,

¹ Every military man must be of the same opinion.

δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρῖσοφος, ὁπότερον βέλεις, ἐλέσθαι. Εἰπὼν δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν, αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι· κελεύει δὲ οἱ συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἀνδράς· μακρὰν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν. Καὶ ὁ Χειρῖσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστάς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαισίου. Συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ὁ Χειρῖσοφος, οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθύς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικῆ στρατεύματος, διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολλή δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, παρεκλεύετο· Ἄνδρες, νῦν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι,

With this select band, Xenophon marched, with all possible expedition, up the mountain; but, the enemy, immediately on the discovery of this plan of attack, *ran*, under the hope of seizing the eminence before the Greeks; on *which*, there was a tremendous shout from the army of Tissaphernes, and also from the Greeks, each encouraging their own men. “*Think*,” said Xenophon, as he rode by his men, “*think*, soldiers, that you are *this moment* contending to return to Greece; this moment to see your wives — your children — that by making only this νῦν πρὸς παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας· νῦν ὀλίγον

¹ Let every *young officer* think of this.

πονήσαντες χρόνον, ἀμαχεί τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα. Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὄχῃ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω, τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων. Καὶ ὅς, ἀκέσας ταῦτα, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὠθεῖτο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος, ὡς εὔνατο τάχιστα ἐπορεύετο. Ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἱππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιέζετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν, παριέναι, μόγις ἐπομένους. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι σρατιῶται παίουσι, καὶ βάλλουσι, καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδα, ἕως ἡνάγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσ-

momentary effort, we shall be able, henceforward, to advance without opposition.”¹ On which, Soteridas, the Sicyonian, remarked, “That, Xenophon and *himself* were not on equal terms, since Xenophon was on horseback, but *he* was fatigued by carrying his shield.”² On which, Xenophon leaped from his horse, thrust Soteridas out of the ranks, took his shield from him, and immediately pressed forward with his division.³ He happened, however, to be equipped with a horseman’s corslet, which greatly annoyed his walking, yet he cheered the advance to step still quicker, and the rear to follow their example; while some of the soldiers banged Soterides with their shields, others stoned him, till he begged to have his shield again, that he might

¹ Xenophon knew human nature well, and what passions to address. To bring home the idea of *wife, children, and country*, was as

“Welcome; as kindly showers to long-parched earth.
Welcome; as mercy to a man condemned.
Welcome; as drops of life to drooping nature.”

² What demon could have called forth this fellow’s unprovoked impudence, at such a critical juncture? Is it, that *some* are born *only* to annoy the happiness of others? — Agents of Diabolus, who disturb the moral elements — away!

³ This is the first time we have seen Xenophon really angry; few men would, on such an occasion, have abstained from using more severe measures; the soldiers behaved nobly — *they* inflicted the necessary punishment themselves, and Xenophon escaped the odium naturally attached to coercion.

πίδα πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, ἕως μὲν βási-μα ἦν, ἤγεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον, ἔσπευδε περὶ. Καὶ φθάνουσι ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους.

Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βαρβαροὶ στραφέντες ἔφρουγον, ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· οἱ δ' Ἕλλη-νες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τισσα-φέρνην καὶ Ἀγριαῖον ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ᾗχοντο· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολ-λαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ, παρὰ τὸν Τί-γρητα ποταμόν. Ἠνί-κα δ' ἦν δειλή, ἐξαπί-νης ἐπιφαίνονται οἱ πο-λέμιοι ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κα-τέκοψάν τινὰς τῶν

go forward.¹ On which, Xenophon remounted, and led on his troops on horseback, as far as the road would permit; when he again dismounted, and, after making many struggles, finally gained the summit of the mountain *in time* to ward off the enemy.²

On which the Barbarians faced about and fled disorderly, leaving the Greeks masters of the eminence. Tis-saphernes and Ariæus *then* changed their line of march, and Cheirisophus, with the Greek main body, descended into the plain, and encamped in a village abounding in every thing. There were many other villages in this plain, near the Tigris, that were well stored with provisions, into which some of our foragers had proceeded, and had taken some herds of cattle that had crossed the river; when, in the even-*ing* the enemy appeared, all of a sud-*den*, and cut off some of our men, at ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ ἀρπαγὴν

¹ Was this fellow really sorry for his impertinence? Or, was there nothing of shame in it?

“For sorrow hath twenty shadows,
Which shew like grief itself, but are not so.”

SHAKSPEARE.

Yet, what could gratify one more, than seeing such a scoundrel as this receive a summary punishment?

² The planning of this enterprise, and the reducing it to execution, *in junction with what occurred on the road*, shews, that Xenophon knew as well the duty of a private soldier, as of a commander.

See p 206
p 207
p 208

καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλὰὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν. Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. Καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἠδύμησάν τινες, ἐννοούμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καύσειεν, ἐκ ἔχουεν ὡσὼθεν λαμβάνουεν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις, ἠνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγεν· Ὅρατε, ὡ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφίεντας τὴν χώραν ἤδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι· ἀ γὰρ, ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο, διεπράττοντο, μὴ καίειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καύουσιν ὡς αλλοτρίαν. Ἀλλὰ ἐάν που καταλίπωσὶ γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. Ἄλλ', ὡ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάροντας, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν, Οὐκ οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, κάωμεν, καὶ οὕτω δᾶττον παύσονται.

the same time began to set fire to those villages, which disheartened others, from an apprehension that finally they should be cut off from supplies. By this time Xenophon had been relieved by Cheirisophus, and had descended into the plain also, and was riding through the ranks of those Greeks who had returned from the villages, when he observed to the men "That *now* they plainly saw the enemy acknowledge *them* masters of the country, for on the conclusion of the truce the Barbarians had stipulated that the Greeks should not injure the king's territories; whereas, *as proof*, that these territories had changed masters, they were become the destroyers themselves. But let them be assured," said Xenophon, "that wherever they have collected provisions, thither shall they see us bend our course to enjoy them;" when addressing Cheirisophus, he said "he thought they ought to attack the enemy as in defence of their own country and property." On which Cheirisophus expressed a contrary opinion, contending that it became *them* to enlarge the conflagration, as he thought that would be the most effectual means of arresting the destruction contemplated by the enemy.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς σκητὰς ἀπηλθόν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνηλθόν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. Ἐνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύψηλα, ἐνθεν δὲ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάρους. Ἀπορουμένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος, εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ θέλω ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους ὀπίστας, ἦν μοι ὦν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε, καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ οὗτος δεήσοιτο, Ἄσκων, ἔφη, δισχιλίων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δὲ ὄρω ταῦτα πρόβαλα, καὶ αἴγας, καὶ βόας, καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φουσηθέντα, ῥαδίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. Δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν, οἷς χρῆσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. Τούτοις δ', ἔφη, ζεύξας τοὺς ἄσκους, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀρμόσας ἕκαστον ἄσκον, λίθους ἀρτήσας, καὶ ἀφείδω ὡσπερ ἀγκύρας, εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ δὲ ἀγαγῶν, καὶ ἀμφοτέ-

The soldiers by this time had arrived at their tents, and were employed in collecting provisions, at which time also the officers thought proper to meet for deliberation, and indeed were not a little uneasy when they considered that on one side of them stood a prodigious high mountain, and on the other a river so deep as not to be fathomed by a military pike, and consequently unfordable; but while they were endeavouring to form some plan to overcome those obstacles, a Rhodian step'd forward and said, — “Gentlemen, — I will undertake to transport four thousand heavy-armed men, if you will supply me with the materials necessary, and give me a talent¹ for my trouble.” On being asked what materials he wanted, he replied “That he should want ten thousand leather bags, which may be procured from the slaughter of the sheep, goats, oxen, and asses that we possess; the skins of these animals being blown, we shall be able to cross on them securely. I shall want,” said he, “in addition, the girths of the baggage-horses, with which I will tie the bags to each other, and by letting down stones for anchors into the water from the ends of them, the bags will become

¹ The Attic Talent was equivalent to 60 Minæ, or £193 15s. English money.

ρωθεν δήσας, ἐπιβαλῶ ὕλην, καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω. "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε, αὐτίκα μάλα εἴσεσθε· ὁ γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύο ἀνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδῦναι· ὥς τε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθανεῖν, ἡ ὕλη καὶ ἡ γῆ σχήσει.

Ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνδύμμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἀδύνατον ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἵππεῖς, οἱ εὐθὺς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. Ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρου εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλώνα, εἰς τὰς ἀκαύτους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξήεσαν ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔπροσήλανον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο, καὶ ὁμοιοὶ ἦσαν θουμάζοντες, ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τί ἐν νῶ ἔχοιεν. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνῆλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τὸς αἰχμαλώτους, ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλω πᾶσαν χώραν τίς ἐκάστη εἶη. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν,

steady. I will then lay hurdles on the blown bags, covered with turf, by which means you will easily perceive that the men will be prevented from slipping, and that every bag will sustain two soldiers."

The generals, on hearing this, applauded the man's ingenuity, but considered the plan impracticable from the number of the enemies' horse on the other side of the river, who would no doubt do every thing to disconcert this plan. The following day, therefore, the army retrograded, taking a different route from that which led towards Babylon, but leading towards those villages which had not been fired; the men, however, set fire to those they quitted, and hence the enemy did not approach them, but contented themselves by looking on, and were engaged in conjecturing what road the Greeks purposed to take. While the soldiers were again employed in collecting necessaries in those villages, the officers also re-assembled, and ordered the prisoners that had been made to be brought forward, from whom they enquired the particulars relative to the roads of the country by which they were surrounded. The prisoners told the Greek officers that the road that

τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧσπερ ἤκειεν· ἢ δὲ πρὸς ἔω, ἐπὶ Σῶσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι, ἔνθα θεριζοῖν καὶ ἐαρίζοῖν λέγεται βασιλεύς· ἢ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι· ἢ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὄρεων καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη, ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. Τέτῃς δ' ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ πολεμικὸς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτὲ εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιάν, δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δὲ οὐδένα ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν· ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμίγνυσθαι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους, καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτούς.

Ἀχέσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἑκαστὸν ὅσοι φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες, ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. Ἐ-

led to Media and Babylon lay to the south, through some part of which they had already marched; the other road lay to the east, and led direct to Susa and Ecbatana, where the king usually passed the summer and the spring; a third road led to the west, over the Tigris, to Lydia and Ionia; and the fourth was to the north, over the mountains, and led to the territories of the Carduchians. They also informed the officers that the Carduchians were mountaineers, and possessed all the courage and hardihood usually attached to that class of people; that they were not subject to the king, and on one occasion the king had sent an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men with a view to conquer them, none of which returned to relate the fate of their comrades: and in addition, they said, the road was not passable to an army; that, there was never any intercourse between the two nations but in time of peace, and then the Carduchian chief resided on the plain.

On receiving this information, the generals kept those prisoners by themselves, from whom they received every intelligence of the surrounding country, without discovering to them their intentions, or the route they contemplated.

δόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατη-
 γοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι,
 διὰ τῶν ὄρέων εἰς Καρ-
 δόχως ἐμβάλλειν· τῶ-
 ντων γὰρ διελθόντες,
 ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν
 ἕξειν, ἧς Ὀρόντας ἤρ-
 χε, πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαί-
 μονος. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ
 εὐπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι,
 ὅποι τις ἐθέλει πορεύ-
 εσθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτοις
 ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως, ὅπη-
 νίκα δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας,
 τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο·
 (τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν
 τῶν ὄρων ἐδεδοίκεσαν
 μὴ καταληφθεῖη) καὶ
 παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ
 δειπνήσειαν, συνεσκευ-
 ασμένους πάντας ἀνα-
 παύεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεσθαι,
 ἡνίκ' ἂν τις παραγ-
 γείλῃ.

However, circumstances compelled the Greeks to pass the mountains, and to penetrate into the territories of the Carduchians, for the prisoners had previously informed them that immediately on passing these mountains they would enter the province of Armenia, which was a fine open country, abounding with provisions, and was under the government of Orontas, and on arriving *there* they might henceforward direct their march at pleasure. On which the whole army paid their adorations to the gods, and offered sacrifice, to the end they might proceed, without interruption¹ (for they were fearful that the passes over the mountains were possessed by the enemy). The soldiers, therefore, were ordered immediately after supper to collect the baggage and retire to rest, and to be in readiness to march on the first signal.

¹ There were several kinds of sacrifices among the Greeks. Some were *Propitiatory*, and are said first to have been introduced by *Chiron*, the *Centaur*; some were *Free-will offerings*, *Χαριστήραι*, which were generally offered after a victory; others again, are called *Θυσίαι δωροφορικαί*, free gifts offered by the Peasantry after Harvest. For further illustration, see *Archæology*.

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK IV.

“Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἃς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρω ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐσπίσαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους, ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσῶν στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

THE statement contained in the preceding books, have shewn what happened, from the commencement of the expedition, to the battle between Cyrus and the king; also, what occurred between the king and the Greeks, from the conclusion of the truce, 'till Tissaphernes broke it; and the subsequent harassing of the Greek forces by the Persian army.¹ We proceed

¹ Writing, as well as every other art, is subject to the dominion of *fashion*, and varies as much as our dress. A strict observer may know nearly the date of a composition, from this evidence. In Xenophon's time, the parenthetical and recapitulatory mode, as here adopted, was the fashion; the former of which, is *now* properly discarded: indeed, the *semblance* of the latter is only to be found among old divines, and in summing up evidences in our courts of justice. In Milton's time, an exhibition of pedantry was all the rage, which is now as rigorously concealed. Hume, in imitating Tacitus, without possessing that writer's *double entendre*, which cut both ways, often sacrificed *truth* to the harmony of a period; which, by-the-bye, is nearly the fashion now; for such is the fastidiousness of our tastes, that the circumstantial of a fact, may be passed over with impunity, so that no "ands, whats, ifs, buts, wound the soul." — POPE.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἀπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάρυτος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δ' οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδοῦχια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. Ἦκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων ὅτι, εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδοῦχια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τῆ Τίγρης ποταμοῦ, ἦν μὲν βούλωνται, διαθήσσονται· ἦν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται, περιτᾶσι. Καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρηςτος

to state, that when the Greeks had arrived at that part of the Tigris¹ which from its breadth and depth was utterly unfordable, and no road presented itself but over the craggy cliffs of the Carduchian mountains;² the generals resolved on scaling it, for the prisoners, as already observed, had informed the Greeks, that immediately on these mountains being crossed, they would find themselves in that part of Armenia³ which contained the springs of the Tigris, round which they might march or cross the streams at pleasure. Moreover, the Greeks had learnt from the same quarter, that the sources of the Euphrates were at no great distance from those of the Tigris, and they had

¹ The Tigris is one of the most celebrated rivers of Asia, having its rise, according to Strabo, on Mount Taurus; but, agreeable to Pliny and our author, in Armenia Major. "Its name is derived," says Curtius, "from the rapidity with which it flows (a celeritate qua defluit);" but, in the opinion of others, from a *beast* so called, that infested its banks. Our author makes no mention of any such animal in his time, which leads to the belief that Curtius is correct. It disembogues into the Persian Gulph, near Teredonis.

² Τὰ Καρδοῦχια. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1083. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Τίγρει, τὰ τῶν Παρδυαίων χορῆα, οὓς οἱ πάλαι Καρδοῦχος ἐλεγον. Plin. Nat. His. lib. vi. c. 15. Adiabenis connectuntur Carduchi quondam dicti, nunc Cordueni, præfluente Tigri.

³ Armenia; supposed to have been originally called so from Ἐσπεριτων, or, the starry region. It is bounded on the north by Colchis and Iberia; on the east, by the barbarous nations of Media; on the south, by Assyria; and on the west, by the Euphrates, which separates it from that part of Cappadocia called Armenia Minor, whence a ridge of Anti-Taurus separates it from Pontus. This country is now called Al-Gezira. For a history of the domestic manners, see Lady Mary Wortley Montague's 42d letter, vol. iii.

εἶναι· καὶ ἔστιν οὗ τὸ στενόν. Τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ἄδε ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν περιώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα· ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδῖον, τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες, ἀπὸ παραγγέλλεως πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. Ἐνθα δὴ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἠγγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος, λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας πάντας· Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν ὀπλίταις εἶπετο, οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐδόκει κίνδυνος εἶναι, μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος, πρὶν τινα αἰσθῆσθαι τῶν

previously seen that the rivers themselves in some places approximated.¹ The paramount object of attention therefore was, how to surprise the mountaineers, for the Greeks judged, that if their design of penetrating into the Carduchian territories should transpire, that the king's troops, as well as the natives, would seize the passes, and render their attempt impracticable. It was executed, therefore, in the following manner.—About the last watch, when sufficient time of the night remained unexpired for traversing the plain unobserved, the Greeks decamped by *signal*, and made the foot of the mountain by break of day. The Greek light-armed troops and Cheirisophus's own division formed the van-guard, and were led on by that general in person, while Xenophon with the heavy-armed troops brought up the rear; for the latter officer retained no targeteers, in consequence of not being under any apprehension of an attack on his rear, while scaling the mountains. Fortunately, the commander of the van-guard seized the summit of the highest hill before the Carduchians observed

¹ 'Tis singular that both those wonderful rivers should have their rise in nearly the same spot, and that both should also disembogue near each other at the head of the Persian Gulph.

πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δὲ ὑψηγῆϊτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ ἄει τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος, εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκυσι τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὄρεων.

Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν Καρδοῦχοι ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ παῖδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἂν ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδοῦχοι διίεναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χάρας, ἐπέιπερ βασιλεῖ

him, and pressing immediately forward, ardently followed by the whole army, the villages that lay scattered on the declivities and recesses of the mountains were taken.

The Carduchians, however, with their wives and children, had quitted those villages before the Greeks entered them, and were hastening towards the hills, where they could procure provisions in abundance, but they had not secured the provisions in their Granaries; consequently, the Greeks found plenty. Those mountaineers inhabited good cottages,¹ and were well supplied with culinary utensils, which our soldiers left untouched; nor did they pursue the people, hoping, by using lenient measures, to prevail on the Carduchians to conduct them safely through their territories.² They cherished this hope

¹ In days of yore, the life of a mountaineer was considered a life of happiness, because it was a life of independence. He was seldom subject to any but his own Chieftain, which was elective. Our Scottish and Welch history, as that of Switzerland, furnishes us with abundance of proof on this subject. These Carduchians, and, indeed, all the mountaineers of Asia, were independent of the king, as proved by our author, and made war on him at pleasure; nor was this surprising, while tyranny reigned on the plains.

“The Mountaineer’s bold heart, the airy mountain hides
Among the clouds.”

“Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere.”

Georg.

² This might have been accomplished, had proper means been used; but the fact is, the main thing was wanting. The Greeks had no money to purchase provisions; added to which, an army is, at all times, and under every circumstance, an unfriendly visitor.

πολέμιοι ἦσαν. Τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια, ὅτε τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι, ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον, οὔτε ἄλλο φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν. Ὅτε δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἤδη σκοταῖοι, (διὰ γὰρ τὸ στενὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατάβασις εἰς τὰς κώμας) τότε δὴ συλλεγόντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδοῦχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινον τινὰς, καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι τινὲς ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροσδοκῆτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Εἰ μέντοι

the more cordially from a knowledge that the Carduchians were enemies to the king as well as themselves, and it was *this consideration* that caused the Greeks to take their provisions reluctantly; but *here, necessity was the compellant*.¹ Notwithstanding, the Carduchians were not to be prevailed on by kindness, nor by solicitations; neither would they shew the Greeks, previous to entering their villages, the least friendly disposition; on the contrary, the very moment the army began to descend from the hills through their narrow defiles into those villages, it being very dark, for the whole of the day had been employed in climbing and traversing the mountains, the Carduchians threw down large stones on them, and shot some arrows, by which several of the Greeks were killed and wounded; fortunately the Carduchians

¹ Ah! *necessity* is a rubber; perverting every species of *moral calculation*; no law can oppose it; and the individual under its influence ceases to be a moral agent, *so far as his own will is concerned*; but, how far he may be said to be a *secondary moral agent*, is another consideration, that has called forth the energies of the casuist in all ages; and will, in all probability, continue to do so, without adding much to our wisdom. *Here*, all Calvinists are involved, let them seek for what subterfuge they please, for all their reasoning comes to this point, "That man is what he is, from *necessity*." Hartley arrives at the same conclusions: "Man," says he, "*is the creature of circumstances*, and over those *moral elements* he has just as much controul, as over the *natural ones*." It is the opinion, however, of many, that this doctrine has an immoral tendency, and ought always to be kept in the back ground.

τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρήναι πολλά τῆ στρατεύματος. Καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἠύλισθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι κύκλω πυρὰ ἕκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρέων, καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους.

Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τὰ δυνατώτατα πορεύεσθαι ἔχοντας, καταλιπόντας τὰ ἄλλα, καὶ ὅσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, πάντα ἀφεῖναι. Σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποιοῦντο τὴν πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες, ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. Δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

were but few in number, which was occasioned by our surprising them; otherwise, had they had time to collect themselves, the consequences would have been very serious.¹ Under these apprehensions the Greeks passed the night in the villages, while the Carduchians, on the hills, made fires all around them, as signals for a general rise, and the look-out between *them* and the *Greeks* was mutual.

At day-break the generals and captains assembled and came to the resolution to reserve those baggage-horses only which were the most able, and that were absolutely necessary for drawing the baggage, and to dismiss all the others, in junction with the slaves recently taken; for the march of the army was not only retarded by them, but *these* employed a great many soldiers to look after them that might otherwise be engaged in the ranks: moreover, the number of consumers being lessened, necessarily, also, lessened the baggage. Having, therefore, come to this resolution, orders were instantly given to put it into execution.

¹ Mountaineer warfare is generally dreaded by a regular army. It was the Guerillas of Spain that destroyed the French army; and Xenophon himself says, "That the Carduchian mountaineers did the Greeks more injury than all the army of Tissaphernes and the king." See, also, Diodorus Siculus, lib. xiv. p. 257.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο ὑποστάντες ἐν στενωῷ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφιέμενον, ἀφηρῶντο· οἱ δ' ἐπεΐθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις τὶ ἐκλεψεν, ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας, ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. Καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν χειμῶν γίνεται πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἰκανὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ ἠγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ἀπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. Καὶ οἱ πολέμοιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενωῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρῶν, ἐγγύς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναχάζοντες, σχολῆ πᾶρῶν εσθαι· καὶ θαμινὰ πα-

After dinner, therefore, while the army was on march, and the van was just ready to pass a defile, the officers pressed forward and placed themselves on each side of it, and took from the soldiers every thing that had been proscribed by the general order; to which the men patiently submitted, unless any one had privately retained something valuable, or some beautiful *boy*,¹ or *female*, to whom he was partial, and thus the army marched that day; sometimes, indeed, skirmishing, and sometimes resting on their arms. The following day a violent storm arose, yet the men pressed on, being compelled through scarcity of provisions to do so. Cheirisophus still continued to command the van, and Xenophon the rear; and, on the Greeks approaching a narrow pass, the Carduchians commenced a brisk attack on them, pressing the army very closely; discharging both arrows and slings most rapidly; which circumstance compelled detachments of the Greeks to face about, and to pursue them; and thus, through pursuing, and again retreating to join their divisions, the main army could make but little progress. On one occasion, when the

¹ This shocking idea is too frequently presented to us.

ρήγγειλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο. Ἐνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο, ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἤγε ταχέως, καὶ παρηγγυάεσθαι ὥστε δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἴη· σχολὴ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἰτίον τῆς σπουδῆς ὥς ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῆς ἐγίνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεώνυμος, τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς, καὶ Βασίας Ἀρκὰς, διαμπερὲς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταδμὸν εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, ἤτιᾶτο αὐτὸν, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμεινε, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. Καὶ

enemy pressed exceedingly hard, Xenophon was obliged to command the whole army to halt, in order to repel them; and *this*, indeed, frequently occurred. On those occasions, Cheirisophus was generally attentive: but, it happened, on one attack of the enemy, when Xenophon ordered his rear to halt, that Cheirisophus did not, as usual, obey the signal, but pressed forward much faster than ordinary, which led Xenophon to suppose that something unforeseen had occurred; but there was no time to send to enquire the cause; hence, the march of the rear had all the semblance of a flight.¹ Through this circumstance, the brave Cleonymus, a Lacedæmonian, lost his life; an arrow from the enemy pierced quite through his shield and jerkin, entering his side. Basias, the Arcadian, also fell on the same occasion, by an arrow perforating his head. The army having arrived at the place of encampment, Xenophon went to Cheirisophus just as he was, and reproved him for not halting at the given signal as usual; and for causing his rear-guard to fight and fly at the same

¹ This was highly censurable in Cheirisophus; and though it will be seen that he attempted to justify his conduct, yet in doing so he made a very lame affair of it.

νῦν δύο καλῶ τε καὶ
 γαθῶ ἄνδρε τεθνάτην,
 καὶ οὔτε ἀνελεῖσθαι
 οὔτε θάψαι αὐτῶ ἐ-
 δυνάμεθα. Ἀποκρίνε-
 ται πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Χει-
 ρισοφος· Βλέψον, ἔφη,
 εἰς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἴδε ὡς
 ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί.
 Μία δὲ αὕτη ὁδὸς, ἣν
 ὄραξ ὀρθία· καὶ ἐπὶ
 ταύτην ὄραξ ἀνθρώπων
 ἔξεστί σοι ὄχλον το-
 σοῦτον, οἱ κατειληφό-
 τες φυλάττουσι τὴν
 ἐκθασιν. Ταῦτα ἐγὼ
 ἔσπευδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ-
 τό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον,
 εἴ πως δυναίμην φθά-
 σαι, πρὶν κατειληφθαι
 τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δὲ
 ἠγεμόνες, οὓς ἔχομεν,
 οὐ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην
 ὁδόν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν
 λέγει, Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω
 δύο ἄνδρας. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ
 ἡμῖν πράγματα παρ-
 εἶχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν,
 (ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνα-
 πνεῦσαι ἐποίησε) καὶ
 ἀπεκτείναμεν μὲν τι-
 νας αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας
 πρὸςθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν,
 αὐτοῦ τούτου ἔνεκεν,

moment:—“Look,” says he, “at the consequences; we have lost two brave and worthy men, without being either able to bury them, or to bring them off.” To which Cheirisophus replied: “Behold these mountains before you, and see the difficulties that present themselves—you see there is but one road, and that nearly inaccessible by an army, already possessed by many of the enemy, who stand ready to defend it—hence you may infer the motive which has influenced me to neglect the usual signal, that I might, by pressing forward make myself master of it before them: moreover, my guides assure me, there is no other road.”¹ To which Xenophon replied, “That he had two men with him also whom he had made prisoners—that he had placed some of his own men in ambush, on the enemy’s making their last attack, for that purpose, and had succeeded; indeed, by that act,” he said, “he had effected the double purpose of giving his army time to breathe, and had pro-

¹ This was a lame defence; for he had endangered the whole army, without gaining a single point. The military man will see, as he proceeds, that this General did not want bravery, but was exceedingly deficient in skill. The army was much mistaken in selecting him to lead the van; and, finally, we discover that he felt himself unequal to the task, and abandoned the army.

ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδῶσι
τὴν χώραν χρῆσώμε-
θα.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόν-
τες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
ἤλεγχον διαλαβόντες,
εἴ τινα εἶδεῖεν ἄλλην
ὁδὸν, ἢ τὴν φανεράν.
Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ
ἔφη, καὶ μάλα πολλῶν
φόβων προσαγομένων·
ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλι-
μον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶντος
τοῦ ἑτέρου κατασφάγη.
Ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι
οὗτος μὲν διὰ ταῦτα
οὐ φαίη εἰδέναι, ὅτι
αὐτῷ τυγχάνει θυγά-
τηρ ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ
ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ'
ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν
καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύ-
εσθαι ὁδόν. Ἐρωτώ-
μενος δ' εἰ εἴη τι ἐν
αὐτῇ δύσβαλον χωρίον,
ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ
μή τις προκαταλήψοι-
το, ἀδύνατον ἔσεσθαι
παρελθεῖν. Ἐνταῦθα
ἔδοκει, συγκαλέσαν-
τας λοχαγῶς καὶ πελ-
ταστᾶς, καὶ τῶν ὀπ-

cured guides who were acquainted with the country." These prisoners were, therefore, called before the officers of the army, who questioned them separately, whether they knew of any other road than the one before them. One of those men, though threatened with torture, declared he knew no other; but to strike terror into the survivor, *he* was immediately hung up.¹ On seeing which, the other prisoner said, that the motive which had induced his comrade to deny having a knowledge of the other road, was, because he had a daughter married to a man who lived in it; but, for his own part, he had no such motive, and would, therefore, undertake to conduct, not only the army by another road, but would shew them a road that was even to be travelled by the baggage-horses. He was then asked, whether in the road alluded to, there was any difficult pass. To which he answered, "That there was a summit, which, if not immediately secured, would almost render the march impracticable. On this information being obtained, an order was given to assemble the captains, the targeteers,

¹ This was extremely severe, yet was justified by the effect; our military history furnishes us with many correspondent examples.

λιτῶν, λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποσὰς ἐθελοντῆς πορεύεσθαι. Ὑφίστανται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀρισώνυμος Μεθυδριεύς Ἀρκᾶς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκᾶς. Ἀντεγασιάζον δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παρρᾶσιος Ἀρκᾶς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκᾶς· καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι, προσλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· εὖ γὰρ οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἔψονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου. Ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν, εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνητῶν ἢ ταξι-

and *some* of the heavy-armed troops;¹ who were immediately brought acquainted with the information obtained; and asked, who of them would shew their courage in volunteering for this service? When two Arcadian heavy-armed men offered themselves instantly; their names were Aristonymus and Agasias; the former was a native of Methydrria, the latter of Stymphalia.² But, Callimachus, a native of Parrhasia,³ and an Arcadian also, contended this point of honour with Agasias, as to whom should undertake it; the latter declaring that he *would go*, and lead with him some gallant youths, that he could pick out of the whole army; “For I am certain,” says he, “if I have the command, these young fellows will follow me.” Then the light-armed troops, and their officers, were

¹ In every army there are some crack regiments, who pique themselves on their military character; the forty-twa will immediately occur to the English reader; and *here* the targeteers, who were generally the van division, and *some* of the heavy-armed, were particularly looked to and depended on.

² By mentioning the names and nativities of those officers and men, who distinguished themselves, Xenophon did a great act of justice. How must these men, and the cities that gave them birth, have felt on this retreat being published in Greece! Military men can best judge of the one; and such cities as have bred up a Washington, &c. &c., of the other. Officers of candour have always followed Xenophon's example.

³ Parrhasia, Stymphalia, and Methydrria, were towns situated in the province of Arcadia; a country celebrated for shepherds and pastoral song. It was the central of the six provinces of Peloponnesus.

αρχῶν ἐθέλοι συμπο-
 εὔεσθαι. Ὑφίσταται
 Ἀριστεύς Χίος, ὃς
 πολλαχῆ πολλῶ ἄξιος
 τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς ταῦτα
 ἐγένετο.

Καὶ ἦν μὲν δειλῆ,
 ἤδη δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς
 ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσ-
 θαι· καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα
 δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν
 αὐτοῖς· καὶ συνίθηναι,
 τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἦν λάβω-
 σι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον
 φυλάττειν· ἅμα δὲ τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι
 σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν ἄνω ὄντας ἰέναι
 ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας
 τὴν φανεράν· ἐκβασιν
 αὐτοὺς δὲ συμβοηθή-
 σειν ἐκβαίνοντας ὡς
 ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα.

asked, whether they would take any part in the expedition? On which, Aristeus, a native of the isle of Chios¹ presented himself.

This soldier had signalized himself on many occasions. Tho' the day was now far advanced, yet the generals ordered those volunteers, after taking refreshments, immediately to go forward, delivering them the guide bound. It was, also, previously concerted, that if any possessed themselves of the eminence that night, they should hold it; and, at break of day, announce its capture by sound of trumpet: also, that those who held the mountain should charge the enemy who might throw themselves into the road; at the same moment they should see their comrades do so, who were advancing up the hill, which would effectually clear the passage for the whole army.²

¹ Chios, now called Scio, is a Grecian island, bordering on Asia Minor, and was the school and reputed birth-place of Homer. The inhabitants were, and still continue to be a brave people; they have recently suffered much from their Turkish masters, to whom they were transferred by Genoa, in 1566. At that time —

“ They ate, and sang, and danced away their time,
 Fresh as their groves, and happy as their clime.”

Sed res mutantur. They now look to England — England will protect them if she consults her interest.

² The military reader will see, that the Greeks regularly laid down their plans of attack; very little was left to the discretion of the officers of detachments; hence they generally succeeded. It is obvious, also, that Xenophon, tho' second in command, generally planned them.

Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, πληθὸς ὡς δισχίλιοι· (καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ) Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἠγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἐκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμοιοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ παριόντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδραν οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἦν ἔδει διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοτρόχως ἀμαξιαίους, καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάτους λίθους, οἱ φερόμενοι παίοντες πρὸς τὰς πᾶτρας διεσφενδωνῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ ὁδῷ. Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιντο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπίοντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον

Having settled their plan of attack, the detachment of volunteers set forward, being about two thousand in number; and though it rained most dreadfully all the night, Xenophon, notwithstanding, headed the advance of the rear-guard, offering to assail the passage before him; but this was a feint, for the purpose of concealing the design of the detachment.¹ When Xenophon, with his rear-guard, had arrived at a valley which was necessary to be crossed previous to their gaining the hill, the mountaineers immediately began their lapidary warfare, by rolling down vast round stones, and rocks of various sizes, some of which were a ton in weight; *these* coming in contact with the rocks on the declivities, would split into a thousand pieces, and their fragments be hurled in all directions, which rendered any approach to the road totally impossible. Some of the Greek captains, seeing that road impracticable, to keep up the feint, made shew as though they endeavoured to find out another; and thus laboured till the night overtook them, on which they retired unobserved, and

¹ This was a favourite mode of attack with Xenophon; and it is obvious, that he adopted it with a view of sparing the lives of his soldiers; a primary consideration with a good general.

ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· εἰύγχα-
νον δὲ καὶ ἀνάρις οἱ ὄντες
αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλα-
κήσαντες. Οἱ μέντοι
πολέμιοι οὐδ' ἀνεπαύ-
σαντο ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς
κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λί-
θους· τεκμήρασθαι δ'
ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ. Οἱ δὲ
ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα,
καὶ τὰ κύκλω περιϊόν-
τες, καταλαμβάνουσι
τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ
πῦρ καθημένους· καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναν-
τες, τοὺς δὲ καταδι-
ώξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦ-
θα ἔμενον, ὡς κατέ-
χοντες τὸ ἄκρον· οἱ δ'
οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ
μασὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν,
παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ
αὕτη ὁδὸς, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκά-
θητο οἱ φύλακες. Ἐ-
φοδοῦς μέντοι αὐτόθεν
ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν,
οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ
ἐκάθητο. Καὶ τὴν
μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα
διήγαγον·

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέ-
φαιεν, ἐπορεύοντο σι-
γῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ
τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ
γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο·
ὥστε ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς
προσελθόντες. Ἐπεὶ
δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἡ
τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγε-
το, καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες
οἱ Ἕλληνες ἵεντο εἰς
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δ'
οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ

took supper, for the rear-guard had not dined that day. The enemy, however, employed themselves in rolling down stones the whole of the night, which we knew from the tremendous noise they made in falling. Those, however, who marched round with the guide, had well improved the interim; for coming on the enemy, while they sat round a fire, unobserved, they killed some, and forced the others down the precipices, and thus took possession of the mountain. *Here*, however, our men committed a mistake;¹ for there was *still* another eminence above them, near which lay the defile in question, and where a guard was stationed: fortunately, there was a road that communicated between the two stations into the *chief road*. But the Greeks remaining where they were that night, omitted not to be in order of attack by break of day, and marching in silence against the enemy, surprised him, in consequence of a cloud that capped the mountain; but on seeing each other the trumpets sounded, and the Greeks, shouting, commenced the charge. The enemy, however, refused close quarters, and quitted the καταλιπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέ-

¹ More properly the guide.

θησκον· εὐζωνοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Χειρισόφου, ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος, εὐθὺς ἰεντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανερὰν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἢ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβαῖντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι· καὶ ἔτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τὰς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· (εὐδοωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις) τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις ὀπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε. Πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καίειλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἢ ἀποκόψαι ἦν ἀνάγκη, ἢ διεξεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν, ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δ' ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη ἐκβῆναι.

post, suffering very little loss, in consequence of their extreme activity.¹ On Cheirisophus hearing the trumpet sound, he immediately marched up the road that lay before him; the other generals took by-paths, each where he happened to be, climbing up with great difficulty, and holding out to each other the handles of their pikes, by way of mutual assistance; and *thus*, they who took these by-paths were the first to join the detachment who had gained the summit. Xenophon, with one half of the rear-guard, ascended the same road that had been taken by the detachment itself, in consequence of its convenience for the baggage-horses; the other half he ordered to come up behind them, by way of a guard. In their march, they perceived a hill occupied by the enemy, which commanded the road, whom the Greeks immediately saw must be dislodged, or they themselves would be cut off from the rest of the army: 'tis true, that the soldiers alone might have taken the same by-paths that the others had taken; but that was a task utterly impractic-

¹ Activity characterizes a mountaineer; for having little plain ground to walk on, he is accustomed, from infancy, to leap from rock to rock, like his goat. We have very astonishing descriptions of the mountaineer-carrier of the Andes, by Baron Humboldt. See that celebrated traveller's South America.

Ἐνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις, προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλω, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφ' ὁδου τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βέλοιντο φεύγειν. Καὶ ὀρώντες αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας, ὅπη ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος, οἱ βάρβαροι, οὔτε ἐτόξευον, οὔτε ἔβαλλον ἐγγυὺς ὁδοῦ προσιόντας, ἀλλὰ φυγῆ λείπουσι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ ἕτερον ὀρῶσιν ἐμπροσθεν λόφου κατεχόμενον, ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐθίς ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι. Ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν μὴ, εἰ ἔρημον καταλείποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον, καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθύνοντο τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις παριοῦσιν, (ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἅτε διὰ σενίης τῆς ὁδοῦ πορεύομενα) καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγοὺς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισιφῶντος, Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῶ αὐτῶ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰρούσιν. Ἐτι δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν πολὺ ὀρδιώτατος, ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κα-

able for the baggage-horses. Stimulating each other, therefore, to valorous enterprize, they made their attack in columns, taking care not entirely to surround the hill, but to leave a passage for the enemy to retire, should they feel disposed. The Carduchians, seeing the steady determined resolutions of our men, who marched up the hill without discharging a single arrow or dart, very soon quitted it. When the Greeks had gained this hill, they saw another before them, occupied by the enemy; *this* they resolved to carry, likewise. Xenophon, therefore, left a guard on the one just taken, to prevent the enemy from re-occupying it, and lest from hence they might annoy the baggage-horses as they passed; for, in consequence of the narrowness of the main road itself, these reached a long distance. Cephisodorus and Archagoras were therefore left in possession of this hill; the former was an Athenian, the son of Cephisiphon; the latter was a banished Argive: they were both veteran captains. Xenophon meanwhile marches on, and takes the next hill. There yet remained a third hill to be taken, by far the most difficult of access, and was the same eminence that commanded the post where

ταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν προελθόντων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγυὸς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστόν ὥστε θυμασὸν γενέσθαι πᾶσι, καὶ ὑπόπτειον δέισαντας αὐτοὺς μὴ κυκλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο, ἀπολείπειν. Οἱ δὲ ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὀπισθεν γιγνόμενα, πάντες ἐπὶ τῆς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν.

Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λοχαγοὶ προσμῖξειαν καὶ προσελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὀμαλῷ θέσσαι τὰ ὄπλα εἶπεν. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγώς, καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου, καὶ ὅτι τεθνήασι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς σέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι οἱ βάρ-

the guard was surprised at the fire, the night before, by the detachment. On the Greek soldiers drawing near, every individual of the enemy quitted it without opposition; which somewhat astonished our men; who suspected they had abandoned the place, fearing lest they should either be surrounded or cut off. But the fact was, that they had seen all that had passed at the other two hills, and had decamped with a view of falling on our rear.

Xenophon himself, with the most agile of his men, therefore, ascended the summit of this hill also, and commands the remainder to march slowly after, in order to give the two captains who were left behind time to join them. He gave orders, that when they had all rejoined, they should select some convenient place in the road, and stand to their arms. No sooner had he given this order, when behold Archagoras, the Argive, came flying from the enemy, and gave an account, "That the Greeks were driven from the hill, and that Cephisodorus and Amphicrates, and all the rest who had not leaped from the precipice and joined the rear, were slain."¹ The Carduchians being encouraged from

¹ Xenophon's presence was wanting, or they were out-numbered; for every thing seems to have been well planned.

βαροι, ἦχον ἐπ' ἀν-
 λίπορον λόφον τῷ μασ-
 τῷ· καὶ Ξενοφῶν διε-
 λέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρ-
 μηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν,
 καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆ-
 ρτει. Οἱ δ' ἔφασαν
 ἀποδώσειν, ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ
 καίειν τὰς κάμας.
 Συνομολόγει ταῦτα
 ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ
 τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στρατεύ-
 μα παρήει, οἱ δὲ ταῦ-
 τα διελέγοντο, πάντες
 οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου
 συνεβρύχησαν. Ἐνταῦ-
 θα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέ-
 μιοι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο
 καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλ-
 λους, ἔνθα τὰ ὄπλα
 ἔκειντο, ἴεντο δὴ οἱ
 πολέμιοι πολλῶν πλή-
 ρει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ
 ἔπει ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς
 κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ,
 ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέ-
 βαινεν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέ-
 τρας, καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν
 κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος·
 Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασ-
 πιστῆς, ἔχων τὴν ἀσ-
 πίδα, ἀπέλιπεν· Εὐ-

this success, next approached the hill where Xenophon was posted; but Xenophon treated with them through the medium of an interpreter, concerning a truce and the burial of the dead. The Carduchians consented to deliver them up, with a proviso the Greeks abstained from firing their villages, to which Xenophon agreed.¹ The other part of the army drew near while Xenophon was employed in treating: all the men, therefore, moved from the post they had occupied towards a given place, as proposed; upon which the Carduchians made a stand, and beheld the Greeks descend from the top of the hill, in order to join those who were drawn up beneath in order of battle; they then ascended in a large body, shouting, and after they had gained the top of that hill which Xenophon had quitted, they began to roll down, as before, large stones, by which one of our men had his leg broken. It was here, also, that Xenophon's armour-bearer deserted him, taking away his shield;² but Eurylo-

¹ The Greeks frequently did this when there was no necessity, and from mere wantonness. On one occasion, Xenophon himself severely censured them; and those who had done so were obliged to sleep exposed to the snow, which he calls a just retribution.

² Xenophon did not disclose the name of this man to his country, though there can be no doubt but he knew it; but he tells the name

ρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς Ἀρκᾶς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένους ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συνταγμένους ἀπήλθον.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις, καὶ ἐπιτηδείοις δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεσπράξαντο, ὡς λαβόντες τοὺς νεκρὰς ἐπιδοῦναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὡς περ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς. Τῇ δ' ὕστε-

chus, a native of Lusia, in Arcadia, one of the heavy-armed soldiers, ran to his relief, and covered both himself and Xenophon, while the others formed with those who were already drawn up.

The Greeks being all joined once more, took up their quarters in this neighbourhood, occupying many very elegant houses, where they found all kind of provisions in abundance; and so plenty was wine, that the natives were obliged to keep it in cisterns hewn out in the rock, or in others made artificially for the purpose. It was here that the Greek generals prevailed on the Barbarians to deliver up their dead in exchange for the guide. *These*, as far as the army had ability, were buried with all the honours of war, and in a manner becoming the brave.¹ The next day, the soldiers

and nativity of the soldier that ran to his relief. This was the character of Xenophon all over. When Cheirisophus abandons them in disgust, from the insubordination of the soldiers, Xenophon never censures him, but leaves him to the censure of his country. His maxim seems to have been, — “Be silent respecting the base; but praise the worthy.” But among the Germans, such an act as Xenophon’s armour-bearer perpetrated, would never have been forgiven. Vide sec. xiv. note 94, of the Translator’s Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

¹ It is needless to inform the classical reader, that the rites of sepulture were held very sacred among the ancients, and vast sums of money were spent on them. The Germans, however, according to Tacitus, despised them, and considered those rites as burthens to the departed. Vide De Mor. Germ. sec. xvi.

ραία ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπρоруόντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ὅπη εἶη στενὸν χωρίον προκαταλαμβάνοντες, ἐκάλυον τὰς παρόδους. Ὅσποτε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύειν, Ξενοφῶν ὅπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, ἔλυε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς πρώτοις, ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλύόντων· ὅποτε δὲ τοῖς ὅπισθεν ἐπιδοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων, καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλύόντων, ἔλυε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὅπισθεν. Καὶ αἰεὶ οὗτοι ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐσμελεῶντο. Ἦν δὲ ὅποτε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβάσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρείχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν· ἑλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο εἶχον, ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. Ἄριστοι δὲ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγύς τριπήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξέυ-

were obliged to march without any guide; and the enemy, by fighting, and by seizing the passes, endeavoured to prevent the Greeks from advancing. There was, therefore, only one mode of marching left; and that was, when the enemy opposed the van-guard, for the rear-guard to ascend some eminence that commanded them, and from hence cause them to desist; and so when the rear was attacked, for the van to relieve them in like manner, which Cheirisophus and Xenophon were very careful in performing. Sometimes, however, the natives gave the Greeks great annoyance, when about to descend those eminences they had ascended for their mutual relief — by pouring in volleys of darts and arrows; for those mountaineers were naturally very active; added to which, their armour, consisting only of a bow and arrows, offered little impediment. Moreover, they were extremely skilful archers,¹ and their bows nearly three cubits in length, and their arrows more than two.² Their manner of discharg-

¹ Another consequence of a mountaineer's life, who generally spends much time in hunting.

² The Grecian cubit was one foot six inches and an eighth English; consequently, the Carduchian bow must have measured six feet and one quarter of an inch; the arrow, something more than an English

ματα πλέον ἢ διωχήῃ· εἶλον δὲ τὰς νευράς, ὅποτε τοξεύοιεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου, τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. Τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων· ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἀκοντίοις, ἐναγκυλῶντες. Ἐν τέτοις χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο· ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἠύλισθησαν ἐν ταῖς κόμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποτα-

ing the arrow was peculiar; for they drew their string with an extraordinary force, by pressing on the lower part of the bow with their left foot. These arrows would frequently pierce the shield and corslet of our soldiers, who, after they had plucked them out, would use them instead of darts, by fixing a thong to them. It was during these trying seasons, that we found the value of our Cretan archers, who were commanded by Stratocles, a Cretan.¹

We stayed this day in those villages situate above the plain that extends to the river Centrites,² which we found

yard. The arrow must have been extremely heavy also, as we see the Greeks would frequently pluck them from their shields, and make darts of them.

¹ The Cretans stood exceedingly high in the page of mythological history. Their ancestors were called *Etheo-cretæ*, or earth-bred; another word for aborigines; and, of course, like all other nations whose patriarchs were unknown, were said to be indigenous. The first settlers, however, in this island, resided about Mount Ida, and were called *Idæi Dactyli*. From them sprang the nine *Curetes*, who first taught the use of the bow: hence their celebrity as archers. According to their own tradition, *Creta* gave birth to all the gods. The cave where *Jupiter* was nursed was in Mount Ida, and was selected for him by the *Curetes*, who ordered him to be fed on *amalthæ*; that is, goats' milk and honey; in remembrance of which, he gave the bee his gold-colour, &c., &c. *Vide Dio*, lib. vi. c. 14. It was in *Ida* —

“ Where *Juno* once caress'd her amorous *Jove*,
And the world's master lay subdued by love.”

² The name of this river is said to have been derived from *גתר*, *Gethere*, one of the sons of *Aram*, mentioned in *Gen. x. 23*. *Bochart*.

μὸν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδέχων χώραν· καὶ οἱ Ἕλληγες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο· ἀπειχε δὲ τῶν ὀρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ὡς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἠύλισθησαν μάλα ἡδέως, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. Ἐπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσας περ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ οἷα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους· Ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων, ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὀρώσιν ἰππέας πέραν

to be two plethra in breadth, and forms the boundary between Armenia and the Carduchian territories; *here* the army rested itself. The river Centrites was situated about six or seven stadia from the foot of the Carduchian mountains,¹ gliding through a fine plain, on the banks of which the army enjoyed itself after so much fatigue, by possessing every kind of provision in great plenty; often calling to mind the dangers they had encountered, and the perils they had escaped; for during the seven days they had been employed in marching over the Carduchian mountains, the army were continually engaged, and had suffered considerably more than from all the opposition of the king and Tissaphernes. Considering themselves, therefore, as relieved from those hardships, they rested with the greater satisfaction. But this pleasure did not last long; for as soon as it was day, they saw a body of horse, completely equipped, drawn up on the

¹ The Carduchii, by ancient historians, were called Cardueni, Cordæi, Gordi, Gordiæi: by the moderns, Cardes. We see, from our author, they inhabited a mountainous country; on one of which the Ark of Noah is said to have rested, after the Deluge. They were independent in Xenophon's time; but are said, by Strabo, to have been tributary to the Persians. The etymology of the term I take to be καρδία, the heart: indicating, that this people were residents of the *heart of Asia*. See map.

τῷ ποταμῷ ἐξαπλισ-
 μένους, ὡς κωλύσον-
 τας διαβαίνειν πεζοῦς
 δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις
 παρατεταγμένους ἄνω
 τῶν ἰππέων, ὡς κωλύ-
 σοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμε-
 νίαν ἐκβαίνειν. Ἦσαν
 δὲ οὗτοι Ὀρόντου καὶ
 Ἀρτούχου, Ἀρμένιοι
 καὶ Μυγδόνιοι καὶ
 Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι.
 Ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλ-
 δαῖοι ἐλευθεροὶ καὶ ἄλ-
 κιμοὶ εἶναι ὅπλα δ'
 εἶχον γέβρα μακρὰ
 καὶ λόγχας. Αἱ δὲ
 ὄχθαι αὐταί, ἐφ' ὧν
 παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι
 ἦσαν, τρία ἢ τέτταρα
 πλῆθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ πο-
 ταμοῦ ἀπέιχον· ὁδὸς
 δὲ μία ἢ ὀρωμένη ἦν
 ἄγουσα ἄνω, ὥσπερ
 χειροποίητος· ταύτη
 ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν
 οἱ Ἕλληες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
 πειραμένοις τό, τε ὕδωρ
 ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐ-
 φαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς
 ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλοις
 λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς,
 καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὕδατι
 τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ
 δὲ μὴ, ἤρπαζεν ὁ πο-
 ταμὸς ἐπὶ τε τῆς κε-
 φαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἰ τις

other side of this river, ready to op-
 pose their passage; and above the
 horse was another body of infantry,
 arranged on an eminence, in order to
 prevent the Greeks from penetrating
 into Armenia. These troops were
 composed of Armenians, Mygdonians,
 and Chaldæans,¹ all of whom were mer-
 cenaries in the pay of Orontas and
 Artuchus. The Chaldæans were re-
 ported to be a free people, and ex-
 tremely warlike; whose weapons of
 defence were long shields and spears.
 The eminence on which they were ar-
 ranged was situated about four hun-
 dred feet from the river. The only
 road to be discovered led over the hill,
 and appeared to be the work of art.
 It was right fronting this road that the
 Greek army made an effort to cross;
 but found, by trial, that the water
 reached up to their breasts, and was
 quite difficult to wade, on account of
 the bottom being filled with large slip-
 pery stones. In addition to this, the
 stream was rapid, which rendered it im-
 possible for the soldiers to carry their
 shields in a defensive position; and if
 they attempted to carry them on their
 heads, they were not only carried away

¹ Not Chaldæans, but Chalybes; as proved, beyond all doubt, by Strabo, page 377.

φέρει, γυμνοὶ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βέλη· ἀνεχώρησαν οὖν, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.

Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσωρίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τὰς διαβαίνειν κωλύσοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὀπισθεν. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμενον ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὐταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόματοι περιβραγῆναι, ὡς εἰ λυ-

by the stream, but were completely vulnerable to the enemy's darts and missiles. The Greeks, therefore, gave over the attempt, and again encamped on the banks of the river.

On turning their eyes on the rear, they saw a great body of Carduchians collected together on the mountains, and were resting themselves in the very place where the Greeks had previously encamped. On observing *this* the army became much dejected; for, in front of them was a river scarcely fordable, whose margin was lined with armed men, ready to attack them if they attempted to cross; whilst another army was waiting an opportunity to fall on their rear at the same moment.¹ The Greeks were obliged, therefore, to remain encamped where they were the whole of that day and the following night, not knowing what to attempt. On this night Xenophon was visited with the following vision:² He dreamt he was bound in chains; that they spontaneously burst asunder and

¹ We can hardly conceive of an army more perilously situated; yet we shall see the genius of Xenophon adequate to the task of affording the necessary aid.

² Xenophon was a real believer in dreams, though they seem to have come upon him very opportunely; which would lead a sceptic to the conclusion, that they were not *real*, but *political dreams*. We know that *political dreamers*, finally, were a necessary appendage to an army.

θῆναι, καὶ διαβαίνειν ὀπόσον ἐβέλειο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρισόφον, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπιδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι· καὶ διηγείται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. Ὁ δὲ ἤδετό τε, καὶ ὡς τάχιστα, ἕως ὑπέφαινε, ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερά καλὰ ἦν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου. Καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. Ἄρισῶντι δὲ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προστρέχειον δύο νεανίσκω· ἠδὲσαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν· καὶ, εἰ καθεύδοι, ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴτι τις ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· καὶ τότε ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ, καῖπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά τε, καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ παιδίσκας

fell from him, on which he found himself at liberty to go where he pleased.¹ Immediately, therefore, at day-break, he dressed himself, and visited Cheirisophus, and related to him his dream; adding, that he had great hopes therefrom, that all would terminate well. Cheirisophus was also cheered on his relating it; and, during the approach of morn, all the generals offered sacrifice. — The first victims were propitious. The oblation being ended, the generals and captains departed, and ordered the soldiers to take breakfast. Whilst Xenophon was taking his, two young soldiers came to him, — for he was always accessible, whether eating or sleeping, to those who had any thing to communicate relative to the weal of the army, or the operations of the war,² — who told him, “That while they were collecting brush-wood for fire, they observed, on the other side of the river, among the rocks that reached quite down to the margin, an old man and woman, with some female servants,

¹ Very analogous, certainly, to delivery from difficulties. I am almost tempted to believe this dream to have been manufactured; and I should come to this conclusion at once, were it not for the circumstance that followed, and the character of the man.

² An example is here offered to all commanders: and though Xenophon relates it himself, the fact, I think, is proved from the circumstance, that the soldiers always brought him the first intelligence.

ὡςπερ μαρσίππους ἰ-
μαλίων κατατιθεμένους
ἐν πέτρα ἀνθρώδει.
Ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφίσι δόξαι
ἀσφαλῆς εἶναι διαβῆ-
ναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πο-
λεμίοις ἰππεῦσι πρόσ-
βατον εἶναι κατὰ τῆτο.
Ἐκδύντες δὲ, ἔφασαν
ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια
γυμνὰ ὡς νευσούμενοι
διαβαίνειν· πορευόμε-
νοι δὲ, πρόσθεν δια-
βῆναι πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ
αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβάντες,
καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἰμά-
τια, πάλιν ἤκειν.

Εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Ξενο-
φῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπευδε,
καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις
ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ
εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι
θεοῖς τὰ τε ὄνειρατα
καὶ τὸν πόρον, καὶ τὰ
λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτε-
λέσαι. Σπείσας δὲ,
εὐθύς μὲν ἦγε τοὺς
νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν

hiding something that had the appear-
ance of bags filled with wearing ap-
parel. On seeing which, they thought
of crossing the river, judging, that by
reason of this rock they would be
secured from the enemy's cavalry.
They accordingly undressed themselves
for that purpose, and taking their
naked swords in their hands, plunged
into the river, thinking to swim over;
when they were astonished on finding
themselves the other side, before the
water had even reached their middles;
they, therefore, had secured the clothes,
and had repassed." On hearing which,
Xenophon made a libation himself, and
commanded wine to be given to these
young soldiers to do likewise, desiring
them to offer their prayers to the gods
who had sent him the vision, and had
caused them to discover the fords, to
complete the happiness of the army.¹
The libation being made, Xenophon
immediately took the two young men

¹ Ἐσπευδε: — poured out a libation, not of γάλα, but of οἶνος; not of milk, which was sometimes the custom, but of wine: the former was rarely used among the Greeks, as is abundantly proved by Homer. See, also, Aristop. Εἰρ. v. 1102. Ἐγχεῖ δὲ σπονδὴν, &c., &c. Sometimes, on a very solemn occasion, both wine, milk, and blood were used —

“ He pour'd to *Bacchus*, on the hallow'd ground,
Two bowls of sparkling wine; of milk two more;
And two from offer'd bulls of purple gore.”

DRYDEN'S *Virgil*.

For further illustration, see the Archæology, lib. ii. c. 4.

Χειρίσοφον· καὶ διηγοῦνται ταῦτα. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χειρίσοφος, σπονδὰς ἐποίησε. Σπείσαντες δὲ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐβουλεύσαντο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαίην, καὶ τοὺς τε πρόσθεν νικῶεν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπίσθεν μηδὲν κακὸν πάσχοιεν. Καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι· τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγοῦντο δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτρα σταδία.

Πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἰππέων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσοφος ἐσεφανωμένος καὶ

to Cheirisophus, to whom they again related the circumstance; who also poured out libations to the gods, for their goodness. He then commanded the army to get the baggage ready. A consultation of the generals followed; in order to devise the best plan of attacking their opposers in front and rear, and of crossing the river the most securely. The plan laid down was, for Cheirisophus to lead the van, and pass with one half of the army *only*, while the other should stay with Xenophon; that the baggage-horses and material of the army should pass over in the middle, secure from attack while fording. This being the manner determined on, the army began to march, the two young soldiers leading the way, with the river on their left. The distance, from the place of encampment to the fords, was about four stadia.

Whilst the Greeks marched on this side of the river, several bodies of the enemy's horse advanced on the opposite banks; but, on arriving at the fords, the Greeks stood to their arms; when Cheirisophus, with a coronet of flowers¹ on

¹ Ἐσεφανωμένος is found in the Eton manuscripts *σεφανωσάμενος*: notwithstanding, the coronets of flowers, used on solemn occasions, were very different from those used at feasts. They were properly de-

ἀποδὺς ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε· ἢ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. Καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐξικνουῦντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀηλάλαζον, συναλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες

his head, stripped, and assuming his arms, commanded all the men to follow his example. He then ordered the captains to draw up their companies in columns, and some to march on each side of him. The priests at the same moment offered sacrifice, pouring the blood of the victims into the river,¹ whilst the enemy showered a volley of stones and darts at us, but without effect. The priests then examined the victims; the indications were favourable: on which the soldiers sung the pæan, and invoked the god of war by a shout, which the women² cheerfully

signated by the first epithet, and not the second. Xenophon, therefore, has used a correct term; for this was a garland of devotion, as seen by the priests pouring the blood of the victims into the river, &c., &c.

¹ Ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς has been interpreted by some of the critics, "They sacrificed to the river," which must be allowed, was not an uncommon circumstance; but Hutchinson says, "Rectius forsan verteris in flumen, than ad flumen;" though examples are not wanting of the latter practice. Vide Arrian de Exp. Alex. lib. i. c. 2. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ μετὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐγένετο σφάζαντα ταῦρον, τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Νηρηῖσι σπένδειν ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης εἰς τὸν πόντον.

² It will be recollected by the classical reader, that the German women always accompanied, and frequently fought by the side of their husbands; nor was it any uncommon thing for the children to be brought near the lines, that the voices of those sacred pledges might animate and call forth the extraordinary courage of the warrior. "Et in proximo pignora: unde feminarum ululatus audiri unde vagitus infantium: hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores." "Near at hand, within hearing of the lines, are seated their dearest pledges, *their wives and children*. These are, to the German, the most sacred witnesses of his heroic deeds, and the most liberal applauders of them." No doubt: and in fact, that man's heart must be dead indeed — doubly dead — that is

ἄπασαι. Πολλὰ γὰρ ἦσαν ἑταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, λαβὼν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους, ἔδει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄριον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἑκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη προσποίμενος ταύτη διαβάς ἀποκλείσειν τὴς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἵππεις. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὄρωντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπετῶς τὸ ὕδωρ διαπερῶντας, ὄρωντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς

re-echoed; for the soldiers had many mistresses with them.¹

Immediately, the general, followed by his division, plunged into the river; whilst Xenophon led back the most active of the rear-guard, with all possible expedition, to that part which lay right opposite the road that crossed the Armenian mountains; thereby making a feint to relieve Cheirisophus. This had the desired effect; for the enemies' cavalry who had advanced opposite, on seeing Cheirisophus crossing easily, and

not alive to the praises of his wife and children. The soldier invokes the god of war by a shout, which the women cheerfully re-echoed — yes, and if the truth was known, filled the hearts of the Greeks with more courage than even old Mars himself. One could fancy he saw the army look round to them with a smile, which the females interpreted, “Yes, I know you will take care of us.”

¹ “Where will not a woman go after a man?” is an exclamation we so often hear, that it would appear trite to remark on it, did not such striking exhibitions, illustrative of the fact, so frequently present themselves on the face of history; and how benevolent it was in the Author of Nature to have planted the propensity *thus strongly*, has as often been celebrated by the poet as the philosopher. *The manner* of shewing itself sometimes displeases us; but this frequently happens, we are told, for the want of enlarged views, or a philanthropic feeling; — for,

“All Women would be of one piece,
The virtuous Matron and the Miss,
The Nymphs of chaste *Diana's* train,
The same with those in *Lukenor's* lane,
But for the difference marriage makes
’TwiXt Wives and *Ladies of the Lake.*”

Hudibras.

Notwithstanding, I am a decided enemy to the doctrine of Sir Walter Raleigh — a *promiscuous intercourse*, from a certain knowledge of its destructive consequences; tho’ I am not sanguine enough to expect to see the evil speedily removed. Legislation cannot effect it, and ’tis certain that nothing but the prevalence of a pure morality can.

τοῦμπαλιν, δεισαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθῆϊσαν, φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἑκβασιν ἄνω. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. Λύκιος δὲ ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἰππέων, καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεται, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθύς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὄρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἰππέας φεύγοντας, ὄρῶντες δὲ ὀπίστας ἐπιόντας σφίσιν, ἐκλείψουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

Ξενοφῶν δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἐώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στρατεύμα. (Καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδῆχοι

Xenophon marching back with all possible haste, became apprehensive lest they should be placed between two fires. They therefore fled with precipitation back to the road that led into Armenia, and having made it, continued their march up the mountain.¹ As soon, therefore, as Lycius, who commanded the cavalry, and Æschines, who commanded the targeteers of Cheirisophus's division, perceived the enemy to fly with so much haste, they followed them, the rest of the soldiers declaring they would not be left behind. However, when Cheirisophus had passed the river with his heavy-armed men, he did not attempt to pursue the horse, but marched with a view of attacking the infantry² that was posted higher up; but the infantry of the enemy perceiving that their cavalry had deserted them, and seeing our heavy-armed soldiers advancing rapidly, quitted the eminence that commanded the river.

Xenophon, who was on the look-out for opportunities, immediately on the discovery that all went well, marched back as quickly as possible to the fords, where he found some soldiers still crossing. By this time the Carduchians in

¹ This was a downright piece of cowardice.

² Here Cheirisophus acted like a prudent general.

φανερὸν ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καταβαίνοντες, ὡς ἐπιθυσόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις.) Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπωδιῶσαι, ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. Καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε· Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδύχους, ἀντὶα τὰ ὄπλα ἔθετο· καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἐαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγούς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχας, πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἵεναι, οὐραγούς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὡς ἑώρων τὰς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλομένους, καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θάττον δὴ ἐπήεσαν, ᾧδᾶς τινὰς ἄδοντες. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τὰς πελταστας καὶ σφενδονήτας

the Greek rear were in movement, and were seen descending from the mountains, with a view of falling on Xenophon's division while crossing the river. Cheirisophus had very opportunely arranged himself on the eminence which the enemy's infantry had previously occupied; and Lycius, with his men, had taken some of the enemy's baggage, containing rich silver goblets and embroidered vests; at the same moment the Greek baggage and the guard who had charge of it were in the act of crossing; on which Xenophon suddenly faced about, and prepared to meet the Carduchians. The order of attack was, for all the captains to divide their respective companies into separate and distinct bodies of twenty-five men each, and to extend their front to the left; then, for the captains of these divisions to march against the enemy, leaving the rear man of every file posted on the bank of the river.

The Carduchians, in the mean time, were coming on singing, believing they should make an easy conquest, in consequence of the major part of the army having crossed; but Cheirisophus, though secure himself, immediately despatched his targeteers, slingers, and archers, to the assistance of his

καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν παραγγέλλῃ. Ἴδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς καταβαίνοντας ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μείναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἔκβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλισμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς, καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προδιαβαίνειν. Τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῶν παρήγγειλεν, ἔπειδ' ἂν σφενδόνη ἐξικνῆται, ἢ ἀσπίς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν αἰεὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδ' ἂν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπικτῆς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγείσθαι μὲν τὰς οὐραγούς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας ὀπιτάχιστα, καὶ διαβαίνειν ἢ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζεῖν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο, ὃς ἂν

colleague, with peremptory orders for them implicitly to obey Xenophon. But Xenophon seeing them descend the hill, despatched his aid-de-camp, commanding them the moment they should arrive at the margin of the river to make a dead halt, and when they should see him advance into the river, *then* they should also proceed to meet him, with the darters' fingers on their slings, and the archers with their arrows on the bow-string. This was intended as a *feint*, for he commanded them only to make every preparation to advance, but not to advance, in reality, but a few paces into the river. Xenophon commands his own division, at the same moment, that when the light troops should find themselves sufficiently near the enemy to reach them with their slings, the heavy-armed should strike their shields against their pikes, sing the pæan, and advance to the charge; that on the enemy being routed, the trumpet should sound the charge, which should be the signal for them immediately to face about, make their rear the front, and in that order retreat, and cross the river with all possible speed. He added, that he should consider that man the best soldier, who

πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται.

Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὀρῶντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιποὺς, (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ἄρχοντο ἐπιμελησόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευοφόρων, οἱ δὲ ἐταίρων) ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως, καὶ ἤρξαντο σφενδοῦν καὶ ἰοξέειν. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ἄρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὠπλισμένοι, ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι, οὐχ ἱκανῶς. Ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτής· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θᾶπτον· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τὰ ἐναντία στρέψαντες, ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὀπίσσω. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες αἰσθανόμενοι, πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ, καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. Οἱ δὲ ὑπανήσαντες, ἀνδριζόμενοι, καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες, ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

should first set his foot on the opposite side.¹

The Carduchians, on seeing the paucity of our numbers, — for a great many of those who had orders to remain had passed over, with a view of guarding the baggage-horses, &c., — came up boldly towards the Greeks, and began to use their slings and darts; but on our soldiers singing the pæan, and advancing to the charge, the mountaineers turned shy; (indeed, those men were only armed for mountain-warfare, their weapons being ill adapted for close quarters,) but on our trumpets sounding the charge, they fled with the greatest precipitation; on which the Greeks faced about, and crossed the river with all possible expedition, as directed. Some of the enemy, on seeing this manœuvre, ran back to the river, and wounded a few of our men with their arrows; but the major part were seen to continue their flight, even after our soldiers had crossed. Those light troops of Cheirisophus, also, who had advanced to meet us in the water, impelled by success and valour, crossed quite to the opposite side, and a few of them got wounded on returning.

¹ All this the military man must admire.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίων ἅπαν, καὶ λείους γηλόφους, οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κώμαι, διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τὰς πρὸς Καρδούχους. Εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην, μεγάλη τε ἦν, καὶ βασιλείον τε εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια

Although by the time the whole army had thus passed mid-day had arrived, yet, on being drawn up in their ranks, the generals determined *immediately* to prosecute their march over the Armenian mountains, which were intermixed with some hills of gentle acclivity; nor did they halt 'till they had completed five parasangas:¹ indeed, there were no villages near the river, in consequence of the continual warfare carried on between the Armenians and Carduchians, for the troops to rest in.² However, on the completion of this march, they arrived at a very large village, that had the Palace of a Satrap in it; and so elegantly were the houses of this village constructed, that almost every one of them had turrets on the top.³ It is needless to say, that in a place of this description the

¹ The generals never co-operated better than on this occasion; nor could any resolution be formed under the influence of a more correct judgment, than, immediately to cross the mountains. They seized the very moment the enemy was panic-struck, to obtain a most important march.

² And if there had, it would have been the greatest of all folly to have remained in them: but paucity of houses and people is very observable on the frontiers of most warlike nations. Woe be on the poor cottagers who reside in such places.

³ It was common among the Asiatics to pitch tents on the tops of their houses, to enjoy the cool evening breeze: it was much practised in Palestine; and particularly so by the descendents of Abraham. The feast of tabernacles was always thus celebrated, &c. &c. and the reasons for so doing the Jewish writers explain.

δ' ἦν δαψιλῆ. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρις ὑπερήλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σαθμὰς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβοῶν ποταμόν. Οὗτος δ' ἦν μέγας μὲν οὐ, καλὸς δέ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν. Ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. Ἰσθαρχος δ' αὐτῆς ἦν Τηριβάζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος· καὶ ὅποτε παρείη, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. Οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ

Greeks found provisions in abundance. The army having refreshed themselves, proceeded on their march, and in two days, by making ten parasangas, found themselves above the springs of the Tigris. From hence they made, in three marches, ten parasangas more, and arrived on the river Teleboas.¹ This river, though not large, was extremely beautiful, its banks being fringed with villages. On enquiry, the Greeks found they were in Western Armenia, a province that was under the government of the Satrap Teribazus,² a nobleman of tried fidelity to the king; indeed, in so great esteem was he held, that no one, when he was present, ever assisted the king to mount his horse.³ This nobleman rode up to the Greeks with a body of

¹ This river has its rise in the Armenian mountains, and discharges itself into the Euphrates. See map.

² Vide lib. xiv. Dio, for illustration.

³ Wonderful! I suppose he was master of the horse. Kings used to hold this honourable office to Popes, and his holiness was frequently attended by two, one to each stirrup. Sometimes, indeed, *but very rarely*, these privileged monarchs had the extreme honour, not only to kiss the Pontiff's great toe, but to perform obeisance to God's Vicegerent and representative; and well did they console themselves:

“ We are but subjects, *Maximus*; obedience
To his Holiness is all we can call ours.”

Roch. Valent.

- - - “ Sure 'tis an orthodox opinion,
That *grace* is founded in *dominion*.
Great piety consists in pride;
To rule, is to be sanctified.”

Hudibras.

προπέμψας ἑρμηνέα, εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιο δι-αλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. Τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκούσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον, ἠρώτων τί θέλοι. Ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιο ἐφ' ᾧ μήτ' αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν, μήτ' ἐκείνους καίειν ἰὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε ἂ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσων δέοινο. Ἐδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σαδμοὺς τρεῖς, διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τηρίβαζος παρεκολούθει, ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὡς δέκα σταδίους· καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασιλεία καὶ κώμας πλείους πολλὰς, πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεσῆς. Στραλοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τῆς νυκ-

cavalry, and desired, through the medium of his interpreter, to speak with the Greek generals. The latter thought proper to treat him courteously, and when they had advanced within hearing, asked his pleasure. He said, he was desirous to enter into an agreement with them, on the following terms; viz. "That on condition the Greeks would abstain from burning the villages,¹ he would abstain from harassing them, and they should be at liberty to take what provisions they wanted;" to which the Greek generals most cordially acceded, and ratified an agreement to that effect.

From hence they advanced over a plain country, and in three days made fifteen parasangas; Teribazus keeping in their rear about the distance of ten stadia. *Here* they again saw another Palace, surrounded with many beautiful villages, which were full of all kind of provisions.² While the Greeks lay encamped in this place, there fell so great a snow, that they

¹ We have before observed, that the Greeks sometimes did this wantonly; but here it will be seen, that the only object the Satrap had in view, was to preserve those villages in his own viceroyship from conflagration.

² Though the Greeks had made an agreement with this man, yet there appears to have been a mutual look-out. The Greeks knew that a Persian Satrap

----- "Mortally abhorr'd,
The old-fashion'd trick to keep his word."

Hudibras.

τὸς χιῶν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων πολέμιον ἕδνα, καὶ ἀσφαλῆς ἐδόκει εἶναι, διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῆς χιόνος. Ἐνταῦθα εἶχον πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερῆα, σῖτον, οἶνους παλαιούς, εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, σπρια πανλοδαπά. Τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον ὅτι κατῆδοιεν σφάτευμα, καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. Ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς εἶναι διασκηῆν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ σφάτευμα. Πάλιν ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει διαιθριάζειν. Νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα, ἐπιπίπτει χιῶν ἀπλετος· ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπέδησεν ἢ χιῶν, ἢ πολὺς ὄκνος ἢ ἀνίστασθαι κατακειμένων δὲ ἐλεεινὸν ἦν χιῶν ἐπιπεπ-

resolved on entering the villages to sleep; moreover, there was no enemy in sight, and the snow itself might serve the purposes of a guard.¹ Here the soldiers found horn-cattle, corn, fragrant old wines, raisins, legumens, and, in fact, provisions of every description.² The happiness of the army was a little interrupted by a report of an enemy being seen by a few of the soldiers who had straggled from the villages, and who had observed, they said, many of their fires. On this report being rumoured, the Greek generals thought it advisable to quit the villages, and collect the army into one camp, which was done accordingly.³ The first night they passed in this camp there fell so great a snow, that both men and arms were buried while they lay on the ground; and the baggage-horses were so benumbed with cold, that it was with great difficulty they could be made stand on their legs. The sight of the men lying

¹ "No enemy in sight, and the snow answering the purpose of a guard," seems to imply, that the Greeks considered this Satrap in the capacity of an enemy, and would not trust him.

² And, no doubt, made very free with them.

³ Past experience had shewn them the necessity of taking this necessary precaution.

τωκυῖα ὅτω μὴ παρ-
 ἀρρύνει. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξε-
 νοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμ-
 νὸς ἀναστᾶς σχίζειν
 ξύλα, τάχα ἀναστᾶς
 τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου
 ἀφελόμενος ἔσχισεν.
 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ
 ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ
 ἔκαιον καὶ ἐχρίοντο.
 πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἡύ-
 ρισκον τὸ χρίσμα, ᾧ
 ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου,
 σύειον, καὶ σησάμινον,
 καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον, ἐκ
 τῶν πικρῶν, καὶ τερε-
 βίνθινον. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν
 αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μῦ-
 ρον εὐρίσκετο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν
 ἐδόκει διασκηγτέον εἶ-
 ναι κατὰ τὰς κόμας,
 εἰς στέγας. Ἐνθα δὴ

under the snow was most appalling :¹
 notwithstanding, Xenophon sprung up,
 naked as he was, and began splitting of
 wood ; which, as soon as a soldier saw,
 he sprang up likewise, and took the
 wood from him, and began to split it
 himself.² On this the whole army arose,
 made fires, and commenced anointing
 themselves ; for they found many sorts
 of emollients in the villages, which an-
 swered all the purposes of oil, these
 were made of hog's-lard, sesame-oil, oil
 of bitter almonds, and turpentine ; and
 one of these ointments was very pre-
 cious, being a compound of the whole.³

This night's experience determined
 the Greeks again to repair to the vil-
 lages, and recline under cover. On
 the generals issuing this order, the

¹ This occurred between the thirty-ninth and fortieth degrees of north latitude ; but we have before stated, that *altitude* is to be considered. Vide map.

² Xenophon seems to have led the way in every thing : the picture is pretty ; the soldier would not be outdone by his general, nor see him degrade himself by servile employment. 'Tis pleasant to the nerves, to witness contests of this nature ; nor do we know which the most to admire. In fact, it shews *they were both good*. But *this* we may confidently assert, " That the *best obedience* is, that which our own actions excite." " Et duces, exemplo potius quàm imperio." Tacitus, de Mor. Germ.

³ Frost and fire have correspondent effects on the vegetable and animal world ; and *oil* was usually considered an antidote to both, particularly by eastern physicians : great quantities are still used externally by the Asiatics for these purposes, — sometimes simply for ornament.

- - - - - " And oil
 To make his face to shine."

οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δὲ, ὅτε τοπρότερον ἀπήεσαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπερῃσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας δίκην ἐδίδοσαν, κακῶς σκηνοῦντες· Ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν τῆς νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τεμενίτην, ἄνδρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρρά· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεύσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα, καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. Πορευ-

soldiers ran with shouting towards the houses and provisions; but some who had burnt their houses on quitting them, were *justly punished*, by being compelled to encamp abroad, exposed to the inclemency of the weather.¹ The generals thought proper, however, to send, that very night, a detachment to those hills where fires had been seen, that they might reconnoitre and report thereon. The command of this detachment was given to Democrates, a native of Temenus, an officer who might be depended on, because he was always very particular in his enquiries in things of that nature; in fact, he *would* inform his own eyes.² On his

¹ They were; and this conduct, I have no doubt, procured them the hostility of Teribazus;—in fact, it was a breach of their agreement with that Satrap.

² History presents us with fatal consequences arising from employing improper persons on such occasions: the man sent to reconnoitre should inform his *own eyes*, he must not trust to *his ears*; moreover, he must be a man of intrepidity, — completely divested of fear; *for this passion* will frequently make all our senses deceive us. Witness the conduct of Condidius to Cæsar, mentioned in the first book of the Commentaries: he completely defeated the enterprise of Titus Labienus, and prevented Cæsar from obtaining an early victory. The substance of this affair is as follows:—The Swiss were encamped at the foot of a hill; Cæsar's approach was unknown; Cæsar, therefore, sends Titus Labienus, with two legions, under cover of the night, to seize the top of the hill, which that officer effected without being discovered. On the break of day, Condidius comes flying to Cæsar, and informs him, that "Labienus had not succeeded, as he knew *that*, from seeing the Gallic arms and standards flying on the hill," which story his *own fears* had manufactured; Cæsar, consequently, withdrew his forces, and lost a fine opportunity for crushing the enemy. Under a supposition that this

θεῖς δὲ, τὰ μὲν πυρὰ
οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα
δὲ συλλαβῶν ἦκεν ἄ-
γων, ἔχοντα τόξον
Περσικόν, καὶ φαρέ-
τραν, καὶ σάγαριν,
οἶανπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες
ἔχουσιν. Ἐρωτώμε-
νος δὲ τὸ, ποδαπὸς εἶη,

return, he said, he could neither discover fires, nor vestiges of them; but having taken a prisoner, he had brought him with him.¹ This prisoner had in his hand a Persian bow and quiver, and a battle-axe, such as the Amazonians use;² on being interrogated as to his

book may fall into the hands of some young officer, I will give the passage in detail: — “Prima luce, quum summus mons à T. Labieno teneatur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset; neque; ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus, aut Labieni, cognitus esset; Considius, equo admisso, ad eum accurrit: dicit montem, quem à Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri: *id se ex Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse.* Cæsar suas copias in proximum collem subducit; aciem instruit. Labienus ut erat ei præceptum à Cæsare, ne prælium committeret, nisi ipsius copiæ prope hostium castra visæ essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato, nostros exspectabat, prælioque abstinebat. Multo denique die per exploratores cognovit Cæsar, et montem a suis teneri, et hostes castra movisse, *et Considium timore perterritum, quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renunciassent.* Considius ought to have been deprived of his commission. In modern warfare, however, few subalterns are entrusted with missions of such importance. It was a custom with the great Napoleon, on an affair of more than ordinary moment, to reconnoitre himself: he would trust to no officer whatever; nor will any commander who has the real welfare of his army at heart.

¹ The vestiges of those fires, no doubt, had been covered over by the snow; but we see this officer was not idle, he had ascertained something more than was expected, and brought his proof with him.

² The Amazones, so much celebrated by Dio and Justin, occasionally fought with a battle-axe, which they carried inside their girdle. They also used the “Arcus et Calamos,” the bow and arrow, and a small round shield for defence. Their first queen took up her residence near the mouth of the river Thermodon; where she built a magnificent city, called Themiscyra, and after extending her conquests as far as the Tanais, died in battle. Her daughter carried her arms as far as Thrace, and brought into subjection the whole of Asia this side Syria. The Amazonian power was finally destroyed by Hercules, the son of Jupiter

Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τηριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι. Οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτὸν, τὸ στρατεύμα ὅπωςον τε εἶη, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Τηριβάζος εἶη ἔχων τὴν τε ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ μισθοφόρους Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἧπερ μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιδησόμενον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

Ἀκίσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στρατεύμα συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς καταλιπόντες φύλακας, καὶ

country, he said, frankly, that he was a Persian; that he had wandered from the army of Teribazus in quest of provisions. He was then asked of the number of that army, and the purport of its assembling; when he replied, that Teribazus, in addition to his own troops, had an army of mercenaries, composed of Chalybians and Taochians; that his intention was to attack the Greek army on the mountains, when they should be engaged in passing a defile, through which, indeed, lay the only road they could pass.¹

On gaining this information, the Greek generals determined on assembling the army, and to leave a guard in the camp, under the command of So-

and Alcmena, who took their queen, *Hypolita*, prisoner, and robbed her of her military girdle. Their last queen, *Pentesilia*, perished by the hands of Achilles, after the death of Hector, for bringing succour to the Trojans. The etymon of the term is *Ἀμά ζώνη*, one girdle, or one-breasted women, from the circumstance of the practice of searing the right breast of their females, in order to the giving a facility to draw the bow. They are reported, also, to have been in the habit of debilitating the arms and thighs of their male children, in order to render them unfit for war, and to reconcile them to servile and domestic employments. Their first queen was a Scythian lady, or a German, for the Greeks always called the Germans Scythians. Now, the military prowess of the Scythian or German women is sufficiently attested by Roman generals, to make the whole history of the Amazones credible. Vide Dio, Justin, and Tacitus.

¹ This was a greater discovery than seeing the enemy's fires. It will be seen, by the reader, how much the whole army was indebted to Democrates.

στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον Στυμφάλιον, ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἀλόντα ἄνδρωπον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες ἔθρον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφρουγον ὅμως δὲ ἀπέθανον τινὲς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν ὡς εἴκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ Τηριβάζου ἐάλω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλίνας ἀργυρόποδες, καὶ ἐκπώματα, καὶ οἱ ἀρτοποιοὶ καὶ οἱ οἴνοχοοὶ φάσκοντες εἶναι.

phænetus, the Stymphalian, — to press forward immediately, and take the Persian with them for a guide. When the army had passed the mountains, the targeteers in advance first seeing the enemy's camp ran forward, shouting, and made the attack before the heavy-armed troops could come up. Notwithstanding, the Barbarians fled, but not without losing some men, and twenty of their cavalry, who were made prisoners. Among the spoils was the tent of Teribazus, in which they found several couches having silver feet, and rich goblets, and also some of his personal attendants, who said they were the Satrap's bakers and cup-bearers.¹ On the commanders of the heavy-armed

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέυθοντο πάντα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοὶ, δο-

¹ The old Asiatics always carried their city splendour to the camp: the Turks do the same, not forgetting their ladies. See Lady Wortley Montague's 34th Letter, describing the preparations for a Turkish campaign. "The sultan is already gone to his tents, and all his court; the appearance of them is, indeed, very magnificent. Those of the great men are rather like Palaces than tents, taking up a great compass of ground, and being divided into a vast number of apartments. They are all of *green*; and the *Bassas of three tails* have those ensigns of their power placed in a very conspicuous manner before their tent doors, which are adorned on the top with gilded balls, more or less, according to their different ranks. The ladies go in coaches to see the camp, as eagerly as ours go to Hyde Park," &c. &c. There is a passage in Tacitus De Moribus Germanorum, sect. 30, where he says, "we may see many nations go to battle, but few go to war." The Turks are, I think, of the former description. Alios ad prælium ire videas, Cattos ad bellum; — which is a remark *worth while* for a military man to chew.

κεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀπίεσαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μή τις ἐπιθεσις γένηται τοῖς καταλειμμένοις. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπήσαν, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐδόκει πορευτέον εἶναι, ἢ δύναιτο τάχιστα, πρὶν συλληθῆναι τὸ στρατεύμα πάλιν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. Συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς, ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιίθισθαι Τηρίβαζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σαμῶς ἐρήμης τρεῖς, παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν· καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλε-

troops being informed of what had happened, they resolved to return to their camp with all possible speed, lest an attack should be made on the few left to guard it in their absence; accordingly, they ordered the retreat to be sounded, and safely arrived there the same evening.

The following morning, on the baggage being ready, the whole army marched off with all possible expedition, in order that the enemy might have no time to rally their forces, and to possess themselves of the pass. They went forward, through a very deep snow, having many conductors; and passing the same day through the defile in which Teribazus purposed to attack them, they pitched camp. From this place the army proceeded three marches, through a desert, and made the Euphrates, which they waded, the water reaching no further than their middle. Report said, that the sources of this river were at no great distance.¹ From hence they made three marches more, over a plain covered with snow, a distance of no less than fifteen parasangas. The last day's march was

¹ This report was derived from those persons who directed the Greeks over the Carduchian mountains. Vide page 214.

πὸς, καὶ ἄνεμος βορρῆς ἐναντίος ἔπνει, παντάπασιν ἀποκαίω-
 νων καὶ πηγνύς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Ἐνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεων τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ· καὶ σφαγιάζε-
 ται· καὶ πᾶσι περὶφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. Ἦν δὴ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυρία· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπόλλετο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα. Διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πολλά· οἱ δὲ ὄψε προΐοντες, ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. Οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἦκοντες, καὶ πῦρ καίοντες, οὐ προσέεισαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδιδόειν αὐτοῖς πυρῶς, ἢ ἄλλο τι ὧν ἔχουσι βρωτῶν. Ἐνθα δὴ μετεδίδουσαν ἀλλήλοισι ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι.

dreadful; for the north wind blew full in the soldiers' faces, which chilled and benumbed them piteously.¹ One of the priests *then* advised the generals to offer sacrifice to the wind, after which its rigour very much abated.² The snow was no less than six feet deep, and was so severely felt, that many servants and baggage-horses, and about thirty of the soldiers, died in consequence. Fortunately, on the place where the army encamped was found plenty of wood, with which they made large fires through the night; and so much did they prize it, that the soldiers who had made those fires would not suffer any of those who had arrived late to come near them, unless *these*, in exchange for its benefits, would give them a portion of the provisions which they had collected and brought with them; and hence, by this mutual exchange, they were mutually relieved. The fires, by

¹ The classical reader will readily recollect Virgil's description of the effects of those winds :

" Nè tenues pluvix, rapidive potentia solis
 Acrior, aut Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat."

Geor. lib. i. v. 92. et seq.

² Here is superstition with a witness; but Herodotus, Perizon, and Meursius, all corroborate the fact, that the Athenians celebrated a feast, called *Βορρασμοί*, in honour of the Eight winds; and we find from *Vitruvius* that *Andronicus Cyrrhastes* gave the Athenians the model of the Temple dedicated to them. See *Archæology*, page 36.

Ἐνθα δὲ πῦρ ἐκαίετο, διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος, βόθροι ἐγίγνοντο μεγάλοι ἕς τε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὐ δὴ παρῆν μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμιάσαν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὀπισθοφυλακῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἠγνόει ὅ,τι τὸ πάθος εἶη. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπαείρων ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμιῶσι, καὶ ἂν τι φάγωσιν, ἀναστήσονται, παριὼν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ που ποτὸν ἢ βρωτὸν ὄρωγῃ, ἐδίδου, καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τὰς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. Πορευομένων δὲ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνήφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης γυναῖκας καὶ κόρας πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ

melting the snows around them, formed large pits, which somewhat sheltered the soldiers, at the same time gave us an opportunity to measure its depth, which was found as afore stated.¹

The next day, the army again marched through the snow, during which time many of the soldiers were affected with bulimy.² When Xenophon, who brought up the rear, saw these men lie on the ground, and being ignorant of the disease, became much alarmed; he therefore made the necessary enquiries, and found, that the nature of this affection was such, that the persons who were attacked with it would, on eating something, be immediately restored. He therefore directly sought about for refreshments, and despatched others in the same pursuit, which was instantaneously administered to the afflicted; who, accordingly, on getting something into their stomachs, arose and marched forward. On the evening of this day, at twilight, Cheirisophus arrived in the neighbourhood of a village. Without the walls was a Well, at which some girls and women were assembled for

¹ We do not find in the history of the French campaign in Russia, that they ever suffered so severely from snow as here related. It was extreme frost, rather than snow, that crippled them.

² Bulimy, and its cure, are so far described by our author, as to require, perhaps, no further illustration, except to say, that 'tis an effect of extreme hunger.

ἐρύματος. Αὐταὶ ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶεν. Ὁ δὲ ἐρμηνεύς εἶπε Περσιστὶ ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύοντο πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. Αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασάγγην. Οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ ὄψε ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελέσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι τινὲς, καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἤρπαζον, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἐλείποντο δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τὸς ὀφθαλ-

the purpose of drawing water.¹ These women curiously enquired of our Persian guide, who we were; and were answered in the Persian language, that we were soldiers going to the Satrap from the king.² The women informed him, that the Satrap was not in the village, but at a place about a parasanga distance. As night was fast approaching, Cheirisophus entered the village with the women, and called on the bailiff; where himself, and as many as could come up, rested that night. Those, however, who could not, passed the night without the walls, destitute both of fire and provisions; by which some of them became frozen to death. A detachment of the enemy followed our march, and took some of those baggage-horses who could not keep up, and fought among themselves about the booty. It was found, also, that some of our men were left behind, in consequence of the snow producing blindness,

¹ This reminds us of Abraham's servant travelling into Mesopotamia to seek for a wife for Isaac, and finds Rebekah at the Well, without the walls of Nahor; indeed, it was an eastern custom to fetch water in the evening, that it might not be heated while bringing to the house. It was also the place, of course, to talk over the domestic news of the day. "It is at the *fountains* of Suli," says Dr. Holland, "that the Suliote women discuss the relative merits of their husbands' military prowess, and settle precedency in drawing water, according to that standard." See *Travels into Albania*. For further illustration, vide *Odyss. of Homer*, K. v. 105.

² This was a lie; but, unfortunately, women's curiosity is not to be got rid of, *sometimes*, in any other way.

μοὺς, οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσσηπότες. Ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικέσθημα τῆς χιόνος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πορεύοιτο· τῶν δὲ ποδῶν, εἴ τις κινῶιτο, καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι, καὶ εἰ τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο. Ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καρβάτιναι πεποιημέναι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρων βοῶν. Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντο τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον, διὰ τὸ ἐκλεισμέναι αὐτόθεν τὴν χιόνα, εἶκαζον τετηκέναι τὴν χιόνα. Καὶ ἐτετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ, ἣ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάψει· ἐνταῦθα ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας, ὡς ἦσθετο, εἶδεῖτο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι· καὶ τε-

and others again had their toes literally rotted off, which prevented them from proceeding any further. The soldiers, however, found their eyes much relieved from the snow, by wearing something dark before them, and their feet, by keeping them in continual motion, and pulling off their shoes at night, were much relieved from the frost; indeed, those who kept their shoes on at night, found the clasps perforate the flesh, and the leather adhere to the skin; for their military shoes were worn out, and the army was obliged to be content with Carbatines,¹ made from raw hides. In consequence, however, of these extreme sufferings, many of the soldiers, as before observed, lingered behind; and, on seeing a dark spot on the earth, which had been occasioned by the exhalations of a warm spring melting the snow, they betook themselves thither, and throwing themselves down, refused to march any further. As soon as Xenophon, who had charge of the rear-guard, was informed of this circumstance, he went to them, and used every argument he was master of to affect their passions, with a view to impel them forward, but in vain. He then told them, the enemy was collected, and at their heels, but with no

¹ A clumsy sort of a country half-boot.

λευτῶν ἐχαλέπαινεν. Οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. Ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπιπέσοιεν τοῖς κάμνεσι. Καὶ ἦν μὲν σκόλος, οἱ δὲ προσήσαν πολλῶ θορύβῳ, ἀμφὶ ἃ εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες ἐξαναστάντες, ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες, ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγισον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι δέισαντες, ἤκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνης εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγατο.

Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξεισιν τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πορευόμενοι, πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν, ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυόμενοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνης τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακῆ οὐδε-

better effect. Growing angry at their obstinacy, the soldiers told him to kill them out of their misery, for they could march no further. On finding all his efforts useless, and being unwilling to let the tired soldiers perish, he resolved to strike terror into the enemy that followed; and though it was dark, and the enemy were coming on with great tumult, quarrelling about the spoil, he bid as many of the rear-guard as were able, to rush upon them, while those who were fatigued shouted and struck their pikes against their shields; which so alarmed the enemy, that they threw themselves into the valley, among the snow, and were never again heard of.¹

This being accomplished, Xenophon, in company with those who were able, pressed forward, assuring the others who were unable, that he would send, on the morrow, some persons after them; but he had not advanced above four stadia, before he found many others taking their rest amongst the snow in like manner, and some of them

¹ The French surgeon, Larrey, mentions a similar occurrence in the Russian campaign. I think he tells us, he had two hundred wounded soldiers under a shed, amputating their limbs, when the Russians came up; who were dispersed by a squadron of French hussars, charging them while the snow was falling thickly at the same moment, by which he saved the wounded.

μία κάθεισθήκει· και ἀνίσασαν αὐτές. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν ἔχ' ὑποχωροῖεν. Ὁ δὲ παριῶν, καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελαστών τὴν ἰσχυροτάτην, ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλύον. Οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι ὄλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶνα ἠύλισθησαν αὐτῷ ἀνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἀδειπνοῦ, φυλακὰς οἷας ἐδύναντο καταστησάμενοι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ Ξενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους, ἀναστήσοντας, ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγκάζειν προῖέναι. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τοὺς ἐκ τῆς κόμης πευσομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. Οἱ δὲ, ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενῶντας τούτοις παρέδοσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι, ἦσαν ἐν τῇ κόμῃ, ἣ Χειρίσοφος ἠύλιζετο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνεγγίνοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κόμας ἀσφαλῆς εἶναι ἰὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. Καὶ Χει-

were covered with it; neither had they appointed a guard. He therefore compelled them to get up; but the soldiers assured him, that the van of the army had halted; on which he went forward himself, and sent some of the ablest targeteers to enquire the cause, who brought word that the whole army were laid down in the same position; on which Xenophon appointed a guard, and passed the night in like manner, without fire or food. On day breaking, he sent some of his young able-bodied men, to oblige the sick to come forward; whilst Cheirisophus, equally solicitous, sent some of his men to enquire after the welfare of the rear. *These* mutually rejoiced on seeing each other,¹ and taking up the sick, brought them forward with the rear-guard, into the village where Cheirisophus lay, which was not more than twenty stadia distance from whence they themselves had bivouacked.² On finding themselves once more together, the officers assembled, and came into the opinion, that the army might occupy the villages that lay scattered about, in safety; consequently, Chei-

¹ This may be readily believed.

² Cheirisophus, I think, was highly culpable, in not sending to inform the army where he was. The welfare of the soldier did not so much occupy his mind as that of Xenophon.

ρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ὑπέμεινε, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, διαλαχόντες ἅς ἐώρων κώμας, ἐπορεύοντο ἑκαστοὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες.

*Ἐνθα δὴ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφιέναι αὐτόν· καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸς τὰς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην, ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδοξοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην· καὶ πῶλους εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους, ἑπτακαίδεκα· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου, ἐννάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὃ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγῶς ὄχετο θηράσων, καὶ οὐχ ἤλω ἐν ταῖς κώμασι. Αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ

risophus remained where he was; the other divisions went every one to his respective village.

But Polycrates, an Athenian captain, solicited leave of absence from Xenophon, which that general granted him. He, upon this, got together some active young men, and pressed forward to the village appointed for the quarters of his commander, and took it by surprise, with all its inhabitants, not excepting even the bailiff that governed it.¹ Here he found seventeen young horses that had been bred purposely for the king; and the bailiff's daughter, who had not been married above nine days. Her husband, however, escaped, in consequence of his being at this time engaged in hunting the hare; nor was he made prisoner in any of the villages. These mountaineers lived in subterraneous apartments,² the entrance to which

¹ This circumstance alone shews us how much Xenophon was respected and beloved by the army.

² The history of every uncivilized country, nay, and some civilized, shews us that the sub-terra has been sometimes preferred to the super-terra mode of residence. The sub-terra mode has sometimes resulted from ignorance, sometimes from climate, and sometimes from war. The *Ichthyophages*, mentioned by Dio. Sic. lib. iv., resided among promontories and rocks, near the sea, like the ancient Scotch islanders. "The access to their caves and dens," says he, "is crooked and winding: some of them lived under large tufted trees, whereby they avoided the heat of the sun; others are mentioned, who had the mouths

φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐ-
ρεΐαι· αἱ δ' εἰσοδοὶ
τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις
ὄρυκται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρω-
ποὶ κατὰ κλίμακας
κατέβαινον. Ἐν δὲ
ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἰ-
γες, ὄιες, βόες, ὄρνιθες,
καὶ τὰ ἐκγονα τούτων·
τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα
χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφετο.
Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ,
καὶ κριθαί, καὶ ὄσ-
πρια, καὶ οἶνος κρι-
θινος ἐν κρατῆρσιν· ἐ-
νῆσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ
κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ
κάλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ
μὲν, μείζους, οἱ δὲ,
ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ
ἔχοντες. Τούτους δ'
ἔδει, ὅποτε τις διψῶν,
λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα
ἀμύζειν· καὶ πάνυ ἄ-
κρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις
ὑδαρ ἐπιχέσει, καὶ μά-
λα ἠδὲ πόμα συμμα-
θόντι ἦν.

resembled the mouth of a well; the rooms, however, were spacious. The entrance for their cattle was dug down, so as to enable them to walk in as on an inclined plane; but the people of the abode descended by ladders. The Greeks found, in some of those apartments, cows, goats, sheep, and fowls, with their young, all of whom were supported on fodder. They found, also, wheat, barley, and legumens, and ale in jars, with the malt swimming in it; and on these jars were placed several reeds, destitute of joints, which the inhabitants, when thirsty, used to take in their mouths, and apply to the ale and suck. We found the liquor very strong, and not unpleasant when accustomed to it.¹

of their caves facing the north; otherwise, by the extreme heat of the sun, the cave would soon become an oven." Tacitus mentions many tribes of the Germans living sub-terra occasionally; i. e. they would convert their dens into fortresses of retreat from an enemy; their granaries were like situated, that the humidity of their climate might not injure the grain. Indeed, by civilized nations, the sub-terra mode has been adopted, chiefly, I believe, from the comforts that accrue from living in a temperate climate; it being found, that ten feet under the surface of the earth, the thermometer stands just at the same point in winter as summer. The subterraneous apartments, called the Elephants' Stables, found in the ruins of Carthage, are supposed by Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who examined them, to have been used as the summer residence of the Carthaginian nobility.

"Betwixt the extremes two happier climates hold,
The temperature that partakes of hot and cold."

DRYDEN'S *Ovid*.

¹ The Egyptians ascribe the invention of beer, or ale, to *Osiris*, the

Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σύνδειπνον ἐποίησατο, καὶ θαρρῆεῖν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν, λέγων ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο, τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίασιν, ἣν ἀγαθόν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθνη γένωνται. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχενέτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος, οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορρωρυγμένος. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις ἀγαθοῖς οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμῆ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην, πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον ἐπορευετο ὅπου δὲ παρῖοι κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχομένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμῶθεν ἀφίεσαν, πρὶν παρα-

Xenophon, however, thought proper to invite the bailiff of this village to sup with him; on which occasion he pledged himself that his children should be safe, with a proviso that he would oblige the army in conducting them to some other nation, and added, that on quitting he would leave *his house* as full of provisions as he had found it. The bailiff came into this proposition, and sealed his pledge by shewing him immediately where some wine was buried. Here the soldiers rested in the midst of plenty, but kept a close eye on the bailiff and his children. The next morning, Xenophon brought this bailiff to Cheirisophus; and in every village he passed, he visited the soldiers with this man in company. He found them all full of hilarity; nor could he get away from any of them, without either eating or pledging them

husband of Isis, whom they venerate nearly as much as Bacchus. It was called by them *zethum*, and was considered very little inferior to wine. See Dio, lib. i. p. 17, et 31. Also Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 77. The ancient Germans, also, knew how to produce this liquor, as proved by Tacitus, and used it freely. "Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quamdam similitudinem vini corruptus." De Moribus Ger. sec. xxiii. See also Pliny, lib. xiv. c. 22.

¹ This was courteous, and softened the bailiff's misfortunes; but look at the object of the general, he was considering the weal of the army, and gaining matter for future operations.

Δείεν αὐτῶ ἄριστον·
 οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ πα-
 ρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐ-
 τὴν τράπεζαν κρέα
 ἄρνεια, ἐρίφεια, χοί-
 ρεια, μύσχεια, ὀρνί-
 θεια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρ-
 τοῖς, τοῖς μὲν, πυρίνοις,
 τοῖς δὲ, κριθίνοις. Ὅ-
 πότε δέ τις φιλοφρονού-
 μενός τῳ βέλοιοτο προ-
 πιεῖν, εἴλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν
 κρατῆρα ἔνθα κύψανα
 ἔδει ροφᾶντα πιεῖν ὡς-
 περ βοῦν. Καὶ τῷ κω-
 μάρχη ἐδίδοσαν λαμ-
 βάνειν ὅτι βούλοιοτο.
 Ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν
 ἐδέχετο ὅπου δέ τινα
 τῶν συγγενῶν ἴδοι, πρὸς

in a bumper.¹ Their tables were liter-
 ally covered with lamb, kid, pork, and
 veal; with a great plenty of barley
 and wheaten bread. When the health
 of a friend was to be drunk, they re-
 paired to a jar, and applying their
 mouths to the reeds, sucked, in a bend-
 ing posture, like the ox drinketh, and
 thus satisfied their desires.² The sol-
 diers gave the bailiff leave to take
 whatever he pleased; but he accepted
 nothing from them but his relatives,
 whom he found in various houses.

εαυτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβανεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον πρὸς
 Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμ-
 βανον καὶ ἐκείνης σκη-
 νοῦντας, ἐστεφανωμέ-
 νους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ
 στεφάνους, καὶ διακο-
 νῆντας Ἀρμένιους παι-
 δας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρι-
 καῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ
 παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὡς-
 περ ἐνεοῖς ὅτι δέοι
 ποιεῖν. Ἐπει δὲ ἄλ-

The scene was highly pleasing on
 visiting Cheirisophus; for this general
 was feasting, with his temples crowned
 with garlands made of hay, fantastically
 twisted together,³ whilst Armenian
 boys, dressed in Persian costumes,
 waited on the company. *These* obeyed,
 as by pantomimic motions, and were
 extremely attentive to commands. As

¹ The army seems to have known their best friend. The scene re-
 minds us of General Wolfe's visit to his soldiers' tents the night before
 the battle in which he fell.

"How stands the glass around,
 I mean not to upbraid you boys," &c.

² *Here* fancy must help us out. It seems, however, evident, that the
 Greeks usually drank the health of a friend standing, or the contrast
 would not have been so particularly pointed — *like the ox drinketh*.

³ For the want of vine leaves, or flowers; coronets of which it was
 customary to wear on celebrating the festival *Λήνιαια*, or Bacchus.

λήλης ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὲ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κομάρχην διὰ τοῦ περσίζοντος ἑρμηνέως, τίς εἶη ἡ χώρα. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀρμενία. Καὶ πάλιν ἠρώτων, τίνι ἵπποι τρέφονται. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι βασιλεῖ δασμὸς τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν, ἣ εἶη. Καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ὄψετο ἄγων Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον, ὃν εἰλήφει, παλαιότερον δίδωσι τῷ κομάρχη ἀναδρέψαντι καταδύσαι, (ὅτι ἤκουσεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἡλίου) δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκάκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ

soon, therefore, as Cheirisophus and Xenophon had embraced each other, which they did most feelingly, they asked the bailiff, through the medium of a Persian interpreter, in what country they were. He told them Armenia. They then asked him for whom the horses were bred. He replied, for the king, as a *tribute*. He also told them, that the adjoining country was possessed by the Chalybians, and directed them in the road that led to it.¹ On this, Xenophon took his leave, carrying back the bailiff to his family; he also presented him with an old horse, which he had previously taken, charging him to take care and restore him to health from his fatigue, for he had heard that this horse had been consecrated to the sun.² Xenophon took,

¹ Here Xenophon had obtained his object.

² I admire this in Xenophon. *He*, like my uncle Toby, insulted no man's opinions: he laughed not at the Persian, for consecrating the horse to his god, Sol, (the most excusable of all idolatry,) though it formed no part of the ritual of his own religion. It was sufficient for him, that the Persian respected it, to induce him to do so likewise; and all this may be done without a man's partaking of another's idolatry; for the probabilities are, that such conduct will lead to discussion, and offer facilities to introduce our own, in a manner the most likely to be lasting; *i. e.* by reasoning on the merits of it. Not to go to work *a-la-mode les tems*? says a zealot. No, my friend, for "Zeal is the pious madness of the mind," and sometimes wants a strait jacket put on it.

"Zeal's a dreadful termagant,
That teaches saints to tear and rant,
And *Independants* to profess
The doctrine of *dependances*;

τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει,
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρα-
τηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν
ἕδρακεν ἐκάστῳ πῶλον.
Ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτη ἵπ-
ποι μείονες μὲν τῶν
Περσικῶν, θυμωδέ-
ςροι δὲ πολλῶ. Ἐν-
ταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει
ὁ κωμάρχης περὶ τοὺς
πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ
τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακ-
κία περιδεῖν, ὅταν διὰ
τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν·
ἀνευ γὰρ τῶν σακκίων
κατεδύνοντο μέχρι τῆς
γαστροῦς.

at the same time, one of the young horses for his own use, and presented one to each of his generals and captains. The Armenian horses are less than those bred in Persia, but have much more fire in their composition. The bailiff was still very attentive to our welfare; and accordingly directed us to tie bags, stuffed with hay, to our horses' feet, in order to prevent their sinking as they travelled through the snow; otherwise, he said, they would frequently plunge up to their bellies.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἦν
ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἤγα-

After we had remained here eight days, Xenophon delivered over the

Turns meek and sneaking *secret ones*
To raw-heads fierce, and bloody bones.
And not content with endless quarrels,
Against the wicked and their morals,
The *Ghibelins*, for want of *Guelfs*,
Divert their rage against themselves."

Hudibras.

"It is good, therefore, to be zealously affected in a *good thing*," says St. Paul; "not in a *bad one*." Now he that respects the religion of a country, respects morals; for morality is at the base of all religions, or they could not stand a moment. Their comparative merits is another thing, and forms a distinct subject; and, by the *gentleman* and *scholar*, will be treated tenderly. How different was the zeal of St. Paul to our modern zealots, as beautifully exemplified on Mars' Hill:—"I perceive, O Athenians! that in all things ye are too superstitious;" *i. e.* too religious; for *δεισιδαιμονες* will bear this interpretation. The meaning of which was, that the Athenians worshipped too many divinities; but he dealt not in anathemas; he thundered no hell nor damnation over them — no — he only did this to the vulgar vicious, who have no other passion but fear to work on; with the Athenians he reasoned on the ubiquity of the Godhead, as couched in their own poetry, insisting on the analogy of the opinions held by their own philosophers, and those who embraced the Christian theory. See Acts xvii. v. 22.

μόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφω, τοὺς δ' οἰκίας καλαλείπει τῷ κωμάρχη, πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος. Τοῦτον δ' Ἐπισθένεια Ἀμφιπολίτη παραδίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσαιο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι. Καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὡς ἐδύνατο πλείστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. Ἦγειτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἦδη τ' ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ ὁ Χειρισόφος αὐτῷ ἐχαλεπάνθη, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κόμας ἦγεν. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τέτρω. Ὁ δὲ Χειρισόφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδρησε δ' οὐ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδράς ἄγχετο καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. Τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφω καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἢ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἠράσθη τε

bailiff to the care of Cheirisophus, who, in leading the van, might use him as a guide; but he left all his family in the village, except his son, a youth in the flower of life, whom he delivered to the care of Episthenes, a native of Amphipolis, with the intention of returning him to his father, if he conducted them with fidelity. Nor did Xenophon fail in redeeming his pledge,¹ in leaving the bailiff's house full of provisions; which being done, his division marched off, the bailiff conducting them, unbound. After the army had marched three days, Cheirisophus grew angry, because the guide had not led them to some village; on which the man declared "there were no villages in that neighbourhood." On this Cheirisophus struck him, but did not take the necessary precaution to bind him; — hence, on the approach of night, he escaped, and left his son to his fate. This ill-treatment of the bailiff Xenophon resented, and was the only cause of dispute which occurred between that general and Xenophon through all the journey.² Episthenes grew fond

¹ We never find Xenophon violating his word: he was too good a man to be found doing so. A love of truth was the characteristic of the Socratic school, of which Xenophon was a distinguished disciple.

² There was room for resentment. It was not only impolitic in Chei-

τοῦ παιδὸς, καὶ οἴκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἔχρητο.

Μετὰ τοῦτο σταθμοὺς ἑπτὰ ἐπορεύθησαν, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φάσιν ποταμὸν, εὖρος ὡς πλεθριαῖον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήνηθησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. Χειρίσοφος δὲ, ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορεύομενος, ἀπέχων ὡς τριάκοντα σάδιαι· ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ἄδε·

Οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι, ὡς ὄρατε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ἄρα δὲ βελεύεσθαι ὅπως ὡς κάλλιπα

of the youth, and took him finally into Greece, where he served him with great fidelity.

After the army had marched another seven days, in which they performed thirty-five parasangas, they found themselves on the banks of the river Phasis,¹ which measured about a plethron in breadth. From hence they made two marches more, and accomplished ten parasangas; when they discovered the Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians, posted in the defiles that led from the mountains into the plain. The general in advance, on perceiving *this*, halted at a distance of about thirty stadia from the enemy, in order that he might not approach him in column. The word was then given for the captains to wheel their companies up in front, that the army might form in line. On the rear-guard coming up, Cheirisophus called a council of war, and addressed the generals and captains as follows:—

“ You see, My Comrades, that the enemy occupy the pass over the hill; I have therefore called you together, in order that we may devise some plan

risophus, but it was cruel, to serve a man thus who had been so serviceable to the army. How must this man have detested the Græks, who had separated him from his son for ever, without any provocation!

¹ Phasis, a river that has its sources, according to Strabo, on the Armenian mountains; it gave name, also, as will be seen, to a province.

ἀγωνιούμεθα. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγέλλειν μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλεύεσθαι εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος. Ἐμοὶ δὲ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ ὡς τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπωλισαμένους ὡς τάχιστα ἵνα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ὁρῶντες ἡμᾶς πολέμιοι θαρσαλέωτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκός, τούτων θαρρόντων, πλέους προσγενέσθαι.

Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν, “Ἐγὼ δ’ οὕτω γινώσκω· Εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχοῦμεθα· εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὡς ῥᾶστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτόν εἶναι, ὅπως ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβοιμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλοιμεν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον πλέον ἢ ἑφ’ ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ’ οὐδαμῆ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν, ἀλλ’ ἢ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλέψαι τὶ

of operations. My own desire is, that while the soldiers take refreshment, we should be occupied in the interchange of opinions; and whether the army had better storm the defile to day, or wait ’till to-morrow.” “To day,” said Cleanor, “most certainly. — I vote, that as soon as the army has dined, to assume arms and attack immediately. If you wait ’till to-morrow, the enemy will gain confidence, and probably augment their numbers.” In which opinion Xenophon fully acquiesced; but added, “That if the army was *obliged to fight*, they ought to prepare to do so with all possible bravery; but if to gain the pass easily was an object of consideration, and to accomplish that object with the least possible loss of life was worthy of a commander’s reflection, why *that* would alter the circumstance, and a new mode of operations must be consequently sought.¹ You see, generals, that the mountain that lies before us is above sixty stadia in length, and through all this extent, I perceive no enemy’s guard posted; their attention seems only occupied in preserving the *chief pass*. Therefore, I should think it more advisable to endeavour to gain some tenable post in the mountains,

¹ This was reasoning like a general who had not lost his humanity.

πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας, καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθάσαντας, ἢν δυνώμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἀνδρας παρσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. Πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾶον ὄρδιον ἀμαχεῖ ἰέναι, ἢ ὀμαλόν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων· καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεῖ μᾶλλον ἂν τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὀρή τις, ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος· καὶ ἡτραχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεῖ ἰοῦσιν εὐμενεστέρα, ἢ ὀμαλή, τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. Κλέψαι δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐξὸν μὲν νυκτὸς ἰέναι, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι ὀρᾶσθαι· ἐξὸν δὲ ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον, ὡς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρέχειν. Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι, ταύτη προσποιούμενοι προσβαλεῖν, ἐρημοῖερων ἂν τῷ ἄλλῳ ὄρει χρησθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἄνθρωποι οἱ πολεμιοί. Ἄτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; Ἰμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγες, ὧ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἔστε τῶν ὀμοίων, εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδῶν κλέπτειν μελετᾶν·

than to attack a post already occupied by men prepared to defend it; for you know how much easier it is to climb an ascent without fighting, than to *fight* and *march*, even on plain ground, with enemies on all sides. And even in the night, unengaged, we can better discover what lies before us, than in the day when in action; for when disengaged, rough places become smooth; but when engaged, and our heads are exposed to the darts of an enemy, every thing becomes reversed. Nor do I think it any way impossible, but that under cover of the night, and by making a circuitous movement, *we might steal a march*; and if, at the same time, a false attack be made on the chief post, we shall by that means the more readily call off the attention of the enemy. But why do *I talk* of stealing a march? I ought, most certainly, on *this subject*, to apply to my friend Cheirisophus, since it seems the Lacedæmonians are much better versed in *stealing*, even in childhood,¹ than it is possible for me (who am an Athenian) to direct, even in manhood. I believe, Chei-

¹ Those who may desire to be acquainted with the Lacedæmonian laws on this subject, may see it fully illustrated in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus, and Rollin's De la Manière d'Enseigner et d'Etudier, &c., tom. iii. part 3, p. 465, et seq. Paris edition; where we shall see that thievery was only punishable when caught in the act, &c.

καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαῖον κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. Ὅπως δὲ ὡς κράτιστα κλέπτητε ἢ πειρᾶσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἐὰν ληφθῆτε κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. Νῦν οὖν μάλα σοὶ καιρός ἐστίν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μέντοι μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς μὴ πολλὰς πληγὰς λάβωμεν.”

Ἄλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἀκούω τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, (καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι) καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἶπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι ἄρχειν ἀξιούνται ὥστε ἄρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν. Ἐγὼ μὲν

risophus, that among *you* this stealing is an *honourable art*, practised by the first classes, and only *punishable* when caught in the act; such, I think, is the spirit of the Spartan laws. Behold then, my friend, an opportunity offers itself for *you* to exhibit the full force of your education; but take care, in *stealing this march, Cheirisophus*, that you are not caught, and the enemy whip you severely.”¹

To which Cheirisophus replied, “I have been informed, Xenophon, that *even you Athenians* are not altogether ignorant of the art of stealing the *public money*, notwithstanding the heavy penalties annexed to it; and that the better the *man*, the greater the *thief*; *i. e.* if you choose your *best men* for *statesmen*: so that the opportunity is equally propitious for *you* to shew the force of *your education!!!*”² “Well,

¹ This was the punishment for a bungling thief.

² From those Puns on national character and institutions, a thousand reflections arise. The first I shall offer, however, is on the thoughtlessness of military men, who could indulge in them in the presence of an enemy. Secondly, the force of *habit*, which produces this thoughtlessness; for as the soldier engaged in actual warfare holds life *uncertain*, he is willing, while it lasts, to make the most of it.* Thirdly, the great truths that are couched under this satire; for the Lacedæmonians held thievery as a

* The French soldiers at the siege of Salamanca sacked a monastery, and putting on the monks' hoods and coifs, danced minuets before their fires; the next day, these men were cut to pieces — non risens — at a play-scene of life.

τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν,
ἔτοιμός εἰμι, τῆς ὀπίσ-

well," says Xenophon, "I am prepared. Come, rear-guard! — and after we have

venal crime, believing it to be *natural to man to help himself* in this great shop, *the world*: but the *leaders* at Athens held the contrary doctrine; yet the latter, as their history shews, practised it as much as the former; from which some have thought they have discovered an analogy between these two Greek states and the Whigs and Tories of England; the former holding much higher moral principles than the latter, but are said, nevertheless, to practise them less. But this is not true: for though the Whigs have often committed themselves; yet the history of their administration for a century, which is a fair base from whence to draw an inference, leads to no such conclusions. The Whigs of England opposed the American and the late French revolutionary wars; the former of which cost us the American colonies; the latter contracted a debt of eight hundred millions, from which *the hands of the Whigs are clean*. 'Tis on this firm-ground the writer argues, and not from any party spirit, or from the force of education, 'tis on stubborn, obstinate, incontrovertible facts he takes his stand; — facts, too, that cannot be paralleled, *in their injurious consequences*, in the political history of any nation that ever existed, and before which the venalities of the Whigs sink into puerilities and nothingness. In fact, the political axioms of the parties are completely opposed, and consequently their conclusions: the one party believing *the many* was made for one; and the other, that the *one* was made for the many. These principles being at the bases of their respective creeds, 'tis easy to see on which side the man of virtuous and enlarged views will arrange himself. But though the writer thus speaks out undisguisedly, yet is he far from believing that the Tory must necessarily be void of virtue;* but he does contend, that the principles of Toryism can never lead to an *enlarged virtue*, because the springs of it are muddied at the source, and go to confound *right* and *wrong* in the abstract. The same mode of reasoning may be applied to the high-flying religionist, and he who is indifferent about any thing but acts of benevolence: — but, fair and softly, — no pulling old houses about our ears, — 'tho I candidly confess, that a psalm-singing scoundrel is the most disgusting of all scoundrels.

* Tacitus informs us, that among the Germans it was absolutely necessary for a *young man* to adopt both the enmities and friendships of his father and relatives. *Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu Patris, seu Propinqui, quam amicitias necesse est*: Is not this the case in politics with the higher order of youth in this kingdom? Are there not numbers of *nominal Whigs*, and *nominal Tories*, who are so because their ancestors were so; and who have never investigated the principles of their political creeds, and who are completely ignorant of their moral tendencies?

δοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὴν δειπνήσωμεν, ἰέναι καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. Ἐχὼ δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήται τῶν ἐφεπομένων ἡμῖν κλοπῶν ἐλαβόντινας ἐνεδρεύσαντες· καὶ τῶν πυνθάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται καὶ αἰξὶ καὶ βουσίῳ ὥστε, ἢν περ ἄπαξ λάθωμέντι τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται. Ἐλπίζω μέντοι οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε, Καὶ τί δεῖ σε ἰέναι, καὶ λείπειν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλ' ἄλλους πέμψον, εἰ μὴ τινες ἐθέλωσι φαίνωνται. Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὀπίσθου ἔχων· καὶ Ἀριστέας Χίος, γυμνήτας

taken some refreshment, we will endeavour *to steal this mountain*,¹ though we cannot take the original into Greece with us, the fame of it we may: besides, I have got guides which my light-armed ambuscaders have just taken, from whom I am informed the mountain is not inaccessible; that even goats and oxen graze upon it; so that if we once get a footing on any part, the baggage-horses will be able to follow. Nor do I believe that the enemy will keep the post, when they shall discover that we have gained some eminence, and are on a footing with themselves. I infer this, soldiers, from the unwillingness they shew to meet us on even ground.” “But why will *you* go, Xenophon,” said Cheirisophus, “and leave the command of the rear? Had you not better send a detachment, unless volunteers offer themselves, than to proceed personally?” On this intimation being given, though purely accidental, Aristonymus with his heavy-armed, and Aristeus and Nicomachus with their light-armed troops, stepped forward, and volunteered their services: the former officer was a native of Methydris; of the two latter, the first

¹ This is not literally translated; but it is the spirit of the text, arising from the foregoing puns, and makes the rally turn off pleasantly.

ἢ Νικόμαχος Οἰταῖος, γυμνήτας· ἢ σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο, ὁπότε ἔχουσι τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καίειν πολλά. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρίστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προήγαγεν Ἀριστάνυμος, τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα στάδια πρὸς τὸς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοῖη ταύτη προσᾶξεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νύξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ὄχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ἤσθησαν ἐχόμενον τὸ ὄρος, ἐγρηγόρησαν, καὶ ἔκαιον πυρὰ πολλὰ διὰ νυκτός. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρισόφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἤγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· οἱ δὲ, τὸ ὄρος καταλαμβάνοντες καὶ τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπήσαν· τῶν δ' αὖ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβόλῃ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. Πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλήλοισι συμμιγνύουσιν· οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα· καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνας ἢ διώκουσιν. Ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελασται τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔδρον

was from Chios, and Nicomachus was from Oete. Things being thus arranged, and the signal agreed on, which was — “On the taking of the eminence, for the detachment to light fires” — the army sat down to dinner. After which, Cheirisophus led them within ten stadia of the enemy, making every demonstration that he intended to march that way.

By *this* time the troops were ready for supper; and on night approaching, the volunteers marched off and took the eminence: the main army rested where they were. On the enemy seeing our men in possession of that post, they took the precaution to keep their fires lighting all night. But immediately as day broke, Cheirisophus offered sacrifice, and led the army up the road, while those who had taken the eminence attacked the enemy. The chief body of the enemy, however, could not be drawn off, but staid to defend the pass, and a detachment only opposed our volunteers on the eminence. But before Cheirisophus had reached the pass, the volunteers had driven in the enemy's detachment, and were pressing their main body: — on seeing this, the Greek targeteers ran forward from the road, and attacked those who were drawn up to

πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους· Χειρίσοφος δὲ βιάδην ταχύ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἐώρων ἠττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέβρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες, ἀχρεῖα ἐποίησαν. Ὡς δ' ἀνέβησαν, δύσαντες, καὶ τρώσαιον στησάμενοι, κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ κώμας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους, σταθμοὺς πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε· χωρία γὰρ ᾤκουν ἰσχυρά οἱ Ταόχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς χωρίον, ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνελθυθότες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνην

receive them, and Cheirisophus, at the head of his heavy troops, pressed on with a hasty, yet regular march. The enemy posted in the pass were evidently disheartened, on seeing our volunteers drive their detachment, and finally they fled themselves; on which great numbers of them were slain. A great many of the enemy's bucklers also were taken on this occasion, which the Greeks rendered for ever useless, by cutting them to pieces. The pass being obtained, the army offered sacrifice, and erected a trophy; after which they marched down into a plain full of villages, well stored with every kind of provisions.

From hence they visited the Taochian territories,¹ and made, in five marches, thirty parasangas; after which provisions fell off, in consequence of the Taochians possessing secret fastnesses, where they had treasured it. The army finally came to a very strong place, *not a city*, yet occupied by a great many men and women, and *where* a vast quantity of cattle also were collected together.² Cheirisophus imme-

¹ See map. They were a people residing in the middle of Pontus; and were called by some historians, Ταοῦς. They receive the surname *Taochir* to this day; as is proved in the *Tabulâ Georgiæ*. Clariss. Delisle.

² These fastnesses, or natural fortifications, were generally resorted

πολλά, Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθύς ἤκων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἔκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσήει, καὶ αὐθὺς ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀπότομον ἦν κύκλω. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος, Εἰς καλὸν ἤκει· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο. καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ἐρωτῶντος τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος, Ἀλλὰ μία αὐτῇ ἐστὶ πάροδος, ἣν ὄρας· ὅταν δὲ τις ταύτην πειρᾶται παρῖέναι, κυλινδοῦσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερχούσης πέτρας· ὃς δ' ἂν καταληφθεῖη, ἔτω διατίθεται. Ἀμα δ' ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς.

diately attacked them by platoons, so that when one company was fatigued, another succeeded in the assault; for this fastness being surrounded by rocks and precipices, with only one road up to it, could not be assailed but in detail.¹ On Xenophon's arrival with his targeteers and rear-guard, Cheirisophus told him he had come very opportunely;² for the place he said must be carried immediately, or the army would perish for lack of food.

A council of war was therefore called, and Xenophon asked the reason why the place could not be taken by storm. "Because," said Cheirisophus, "there is but one road to it; and when any of our men attempt to gain it, these mountaineers begin their lapidary warfare, the effects of which you see before you, pointing at some Greek soldiers whose legs and ribs had been broken by the stones." "Well," said Xenophon, "when they have

to by the Germans when vanquished by the Romans, as proved by Tacitus, and, in fact, were common all over the world before fortified towns superseded their use.

¹ Cheirisophus had not one qualification of a general, if we except courage.

² We have before stated, that Cheirisophus felt his inability to command, and generally resorted to a council of war, or to Xenophon: here is proof positive.

Ἦν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἄλλο τι ἢ ἐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὁρῶμεν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους· καὶ τέτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὀπλισμένους. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὁρᾷς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλευθρά ἐστιν, ἃ δεῖ βαλλομένους παρελθεῖν. Τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔστηκότις ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερόμενων λίθων, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδριζόμενων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν ἤδη γίγνεται ὡς ἡμίπλευθρον, ὃ δεῖ, ὅταν λαφύσωσιν οἱ λίθοι, παραδραμεῖν. Ἄλλ' εὐθέως, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὺ παριέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί. Αὐτὸ ἂν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἶη· θᾶπτον γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἀναλώσωσιν τοὺς λίθους. Ἄλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἐνθεν ἡμῖν μικρὸν ὕστερόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἢν δυνώμεθα· καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον, ἢν βουλώμεθα.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορευόντο το Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ Καλλίμαχος

thrown down all their stones, what is to hinder us *then* from taking the place? — for I can see but very few men to oppose us, and of these, only one here and there appear to be armed. The road, I see, we have to pass exposed to these, appears not to be more than a hundred and fifty feet long, one hundred of which is protected by pine trees, thickly studded together, against which if our men place themselves, what can they suffer, either from the stones thrown or rolled down against them? And as for the fifty feet wherein there is no protection, the only mode is, when the stones cease, to scale it with all possible expedition.” “Yes; but,” said Cheirisophus, “the moment we shall attempt this, that moment shall we be again assailed with stones.”¹ “Well,” said Xenophon, “the faster the enemy throws the sooner will their store be exhausted; in the mean while, let us advance, if possible, to that spot from whence we shall have the shortest space to run, and where, *if foiled*, we may retreat with the greatest ease.”

Whereupon, Cheirisophus, Xenophon, and Callimachus, of Parrhasie, one of

¹ This man had not an inch of invention in his composition: — woe on the poor Greeks, if they had had no better conductor than Cheirisophus, — never would they have seen their native country!

Παῦρᾶσιος, λοχαγός· (τούτου γὰρ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ) οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. Μετὰ τῆτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι εἰς τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἀθροῖοι, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἕνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστάνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ, ἐφίστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλές ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλείον, ἢ τὸν ἕνα λόχον. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Καλλίμαχος μηχανᾷται τι· Προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου, ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτός, δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο ἀνεχάξειο εὐπειῶς· ἐφ' ἑκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα ἅμαξαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας, ὡς ὄρᾷ τὸν Καλλίμαχον, ἀεπίει, καὶ τὸ σφάλμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δείσας μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι εἰς

the captains who commanded the rear-captains¹ that day, advanced; the rest of the officers standing out of danger.² Afterwards, about seventy men made to the trees, not in a body, but one by one, each screening himself from the missiles in the best manner he was able. In the meanwhile, Agasias, the Stymphalian, and Aristonymus, the Methydrian, and some others, captains belonging to the rear, spread themselves thinly below the pines; for the danger arising from the enemy's missiles prevented a strong division from occupying this place. This being done, Callimachus, an able officer, began to plague the enemy with a sort of bo-peep; for stepping forth two or three paces before his tree, the enemy would immediately shower down stones, when he would quickly step back and escape them: *this* he often repeated; upon which it was computed that the enemy spent no less than ten cart load every time. On Agasias seeing the manœuvre of Callimachus, and that the eyes of the whole army were fixed on him, became fired with a spirit of emulation;

¹ The reader will recollect the order of march, page 198, where a certain number of captains brought up the rear. It should seem, from this passage, that the senior captain commanded the others, or they exchanged command daily.

² This was wrong: both of the commanders ought not to have exposed themselves.

τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε τὸν Ἀριστώνυμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακάλεσας, ἔδ' ἄλλον ἔδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτὸς, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας. Ὁ δὲ Καλλιμάχος, ὡς ἑώρα αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτῆ τῆς ἴτους· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παρέθει αὐτοὺς Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τῶτον Εὐρύλοχος Λυσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ ἔτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς, καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ὡς γὰρ ἄπαξ εἰς ἐπέδραμεν, οὐδεὶς ἔτι πέτρος ἀνωθεν ἤνεχθη.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα· αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες, ῥίπτουσαι τὰ παιδιά, εἶτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατεῤῥίπτουν· καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως.

for he feared Callimachus would have the honour of first entering the place. Without saying, therefore, one word to Aristonymus, or Eurylochus of Lusian, both of whom stood next to him, and were his personal friends, or to any other soldier, he stepped forward with a design of being foremost; but on Callimachus seeing him pass, he laid hold of the edge of his shield. Meanwhile Aristonymus and Eurylochus ran by, both of them; for these men were all rivals in glory. And thus, by a spirit of emulation, the place fell.¹ Indeed, after these men entered it, no more stones were thrown.

The scene that followed was dreadful:—for *here* the women, rather than fall into our hands, chose to throw their children over the precipices, and then leaped over themselves. Their men followed the example set them by their wives:² and here it was that

¹ As hundreds have fallen since. 'Tis the proper spring of feeling for the extraordinary. By it, men often do things, that on reflection astonish themselves.

- - - "Daring actions cannot live
Out of the teeth of emulation."

SHAKESPEARE.

² We have a correspondent scene in Florus, lib. iii. c. 3. "When Marius engaged the Germans, he did not obtain victory but with great loss; for the German women fought most courageously, from the top and under the baggage-waggons, with lances and poles. Their death," says he, "was no less heroic than their resistance; for after sending an embassy to Marius, soliciting their admission into the vestal priesthood, (which, according to the Roman law, could not be granted,) having

Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνέας ὁ Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς, ἰδὼν τινα θέοντα ὡς ῥίψοντα ἑαυτὸν, σολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς αὐτὸν καλύσων. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισωᾶται, καὶ ἀμφοτέροι ὄχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι, καὶ ἀπέθανον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν ὀλίγοι πάνυ ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι καὶ πρόβατα πολλά.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σαθμοὺς ἑπτὰ, παρασάγγας πενήκοντα. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διήλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἤεσαν· εἶχον δὲ δώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἤτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερυγίων σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐσραμμένα. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας

Æneas, the Stymphalian, also lost his life; for seeing a Barbarian, richly dressed, about to destroy himself, he laid hold of his garment, when the Barbarian gave a spring, and pulled Æneas after him, and thus they were both dashed to pieces at the foot of the precipice. It was in consequence of this fatal resolution of the enemy, that we took but few prisoners; but a great quantity of oxen, asses, and sheep, fell into our hands.

From hence the army visited the territories of the Chalybians,¹ and in seven marches penetrated into the country a distance of fifty parasangas. This people was by far the most warlike of any we had met with; indeed, they did not refuse to come to close quarters with us. Their military costume consisted of white linen corslets² that reached below the hip, and in the room of tassels on the edges, had thick twisted cords: they wore, also,

strangled their infants, they slew each other, or hung themselves on trees, or poles of their carriages, with cords twisted together of their own hair." Vide, also, Polybius, lib. xvi. p. 739. Paris edition.

¹ We have before stated, that Strabo was correct in calling them so. Where Xenophon is made call them Chaldeans, is an error that has crept into the Greek text by some transcriber. Dio calls them Chalcidionians.

² This kind of corslet, or coat of mail, was finally introduced among the Greeks by Iphicrates; and though made of linen, yet was it woven so stout as to be completely sabre-proof.

καὶ κράνη, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικὴν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιντο· καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς, ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἦδον, καὶ ἐχόρευον, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ὄψεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλον· εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν, μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. Οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι· ᾗχοντο δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄχυροῖς· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήγδεια ἐν τέτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διεῖράφησαν τοῖς κτήγεσιν, ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον.

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρπασον ποταμὸν,

greaves and helmets, and by their sides hung a short Lacedæmonian falchion,¹ with which they cut off the heads of their prisoners, and carry them in triumph. In addition, they used in the charge very long pikes, nearly fifteen cubits in length,² having only one point. These men did not attack us 'till we had passed through their cities, but continually harassed our rear afterwards; and what is still more singular, they would always begin to dance and sing when they thought we were looking at them.³ When, however, we had pressed them hardly, they betook themselves to their fastnesses, where they had secured all their provisions; and had it not been for the cattle the Greeks had taken from the Taochians, they would have been literally starved.

We now had made the river Harpasmus,⁴ which was four plethra in

¹ The Lacedæmonian falchion was a short sword, bent extremely crooked. Meurs. lib. ii. c. 1.

² I suspect the text was originally five cubits, not fifteen; because that would give us a military pike of twenty-four feet long, which is highly improbable. The Greek cubit was 1 foot $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches English.

³ All nations have had their Chansons de guerre. Among the Germans, the war song was called "barding;" simply from the circumstance of the poet being anciently called a bard. See note 26th, sec. iii. of the translator's Tacitus De Mor. Ger.

⁴ Harpasmus. This river is called by *Delisle*, Harpason; by *Tournefourt*, Arpagi: the latter derives his authority from Dio, lib. xiv. p. 259, where that author writes Ἄρπαγος.

εὐρος τεττάρων πλέ-
θρων. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορ-
εύθησαν διὰ Σκυθινῶν
σταθμοὺς τέτταρας,
παρασάγγας εἴκοσι,
διὰ πεδίου εἰς κόμας·
ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας
τρῆς, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαν-
το. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦλ-
θον σταθμὸς τέτταρας,
παρασάγγας εἴκοσι,
πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην
καὶ εὐδαίμονα, οἰκημέ-
νην· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Γυμ-
νίας. Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς
χώρας ὁ ἄρχων τοῖς
Ἑλλησιν ἠγεμόνα πέμ-
πει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς
ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χῶ-
ρας ἐπάγοι αὐτούς.
Ἐλθὼν δὲ αὐτὸς, λέ-
γει ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς
εἰς χωρίον, ὅθεν πέντε
ἡμερῶν ὄψοιαι θάλασ-
σαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τεθνάναι
ἐπηγγέλλετο. Καὶ ἠ-
γούμενος δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐνέ-
βαλεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦς
πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύε-
το αἰθεῖν καὶ φθεῖρειν
τὴν χώραν· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον
ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἕ-
νεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας. Καὶ

breadth; and from hence, pressing on through the territories of the Scythinians,¹ we made, in four marches, twenty parasangas. After this, we traversed a plain, and entered some villages, where we halted three days, and made our provisions. From these villages we marched twenty parasangas, which took us four days to accomplish; on the evening of the last, we entered a large, rich, well-inhabited city, called Gymnias.² The Satrap of this country, on hearing of our arrival, sent a man to conduct us through the territories of his enemy. This fellow said, when he came to the army, that he would shew the soldiers the sea in five marches; if he did not he would forfeit his head. But on entering the territories of the enemy of his master, he desired the Greeks to lay waste the country; which led to the supposition, that vengeance towards the enemy, more than friendship towards the Greeks, had led him to perform this piece of service. However, on the fifth

¹ Σκυθινῶν is given by some authors Τασκουτίνοι. We have the authority of Steph. for saying they were the same people who are called Cappadocians. Dio says, they originally gave birth to the Parthi, *i. e.* the Persians; who were formerly called Παρσικύθηνοι; but in process of time Παρσύθηνοι. Gens, olim Scythica. Vide Dio, lib. i. 2.

² Γυμνίας, now called Scylax. Dio writes Gymnasia: it is situated near the Euxine, and is not far distant from Thechi mons. See map.

ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῶ ὄρει Θήχης. *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, καὶ καλεῖδον τὴν θάλατταν, πολλὴ κραυγὴ ἐγένετο. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἀήθησαν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ καὶ ὄπισθεν οἱ ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας· καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τε τινὰς καὶ ἐζώγρησαν, ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι· καὶ γέβρα ἔλαβον δασέων βοῶν ὠμοθόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἰκοσιν.

*Ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείον τε ἐγίνετο ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας, καὶ πολλῶ μείζων ἐγίνετο βοὴ, ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους ἐγίνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μείζον τι εἶναι τῶ Ξενοφῶντι. Καὶ ἀναβάς ἐφ' ἵππον, καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἵππέας ἀναλαβὼν, παρεβοήθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, θάλαττα, θάλαττα, καὶ παρεγγυώντων. *Ἐνθα δὴ

day, according to promise, we were conducted to the holy mountain of Theches;¹ on ascending which, our van-guard were agreeably surprised on seeing the sea, and consequently gave a tremendous shout. Xenophon and the rear-guard were astonished, concluding that some enemy had attacked them. They inferred this from the people, whose country they had destroyed, following their rear; moreover, the rear-guard had killed some of those men, and had made, through the medium of an ambuscade, some prisoners, and taken from them no less than twenty bucklers, made with ox-hides tanned with the hair on.

As the rear-guard came nearer the hill, the noise increased, and the men, as soon as they had ascended, ran to those who were shouting, which still increased the noise; so that Xenophon, suspecting something serious had happened, mounted and rode up, with Lycius in company. They had not rode far, before they heard — “The sea! the sea!” — and the soldiers cheering and congratulating each other; on which the rear-guard began running, driving

ἔθεον ἅπαντες, καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ

¹ Thechia, or ‘Ἱερόν’ Ὄρος. Dio calls it Χηνίον. It is situated inter Cerasuntem et Treporuntem, and about ninety stadia from the former.

ὕποζύγια ἠλαύνετο ἢ οἱ ἵπποι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους, καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, δακρύνοντες. Καὶ ἑξαπίνης, οὐτοδὴ παρεγγυήσαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους, καὶ ποιούσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. Ἐνταῦθα ἐνετίθεσαν πλῆθος δερματίνων ὠμοβοείων, καὶ βακλῆρίας, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέβρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτὸς τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέβρα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. Μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀπέμπουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, ἵππον, καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν, καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα· ἧται δὲ μάλιστα τὴν δακτυλίης, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς, οὗ σκηνήσουσι, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ εἰσπορεύουσιν εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἑσπέρα ἐγένετο, ὄχρητο τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπιών.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ

on the poor baggage-horses 'till they had all reached the eminence. Here tears of gratitude flowed, and the soldiers embraced each other, and their generals and captains, and instantly, without orders, made a large mound of stones, on which they placed the shields, staves, and bucklers taken from the enemy.¹ On seeing which, the guide began to cut the bucklers in pieces, and exhorted the Greeks to follow his example. After *this*, the guide was dismissed, laden with presents from the public stock; which consisted of a horse, a silver goblet, a Persian dress, and ten darics in cash. But what he chiefly desired was some of the soldiers' rings, which they freely gave him.² He then shewed them a village where to quarter, and pointed out the road that led into the country of the Macronians,³ and on the approach of night departed.

From thence, in three days, we penetrated into the country ten para-

¹ This was agreeable to the vow they had previously made.

² They were in the right humour for it: but we infer from this, that the Greek soldiers, in the midst of all their difficulties, had not forgot to plunder.

³ A small nation on the extreme borders of Cappadocia. Its modern name is Sannus, vulgarly called, says Eustath. Tsanos. Vide Dionys. v. 766.

Μακρωνων σταθμοὺς
 τρεῖς, παρασάγγας δέ-
 κα. Τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ
 ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ
 τὸν ποταμὸν, ὃς ὠρίζε
 τὴν τε τῶν Μακρωνων
 χώραν καὶ τὴν τῶν
 Σκυθιῶν. Εἶχον δ'
 ὑπερδέξιον χωρίον οἶον
 χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐξ
 ἀρισερᾶς ἄλλον πο-
 ταμὸν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλ-
 λεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ
 ἔδει διαβαίνειν. Ἦν
 δὲ ἕτος δασὺς δένδροις
 παχέσι μὲν οὗ, πυκ-
 νοῖς δέ. Ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ
 προῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες,
 ἔκοπτον σπεύδοντες ὡς
 τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς χωρίου
 ἐξελθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ Μά-
 κρωνες, ἔχοντες γέβρα
 καὶ λόγχας καὶ τρι-
 χίνοὺς χιτῶνας, κα-
 ταντιπέραν τῆς δια-
 βάσεως παρατεταγ-
 μένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλ-
 λήλοις διεκελεύοντο,
 καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν πο-
 ταμὸν ἐρρίπτειν· ἐξικ-
 νοῦντο δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως,
 οὐδ' ἔβαπτον οὐδένα.

Ἐνθα δὲ προσέρ-
 χεται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι
 τῶν πελταστῶν τις
 ἀνὴρ, Ἀθήνησι φάσκων
 δεδουλευκέναι· λέγων
 ὅτι γιγνώσκοι τὴν φω-
 νὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ
 οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἐμὴν ταύ-
 τὴν τὴν πατριδα εἶναι·

sangas. On the first day we came to a river that divides the Macronian territories from the Scythinians. On our right was an eminence of difficult ascent; on our left, another river, into which the boundary-river of the two nations which we were to pass disembogued. The banks of the latter were covered with trees, not large, but thickly studded together; *these* the soldiers cut down instantly, being solicitous to get out of such an awkward place for action: 'tis true the Macronians were drawn up on the opposite bank, ready to receive us; but this was nothing to be dreaded, in comparison of our *then* situation. The Macronians were armed with bucklers and spears, and wore vests manufactured from horse-hair.¹ On seeing our determination to pass, they began to encourage each other for the combat, and threw stones, none of which reached us.

One of our targeteers hearing the enemy speak, came to Xenophon, and told him, that he really thought their opposers were his countrymen; for he had once been, he said, a slave at Athens, and from the faint recollection he had, really thought this was the country

¹ Sabre proof.

καὶ, εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ δι-αλέγου καὶ μάθε πρώ-τον αὐτῶν, τίνες εἰσίν. Οἱ δ' εἶπον, ἔρωτήσαν-τος, ὅτι Μάκρωνες. Ἐρώτα τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς, τί ἀντιτετά-χασι, καὶ χεῖρῶσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι; Οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο, Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔρχεσθε. Λέ-γειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρα-τηγὸι ὅτι γε οὐ κα-κῶς ποιήσοντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαν-τες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι. Ἡρώτων ἐκεῖνοι, εἰ δοῖεν ἂν τέ-των τὰ πιστά. Οἱ δ' ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λάβειν ἐθέλειν. Ἐν-τεῦθεν διδόασιν οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἑλλη-σιν, οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικὴν ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δ'

of his nativity; and if Xenophon would give him leave, he would speak to the enemy. "By all means," said Xenophon; "and first ask them, what people they are." He complied, and was answered, that they were Macronians. "Ask them," says Xenophon, "what reason induces them to oppose our march; and why they are drawn up in battle array." They answered, "Because you invade our territories." All the Greek generals *then* desired the man to say that they intended to do the Macronians no harm; but that having carried on hostilities against Artaxerxes, they were now on their return to Greece, and were desirous to arrive on the sea-coast, as soon as possible, for that purpose. The Macronians then asked, "Whether the Greeks were willing to pledge themselves to that effect?" The Greeks answered, "They were; but that the pledge should be reciprocal;" which they agreed to. Without any further ceremony, therefore, the Macronians handed the Greeks a spear, and in return received one from the Greeks; on which they mutually invoked the gods to witness their agreement; and this was the way, they

ἐπεμαρτύρατο ἀμφότεροι.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθύς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ἄδοποιοῦν, ὡς διαβιβάσοντες, ἐν μέσοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν· καὶ ἀγορὰν οἷαν ἐδύναντο παρῆχον· καὶ διήγαγον τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἕως οὐ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τῶν Κόλχων κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι παρτεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο φάλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄξοντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς συλλεγεῖσι βηλεύσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιοῦνται. Ἐλεξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν ὅτι δοκεῖ, παύσαντας τὴν φάλαγγα, λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι. “Ἡ μὲν

observed, that they always ratified their engagements.¹

This simple ceremony being ended, the Macronians mingled with the army in a most friendly manner, and assisted the soldiers to cut down the trees, and to the best of their ability supplied them with a market; and after conducting them through their country for three days, finally brought them to the Colchian mountains.² One of these mountains was very high, but not altogether inaccessible, and on which we saw the Colchian military drawn up to receive us. The Greeks then made a disposition in line, intending, thus arranged, to march up the mountain; but hesitated. It was then judged advisable to call a military council, in order to devise some plan of attack: on which, Xenophon said, “That he thought they ought to change the plan in which the army then stood; and the disposition he should recommend was, for dividing the heavy-armed men into companies of a hundred,

¹ The Scythians, agreeable to Quintus Curtius, on ratifying a treaty presented a yoke of oxen, an arrow, and a goblet; symbols of commerce, religion, and war; which were extremely significant, and indicated that a peace, thus ratified, opened the door to social life. The exchange of a spear simply indicated a cessation of hostilities.

² The Colchian mountains seem to be the same which Strabo calls Montes Moschici.

γὰρ φάλαγγ' διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀνοδον, τῇ δὲ εὐοδον εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσῃ, ὅτι τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα, ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὀρώσῃν. Ἐπειτα δὲ, ἣν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιττεύσουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρῆσονται ὅ,τι ἂν βούλωνται· ἐὰν δ' ἐπὶ ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαυμαστόν, εἰ διακοπήν ἡμῶν ἢ φάλαγγ' ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἢ καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συμπεσόντων· εἰ δὲ πῆ τοῦτο ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. Ἄλλά μοι δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους, τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόντας τοὺς λόχους, ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἔσχατους λόχους γένεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἔσχατοι λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κρᾶτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτοι προσίασιν· ἢ τε ἂν εὐοδον ἢ, ταύτην ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. Καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλείπον οὐ

and to form every hundred into a small column; for," he said, "if the army advanced in line, it would frequently be broken by the unevenness of the ground, consequently be rendered vulnerable, and the soldiers would become disheartened. On the other hand, were they to draw up in line four deep, they would then be outflanked by the enemy, and the flanks of the enemy's line that stretch beyond us *they* may apply to any purpose *unobserved*; and if we avoid this inconvenience, and advance as we now are, we ought not to be surprised if the enemy concentrate their force and break through with pleasure, and the line being broken through in one part, would disorder the whole. To avoid both and all these inconveniences, I would recommend the separate columns to march at so great a distance from each other, that the van and rear column may outstretch the enemy's wings; by this means we shall not only outflank them, but have the advantage to attack in column, and the bravery of our men will display itself, for it will be *then* who shall attack first.¹ And let none suppose, that it will be an

¹ Xenophon was for calling forth emulation: he had seen the effects of this feeling before at the storming of several places.

ῥάδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολέμοις εἰσελθεῖν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται λόχον ὄρθιον προσιόντα. Ἐάν τε τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει· ἦν τε πη εἰς δυνηθῆ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐθεις μηκέτι μείνη τῶν πολέμων." Ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ ἐποίουν ὀρθίως τὰς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τῆ δεξιᾶ, εἶπε τοῖς στρατιώταις, "Ἄνδρες, οὗτοί εἰσιν, οὓς ὄρατε, μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν τοῦ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι, ἔνθα πάλα σπεύδομεν· τέτρες, ἦν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὤμους δεῖ καταφαγεῖν."

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποίησαντο ἐγγε-

easy task for the enemy to fall into the intervals, with our columns in front and rear, and indeed on all sides of them; nor need we fear that any particular column will suffer, since if any one of them was pressed, the others at hand would speedily bring relief, and on the first reaching the summit, the enemy will most certainly give way. *This is my opinion,*" said Xenophon: to which the whole council acceded;¹ and dividing the heavy-armed men into companies as proposed, and the companies into columns, they prepared for the attack. Xenophon then rode from the right to the left of the army, encouraging the soldiers, telling them that the enemy they saw before them was the only impediment they would meet before they reached that country they had so long desired to see, and added, jocosely, that the Greeks ought to eat them up for a sallad.²

The men being ready, and the companies formed in columns, they were numbered, and found to amount to

¹ Xenophon's plans always succeeded; hence we see, that in point of fact he was commander-in-chief.

² Xenophon was often witty, and by this means made the soldier view formidable things as trivials: his lashing Cheirisophus on the institutions of his country must have had a good effect on the minds of the soldiers.

νοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τὰς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῆ ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐάνυμου ἕξω, τὰς δὲ, τοῦ δεξιῆ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον· σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους· Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταί, ἕξω γενόμενοι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος, ἐπορεύοντο. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς εἶδον αὐτὰς, ἀντιπορεύονται· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐάνυμον διεσπάρθησαν, καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διχάζοντας οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρναν, νομίσαντες φεγγεῖν, ἀνὰ κράτος ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὄπλιτικόν, ὧν ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ἐπεὶ ἦρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῆ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐγράψαι. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν πολλαῖς κόμαις, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δὲ πολλὰ ἐχούσαις.

eighty companies of heavy-armed, with nearly a hundred to a company. The targeteers and archers were formed into three divisions of about six hundred each, and were posted on the flanks and centre. The soldiers then, by the orders of their generals, invoked the gods, sung the pæan, and marched forward, Xenophon and Cheirisophus leading the van-division of the targeteers. When the enemy saw us coming up the hill, they moved forward, but did not immediately meet us, but filed off to our right and left, leaving a great space between. On Æschines the Arcadian, who commanded the Arcadian targeteers, seeing *this*, and mistaking the movement for a flight, he pressed forward in all haste, and was the first to gain the summit. These were immediately followed by the heavy-armed Arcadians, commanded by Cleanor the Orchomenian; on which the enemy gave way, and never again rallied; nor did they leave the field orderly, but every one as he could. Having gained this post, the Greeks found a great many villages near, stored with every kind of provision. One circumstance which

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐδὲν ἦν, ὅτι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλά ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἤμουν, καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὄρθος οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἴστασθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες, σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐφύκεσαν· οἱ δὲ πολὺ, μαινομένοις· οἱ δὲ, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. Ἐκείντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ, ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὰ ἦν

excited our astonishment in these villages was, the great quantity of bees that the soldiers every where found, with the fruits of whose industry they made free, and suffered severely for their temerity; for those who ate much of the honey not only lost their senses,¹ but suffered from dysentery and sickness, and were totally incapable of standing on their legs: those, however, who ate but little, represented men as simply inebriated, but the others were like maniacs, or men about to expire; and thus they lay on the ground as if they had suffered defeat.² The sorrow

¹ Huber, who has written the very best treatise extant on the economy of bees, not even excepting Virgil, has entirely omitted saying any thing on the nature of honey, or the comparative qualities of it, as found in different countries. It is universally allowed, however, that the Isle of Cyprus produces the best; and the next islands in repute are Malta and Corsica; indeed the former island derived its name from the great quantity it produced: *Mel-ita*, or the Honey Island; but we have no mention made in any other author of repute,* of its possessing the deleterious qualities here spoken of. I cannot help thinking, therefore, but it must have been the *mead*, made from the honey, and found in the cottagers' houses, that the soldiers made free with. It is sufficiently known, that an improper quantity of honey taken into the stomach, will produce dysentery; but we have no other instance on record of its producing insanity, 'till by fermentation it becomes mead; then it will produce inebriation, and temporary insanity, as soon as brandy. Notwithstanding, there is no doubt but the quality of honey is materially affected by the flowers from which the bees collect it, climate, &c. &c.

² Bacchus will as effectually defeat as Mars; in fact, there is not a

* An American author, whose name I forget, and is of no consequence, somewhere tells us, "that the flesh of some birds in that country, who usually feed on honey, has been found deleterious, and is supposed to have derived that quality from the honey on which these birds feed. This supposition is too ridiculous to receive credibility.

ἡ ἀθυμία. Τῇ δ' ὕσ-
 τεραία ἀπέθανε μὲν
 οὐδείς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν
 αὐτὴν που ὤραν ἀνε-
 φρόνουν· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ
 τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο,
 ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρμακο-
 ποσίας.

felt on this occasion was great; nor were they relieved from it 'till the next day, when, instead of seeing the soldiers dead, as expected, it was found that they recovered nearly about the same time they had been seized on the previous day. About the third and fourth day they were all restored, but looked like men who had undergone a course of medicine.¹

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύ-
 θησαν δύο σταδμοῦς,
 ἑπτὰ παρασάγγας, καὶ
 διήλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν,
 εἰς Τραπεζῦνία, πόλιν
 Ἑλληνίδα οἰκουμένην,
 ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ,
 Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν,
 ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρᾳ.

All being recovered, we again march-
 ed forward, and in two days made
 seven parasangas, which brought us to
 Trebisond,² a Greek city on the Euxine
 sea. This city was well inhabited;
 their ancestors were originally a colony
 of Sinopians,³ though the city is in
 the territories of the Colchians.⁴ *Here,*

god nor goddess in the Grecian Mythology but what will conquer an army. I would delineate their respective attributes, only my printer is waiting for the sheet.

¹ I will venture to assert, that not one of those soldiers ever after-
 ward saw a bee without praying for him by "Castor and Pollux."

² Trebisond, now inhabited by Italians. Vide map. It is a large
 city of Cappadocia, and was for many years the seat of the Greek
 emperors. Its harbour is extensive and good; being defended from the
 south and east winds by a vast chain of mountains, situated behind
 the city.

³ Sinope, which gave birth to this colony, is a very ancient city on
 the Euxine, and is built on a peninsula. Vide map. It gave birth to
 Diogenes the Cynic, and to the Mithridatic kings. This city, says
 Strabo, "incumbit enim cervici cujusdem peninsulæ; à cujus isthmi
 utrâque parte, portus, sunt et navalia, ac Pelamydum capturæ mirabiles."

⁴ The Colchians, according to Dio, were a colony of Egyptians; in
 his day they practised, as do the Egyptians and Jews, the ritual of

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων χώραις· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μὲν ἐληίζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. Ἀγορὰν δὲ παρῆχον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζούντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν, βούς καὶ ἄλφιλα καὶ οἶνον. Συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίον Κόλχων τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων· ἢ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον πλέονα, βόες. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν εὐξάντο, παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθύσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι, καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, ἡγεμόσυνα· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ θεοῖς, ἃ ἠύξαντο. Ἐποίησαν δὲ

and in the villages in the vicinity, the army halted thirty days, after making excursions into the country for plunder.¹ The people of Trebisond *itself* used the army kindly, making them presents of oxen, barley-flour, and wine, and supplied them with a market in their camp.² The citizens also made an agreement with the Greeks in favour of the Colchians, the major part of whom inhabit the plains, from whom also, *afterwards*, the Greeks received oxen and other presents, as marks of their friendship.³ The army then prepared the sacrifice they had vowed, having sufficient oxen by them to do so; and accordingly made an oblation to Jupiter the preserver, and to Hercules, and to all the gods at once, for having vouchsafed their protection, and for conducting them back to their country.⁴ The army also celebrated

circumcision. This province is now called Mengralia. Vide note second, page 103.

¹ Here again necessity was the compellant: the citizens, however, finally put a stop to it, and supplied the army in a more honourable manner.

² Not out of it; no, that would not do.

³ Forced friendship, I suspect; and exercised towards men whose room would have been better than their company.

⁴ Ἀποθύσαι τῷ Διὶ, &c. This is admirable. A religious vow had been made to the gods; now the army was about to fulfil it. Talk about the want of religion among the ancients! — I do not see but they had as much as the moderns: we have the advantage on the score of *correct views*;

καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν
 ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἔνθα περ
 ἐσκήνου· εἶλοντο δὲ
 Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιά-
 την (ὃς ἔφευγε παῖς
 ὧν οἴκοθεν, παῖδα ἄ-
 κων κατακτανῶν, ξυή-
 λη πατάξας) δρόμου
 τε ἐπιμελεθῆναι, καὶ
 τοῦ ἀγῶνος προστα-
 τῆσαι.

a gymnical game¹ on the mountain where they encamped, and selected Dracontius, a Spartan, to take care of the race-course, and to officiate as umpire for the combatants. This man had involuntarily killed a boy, and had fled his country early in life.²

but what of that? Religion consists in practising moral duties, which incorporate the fulfilment of our promises, whether made to God or man. "To *Him*," says David, "shall our vows be paid." But now a day—

"It is no scandal nor aspersion,
 Upon a great and noble person,
 To say, he nat'rally abhor'd
 Th' old-fashioned trick, to keep his word;
 For to be able to forget,
 Is found more useful to the great,
 Than gout, or deafness, or bad eyes,
 To make 'em pass for wondrous wise."

Hudibras.

¹ Γυμνικὸν, or gymnical, refers rather to place, according to some of the critics, than to any particular game. The etymon of the term, Γυμνός (nudus), would lead us only as to the manner; namely, that the wrestling, boxing, &c., took place between the combatants in a state of *nudity*. It may also mean, that the combatants were *destitute of weapons*, and of every other species of arms, but those provided by nature. And in this manner the Olympic, Pythian, and Isthmian games were performed; with the exception, viz. that the pugilist generally wore a cestus over the joints of the fist. The founders of those games are unknown: They are of very great antiquity, and were intended to keep up the martial spirit of the Greeks. Phlegon, the author of the Olympiades, says, "They were instituted by Pisis, from whom the city of Pisisæ was named:" but there are twenty founders named in the Archæology.

² This was among the laws of Lycurgus, to go into voluntary banishment on such occasions. But it had a more ancient origin—

Ἦτοι ὁ μὲν, νόθος υἱὸς Ὀϊλῆος Δείοιο
 Ἔσκε Μέδων, Αἴαντος ἀδελφεός· αὐτὰρ ἦναιεν
 Ἐν Φυλάκῃ, γαίης ἄπο πατρίδος, ἄνδρα κατακτὰς
 Γνωτὸν μητριῆς Ἐριώπιδος, ἣν ἔχ' Οἰλεύς.

Iliad, xv. 333.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἠγγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποικηκῶς εἶη. Ὁ δὲ, δείξας ὅπου παρεστηκότες ἐτύγχανον, Οὗτος ὁ λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν, ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτω; Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών. Ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρηῆτες πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα ἔδειον· πάλην δὲ, καὶ πυγμὴν, καὶ παγκράτιον ἕτεροι· καὶ κα-

The sacrifice being completed, the skins of the victims were delivered over to Dracontius, the soldiers desiring him to lead to the race-course.¹ Dracontius then pointed to the hill, observing that he thought it a very proper place, as they might *there* run at pleasure. The soldiers asked him, how it was possible for them to wrestle in so uneven and bushy a place. "Very possible," said he; "and will cause the vanquished to feel the fall more severely. The first race was run by the boys made prisoners;² but the long course³ was run for by more than sixty Cretans at once, whilst others contended in wrestling and boxing, and some were engaged in the pancratium⁴ the

“ But hapless Medon from Oileus came ;
Him Ajax honour'd with a brother's name,
Though born of lawless love : *from home expell'd,*
A banished man, in Phylacè he dwell'd.”

POPE.

For further illustration, see Herodotus, lib. i. c. 35.; and Pausanias, lib. v. c. 1.

¹ These were frequently stuffed and placed at the goal from whence the combatants started, in order to keep up the spirit of the game.

² In this country the poney race is generally the first.

³ Δόλιχον, longus, prolixus — the long course, or race, twenty-four stadia, was run by the Cretans; a people, as we have before observed, famous in athletic exercises of every description. The term is found in Suidas and Phavorinus, Δόλιχος.

⁴ To illustrate the whole of those games in a note would be next to impossible: *παγκράτων*, or the pancratium, simply means, according to the Archæology, those pugilists who admitted the toe to be used by way of tripping up the heels of the adversary; or, in other words, fighting and

λή θεά ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καὶ, ἅτε θεωμένων τῶν ἐταίρων πολλὴ φιλονεικία ἐγίγνετο. Ἐθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι· καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐλάσαντας ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἀναστρέψαντες πάλιν ἄνω, πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἕκειν. Καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ

whole of which made a fine sight for the spectators; the more so, from the great number of combatants that entered the list,¹ and the emulation provoked by the presence of their friends. Horses² also ran; the course for which was, from the top of the mountain down to the sea, and back again. *These* galloped down with such fury, that many of the horses and men gave double and treble summersets, which created no little amusement; the more so, from the contrast exhibited in their return to the goal, which was so steep

wrestling conjoined. For my part, I think the term has a more extensive latitude: *παγκράτον* is only another orthography of *πανκρατον*, the γ being frequently substituted for the ν ; and therefore the ludicrous games which generally take place on our race-courses between the heats, such as grinning through a collar, jumping in a bag, eating apples out of a bucket of water, &c. &c. &c., if expressed by a Greek term, would be called *παγκράτον*. They were the minor games, the more honourable being those of *Δρόμος*, running; as may be seen in the *Odyssey*, *θ. v. 147*:—

“ No greater honour has e'er been attain'd,
Than what strong hands, or nimble feet have gain'd :”

or *Πάλη*, the exercise of wrestling, or *Πυγμαχία*, the art of boxing. In such repute, however, were those games held, that the period of their celebration became the data of transactions. The Olympic games were celebrated every four years; the Pythian every five.

¹ Originally, every man was obliged to enter his name at the Gymnasium thirty days before the games began, otherwise he could not contend for the crown.

² In Greece, this contest was performed in chariots; the Greeks very rarely rode on horseback.

ἐκυλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ
 πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρ-
 θιον μάλιστα βάρη ἐπο-
 ρεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι. Ἐνθα
 πολλὴ κραυγὴ, καὶ γέ-
 λως, καὶ παρακέλευσις
 ἐγίγνετο αὐτῶν.

to climb, that it was with difficulty they could *even walk* up to it; on which the spectators laughed most heartily, and thus the game terminated with the utmost hilarity.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

OR,

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS
INTO PERSIA,

AND

THE RETREAT
OF
THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS,

BY

XENOPHON.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

FROM THE EDITIONS OF HUTCHINSON AND ZEUNE,

WITH COPIOUS CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

SELECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES,

BY N. S. SMITH,

TRANSLATOR OF TACITUS.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK V.

Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἐπραξάν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ μέχρι ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέδυσαν, ἃ εὗξαντο σωτήρια θύειν, ἔνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἤκοινο, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

THE preceding books contain the actions of the Greeks from the commencement of the Cyrean expedition 'till their return to the Greek city, Trebisond, on the Euxine, where the army, agreeable to their vow,¹ offered sacrifice for being again permitted to see the territories of their friends, and celebrated the gymnical games, for the general protection vouchsafed them by the gods.²

¹ Vows were held very sacred amongst the ancients, even when made under the influence of the bad passions, and even where the fulfilment of them went to destroy every natural and moral obligation. See Judges, c. ii. v. 30 to 40. Would it not have been more pleasing to the Almighty, for Jephthah to have broken his vow than to have kept it? But in *this instance* it was very proper: it was a grateful return for mercies received. The nature of this vow, and the circumstances that led to it, are illustrated in pages 173-4.

² Athletic exercises generally closed the religious services of the Greeks. Query—Had not bull-fights and sports after mass, in Catholic countries, their origin *here*? And, query—Did not the ancients think those exercises which tended to the *health of the body* as pleasing in the sight of God as those which related to the health of the soul?

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες, ἐβουλευόντο περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας· ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Ἀντιλέων Θούριος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε, “Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπείρηκα ἤδη συσκευαζόμενος, καὶ βαδίζων, καὶ τρέχων, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα φέρων, καὶ ἐν τάξει ἰὼν, καὶ φυλακὰς φυλάττων, καὶ μαχόμενος· ἐπιδυμῶ δὲ ἤδη, παυσάμενος τέλων τῶν πόνων, ἐπεὶ θάλατταν ἔχομεν, πλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν, καὶ ἕκταθεις, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς, καθεύδων ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἀνεθορύβησαν ὡς εὖ λέγοι· καὶ ἄλλος ταυτὰ ἔλεγε, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες. Ἐπειτα Χειρίσοφος ἀνέστη, καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε, Φίλος μοι ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, ναυαρχῶν δὲ τυγ-

This duty being performed, the soldiers and their officers assembled to consult on future operations; on which occasion Antelion, a native of Thuria, addressed them to the following purport: — “Gentlemen, — I confess, as an individual, I am completely tired of preparing the baggage, of marching, running, standing guard, and fighting; and only now, since the sea is before us, have one solitary wish left, and that is, to return to Greece like Ulysses, sleeping, and stretched out at my ease.”¹ In this wish the whole army acquiesced. Then Cheirisophus addressed them, and said, “That Anaxibius the *then* com-

¹ We have before observed, that Homer’s writings formed the Greek Bible; and the contents of them were better known, even by the illiterate Greeks, than is the Bible by the peasantry of England: the Greek soldiers perfectly understood this allusion, and seem to have relished it highly. It is contained in the *Odyssey*, ν. v. 116. et seq.

Οἱ δ' ἐκ νηὸς βάντες εὐζύγου ἠπειρόνδε,
 Πρῶτον Ὀδυσσῆα γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς ἄειραν,
 Αὐτῷ σὺν τε λίνῳ καὶ ῥήγει σιγαλόεντι,
 Καδδὸ ἄρ' ἐπὶ ψαμάθῳ ἔθεσαν δεδμημένον ὕπνῳ.

“Ulysses climb’d the lofty stern, then gently prest
 The swelling couch, and lay composed to rest.” &c.

The ship then sails for Ithaca —

“Thither they bent, and haul’d their ship to land,
 (The crooked keel divides the yellow sand).
 Ulysses sleeping on his couch they bore,
 And gently placed him on the rocky shore
 His treasures next, Alcinous’ gifts, they laid
 In the wild olives’ unfrequented shade.” &c. &c.

χάνει· ἦν οὖν πέμψητέ
 με, οἶμαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν καὶ
 τριήρεις ἔχων καὶ πλοῖα
 τὰ ὑμᾶς ἄξοντα· ὑμεῖς
 δ', ἐπεὶ περ πλεῖν βού-
 λεσθε, περιμένετε ἕστ'
 ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω· ἤξω δὲ
 ταχέως." Ἀκίσαυτες
 ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται
 ἤσθησάν τε καὶ ἐψη-
 φίσαντο πλεῖν αὐτὸν
 ὡς τάχιστα.

Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενο-
 φῶν ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξεν
 ὧδε, "Χειρίσοφος μὲν
 ἤδη ἐπὶ πλοῖα στέλλε-
 ται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναμενεῖ-
 μεν. Ὅσα οὖν μοι δο-
 κεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν
 ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ταῦτα ἐρῶ.
 Πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐπι-
 τήδεια δεῖ πορίζεσθαι

manding admiral in the Euxine was his friend, and if the army thought proper to send him to that officer, he had no doubt but his influence would operate in procuring galleys and transports sufficient for them to return in the manner they wished; in the meantime, he thought the army had better remain stationary 'till his return, which he pledged himself should take place on the earliest day." In this proposition the soldiers acquiesced also, and decreed that the general should immediately set sail on his mission.

Then Xenophon addressed them, and said, "That since it was decreed to despatch Cheirisophus to the admiral, and for the army to remain where it was 'till his return, he could not let that opportunity slip without giving his opinion on the necessary operations that should occupy the intermediate time.¹ You are aware, my fellow-soldiers, that we must have provisions; and these provisions, I conceive, must

¹ This was *timely*: without this intimation, the soldiers, in their *then disposition*, would have been very likely to have given themselves up to sloth; to have copied from Ulysses at Trebisonde, as well as on board ship; to have plundered their friends as well as enemies; in fact, to have surrendered themselves to every species of irregularity. Xenophon, however, like a good man, and a great general, turns their thoughts into a proper channel.

ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας· οὔτε γὰρ ἀγορά ἐστὶν ἰκανή, οὔτε ὅτου ὠνησόμεθα πάρεστιν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις, ἥτε χώρα πολεμίας· κίνδυνος οὖν πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἣν ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύονται ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιήθεια. Ἄλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνομαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιήθεια, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὡς σάξησθε· ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.” Ἐδοξε ταῦτα· Ἔτι τοίνυν ἀκύσατε καὶ τάδε· Ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐκπορευσονταί τινες. Οἶμαι οὖν βέλτιον εἶναι ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξίεναι, φράζεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὅποι· ἵνα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἴδωμεν τῶν

be drawn from an enemy's country;¹ for the market at Trebisond is not sufficient to supply us, and if it was, our finances are too circumscribed to make the necessary purchases:² moreover, though Trebisond is a Greek city, the vicinity is occupied by the king's subjects, in plundering whom we must use the utmost precaution, lest, while we seek the means of life, we do not purchase those means by *life itself*.³ To avoid *this*, it will be necessary, when you go in search of provisions, to employ *guides*, that you may not risk your persons in wandering about an unknown country; and let the care of providing for those guides devolve on us.”⁴ To which the army simultaneously agreed. “But I have something more to propose,” said Xenophon; “and that is, — when any of you wish to go out for *plunder*, that you would previously acquaint *us* with your intentions; the part of the country you purpose to go; the number so employed;

¹ Certainly not from your countrymen of Trebisond; — don't think of that.

² To the honour of the Greeks be it recorded, they always purchased their provisions when they had it in their power.

³ *Here*, as in many other places, I have been more careful to give the spirit of the author than the letter.

⁴ The paternal solicitude of Xenophon for his soldiers is a prominent and pleasing feature in his character.

ἐξιόντων καὶ τῶν με-
 νόντων, καὶ συμπαρα-
 σκευάζωμεν ἕάν τι
 δέη· καὶ βοηθῆσαι τισιν
 ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ, ἴδωμεν
 ὅποι δέησει βοηθεῖν· καὶ
 ἂν τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων
 ἐγχειρῇ τι ποιεῖν, συμ-
 θελεύωμεν, πειρώμενοι
 εἰδέναι τὴν δύναμιν, ἐφ'
 οὓς ἂν ἴωσιν." Ἐδοξε
 καὶ ταῦτα. "Ἐννοεῖτε
 δὴ καὶ τὸδ', ἔφη· Σχολῆ
 τοῖς πολέμοις ληΐζεσ-
 θαι· καὶ δικαίως ἡμῖν
 ἐπιβελεύουσιν. ἔχομεν
 γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων· ὑπερ-
 κάθηνται δ' ἡμῶν. Φύ-
 λακας δὴ μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν
 περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον
 εἶναι· ἕάν οὖν κατὰ
 μέρος μερισθέντες φυ-
 λάττωμεν καὶ σκοπῶ-
 μεν, ἦττον δύναιτ' ἂν
 ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν οἱ πολέμοιοι.
 Ἐτι τοίνυν τάδε ὀράτε·

that *we* also may know the number that remain at home, and that the latter may assist the former with proper necessaries for the occasion, and be ready to render them succour if required. By this means we shall be informed where to send to you; and if any young men wish to make an experiment, by way of ascertaining the strength of the enemy, it may be proper also that such young men first advise with us."¹ The army highly approved of those plans, and they were accordingly resolved on. "The next thing I advise," said Xenophon, "is, to place guards at some little distance from the camp, whose sole business it may be to watch the motions of the enemy; and let this guard be regularly relieved; for as the Barbarians have time to make reprisals, and may with justice do so, by any manner of means, seeing that we are endeavouring to deprive them of their property; and what is more, by being posted on eminences that command our camp, have a decided advantage in availing themselves of opportunities; it becomes us, that we should *make this* a major object of consideration. What I am further going to observe," said Xenophon,

¹ All this is so excellent, that silence is the best praise.

Εἰ μὲν ἠπιστάμεθα σα-
φῶς ὅτι ἤξει πλοῖα Χει-
ρίσοφος ἄγων ἱκανά,
οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει ὦν μέλ-
λω λέγειν· νῦν δ', ἕπει
τοῦτ' ἄδηλον, δοκεῖ
μοι πειρᾶσθαι πλοῖα
συμπαρασκευάζειν ἢ
αὐτόθεν. *Ἦν μὲν γὰρ
ἔλθῃ ὑπαρχόντων ἐν-
θάδε, ἐν ἀφρονωτέροις
πλουσοῦμεθα· ἐάν δὲ
μὴ ἄγῃ, τοῖς ἐνθάδε
χρησόμεθα. Ἐγὼ δὲ
ὄρω πλοῖα πολλά-
κις παραπλέοντα· εἰ
οὖν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ
Τραπεζουντίων μακρὰ
πλοῖα, κατάγοιμεν ἢ
φυλάττοιμεν αὐτά, τὰ
πηδάλια παραλυόμε-
νοι, ἕως ἂν ἱκανὰ τὰ
ἄξοντα γένηται, ἴσως
ἂν οὐκ ἀπορήσαιμεν
κομιδῆς, οἷας δεόμεθα.”
Ἐδοξε ἢ ταῦτα. “Ἐν-
νοήσατε δ', ἔφη, εἰ εἰ-
κὸς καὶ τρέφειν ἀπὸ
κοινοῦ οὓς ἂν κατα-
γάσωμεν, ὅσον ἂν χρο-
νον ἡμῶν ἕνεκα μένωσι,
καὶ ναῦλον συνθέσθαι,

“ would be altogether unnecessary, were we sure that Cheirisophus would return with a sufficient number of transports; but as that is uncertain, I think we ought to use every effort to provide ourselves with ships from this port. For say that we shall be supplied when he returns, yet this precaution will only give us the greater facilities and conveniences for our voyage; and should Cheirisophus be disappointed in his expectations, we shall have the satisfaction to have anticipated and to have met that disappointment, and can *then* use those ships we have procured ourselves. Nor is this difficult to accomplish; for I see many vessels sail along this coast, whom the citizens of Trebisond would detain, were we to desire it, or grant us armed vessels to do this ourselves. *These* we could bring to shore, take off their rudders, and place guards on them, 'till we have a sufficient number for our purpose.” This proposal the army received with the greatest enthusiasm. “ The next thing I would offer to your consideration is, whether it would not be politic to sub- sist the sailors who are employed on board those vessels, so long as they may be in our service, from the public stock, and pay for the freight, and thus

ὅπως ὠφελοῦντες καὶ ὠφελῶνται.” Ἐδοξε ἡ ταῦτα. “ Δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, ἔφη, ἦν ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὴ ἐκπεραίνηται ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πλοῖα, ἵασι δὲ ἄς δυσπρόρους ἀκούομεν εἶναι, ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκουμέναις πόλεσιν ἐντείλασθαι ὁδοποιεῖν· πείσονται γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι.”

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀνέκραγον ὡς οὐδέοι ὁδοποιεῖν. Ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδὲν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐκούσας ἔπεισε ποιεῖν τὰς ὁδοὺς· λέγων ὅτι θάττον ἀπαλλάξονταί,

make it *their interest* to serve us?”¹ To this the army agreed also. “ And I would add,” says Xenophon, “ that in case we should be disappointed from both those quarters, whether we had not better order those towns situated on the coast to repair the roads, which I understand are hardly passable, to the end that every obstruction may be removed, in the event of our being obliged to march further?² for I am convinced those towns will attend to our wishes, not only through fear but from a desire to rid themselves of such troublesome neighbours.”³

To which the army replied, “ That there was no occasion to insist on this, since they had resolved to return by sea.” Xenophon, perceiving their folly, pressed this consideration no further, but prevailed on those towns of *his own accord* to repair the roads, by simply stating that the earlier they complied

¹ Aye, that's the point — make it their *interest* to serve us, and we shall get well served.

² It is a characteristic in great minds, to prepare for all emergencies; and *this preparation* arises from a thorough knowledge, that *uncertainty* is stamped on the best arranged plans; while, on the other hand, those that are the most improbable are seen frequently to succeed. It was so *here*, as the reader will observe, though the folly of the soldiery would have rendered their general's solicitude useless, had he listened to it.

³ A friendly army is a bad neighbour.

ἦν εὐπαροὶ γένωνται αἱ ὁδοί. Ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ πενηκόντορον παρὰ Τραπεζηνίων, ἣ ἐπέσησαν Δέξιππον Λακωνικὸν περὶοικον. Οὗτος ἀμελήσας τῆ συλλαβεῖν πλοῖα, ἀποδράς ὄψετο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, ἔχων τὴν ναῦν. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν ὕπερον· ἐν Θράκῃ γὰρ παρὰ Σεύθῃ πολυπραγμονῶν τι ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. Ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τριακόντορον, ἣ ἐπεστάθη Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος· ὃς ὅποσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα, κατήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα, ἃ ἐπῆγον, ἐξαιρέμενοι, φύλακας καθίσασαν, ὅπως σῶα εἶη· τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις ἐχρήσαντο εἰς παραγωγὴν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνετύγχανον, οἱ

with his wishes, the sooner the army would quit their territories. The citizens of Trebisond also, in compliance with their desires, furnished them with an armed galley of fifty oars, for the purpose of detaining the coasters; over which ship the army placed Dexippus the Spartan, as commander, who, instead of doing his duty by bringing those vessels which he met into port, seized on the galley and sailed completely out of the Euxine. This man's perfidy, however, did not go long unpunished, for on arriving in Thrace, and entering the army of Seuthes, he was detected in carrying on some intrigue, for which he was executed by the command of Nicander the Lacedæmonian. The inhabitants of Trebisond, however, very handsomely provided the army with another galley of thirty oars, over which Polycrates the Athenian was placed as commander. This officer did his duty, and brought all the ships he could take to the shore, right opposite the camp. The Greeks accordingly took out their cargoes, and placed a guard over them, and retained the ships for their passage; nor did the soldiers neglect in the interim to plunder the enemy, though sometimes their efforts were rendered nugatory by the great difficulties that

δὲ καὶ οὐ. Κλεαίνετος δ' ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόχον πρὸς χωρίον χαλεπὸν, αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκέτι ἦν λαμβάνειν, ὥστε ἀπαυθημέριζεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τραπεζεντίων, ἐξάγει εἰς Δρίλας τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ φυλάττειν κατέλιπε τὸ στρατόπεδον· οἱ γὰρ Κόλχοι, ἅτε ἐκπεπωτωκότες ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἀθρόοι, καὶ ὑπερεκάδηγτο ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. Οἱ δὲ Τραπεζούντιοι, ὁπόθεν μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ῥᾶδιον ἦν λαβεῖν, οὐκ ἤγον· φίλοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν·

offered themselves. On one of those occasions, Cleænitus, when in the act of assailing a strong place with his own and another company, was slain, and many of his soldiers also perished in the same attempt.

In process of time, the provisions in the immediate vicinity of the city were so far consumed, as to render it necessary to make so long excursions into the country that the detachments could not return to the camp the same day. It therefore became indispensable to send larger detachments; and in fact, Xenophon himself, finally, taking some citizens of Trebisond as guides, marched out with one half of the army, and left the other to guard the camp; for the Colchians,¹ as before observed, who had been dispossessed of their houses and cattle, had collected themselves on the eminences, and were waiting opportunities for reprisals. The guides, it is true, had not led the Greeks cheerfully against this people, nor to those places where provisions were easily to be obtained, on the ground of their being on terms of

¹ In note 2, page 103, we have shewn from Dio, that the Colchians were originally a colony of Egyptians, planted there by Sesostris on his return from the conquest of Asia: they were on terms of amity with the Trebisonds, and hence the guides led the Greeks very reluctantly against them. This country is now called *Mengrelia*.

εἰς τὰς Δρίλας δὲ προ-
δύμῳς ἦγον, ὕφ' ὧν
κακῶς ἔπασχον, εἰς
χωρία τε ἱρεῖνὰ καὶ
δύσβατα, καὶ ἀνδρώ-
πους πολεμικωτάτους
τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ
χώρᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες,
ὅποια τῶν χωρίων τοῖς
Δρίλαις ἀλώσιμα ἐ-
δόκει εἶναι, ἐμπιπράν-
τες ἀπήεσαν· καὶ οὐδὲν
ἦν λαβεῖν εἰ μὴ ὕς καὶ
βοῦς, ἢ ἄλλο τι κτήνος
τὸ πῦρ διαπεφευγός.
Ἐν δ' ἦν χωρίον, ὃ
μητρόπολις αὐτῶν ἐ-
καλεῖτο· εἰς τοῦτο πάν-
τες συνεβρύηκεσαν· πε-
ρὶ δὲ τῆτο ἦν χαράδρα
ἰσχυρῶς βαθεῖα, καὶ πρό-
σοδοι χαλεπαὶ πρὸς τὸ
χωρίον. Οἱ δὲ πελ-
τασταὶ προτρέχοντες
στάδια πέντε ἢ ἕξ τῶν
ὀπλιτῶν, διαβάντες τὴν
χαράδραν, ὀρῶντες πρό-
βατα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα
χρήματα, προσέβαλ-
λον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον.
Συνείποντο δὲ καὶ δο-
ρυφόροι πολλοί, οἱ ἐπὶ

amity with them, but against the Dri-
lians¹ they conducted Xenophon with
the greatest cheerfulness, because the
citizens of Trebisonda had been recently
ill treated by them. The country, how-
ever, was mountainous and difficult of
access, and the people the most warlike
of any on the Euxine.

Immediately, therefore, on the Greeks
entering their territories, they set fire
to those places that were vulnerable,
and departed: what escaped from the
flames, which were a few oxen, swine,
and small cattle, was all the army were
able to procure. The enemy finally
collected themselves, and the major
part of their provisions, at a place
called their Metropolis, which was by
nature very strong. It was situated
on an eminence surrounded by a very
deep valley, difficult to cross. The
targeteers, however, pressing on five or
six stadia in advance of the heavy-
armed troops, had succeeded in cross-
ing the valley; and being stimulated
by the sight of a vast store of cattle
and other necessaries, attacked the
place *unsupported*. It is true there were
some pikemen in company, who had

¹ *Arrianus* thinks the Drilians to have originally emigrated from Sa-
mos; if so, their ancestors were Greeks. *Xenophon* allows them to be
the bravest people on the Euxine.

τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξωρμη-
μένοι· ὥστε ἐγένοντο
οἱ διαβάντες πλείους,
ἢ εἰς δισχιλίους ἀνθρώ-
πους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μαχό-
μενοι οὐκ ἐδύνατο λα-
θεῖν τὸ χωρίον, (καὶ
γὰρ τάφρος ἦν περὶ
αὐτὸ εὐρεία ἀναβεβλη-
μένη, καὶ σκόλοπες ἐπὶ
τῆς ἀναβολῆς, καὶ τύρ-
σεις πολλαὶ ξύλιναι
πεποιημέναι) ἀπιέναι
ἤδη ἐπεχείρουν· οἱ δὲ
ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς. Ὡς
δ' οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἀπελ-
θεῖν, (ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἐνὸς
ἢ κατὰ βασίς ἐκ τοῦ
χωρίου εἰς τὴν χαρά-
δραν) πέμπουσι πρὸς
Ξενοφῶντα, ὃς ἠγείτο
τοῖς ὀπλίταις. Ὁ δ'
ἐλθὼν λέγει ὅτι ἐστὶ
χωρίον χρημάτων πολ-
λῶν μεστόν· τῆτο οὔτε
λαθεῖν δυνάμεθα· ἰσ-
χυρὸν γὰρ ἐστίν· οὔτε
ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον· μά-
χονται γὰρ ἐπεξελη-
λυδοίτες, καὶ ἡ ἄφοδος
χαλεπή.

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ
Ξενοφῶν, προσαλαῶν
πρὸς τὴν χαράδραν,
τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἐκέ-
λευε θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα·
αὐτὸς δὲ διαθὰς σὺν
τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἔσκο-

left the camp for the same purpose as themselves, who conjointly made about two thousand; but they were unable to carry the place, for in addition to its natural strength, the enemy had cut a fosse and raised a rampart round it, on which they had placed strong wooden palisades, strengthened by towers at regular distances, built with the same material. On the targeteers discovering they had been too precipitate, they attempted a retreat; but the Drilians attacked their rear, and rendered a retreat impracticable; indeed the pass, which led from the place across the valley, was so narrow that they could only retrograde by single files. They, therefore despatched a courier to Xenophon, who led the heavy-armed troops, to inform him, "That the town was full of every kind of provisions;" but added, "that the place was so strong, that they were not only unable to take it, but were so situated from the sortie of the enemy, and the narrowness of the road, as to have their retreat completely cut off."

On receiving this information, Xenophon advanced to the brink of the valley, and commanded his heavy troops to stand to their arms; while himself and some captains crossed over to

πέϊλο πώτερον εἶη κρεῖττον ἀπάγειν καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας, ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας διαβιάζειν, ὡς ἀλόγτος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου. Ἐδόκει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀπάγειν οὐκ εἶναι ἄνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν, ἐλεῖν δ' ἂν ὦντο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν συνεχώρησε, τοῖς ἱεροῖς πιστεύσας· οἱ γὰρ μάνεις ἀποδεδειμμένοι ἦσαν ὅτι μάχη μὲν εἶη, τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς πῶμπε διαβιάσοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμενεν ἀναχωρίσας ἅπαντας τοὺς πελταστάς, καὶ οὐδένα ἔϊα ἀκροβολίζεσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκον οἱ ὀπλίται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν, ὡς ἂν κρᾶτις αἰηται ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων, οἱ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλοις περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντιποιεῖντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν λοχαγοὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς πελτασταῖς πᾶσι παρήγγελλε διηγκυλισμένους ἰέναι, ὡς, ὅπταν σημήνη, ἀκοντίζειν δεῖσον· καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπιβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς, ὡς, ὅπταν σημήνη, τοξεύειν δεῖσον· καὶ τοὺς

reconnoitre, and to see whether it were more practicable to bring off the targeteers, or to renew the attack. He found they could not effect the former without great loss; and the captains were of opinion, that the capture of the place was not impracticable; Xenophon therefore yielded to their opinion, it being in some measure backed by the victims, for the priests had foretold an action, and that the result would be favourable. He despatched the captains, therefore, to lead over the heavy-armed troops, whilst he remained stationary, drawing off by degrees the targeteers, without suffering them to skirmish. As soon, therefore, as the heavy-armed soldiers arrived, he commanded the captains to draw up their companies; and each of them to do this in the manner he should judge the best calculated for the attack. Xenophon did this, knowing these captains to be rivals and fired with a spirit of emulation, and that they would *now* act in each others presence. Whilst these captains were exercising their military skill in arranging themselves, he commanded the targeteers to advance with their fingers on their dart-slings, and the bowmen with their arrows on the string, which they were to discharge by signal. The

γυμνήτας λίθων ἔχειν μεστὰς τὰς διφθέρας· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἔπεμψε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ ὑπολοχαγοὶ, καὶ οἱ ἀξιῶντες τούτων μὴ χείρους εἶναι, πάντες παραταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλους μὲν συνεώρων· εὐειδῆς γὰρ ἦν ἡ παράταξις διὰ τὸ χωρίον. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαίανισαν, καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ ἅμα γε τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἠλάλαξαν, καὶ ἔθεον δρόμοι οἱ ὀπλίται· καὶ τὰ βέλη ὁμοῦ ἐφέρετο, λόγχοι, τοξεύματα, σφενδόνας, πλείστοι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν λίθοι· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ πῦρ προσέφερον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἔλιπον οἱ πολέμιοι τὰ τε σαρῶματα καὶ τὰς τύρσεις· ὥστε Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος καὶ Φιλόξενος Πεληνεὺς, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν χιῶνι μόνον ἀνέβησαν, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον εἶλκε, καὶ ἄλλος ἀναβεβήκει, καὶ ἠλώκει τὸ χωρίον, ὡς ἐδόκει. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ εἰσδραμόντες ἤρπαζον ὅτι ἕκαστος ἐ-

slingers, also, were commanded to have their pouches full of stones, and proper persons were appointed to command them. Every thing being ready, the captains and subalterns, and even the soldiers, (who piqued themselves no less than their officers,) stood all in their ranks, looking on each other, and from the elevation of the ground, made a fine appearance.¹ The Pæan being sung, the trumpet sounded the attack, and the army shouted; on which the heavy-armed men pressed forward, whilst the light troops poured in javelins, arrows, leaden balls, and stones; and some even threw fire-balls. By the volleys of these mixed missiles the enemy was forced from the towers and palisades; so that the Stymphalian Agasias, and Philoxenus of Pelena, throwing down their arms, mounted the ramparts unshielded, and drew up others after them; *these*, also, in their turn assisted their comrades, who, being within the fortifications, imagined the place was taken. The light troops, therefore, of all descriptions, rushed forward and began the work of plunder, while Xenophon took post at the gates, and

¹ The arrangement for this attack forms an excellent subject for a good painter. To depict the spirit of emulation in the eyes would call forth all the powers of the Artist.

δύνατο· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν
στάς κατὰ τὰς πύλας,
ὁπόσους ἐδύνατο κατε-
κάλυψε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
ἔξω πολέμιοι γὰρ ἄλ-
λοι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπ' ἄκροις
τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς. Οὐ
πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου με-
ταξὺ γενομένου, κραυ-
γὴ ἐγίγνετο ἔνδον, καὶ
ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἔ-
χοντες ἅ ἔλαβον, τά-
χα δὲ τις καὶ τετρα-
μῆνος· καὶ πολλὸς ἦν
ἄθισμος ἀμφὶ τὰ θύ-
ρῆρα. Καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι
οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες, ἔλεγον
ὅτι ἄκρα τις ἐστὶν ἔν-
δον, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι
πολλοὶ, οἱ παίουσι ἐκ-
δεδραμηκότες τοὺς ἔν-
δον ἀνδράπους.

Ἐνταῦθα ἀνειπεῖν
ἐκέλευσε Τολμίδην τὸν
κήρυκα, ἰέναι εἴσω τὸν
βυλόμενον τὴν λαμβά-
νειν. Καὶ ἐφέροντο εἴ-
σω πολλοὶ, καὶ νικῶσι
τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας οἱ
εἴσω ἀθούμενοι, καὶ
κατακλείουσι τοὺς πο-
λεμίους πάλιν εἰς τὴν
ἄκραν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἔξω τῆς ἄκρας πάντα
διηρπάζθη καὶ ἐξεκο-
μίσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες·
οἱ δ' ὀπλίται ἔθεντο
τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ μὲν περὶ
τὸ σταύρωμα, οἱ δὲ
κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ

kept as many of his heavy-armed back
as possible. He thought this precau-
tion necessary, from seeing some strong
bodies of the enemy posted on fortified
eminences, that had a formidable ap-
pearance; nor was the precaution un-
timely, for but few minutes had
elapsed before a cry was heard within,
and men came running, some indeed
wounded, and others bearing their
booty with them, which occasioned
great crowding about the gates. On
these being asked, who had got through,
what was the matter; they said "There
was a fort within the town, from
whence the enemy sallied and wounded
the soldiers."

On Xenophon's receiving this in-
formation, he commanded Tolmides,
the crier, to proclaim, that all who
desired to plunder should enter the
place immediately. When many had
prepared themselves for this purpose,
they pressed forward, driving back at
the same time those who wished to
come out, and by this step they suc-
ceeded in shutting up the enemy again
within the fort; in the interim the
Greeks plundered, and took off every
thing they could find without the gates,
while the heavy troops stood to their
arms round the palisades, and on the

τὴν ἄκραν φέρουσιν· Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐσκόπουν, εἰ οἶόν τ' εἶη τὴν ἄκραν λαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ οὕτω σωτηρία ἀσφαλῆς· ἄλλως δὲ παγχάλεπον ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπελθεῖν· σκοπεμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ἔδοξε πανίπασιν ἀνάλκτον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον· Ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἀφῶδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς ἕκαστοι τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς διήρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεῖους ἐφ' ἀρπαγὰς ἐξέσωεμπον, καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ πλεῖστον κατέλιπον δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστρεψεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξέθεον ἔνδοθεν πολλοὶ, γέβρα καὶ λόγχας ἔχοντες, καὶ κνημῖδας καὶ κράνη Παφλαγονικά· καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαινον τὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσης ὁδοῦ· ὥστ' οὐδὲ διώκειν ἀσφαλῆς ἦν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσας· καὶ γὰρ ξύλα μεγάλα ἐπερρίπτουσαν ἄνωθεν, ὡς χα-

road leading to the fort. Xenophon and the captains, therefore, held a consultation, whether it were better to attack the fort or not; for it was obvious their retreat would be accompanied with great difficulty, if this fort could not be carried. But on examination the fort was found impregnable; they therefore prepared for the retreat, by every man pulling up the palisades next to him, and by the servants and greater part of the heavy-armed being sent previously to plunder, the officers only retaining about their persons a few courageous confidants.

All things being ready, they commenced the retreat; which the enemy observing, sallied out in great numbers, armed with bucklers, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian helmets;¹ and got on the tops of the houses on each side of the street that led to the fort, so that they could not be again chased back into it, nor followed without great danger. By this manœuvre our men could neither go forward nor backward unhurt; for the enemy, when they had got on the tops of the houses, pulled up the beams, and cast them down on us, and night approaching

¹ The Paphlagonian helmet much resembled those recently worn by our horsemen, having a tuft across. Vide Herodotus, lib. vii. c. 72.

λεπὸν ἦν καὶ μένειν
καὶ ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἡ νύξ
φοβερά ἦν ἐπιούσα.
Μαχομένων δ' αὐτῶν
καὶ ἀπορμεμένων, θεῶν
τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν
σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. Ἐξ-
απίνης γὰρ ἀνέλαμ-
ψεν οἰκία τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ,
ὅτι δὴ ἀνάψαντος. Ὡς
δ' αὐτὴ συνέπιπτεν,
ἔφρουγον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν
δεξιᾷ οἰκιῶν. Ὡς δ'
ἔμαθεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τῆ-
το παρὰ τῆς τύχης,
ἀνάπτειν ἐκέλευε καὶ
τὰς ἐν ἀρισερᾷ οἰκίας·
αἱ δὲ ξύλιναι ἦσαν·
ὥς κ' ταχὺ ἐκαίοντο.
Ἐφρουγον οὖν καὶ οἱ
ἀπὸ τέτων τῶν οἰκιῶν.
Οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα δὴ
ἔτι μόνοι ἐλύπουν, καὶ
δῆλοι ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπικεί-
σονται ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ τε
καὶ καταβάσει. Εν-
ταῦθα παραγγέλλει
φορεῖν ξύλα, ὅσοι ἐ-
τύγχανον ἔξω ὄντες
τῶν βελῶν, εἰς τὸ μέ-
σον ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν
πολεμίων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
ικανὰ ἤδη ἦν, ἐνήψαν·
ἐνηπτον δὲ κ' τὰς παρ'
αὐτὸ τὸ χαράκωμα
οἰκίας, ὅπως οἱ πολέ-
μιοι ἀμφὶ λαῦλα ἔχοιεν.
Οὕτω μόλις ἀπῆλθον
ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, πῦρ
ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ
τῶν πολεμίων ποιησά-

increased our difficulties; and so much so, that it was hard to determine where lay the most danger, to stay or retire. While engaging under these disadvantages, some God seemed to have come to our assistance, for one of the houses on the right took fire, which operated as a diversion; for immediately on its falling, the enemy quitted all those on the same side, and Xenophon observing the intimation of Fortune, set fire to all those on the left; but who fired the first house was unknown. On this the enemy were struck with consternation; for the houses being built with wood became easily ignited, and were accordingly soon abandoned. There only remained now, those houses in our front to annoy us; and as it was evident that the enemy designed to attack us in their retreat to the fort, as well as in their descent from it, the business was to meet this circumstance. Xenophon therefore commanded all those without the reach of the enemy's missiles, to bring the scattered beams of the houses and lay them between the Greeks and their opponents; and when they had collected a great quantity to set fire to them. He ordered those houses near the rampart to be fired also, to give employment to the enemy; and by this stratagem did, with great difficulty,

μενοι· Καὶ κατεκαύθη
πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ αἱ
οἰκίαι καὶ αἱ τύρσεις
καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα,
καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πλὴν
τῆς ἄκρας.

Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἀπή-
σαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔχον-
τες τὰ ἐπιήδεια. Ἐπεὶ
δὲ τὴν καλάβασιν ἐφο-
βοῦντο τὴν εἰς Τραπε-
ζοῦντα, (πρανῆς γὰρ
ἦν καὶ στενὴ) ψευδε-
νέδραν ἐποιήσαντο· καὶ
ἀνὴρ Μυσὸς τὸ γένος,
καὶ τῆνομα τῆτο ἔχων,
τῶν Κρητῶν λαβὼν
τέτταρας ἢ πέντε, ἔ-
μενεν ἐν λασίῳ χωρίῳ,
καὶ προσεποιεῖτο τοὺς
πολεμίους πειρᾶσθαι
λανθάνειν· αἱ δὲ πέλ-
ται αὐτῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλ-
λη διεφαινοντο, χαλ-
καὶ οὔσαι. Οἱ μὲν οὖν
πολέμιοι, ταῦτα διο-
ρῶντες, ἐφοβοῦντο ὡς
ἐνέδραν οὔσαν· ἡ δὲ
στρατιὰ ἐν τούτῳ κά-
τέβαινεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐ-
δόκει ἰκανὸν ἤδη ὑπε-
ληλυθέναι τῷ Μυσῷ,
ἐσήμηνε φεύγειν ἀνὰ
κράτος· καὶ ὃς ἐξαν-
αστὰς φεύγει, καὶ οἱ
σὺν αὐτῷ. Καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἄλλοι Κρηῆτες (ἀλίσ-
κεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν
τῷ δρόμῳ) ἐκπεσόντες
ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἰς ὕλην
κατὰ τὰς νάπας κυλι-
νόμενοι ἐσώθησαν· ὁ
Μυσὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν
ὁδὸν φεύγων, ἐβόα βοη-
θεῖν· καὶ ἐβοήθησαν

make good his retreat. The city, with every thing it contained, was, by this obstinate resistance, entirely reduced to ashes.

This being accomplished, the army marched off the next morning, with the provisions they had collected; but still there was danger to be apprehended in their descent to Trebisonde, for the road was steep, and formed a complete defile. To meet this difficulty, a gallant Mysian, by country and by name, with a few Cretans, volunteered their services to form a false ambuscade; these men, dispersing themselves among a neighbouring thicket, occasionally shewed their flashing brazen helmets and shields to the enemy, who, by taking it for a real one, were terror-struck, and desisted from their intended attack, by which means the army cleared the defile. The Mysian and his comrades, immediately on discovering the army was safe, made signals to each other to fly, and accordingly left the thicket in all haste. The Cretans, however, fearing they should be overtaken by the enemy, left the road, and throwing themselves down into the wood, were safe; but the Mysian keeping the road, sung out to the army for help; on hearing which, some of

αὐτῶ, καὶ ἀνέλαβον τετρωμένον. Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πῶδα ἀνεχώρησαν βαλλόμενοι οἱ βοηθήσαντες, καὶ ἀντιτοξεύοντές τινες τῶν Κρητῶν· οὕτως ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, πάντες σῶοι ὄντες.

the soldiers turned back to his assistance, and bore him off wounded.¹ On this rescue being effected, they retreated slowly, in consequence of the enemy's missiles; there were some Cretans, however, who returned their fire: and after a most hazardous expedition, the whole army returned to their camp in safety.²

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἦκεν, οὔτε πλοῖα ἰκανὰ ἦν, οὔτε ἐπιτήδεια ἦν λαμβάνειν ἔτι, ἐδόκει ἀπιτέον εἶναι. Καὶ ἐς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα τῆς τε ἀσθενῆντας ἐνεβίβασαν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη, καὶ παῖδας, καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ τῶν

They did not find, however, on coming back, that Cheirisophus was returned, neither were there a sufficient number of ships collected for their voyage; and as they were assured that no more provisions were to be collected in that neighbourhood, they resolved on leaving that country.³ To do this with the greater ease, they placed all their sick, with their women and children, and men who had passed forty years of age,

¹ This was noble on both sides.

² A more determined attack and resistance we rarely meet with in the history of battles. The coolness which Xenophon displayed all through is admirable, and his quickness in seizing opportunities cannot but please and call forth the admiration of all military readers. From which we may learn, that it is not only necessary a commander should be divested of fear, but also that he should be as collected in action as if studying a mathematical problem.

³ How much this army was indebted to their intelligent commander. When he talked of repairing the roads, the soldiers would not listen to him: they had *resolved* to go by sea, they said, and spoke as imperiously as though they could command circumstances; but Xenophon, unknown to them, had provided against contingencies. We have before seen, page 305, that he got the roads repaired by stratagem. A good general is like a good father: he listens not to the folly of his children — he goes on providing.

σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν· καὶ Φιλῆσιον καὶ Σοφαίνειον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰσθιβάσαντες, τούτων ἐκέλευον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ὁδοποιουμένη ἦν. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασσούντα τριταῖοι, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, Σινωπέων ἀποικον, ἐν τῇ Κολχίδι χώρα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας δέκα· καὶ ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις γίνεται καὶ ἀριθμὸς, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι. Οὗτοι ἐσώθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυριάς· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε πολεμίων, καὶ χιόνος, ἢ εἴ τις νόσφ. Ἐνταῦθα διαλαμβάνησι τὸ διὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων γενόμενον ἀργύριον· καὶ τὴν δεκά-

together with their baggage and every thing unnecessary, on board the ships, and appointed Philesius and Sophænetus, two old generals, to go on board and look after them. The remainder of the army, in consequence of the roads being repaired, marched by land; and after three days made the Greek city Cerasunt, situated in the territories of the Colchians, on the margin of the sea, and whose ancestors were a colony of Sinopians. In this city the soldiers halted ten days, during which time Xenophon reviewed them in arms, and took a census: they amounted to eight thousand six hundred men. These were all that were left out of nearly ten thousand effective soldiers; the rest were destroyed by the enemy, the snow, and sickness.¹ It was in this city, also, that the soldiers received every man his share of the prize-money, produced from the sale of the captive slaves,² the tenth part³ of

¹ If the reader will turn to page 59, he will see that the Greek army, previous to the first battle, mustered twelve thousand eight hundred men; some mistake, therefore, has *here* crept in. Taking the first census as correct, the Greeks had lost four thousand two hundred; nearly one third of the army. The French, in their retreat from Moscow, are generally computed to have lost two thirds.

² Here, I think, is exhibited one of the most dreadful features of ancient warfare; *prisoners becoming the property of the victor*. Civilization has, unquestionably, much ameliorated the evils of war; but how it first entered into the conceptions of man, that he should claim a right to the *body* of his fellow-mortal, is a problem I confess not very easily solved.

³ The dedication of *tenths* for religious purposes is a custom of very

την, ἣν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι which they consecrated to Apollo and
ἐξείλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ the Ephesian Diana.¹ This consecrated

ancient date: when the Greeks expelled the Persian invaders from their territories, they presented a golden tripod to the Delphian Apollo, from the tenth of the spoils, as an offering of gratitude. See Dio the Sicilian, lib. ii. Bibliothec. Hist. After the taking of *Tanagra*, also, a golden shield was dedicated to Jupiter, bearing this inscription:

Ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας
Τῆς Λακεδαιμονίης συμμαχέδος γὰρ τεῖν,
Δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων, καὶ Ἴωνων,
Τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τῷ πολέμῳ.

The tenths were sometimes dedicated to Mars. See Lucian, Dialog. de Saltatione. Sometimes to Pallas, as proved by Herodotus. The Siphnians always presented a tenth part of their *gold mines* to Apollo. In process of time, the regal dignity was joined to the priesthood, and then the tenths became the king's revenue, to pay the expences of the state. Pisistratus the tyrant excuses himself to Solon for receiving the tenths on that ground, declaring, that he laid out the money thus obtained for *sacrifices* and *public purposes*. The prophet Samuel, however, foretold the Jews, (when in this particular they wished to imitate the heathen nations,) what evil consequences they were bringing on themselves. "He will take the *tenth* of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his servants." See 1 Sam. chap. viii. v. 15 and 17. Indeed, so universal was the custom of paying the *tenths* to the gods and kings, that the epithets, δεκατευται and δεκαταλόγοι, *collectors of tenths*, became general names for publicans, or tax-gatherers; and δεκατεύειν, according to the best etymologists, is equivalent to καθιερωσαι, λαφυραγωγείν, or τελωνείν, to consecrate or gather tributes, or taxes. The earliest account of this custom, however, is recorded in Gen. xiv. 18—20, and illustrated by St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, relative to Abraham and Melchisedeck; *there* the former is stated to have given to this king of Salem and priest of the most high God, tithes of all the spoils, Ὡ καὶ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων. Heb. vii. 2. If kings had kept to this ancient standard, mankind would not have had much room for complaint; but when we see for one tenth, seven tenths collected from the industry of the people, we ought not to be surprised at revolutions: however, the fault does not so often originate in kings, as in kings' servants; though the latter generally contrive to make the former the scape-goat.

¹ Diana, it is well known, was the goddess of the chase — the patron

Ἄρτεμιδι, διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοί, τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναιῶς ἔλαβε.

money was deposited in the hands of the generals, and was by them to be appropriated to that religious service. As Cheirisophus was not present, Neon the Asinian received the part allotted for him, in addition to his own, till that general's return.

Ξενοφῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος, ἀνατίθεισιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν, καὶ ἐπέγραψε τότε αὐτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ Προξένου, ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανε· ξένος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. Τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας,

But Xenophon causing an offering to be made for Apollo, consecrated his share in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphos,¹ inscribing it with his own name, in junction with that of Proxenus and Clearchus, in commemoration of the friendship that existed between them in their lifetime.² The money devoted to Diana he left with Megabysus, the

of hunters. She is said to have turned Actæon into a stag, for approaching near her when bathing; and a thousand other ridiculous stories are told of her. Xenophon *here* calls her the Ephesian Diana (τῆ Ἐφέσια Ἀρτέμιδι). For the magnificence of her temple and fame, see Acts of the Apostles, c. xix. v. 23—41.

¹ Ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος Ἀπόλλωνος. This was political in Xenophon; but politically just. It was his duty to send this revenue to his own country.

² The inscribing on the *offering* the names of his friends, in junction with his own, took away in some measure the egotism of the case; which was always detested at Sparta. This may be inferred from the umbrage taken by the Ephori against Pausanias, on that general's consecrating a golden tripod to Apollo, with this egotical inscription on it: "Suo ductu Barbaros apud Platæas esse deletos, ejusque victoriæ ergo Apollini donum dedisse." "That the Barbarians, by *his conduct* had been cut off at Platæa, and that he had made this present to Apollo on the account of that victory." The Lacedæmonians, it will be recollected, had this inscription erased, supplying only the names of those cities by whose assistance the Persians had been conquered. See Vita Pausaniæ, Corn. Nep.

ὅτε ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγῆ-
σιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας
τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδὸν,
κατέλιπε παρὰ Μεγα-
θύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέ-
μιδος νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐ-
τὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει
ἵνα μετα Ἀγῆσιλάῳ
ἐν Κορωνείᾳ· καὶ ἐπέ-
σειλεν, ἣν μὲν αὐτὸς
σώθῃ, ἐαυτῷ ἀποδύνα-
ει δὲ τι πάθοι, ἀναθεῖ-
ναι, ποιησάμενον τῇ
Ἀρτέμιδι ὅτι οἷοιτο
χαριεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ.
Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγε Ξενο-
φῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη
αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλοῦντι,
ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονί-
ων οἰκισθέντι παρὰ
τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀφι-
κνέται Μεγάθυζος εἰς
Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσαν,
καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν πα-
ρακαταθήκην αὐτῷ.
Ξενοφῶν δὲ λαθὼν,
χωρίον ἀνεῖται τῇ θεῷ,
ὅπου ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός.
Ἐτυχε δὲ διαρρέων
διὰ τοῦ χωρίου ποτα-
μοῦ Σελληνοῦς. Καὶ

Sacristan¹ of that goddess, the moment he departed out of Asia, in company with Agesilaus, for Bœotia, fearing that his person might be exposed to some danger in his company, while travelling to Choronea: he took the precaution, however, to enjoin Megabysus, in the event of his safe return, to restore him the money; otherwise, he was at liberty to make an offering with it to the goddess in the manner he should deem would be the most acceptable.² It occurred, that when Xenophon was, some years afterwards, banished from Athens, and domiciled at Scillus, a town built by the Lacedæmonians near Olympia, that Megabysus came to Olympia to the celebration of the games, and restored Xenophon the money; but Xenophon being banished, he was incapable of depositing the money at Ephesus; he therefore purchased some lands in honour of the goddess, in the place ordered by the oracle, through which the river Sellenus happened to run:

¹ Νεωκόρος, cui Templi verrendi, &c. These church-officers were scattered throughout Asia, to collect the revenues or offerings; indeed, Diana had a thousand temples, and Νεωκόροι attached to every one of them. The Temple at Ephesus was the Metropolitan Church, &c. &c.; where resided the grand treasurer, who paid Demetrius, &c. &c. What a million of analogies might here be drawn with modern customs, &c. &c. Sed est melior tacitus!

² This was an act of great piety in Xenophon.

ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν Σελληνῆς ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ, καὶ ἰχθύες τε ἐν ἀμφοτέροις εἰσὶ καὶ κόγχοι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χωρίῳ καὶ θῆραι πάντων, ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἀλρευόμενα θηρία. Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ναὸν καὶ βωμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου· καὶ τολοπιὸν ἀεὶ δεκαλείων τὰ ἐκ τῆ ἀγρῆ ὠραία, θυσίαν ἐποίησεν τῇ θεῷ. καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετεῖχον τῆς ἑορτῆς. Παρέχει δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν ἄλφιστα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα· καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος, καὶ τῶν θηρευομένων δέ. Καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιοῦντο εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἳ τε Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν·

which was the more remarkable, from the circumstance of a river of the same name flowing near by the temple of Diana, at Ephesus; and still more so, from there being shell and other fish in both of them.¹ In addition to this, there was a wood near Scillus full of wild beasts of all kinds proper for the chase.² With the remainder of this consecrated money Xenophon built a temple and an altar, and ever afterwards offered the goddess an annual sacrifice of the tenth of the produce of the estate; on which occasion all the inhabitants of Scillus, and the men and women of the neighbourhood, partook of the feast.³ The provisions of this feast consisted of barley-meal, bread, wine, and sweetmeats, which are eaten in honour of the goddess; the victims also produced on the consecrated lands, and the game taken in the chase, are made use of on the same occasion. Indeed, the sons of Xenophon, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, always made a hunt against the feast; on which occasion

¹ We have before hinted, that nothing, however minute, escaped the observation of Xenophon; though the circumstances here recorded are singular.

² This was all in unison.

³ *Religion apart* — this was acting like country squires of old — giving their tenantry a day's hunt, and a feast after.

οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες συνεδήρων· καὶ ἠλίσκετο τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆ τῷ ἱερῷ χωρία, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης, σῦες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τόπος, ἢ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνου εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται, ὡς εἴκοσι στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἱεροῦ. Ἐνὶ δ' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τόπῳ καὶ ἄλση καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μεστὰ, ἱκανὰ καὶ σῦς καὶ αἰγας καὶ ὄϊς τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους· ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι. Περὶ δ' αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλλος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη, ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ, ὠραῖα. Ὁ δὲ ναὸς, ὡς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ, τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ εἰκασταὶ καὶ τὸ ξόα-

there was a general invitation, so that the hunt was common to all. The consecrated lands, and a mountain near them called Pholoe, were the places generally hunted on; which, in fact, abounded with wild boar, red deer, and some of the roe species, which afforded excellent sport. The situation of those lands was very near the road that leads from Lacedæmon to Olympia, and at a distance of about twenty stadia from the temple of Jupiter, that stands in the very last city on this road. There are groves also attached to those lands, and hills shaded with trees; so that the hunters who come to the feast find plenty of pasture to accommodate the horses they bring with them. The temple itself stands in the centre of a grove of fruit-trees, which yield every fruit natural for the seasons. The temple, in its construction,¹ in some

¹ Pliny, in his xxxvith book, c. 14, has described the temple at Ephesus. I give it in his own words: "Magnificentiæ vera admiratio exstat templum Ephesiæ Dianæ, ducentes viginti annis factum a totâ Asia. Universo templo longitudo est 425 pedum; latitudo ducentorum viginti. Columnæ centum viginti septem a singulis regibus factæ, 60 pedum altitudine." "The temple of Dian, at Ephesus, is a building of great magnificence. It was built by contributions voluntarily offered by the whole people of Asia. The temple, taken altogether, measures four hundred and twenty-five feet long, by two hundred and twenty broad. The colonnade around it was supported by one hundred and twenty columns, each sixty feet high, the chapters of which were carved in imitation of coronets." This beautiful edifice was destroyed on the very night in which Alexander was born, by the incendiary Herostratos; who did it, he said, to perpetuate his name. See also Livy, lib. iv. c. 45.

ον ἔοικεν, ὡς κυπα-
ρίσσινον χρυσῶ ὄντι,
τῶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. Καὶ
στήλη ἔστηκε παρὰ
τὸν ναὸν γράμματα
ἔχουσα, ΙΕΡΟΣ Ο
ΧΩΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡ-
ΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. Τὸν δὲ
ἔχοντα καὶ καρπού-
μενον, τὴν μὲν δεκάτην
καταδύειν ἐκάστου ἔ-
τους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιτ-
τοῦ τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευ-
άζειν· ἐὰν δέ τις μὴ
ποιῇ ταῦτα, τῇ θεῶ
μελήσει.

Ἐκ Κερασοῦντος δὲ
κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν
ἐκομίζοντο οἷπερ καὶ
πρόσθεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
κατὰ γῆν ἐπορεύοντο.
Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς
Μοσυνοίκων ὀρίοις,

measure resembles the temple at Ephe-
sus, only that the statue of the goddess
is made of cypress wood¹ instead of
burnished gold. There is, also, near
this temple, a pillar raised, bearing this
inscription: "These lands are conse-
crated to Diana: let the possessor an-
nually offer one tenth of its produce
to her shrine, and with the remainder
keep her temple in order; in failure of
which, let him be assured the goddess
will punish him."²

Those who went on board at Cera-
zunt prosecuted their voyage by sea;
the others continued their journey by
land. On the arrival of the army on
the precincts of the Mosynæcian³ ter-

¹ The cypress was sacred to Diana; the oak to Jupiter; the myrtle to Venus; the poplar to Hercules; the olive-tree to Minerva;—for in the early ages, all the statues were made of wood: it was not 'till the arts flourished that marble and gold were used. As Xenophon, therefore, could not afford gold, he selects the most acceptable wood.

² This was a *remembrancer*, a custom frequently had recourse to by philosophers to remind them of their duty; and here ends also a very long episode. The Greeks were very fond of episodes, both in their poetry and prose, which frequently makes them difficult to be understood. It were easy to shew, that a thousand theological disputes have arisen through divines not observing this. There are whole chapters in the New Testament that are completely parenthetical, and that form perfect episodes that have little or no connection with the prior or posterior arguments. Hence doctrines have been founded on them, that are as immoral in their tendency, as baseless in divinity. I could say a great deal on this subject, only I don't like to excite controversy; but I am certain that the *rational part of the clergy* will agree with me.

³ According to Strabo, this people were divided into seven tribes, and possessed a long tract of country in Cappadocia, on the Euxine.

πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς Τιμησίθεον τὸν Τραπεζούντιον, πρὸξενον ὄντα τῶν Μοσυνοίκων, ἔρωτῶντες πότερον ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἢ ὡς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύσονται τῆς χώρας. Οἱ δ' εἶπον ὅτι οὐ διοίσειεν· ἐπίστευον γὰρ τοῖς χωρίοις. Ἐνίεϋθεν λέγει ὁ Τιμησίθεος ὅτι πολέμοιό εἰσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα· ἢ ἐδόκει καλέσαι ἐκείνους, εἰ βέλοιντο συμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὁ Τιμησίθεος, ἤκεν ἄγων τῶν ἄρχοντας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, συνῆλθον οἱ τε τῶν Μοσυνοίκων ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν Ξενοφῶν, ἡρμήνευε δὲ Τιμησίθεος.

ritories, they despatched Timesithus of Trebisond to them, to ask the people in their name whether they wished the Greeks should pass through their country as friends or enemies. The army employed this man because he was in habits of friendship with them, — and to whom they replied, “ That it was totally indifferent to them which ;” for they held places of strength, and relied much on their military prowess. On receiving this answer, the Greeks sent the same individual to those Mosynæcians who reside beyond these, to ask the same question, and whether they were willing to enter into alliance with them (for the Greeks had been informed, that those two provinces were at enmity); who, on receiving this message, sent their magistrates, in company with Timesithus, to the Greek camp. On their arrival, they held a conference with the generals on the subject ; when Xenophon addressed them through the medium of Timesithus, as follows : —

“ Ὡ ἄνδρες Μοσυνοικοί, ἡμεῖς διελθεῖν βελόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περὶ πλοῖα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν· κωλύουσι δὲ οὗτοι ἡμᾶς, οὓς ἀκόμομεν ὑμῖν πολεμίας εἶναι. Εἰ οὖν βού-

“ Gentlemen, — We purpose to march to Greece by land, because we are incapable of procuring vessels to go by sea ; but those Mosynæcians who are nearest to us, and whom we understand are your enemies, oppose our march.

λεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν συμμάχους, καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι εἴ τι πρόποδ' ὑμᾶς οὗτοι ἠδίκησαν, καὶ τολοιπὸν ὑμῶν ὑπηκόως εἶναι τούτους. Εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀφήσετε, σκέψασθε πόθεν αὐδὺς ἂν τοσαύτην δύναμιν λάβοιτε σύμμαχον." Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Μοσυνοίκων ὅτι καὶ βούλοιο ταῦτα, καὶ δέχοιτο τὴν συμμαχίαν. "Ἄγετε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρῆσασθαι, ἂν σύμμαχοι ὑμῶν γενώμεθα; καὶ ὑμεῖς τί φίλοι τε ἔσεσθε ἡμῖν συμπράξει περὶ τῆς διόδου;" Οἱ δ' εἶπον ὅτι ἱκανοὶ ἐσμὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλειν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα, τὴν τῶν ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἡμῖν πολεμίων, καὶ δεῦρο ὑμῖν πέμψαι ναῦς τε καὶ ἄνδρας, οἵτινες ὑμῖν συμμαχοῦνται τε καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἠγήσονται.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις πιστὰ δόντες καὶ λαβόντες, ἄρχοντο· καὶ ἦκον τῇ ὑσραία ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα, καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας· ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο

You have, therefore, an opportunity, by entering into alliance with us, of chastising them for former injuries, and of keeping them in subjection for the future. I beg, therefore, that you will well consider my proposal; and whether you are ever likely to have another opportunity of forming so desirable an alliance as now offers itself." To which their chief magistrate replied, "That he highly approved of the proposal, and was desirous, above all things, to accept his proffer." "Tell us, then," said Xenophon, "plainly, what use do you purpose to make of our friendship, and what service are we to expect from you in return?" To which he replied, "That they had it in their power to attack, on their side, those Mosynæcians who were their common enemy; and of sending transports with men, who will serve the double capacity of auxiliaries and guides to the Greeks, to attack on this side."

Xenophon immediately accepted this; on which they mutually pledged their faith, and the magistrates returned home.¹ Consequently, the following day, three hundred canoes arrived, each having on board three men, two of

¹ How often does impudence produce discord: had those Mosynæcians returned Xenophon a civil answer, all this might have been avoided.

ἐκβάντες, εἰς τάξιν ἔ-
 θεντο τὰ ὄπλα· ὁ δὲ
 εἷς ἔμενε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν,
 λαβόντες τὰ πλοῖα,
 ἀπέπλευσαν· οἱ δὲ μέ-
 νοντες ἐξετάξαντο οὐ-
 τως. Ἔσλησαν ὡσπερ,
 ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα,
 οἱ χοροὶ, ἀντιστοιχῶν-
 τες ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντες
 γέβρα πάντες λευκῶν
 βοῶν δασέα, εἰκασ-
 μένα κιττοῦ πετάλω·
 ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ παλτῶν
 ὡς ἐξάπηχυ, ἔμπροσ-
 θεν μὲν λόγχην ἔχον,
 ὅπισθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 ξύλου σφαιροειδές· Χι-
 τωνίσκος δὲ ἐνεδεύ-
 κεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων,
 πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρω-
 ματοδέσμου· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ
 κεφαλῇ κράνη σκύβινα,
 οἷά περ τὰ Παφλα-
 γονικά, κρώβυλον ἔ-
 χοντα κατὰ μέσον,
 ἐγγυτάτω τιαροειδῆ·
 εἶχον δὲ καὶ σαγάρεις
 σιδηρᾶς. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξ-
 ἤρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἷς, οἱ
 δ' ἄλλοι, πάντες ἄδον-
 τες ἐπορεύοντο ἐν ρυθ-
 μῶ, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ
 τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ
 τῶν ὄπλων τῶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων, ἐπορεύοντο εὐ-
 δὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολε-

whom disembarked, formed in line, and stood to their arms; but every third man remained in his canoe, and sailed off. The others then disposed themselves in several lines of about one hundred each, which faced each other like persons drawn up for the dance. Their bucklers were manufactured from the skins of white buffaloes tanned with the hair on, and cut in the shape of an ivy leaf; they held in their right hands spears nearly six cubits long,¹ the sharp point of which was on the top, and a round nob at the bottom;² their military vests reached nearly down to the knee, and were manufactured from thick linen of the same texture as is commonly used for carpet wrappers: their head-armour was simply a leathern helmet, made after the Paphlagonian fashion, which has a tuft of hair raised in the middle going off to a point; this makes the helmet somewhat resemble a tiara. They were furnished also with an iron battle-axe. An individual led the advance; the others followed, singing and marching in time to their own music. As they passed the Greek ranks, they presented arms, and immediately proceeded against the enemy,

¹ About nine feet six inches.

² These must have much resembled the English lance.

μίους, ἐπὶ χωρίον, ὃ ἐδόκει ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι. Ἐκειτο δὲ τῆτο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, τῆς μητροπόλεως καλουμένης αὐτοῖς, ἢ ἐχούσης τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν Μοσυνοίκων· καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ πόλεμος ἦν· οἱ γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες ἐδόκουν ἐγκρατεῖς πάντων Μοσυνοίκων εἶναι. Καὶ ἐφασαν τέτους οὐ δικαίως ἔχειν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὄν καταλαβόντας πλεονεκτεῖν.

and attacked a fort that appeared no ways tenable. It was built, however, just at the entrance of the city, called by the Mosynæcians their metropolis, which contained within itself a very strong citadel. This citadel, it seems, was the bone of contention, and had caused the present war; for it was always considered, that the canton which held it had the mastery. We were given to understand, also, that the other party had seized it contrary to ratified stipulations, which provided, that it belonged to both cantons in common; and that *this* canton had taken possession of it with no other view than of becoming the oppressor to the other.

Εἶποντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινες, οὐ ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλ' ἀρπαγῆς ἕνεκεν. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, προσιόντων, τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο τοῦ χωρίου, ἐκδραμόντες τρέπονται αὐτούς, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τῶν συναβαθάνων Ἑλλήνων τινάς· καὶ ἐδίωκον, μέχρις οὗ εἶδον τοὺς Ἑλληνας βοηθῆντας· εἶτα δὲ ἐκτραπόμενοι ᾤχοντο.

Some of our soldiers, however, followed those men, not at the command of their officers, but simply for the sake of plunder. The Mosynæcian soldiers in the fort made no sort of resistance till their opponents drew very near them; but on their approach to the walls, the enemy sallied out, killed and put to flight many of them; and those Greeks who had accompanied them shared the same fate. Nor did they cease the pursuit, till they saw the Greek main army advancing; then, indeed, they turned their backs and fled;

το· καὶ ἀποτεμόντες τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς τε Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίοις· καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον, νόμῳ τινὶ ἄδούλης. Οἱ δ' Ἑλληνες μάλα ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἐπεσποίηκεσαν θρασυτέρους, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐλθόντες Ἕλληνες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφεύγεσαν, μάλ' ὄντες συχνοί· ὃ οὐπὶ πρόσθεν ἐπεσποίηκεσαν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἶπεν· “Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴδὲν ἀθυμήσητε ἕνεκα τῶν γεγενημένων· ἔστι γὰρ ὅ,τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐ μείον τοῦ κακοῦ γεγένηται. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσασθε ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες ἡμῖν ἡγεῖσθαι, τῶ ὄντι πολεμιοὶ εἰσιν οἷσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη· ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἀφροντιστήσαντες τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως, καὶ ἡγησάμενοι ἱκανοὶ εἶναι σὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις ταυτὰ πράλ-

but before they did so, they cut off the heads of the slain, and presented them both to us and the Mosynæcians; then danced, made gestures, and at the same time sung some appropriate tune.¹ The Greeks were very uneasy at this affair; first, from the encouragement the enemy derived from this partial success; secondly, because the Greeks who had run away were considerable in point of number, and had never before, on any occasion whatever throughout the whole expedition, shewed their backs to an enemy. Xenophon therefore called the soldiers together, and spoke to the following effect: “Soldiers, I have to solicit that you will not suffer your minds to be dejected from what has just happened, for I perceive that you may derive more good from it than evil, *if you will improve the circumstance*. First, it has shewn you that your guides are enemies *in reality* to those to whom you only are so *through necessity*. Secondly, let those Greeks learn, who despise discipline, and who thought they could fight as well with the Barbarians as with their

¹ We have seen before, page 282, the Chalybes use the same customs, which, in fact, were common to all the uncivilized nations in the East; and was agreeable to the ad terrorem system of warfare that *then* prevailed. On one occasion, page 193, we see it had recourse to even by the Greeks themselves.

τειν, ἄπερ σὺν ἡμῖν, δίκην δεδώκασιν· ὥστε αὐθις ἤττον τῆς ἡμετέρας τάξεως ἀπολείψονται. Ἄλλ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὗσι τῶν βαρβάρων δόξετε κρείττους αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις δηλώσετε, ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἀνδράσι μαχοῦνται νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε τοῖς ἀτάκτοις ἐμάχοντο."

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως διέμειναν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία βύσαντες, ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλιέρησαν, ἀριστήσαντες, ὀρθίως τὰς λόχους ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώ-

comrades, that they have received a just, and I hope a salutary chastisement, which will teach them for the future, to be more cautious how to leave their own ranks. I have only, therefore, to desire, that you will prepare yourselves to wipe off this disgrace, and to shew those Barbarians who are your friends, that you are not only superior to your enemies in courage, but that you are altogether very different men under the influence of *discipline*, to what you have shewn yourselves under the guidance of irregularity and disorder.¹

The day being past, the army next morning offered sacrifice;² and finding the indications favourable, breakfasted, drew up in columns, and placed the Barbarian auxiliaries in the

¹ Here we see Xenophon still *himself*, improving even a disastrous circumstance, by pointing out the cause; demonstrating, in fact, what he had told them before, — that *insubordination* was the *destroyer* of armies.

² It was customary with the Greek military, in the early ages, to offer sacrifice every morning and evening; hence Hesiod —

Καθδύναμεν δ' ἔρδειν ἱερ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
'Αγνώως καὶ καθαρός, ἐπὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ μηρία καίειν
"Ἄλλατε δὴ σπονδῆσι, φρεέσσι τε ἰλάσκεσθαι
'Ἡμὲν ὄτ' εὐνάζη, καὶ ὅταν φάος ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ.

"Offer to *Jove* with an untainted mind,
Offer the *best*, if you'd have him prove kind.
Let lulling sleep ne'er seal your drowsy eyes,
Nor purple morn gild o'er the eastern skies,
'Till you accost the gods with sacrifice."

νυμον κατὰ ταυτὰ
 ταξάμενοι, ἐπορεύοντο,
 τοὺς τοξότας μεταξὺ
 τῶν λόχων ὀρθίω ὄν-
 των ἔχοντες, ὑπολει-
 πομένους δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ
 σώματος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.
 Ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολε-
 μίων οἱ εὐζωνοί, οἱ
 καλαίρῃοντες τοῖς λί-
 θοις ἔβαλλον· τούτους
 οὖν ἀνέσειλλον οἱ τοξό-
 ται καὶ οἱ πελτασταί·
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάδην ἐ-
 πορεύοντο, πρῶτον μὲν
 ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἀφ' οὗ
 τῆ προτεραία οἱ βάρ-
 θαιοι ἐτράπησαν, καὶ
 οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς. Ἐνταῦ-
 θα γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι
 ἦσαν ἀντιτεταγμένοι.
 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν πελτασ-
 τὰς ἐδέξαντο οἱ βαρ-
 θαιοί, καὶ ἐμάχοντο·
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγύς ἦσαν οἱ
 ὀπλίται, ἐτράποντο·
 καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ
 εὐθύς εἶποντο, διώκον-
 τες ἄνω πρὸς τὴν μη-
 τρόπολιν· οἱ δὲ ὀπλί-
 ται ἐν τάξει εἶποντο.
 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἄνω ἦσαν πρὸς
 ταῖς τῆς μητροπόλεως
 οἰκίαις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ
 πολέμιοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάν-
 τες γενόμενοι ἐμάχον-
 το, καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον
 τοῖς παλτοῖς· καὶ ἄλ-
 λα δόρατα ἔχοντες
 παχέα, μακρὰ, ὅσα
 ἀνὴρ φέροι μόλις, τού-
 τοις ἐπειρῶντο ἀμύ-
 νεσθαι ἐκ χειρός.

same order on their left. They then
 marched forward, the light troops fill-
 ing up the intermediate spaces between
 the columns, somewhat within the fore-
 most ranks of the heavy-armed men ;
 we found this necessary, in order to
 prevent the enemy's light troops from
 getting between the columns, for
 when they did so, they pelted us
 with stones ; our targeteers, however,
 completely repulsed them. The co-
 lumns proceeding regularly on, first ad-
 vanced against the fort, before which
 the Greeks and Barbarians had been
 foiled the preceding day. Here we
 found the enemy drawn up to receive
 us, who engaged our targeteers man-
 fully ; but, on the approach of our
 heavy-armed, fled in confusion. Our
 targeteers availed themselves of *this*,
 and followed the enemy up to their
 metropolis ; the heavy-armed troops
 still proceeding on with a steady pace.
 When our men had arrived at the sum-
 mit of the hill, and among the houses
 of the city, the enemy having collected
 themselves, began to engage them hand
 to hand, and launched such javelins
 and spears at them, as would appear,
 if their size were stated, incredible for
 men to use. Our heavy-armed men,
 however, pressed hard on them, and

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὕφριντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' ὁμόσε ἐχώρουν, ἔφυγον οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἅπαντες ἔλιπον τὸ χωρίον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ὁ ἐν τῷ μόνυ τῷ ἔπ' ἄκρου ὠκοδομημένῳ, (ὃν τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ αὐτοῦ μένοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα) οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐξελεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ αἰρεθέντι χωρίῳ· ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς μοσύνοις κατεκαύθησαν. Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες διαρπάζοντες τὸ χωρίον, εὗρισκον θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄρτων νενημένων πατρίης περυσινῶν, ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ Μοσύνοικοι· τὸν δὲ νέον σῆτον σὺν τῇ καλάμῃ ἀποκείμενον· ἦσαν δὲ ζεῖαι αἱ πλεῖσται. Καὶ δελφίνων τεμάχη ἐν ἀφορεῦσιν εὗρισκετο τελαριχευμένα, καὶ στέαρ ἐν τεύχεσι τῶν δελφίνων, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσύνοικοι καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ ἐλαίῳ.

engaged them in close order, with such effect, that the enemy were totally unable to withstand the shock: they accordingly fled; on which all the Barbarians quitted the city. The king, however, refused to quit; and accordingly kept possession of his palace, (which, in fact, was a wooden tower, situated on an eminence, where, during the time he guards the city, he is maintained at the public expence,) as did also those who possessed the fort. There was no alternative but to fire the places, which was done accordingly; and thus the king and his attendants perished. Our soldiers sacked the city, and found in the houses a great quantity of bread, which according to the custom of the country, as the people themselves informed us, was baked the year before.¹ The new corn was housed in the straw, but the major part of it was shed from the ears. Our men also found a great number of dolphins, cut in pieces, and salted down in jars and other vessels. From these the natives press a kind of fat, which they use in the same manner as the Greeks do oil.² We found,

¹ Similar to our ship-biscuit.

² The people of Cornwall salt and press their pilchards in the same manner, and for the like purposes; viz. the fish for food, and the oil

Κάρυα δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνω-
γαιῶν ἦν πολλὰ τὰ
πλατέα, οὐκ ἔχοντα
διαφυὴν οὐδεμίαν. Τέ-
τοις καὶ πλείστον ὡς
σίτω ἐχρῶντο, ἔψου-
τες. Οἶνος δ' εὐρίσ-
κετο, ὃς ἀκρατος μὲν,
δξὺς ἐφαινετο εἶναι ὑπὸ
τῆς αὐσηρότητος· κε-
ρασθεῖς δὲ, εὐώδης τε
καὶ ἡδύς.

. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες
ἀριστήσαντες ἐνταῦθα,
ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὸ πρό-
σω, παραδόντες τὸ χω-
ρίον τοῖς συμμαχή-
σασι τῶν Μοσυνοίκων.
Ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα
παρήσαν χωρία τῶν
σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄν-
των, τὰ εὐπροσοδῶτα
τα οἱ μὲν ἔλειπον, οἱ
δὲ ἐκόπτες προσεχώρην.
Τὰ δὲ πλείστα τοιάδ'
ἦν τῶν χωρίων· Ἀπει-
χον ἀλλήλων αἰ πόλεις
στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα, αἰ
δὲ πλείον, αἰ δὲ μείον·
ἀναβοώντων δὲ ἀλλή-
λων συνήκουον εἰς τὴν
ἐτέραν ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας
πόλεως. Οὕτως ἰψηλὴ τε καὶ κοίλη ἡ χώρα ἦν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευό-

also, in the upper apartments of their houses, a great quantity of chesnuts, which we were informed the inhabitants were accustomed to boil, and use for the purpose of bread.¹ Wine also was found in their cellars, which was altogether undrinkable, from its being rough and sour, unless mixed with water; it then (which was very extraordinary) made a pleasant sweet beverage.

After the Greeks had dined, and delivered up the city to those Mosynæcians who had co-operated with them in taking it, they marched forward, and found almost every unfortified town abandoned; those which were not so surrendered at discretion. The major part of those towns were distant from each other about eighty stadia, (more or less,) and yet, from the hollow nature of this country, which forms a continued echo, the inhabitants of those towns call to each other, and are heard distinctly.²

The army pressing forward, finally ar-

for the lamp. Human necessities *every where* produce correspondent customs. But the Greeks, at this period, were only acquainted with olive-oil, with which they anointed themselves, &c.

¹ According to Pliny, this was a peculiar kind of chesnut, unlike those with which Europeans are acquainted.

² Xenophon was an accurate observer: the concavity of the country was unquestionably the cause of this apparent phenomenon.

μενοι ἐν τοῖς φιλοῖσις ἦσαν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων σιτευτοὺς, τεθραμμένους καρύοις ἐφθοῖς, ἀπαλῆς καὶ λευκοὺς σφοδρᾶ, καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ δέοντος ἴσους τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος εἶναι· ποικίλους δὲ τὰ νῶτα, καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πάντα ἐστιγμένους ἀνδέρμιον, Ἐξήτουν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐταίραις αἷς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνας, ἐμφανῶς συγγενέσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν σφίσι οὗτος. Λευκοὶ δὲ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. Τούτους ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευσάμενοι βαρβαροτάτους διελθεῖν, καὶ πλείστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένους. Ἐν τε γὰρ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, ἐποίουν ἄπερ ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιήσειαν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἂν τολμῶεν· μόνοι τε ὄντες ὅμοια ἐπραττον, ἄπερ ἂν μετ' ἄλλων ὄντες· διελέγοντό τε ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐγέλων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς,

rived among their Mosynæcian allies, who shewed them boys, kept by men of opulence, who were fatted on boiled chesnuts. The skin of those boys was beautifully white, and they were so fat as to measure nearly as much in circumference as in length. The backs of those boys, also, were painted with a variety of colours; but their foreparts were painted with flowers. Those Barbarians wanted to be intimate with the Greek women that accompanied the army, *in public*; for this they said was agreeable to their custom. In fact, it was the general opinion of the army, that the Mosynæcians were the most barbarous people they had seen during their march, and at the greatest remove from Grecian manners; notwithstanding both their males and females were very handsome in their persons. We found, also, that unless they cohabited with their females in public, that they dared not be intimate with them at all; and hence, in private, it was, that they exhibited that modesty of manners which almost every other nation is careful to preserve in public.¹ Another peculiarity in this people is, that they not only talk to themselves, but even

¹ All this is confirmed by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*. *Propatulo vescuntur, promiscuè concumbant et palam.* Lib. i. c. 19.

καὶ ἄρχουόντο ἐφιστά-
 μανοὶ ὅπου τύχοιεν,
 ὡσπερ ἄλλοις ἐπίδεικ-
 νύμενοι.

Διὰ ταύτης τῆς
 χώρας οἱ Ἕλληνες,
 διὰ τε τῆς πολεμίας
 καὶ τῆς φιλίας, ἐ-
 πορεύθησαν ὀκτὼ σαθ-
 μούς· καὶ ἀφικνουῦνται
 εἰς Χάλυβας. Οὗτοι
 ὀλίγοι ἦσαν, καὶ ὑπή-
 κοοὶ τῶν Μοσυνοίκων·
 καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς
 πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ
 σιδηρείας. Ἐντεῦθεν
 ἀφικνουῦνται εἰς Τιβα-
 ρηνοὺς. Ἡ δὲ τῶν Τι-
 βαρηνῶν χώρα πολὺ
 ἦν πεδινωτέρα, καὶ
 χωρία εἶχεν ἐπὶ θα-
 λάττῃ ἤττον ἐρυμνά.
 Καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἔχρη-
 ζον πρὸς τὰ χωρία
 προσβάλλειν, καὶ τὴν
 στρατιὰν ὀνηθῆναί τι·
 καὶ τὰ ξένια, ἃ ἦκε
 παρὰ τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν,
 οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐ-
 πιμῆναι κελεύσαντες
 ἔστε βεβλεύσαιτο ἐθύ-
 οντο. Καὶ πολλὰ κα-

laugh and dance by themselves, as ear-
 nestly as though they were exhibiting
 their abilities on a theatre.¹

We were eight days in passing through
 the whole of the Mosynæcian states,
 after which we entered those belonging
 to the Chalybians.² This people are far
 from being numerous, and are subject
 to the Mosynæcians, and obtain a live-
 lihood from the manufacture of iron.
 The next people we arrived among
 were the Tibarenians,³ who possess a
 fine champaign country, and their
 towns, which are built on the margin
 of the sea, were not very strong. This
 consideration, in junction with the de-
 sire to give the army some plunder, led
 the Greek generals to wish to attack
 them. It was from this wish, also,
 that they refused *the presents* sent by
 this people to the army, though they
 retained those who brought them 'till
 they had determined on the business ;
 but after consulting the gods by sacri-

¹ For illustration and confirmation of this singular habit, see Apollonius, lib. ii. v. 1020, et seq. Ἀλλοίη δὲ δίκαι καὶ θεσμίαι τοῖς τίτνκται, &c. See, also, Strabo, lib. xii. p. 825.

² Great disputes have arisen between the ancient critics relative to this people: Strabo contends they are the same as the Chalybes; but the most probable is, that they were a colony that was originally planted there from some other part of Asia Minor, but the exact place of their emigration totally unknown.

³ Tibarenians: sometimes called Macrones. According to Mela, their *summum bonum* was in laughter and frolic.

ταδυσάντων, τέλος ἀ-
πεδείξαντο οἱ μάντεις
πάντες γνώμην, ὅτι
οὐδαμῆ προσίεντο οἱ
θεοὶ τὸν πόλεμον. Ἐν-
τεῦθεν δὴ τὰ ξένια ἐ-
δέξαντο, καὶ ὡς διὰ
φιλίας πορευόμενοι δύο
ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο εἰς
Κοτύωρα, πόλιν Ἑλ-
ληνίδα Σινοπέων ἀ-
ποίκους, οἰκοῦντας ἐν
τῇ Τιβαρηνῶν χώρα.

Μέχρις ἐνταῦθα
ἐπέζουσεν ἡ στρατιά.
Πλήθος τῆς καταβά-
σεως τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης
ἄχρι εἰς Κοτύωρα,
σταθμοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι
δύο, παρασάγγαι ἑξ-
ακόσιοι εἴκοσι, στάδιοι
μύριοι ὀκτακισχίλιοι
εἴκοσι· χρόνου πλήθος,
ὀκτὼ μῆνες. Ἐνταῦθα
ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τετ-
ταράκοντα καὶ πέντε.
Ἐν δὲ ταύταις πρώτον
μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔβυσαν,
καὶ πομπὰς ἐποίησαν
κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστος
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἀ-
γῶνας γυμνικούς. Τὰ
δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐλάμβανον,
τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς
Παφλαγονίας, τὰ δ'
ἐκ τῶν χωρίων τῶν

fice, to ascertain whether we ought to attack them or not, it was found that the victims strongly forbad it; we accordingly accepted their presents, and marched through their country as friends, 'till we arrived at the Greek city Cotyora,¹ which was originally a colony of Sinopeans, though situated in the Tibarenian territory; and thus far did we proceed by land. The distance from the field of battle near Babylon to Cotyora, was six hundred and twenty parasangas, or eighteen thousand six hundred stadia, which took the army eight months in performing, and was accomplished in one hundred and twenty-two marches.² In Cotyora, the army halted forty-five days, in the first part of which, sacrifice was offered to the gods; afterwards, the army divided themselves according to their *respective states*, walked in processions, and celebrated the gymnastic games. They then arranged for collecting provisions, and gathered some from the Paphlagonians, and some from the Cotyorians, for they

¹ Cotyora is the same city which Mela calls Cotyros; in the time of Arrian, it was only a large village. Stephanus, also, calls it a village on the Euxine.

² A distance of 1860 miles, and performed at the rate of fifteen miles and a quarter per diem, including fighting and halting; which was a most wonderful performance.

Κοτυωριτῶν· οὐ γὰρ
παρεῖχον ἀγορὰν, οὐδ'
εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ἀσ-
θενοῦντας ἐδέχοντο.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἔρ-
χονται ἐκ Σινώπης
πρέσβεις, φοβούμενοι
περὶ τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν
τῆς τε πόλεως, (ἦν
γὰρ ἐκείνων, καὶ φό-
ρους ἐκείνοις ἔφερον)
καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας,
ὅτι ἤκουον δηουμένην·
καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον, ἔλεγον·
(προηγόρει δὲ Ἑκα-
τόνυμος, δεινὸς νομιζό-
μενος εἶναι λέγειν)
“Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὧ
ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ
τῶν Σινωπέων πόλις,
ἐπαινέσοντάς τε ὑμᾶς,
ὅτι ἐνικᾶτε Ἕλληνας
ὄντες βαρβάρους, ἔπει-
τα δὲ καὶ συνησθη-
σομένους, ὅτι διὰ πολ-
λῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν (ὡς
ἡμεῖς ἀκόμεν) πραγ-
μάτων σεσωσμένοι πά-
ρεστε. Ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ,
Ἕλληνας ὄντες καὶ αὐ-
τοὶ, ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ὄντων
Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν μὲν
τι πάσχειν, κακὸν δὲ
μηδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς
ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πάποδ’ ὑ-
πῆρξαμεν κακῶς ποι-
οῦντες. Κοτυωριταὶ δὲ
οὔτοι εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμέτεροι
ἀποικοί· ἢ τὴν χώραν
ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτην
παραδεδώκαμεν, βαρ-
βάρους ἀφελόμενοι. Διὸ
καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν φέρουσιν οὔτοι τεταγμένον, καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ

both refused to supply the army with a market; neither would they admit any of the sick into their hospitals.

On finding the army supply itself *by force*, the Sinopeans sent ambassadors to Xenophon to complain of the country being plundered, (for, indeed, the city itself was tributary to the Sinopeans,) and demanded his reasons for so doing. When these ambassadors entered the Greek camp, which was just without the city, a man named Hecatonymus, who was esteemed the most eloquent of them, addressed the army to this effect: “Gentlemen — Our city has sent us hither for the purpose of congratulating you as Greeks, on having triumphed over the Barbarians; and also on your safe arrival to this place, after so many difficulties and privations. But, as we are *Greeks also*, and *your countrymen*, we naturally expected to have received favours from you rather than *injuries*; the more so, as we are not aware of having provoked them. I must inform you, then, that the city Cotyora is our colony, and that having taken the surrounding country from the Barbarians by force of arms, we have bestowed it on the citizens, who pay us annually a stipulated tribute in the same

Τραπεζούντιοι ὡσαύ-
τως· ὡς δ' ὅτι ἂν τέ-
τους κακὸν ποιήσητε,
ἢ Σινωπέων πόλις νο-
μίξει πάσχειν. Νῦν δὲ
ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τε
τὴν πόλιν βία παρελη-
λυθότας, ἐνίοις σκη-
νοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις,
καὶ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων
λαμβάνειν ὧν ἂν δέ-
ησθε, οὐ πείθοντας.
Ταῦτ' οὖν οὐκ ἀξιού-
μεν. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα
ποιήσητε, ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν
καὶ Κορύλαν καὶ Πα-
φλαγόνας, καὶ ἄλλον
ὄντινα ἂν δυνώμεθα,
φίλον ποιῆσθαι.”

Πρὸς ταῦτα, ἀνασ-
τὰς Ξενοφῶν, ὑπὲρ τῶν
σραλιωτῶν εἶπεν· “Ἡ-
μεῖς δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Σι-
νωπεῖς, ἤκομεν ἀγα-
πῶντες ὅτι τὰ σώματα
δισσώσαμεθα καὶ τὰ
ὄπλα· οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν
δυνατὸν ἅμα τε χεῖ-
ματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν,
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μά-

ratio as the people of Cerazunt and Tre-
bisond: we therefore cannot see them
injured with impunity, but must consider
every insult offered to them as intended
against ourselves. Moreover, we have
been given to understand, also, that
you have entered Cotyora by force;
have quartered yoursick in their houses;
and taken whatever you want *without*
permission, of which conduct, 'tis im-
possible for us to approve; and if this
is repeated, there is no alternative for
us but to enter into alliance with Co-
rylas¹ and the Paphlagonians,² and with
as many other nations as may feel it
their interest to assist us in repelling
those injuries.”

To which Xenophon replied, as the
organ of the army, “That the Sino-
peans must be fully aware that it was
no small satisfaction for the Greeks to
have arrived safely in the Sinopean ter-
ritories, with their *persons* and their *arms*;
and considering the distance they had
travelled, and the various enemies they

¹ The satrap of the Paphlagonians.

² The reader will see by the map the situation of Paphlagonia, and will recollect that it was early visited by the first preachers of Christianity, as was the neighbouring province Galatia. In fact they owed their *preparatory civilization* to the Greek colonists, which was afterwards completed by the reception of Christianity; although the Galatians were very unsteady in the faith. See St. Paul's Epistle to this people, chap. iii.

χεσθαι. Καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν, ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μὲν (παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγορὰν) ἀνούμενοι εἰχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνδ' ὧν ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντιμῶμεν αὐτούς· καὶ μὴν εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἠγοῖντο, κακὸν ἐποιοῦμεν ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα. Ἐρώτα δὲ αὐτούς, ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον πάρεσι γὰρ ἐνθάδε, οὓς ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνας διὰ φιλίαν ἢ πόλιν συνέπεμψεν. Ὅποι δ' ἂν ἐλθόντες ἀγορὰν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἂν τε εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν, ἂν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα, οὐχ ὕβρει, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη λαμβάνομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ Καρδούχους, καὶ Χαλδαίους, καὶ Ταόχους,

had had to encounter, it was utterly impossible it should be expected, that they could bring their spoils and subsistence with them. On their arrival, therefore, among the Greek cities, and Trebisond in particular, the army had paid for all the provisions they had made use of, the citizens having kindly supplied them with a market; and in return for these courtesies, and the presents made them, the army had paid them every respect, and had abstained not only from doing *them any injury*, but even from those Barbarians who were their allies. Nor did they stop here — for the army had chastised the enemies of that city against whom the citizens had led them, and for proof of these facts, enquire,” said Xenophon, “of the guides before you, what treatment their countrymen have received at our hands, and whether we have behaved ungrateful to them or not. But it follows,” he added, “*of necessity*, that our wants must be supplied; when, therefore, we cannot have a market furnished us by fair means, we have no other alternative left us, but to use those that are compulsory. It was on those grounds, that we made the warlike nations of the Carduchians, the Chaldæans, and Taochians, our enemies,

καίπερ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας, ὅμως καὶ μάλα φοβερούς ὄντας, πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα, διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρεῖχον. Μάκρωνας δὲ γε, καὶ βαρβάρους ὄντας, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οἶαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον, φίλους τε ἐνομιζόμεν εἶναι, καὶ βία ἐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων. Κοιωρίτας δὲ, οὓς ὑμετέρους φατὲ εἶναι, εἴ τι αὐτῶν εἰλήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἴτιοι εἰσίν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φίλιοι προσεφέροντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας, οὐτ' εἰσὼ ἐδέχοντο, οὐτ' ἔξω ἀγορὰν ἔφερον· ἡτιῶντο δὲ τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρμωστὴν τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι, ὃ δὲ λέγεις, βία παρελθόντας σκηνῶν, ἡμεῖς ἤξιῶμεν τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὰς στέγας δέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ ἀνέωγον τὰς πύλας, ἢ ἡμᾶς ἐκ ἐδέχοντο, αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ταύτη εἰσελθόντες, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον ἐποιήσαμεν· σκηνοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῖς στέγαις οἱ κάμνοντες, τὰ ἑαυτῶν δαπανῶντες· καὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ τῶ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρμωστῇ ὣσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἢ κομίσασθαι,

(for they were not subject to the king,) while the Macronians, who *were his subjects*, we treated friendly, because they supplied our necessities; therefore, if we have taken any thing from the Cotyrians, who it seems are your tributaries, they have to look for the cause of it simply in their own unkindness: indeed, to such lengths have they gone, that they not only have refused us the rites of hospitality, but have even shut their gates against us; nor would they suffer us to come within their walls, nor supply us with a market without them; though *they* apologise for themselves by attributing this conduct to the governor *you* have placed over them. And relative to quartering our soldiers in their houses by force, I have only to state, that we courteously solicited, that they would receive our sick under their roofs; nor was it until we were refused that we entered them by force: but we abstained from committing any other act of violence; neither do our sick lodge in their houses at their expence, but at our own; and though we have placed a guard on the gates, it is only that our people may not be subjected to the insolence of their governor, and to have the facilities of sending what the

ὅταν βουλώμεθα. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὡς ὄρατε, σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι, ἂν μὲν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντευποιεῖν· ἂν δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι. Ἄ δὲ ἠπέλιγσας, ὡς, ἦν ὑμῖν δοκῇ, Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγῶνας συμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς· ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἦν μὲν ἀνάγκη ἦ, πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις· (ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαπλασίοις ὑμῶν ἐπολεμήσαμεν) ἂν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ φίλον ποιήσομεν τὸν Παφλαγῶνα. Ἀκούομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὑμείθερος πόλεως, καὶ χωρίων τῶν ἐπιθαλασίων. Πειρασόμεθα οὖν, συμπράττοντες αὐτῷ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ, φίλοι γενέσθαι."

sick want at proper seasons. The other part of the army, as you perceive, encamp abroad in the open fields, ready at all times, if any state does them a kindness, to return it, or if an injury, to repel it; and relative to your menace of forming a league with Corylas and the Paphlagonian state, you are at liberty to do so if you think proper; but rest assured that if you provoke us to it, we will chastise both *you* and *them*, as we have already done many more powerful nations; and I would have you take care, lest we form an alliance with the Paphlagonians *ourselves*, for we have it in our power, and to gratify their wishes by stripping you of your jurisdiction over those maritime cities, and of your own to the bargain; for by *this means* we should be certain of gaining their friendship." ¹

¹ This speech receives its force, in some measure, from the unreasonableness of the complainants; but more particularly from the equity of Grecian conduct. But it would have utterly failed *in effect*, had it not been backed by *Grecian courage*. The timely intimation of chastising them, and stripping them of their jurisdiction, were the two most powerful periods in the speech. One would give something to see the countenances of Hecatonymus and his colleagues fairly depicted; what a sort of silly undefinable phiz the poor orator must have put on. *Midas* with the ears of an ass, must have fallen very far short in effect to *impudence* and *threatening*, just cut down and amalgamated with *fear*, *consternation*, and *surprise*. I think a painter as well as a writer, would fail in delineating the exact proportions of each and every part; such a face, though frequently attempted, has always defied the power of the artist. It can only be seen and imagined — it is not to be delineated.

Ἐκ τούτου μάλα μὲν δῆλοι ἦσαν οἱ συμπρέσβεις τῷ Ἑκατονύμῳ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις. Παρελθὼν δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλος, εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον ποιησόμενοι ἤκοιεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξοντες ὅτι φίλοι εἰσὶ. Καὶ ξενίοις, ἦν μὲν ἔλθητε πρὸς τὴν Σινοπέων πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δεξόμεθα· νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κελεύσομεν διδόναι, ἃ δύνασθαι ὀργῶμεν γὰρ πάντα ἀληθῆ ὄντα, ἃ λέγετε. Ἐκ τούτου ξενία τε ἔπεμπον οἱ Κοτυωρίται, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξένιζον τοὺς τῶν Σινοπέων πρέσβεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλά τε καὶ ἐπιτήδεια διελέγοντο· τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας ἐπυθάνοντο, καὶ ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἐδέοντο. Ταύτη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο·

This intimation had its effect, and made the other ambassadors give Hecatonymus a *significant look* of disapprobation, when another of their number coming forward, declared “That their intentions were no way hostile, but the purport of their mission was to congratulate the Greeks, and to express their friendship; and if you wish to visit Sinope,” said he, “we will give you proofs of it; in the mean time, be assured that we shall give the necessary directions to the citizens of Cotyora to supply your necessities, for nothing can be more reasonable and just than what you have advanced, and of the truth of your statement we are assured.” Accordingly, the Cotyrians sent presents to the army; whilst the Greek officers treated the Sinopean ambassadors with hospitality and marked attention. On every restraint being thrown off, a free conversation ensued, which was kept up for a considerable time; one of the topics of which was concerning the remainder of the march, and, in short, touched on every affair in which the parties were mutually interested; and thus pleasantly ended the day.¹

¹ The whole of this was produced by Xenophon's temperate firmness, as exhibited in his reply.

Τῇ δ' ὑπεραία συν-
 ἔλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ
 τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ
 ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς
 λοιπῆς πορείας, παρα-
 καλέσαντας τοὺς Σι-
 νωπέας, βουλευέσθαι.
 Εἴτε γὰρ πεζῇ δέοι
 πορεύεσθαι, χερίσμων
 ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ Σι-
 νωπεῖς ἠγόμενοι· (ἔμ-
 πειροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τῆς
 Παφλαγονίας) εἴτε κα-
 τὰ θάλατταν, προσ-
 δεῖν ἐδόκει Σινωπέων·
 μόνοι γὰρ ἐδόκνηκανοὶ
 εἶναι πλοῖα παρασχεῖν
 ἀρκούντα τῇ στρατιᾷ.
 Καλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς
 πρέσβεις συνεβλεύον-
 το, καὶ ἠξίουσαν Ἕλλη-
 νας ὄντας Ἕλλησι τέ-
 τω πρῶτον καλῶς δέ-
 χεσθαι, τῷ εὖνοῦς τε
 εἶναι καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα
 συμβουλεύειν.

Ἄναστας δὲ Ἑκα-
 τώνυμος, πρῶτον μὲν
 ἀπελογήσατο περὶ οὗ
 εἶπεν, ὡς τὸν Παφλα-
 γονα φίλον ποιήσονται,
 ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἕλ-
 λησι πολεμησόντων
 σφῶν εἶποι, ἀλλ' ὅτι,

The next morning the generals as-
 sembled the army in the presence of
 the Sinopean ambassadors, to consult
 on their future march. They did this
 from a conviction, that should the sol-
 diers determine to proceed by land,
 that the Sinopeans might render them
 some service in pointing out the best
 road through Paphlagonia; whereas,
 should they resolve to go by sea, they
 inferred that this people would be able
 also to offer the necessary facilities, and
 transports for so doing. Beckoning,
 therefore, to the ambassadors to come
 forward, they consulted with them on
 this business, and observed, "That as
 the Sinopeans themselves were Greeks,
 they hoped in this critical juncture they
 would give them an exhibition of Gre-
 cian friendship, in aiding them with the
 best advice of which they were masters."

On this intimation, Hecatonymus
 advanced, and prefaced what he had
 to say by apologising for what he had
 stated the preceding day, relative to en-
 tering into alliance with the Paphlago-
 nians; in which he attempted to do away
 the acrimonious part of it, by declaring
 that his intention in stating the facili-
 ties they had of entering into a league
 with the Barbarians, did not arise from
 a hostile feeling, but was intended

ἐξὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις φίλος εἶναι, τοὺς Ἑλληνας αἰρήσονται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβουλευεῖν ἐκέλευον, ἐπευξάμενος ὧδε εἶπεν, “Εἰ μὲν συμβουλεύοιμι ἂ βέλτιστά μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, πολλά μοι ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τάναντία· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἱερὰ συμβουλή λεγομένη εἶναι, δοκεῖ μοι παρεῖναι· νῦν γὰρ, ἂν μὲν εὖ συμβουλεύσας φανῶ, πολλοὶ ἔσεσθε οἱ ἐπαινοῦντές με· ἂν δὲ κακῶς, πολλοὶ ἔσεσθε οἱ καταράμενοι. Πράγματα μὲν οὖν οἷδ’ ὅτι πολὺ πλείω ἔχομεν, ἐὰν κατὰ δά-

simply to shew, that while the friendship of both parties lay open, the Sinopeans preferred that of the Greeks to the Barbarians;¹ and as he was now called on to give his advice, he invoked the gods,² that if he did not offer that which appeared to him the best, he might for the future be miserable; but if he did, that he might be for ever happy! “For,” said he, “this counsel seems to have something sacred in it, seeing, if I advise you for your welfare, that henceforward I shall receive your grateful benedictions, and if otherwise, I shall be justly haunted with your imprecations.³ I know then that we Sinopeans shall have much more trouble and expence by advising you

¹ This explanation is quite lame; yet it was necessary to say something, or he could not have gained a second hearing; as a whole, it forms a fair portrait of a foiled orator all over the world. For *He never fails* for want of argument, nor on the *justice* of his cause, but because he is *misunderstood!!!* I meant so and so. — Indeed! The jury have decided for the other party.

² This Hecatonymus again coming forward, reminds one of a corporate body being heard by counsel. But the counsellor was foiled the first time, and must, therefore, strike out a new mode of pleading; indirect threats and strutting, would not answer; he must, now, affect the serious, and imprecate the divine vengeance: — *this* has been the hackneyed road of Orators all over the world; one can't turn to any of their speeches without meeting “O Dii immortales! Hercle! Ecāstor! Pol!” and thus when they can't affect the judgment, they endeavour to enlist the passions.

³ *This* was extremely well turned; — it was making up lost ground in good style: tho' the subsequent part of his speech leads us to infer that he was *now* serious.

λατταν κομίζησθε· ἡ-
 μᾶς γὰρ δεήσει τὰ
 πλοῖα πορίζειν· ἦν δὲ
 κατὰ γῆς στέλλησθε,
 ὑμᾶς δεήσει τοὺς μα-
 χομένους εἶναι, "Ὅμως
 δὲ λεκτέα, ἃ γιγνώσ-
 κω· ἔμπειρος γὰρ εἰμι
 καὶ τῆς χώρας τῶν
 Παφλαγόνων καὶ τῆς
 δυνάμεως· ἔχει γὰρ ἡ
 χώρα ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ
 πεδία κάλλιστα, καὶ
 ὄρη ὑψηλότατα. Καὶ
 πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθύς
 ὅπου τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀ-
 νάγκη ποιῆσθαι· οὐ
 γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλη, ἢ ἣ
 τὰ κέρατα τῆς ὁδοῦ
 τοῦ ὄρους κατ' ἐκότερά
 ἐστὶν ὑψηλά· ἃ κρατεῖν
 κατέχοντες καὶ πάνυ
 ὀλίγοι δύναιτ' ἂν τέ-
 των δὲ κατεχομένων,
 οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες ἄν-
 θρωποι δύναιτο διελ-
 θεῖν. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ
 δείξαιμι ἂν, εἴ μοι
 τινὰ βούλεσθε συμ-
 πέμψαι. Ἐπειτα δὲ
 οἶδα πεδία ὄντα, καὶ
 ἰππείαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ
 βάρβαροι νομίζουσι
 κρεῖττω εἶναι ἀπάσης
 τῆς βασιλέως ἰππείας.
 Καὶ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ παρε-
 γέοντο βασιλεῖ κα-
 λῶντι· ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζον

to go by sea than by land, for by re-
 commending the former we shall have
 to supply you with transports; whereas,
 by advising the latter, you would re-
 quire nothing but your own courage to
 fight your way through. But be assured
 of my sincerity, for I am well acquaint-
 ed with the Paphlagonians, and their
 military strength. I shall begin there-
 fore by describing their country, which
 contains many beautiful plains, inter-
 spersed with exceeding lofty mountains,
 and indeed I am acquainted with the
pass also that enters this country, and
 through which you must of necessity
 march. It lies between two points of
 a rock, extremely elevated, which are
 capable of being defended by very few
 men; and should the Paphlagonians be
 any way apprised of your intentions,
 and seize on this pass, there is no army,
 however formidable, can force a passage.
 This I will demonstrate to any officer
 you shall think proper to send there
 with me. Moreover, on the other side of
 this *pass* a campaign country presents
 itself, which is every where covered
 with horses, and which the Paphlago-
 nians declare to be the best in the
 king's territories. In fact, 'tis but
 recently that their contingency re-
 ceived the king's summons, which

φρονεῖ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν, Ἦν δὲ καὶ δυναθῆτε τὰ τε ὄρη κλέψαι, ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆτε μαχόμενοι τοὺς τε ἰππεῖς τούτους καὶ πεζοὺς, μυριάδας πλεον ἢ δώδεκα, ἤξετε ἐπὶ ποταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Θερμώδονα, εὗρος ἰσίων πλέθρων ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπίσθεν ἐπομένων· δεύτερον δ' Ἴριον, τρίτωλεθρον ὡσαύτως· τρίτον δ' Ἄλυν, οὐ μείον δυοῖν σταδίοις ὃν οὐκ ἂν δύνησθε ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τις ἔσται ὁ παράχων; ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος ἄβατος· ἐφ' ὃν ἔλθοιτε ἂν, εἰ τὸν Ἄλυν τοῦτον διαβαίητε. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐν οὐ χαλεπὴν ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. Ἄν δὲ πλέητε, ἔστιν ἐνθένδε μὲν εἰς Σινώπην παραπλευσαι, ἐκ Σινώπης δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἐξ Ἡράκλειας δὲ οὔτε περὶ

their commander was too haughty to obey. But admitting you could seize the pass, and surprise the people unobserved, and afterwards defeat their army on the plains, whose force, in infantry and cavalry, amount to no less than one hundred and twenty thousand men, yet you would still find many formidable rivers to pass, and the first that would oppose you, is called the Thermodon,¹ which is three plethra in breadth, difficult to be crossed, particularly with an enemy in your front and rear. The next that would offer itself, is the Iris,² which is quite as wide as the Thermodon. The third river you will meet with is the Halys,³ which by computation is two stadia in breadth; hence you may perceive, that this road will not only present difficulties, but insurmountable obstacles, that are not to be overcome. On the contrary, should you determine to proceed by sea, you may sail from hence to Sinope, from Sinope to Heraclea, and from Heraclea you may use your own plea-

¹ Thermodon, a river in Cappadocia, that has its rise in the Amazonian mountains. See map.

² *Iris*, now called Irio, or Casalmach. This river, according to Strabo, has its rise in Argeo Monte. See map.

³ *Halys*, now called *Otmagiuith*, or *Aly*. See map. It separated the Sinopean territories from the rural country of the Amisineans; having its rise, according to Strabo, in Cappadocia.

ἔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐστὶ πλοῖα ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεξεν, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτουον φιλίας ἕνεκα τῆς Κορύλα λέγειν, (καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόξενος αὐτῶ) οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς δῶρα ληψόμενον διὰ τὴν συμβουλήν ταύτην· οἱ δ' ὑπώπτουον καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα λέγειν, ὡς μὴ περὶ ἰόντες τὴν Σινωπέων χώραν κακόν τι ἐργάζοιντο. Οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν πορείαν ποιῆσθαι. Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν, “Ὁ Σινωπεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἤρηνται πορείαν, ἣν ὑμεῖς συμβηλεύετε· οὕτω δ' ἔχει, εἰ μὲν μέλλει πλοῖα ἄσσεσθαι ἰκανά, ὡς ἀριθμῶ ἓνα μὴ καταλείπεσθαι ἐνθάδε, ἡμεῖς ἂν πλείοιμεν· εἰ δὲ μέλλοιμεν οἱ μὲν καταλείψεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλεύσεσθαι, ἐκ ἂν ἐμβαίημεν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα. Γινώσκουμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὅπν μὲν ἂν κρατῶμεν, δυναίμεθ' ἂν καὶ σώ-

sure either to proceed by sea or land, as you will find that port full of ships.”¹

Having concluded, the army made their observations on his statement, some thinking that all he had said was to favour Corylas, because an intimacy subsisted between them; others suspected that he was fishing for a present; and some again said, that he had given this advice fearing, if the army proceeded by land, that the Sinopean territories would receive damage.² Notwithstanding, the soldiers determined to proceed by sea. On which, Xenophon addressed the ambassadors, and told them that they had resolved on following their advice, with a proviso, sufficient number of ships could be procured to convey the *whole of them together*; but should it be proposed for the army to sail by detachments, or to leave any one behind, they were resolved not to embark at all. “They have thus determined,” said Xenophon, “from a conviction that while they are together they will be respected, and be able to

¹ This Heraclea, is called by Ptolemy, Πόντου Ἡρακλεῖα, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name. It will be seen by the map, that it was situated on the Euxine, or Pontus, and is thought to have been built on the site of the present Penderachi.

² We again see that his *first speech* had brought him into such disgrace, that his second, tho' accompanied with asseverations, could hardly be credited.

ζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἐπι-
τήδεια ἔχειν· εἰ δέ που
ἦττους τῶν πολεμίων
ληφθῆσόμεθα, εὐδῆλον
δὴ ὅτι ἐν ἀνδραπόδων
χώρῳ ἐσόμεθα.” Ἀκί-
σαντες ταῦτα οἱ πρέσ-
βεις, πέμπειν ἐκέλευον
πρέσβεις. Καὶ πέμ-
πουσι Καλλιμάχον
Ἀρκάδα, καὶ Ἀρί-
σωνα Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ
Σαμολᾶν Ἀχαιοῖν. ἃ
οἱ μὲν ἄχοντο.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ
χρόνῳ Ξενοφῶντι, ὁ-
ρῶντι μὲν πολλοὺς
ὀπλίτας τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
ὀρῶντι δὲ πολλὰς πελ-
ταστας, πολλοὺς δὲ
καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφεν-
δονήτας, καὶ ἰππείας
δὲ, καὶ μάλα ἤδη διὰ
τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανοὺς ὄν-
τας, ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ (ἐν-
θα οὐκ ἂν ἀπ' ὀλίγων
χρημάτων ἰσοαυτὴ δύ-
ναμις παρσκευάσθη)
καλὸν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει εἶ-
ναι καὶ χώραν καὶ
δύναμιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
προσκήσασθαι, πόλιν
κατοικίσαντας. Καὶ
γενέσθαι ἂν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ

procure provisions wherever they may go; on the contrary, should they ever be found weaker than their enemies, they expect but little better treatment than is usually adopted towards slaves.”¹ On hearing this resolution, the Sinopean ambassadors desired Xenophon to send an embassy to their city, to consult with their government.² On which occasion, Callimachus, Ariston, and Samylas, formed it, and were despatched immediately.

During the time this occupied, Xenophon was engaged in reflecting on the number of his army; of his heavy-armed; his targeteers, slingers, and horse, who, indeed, had become an army of veterans; nor could he help thinking how much it would add to the reputation of the expedition, and the glory of Greece, were they to make a settlement, and build a city on the Euxine; and with what little expense that might be effected, since they were on the spot, when compared with embarking a colony purposely.³

αὐτῷ μεγάλη, καταλογιζομένῳ τότε αὐτῶν
περιοικοῦντας τὸν Πόντον. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις

¹ This was a judicious resolution, and was *Xenophon's own*; tho' he tells the ambassadors, that it was the determination of the army.

² It almost leads one to conclude, that Xenophon had anticipated their intentions, and to have stopped their plan in embryo.

³ It will be seen, that these benevolent intentions of our author were construed by those who envied his well-earned reputation, into motives of personal ambition and aggrandisement; and in this instance, by a

ἐθύετο, πρὶν τιμὴν εἰπεῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Σιλανὸν παρακαλέσας τὸν Κύρου μάντιν γενόμενον, τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην. Ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς, δεδιὼς μὴ γένοιτο ταῦτα, καὶ καταμείνειε πού ἢ στρατιᾷ, ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα λόγον ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βέλεται καταμείναι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σιλανὸς ἐβούλετο ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὓς γὰρ παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε τρισχιλίους δαρεικὰς, ὅτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἤλθουσε θυόμενος Κύρω, διεσεσάκει. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν, ἐπεὶ ἤκωσαν, τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει βέλτιστον εἶναι καταμείναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς, ὧς Τιμασίων δὲ ὁ Δαρδανεύς, καὶ Θώραξ ὁ Βοιωτίος πρὸς ἐμπόρους τινὰς παρόντας τῶν Ἡρακλειωτῶν καὶ Σινοπέων λέγου-

Impressed with these reflections, he called Silanus the Ambracian to him, who had been soothsayer to Cyrus, to offer sacrifice on the occasion, that he might consult the will of the gods before he consulted the inclinations of his soldiers. But Silanus, fearing Xenophon would carry this into effect, and that the army would acquiesce in his views, told the soldiers that Xenophon was determined to acquire *reputation* and *power* and intended to detain them there. The object of the priest was by that means to hasten to Greece the earlier, for he had taken care of the *three thousand darics*, given him by Cyrus, on his foretelling correctly about the ten days,¹ and which sum would secure him the remainder of his life an independency. On the soldiers receiving this information, some of them acquiesced in Xenophon's views, and thought they ought to resolve to that purpose; but the proposal did not meet the *general wish* of the army. Hence Timasion the Dardanian, and Thorax the Bœotian, informed some of the merchants of Heraclea and Sinope, who happened

man in particular who had nothing but *self* in view: and thus it happens in every age of the world, that the intentions of the good are thwarted by the worthless. See page 62, where it is said Cyrus gave him *ten talents*, not 3000 darics. Now, if the last statement be correct, it makes a difference of 2900*l.* in the priest's favour. For proof, the stater daricus was equivalent to 1*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* English. The talent to 193*l.* 15*s.*

σιν ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἐκπο-
 ριοῦσι τῇ στρατιᾷ μισ-
 θόν, ὥστε ἔχειν τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια ἐκπλέοντας,
 ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μείναι
 τοσαύτη δύναμις ἐν τῷ
 Πόντῳ· Βουλευέται
 γὰρ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ ἡ-
 μᾶς παρακαλεῖ, ἐπει-
 δὴν ἔλθῃ τὰ πλοῖα,
 τότε εἰπεῖν ἐξαίφνης τῇ
 στρατιᾷ, “ Ἄνδρες,
 νῦν μὲν ὀρώμεν ὑμᾶς
 ἀπόρους ὄντας καὶ ἐν
 τῷ ἀπόπλῳ ἔχειν τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ οἴκαδε
 ἀπελθόντας ὄνῃσαι τι
 τοὺς οἴκοι· εἰ δὲ βού-
 λησθε τῆς κύκλω χώ-
 ρας περὶ τὸν Πόντον
 οἰκημένης ἐκλεξάμενοι
 ὄσῃ ἂν βούλησθε κα-
 τασχεῖν, καὶ τὸν μὲν
 θέλοντα, ἀπιέναι οἴ-
 καδε, τὸν δὲ ἐθέλοντα,
 μένειν αὐτοῦ, πλοῖα
 δὴ ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ὥς
 ὅπῃ βέλησθε ἐξαίφνης
 ἂν ἐπιπέσοιτε.”

¹ Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα
 οἱ ἔμποροι ἀπήγγελλον
 ταῖς πόλεσι· συνέπεμ-
 ψε δ' αὐτοῖς Τιμασίῳ
 ὁ Δαρδανεύς Ἐρύμα-
 χόν τε τὸν Δαρδανέα
 καὶ Θώρακα τὸν Βοιω-

to be present, of the circumstance; at the same time intimated, that unless they supplied the army with money, provisions, and transports immediately, there was every probability they would have them for neighbours. They added, that the Sinopeans owed this to Xenophon, who in fact had suggested it, and who purposed, on the arrival of the transports, to address the army to the following purport: — “Soldiers — I perceive that you are perplexed and have difficulty in procuring provisions for your voyage, and moreover, are disappointed in not being able to carry any thing home to your families, and since it is so, if it meets your approbation, we will take up our residence in some part of the uninhabited country round the Euxine, and possess ourselves of the lands; and as there are ships before us, those who do not approve of it may return home; and those who do have every facility offered of making a descent and forming a colony on any part of the coast that offers the best prospects.”¹

This news alarmed the merchants, and so much so, that they despatched the necessary information to their cities, and Timasion sent Eurymachus, his countryman, and Thorax the Bœo-

¹ Here was an invented tale of slander, and a *Priest*, too, at the bottom of it.

τιον, τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐροῦντας. Σινοπεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται ἀκούσαντες, πέμπουσι πρὸς Τιμασίωνα, καὶ κελεύουσι προστατεῦσαι, λαβόντα χρήματα, ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἡ στρατιά. Ὁ δὲ, ἄσμενος ἀκίσας, ἐν συλλογῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων, λέγει τάδε, “Οὐ δεῖ προσέχειν μονῇ, ὡς ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιῆσθαι. Ἀκούω δὲ τινὰς θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ, οὐδ’ ὑμῖν λέγοντας. Ὑπισχνούμαι δὲ ὑμῖν, εἰ ἐκωλέητε ἀπὸ νημηνίας, μισθοφορὰν παρεῖχειν ὑμῖν Κυζικηνὸν ἐκάστῳ τοῦ μηνός· καὶ ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα, ἔνθεν

tian, in company, to confirm their statement. The Sinopeans and Heracleans, being brought acquainted with the subject in contemplation, sent back to employ the good offices of Timasion, and promised him a certain sum, if he would persuade the army to sail out of the Euxine. This gratified his cupidity, and caused him to address the soldiers as follows:—“Comrades—I am informed, that it is in agitation to form a settlement on the borders of the Euxine; I can only say that this proposal has my decided disapprobation; nor ought we to think of any other country but our own. I am informed, however, that *some persons* are consulting the gods on this occasion, without even acquainting *you* with their intentions. But be assured you shall not return empty to Greece, for I promise, in the event of your sailing hence, on the first day of the month, to present each of you with a cyzicene¹ for your pay. Afterwards, I intend to conduct you to Troas,² from whence I have

¹ A piece of money, according to Suidas, worth 19s. 4d. English. Viginti octo drachmas, *i. e.* twenty-eight 7½d. which will be found to amount to the above sum. Others say it was equivalent to the *stater*, without stating whether it was the *stater aureus*, 16s. 1¾d., or the *stater daricus*, 1l. 12s. 3d. It was a piece of gold, having the figure of *Cybele*, the mother of the gods, on the one side, and a lion on the other; indicative, that *with money* a man might acquire and retain *power*; but that money itself was to be gained by courage.

² *Troas*, ancient *Troja* or *Ilium*, the country where stood the capital of King Priam; and in *his day* the chief city of Asia. It was situated

καὶ εἰμὶ Φρυγίας· ἢ ὑπ- been banished ; where my countrymen
 ἀρξέει ὑμῖν ἢ ἐμὴ πόλις· will not only receive me gladly, but

in Minor Phrygia, on the Ægean sea, now the Archipelago, between Æolides and the Hellespont. It once having been the seat of wonders, we should like to say something about it ; but when the reader is informed, that even in Strabo's time there was not a vestige of it left, little can be expected from a modern writer. " All that is now seen of Troy," says Lady Wortley Montague, " is the ground on which it stood ; for I am firmly persuaded, whatever pieces of antiquity may be found around it, are much more modern ; and I think Strabo says the same thing. However, there is some pleasure in seeing the valley, where I imagine the famous duel of Menelaus and Paris was fought ; and where the greatest city in the world was situated. 'Tis certainly the noblest situation that can be found for the head of a great empire ; much to be preferred to that of Constantinople ; the harbour *here* being always convenient for ships from all parts of the world, and that of Constantinople inaccessible almost six months in the year, while the north-wind reigns. I saw," says our fair author, " Rhæteum and Sigæum, the places famed for the sepulchres of Ajax and Achilles ; and while I viewed these celebrated fields and rivers, all of which have been sung in immortal verse, I also admired the exact geography of Homer, whom I had in my hand. Almost every epithet he gives to a mountain or plain, is still just for it ; and I spent several hours here in as agreeable cogitations, as ever Don Quixote had on Mount Montesinos. Notwithstanding what Strabo had said, and my own convictions, I rose at two in the morning to view coolly those ruins which are commonly shewed to strangers as the ruins of Troy ; *these* the Turks call *Eski Stamboul*, which, properly translated, is *Old Constantinople*. 'Tis on this ground, as well as many others, I think these ruins to be the remains of that city began by Constantine. I hired an ass, the only voiture to be had, that I might go some miles into the country, and take a tour round the ancient walls, which are of vast extent. I found the remains of a castle on a hill, and another in a valley, with several broken pillars and two pedestals, from which I deciphered some Latin inscriptions, bearing the names of several Roman officers, that had served in cohorts belonging to the xxxiii. xiii. viii. legions, which left no doubt in my mind, that they had been originally placed in a temple here, that was once dedicated to Augustus. Ah ! how pleasant it would have been," continues Lady Mary, " if I had made this journey

ἐκόντες γὰρ με δεῖξον-
ται. Ἠγήσομαι δὲ
αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἔνθεν πολ-
λὰ χρήματα λήψεσθε.
Ἐμπειροὺς δὲ εἰμι τῆς
Αἰολίδος, καὶ τῆς Φρυ-
γίας, καὶ τῆς Τρωά-

will render you every service you may desire. From Troas I shall lead you into that country where you shall enrich yourselves ; for I am familiar with Æolia,¹ Phrygia, and Troas ; and in

three thousand years ago, when after drinking a dish of tea with Sappho, I could in the evening have visited the Temple of Homer in Chios, and have passed my voyage in taking plans of magnificent temples, delineating the miracles of statuaries, and conversing with the most polite and gay of mankind. Alas ! art is extinct *here* ; nothing but the wonders of nature are left." And this may be said of nearly the whole of Asia and Egypt, with the exception of the Pyramids and the Sphinx. Nor have the arts, tho' passed into Europe, ever flourished there on so grand a scale as in Asia ; but certainly on a scale much more useful and diffusive. The *application of the arts to the comforts of life*, is almost exclusively European ; nay, nearly all English, and which the nation owes to a simple hint of Lord Bacon's ; hence sprang her aggrandizement. Voltaire, even in his day, saw this rising power, and the cause of it. " Depend on it," said he to the Virtuosi, who enquired his opinion of England, on his return from that country, " depend on it, the English don't apply the arts to the making a purse, or a breast-pin ; they know also *something more* than how to cut off kings' heads and horses' tails." But alas ! she, like ancient Troy, is destined to retrograde and become extinct ; and thus saw Scipio his *Rome* reflected back from the ruins of *Carthage*, and wept bitterly at the anticipation. *Dii mutantur* —

- - - - " Besides, whatever lies
In earth, or flits in air, or fills the skies,
All suffer change."

DRYDEN'S *Ovid*.

¹ Αἰολίς, or Æolia, was situated between Ionia and Troas, in Asia Minor, near the Hellespont. It was, before the Æolians inhabited it, called Mysia. In one of the islands attached to this province, King Æolus reigned over the winds, and here Virgil, in the first book of the Æneid (copied from Homer), represents Juno, the patron goddess of Carthage, applying to him to raise a tempest to destroy the fleet under Æneas, flying from the Trojan war ; — *sic volvere Parcas* — for the Fates had foretold, that a colony from Troy would found a mighty empire in Italy, that would finally overcome her darling Carthage. —

θεός, καὶ τῆς Φαρυγᾶ- fact with all the country under the

- “ Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni,
 Carthago, Italiam contra, Tiberinaque longè
 Ostia; dives opum, studiisque asperrima belli;
 Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
 Posthabita coluisse Samo. Hic illius arma,
 Hic currus fuit:” &c. &c.
- “ Talia flammato secum Dea corde volutans,
 Nimborum in patriam, loca fœta furentibus Austris,
 Æoliam venit.”
- “ Ad quem tum Juno supplex his vocibus usa est:
 ‘ Æole (namque tibi Divum pater atque hominum rex
 Et mulcere dedit fluctus, et tollere vento)
 Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat æquor,
 Ilium in Italiam portans, victosque Penates.
 Incute vim ventis,’ ” &c. &c.

How beautiful is all this! Indeed the Grecian Mythology, properly understood, is nothing more than the philosophy of nature; or the natural and moral elements *personified*. For Homer as well understood the principles of natural and moral philosophy as we do, tho' he taught it in a different manner. I will give an example from the above quotation: *Juno* is the African Air, or the warm southern air personified under that name; hence Carthage in Africa was said to be her darling seat; for *here* lay her chariots. — “Hic currus fuit.” — The islands of the north (of which Æolia was one, in relation to Africa,) are said to be the birth-place of tempests, “Credo quòd rariores terræ montesque, causa ac materia tempestum;” * and certainly are; and why? Because the air in the north is condensed by cold, and when the warm southern air, *Juno*, comes on it, *rarefaction* takes place; hence the origin of winds, or Æolus. The winds being pent up in a Cave by Æolus, simply means their condensed state in the north. Again: Vulcan is the husband of Venus; why? Vulcan is Heat, or *fire personified* under that name; and it is *that Element* which acts not only on the vegetable, but on the passions of the animal world, *man not exempt*, — producing love, or perpetuating the species; Venus is, therefore, the wife of Vulcan; and *thus* might the whole Grecian Mythology be explained, which is indeed the *sense of Homer*, and the manner in which he taught natural and moral philosophy; and I will add, that the man who cannot relish this beautiful mode of teaching must be void of taste indeed, and never ought to read Homer. It would be a pleasing task, methinks, for a good my-

* Tacitus.

βάζου ἀρχῆς πάσης· τῆς μὲν, διὰ τὸ ἐκείθεν εἶναι· τῆς δὲ, διὰ τὸ ἐστρατεύσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν Κλεάρχῳ τε καὶ Δερκυλλίδᾳ.”

Ἄναστας δ' εὐθύς Θώραξ ὁ Βοιωτίος, (ὃς αἰεὶ περὶ στρατηγίας Ξενοφῶντι ἐμάχετο,) ἔφη, εἰ ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἔσσεσθαι αὐτοῖς Χερσόνησον, χώραν καλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα· ὥστε τῶ βουλομένῳ, ἐνοικεῖν, τῶ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ, ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε· γελοῖον δ' εἶναι, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐσῆς χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀφθόνου, ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων μαστεύειν. Ἔστε δ' ἂν, ἔφη, ἐκεῖ γένησθε, καὶ γὰρ καθάπερ Τιμασίῳ ὑπισχνῶμαι ὑμῖν τὴν μισθοφοράν. Ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν, εἰδὼς ἃ

jurisdiction of Pharnabazus ;¹ with Troas, from being a native of that city ; and with Phrygia and Æolia, from having served some campaigns there, under the command of Clearchus and Dercellidus.”

On this, Thorax the Bœotian, who much wished for the command held by Xenophon, rose up and said, “ That if the army would sail out of the Euxine they might easily form a settlement in the Chersonesus, a country that was not only beautiful, but extremely fertile ; and being there, any who wished to return to their nativities, might do so at pleasure ; while those who desired to become residents, might enjoy themselves in that country ; that it was the extreme of folly to go searching about after lands among the Barbarians, while so much offered itself to them in Greece ; and 'till you arrive there, I promise you, in junction with Timasion, your full pay.” He said *this*,

thologist who enjoys literary ease, to sit down and *thus* give a key to the Classics : how much he would help youth in their studies need not be mentioned, for certain it is that such a key is wanting. How many boys are there that can read Latin and Greek very well, who, for the want of this, never understand nor relish their authors.

¹ Æolia, Phrygia, and Troas, were Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor : the interior part was under the jurisdiction of Artaxerxes, and Pharnabazus was the king's satrap.

Τιμασίῳ οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Σινοπεῖς ἐπαγγέλοιντο ὡς ἐκπλεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τούτῳ ἐσίγα. Ἀναστάς δὲ Φιλήσιος καὶ Λύκων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ, ἔλεγον ὡς δεινὸν εἶη, ἰδίᾳ μὲν Ξενοφῶντα πείθειν τε καὶ ἀμείνειν, καὶ θύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς, μὴ κοινοῦντα τῇ στρατιᾷ· εἰς δὲ κοινὸν μηδὲν ἀγορεύειν περὶ τούτων· ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν τάδε·

“ Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, θύομαι μὲν (ὡς ὁράτε) ὅποσα δύναμαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω καὶ λέγων καὶ νοῶν καὶ πράττων, ὅποια μέλλει τε ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι ἢ ἐμοί. Καὶ νῦν ἐδυόμην περὶ αὐτῆς τούτου, εἰ ἄμεινον εἶη ἄρχεσθαι λέγειν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἢ πράττειν περὶ τούτων, ἢ παντάπασιν μὴδ’ ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. Σιλανὸς δὲ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ μὲν μέλλετον, τὰ ἱερά καλὰ εἶναι (ἦδει γὰρ καὶ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἄπειρον ὄντα, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς) ἔλεξε δὲ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φαίνετο τις δόλος καὶ

from his being brought acquainted with the proposition made by the citizens of Sinope and Heraclea to Timasion. To this Xenophon made no reply; on which Philesius and Lycon, both Achaians, declared that it was insufferable that Xenophon should *privately* advise the army to stay, and offer sacrifice on the occasion, without the army’s participating in it, and yet *in public* would not attempt to say one word in justification of his proceedings; which observation put Xenophon on his legs; when he addressed them to this effect:—

“Gentlemen, — I invoke the gods by sacrifice, *as you know*, to the extent of my abilities, not only for myself, but for *you*, to the end that my *words, thoughts, and actions*, may be directed to that conduct that will eventually redound most to your advantage and honour; for not long since, when engaged in this employment, and earnestly soliciting the directions of the gods, whether I should say any thing to you on this business, or not, Silanus assured me, that the victims *were propitious*, which, indeed, I knew, from being much engaged in these things myself; but he assured me also, that there were some indications of *treachery*, that *he thought* was directed against me,

ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί· ὀρθῶς ἄρα, γινώσκων ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπεβούλευε διαβάλλειν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐγὼ πρᾶττειν ταῦτα διανοοίμην ἤδη, οὐ πείσας ὑμᾶς· Ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν ἀποροῦντας ὑμᾶς ἐώρων, τοῦτ' ἂν ἐσκόπου, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν γένοιτο ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς πόλιν, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον, ἀποπλεῖν ἤδη, τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἐπεὶ κτήσαιτο ἱκανὰ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ οἰκείους, ὠφελησαί τι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὀρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πέμποντας Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Σινωπεῖς, καὶ μισθὸν ὑπισχνουμένης ὑμῖν ἀνδρας ἀπὸ νομηνίας, καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι σωζομένους ἔνθα βουλόμεθα, μισθὸν τῆς πορείας λαμβάνειν· καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀναπαύομαι ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας, καὶ ὅποσοι πρὸς με προσήεσαν, λέγοντες ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα πράττειν, ἀναπαύσασθαι φημι χρῆναι. Οὕτω γὰρ γινώσκω ὅμῃ μὲν ὅντις πολλοὶ, ὥσπερ νυνὶ, δοκεῖτε ἂν μοι καὶ ἔντιμοι εἶναι, καὶ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· (ἐν γὰρ τῷ κρατεῖν ἐςὶ καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν τὰ

in which he prophesied truly, since *he himself* is the traitor who has accused me of desiring to acquire power at your expense, and against your approbation. But the fact is, that when I saw you necessitated, I reflected by what means you might possess yourselves of some city, from whence those of you who desire it, might set sail immediately; and those who wished to carry home something to their families, might have an opportunity of procuring it. But finding that the citizens of Sinope and Heraclea are supplying you with transports, and that Timasion and Thorax promise you pay from the commencement of the month, I consider it as fortunate, that we can be conducted to the country where we desire to go free of expense; and to be paid for going thither adds to the pleasure; therefore be assured, that I have given over all thoughts of settling here myself, and have desired those who visit me to consult on the subject, to abandon the thought also: besides, you are aware that my decided opinion is, that while we remain together as we now are, we shall be sure to find respect, nor never to want provisions, because conquest carries a right to partake of the property of the con-

τῶν ἡττωμένων) διασπασθέντες δὲ, ἢ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως, οὐτ' ἂν τροφὴν δύνασθε λαμβάνειν, οὔτε χαίροντες ἂν ἀπαλλάξαιτε. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ἄπερ ὑμῖν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καὶ ἂν τις μείνη, ἢ ἀπολιπὼν τινὰ ληφθῆ, πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα. Καὶ ὅτω δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ταῦτα, αἰρέτω τὴν χεῖρα." Ἀνέτειναν πάντες.

Ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ἐβόα, καὶ ἐπεχείρει λέγειν ὡς δίκαιον εἶη ἀπιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον. Οἱ δὲ σραλιῶται οὐκ ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλ' ἠπέιλον αὐτῷ, εἰ λήσονται ἀποδιδράσκοντα, ὅτι τὴν δίκην ἐπιθήσοιεν. Ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν δεδοσμένον εἶη,

quered; but if we ever divide ourselves, or suffer ourselves to be broken into detachments, we may be assured not only to find difficulty in procuring provisions, but we shall receive that treatment which will not very well suit the palate of a Greek. You therefore see, that between us there is no difference of opinion, since I think, as well as you, that it is our business to return to Greece; and I add further, that if any one is seen endeavouring to stay behind, or to desert his comrades before the army shall have arrived to a place of safety, that it shall be lawful to punish him as a traitor: whoever, therefore," says Xenophon, "is of this opinion, let him hold up his hands." Which the whole army did simultaneously.

Silanus, however, attempted to shew that, on *that head*, every one should be at liberty to use his own discretion; but this the soldiers over-ruled, and threatened him with the consequences, should they detect him in any sinister tricks, or in attempting to desert the army.¹ The citizens of Heraclea being informed that the Greeks had resolved on sailing out of the Euxine,

¹ Here the old soothsayer's character is developed, and hence he becomes disrespected by the soldiery.

καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς, ἐπεψηφικῶς εἶη, τὰ μὲν πλοῖα πέμπουσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα, ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Τιμασίῳ καὶ Θώρακι, ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν τῆς μισθοφορᾶς. Ἐνταῦθα ἐκπεληγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐδεδίεσαν τὴν στρατίαν, οἱ τὴν μισθοφορὰν ὑπεσχημένοι. Καὶ παραλαβόντες οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, οἷς ἀνεκεκοίνωτο ἃ πρόσθεν ἔπραττον, (ἅπαντες δ' ἦσαν, πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Ἀσιναίου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεπρατήγει· Χειρισόφος δὲ οὐ παρῆν) ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι μεταμέλοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ δοκοῖη κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φάσιν, ἐπεὶ πλοῖα ἐκεῖ ἐστὶ, καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασιανῶν χώραν. Αἰήτε δ' υἱὸς ἐτύγγανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποι εἰς τὴν στρατίαν ὑμεῖς δὲ συλλέξαντες, ἔφη,

and that Xenophon himself had proposed it, sent the transports, but omitted to send Timasion and Thorax the money,¹ wherewith they had promised to pay the troops; which circumstance greatly disconcerted them, and henceforward they became afraid of the army. They therefore consulted with those generals who were acquainted with their views, (and these included *all*, with the exception of Neon, who commanded under Cheirisophus,) what was to be done; who advised an apology. They therefore came to Xenophon, and said, "They were sorry for what had happened; and begged to say, that since transports were afforded them, they were of opinion, the best thing that could be done was to sail for the Phasis,² and to make a descent on the Phasians, and possess themselves of their territories." The son of Ætes³ was at that time king. Xenophon replied, "that *he* should make no such proposition to the army; but if they wished it, they were at liberty to as-

¹ This is the way of the world: the object being obtained, they usually forget the equivalent for obtaining it.

² Phasis, called by some geographers the Erax. According to Strabo and Dionysius, it has its sources in the mountains of Armenia. But Ptolemy says, in Mount Caucasos, or Theope, and not far off from the springs of the Euphrates.

³ This was the surname of the Phasian kings. Strabo, lib. i. p. 31.

εἰ βούλεσθε, λέγετε.
 Ἐνταῦθα ἀποδείκνυται
 Τιμασιῶν ὁ Δαρδανεύς
 γνώμην μὴ ἐκκλησιά-
 ζειν, ἀλλὰ τὸς ἐαυτοῦ
 ἕκαστον λοχαγὸς πρῶ-
 τος πειρᾶσθαι πείσαι.
 Καὶ ἀπελθόντες ταῦτα
 ἔπωιου.

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
 ἀνεπίθυνο ἑαυτὰ πρᾶ-
 τόμενα. Καὶ ὁ Νέων
 λέγει ὡς Ξενοφῶν, ἀ-
 ναπαπεικῶς τοὺς ἄλ-
 λους στρατηγούς, δια-
 νοεῖται ἄγειν ἐξαπα-
 τήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας
 πάλιν εἰς Φάσιν. Ἀ-
 κούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρα-
 τιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον
 καὶ σύλλογοι ἐγίγνον-
 το, καὶ κύκλοι συνί-
 σταντο· καὶ μάλα φο-
 βεροὶ ἦσαν, μὴ ποιή-
 σειαν οἷα καὶ τοὺς
 τῶν Κόλχων κήρυκας
 ἔποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς
 ἀγορανόμους· ὅσοι γὰρ
 μὴ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
 κατέφυγον, κατελεύσ-
 θησαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσ-
 θάνετο ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἔ-
 δοξεν αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα
 συναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἀ-
 γοράν, καὶ μὴ ἔᾶσαι
 συλλεγεῖν αὐτομά-
 τους· καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὸν

semble the soldiers, and to make the proposal themselves." Timasion then said, that it would be improper *in them* to assemble the army, and recommended feeling the pulse of the troops through the medium of the captains, whom the generals should persuade to come into their views. Having determined on this, the generals departed to put it into execution.

The news, however, reached the ears of the soldiers; and Neon informed them that Xenophon had prevailed on the rest of the generals to betray them, and to lead them back to the Phasis.¹ *This* the army resented, and held private meetings among themselves, with the intention of thwarting his views, and in fact gave strong indications of mutiny and disorder, which led Xenophon to apprehend they would break out into similar conduct as used towards the Heralds and Commissaries of the Colchians, whom, with the exception of those who fled to the sea, they had stoned to death. He therefore immediately resolved to assemble the army, and not to suffer the inflammatory matter produced by secret meetings to proceed any farther. The

¹ Here was rascally work again. The whole of the generals envied Xenophon's reputation.

κήρυκα συλλέξαι ἀγοράν. Οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ τῷ κήρυκος ἤκουσαν, συνέδραμον καὶ μάλα εἰοίμωσ. Ἐνλαῦθα Ξενοφῶν τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν οὐ κατηγορεῖ ὅτι ἤλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν, λέγει δὲ ὧδε,

“ Ἀκούω τινὰ διαβάλλειν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἐμὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ ἄρα ἐξαπατήσας ὑμᾶς μέλλω ἄγειν εἰς Φάσιν. Ἀκούσατε οὖν μου, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι ἀδικῶν, οὐ χρεῖ με ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν ἂν δῶ τὴν δίκην· ἂν δ' ὑμῖν φαίνωνται ἀδικοῦντες οἱ ἐμὲ διαβάλλοντες, οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρῆσθε, ὥσπερ ἄξιον. Ἔμεῖς δὲ ἐπίστασθε δήπου ὀπόθεν ὁ ἥλιος ἀνίσχει, καὶ ὅποι δύεται· καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν τις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλῃ ἰέναι, πρὸς ἑσπέραν δεῖ πορεύεσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ τις βούληται εἰς τὰς βαρβάρους, τῆμπαλιν πρὸς ἕω. Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις τοῦτο δύναται· ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ, ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἔνθα μὲν ἀνίσχει, δύεται δ' ἐνταῦθα· ἔνθεν δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν; Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο γε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι ὁ Βορέας μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου εἰς τὴν Ἑλ-

crier, on giving the accustomed signal for that purpose, was readily obeyed; when Xenophon, without exposing the perfidy of the other generals¹ in coming to him secretly, thus addressed them.

“ I am informed, my comrades, that some persons accuse me of entertaining a design to betray you, and to conduct you back to the Phasis.² I have therefore to solicit that *on this subject* you will hear me patiently, and if it should appear that I am guilty, I desire not to depart from this place without receiving that punishment which is due to my crime; but should it appear that I am accused wrongfully, I cannot but hope that you will punish my calumniators as they deserve. None of you, I conceive, are so ignorant as not to know where the sun rises, and where it sets; and that Greece lies west, and the Barbarian territories east. Can any one then be so eloquent as to convince you that the order of nature is become inverted, and that the sun rises in the west and sets in the east? And are you not also sensible that a north wind is

¹ This was a great act of forbearance and magnanimity, and of which those generals were unworthy; but forbearance is a leading feature in a well constituted mind.

² See map.

λάδα φέρει, Νότος δὲ εἶσω εἰς Φάσιν· καὶ λέγετε ὅταν ὁ Βορρῶς πνέῃ, ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ εἰσιν εἰς τῆς Ἑλλάδα. Τοῦτο οὖν ἐστὶν ὅπως τὶς ἂν ἐξαπατήσῃ, ὥστ' ἐμβαίνειν, ὅπου ἂν Νότος πνέῃ; Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ὅπου ἂν γαλήνη ᾖ, ἐμβιβῶ; Οὐκ οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ πλοίῳ πλεουσῶμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦλάχιστον ἐν ἑκατόν; Πῶς ἂν οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην σὺν ἐμοὶ πλεῖν μὴ βουλομένους, ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἄγοιμι; Ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ καταγοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἦκειν εἰς Φάσιν· καὶ δὲ καὶ ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν· γνῶσεσθε δήπου ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐστέ· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκῶς εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατημένοι, ἐγγύς μυρίων, ἔχοντες ὅπλα. Πῶς ἂν οὖν εἰς ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίῃ δίκην, ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑμῶν βελευόμενος; Ἄλλ' οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀνδρῶν ἡλιθίων, καὶ ἐμοὶ φθονούντων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμῶμαι. Καὶ τοι οὐδὲν δικαίως γ' ἂν μοι φθονεῖεν. Τίνα γὰρ αὐτῶν κωλύω ἢ λέγειν, εἴ τις

necessary to carry you out of the Euxine to Greece, and that a south will drive you to the Phasis? In fact, 'tis become proverbial for you to say on a northerly wind's blowing, 'tis fair for Greece.' But suppose I could compel you to embark when the wind is blowing south, or in a calm, yet I can only sail in one ship, while you will occupy a hundred. Can I then compel you to keep me company, or deceive you on the point I am sailing? But admitting that by some magic art I could do this, yet surely when you shall arrive on the Phasis, you will certainly know that it is not Greece; and I, who have deceived you, shall be only one man, exposed to the vengeance of nearly ten thousand with arms in their hands. Could I, — soldiers, I appeal to your common sense, — take a more effectual step towards my own ruin and destruction? But my calumniators *are weak men*;¹ they should spread, in order to be credited, a rumour more pregnant with probability; their scandal originates in *envy*; — they see, soldiers, that *you* respect and honour me, and 'tis *your respect* that has brought this calumny upon me; yet, whom do I hinder from proposing anything for your advantage?

¹ He should have added *wicked*.

τι δύναται, ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ μάχεσθαι, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ἐγρηγορέναι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἐπιμελούμενον; Τί γάρ; ἄρχοντας αἰρουμένων ὑμῶν ἐγὼ τινὶ ἐμποδῶν εἰμι; Παρήμι, ἀρχέτω μόνον ἀγαθόν τι ποιῶν φαίνεσθω. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰρημένα· εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐξαπατηθῆναι οἶεται ταῦτα, ἢ ἄλλον ἐξαπατῆσαι ταῦτα, λέγων διδασκέτω. Ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἄλις ἔχητε, μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε, πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητε οἷον ὄρω ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀρχόμενον πρᾶγμα· ὃ εἰ ἔπεισι, καὶ ἔσται οἷον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, ὥρα ἡμῖν βουλεύεσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, μὴ κάκιστοί τε καὶ αἰσχιστοὶ ἄνδρες φανώμεν καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φιλίων καὶ

He that can shew greater marks of generalship and regard for your interest than I have done, is he not at liberty to do so? He that can *fight* more for you, *watch* more for you, *care* more for you than I have done, is there any hindrance offered to such a man? May we not all *on this point* become competitors? Indeed, when you chose your generals did I oppose any man's pretensions? and I will now resign and let any other take the command, if he will previously convince me that he is adequate to the task, and will study your interest more than I have done. But enough!—If any soldier thinks I purposed to deceive him, let him now declare it; but since all of you must be convinced by what I have adduced, that to do so was placed entirely out of my power, listen to another truth before you disperse, which is of much more importance to us all; I mean that disposition to insubordination which has been recently so strikingly exhibited. Believe me, my fellow-comrades, 'tis high time that some steps should be taken *here*, lest we should appear to friends and foes, to gods and men, the most infamous and abandoned of all creatures, and instead of acquiring, by this expedition,

πολεμίων, καὶ καταφρονηθῶμεν." Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐθαύμασάν τε τί εἶη, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευον. Ἐκ τούτου ἄρχεται πάλιν, "Ἐπίσασθέ μου ὅτι χωρία ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς φίλια τοῖς Κερασούντιοις, ὅθεν κατιόντες τινὲς ἢ ἱερεῖα ἐπώλουν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἄλλα ὧν εἶχον. Δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ ὑμῶν τινὲς εἰνὲς εἰς τὸ ἐγγυτάτω χωρίον τέγων ἐλθόντες, ἀγοράσαντές τι πάλιν ἐλθεῖν. Τῆτο κάλαμαθὸν Κλεάρατος ὁ λοχαγὸς ὅτι μικρὸν εἶη, καὶ ἀφύλακτον, διὰ τὸ φίλιον νομίζειν εἶναι, ἔρχεται ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς ὡς πορδήσων, οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν εἰπών. Διενεόητο δὲ, εἰ λάβοι τὸ χωρίον, εἰς μὲν τὸ στράτευμα μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν, ἐμβὰς δ' εἰς πλοῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγχανον οἱ σύσκηνοι αὐτοῦ παραπλέοντες, καὶ ἐνδέμενος εἰ τι λάβοι, ἀποπλέων οἴχεσθαι ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου. Καὶ ταῦτα συνωμολόγησαν αὐτῶ οἱ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ σύσκηνοι, ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν αἰσθάνομαι. Παρακαλέσας οὖν ὁπόσους ἔπειδεν, ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. Πορεύομενον δὲ αὐτὸν φθάνει ἡμέρα γενομένη, καὶ συστάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν

universal glory, we should incur everlasting derision and contempt." The soldiers being astonished, and wondering what Xenophon had in reserve, desired him to proceed. "You know then," said he "that the inhabitants of some towns in alliance with the citizens of Cerazunt, came down from their mountains and sold us oxen and provisions; some of you, I believe, visited those towns, made purchases, and returned to your camp. But what did your captain, Clearatus? *He*, finding a town small and weak (though the inhabitants were friendly to us), marched *by night* against it, intending to plunder it and decamp; for he had resolved if he could have possessed the place, to return to the army no more, but placing the ill-gotten booty of his companions and himself on board some ship, to have sailed completely out of the Euxine. Now, all this was planned *secretly*, and as I am informed, while they were on board one of those ships that we detained there; and let me add, that he and his companions, whom he led to the attack, would have reduced their iniquitous purpose to practice had not the *Day* surprised them; which conduct so exasperated the inhabitants

τόπων βάλλοντες καὶ παίοντες, τὸν τε Κλεάρατον ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συχνοῦς· οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ εἰς Κερασοῦντα αὐτῶν ἀποχωρῶσι. Ταῦτα δ' ἦν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐξωρμῶμεν περὶ. Τῶν δὲ παραπλεόντων ἔτι τινὲς ἦσαν ἐν Κερασοῦντι, οὕτω ἀνηγμένοι. Μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς οἱ Κερασέντιοι λέγουσιν, ἀφικνοῦνται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν γεραιτέρων, πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον χρῆζοντες ἔλθειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐ κατέλαβον, πρὸς τοὺς Κερασούντιους ἔλεγον ὅτι θαυμάζοιεν, τί ἡμῖν δόξειεν ἔλθειν πρὸς αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφᾶς λέγειν ἔφασαν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἥδεσθαι τε αὐτούς καὶ μέλλειν πλεῖν δεῦρο, ὡς ἡμῖν λέξειαν τὰ γενόμενα, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν αὐτούς κελεύειν λαθόντας τοὺς τούτου δεομένους. Τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων τινὲς Ἕλληνες ἔτυχον ἔτι ὄντες ἐν Κερασοῦντι· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅποι ἴοιεν, αὐτοὶ τε ἐτόλμησαν βάλλειν τοῖς λίθοις, καὶ τοῖς

that they fought so valiantly with their missiles and swords, as completely to check their intentions; nay, Clearatus and many of his companions fell in the contest, and those who escaped did so with great difficulty. This affair happened the very day we left Cerazunt to march hither, while some who were to sail along the coast to co-operate in carrying off the plunder, remained in the city. On this, (so say the people of Cerazunt,) three of the principal men of *this town* came to that city, desiring to be introduced to the Greek generals; but finding we were marched, they told the citizens the circumstance; who, with themselves, were completely at a loss to account for those reasons which could have induced the Greeks thus to act. The Cerazunts, however, assured them that it *could not be sanctioned* by public authority;” on which these elders resolved to sail *here*, to assure us, that we were perfectly at liberty to carry off our dead. But what shall I add? It was so that some of those Greeks that had concealed themselves at Cerazunt were still there when those elders were about to bring us this unpleasant information, and finding what those elders intended, not only began to stone them themselves,

ἄλλοις διεκελεύοντο. Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀποθνήσκουσι, τρεῖς ὄντες οἱ πρέσβεις, καταλευσθέντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῦτο ἐγένετο, ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ Κερασούντιοι, καὶ λέγουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἠχθόμεθα τοῖς γεγεννημένοις, καὶ ἐβουλεύομεθα σὺν τοῖς Κερασούντιοις, πῶς ἂν ταφείησαν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεκροί. Συγκαθήμενοι δ' ἔξωθεν τῶν ὄπλων, ἐξαίφνης ἀκόμειν θορύβου πολλῆ, παῖε, παῖε, βάλλε, βάλλε. Καὶ τάχα δὴ ὀρώμεν πολλὰς προσθέοντας, λίθους δ' ἔχοντες ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀναιρημένους. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερασούντιοι, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἑωρακότες τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα, δέισαντες ἀποχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα. Ἦσαν δὲ, νῆ Δία, οἱ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔδεισαν. Ἐγώ γε μὴν ἤλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἠρώτων ὅτι ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα. Τῶν δ' ἦσαν μὲν οἱ οὐδὲν ἤδεσαν, ὅμως δὲ λίθους εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ εἰδοῦσι τινὶ ἐνέτυχον, λέγει μοι ὅτι οἱ ἀγορανόμοι δεινότατα ποιοῦσι τὸ στρατεύμα. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὶς ὄρᾳ τὸν ἀγορανόμον

but encouraged others to commit the same act of violence; by which means, those ambassadors lost their lives. On the committal of this outrage, some citizens of Cerazunt brought us the information, which caused us great uneasiness. But while we were conferring with them how those Greeks who were slain might have the rites of sepulture, and had taken our stand for that purpose, just a little distance from where our heavy-armed men lay, on a sudden we heard voices exclaiming, ‘down with them — down with them! Stone them — stone them!’ and immediately we saw great numbers with stones in their hands join those who thus cried out, while others were picking up stones for the same purpose. On this, the citizens knowing what had happened at home, were alarmed, and began to fly to their ships; nor were we without our fears. But I resolved to go among them, and did so, and began to enquire for some reason for their conduct; some who even had stones in their hands said, ‘they did not know of any;’ some, however, said, ‘that the Commissaries had oppressed the army.’ While in the act of saying so, Zelar-

chus, the commissary, was seen running

ἀνέκραγεν· οἱ δ', ὡς ἤκουσαν, ὥσπερ συὸς ἀγρίου ἢ ἐλάφου φανέντος, ἵενται ἐπ' αὐτόν. Οἱ δὲ Κερασούντιοι, ὡς εἶδον ὄρμῶνας κατ' ἑαυτοῦς, νομίσαντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἵεσθαι, φεύγουσι δρόμῳ, καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. Συνεισέπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τινες, καὶ ἐπνίγητο ὅστις μὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιστάμενος νεῖν. Καὶ τούτους τί δοκεῖτε; ἠδίκουσι μὲν οὐδὲν, ἔδεισαν δὲ μὴ λύσσα τις ὥσπερ κυσὶν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπλώκοι· εἰ οὖν ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ἔσται, θεάσασθε οἷα κατάσασσις ἡμῖν ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς. Ἔμεις μὲν οἱ πάντες οὐκ ἔσεσθε κύριοι οὐτ' ἀνελέσθαι πόλεμον ᾧ ἂν βούλησθε, οὔτε καταλύσαι. ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος ἄξει στρατεύμα ἐφ' ὅ,τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ. Καὶ τινες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴωσι πρέσβεις ἢ εἰρήνης δεόμενοι, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς, κατακαίνοντες τούτους οἱ βουλόμενοι, ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν λόγων μὴ ἀκῆσαι τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰόντων.

towards the sea, on which there was a hue and cry raised as though they had sprung a wild boar, or a stag from a thicket, and the chase began. The citizens seeing this, and believing themselves aimed at, fled, and ran to the sea also; some of the soldiers ran into the sea after them, by which circumstance, those of the Cerazunts who could not swim, were drowned. But of what were the citizens afraid? They had done nothing wrong. Of what were they afraid did I say? Why, they apprehended, that animals of the canine species had been metamorphosed into that of men, and had contracted madness: and let me tell you, soldiers, that if you continue thus to act, you will become as great a terror to yourselves as to the nations you have passed through. For you will never have it in your power, *by general consent*, either to make war or peace, and will consequently be vulnerable to every enemy. Is it to be borne that every private soldier, as his caprice shall excite him, shall have the power to lead away such soldiers as you have been? Shall ambassadors approach you to seek for peace, or for any other purpose, and meet with death, *unheard*, as a recompense; and *that* at the will of

Ἐπειτα δὲ οὓς μὲν ἂν ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἐλησθε ἄρχοντας, ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ χώρᾳ ἔσονται· ὅστις δ' ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἐληται στρατηγὸν, καὶ ἐθέλη λέγειν, βάλλε, βάλλε, οὗτος ἔσται ἰκανὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα κατακαίνειν καὶ ἰδιώτην ὑμῶν, ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃ ἄκριτον· ἂν ὧσιν οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο. Οἷα δ' ἡμῖν πεπράχασιν οἱ αὐθαίρετοι οὗτοι στρατηγοί, σκέψασθε. Ζήλαρχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀγορανόμος, εἰ μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς, οἴχεται ἀποπλέων, οὐδὺς ὑμῖν δίκην· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖ, φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος, δείσας μὴ ἀδίκως ἄκριτος ἀποθάνῃ. Οἱ δὲ καταλεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις, διεπράξαντο ὑμῖν μόνοις μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Κερασούντα μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, ἂν μὴ σὺν ἰσχυρί, ἀφικνεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ νεκρὰς, οὓς πρόσθεν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατακάνοντες ἐκέλευον θάπτειν, τέτῃς διεπράξαντο μηδὲ σὺν κηρυκίῳ ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἀνελεσθαι. Τίς γὰρ ἐθέλῃσει κήρυξ εἶναι, κήρυκας ἀπεκτονώσας; Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς

an individual? If so, those whom you have appointed to command will no longer be regarded — the *general will* is henceforward swallowed up by the *individual* — and every self-elected general who thinks proper to cry, ‘Stone him — Stone him!’ may murder any commander or private, against whom he may have a pique, untried and at pleasure. Reflect a moment, my fellow soldiers, and ask yourselves deliberately, what benefit have you received from those self-elected commanders? For if Zelarchus, the commissary, is guilty, your conduct has made him flee from justice, and he has accordingly escaped the punishment he merited: if innocent, he has left us under the apprehension of being put to death *without trial*. The good which those have done you who have stoned the ambassadors at Cerazunt is *this*, that *of all* Greeks, to you only is it unsafe to visit that city *without a guard*. Nor will a herald serve you any purpose; for who will respect the heralds of those who murder heralds? Before this affair happened, leave was given for you to bury your dead, by those who slew them; but now, none of you dare to go there for that purpose. We have, however, solicited the

Κερασουντίων θάψαι
αὐτοὺς ἐδεήθημεν. Εἰ
μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἔχει
ταῦτα, δοξάτω ὑμῖν
ἴνα, ὡς τοιούτων ἐσο-
μένων, καὶ φυλακὴν
ἰδίᾳ ποιήσῃ τις, καὶ
τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ὑπερδέξια
πειράται ἔχων σκηνῆν.
Εἰ μέντοι δοκεῖ ὑμῖν
θνητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀν-
θρώπων, εἶναι τὰ τοι-
αῦτα ἔργα, σκοπεῖτε
παῦλάν τιν' αὐτῶν· εἰ
δὲ μὴ, πρὸς Διὸς, πῶς
ἢ θεοῖς δύσομεν ἠδέως,
ποιοῦντες ἔργα ἀσε-
βῆ, ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις
πῶς μαχούμεθα, ἢν
ἀλλήλους κατακαίνω-
μεν; Πόλις δὲ φι-
λία τίς ἡμᾶς δέξειται,
ἢ τις ἂν ὄρᾳ τοσαύτην
ἀνομίαν ἐν ἡμῖν; Ἀ-
γορὰν δὲ τις ἄξει θάρ-
ρων, ἢν περὶ τὰ μέγισ-
τα τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρ-
τάνοντες φαινόμεθα;
Οὐ δὲ δὴ πάνυ οἰόμεθα
τέξεσθαι ἐπαίνου, τίς
ἂν ὑμᾶς τοιούτους ὄν-
τας ἐπαινέσειεν; ἡμεῖς
μὲν γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι πονη-
ροὺς ἂν φαίμεν εἶναι

citizens of Cerazunt, to perform this, for us. I have only to add, that if henceforward you purpose to sanction conduct of this sort, that you will be frank enough to do so by a public vote, *then* every one will be on his guard to act on the defensive, and will pitch his tent in the most advantageous position he can select. But if you regard such actions as the offspring of brutes rather than men, let me intreat you to consider of the best mode of preventing a recurrence of them. For with what feelings can we offer sacrifice to the gods, when our own hands are stained with such wickedness? ¹ Or with what courage can we meet our enemies, if we are thus enemies one to another? Or what city will receive us as friends, when they shall see that we commit such enormities on our own comrades and allies? Or who will supply us even with provisions, when they shall hear we are such practical Barbarians? Relative to the glory we promised ourselves, with so much confidence, from the expedition, whose applause shall we have? Or whose shall we deserve, if we cease to respect ourselves? Or, in fact, where shall I find men who would be more forward in punishing

¹ A reflection worthy of an Apostle, — yet Hector has a correspondent one in lib. vi. v. 335. Iliad.

τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποι-
οῦντας.”

Ἐκ τούτου ἀνιστά-
μενοι πάντες ἔλεγον
τοὺς μὲν τούτων ἄρξ-
αντας δῆναι δίκην, τοῦ
δὲ λοιποῦ οὐκέτι ἐξεῖ-
ναι ἀνομίας ἄρξαι· ἐὰν
δέ τις ἄρξῃ, ἄγεσθαι
αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ·
τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς
εἰς δίκας πάντας κα-
ταστήσαι· εἶναι δὲ δί-
κας, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο
τις ἠδίκητο ἐξ οὗ Κῦρος
ἀπέθανε· δικαστὰς δὲ
τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐποιή-
σαντο. Παραينوῦντος
δὲ Ξενοφῶντος, καὶ τῶν
μάντεων συμβουλευόν-
των, ἔδοξε ἢ καθᾶραι
τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ
ἐγένετο καθαρμός.

Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς
στρατηγοὺς δίκην ὑποσ-
χεῖν τῷ παρεληλυθότος
χρόνου. Καὶ διδόντες,
Φιλήσιος μὲν ὄφλε ἢ
Ξανθικλῆς τῆς φυλα-
κῆς τῶν Σαυλικῶν χρη-
μάτων, τὸ μείωμα,

others who should commit such acts
than yourselves?”

On which all rose up,¹ and declared
that the authors of such conduct should
be punished, and decreed, that hence-
forward any man that should trans-
gress the general orders should be put
to death. The army then desired the
generals to bring all those men to their
trials, when it should be enquired
whether any, and who had received or
inflicted injury since the death of Cyrus,
appointing at the same time the captains
to be Judges. It was resolved, at the
same moment, by the suggestion of
Xenophon, and with the concurrence of
the Priests, that the army should be *pu-
rified*, which was done accordingly.²

They finally decreed, that the ge-
nerals themselves should be examined
touching their past conduct; when it
happened, on the trials of Philesius and
Xanthicles, that they were both found
guilty of embezzling the property taken
out of the vessels at Cerazunt, over which
they had the charge, and were accord-

¹ This was a most forcible appeal, and covers the commander with
more *real glory* than any other act he performed in the expedition. I
think a finer specimen of *moral indignation* can no where be found
among the orations of the ancients.

² The best and only purifier of contracted guilt is repentance: but there
was a ceremony used by the Greeks as with the Hebrews on those occa-
sions, for which see Homer's Iliad, book vi. v. 266, et seq. and Leviticus.

εἴκοσι μνᾶς· Σοφαινέ-
τος δὲ, ὅτι ἄρχων αἰ-
ρεθεὶς κατημέλει, δέκα
μνᾶς. Ξενοφῶντος δὲ
κατηγόρησαν τινὲς,
φάσκοντες παίσσθαι ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς ὑβρίζον-
τος τὴν κατηγορίαν
ἔποιοῦντο. Καὶ ὁ Ξε-
νοφῶν ἀναστὰς ἐκέ-
λευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πρῶ-
τον, πρῶτον λέξαντα
ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη. Ὁ δὲ
ἀποκρίνεται, "Ὅπου ἢ
τῷ ῥίγῃ ἀπωλλόμεθα,
καὶ χιῶν πλείστη ἦν.
Ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ μὴν
καὶ χειμῶνός γε ὄντος
οἴου λέγεις, σίτου δὲ
ἐπιλελοιωτός, οἴνου δὲ
μηδ' ὄσφραίνεσθαι πα-
ρόντος, ὑπὸ δὲ πόνων
πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόν-
των, πολεμίων δὲ ἐπο-
μένων, εἰ ἐν τοιοῦτῳ
καιρῷ ὑβρίζον, ὁμολο-
γῶ καὶ τῶν ὄνων ὑβρι-
στότερος εἶναι· οἷς φα-
σιν ὑπὸ τῆς ὑβρεως
κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνεσ-
θαι. Ὅμως δὲ καὶ
λέξον ἐκ τίνος ἐπλή-
γης. Πότερον ἤτουν τι
σὲ, καὶ, ἔπει οὐκ ἐδί-
δως, ἔπαιον; ἀλλ' ἀ-

ingly fined twenty minæ, being the amount of the goods embezzled.¹ Sophænetus, for neglect of duty as a commander, was fined ten minæ.² And some, indeed, preferred complaints against Xenophon himself, for striking them, and for personal abuse; on which, Xenophon getting on his legs, asked, "If they referred to the circumstance during the snow-storm, when they were destitute of provisions, and when they had not sufficient wine for a smelling bottle, and were spent with labour, and an enemy at hand?" The principal accuser said "Yes." "If I was angry and abusive *then*," said Xenophon, "I think I must be more wicked than the ass himself, which through *wickedness* is believed to be insensible to fatigue.³ Tell us, however," said Xenophon, "wherefore it was that I struck you? Whether I then asked you for any thing, and chastised you for refusing me? Or did I insist on you giving me any thing you had stolen? Or was it in struggling

¹ The Minæ was equivalent to 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* English; consequently, the fine amounted to 64*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* In fact it was no fine at all; it was only returning the stolen property; very disgraceful in an officer to be sure. The Hebrew mode was better — *to restore four fold*: the best punishment for thieving ever suggested.

² Highly proper — better have put him in the ranks.

³ This is an allusion that delicacy forbids us to elucidate. If the reader will transpose the substantive wickedness into *lust*, he will have a key to the meaning. So says Muretus, Arrian, &c. &c.

πήτουν; ἀλλὰ περὶ παιδικῶν μαχόμενος; ἀλλὰ μεθύων παρώνησα; Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔφησεν, ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν, εἰ ὀπλιτεύοι. Οὐκ ἔφη· Πάλιν, εἰ πελτάζοι· Οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔφη· ἀλλ' ἡμίονον ἤλαυνον, ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συσκήνων, ἐλεύθερος ὢν. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀναγινώσκει τε αὐτὸν, καὶ ἤρετο, Εἰ σὺ εἰ ὁ τὸν κάμνοντα ἀπάσω; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη· σὺ γὰρ ἠνάγκαζες· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκευὴ διέρριψας. Ἄλλ' ἢ μὲν διάρριψις, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τοιαύτη τις ἐγένετο· Διέδωκα ἄλλοις ἄγειν, καὶ ἐκέλευσα πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπαγεῖν· καὶ ἀπολαθὼν ἀπάνια σῶα, ἀπέδωκά σοι, ὥστε καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ ἀπέδειξας τὸν ἄνδρα. Οἷον δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο ἀκόσατε, ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον.

Ἄνθρωπος κατελείπετο διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι πορεύεσθαι. Καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τοσούτον ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅτι εἰς ἡμῶν εἶη· ἠνάγκασα δὲ σε τοῦτον ἄγειν, ὡς

with an unnatural passion? Or was I inebriated when I struck you?" "Neither of these was the cause," said he. "Then tell me," says Xenophon, "do you belong to the heavy-armed troops?" He replied, "No." "To the targeteers?" "No. But at the desire of my comrades, being a free man, I was driving a mule when you struck me." On mentioning which, Xenophon instantly recollected the man, and asked him, "Whether he was not the person who carried the sick soldier?" "The same," says he, "for you compelled me to it; and to accommodate him, threw away my comrade's baggage." Turning to the army, Xenophon said, "*Hear, soldiers!* the particulars of this fellow's story. He says, I threw about his comrade's baggage; that is, I distributed it to other *men* to carry, giving them orders to restore the same to me, which they did, and I restored it to this fellow after he had shewn me the man I had placed on his mule. But hear further," said Xenophon, "it will amuse you. The story is simply this:—

"One of the soldiers, through fatigue, was unable to march, consequently was left behind—my accuser, I knew no other, than that he belonged to the army; notwithstanding, I obliged

μη ἀπόλοιτο· καὶ γὰρ, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, πολλοί μοι ἐφείποντο. Συνέφη τοῦτο ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Οὐκᾶν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἕπει προὔσεμψά σε, καταλαμβάνω αὐδεις, σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι προσιῶν, βόθρον ὀρύττοντα, ὡς κατορύξοινα τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ἐπιστάς ἐπήνουν σε. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεστηκότων ἡμῶν συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀνέκραγον οἱ παρόντες ὅτι ζῆ ὁ ἀνὴρ· σὺ δ' εἶπες ὅποσα γ' ἐβούλου, ὡς, Ἐγώ γε αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄξω· ἐνταῦθα ἔπαισά σε· ἀληθῆ λέγεις· ἔδοξας γὰρ μοι εἶδόντι ἔοικέναι ὅτι ἔζη. Τί οὖν; ἔφη, ἤττόν τι ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ σοι ἀπέδειξα αὐτόν; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάντες ἀποθανοῦμεθα· τούτου οὖν ἕνεκα ζῶντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ κατορυγῆναι; Τοῦτον μὲν ἀνέκραγον πάντες ὡς ὀλίγας παίσειεν· ἄλλους δὲ ἐκέλευε λέγειν διὰ τι ἕκαστος ἐπλήγη. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀνίσταντο, αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν,

him to carry his tired comrade to prevent his perishing from the cold, or the enemy, for they were close upon us." "That is true enough," said the man. "Then," says Xenophon, "when I commanded you to go forward, did I not quickly overtake you? And before I got up with the rear-guard, did I not find you digging a pit to bury him? and supposing the man dead, I commended your piety. But while I watched him dig the soldier's grave, to my astonishment, I saw the man whom he told me was dead, draw up his leg, as did many others, who exclaimed, 'The man is not dead!' on which he was very impertinent, and said he would carry him no further; on which occasion he says I struck him, for he was aware, comrades, that the soldier was alive." "But did he not die afterwards?"¹ says the man. "Does it follow, therefore," said Xenophon, "that we are to bury men alive, simply because all must die?" On this, the army cried out, "You scoundrel, you were not beaten enough." Xenophon immediately turning to his other accusers, desired them to inform the judges for what cause it was that he had chastised them. But they not choosing to do so, he proceeded and said: —

¹ This is really laughable, as are the complaints of all *Fool Rogues*.

“Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμολογῶ παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς ἔνεκα ἀταξίας· οἷς σώζεσθαι μὲν ἤρκει δι’ ὑμᾶς, ἐν τάξει τε ἰόντων καὶ μαχομένων ὅπου δέοι· αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες τὰς τάξεις, προδόντες ἀρπάζειν ἤθελον, καὶ ὑμῶν πλεονεκτεῖν. Εἰ δὲ τῆτο πάντες ἐποίημεν, ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπωλόμεθα. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ μαλακισζόμενον τινα, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἀνίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ προϊέμενον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἔπαισα, καὶ ἐβίασάμην πορεύεσθαι. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ χειμῶνι καὶ αὐτὸς ποτε ἀναμένων τινὰς συσκευαζομένης, καθεζόμενος συχνὸν χρόνον, κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόγις, καὶ τὰ σκέλη μόγις ἐκτείνας. Ἐν ἐμαυτῷ οὖν πείραν λαβὼν, ἐκ τήτου καὶ ἄλλον ὅποτε ἴδοιμι καθήμενον καὶ βλακεύοντα, ἤλαυνον· τὸ γὰρ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι παρῆχε θερμασίαν τινὰ καὶ ὑγρότητα· τὸ δὲ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἡσυ-

“That he confessed he had struck many of the men for not keeping their ranks, who in fact ought to be very thankful for the preservation they have received; but *these men* wished to avail themselves of the advantage of your courage, and to run before where you had conquered, in order to plunder, and to reap the advantage of your conquests. These I made keep the ranks; for what would have become of us, comrades, if we all had followed these men’s examples? Others I found overcome with sloth, whom I struck, and compelled to go forward, and thus preserved their lives; for which they would fain now bring an accusation against me. Indeed on one occasion, by waiting for them, I had nearly lost my own life; for sitting down on the ground to give them time, I found when I attempted to rise, that it was with great difficulty I could move my limbs; and it was from this experience in myself that induced me, on seeing others through sloth sit down, to compel them to go forward; for I found that it was by continual motion and vigorous efforts, that the animal heat was then to be kept up, and suppleness of joints preserved; while sitting down and rest

χίαν ἔχειν ἐάρων ὑπεργόν ὃν τῷ τε ἀποπηγνυσθαι τὸ αἷμα, καὶ τῷ ἀποσήπασθαι τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν δακτύλους· ἄπερ πολλοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε παθόντας. Ἄλλον δὲ γε ἴσως ὑπολειπόμενον διὰ φαστῶν, καὶ καλύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς τὸς πρόσθεν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὀπίσθεν πορεύεσθαι, ἔπαισα πύξ, ὅπως μὴ λόγχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παίοιτο. Καὶ γὰρ οὐν νῦν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς σωθεῖσιν, εἴ τι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἔπαθον παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, δίκην λαβεῖν. Εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, τί μέγα ἂν οὕτως ἔπαθον, ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἡξίου λαμβάνειν; Ἀπλοῦς μοι, ἔφη, ὁ λόγος· Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἐκόλασα τινὰ, ἀξιῶ ὑπέχειν δίκην, οἷαν καὶ γονεῖς υἱοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλοι παισὶ. Καὶ γὰρ ἰατροὶ τέμνουσι καὶ καίουσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. Εἰ δὲ ὕβρει νομίζετε με ταῦτα πράττειν, ἐνδυμήθητε ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ θάρρῶ σὺν ταῖς θεοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ

caused the blood to congeal, and from which you are convinced, comrades, many of our men lost their toes.¹ There were others who dropped behind purely through indolence, and retarded the progress of the whole army. These men I probably struck to prevent their being struck by the spear of the enemy. Let them then that I have thus preserved by blows and ill treatment, now call in a physician to heal them; but had they fallen into the hands of the enemy, what relief would *they have had*? Who would *then* have cured them? I address you, soldiers, in the simplicity of my heart; if I have chastised any of you for your good, I will submit in return to receive from you the chastisement that parents usually receive from their children, and masters from their pupils. You are aware that physicians frequently apply caustics, and make incisions for the benefit of their patients, tho' they sometimes under the operation make wry faces; and if you imagine that my conduct has been directed by any other motive — that I chastised any man through haughtiness or insolence of heart, you wrong me. For reflect now, I beg you! *At present*, by the blessing of heaven, I entertain greater hopes of life than I

¹ Yes; and many of them, we have already seen, lost their lives.

τότε, καὶ θρασύτερός
 εἰμι νῦν ἢ τότε, καὶ
 οἶνον πλείω πίνω· ἀλλ'
 ὅμως οὐδένα παίω· ἐν
 εὐδία γὰρ ὄρω ὑμᾶς.
 Ὅταν δὲ χειμῶν ᾖ,
 καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη
 ἐπιφέρηται, οὐχ ὄρατε
 ὅτι καὶ νεύματος μόνου
 ἕνεκα χαλεπαίνει μὲν
 πρῶτος τοῖς ἐν πρῶρα,
 χαλεπαίνει δὲ κυβερ-
 νήτης τοῖς ἐν πρῶμνῃ;
 Ἰκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ
 τοιάτῳ καὶ μικρὰ ἀμαρ-
 τηθέντα πάντα συνε-
 πιτρίψαι. Ὅτι δὲ δι-
 καιῶς ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς,
 καὶ ὑμεῖς κατεδικά-
 σατε τότε· ἔχοντες
 γὰρ οὐ ψήφους, ἀλλ'
 ὄπλα, παρειστήκειτε,
 καὶ ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρεῖν
 αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐβούλεσθε.
 Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία οὔτε
 τούτοις ἐπεκουρεῖτε,
 οὔτε σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀ-
 τακτοῦντα ἐπαίετε·
 τοιγαροῦν ἐξουσίαν
 ἐποιήσατε τοῖς κακοῖς
 αὐτῶν, ὑβρίζειν ἑῶντες
 αὐτούς. Οἶμαι γὰρ, εἰ
 ἠθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς
 αὐτὰς εὐρήσεσθαι τότε
 κακίστους, καὶ νῦν ὑβρι-
 στοτάτους. Βοῖσκος μὲν
 οὖν ὁ πύκτης ὁ Θετ-
 τάλος τότε μὲν διεμάχετο, ὡς κάμνων, ἀσπίδα μὴ φέρειν· νῦν
 δ', ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, Κοτυρωιτῶν πολλοὺς ἀποδέδυκεν. Ἄν οὖν

did *then* — I drink more wine, and am more at liberty; yet I chastise no man. And why is this? Because I see you in a calm. Don't you observe the pilot in a storm quarrel with the sailors *apparently* for the veriest trifle, and does not the steersman likewise? And why this? Because the least deviation brings ruin. I spoke sharply, and struck some of the men, 'tis true; and you being then present with arms in your hands, gave an indirect sanction to my actions by not resenting it, tho' I observed you did not assist me in chastising their irregularities;¹ and *hence* they infer that you sanction their insubordination. For you see, soldiers, those very men who in the hour of distress and danger were the most negligent of their duty, *now danger is over*, the most conspicuous for their insolence.² Witness *Bæiscus*, the Thessalian pugilist,³ who, under pretence of sickness, could not *then* carry his arms, but *now* can strip several citizens of Cotyora of their property. If, therefore, I am in-

¹ A conduct, it will be recollected, they had resolved to adopt in the *general order*, and its omission was extremely well retorted on them; 'though in the instance of Soteridas, the army did assist in chastising him.

² Officers on foreign service have often made similar observations.

³ Boxing was much practised among the Greeks, who wore on their hands when engaged a cestus, made of leather, to protect the joints.

σωφρονῆτε, τούτω τὰ-
ναντία ποιήσετε ἢ τοὺς
κύνας ποιούσι· τοὺς
μὲν γὰρ κύνας τοὺς
χαλεπούς τὰς μὲν ἡ-
μέρας δεσμεύετε, τὰς
δὲ νύκτας ἀφιάσι· τῷ-
τον δὲ, ἂν σωφρονῆτε,
τὴν νύκτα μὲν δῆσετε,
τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε.
Ἄλλὰ γὰρ, ἔφη, θαυ-
μάζω ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τινι
ὑμῶν ἀπηχθόμην, μέμ-
νησθε, καὶ οὐ σιωπάτε·
εἰ δὲ τῷ ἢ χειμῶνα
ἐπεκέρησα, ἢ πολέμιον
ἀπήρυσσα, ἢ ἀσθενῆντι ἢ
ἀποροῦντι συνεξευπό-
ρισά τι, τούτων δὲ
οὐδεὶς μέμνηται· οὐδ'
εἴ τινα καλῶς τι ποι-
οῦντα ἐπήνεσα, οὐδ'
εἴ τιν' ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν
ὄντα ἐτίμησα ὡς ἐδυ-
νάμην, οὐδὲ τούτων
μέμνησθε. Ἄλλὰ μὴν
καλὸν γε καὶ δίκαιον,
καὶ ὄσιον καὶ ἥδιον
τῶν ἀγαθῶν μᾶλλον
ἢ τῶν κακῶν μεμνήσ-
θαι."

Ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ
ἀνίστατο καὶ ἀνεμίμ-
νησκον· καὶ περιεγένετο
ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.

formed correctly, *and you are wise*, you must treat this bully, not as we treat vicious and quarrelsome dogs, *tie them up by day and let them loose by night*, but you must chain him up by night and let him roam by day. But I am not pleased, soldiers, that you should recollect and publish my *apparent improprieties*, and totally forget how many times I have defended, studied, and watched for your welfare;—how many times I have relieved you in want and cherished you in sickness;—how many times I have praised the brave, and cheered their heroism!—How is it, soldiers, these things are forgotten, when the recollection of good offices brings so much more pleasure than the remembrance of bad ones?"¹

On this, the soldiers simultaneously rose up, evidently impressed with what had been stated, and on calling to mind the past services of their general, gave him an honourable acquittal and dispersed.

¹ How beautiful and passing praise is all this. Xenophon could not be pleased, but how admirably he curbs his temper; and in reminding them of the superior pleasure accompanying the recollection of good offices to that of bad ones, what a noble lesson does he give to all mankind. Xenophon is—

- - - - "Not fierce, but awful in his manly page,
Bold is his strength, but *sober* is his rage."

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK VI.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐν τῇ
διατριβῇ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ
τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔζων, οἱ
δὲ, ληϊζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς
Παφλαγονίας. Ἐκλά-
πτουον δὲ καὶ οἱ Πα-
φλαγόνες εὖ μάλα τὰς
ἀποσκευασμένους, καὶ
τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς
πρὸς σκηνοῦντας ἐ-
πειρῶντο κακοεργεῖν·
καὶ πολεμικώτερον πρὸς
ἑλληλοῦς εἶχον ἐκ τέ-
των. Ὁ δὲ Κορύλας, ὃς

FROM this period, the most honourable of the Greeks,¹ while they remained there, purchased provisions from the city-market; others lived by plundering the Paphlagonian territory. On the other hand, the Paphlagonians let no opportunity escape of robbing the Greeks, and of annoying by night those who were posted in the advanced camp; and thus were reciprocal animosities engendered. Corylas, who

¹ The translation here given is agreeable to the spirit of the text, not the letter, as will be seen in a subsequent section; for the Greek army were composed of two very different orders of men. It appears, indeed, that only about four thousand of them became soldiers through necessity; the others were gentlemen *volunteers*, and engaged in the expedition from the reputation attached to the character of Cyrus, and from expectations of obtaining high military employment in Asia. Many of those volunteers, Xenophon tells us, enlisted *at their own expense* other men, whom they brought with them; and 'tis this fact that offers an explanation, why the generals so often consulted the army; and also accounts for the frequent acts of insubordination, &c. &c. &c. exhibited among them.

ἐτύχανε τότε Παφλα-
γονίας ἄρχων, πέμπε
παρὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας
πρέσβεις, ἔχοντας ἵπ-
πους καὶ στολὰς καλὰς,
λέγοντας ὅτι Κορύλας
ἔτοιμος εἶη τοὺς Ἑλ-
ληνας μὴτ' ἀδικεῖν,
μὴτ' αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖσθαι.
Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἀπε-
κρίναντο ὅτι περὶ μὲν
τούτων ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ
βελεύσοιντο, ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ
δὲ ἐδέχοντο αὐτούς·
παρεκάλεσαν δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς
ἔδόκει δικαιοτάτον εἶ-
ναι. Θύσαντες δὲ τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων βοῶν καὶ
ἄλλα ἱερεῖα, εὐωχίαν
μὲν ἀρκοῦσαν παρεῖ-
χον, κατακείμενοι δὲ
ἐν στιβάσιν ἐδείπνου,
καὶ ἔπινον ἐκ κερατί-
νων ποτηρίων, οἷς ἐνε-
τύγχανον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.

was the governor of Paphlagonia, ob-
serving *this*, and fearing consequences,
sent ambassadors, splendidly attired,
riding beautiful horses, to the Greek
generals, with instructions to inform
them, that “ He neither wished to in-
jure, nor to receive injuries from the
Greeks.” The generals replied, “ That
they would consult with the army, and
bring them acquainted with his senti-
ments;” in the mean time invited the
ambassadors and a select party of the
Greeks to a splendid entertainment.
Oxen and small cattle were slaughtered
on the occasion, and couches made
from brush-wood covered with grass
and herbs, were provided for the com-
pany to recline on.¹ The wine was
drunk from *horn cups*, agreeable to the
custom of the country.²

¹ How forcibly does this bring to our recollection that beautiful pas-
sage in the first eclogue of Virgil :

--- -- -- -- -- “ Hac mecum poteris requiescere nocte
Fronde super viridi. Sunt nobis mitia poma,
Castaneæ molles, et pressi copia lactis.”

Notwithstanding, Ἐν στιβάσιν, is found in the Eton Manusc., and also
in the margin of Stephanus, σκίμποσιν, without any reason whatever
assigned for that reading. But as the sense is not very materially al-
tered by it, we shall close our observations by simply stating, that
Hesych. and *Phavor.* use Στιβὰς. *Suidas*, Στιβάδες, which term has been
restored to our author by *Hutchinson*, from whom I translate.

² *Literally*, which they found, or was made in that country. But
the spirit of the text is as I have given it, and was a result of Grecian

Ἐπει δὲ αἱ σπονδαὶ τ' ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν, ἀνέστησαν πρῶτον Θραῖκες, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὠρχήσαντο τε σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ ἤλυντο ὑψηλά τε καὶ κούφως, καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐχρῶντο· τέλος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παίει, ὡς πᾶσι δοκεῖν πεπληχέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὁ δ' ἔπαισε τεχνικῶς πως. Καὶ ἀνέκραγον οἱ Παφλαγόνες. Καὶ ὁ μὲν, σκυλεύσας τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ ἑτέρου, ἐξῆι ἄδων Σιτάλκων· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν Θρακῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐξέφερον ὡς

The repast being finished, the libations poured,¹ and the pæan sung,² two Thracians offered themselves for the dance, and performed, fully accoutred, to the sound of the flute. Having shewn great abilities in the dance, they commenced parrying with their swords, when one struck the other a blow with such *apparent* violence, that the Paphlagonians exclaimed, “You have killed him!” But the blow was given with art, and the victor, having stripped his antagonist of his arms, retired, singing a triumphant song in honour of Sitalcas;³ while others entering bore off

politeness. The Greeks were in no want of silver goblets to entertain their company, as will be seen in a subsequent section; but they chose to use *horn cups* as a compliment to the ambassadors. This is a conduct that has been since frequently imitated by all polite nations.

¹ This constituted with the Greeks what is termed in English, *saying grace after dinner*. It was an Eastern custom, practised both by Jews and Pagans. “To pour out drink offerings” is so familiar that it appears needless to cite any passage in illustration. There is a fine description of this ceremony, in the *Æneid*, between *Æneas* and *Dido*.

² The Pæan sung after entertainments was tantamount to our “*Non nobis Domine*.” I have before observed, that the Greeks had two pæans; the one in honour of Mars, the other of Apollo.

“At feasts in moving sounds the Grecians sing,
And echoing hills with *Io pæans* ring,
To win the god t’ accept their offering.”

Iliad.

³ Σιτάλκων, according to the authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, was one of the ancient kings of Thrace, who had conducted himself bravely towards his enemies, and humanely to his subjects; consequently became immortalised in song, as was a general practice among the ancients. Vide *Annals of Tacitus*, lib. ii. in extremo. “*Laus Armenii*

τεθνεῶτα ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν πεπονηθῶς. Μετὰ τοῦτο Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγνητες ἀνέστησαν, οἱ ἄρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἦν ὅδε. Ὁ μὲν, παραθέμενος πᾶ ὅπλα, στείρει καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ, πυκνὰ μεταστρεφόμενος, ὡς φοβούμενος ἄλυστος δὲ προσέρχεται· ὁ δ', ἐπειδὴν προΐδηται, ἀπαντᾷ ἀρπάσας τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ μάχεται πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους· (καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτ' ἐποίουν ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν) καὶ τέλος ὁ λυσίτης δῆσας τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει. Ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης τὸν λυσίτην εἶλα παρὰ τῆς θῆς ζεύξας, ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρι δεδεμένον ἐλαύνει.

the apparent dead man. After this, some Ænians and Magnesians entered, fully accoutred as the others, and danced what is called the Carpean dance,¹ which was performed in this manner: one of the soldiers having laid aside his arms, begins to sow and to drive a yoke of oxen, frequently looking behind him as tho' he was apprehensive of robbers; a robber then advances, which his comrade observing, catches up his arms, comes up and gives him battle in defence of the oxen, the whole of which was performed in time to the flute. The robber then succeeds in binding the ploughman, and when in the act of carrying off both him and his oxen, the ploughman extricates himself, and succeeds in binding the robber, whom he fastens to his oxen and drives off triumphantly.

canitur adhuc Barbaros apud gentes." This custom has not been entirely dropped by the moderns. —

"Scots wha ha wi' Wallace bled," &c.

is proof.

¹ The Carpean dance, Ὀρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν, was, according to Ovid, a rude country dramatic dance, usually performed by seedsmen, or the sowers of corn, γεωργός, at the conclusion of the corn-sowing season, in honour of *Ceres*. The English merry-making, anciently practised at *harvest-home*, bore some resemblance to it. Those who may wish more particular information on this ancient performance, may consult with interest the "Dissertation of Maximus on the Songs of the Tyrians," lib. xii. p. 128. His description, however, of the *modus operandi* differs but little from that of our author.

Μετὰ τοῦτο Μυσὸς εἰσῆλθεν, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχων πέλτην· καὶ τότε μὲν ὡς δύο ἀντιπαίτομένων μιμῆμενος ὤρχεῖτο, τότε δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἓνα ἐχρήτο ταῖς πέλταις, τότε δὲ ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίσα, ἔχων τὰς πέλτας· ὡσεὶ ὄψιν ἔχων καλὴν φαίνεσθαι. Τέλος δὲ τὸ Περσικὸν ὤρχεῖτο, κροτῶν τὰς πέλτας· καὶ ὠκλαζε, καὶ ἀνίστατο· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐποίει. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπιόντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀναστάντες, ἐξοπλισάμενοι ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλισα, ἤεσαν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ, πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπιον ῥυθμὸν

This being over, Mysus then entered with a shield on each arm, and danced sometimes as if engaged with two opponents, and then again as if only opposed to one; again, he would spin his body on his toe, and perform somersets, still retaining his shields, which had a fine effect. He finally concluded by performing the Persian dance,¹ striking his shields like cymbals against each other, falling on his knees, then bounding on his feet, and in performing all this kept exact time to the flute. He was followed by some Mantineans, and other Arcadians, who, being dressed in the most splendid uniforms and arms they could procure, advanced dancing in time to flutes, that played the point of war.² These

¹ The Persian dance, Περσικὸν ὤρχεῖτο. Heliodorus, lib. iv. sec. 17, has described one of those dances, Καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ, &c. &c. and seems somewhat to have resembled the Scotch reel; but this dance could not be of the same kind as spoken of by Xenophon, seeing that Mysus performed alone; and as the evolutions are described minutely, any further elucidation appears unnecessary. But of its being a military dance there can be no doubt.

² It is pretty well known, I believe, that the English have a piece of music, performed by drum and fife, known by this appellation. The French also have their *point de guerre*. But the Greek point of war was nothing more than the military pæan chaunted, and accompanied with flutes, as described by our author. The English point of war commences with the *revelá*, and a piece called the *camp medley*, has been set to the music of it. I cite a stanza or two to please the curious:—

αὐλέμενοι, καὶ ἐπαιώ-
νισαν, καὶ ὠρχήσαντο
ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς
τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις.
Ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ Παφλα-

also sung the pæan, and performed those airs and dances usually exhibited on religious processions,¹ at which the ambassadors were astonished; and the

“ The lark was up, the morning grey,
The drums had beat the revelá ;
And jolly soldiers on the ground,
In peaceful sleep lay safe and sound.

“ Only one poor soldier, who
Nought but love could e'er pursue,
Was wandering through the shady grove,
There to vent his plaint of love.

“ While on the ground he lay,
Minerva came that way,
And thus to him did say :

“ ‘ Rise soldier — rise !
Don't be stupid,
Drive away *Cupid*,
Hark to Minerva's wise advice.’

“ The soldier arose from his amorous sloth,
And hasten'd away to his duty,
And swore to Minerva a terrible oath,
That he'd never more think about beauty.

“ Bachelors bluff,” &c. &c.

¹ The *dance*, as well as the song or hymn, formed a part of the religious ceremonies of all Eastern nations, *the Israelites not excepted*. I need not cite passages to the Biblical reader, they will occur to him; but should his memory fail, let him peruse the Dance and Song of the Prophetess Miriam, the sister of Aaron, mentioned in Exodus xv. 20 and 21, where the female *response* to the first verse of the warriors is most beautiful and animated. The author of Christianity, however, seems rather to prohibit this mode of expressing our thanksgiving by his *silence*. Nor was it positively inculcated in the Levitical law to the Jews. But in catholic countries, where the ritual of the Gentiles is nearly as much respected as that of the Jews or Christians, the dance is much practised on festivals *now*. Every one will recollect the *grace* of the French peasant described by Sterne, and his reflections on it.

γόνες, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο
πάσας τὰς ὄρχήσεις
ἐν ὄπλοις εἶναι. Ἐπὶ
τούτῳ ὄρων ὁ Μυσὸς
ἐκπλητομένους αὐτὰς,
πέισας τῶν Ἀρκάδων
τινὰ πεπαμένον ὄρχη-
σίδα, εἰσάγει, σκευά-
σας ὡς ἔδυνατο κάλ-
λιστα, καὶ ἀσπίδα δούς
κούφην αὐτῇ. Ἡ δὲ
ὄρχήσατο Πυρρίχην
ἐλαφρῶς. Ἐνταῦθα
κρότος ἦν πολὺς· καὶ

more so, on seeing those perform-
ances by men in arms. Mysus, willing
to keep up their astonishment, solicited
one of the Arcadians, who had a
female dancer, to permit him to in-
troduce her to the company, with which
he complied, after he had dressed her
in the most elegant manner he was
able, and had furnished her with a light
shield. Immediately on the introduc-
tion of this lady, she commenced danc-
ing the Pyrrhic dance,¹ with much
ability and grace, on which followed
great applause; and the ambassadors

¹ The Pyrrhic dance, ὄρχήσατο Πυρρίχην, agreeable to some critics, was performed in honour of Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, and from him derived its name.^a Others, notwithstanding the air of probability which this criticism wears, deny it; yet can give no positive information on the subject.^b The case stands much as if, in some fifteen hundred years to come, when the English *hornpipe* shall be laid aside, some critic should meet with the phrase — “The Duke danced a hornpipe,” — and should say in his remarks, it was “a dance performed to a pipe made of *horn*.” This criticism would unquestionably wear all the airs of probability, yet would no more go to define the steps which constitute a hornpipe, than if he had said nothing at all about it: neither would it now be true relative to the instrument itself; hence the fallacy of many apparently probable criticisms; though there can be no doubt, but that a species of dance, called a hornpipe, originally took its name from being performed to the sound of the bugle, which, in the ruder ages, was made from the *ram’s* or *bullock’s horn*. Vide Joshua, vi. 4, *et seq.* Plato, de Lege, lib. vii. The Pyrrhic dance stands on the same ground. There was something military in it, as evinced by Πυρρίχη, εἶδος ἐνόπλου, J. Poll. lib. iv. segm. 96. and we see it was performed by an individual accoutred with a light shield. The question put by the ambassadors is another proof that it was a military dance. See Lucian, de Orchesis, and the honours conferred on Phrynicus for dancing it elegantly.

^a Lucian.

^b Except it be simply to say, that it was of Cretan invention.

οἱ Παφλαγόνες ἡρώ-
των, εἰ καὶ γυναῖκες
συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς.
Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι αὐ-
ται καὶ αἰ τρεψάμεναι
εἶεν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου. Τῇ μὲν
οὖν νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτο
τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο·

Τῇ δ' ὑπεραίᾳ προ-
σῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ
στράτευμα· καὶ ἔδοξε
τοῖς στρατιώταις μήτε
ἀδικεῖν Παφλαγόνας,
μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. Μετὰ
τοῦτο οἱ μὲν πρῶσθεις
ἄχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες,
ἐπειδὴ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ
ἔδόκει παρῆναι, ἀνα-
βάντες ἐπλεον ἡμέραν
καὶ νύκτα πνεύματι κα-
λῶ, ἐν ἀρισερᾷ ἔχοντες
τὴν Παφλαγονίαν. Τῇ
δ' ἄλλη ἀφικνοῦνται
εἰς Σινώπην, καὶ ὠρ-
μίσαντο εἰς Ἀρμήνην
τῆς Σινώπης. Σινω-
πεῖς δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν
ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ,
Μιλησίων δ' ἀποικοι
εἰσίν. Οὗτοι ξένια πέμ-
πουσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν,
ἀλφίτων μὲν μεδίμνης
τρισχιλίους, οἴνου δὲ
κεράμια χίλια καὶ
πεντακόσια. Καὶ Χει-

earnestly asked the generals, "Whether their females charged in the ranks." "Oh yes," said the Greeks, "'tis with *these* we have beaten the king off the field!!" And here closed the entertain-
ment.¹

The next morning the ambassadors were introduced to the army; who came to the resolution neither to offer nor to suffer any injuries from the Paphlagonians, on which the ambassa-
dors departed; and sufficient number of ships having been collected, the Greeks embarked, and sailed with a fair wind all that day and the succeeding night, Paphlagonia bearing on their left, and on the following day made Sinope in safety. The port in which the Greeks came to an anchor was called *Harmene*.² Sinope, tho' situated in the Paphlagonian territory, was originally a colony of Milesians, who shewed their marked attention to the Greeks by sending them three thousand medimni of flour, and fifteen hundred ceramia of wine;³ and here also Chei-

¹ The picture just scanned is one of the finest *convives militaires* that ancient history presents. 'Tis superior to Alexander's feast at Babylon in every way. In fact 'twas a feast convivial, guided by reason, tho' it finished in character with — a good one.

² For Sinope and Harmene, see Map.

³ The Attic *medimnus*, *μεδίμνος*, was equal to three pecks English;

ρίσοφος ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε
 τρήρεις ἔχων. Καὶ οἱ
 μὲν στρατιῶται προ-
 σεδόκων ἄγοντά τι
 σφίσιν ἤκειν· ὁ δὲ ἤγε
 μὲν οὐδὲν, ἀπηγγέλλ-
 λετο δὲ ὅτι ἐπαινοίη
 αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀναξίβιος
 ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλ-
 λοι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπισχνεί-
 το Ἀναξίβιος, εἰ ἀφι-
 κνοῖντο ἔξω τῆ Πόνις,
 μισθοφορὰν αὐτοῖς ἔ-
 σσεσθαι.

Καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἀρ-
 μῆνι ἔμειναν οἱ στρα-
 τιῶται ἡμέρας πέντε.
 Ὡς δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ἐδόκουν ἐγγυὸς γίγνεσ-
 θαι, ἤδη μᾶλλον ἢ
 πρόσθεν εἰσῆει αὐτοὺς,
 ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἔχοντές
 τι οἴκαδε ἀφίκοιντο.
 Ἠγήσαντο οὖν, εἰ ἓνα
 ἔλοιτο ἄρχοντα, μᾶλ-
 λον ἂν, ἢ πολυαρχίας
 οὔσης, δύνασθαι τὸν
 ἓνα χρῆσθαι τῷ στρα-
 τεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ
 ἡμέρας· καὶ εἴ τι δεοί
 λανθάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν
 καὶ κρύπτεσθαι· καὶ
 εἴ τι αὐτὸ δεοί φθάνειν,
 ἦττον ἂν ὑστερίζειν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ

risophus joined with a few galleys. The soldiers fully expected he would have brought them something in addition, but were disappointed: he told them, however, that Anaxibius the admiral, and all Lacedæmon were united in praise of their valour; and that the admiral had deputed him to say, "That immediately on quitting the Euxine they should receive pay."

The army remained five days in Harmene, and considering themselves in the neighbourhood of Greece, became more solicitous to carry home some booty. To effect this with the greater certainty, they struck on the plan of giving the command to a single general, under the belief that he would find a much readier obedience than if the command were vested in many; for whenever it should become necessary for the general to secret his intentions, he would perform it the more easily, whether to check an enemy or any other operation, by being alone, than he would by spending his time in conferences, and the execution of

consequently, the *present* in flour consisted of nine thousand pecks, making a peck loaf per man. The Κεράμιον, *ceramion*, or *amphora*, was a firkin or runlet which held about nine English gallons (*Cicero*); consequently, amounted to thirteen thousand five hundred, furnishing nearly two gallons per man.

τὸ δόξαν τῶ ἐνὶ περαινεσθαι ἂν· τὸν δὲ πρόσθεν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἔπραττον πάντα οἱ στρατηγοί. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διανοοῦντο, ἐτρέποντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα· καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἔλεγον, προσιόντες αὐτῶ, ὅτι ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω γινώσκει· καὶ εὐνοίαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἕκαστός τις ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστήναι τὴν ἀρχήν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῇ μὲν ἐβέβητο ταῦτα, νομίζων καὶ τὴν τιμὴν μείζω οὕτως ἑαυτῶ γίνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοῦνομα μείζον ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτοῦ· τυχόν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἂν αἴτιος τῇ στρατιᾷ γενέσθαι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμήματα ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτοκράτορα γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα. Ὅσπερ δ' αὐτὸ ἐνθυμοῖτο ὅτι ἄδηλον μὲν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅπη τὸ μέλλον ἔξει, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ κίνδυνος εἶη μὴ καὶ τὴν προεργασμένην δόξαν ἀποβάλοι, ἠπορεῖτο. Ἀπορουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῶ διακρινῆναι, ἔδοξε κρά-

his plans would accordingly be carried into effect the more rapidly; for hitherto a majority of opinions had governed the commanders.¹ While engaged with these considerations, the army looked to Xenophon; on which the captains brought him acquainted with the wishes and resolution of the soldiers, and expressed their individual hopes and desires that he would undertake the command. Indeed Xenophon himself was no way averse to it, when he reflected that it might increase his credit among his friends, and reputation in his country; and might possibly be of some service to the army.

On the other hand, he reflected, that as future events were concealed from all, he might possibly, by taking on himself the chief command, hazard the loss of that reputation he had already acquired; and therefore became much perplexed what line of conduct best to adopt.² It occurred to him, that the

¹ This is modest in Xenophon, seeing that his individual opinion generally prevailed.

² There are two sides, frequently more, to every self-proposed question; and sometimes the reasons which all sides offer are so specious, or so nicely balanced, that the mind is brought to a stand-still, nor knows what course to take. Reason thus baffled, *in statu quo*, the Passions rise up (as here) and officiate for her. *Ambition* says, "O yes,

τιστον εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνακοινῶσαι· καὶ παρραστήσάμενος δύο ἱερεῖς, ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ μαντευτὸς ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καὶ τὸ ὄναρ δὴ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμιζεν ἐωρακέναι, ὃ εἶδεν ὅτε ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ συνειμμελεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς καθίσασθαι. Καὶ ὅτε ἐξ Ἐφέσου δὲ ὤρματο Κύρω· συσαθησόμενος, αἰετὸν ἀνεμιμνήσκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιὸν φεγγόμενον, καθήμενον μέντοι, ὅνπερ ὁ μάντις προσημπίων αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι μέγας μὲν οἰωνὸς εἶη καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸς, καὶ εὐδοξος, ἐπίπυονος μέντοι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ αἰετῷ καθήμενῳ· οὐδὲν μέντοι

better plan was to consult the gods by sacrifice; he therefore, in the presence of two priests, offered sacrifice to Jupiter the king, agreeable to the directions of the Delphian oracle, whom he considered had visited him with the vision which he had seen when with the other generals he was appointed to take charge of the army. He recollected also what occurred on his leaving Ephesus, when about to be presented to Cyrus; that an eagle screamed on his right hand while sitting on the ground, which the priest that accompanied him declared to portend something great, and much above the situation of a private soldier; indeed he said it was ominous of something very exalted *though accompanied with fatigue*; because 'tis when the eagle is seated on the ground that other birds

'tis very agreeable to me to take the command;" and offers *ci-devant* reasons, *quare instanter*; — but *Fear* checks him — "There is a *possibility* that the reputation already acquired may be lost:" and thus "Passion succeeds Passion, like restless troubled waves dashing out one another." Happy the man, therefore, who, holding a vigorous faith, flies, like Xenophon, to heaven for direction:—

----- "Tho' e'en those *better sort* of thoughts,
As thoughts of things divine, are intermix'd
With scruples, and set the faith itself
Against the faith."

SHAKESPEARE.

But Xenophon was a non-sceptical believer in dreams and omens; and supposing his own account correct, they must of course be worthy of attention and respect.

χρηματιστικῶν εἶναι τὸν οἰωνόν· τὸν γὰρ αἰετὸν περιπετόμενον μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Οὕτω δὲ attack him. He also declared that it did not portend riches, because the eagle preys when on the wing.¹ While,

¹ This passage unfolds in minutiae the ancient opinions on the *Bird of Jove*, and it would be totally unnecessary to say one word more on the subject, did I not anticipate that some enquiring youth might feel desirous of being referred to the source from whence they were derived. Homer then was the depository of the Greek hierarchy, and was the source from whence they drew their divinity; for proof in point, when Ajax meets Hector on a day in which the Greek forces had been severely handled, he tells him that fortune was about to change. The Greeks who heard this asserted believed it, in consequence of an eagle flying by at the moment on the *right hand*.

Ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,
Αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης· ἐπὶ δ' ἴαχε λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν,
Θάρσυνος οἰωνῶ.

Iliad. v. 821.

“ For as he spoke, behold in open view,
On sounding wings a dexter eagle flew.
To Jove’s glad omen all the Grecians rise,
And hail with shouts his progress through the skies.”

POPE.

“ Sic ei locuto supervolavit dextra avis, Aquila alti-volans; acclamavit autem Populus Achivorum, confirmatus augurio.”

Nor is this the only place where authority from this great poet is to be derived. See 24th book, when Priam is about to proceed to visit Achilles for the purpose of soliciting the body of Hector, he prays that such an omen might be granted: —

Πέμψον δ' οἰωνὸν ταχὺν ἄγγελον, ἕστε σοι αὐτῶ.

Iliad. ω. 310.

“ To stern Achilles now direct my ways,
And teach him mercy when a father prays.
If such thy will, despatch from yonder sky
Thy sacred bird, celestial augury!
Let the strong sovereign of the plumy race
Tower on the *right* of the ethereal space,
So shall thy suppliant, strengthen'd from above,
Fearless pursue the journey mark'd by Jove.”

POPE.

The art of augury by birds, however, was not, it should seem, invented by Homer, but is ascribed to *Prometheus*, the son of *Amythaon*, and *Dorippe*, and received its last finish from *Calchas*, who, Homer tells us, was “ of augurs far the best.” Οἰωνοπέλων ὄχ' ἀμίστος. For further illustration see *Archæology*, lib. ii.

θυομένων αὐτῶ διαφανῶς ὁ θεὸς σημαίνει μήτε προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, μήτ' εἰ αἰροῖντο, ἀποδέχεσθαι. Τῆτο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. Ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ συνῆλθε, καὶ πάντες ἔλεγον ἕνα αἰρεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξε, προεβάλλοντο αὐτόν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδόκει δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι αἰρήσονται αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἐπιψηφίζοι, ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε·

“Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδομαι μὲν ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τιμώμενος, εἶπερ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι, καὶ χάριν ἔχω, καὶ εὐχομαι δοῦναι μοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἴτιον τινὸς ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῦ γενέσθαι· τὸ μὲν τοι ἐμὲ προκρίθῃναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἄρχοντα, Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς παρῆντος, οὐδ' ὑμῖν, οὐτ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ συμφέρον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἤττον ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν, εἴ τι δέοισθε, παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐμοὶ δ' αὖ οὐ πᾶν τι νομίζω τοῦτο ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι. Ὅρῶ

therefore, he was consulting the will of the gods, they plainly indicated by the victims, that he ought not to be solicitous of the command, nor to accept it, should he be elected. This question being set at rest, he was more tranquil. The army, however, assembled, and first came to the resolution to elect a single general as commander-in-chief; secondly, they proposed that Xenophon should take upon himself that office; and when it was evident that had the question been put he would have been appointed, he rose up and interrupted their proceedings by saying:—

“Gentlemen,—’Tis impossible that, *being man*, I can help feeling pleasure on the honour you intend me, and for which you will accept my sincere thanks; nor do I cease to beseech the gods that I may always be directed to do that which may turn to your advantage: but I cannot think that possibly can take place while you give me the preference in presence of a Lacedæmonian; on the contrary, should at any time their assistance be necessary this circumstance will present difficulties, which might otherwise not have offered themselves; besides, such an engagement I am apprehensive would involve my personal safety, since the

γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι μου οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες, πρὶν ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογεῖν, Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὡμολόγησαν, εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο πολεμῆντες, καὶ οὐκέτι πέρα ἐπολιόρησαν τὴν πόλιν. Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα ἐγὼ ὀρῶν δοκοῖην, ὅσῃ δυναίμην, ἐνταῦθ' ἄκυρον ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων ἀξίωμα, ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ, μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονισθεῖην. Ὁ δ' ὑμεῖς ἐννοεῖτε, ὅτι ἤττον ἂν στάσις εἴη ἐνὸς ἀρχοντος ἢ πολλῶν, εὐ ἴστε ὅτι ἄλλον μὲν ἐλόμενοι οὐχ εὐρήσετε με στασιάζοντα· νομίζω γὰρ ὅτι ὅστις ἐν πολέμῳ ἂν στασιάζει πρὸς ἀρχοντα, πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζει· ἂν δ' ἐμὲ ἔλησθε, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἴ τινα εὐροίτε καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον."

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπε, πολὺ πλείονες ἐξανίσταντο, λέγοντες ὡς δεοὶ αὐτὸν ἀρχεῖν. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν ὅτι γελοῖον εἶη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς

Lacedæmonians never ceased to make war on Athens, my nativity, 'till the whole of the citizens acknowledged them as masters of the city, and of Greece; but on this acknowledgment being made, they did desist and raised the siege. Knowing *this*, and the facts being full before my eyes, I am apprehensive, were I to exercise *this power*, it would be construed as invalidating their authority, and I should be very soon taught what was my duty. Relative to your opinion, that the investment of the command in an individual, will leave less room for contention than of many; I beg leave to assure you, that if you will choose another, that I will never oppose him, since you are aware that my opinion is, that whoever in war opposes his commander opposes himself: besides, were you to elect me, I am afraid you would find many enemies arise as a consequence, who would blame both the electors and the elected."

This address, however, only procured him a greater number of friends than before, who unanimously declared, that he ought not to refuse the command; and particularly earnest was Agasias the Stymphalian, who asserted, that it was as ridiculous in Xenophon

ὀργιούονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ἐὰν σὺνδαισιῶνοι συνελθόντες μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιον συμποσάραρον αἰρώνται· ἐπεὶ εἰ οὕτω γε τοῦτ' ἔχει, ἔφη, οὐδὲ λοχαγεῖν ἡμῖν ἔξεςιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἐσμέν. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ὡς εὖ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀγασίε, ἀνεθορύθησαν.

Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα πλείονος ἐνδέον, παρελθὼν εἶπεν, “ Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, ὡς πάνυ εἰδῆτε, ὁμνύω ὑμῖν θεὸς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ἧ μὴν ἐλῶ, ἐπεὶ ἴην ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἡσθανόμην, ἐδυόμην εἰ βέλτιον εἶη ὑμῖν τε ἐμοὶ ἐπιρῆσαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑποστῆναι· καὶ ἐμοὶ οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμνησαν, ὡς καὶ ἰδιώτην ἂν γινῶναι, ὅτι ταύτης τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέχεσθαι με δεῖ.” Οὕτω δὴ Χειρίσοφον αἰροῦνται. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ ἤρῃθη, παρελθὼν εἶπεν, “ Ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν ἴσα ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐγωγε ἐξασίαζον, εἰ ἄλλον εἰ-

to suppose that the Lacedæmonians would take umbrage at his being elected, as it would that they should take umbrage at the election of an Athenian President at a supper-party. “And by the same rule,” he said, “we, as Arcadians, ought not to be captains.” On which, the army shewed, by a general clamour, that they acquiesced with him in his arguments. Xenophon, however, seeing this feeling increase, insisted on his former statement, and again addressing them said: “Soldiers, — It is now necessary that I should deal plainly with you, and I swear most solemnly in the presence of all the gods and goddesses, that on being acquainted with your intentions, I thought proper to consult the gods by sacrifice, in order that I might be informed whether it would be for your advantage and my honour to accept the command; when they all shewed, by the most significant tokens in the victims, which the Barbarian himself could not misunderstand, that I ought to decline it.” On this declaration being made, Cheirisophus was immediately elected commander-in-chief. In addressing the army on the occasion, he declared that he should have felt no way offended had they chosen another; but added, that by yielding to the ar-

λεσθε. Ξενοφῶντα μὲν, ἔφη, ἀνήσατε οὐχὶ ἐλόμενοι· ὡς καὶ νῦν Δέξιππος ἤδη διέβαλεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον ὅτι ἐδύνατο, καὶ μάλιστα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν σιγάζοντος. Ὁ δὲ ἔφη νομίζειν αὐτὸν Τιμασίῳνι μᾶλλον συνάραχειν ἐβελῆσαι Δαρδανεῖ ὄντι τοῦ Κλεάρχου στρατεύματος, ἢ εαυτῷ, Λάκωνι ὄντι. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐμὲ εἴλεσθε, ἔφη, καὶ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι ὅτι ἂν δύναμαι ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν. Καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρασκευάζεσθε, ὡς αὔριον, ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ, ἀναξόμενοι ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἔσται εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἅπαντας οὖν δεῖ ἐκεῖσε πειρασθαι ἢ κειν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ἐπειδὴν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, βουλευσόμεθα.”

Ἐντεῦθεν τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμενοι πνεύματι καλῷ ἔπλεον ἡμέρας δύο παρὰ γῆν. Καὶ παραπλέοντες ἐθεώρουν τὴν τ’ Ἰασωνίαν ἀκτὴν, ἔνθα ἡ Ἀργὼ λέγεται ὀρμισσασθαι, καὶ τῶν πο-

guments of Xenophon, they had done him a piece of service, as the mind of Anaxibius had lately been prejudiced against that general by Dexippus, tho’ *he* had done all in *his power* to silence that traitor, and to remove the impression; nor was he sure but that the admiral would feel much better pleased at Timasion being elected for his colleague than himself, *tho’ a Lacedæmonian*, because these officers had served under Clearchus together; notwithstanding, as the army had thought proper to confer the honour of commander-in-chief on him, he should spare no pains to render them every possible service. He then commanded the soldiers, should the wind be favourable, to prepare to sail to-morrow, and all the ships to steer for Heraclea;¹ and when arrived there, he would determine on future operations.

The next day the wind being fair, they weighed anchor, and sailed two days along the coast; during which time the soldiers were gratified on seeing the Jasonian shore, where the ship *Argo* is reported to have landed her Argonauts;² the mouths also of

¹ Heraclea, a Greek city situated on the Euxine, where now stands the town of Penderache. See map: and for further information, Diodorus Sic. lib. xiv. p. 261; also Montfaucon’s Antiquities, tom. i. part ii. p. 216.

² The Jasonian shore, Ἐθεώρουν τὴν τ’ Ἰασωνίαν. So called from Jason,

ταμῶν τὰ στόματα·
 πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Θερ-
 μώδοντος, ἔπειτα δὲ
 τοῦ Ἄλυος, μετὰ δὲ
 τοῦτον τοῦ Παρθε-
 νίου· τοῦτον δὲ παρα-
 πλεύσαντες, ἀφίκοντο
 εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, πόλιν
 Ἑλληνίδα, Μεγαρέων
 ἀποικον, οὖσαν δ' ἐν

several large rivers presented them-
 selves. The first was the Thermodon ;
 next the formidable Halys ; and after-
 wards that of Parthenius ; and from
 hence we made Heraclea, a Greek
 city built by a colony of Mega-
 reans, tho' situated in the territories

being the most renowned of the Argonauts, and who is reported to have been the son of Æson, nephew to Pelias, king of Thessaly. The next in reputation were Castor and Pollux, Hercules, Telamon, Orpheus, and Atalanta, the daughter of Schœneus, together with the sons of Thespius. The ship Argo derived its name, say some, from the name of the builder ; others from its *swift sailing*, Ἀργός, swift. The captain of the crew was Hercules, selected in consequence of his great strength. The place from whence they set sail was Aphetæ, and passing Athos, came to an anchor on the coast of Samothracia, the Jasonian shore of our author, from whence they were driven by a tempest to Sigæum, near Troy. Here their feats began ; first by the delivery of Hesione, the daughter of Laomedon, by Hercules, from the sea-monster. Secondly, the delivery of Phineus's sons from their father's cruelty ; the setting of Cleopatra free ; the sailing of the young men with the Argonauts to Taurica Chersonesus ; the interview with Medea, afterwards Jason's wife, and through whom they got the golden fleece ; the history of which is as follows : “ Phryxus, the son of Athamas, to avoid the wicked plots of his mother-in-law, fled with his sister Helle out of Greece, and being transported according to a certain oracle of the gods, from Europe into Asia upon the back of a golden ram, the virgin fell into the sea, and so gave the name of Hellespont unto it. Phryxus, passing through to the country of Pontus, came to Colchis, where, according to an oracle, he sacrificed the ram, and hung up the skin of it in the Temple of Mars. Long after, when Æetes reigned in Pontus, he was told by the oracle that his death would take place when the golden fleece should be stolen *by strangers* out of the Temple of Mars. He, therefore, sacrificed all strangers that touched on that coast ; and it was this cruelty that called forth the Argonautic expedition. Medea being disgusted with her father's enormities, conducted the Argonauts to the temple, and bore off the prize, for which Jason married her.” For further illustration, see Dio, lib. v. c. 4. Also the Medea of Euripides. Strabo, lib. xi. p. 798.

τῆ Μαρυανδηῶν χώ-
ρα. Καὶ ἠρμίσαντο
παρὰ τῆ Ἀχερουσιάδι
Χερβήσῳ· ἔνθα λέ-
γεται Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ
τὸν Κέρβερον κύνα κα-
ταβῆναι· οὐ νῦν τὰ
σημεῖα δεικνύουσι τῆς
καταβάσεως, τὸ βάθος
πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια.
Ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Ἑλλη-
σιν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται
ξένια πέμπουσιν, ἀλ-
φίτων μεδίμνους τρισ-
χιλίους, καὶ οἴνου κε-
ράμια δισχίλια, καὶ
βούς εἴκοσι, καὶ οἷς
ἑκατόν. Ἐνταῦθα διὰ
τοῦ πεδίου ῥεῖ ποτα-
μὸς, Λύκος ὀνομα, εὐ-
ρος ὡς δύο πλέθρων.

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
συλλεγέμενοι ἐβουλεύ-
οντο τὴν λοιπὴν πο-
ρείαν πότερον κατὰ γῆν
ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν χρῆ
πορεύεσθαι ἐκ τῆ Πόν-
του. Ἀναστὰς δὲ Λύ-
κων Ἀχαιῶς, εἶπε,
“Θαυμάζω μὲν, ὦ
ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν,
ὅτι οὐ πειρῶνται ἡμῖν
ἐκπορίζειν σιτηρέσιον·
τὰ μὲν γὰρ ξένια οὐ
μὴ γένηται τῆ στρατιᾶς
τριῶν ἡμερῶν σῖτα·
ὀπόθεν δ' ἐπισιτισά-
μενοι πορευσόμεθα ἐκ
ἔστιν, ἔφη. Ἐμοὶ οὖν

of the Maryandeniens. The vessels
came to an anchor near the peninsula
of Acherusias, where Hercules is re-
ported to have descended to bring up
Cerberus; and where to this day is
shewn a hole in the earth two stadia in
depth, as a monument of his doing
that famous deed.¹ Here the citizens
of Heraclea, as a mark of hospitality,
sent the army three thousand medimni
of barley flour, and two thousand ce-
ramia of wine, twenty oxen, and one
hundred sheep. Here also the river
Lycus runs through the plain, which
was found by admeasurement two ple-
thra in breadth.

The troops having disembarked, as-
sembled to deliberate, whether they
should perform the remainder part of
their journey by land or by sea; when
Lycon, a native of Achaia, standing up,
said, “ He was surprised that none of
the generals had made an effort to sup-
ply the army with money to purchase
necessaries, seeing that what had been
sent them would not last more than
three days: and what is worse,” he ad-
ded, “ there is no place where we can
help ourselves; the only plan therefore

¹ Cerberus, Κέρβερος, was a fabled dog with three heads, and as many necks, — deputed by Pluto as the keeper of his dreary Palace in hell. See for illustration the twelve great acts of Hercules.

δοκεῖ αἰτεῖν τὰς Ἡρακλεώτας μὴ ἔλαίτον ἢ τρισχιλίους Κυζικηνούς." Ἄλλος δ' εἶπεν, μὴ μισθὸν μὴ ἔλαίτον ἢ μυρίους· καὶ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις αὐτίκα μάλα ἡμῶν καθιμένων σέμπειν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἂν ἀπαγγέλλωσι, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθαι. Ἐντεῦθεν προὔβαλλοντο πρέσβεις, πρῶτον μὲν Χειρισσοφον, ὅτι ἄρχων ἦρητο· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα· οἱ δ' ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμάχοντο· ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ταυτὰ ἐδόκει μὴ ἀναγκάζειν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φιλιαν, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες διδοίεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἐδόκουν ἀπρόθυμοι εἶναι, πέμπουσιν Λύκωνα Ἀχαιοῦν, καὶ Καλλίμαχον Παβρῶσιον, καὶ Ἀγασίαν Στυμφάλιον. Οὗτοι ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον τὰ δεδογμένα, τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ἔφασαν καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιεν ταῦτα πάντα. Ἀκῆσαντες δ' οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται, βελεύεσθαι ἔφασαν καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ τε χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνηγόν, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἰσὼ ἀνεσκέυασαν, καὶ αἱ πύλαι

I would advise is, to demand from the citizens of Heraclea, three thousand cyzicenes." "A month's pay," said another soldier, "that is, ten thousand; and let us choose ambassadors," said he, "and send them immediately into the city, while we are in our ranks, that we may hear what answer they send us, and take measures accordingly." The first person proposed to be sent on this embassy, was their commander Cheirisophus; others wished Xenophon: but both those generals declined compliance, because they were both of opinion, that they ought not to use compulsory measures with a Greek city, who had exercised the rites of hospitality, and who were in friendship with them. On the soldiers finding those officers determined, they chose Lycon, Callimachus, and Agasias, as their representatives, who proceeding into the city, informed the citizens of the wish of the army. Report said, that Lycon offered threats in case of non-compliance. However, the people of Heraclea said, they would consider of it, and having dismissed them, immediately sent and removed all their property and provisions out of the country into the city; shut their

ἐκέκλειντο, ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν
τειχῶν ὄπλα ἐφαινελο.

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ τα-
ράξαντες ταῦτα, τοὺς
στρατηγούς ἠτιῶντο
διαφθεῖρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν·
καὶ συνίσαντο οἱ Ἀρ-
κάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ·
προεστῆκει δὲ μάλισ-
τα αὐτῶν Καλλιμάχος
τε ὁ Παρράσιος καὶ
Λύκων ὁ Ἀχαιός. Οἱ
δὲ λόγοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς
ὡς αἰσχυρὸν εἶη ἄρχειν
ἓνα Ἀθηναῖον Πελο-
ποννησίων καὶ Λακε-
δαιμονίων, μηδεμίαν
δύναμιν παρεχόμενον
εἰς τὴν στρατίαν καὶ
τοὺς μὲν πόνους σφᾶς
ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη ἄλ-
λους· καὶ ταῦτα, τὴν
σωτηρίαν σφῶν καλειρ-
γασμένων· εἶναι γὰρ
τοὺς καλειργασμένους,
Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαι-
ούς· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στρα-
τευμα οὐδὲν εἶναι· (καὶ
ἦν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπε-
ρήμισυ τοῦ ἄλλου στρα-
τεύματος Ἀρκάδες καὶ
Ἀχαιοὶ) εἰ οὖν σω-
φρονοῖεν οὗτοι, συσ-
τάντες, καὶ στρατηγὸς
ἐλόμενοι ἑαυτῶν, καθ'
ἑαυτούς τε ἂν τὴν πο-
ρείαν ποιοῖντο, καὶ πει-
ρῶντο ἀγαθόν τι λαμ-
βάνειν. Ταῦτα ἔδοξε·
καὶ ἀπολιπόντες Χειρί-
σοφον, εἴ τινες ἦσαν
παρ' αὐτῶν Ἀρκάδες ἢ Ἀχαιοὶ, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα, συνέστησαν· καὶ

gates, and planted men in arms on
their battlements and walls.

The authors of this mischief no sooner
saw their designs baffled, than they ac-
cused the generals of secretly doing it ;
on which the Arcadians and Achaians
met together, headed by Callimachus
and Lycon, and declared, “that it
was not to be borne, that a single
Athenian, who had brought no-soldiers
to the army, should command both
Peloponnesians and Lacedæmonians.¹
We, said they, have the labour, but
others the honours and emoluments,
which was the less to be endured see-
ing that the preservation of the whole
army was attributable to *them* (for it
was so far true, that the Arcadians and
Achaians, composed one half of the
army); if, therefore, we intend to per-
form our duty to our families, we shall
straightway choose commanders, with-
draw ourselves, and march alone, and
thereby acquire something to carry
home to them.” This being determined
on, the Arcadians and Achaians, who
were under the command of Cheiri-
sophus, withdrew both from that com-
mander and Xenophon to join the

¹ This was directed against Xenophon, who never yielded to acts of
injustice but *from necessity*.

στρατηγοὺς αἰροῦνται
 ἑαυτῶν δέκα· τούτους
 δ' ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκ τῆς
 νικώσης ὅ,τι δοκοίη,
 τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Ἡ μὲν
 οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴ
 Χειρισόφῳ ἐνλαῦθα κα-
 τελύθη, ἡμέρα ἕκτη ἢ
 ἑβδόμη, ἀφ' ἧς ἤρθεθ'.

Ξενοφῶν μέντοι ἐ-
 βόλετο κοινῇ μετ' αὐ-
 τῶν τὴν πορείαν ποι-
 εῖσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως
 ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι, ἢ
 ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον σέλλεσ-
 θαι· ἀλλὰ Νέων ἔπει-
 θεν αὐτὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούσας
 τοῦ Χειρισόφου ὅτι
 Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐν Βυζαν-
 λίᾳ ἀρμοσῆς φαίη τριή-
 ρεις ἔχων ἤξειν εἰς
 Κάλπησ λιμένα· ὅπως
 οὖν μηδεὶς μετ' ἄσχοι,
 ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐ-
 τῶν στρατιῶται ἐκ-
 πλεύσειαν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰσθί-
 ρων, διὰ ταῦτα συνε-
 βόλευε. Καὶ Χειρισό-
 φος, ἅμα μὲν ἀθυμῶν
 τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἅ-
 μα δὲ μισῶν ἐκ τέττε
 στρατεύμα, ἐπιτρέψει
 αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ,τι βού-
 λεται. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔτι
 μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν ἀ-
 παλλαγεῖς τῆς στρα-
 τιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι· δυο-
 μένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡ-
 γεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ
 κοινημένῳ πρότερον λῶ-
 ὀν καὶ ἄμεινον εἶη στρα-
 τεύεσθαι ἔχοντι τοὺς παραμείναντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἢ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι,

others, and to choose generals ; which they did accordingly to the number of ten. Of these, the majority was to govern ; and thus expired, about six or seven days after his election, the command of Cheirisophus.¹

Xenophon perceiving their folly, still thought it proper to keep his men in company with them *on march*. But from this he was dissuaded by Neon, who told him, that he had been informed by Cheirisophus, that Cleander the Lacedæmonian, was coming to the port of Calpæ with some galleys, and therefore it would be advisable for him to proceed alone. This advice was the result of selfishness, to the end, that only *they* and *their men* might possess the galleys ; and Cheirisophus being hurt at what had just occurred, and otherwise disgusted with the conduct of the army, permitted Xenophon to use his own discretion. Xenophon also had some thoughts of sailing off and leaving that part which remained with him ; but when in the act of offering sacrifice to Hercules the conductor, and praying to that god to direct his conduct, and particularly whether he should march on with the soldiers or

¹ Xenophon must have felt happy at his refusing the command.

ἑσήμενον ὁ θεὸς τοῖς
 ἱεροῖς συστρατεύεσθαι.
 Οὕτω γίνεσθαι τὸ στρα-
 τευμα τριχῆ· Ἀρκά-
 δες μὲν καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ,
 πλείους ἢ τετρακισ-
 χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι,
 ὀπλῖται πάντες· Χει-
 ρισόφω δὲ ὀπλῖται μὲν
 εἰς τετρακοσίους καὶ
 χιλίους, πελτασταὶ δὲ
 εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, οἱ Κλε-
 ἀρχου Θυράκες. Ξενο-
 φῶνι δὲ ὀπλῖται μὲν
 εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χι-
 λίους, πελτασταὶ δὲ
 εἰς τριακοσίους· ἵππι-
 κὸν δὲ μόνος οὗτος εἶ-
 χεν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρα-
 κήκοντα ἵππείας.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκά-
 δες, διαπραξάμενοι
 πλοῖα παρὰ τῶν Ἡρα-
 κλειῶν, πρώτοι πλέου-
 σιν, ὅπως ἐξαίφνης ἐ-
 πιπεσόντες τοῖς Βι-
 θυνοῖς, λάβοιεν ὅτι-
 πλείστα· καὶ ἀποβαί-
 νουσιν εἰς Κάλπησιν λι-
 μένα, κατὰ μέσον πω-
 τῆς Θυράκης. Χειρί-
 σοφος δ' εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς
 πόλεως τῶν Ἡρακλεω-
 τῶν ἀρξάμενος, περὶ
 ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς χώ-
 ρας· ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν
 Θυράκην ἐνέβαλε, παρὰ
 τὴν θάλατταν ἐπο-
 ρεύετο· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἡσθένει· Ξενοφῶν δὲ πλοῖα λαβὼν, ἀποβαίνει ἐπὶ τὰ

leave them, the god signified by the victims, that he should go forward. The army was now divided into three bodies: first, the Arcadians and Achaians, who had withdrawn themselves, and were by far the largest number, amounting to no less than four thousand five hundred heavy-armed men; the second division consisted of fourteen hundred heavy-armed, and seven hundred Thracian targeteers, who had previously served under Clearchus, and still remained under the command of Cheirisophus; the third division attached itself to Xenophon, which consisted of seventeen hundred heavy-armed, three hundred targeteers, and forty horse.

The Arcadians first having procured ships from the Heracleans, set sail with a view of surprising the Bithynians, expecting thereby to procure the greater booty. Under this determination, they disembarked at Calpæ, situated about the centre of Thrace.¹ Cheirisophus quits Heraclea, with his division on foot, and on arriving in Thrace, in consequence of being in ill health, kept near the sea. Xenophon and his men procured ships and landed

¹ Asiatic Thrace is here meant. See map.

ὄρια τῆς Θρακῆς καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλεωτίδος, ἢ διὰ μεσογαίας ἐπορεύετο.

Ὅν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἢ τε Χειρισόφου ἀρχῇ τοῦ παντὸς κατελύθη, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ σπράλευμα ἐσχίσθη, ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω εἴρηται. Ἐπραξαν Ἰδ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι τάδε. Οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες, ὡς ἀπέβησαν νυκτὸς εἰς Κάλωψης λιμένα, πορεύονται εἰς τὰς πρώτας κώμας, σταδία ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὡς πενήκοντα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς ἐγένετο, ἤγεν ἕκαστος στρατηγὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ λόχος ἐπὶ κώμην ὅποια δὲ μείζων κώμη ἐδόκει εἶναι, σύνδυο λόχους ἤγον οἱ στρατηγοί. Συνεθάλοντο δὲ καὶ λόφον, εἰς ὃν δέοι πάντας ἀλίσσονται· καὶ, ἅτε ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, ἀνδράποδά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβον, καὶ πρόβατὰ πολλὰ περιεβάλοντο.

Οἱ δὲ Θρακῆς ἠθροίζοντο, οἱ διαφεύγοντες· πολλοὶ δὲ διέφυγον πελασταὶ ὄντες ὀπίστας ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν χειρῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνελέγησαν, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Σμίκρητος λόχῳ, ἐνὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων στρατηγῶν, ἀπιόντι ἤδη εἰς

on the borders of Thrace, within the territories of the Heracleans, and proceeded right through the heart of the country.

And now having stated the termination of Cheirisophus's command, and the dividing of the Greek army, we proceed to shew how each party acted. We have before observed that the Arcadians landed by night at the port of Calpæ; when they immediately marched towards the adjoining villages, which were situated about fifteen stadia from the sea. At break of day, every general led his division into a village; and where the village seemed more than ordinarily large, two divisions were employed; a hill having been previously appointed for their general rendezvous. The people being thus taken by surprise, became an easy prey to the Arcadians, who took great quantities of cattle, and made many of them slaves,

The Thracians who escaped began to collect themselves, and being good targeteers, easily eluded the heavy-armed soldiers; and first, they attacked the detachment commanded by Smicres, one of the Arcadian generals, while on march to the appointed hill with

τὸ συγκείμενον, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἄγοντι, ἐπετίθεντο. Καὶ τῶς μὲν ἐμάχοντο ἅμα πορευόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες· ἐπὶ δὲ διαβάσει χαράδρας τρέπονται αὐτῆς· καὶ αὐτὸν τε τὸν Σμίκρητα ἀποκτινύουσι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας· ἄλλου δὲ λοχαγοῦ τῶν δέκα σιραηγῶν, τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου, ὀκτὼ μόνους κατέλιπον· καὶ αὐτὸς Ἡγήσανδρος ἐσώθη. Καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ λοχαγοὶ συνήλθον, οἱ μὲν σὺν πράγμασιν, οἱ δ' ἄνευ πραγμάτων. Οἱ δὲ Θράκες, εὐτυχήσαντες τοῦτο τὸ εὐτύχημα, συνεβόων τε ἀλλήλους, καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐβρωμένως τῆς νυκτός. Καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κύκλω περὶ τὸν λόφον, ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἐτάττοντο καὶ ἰππεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ πελτασταί· καὶ αἰεὶ πλείονες συνέβρεον, καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τῆς ὀπλίτας ἀσφαλῶς. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες οὔτε τοξότην εἶχον, οὔτε ἀκονιστήν, ἢ τε ἰππέα· οἱ δὲ, προσθέοντες καὶ προσελαύνοντες, ἠκόντιζον· ὅποτε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίοιεν, ῥαδίως ἀπέφευγον. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐπετίθεντο· καὶ τῶν

his booty. The Greeks fought and marched for some time bravely; but on crossing a valley the Thracians compelled the Greeks to fly, and finally slew the general and the whole of his division. The Thracians succeeded also, in defeating another detachment that was commanded by Hegesander, and only the general and eight of his men escaped. The other generals made good the hill; some, however, of these effected it with great difficulty; and others experienced little inconvenience. The Thracians having gained this advantage, sent word to each other, and assembled with a great determination to avenge themselves. They effected this junction by night, so that by break of day the Thracian horse and targeteers had surrounded the hill on which the Greeks lay encamped, and as their numbers continued to increase, they attacked the heavy-armed Greeks with the greatest security; for the Arcadians had no archers, darters, nor horse; whereas the Thracians had every species of light force, slingers, archers, and cavalry, who would advance, hurl their darts, and when the Greeks offered to attack would retire with the greatest ease, and by assailing every vulnerable

μὲν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσ-
κοντο, τῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς·
ὥστε κινήθῃναι οὐκ ἐ-
δύναίτο ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου,
ἀλλὰ τελευτῶντες καὶ
ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἶργον
αὐτῆς οἱ Θραῖκες. Ἐ-
πεὶ δ' ἀπορία πολλή
ἦν, διελέγοντο περὶ
σπονδῶν· καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἄλλα ὠμολόγητο αὐ-
τοῖς, ὁμήρους δ' οὐκ
ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Θραῖκες,
αἰτούντων τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων· ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ
ἴσχετο· τὰ μὲν δὴ
τῶν Ἀρκάδων οὕτως
εἶχε.

Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἀσ-
φαλῶς πορευόμενος πα-
ρὰ θάλατταν, ἀφικνεῖ-
ται εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα.
Ξενοφῶντι δὲ διὰ τῆς
μεσοδαίης πορευομένῳ
οἱ ἰππεῖς προκαταθέον-
τες ἐνλυγχάνεσι πρεσ-
βευταῖς πορευομένοις
ποῖ. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἤχθη-
σαν πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα,
ἔρωτᾷ αὐτοὺς εἰ που
ἤσθηται ἄλλου στρα-
τεύματος Ἑλληνικοῦ.
Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον πάντα τὰ
γεγενημένα, καὶ νῦν ὅτι
πολιορκοῦνται ἐπὶ λό-
φῳ, οἱ δὲ Θραῖκες πάν-
τες περικεκυκλωμένοι
εἶεν αὐτούς. Ἐνταῦθα
τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους
τούτους ἐφύλαττον ἰσ-
χυρῶς, ὅπως ἡγεμόνες
εἶεν ὅπῃ δεοί· σκοποὺς
δὲ καταστήσας δέκα,
συνέλεξε τὰς στρατιώ-
τας, καὶ ἔλεξεν·

point, would inflict wounds without re-
ceiving any; so that the Greeks were
unable to move from the hill, and were
finally cut off from water. In this dis-
tress they offered terms of accommo-
dation; the whole of which were ac-
cepted, with the exception of the Thra-
cians giving hostages, on which the
Greeks had strenuously insisted. This,
however, the Thracians as strenuously
refused, which broke off the negoti-
ation, and thus were the Arcadians
situated.

Cheirisophus, in the mean time, had
marched along the coast, and had ar-
rived at Calpæ in safety; but Xeno-
phon was marching through the heart
of the country, and his cavalry being
in the advance on the look-out, met
with some ambassadors, whom they
brought to their commander. From
them Xenophon enquired, whether
they had heard or seen any other
Greek army, who related to him the
exact situation of the Arcadians. On
this, he commanded these ambassadors
to be strictly watched, that he might
use them as guides, or for any other
necessary purpose; and having sent
out videttes, drew up the army, and ad-
dressed them as follows: —

“Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ μὲν τεθνήσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς πολιορκεῖσθαι. Νομίζω δ’ ἔγωγε, εἰ ἐκείνοι ἀπολοῦνται, οὐδ’ ἡμῖν εἶναι οὐδεμίαν σωτηρίαν, ὅτω μὲν πολλῶν, ὅτων πολεμίων, οὕτω δὲ θεταρσηκόων. Κράτιστον οὖν ἡμῖν ὡς τάχιστα βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὅπως, εἰ ἔτι εἰσὶ σῶοι, σὺν ἐκείνοις μαχώμεθα, καὶ μὴ, μόνοι λειφθέντες, μόνοι κινδυνεύσωμεν. Νῦν μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδεύσόμεθα, προελθόντες ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι εἰς τὸ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι· ἕως δ’ ἂν πορευώμεθα, Τιμασίων ἔχων τὰς ἵππεῖς, προελανέτω ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σκοπεῖτω τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ.” Παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν γυμνητῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως, εἴ ποῦ τι ποθὲν καθορῶεν, σημαίνοιεν· ἐκέλευε δὲ καίεν ἅπαντα, ὅτω ἐντυγχάνοιεν καυσίμων. “Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀποδραίμεν ἂν οὐδαμῶ· ἐνθένδε δὲ πολλή μὲν, ἕφη, εἰς Ἡράκλειαν

“ My Fellow Soldiers, — I have just been informed, that some hundreds of the Arcadians who have quitted us are killed, and the survivors are beset on a hill, surrounded on all sides: my opinion therefore is, that should this division perish, all our hopes of returning to Greece will perish also, and our case soon become as desperate as theirs; for the enemy being emboldened by success, will increase their numbers, and next will attack us. I advise, therefore, that we all march instantly to their relief; that should any of them be alive, we may fight and conquer, or perish together. Let us, however, march on in the same direction we are now going ’till supper time, and then pitch camp; and while we are going forward, I will despatch Timasion with the horse to reconnoitre, whom I desire may not lose sight of us, lest we should be surprised.” Nor did Xenophon fail to send some light troops prepared for expedition, with orders for them to climb the sides of the hills, and if they saw any thing to make a signal. He ordered them also to set fire to the bushes and every thing ignitable they could meet with; reminding them that *now* they had no place of refuge; that it was many miles back

πάλιν ἀπιέναι, πολλή δὲ εἰς Χρυσόπολιν διελεύειν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πλησίον· εἰς Κάλπης δὲ λιμένα, ἔνθα Χειρῖσοφον νομίζομεν εἶναι, εἰ σέσωσται, ἐλαχίστη ὁδός. Ἄλλὰ δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοῖά ἐστίν, οἷς ἀποπλευσοῦμεθα· μένουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ οὔδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Τῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἀπολομένων, σὺν τοῖς Χειρῖσοφου μόνοις κακίον ἐστὶ διακινδυνεύειν, ἢ σωθέντων, πάντας εἰς ταυτὸν ἐλθόντας, κοινή τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχασθαι. Ἄλλὰ χρὴ παρασκευασαμένους τὴν γνώμην πορεύεσθαι, ὡς νῦν ἡ εὐκλειῶς τελευτήσαι ἐστίν, ἢ κάλλιστον ἔρπον ἐρδάσασθαι, Ἑλλήνας τοσοῦτους σώσαντας. Καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἄγε οὕτως, ὃς τὰς μεγαληγορήσαντας, ὡς πλεῖον φρονούντας, ταπεινώσαι βύλεται· ἡμᾶς δὲ, τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχομένους, ἐνὶ μοίρῃς ἐκείνων καλασῆσαι. Ἄλλ' ἔπεσθαι χρὴ ἢ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον δύνῃσθε ποιεῖν."

to Heraclea, and a long march was before them through the province of Chrysopolis, with an enemy at hand; and tho' the distance was not far to Calpæ, where it was reasonable, if nothing had occurred, to suppose Cheirisophus had arrived, yet when they should have marched there, they would find no transports, nor a single day's provisions. Besides, should the Arcadians perish, how much greater would be their disadvantage to fight only in conjunction with Cheirisophus, than it would if they could save the besieged, make common cause, and engage together. "Let us, therefore, press on," said Xenophon, "resolved either to die together on the field of honour, or save our countrymen! Moreover, God possibly has brought about this in order to humble those who extol their own opinions and oppose ours, who, you are aware, never fight, nor hope for victory, but in the strength of the gods;¹ follow then, brave Greeks, your officers, and be attentive to orders."²

¹ That is, never fight but when the victims are propitious.

² This was noble: the more so, as exercised towards so many ingrates, whose chastisement would have gratified a malignant nature; but Xenophon had nothing of this in his composition. The welfare of the army seems to have been always a paramount consideration, and made him forget his personal wrongs.

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἠγγεί-
το. Οἱ δ' ἰππεῖς δια-
σπειρόμενοι ἐφ' ὅσον
καλῶς εἶχεν, ἕκαιον ἢ
ἐβάδιζον. Καὶ οἱ πελ-
τασταὶ ἐπιπαριόντες
κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, ἕκαιον
πάντα, ὅσα καύσιμα
ἑώρων· καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ
δὲ, εἴ τιμι παραλειπο-
μένῳ ἐνὶ ἰσχύνοισιν ὥστε
πάσα ἡ χώρα αἴθεσ-
θαι ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ σρά-
τευμα πολὺ εἶναι. Ἐ-
πει δ' ὥρα ἦν, κατε-
στρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ
λόφον ἐκβάντες, καὶ
τά τε τῶν πολεμίων
πυρὰ ἑώρων, (ἀπειχόν
γὰρ ὡς τεῖταράκοντα
στάδια) καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς
ἐδύνατο πλεῖστα πυρὰ
ἕκαιον. Ἐπει δ' ἐδείπ-
νησαν, τάχιστα πα-
ρηγγέλθη τὰ πυρὰ κα-
τασθενῦναι ἅπαντας.
Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα
φυλακὰς ποιησάμενοι
ἐκάθευδον ἅμα δὲ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ προσευξάμενοι
τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ συν-
λαξάμενοι ὡς εἰς μά-
χην, ἐπορεύοντο ἢ ἐδύ-
ναντο τάχιστα. Τι-
μασίῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς,
ἔχοντες τὰς ἡγεμόνας,
καὶ προελαύνοντες, ἔ-
λαθον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ
λόφῳ γενόμενοι, ἔνθα
ἐπολιορκοῦντο οἱ Ἕλ-
ληνες. Καὶ οὐχ ὁρῶσιν
ἔτε τὸ φίλιον σράτευμα, ἔτε τὸ πολέμιον· (καὶ ταῦτα παραγγέλλουσι πρὸς τὸν

Having said this, he put himself at their head; when the cavalry began to spread themselves as far over the country as commanded, setting fire to every thing they found. The targeteers, climbing the hills, followed their example, as did the army, where any combustible matter had escaped them; which made the country appear in one blaze, and augmented in appearance the number of the soldiers.¹ Evening being arrived, the army encamped on a hill as directed, and discovered at the same moment the fires of the enemy, from whom they were not more than forty stadia distant. The Greeks instantly on this enlarged their fires, and took supper; after which, they extinguished them, placed guards, and reclined themselves. At break of day, they offered sacrifice, formed in order of battle, and marched to relieve their comrades with all possible haste. Timasion and his horse, and the ambassadors as guides, marched in advance before the army, and found themselves very soon on the spot where the Greeks had been besieged. *Here*, seeing neither friend nor foe, they made a

¹ This somewhat resembled the stratagem of Gideon, mentioned in the Book of Judges.

Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τὸ στρατευμα) γραῖδια δὲ καὶ γερόντια, καὶ προβάτια ὀλίγα, καὶ βοῦς καλαλελειμμένους. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θαῦμα ἦν τί εἶη τὸ γεγενημένον· ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ἐπυθάνοντο ὅτι οἱ μὲν Θραῖκες εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑσπερας ἄχοντο ἀπιόντες· ἔωθεν δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνους ἔφασαν οἴχεσθαι· ὅπου δὲ, οὐκ εἰδέναι.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ ἤρισθησαν, συσκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο· βουλόμενοι ὡς τάχιστα συμμῖξαι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. Καὶ πορευόμενοι ἐώρων τὸν στίβον τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κάλπης ὁδόν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἄσμενοί τε εἶδον ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἠσπάζοντο ὡς περ ἀδελφούς· Καὶ ἐπυθάνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες τῶν περὶ Ξενοφῶντα τί τὰ πυρὰ κατασβέσειαν· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἔφασαν, ἀόμμεθα ὑμᾶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πυρὰ οὐχ ἐωρῶμεν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἤξειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· (καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὡς γ' ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν, τοῦτο δεισαντες ἀπήλθον· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀπήεσαν.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀφικνεῖσθε, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐξῆκεν, ἀόμεθ' ὑμᾶς πυθομένους τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν,

signal thereof to the army; but on looking round, they observed a few old men and women with some sheep and oxen, whom the Thracians had left. By them they were given to understand, that the Thracians had decamped on seeing our fires the previous evening, and the Greeks had quitted that morning; but where either the one or the other were gone they knew not.

On Xenophon gaining this information, he ordered, after the men had breakfasted, to prepare the baggage and march, being desirous to join the rest of the Greeks at Calpæ as soon as possible. Pressing on, they soon perceived the footsteps of the Arcadians and Achaians directed thither, and on getting up with them the greeting was mutual; and, indeed, they embraced like brothers. The Arcadian soldiers then asked Xenophon's, what induced them to put out their fires, for they fully reckoned upon a night attack, as did the enemy, which they evinced by decamping at that time; but for themselves, on not seeing their brethren in arms come on in the morning, suspected that they were terrified on beholding

φοβηθέντας οἴχεσθαι
αποδράντας ἐπὶ θάλατ-
ταν· καὶ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν
μὴ ἀπολιπέσθαι ὑμῶν.
Οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς
δεῦρο ἐπορεύθημεν.

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν
ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἠύλιζον-
το ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ
πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. Τὸ δὲ
χωρίον τῆτο, ὃ καλεῖ-
ται Κάλπης λιμὴν,
ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Θρακίᾳ
τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀρξά-
μένη δὲ ἡ Θρακία αὕτη
ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόμα-
τος τοῦ Πόντου μέχρις
Ἡρακλείας, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ
εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσ-
πλέοντι. Καὶ τριήρους
μὲν ἔστιν εἰς Ἡρά-
κλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου
κώπαις ἡμέρας μάλα
μακρὰς πλοῦς· ἐν δὲ
τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλη μὲν
πόλις οὐδεμία, οὔτε
φιλία, οὔτε Ἑλληνίς,
ἀλλ' ἡ Θρακίαις ἢ Βι-
θυνοῖς· καὶ οὐδ' ἂν λά-
βωσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ
ἐκπίπτοντας ἢ ἄλλως
πως, δεῖνὰ ὑβρίζειν
λέγονται τοὺς Ἑλλη-
νας. Ὁ δὲ Κάλπης
λιμὴν ἐν μέσῳ μὲν κεῖ-
ται ἐκατέρωθεν πλεόν-
των ἐξ Ἡρακλείας καὶ
Βυζαντίου· ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ προκείμενον χωρίον, τὸ μὲν
εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκον αὐτοῦ, πέτρα ἀπορρώξ, ὕψος, ὅπη ἐ-
λάχιστον, οὐ μείον εἴκοσιν ὀργυίων· ὃ δὲ αὐχὴν ὃ εἰς γῆν ἀνή-

their perilous situation, and had retired to the sea ; and being determined not to be far behind, they had pressed on so far with similar intentions.

The Arcadians being thus relieved, sat down that day in the same camp near the shore with Xenophon's division, close by the Port Calpæ, which is situated in Asiatic Thrace ; indeed Asiatic Thrace commences at the mouth of the Euxine, and extends to the right as far as Heraclea ; from which city to Byzantium¹ forms a long day's sail for a trireme galley. The intermediate coast has no Greek city on it, but is wholly occupied by Thracians or Bithynians and any Greeks who are accidentally shipwrecked on their coast, they are reported to use in the most barbarous manner.² The port of Calpæ is situated nearly between Heraclea and Byzantium, from which extends a promontory far out into the sea. On *this side*, the craggy rocks, which are the lowest from the surface of the water, are little short of twenty fathom

¹ Byzantium, a famous city on the Thracian Bosphorus, now called Constantinople. The former name was given to it from Byzas, (says Eustath.) its founder ; the latter by Constantine, who rebuilt it.

² For the circumstance which gave birth to this report, see latter part of note 2, page 393.

κων τοῦ χωρίου, μά-
 λιστα τέταρτων πλέ-
 θρων τὸ εὖρος· τὸ δ'
 ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐχένος χω-
 ρίου, ἱκανὸν μυρίοις
 ἀνθρώποις οἰκῆσαι. Λι-
 μὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ
 πέτρα, τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέ-
 ραν αἰγιαλὸν ἔχων.
 Κρήνη δὲ ἡδέος ὕδατος
 καὶ ἀφθόνη βέουσα ἐπ'
 αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ, ὑπὸ
 τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ χω-
 ρίου. Ξύλα δὲ, πολλὰ
 μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πάνυ
 δὲ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ
 ναυπηγήσιμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ
 τῇ θαλάττῃ. Τὸ δὲ
 ὄρος τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι
 εἰς μεσόγαιαν μὲν ἀ-
 νήκει, ὅσον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι
 σταδίοις, καὶ τοῦτο
 γεῶδες καὶ ἄλιθον· τὸ
 δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν,
 πλεόν ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι στα-
 δίοις, δασὺ πολλοῖς ἢ
 παντοδαποῖς καὶ με-
 γάλοις ξύλοις. Ἡ δ'
 ἄλλη χώρα, καλὴ καὶ
 πολλή· καὶ κῶμαι ἐν
 αὐτῇ εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ
 εὖ οἰκούμεναι· φέρει
 γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ κριθάς,
 καὶ πυρῶς, καὶ ὄσπρια
 πάντα, καὶ μελίνας,
 καὶ σήσαμον, καὶ σῦ-
 κα ἄρκοῦντα, καὶ ἀμ-
 πέλους πολλὰς καὶ ἡ-
 δυοίνους, καὶ τᾶλλα
 πάντα, πλὴν ἐλαιῶν.
 Ἡ μὲν χώρα ἦν τοι-
 αῦτη.

Ἐσκήνουν δὲ ἐν τῷ
 αἰγιαλῷ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ

in height; and the neck of land
 which joins this promontory to the
 continent, somewhat about four hun-
 dred feet across, and the space within
 quite sufficient to form a camp for ten
 thousand men. The port itself is situ-
 ated just under this elevated rock to
 the west, near which is a beautiful
 spring of water, protected from assail-
 ants by the rock itself, which hangs
 over it. On this promontory, also,
 grows a vast quantity of timber, ad-
 mirably adapted, from its size, for the
 building of ships, the trees growing
 quite down to the margin of the sea.
 The mountain on the eastern side of
 the port extends nearly twenty stadia
 into the midland. The adjacent soil
 is free from pebble, excepting that part
 adjoining the sea, which is covered also
 with lofty trees. The whole face of
 the country is extremely pleasant and
 open, abounding in villages well peo-
 pled, which are surrounded by fields
 bearing barley, wheat, and every spe-
 cies of legumen; also *panic*, *sesame*,
 figs, and vines, in great quantities,
 which makes a very delicious wine;
 and in fact every thing else was pro-
 duced here but olives. Such was the
 nature of this beautiful country, on
 which the soldiers lay encamped along

τη· εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἂν γενομένοι οὐκ ἐβέβη-
 λοντο στρατοπεδεύεσ-
 θαι· ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ
 τὸ ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐξ
 ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, βου-
 λομένων τινῶν κατοικί-
 σαι πόλιν. Τῶν γὰρ
 στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλείσ-
 τοι ἦσαν οὐ σπάνει
 βίη ἐκπεπλευκότες ἐπὶ
 ταύτην τὴν μισθοφο-
 ράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Κύρου
 ἀρετὴν ἀκούοντες, οἱ
 μὲν καὶ ἄνδρας ἄγον-
 τες προαηλωκότας
 χρήματα, οἱ δὲ καὶ
 τούτων ἕτεροι ἀποδε-
 δρακότες πατέρας καὶ
 μητέρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ
 τέκνα καταλιπόντες,
 ὡς, χρήματα αὐτοῖς
 κτησάμενοι, ἤζοντες
 πάλιν ἀκούοντες καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πα-
 ρὰ Κύρῳ πολλὰ καὶ
 ἀλαθὰ πράττειν. Τοιοῦ-
 τοι οὖν ὄντες, ἐπεθύ-
 μουν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 σῶζεσθαι.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα
 ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταυτὸ
 συνόδου, ἐπ' ἐξῶδα ἐθύε-
 το Ξενοφῶν· (ἀνάγκη

the shore. The soldiers, however, did not express any desire to enter these villages, nor to quarter in them, for they were apprehensive that there were *some persons* who wished to draw their attachments to that country for the purpose of colonizing and building a city; and as the greater number of them had not entered the service of Cyrus through necessity, their chief desire was to return to Greece. Indeed, the major part had been influenced to become soldiers from the reputation attached to Cyrus's character; and some of the volunteers had even brought men with them¹ who had spent their patrimony; and others, again, from the report that those Greeks who first accompanied Cyrus to Babylon had made their fortunes, had been induced to leave father, mother, wife, children, and country, under the hope also of returning independent: hence their aversion to forming a settlement.²

The day after the Arcadians and Xenophon's troops had joined, Xenophon offered sacrifice, and consulted the will of the gods relative to the

¹ How completely does this confute Isocrates, who calls this army the scum of Greece.

² Xenophon, tho' he did not positively recommend a settlement, was certainly friendly to it; and how much the Greeks would have benefited from doing so, may easily be inferred from the subsequent part of the expedition.

γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτή-
 δεια ἐξάγειν) ἔπενόει
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς
 θάψαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ
 ἱερά ἐγένετο, εἶποντο
 καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες, καὶ
 τοὺς νεκροὺς, τοὺς μὲν
 πλείστους ἔνθαπερ ἔ-
 πεσον, ἐκάστους ἔθα-
 ψαν (ἦδη γὰρ ἦσαν
 πεμπταῖοι, καὶ οὐχ
 οἶόν τε ἀναρῆν ἔτι ἦν)
 ἐνίους δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν
 ὁδῶν συνενεγκόντες, ἔ-
 θαψαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων ὡς ἐδύνατο
 κάλλιστα· οὓς δὲ μὴ
 εὔρισκον, κενοτάφιον
 αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν μέγα,

soldiers making an excursion into the country to collect provisions, (for there was but little in the camp,) when the indications were favourable. Moreover, he wished also to bury their dead; for they had already lain on the ground five days, which rendered it impossible to move them. Marching out, therefore, in company with the Arcadians, he buried every man just where he lay, with the exception of the men found dead in the public roads; these he collected into one heap, and interred them with all possible decency. The bodies that were missing from the number slain, and which could not be found, had a large cenotaph¹ and funeral

¹ Cenotaph, *Κενοτάφιον*, which Greek term, Virgil, in the *Æneid*, lib. iii. v. 304, and lib. vi. v. 505, has translated *inanem tumulum*, literally, a lifeless mound; but is called by Suetonius, *tumulus honorarius*; the monument of honour. The crowning these cenotaphs with flowers was indicative of the opinion, that men who thus quitted the world would live in fame as long as nature existed. These tumuli were raised sometimes to a great height, as appears from the *Electra* of Sophocles:

Χρ. Καὶ δὴ λέγω σοὶ πᾶν ὅσον κατειδόμεν.
 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθον πατρός ἀρχαῖον τάφον,
 Ὀρῶ κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας νεορρύτους
 Πηγὰς γάλακτος, καὶ περιστεφῆ κύκλω
 Πάντων ὅσ' ἐστὶν ἀνθέων θήκην πατρός.

898. *et seq.*

Chr. Dicam Hercle tibi omnia quæ vidi.
 Nam simulac veni patris ad vetus bustum,
 Vides *tumulo* ex summo nuper fusos,
 Fontes lactis et cinctum undique
 Omnibus quotquot sunt floribus conditorium patris.

I will relate to you all things which I have seen.
 When I came to the noble cenotaph of my father,
 I saw from his high monument fountains of milk,
 Lately sprung up, flowing round it, on the margins of which grew
 Every kind of flower usually consecrated by the ancients.

καὶ πυρὰν μεγάλην, καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέθεσαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες, (συνῆλθον δὲ αὐτὰς μάλιστ' Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος ὁ λοχαγός, καὶ Ἱερώνυμος Ἡλείος λοχαγός, καὶ ἄλλοι πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων) καὶ δόγμα ἐποίησαντο, ἕάν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μνηστῆ δίχα τὸ στρατεύμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν ζημιῶσθαι· καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι, ἢ περὶ πρόσθεν εἶχε τὸ στρατεύμα, καὶ ἄρχειν τὸς πρόσθεν στρατηγούς. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἤδη τετελευτήκει, φάρμακον πιῶν, πυρέττων· τὰ δ' ἐκείνου Νέων ὁ Ἀσινάιος παρελάμβανε.

pile crowned with garlands raised to their memory. Having performed this service, the Greeks returned to their camp, supped, and went to rest. The next day there was a general meeting of the army, which assembled at the instance of Agasias, Hieronymus, and some old Arcadian officers. It was then resolved, first, that the man who might again propose to divide the army should receive the punishment of death;¹ secondly, that the army should continue to march in the same disposition in which it stood before the separation, and the same generals command them.² This, however, was rendered impossible, from the death of Cheirisophus, who expired that very day of fever, as a consequence of his taking some improper medicine. Neon, therefore, the Asiæan, was elected in his stead.

Herodotus has given us an elaborate account of the mounds of turf, piled up in memory of the Scythian kings. Tacitus also says the German tomb was a mound of earth: "Sepulchrum cespes erigit." Vide sec. xxvii. Dé Mor. Ger.

¹ This is in unison with the conduct of mankind in general, who accustom themselves to make salutary resolutions after the mischief is done; but Xenophon had forewarned them of this evil, and therefore it was purely of their own seeking, which must have made the reflection doubly poignant.

² Ἡ περὶ πρόσθεν. This is a doubtful passage; but I have followed the reading of Leunclavill: "Formam exercitus in abitu eandem retinendam esse, quæ prius fuisset."

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, «ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὴν μὲν πορείαν, ὡς εἶοικε, δηλονότι περὶ ποιητέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πλοῖα. Ἀνάγκη δὲ πορεύεσθαι ἤδη· ἔτι γὰρ ἔστι μένουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν δυσόμεθα· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους, εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε· οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἀνατεταρσῆκασιν.» Ἐκ τούτου ἐθύοντο οἱ στρατηγοί, μάντις δὲ παρῆν Ἀρεξίων Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ὁ Ἀμβρακιώτης ἤδη ἀποδεδράκει, πλοῖον μισθωσάμενος, ἐξ Ἡρακλείας. Θυομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαύσατο. Καί τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν ὡς ὁ Ξενοφῶν, βουλόμενος τὸ χωρὶον οἰκίσαι, πέπεικε τὸν μάντιν λέγειν, ὡς τὰ ἱερά οὐ γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ ἀφόδῳ.

Xenophon then addressing the soldiers, told them frankly, "That as they were destitute of transports there was no alternative but to proceed by land; and having but little provisions, they must prepare to march immediately: he added, that if there ever had been a necessity for them to exert their courage, that necessity existed now as much as ever, seeing that the enemy had resumed theirs. We shall, therefore," said he, "offer sacrifice; and when the indications are favourable, we will place ourselves at your head, and go forward." As Silanus,¹ the Ambracian priest, had broken the general order, by hiring a ship at Heraclea and sailing off, the priest Arexion was employed in his stead, in whose presence the generals offered sacrifice. The victims were unfavourable; it was necessary, therefore, to remain in the camp that day. Notwithstanding, some of the soldiery had the hardihood to attribute this to the desire which Xenophon had of colonizing and building a city there; and some went so far as to say, he had bribed the priest for that purpose.² On this being rumoured,

¹ For this wily priest's conduct, see pages 354 and 357.

² Xenophon's talents and virtues still continue to provoke his enemies,

"Whose envy, hate, and malice, blush to see,
Themselves outdone by such benignity."

Ἐντεῦθεν κηρύξας Ξενοφῶν, τῇ αὐρίον παρ-εῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τὸν βουλόμενον, καὶ, μάντις εἴ τις εἴη, παραγγείλας παρῆναι, ὡς συνθεασόμενον τὰ ἱερά, ἔθυσε καὶ ἐναυθα παρῆσαν πολλοί. Θυομένων δὲ πάλιν εἰς τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ, οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. Ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἱεπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπεν ἂ ἔχοντες ἦλθον, καὶ ἀγορὰ οὐδεμία παρῆν.

Ἐκ τούτου συνελθόντων εἶπε πάλιν Ξενοφῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τὰ ἱερά οὐπω γίγνεται· τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς δεομένους· ἀνάγκη οὖν μοι δοκεῖ θύεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου. Ἄνασας δὲ τις εἶπε, Καὶ

Xenophon orders a herald to publish, that any of the soldiers were at liberty next day to attend the sacrifice; and if any other priest was in the army, to bring him with them, that he might assist with Arexion at the ceremonies.¹ Sacrifice was accordingly offered in the presence of great numbers; and tho' victims were three times slain, yet were the indications unfavourable; which circumstance quite alarmed the army, because the provisions which they had brought with them were nearly all consumed, nor was there any market at hand where other necessaries could be purchased.

On this the soldiers again reassembled, and Xenophon resumed, by saying, "You see, soldiers, the victims are still unfavourable to our departure, tho' I am aware that you want provisions; I therefore deliver it as my opinion, that we ought to offer up sacrifice concerning this subject in particular." On which one of the soldiers interrupted him by saying, "He was

¹ This was the proper way to silence his enemies, if any thing could silence them: but

"Slander, the worst of poisons, ever finds
An easy entrance in ignoble minds;"

And therefore the best line of conduct to be adopted, *sometimes*, is to treat it with indifference: indeed, *this mode* of going to work wonderfully stings the calumniator himself.

εικότως ἄρα ἡμῖν οὐ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά· ὡς γὰρ ἐγώ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἦκοντος πλοίου, ἤκουσα τινὸς ὅτι Κλέανδρος ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμολογῆς μέλλει ἕξειν, πλοῖα ἔχων καὶ τριήρεις. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀναμένειν μὲν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐξίεναι· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάλιν ἐθύετο εἰς τρεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο τὰ ἱερά· καὶ ἤδη ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἰόντες τὴν Ξενοφῶντος, ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἔχοιεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔφη ἐξαγαγεῖν, μὴ γιγνομένων τῶν ἱερῶν.

Καὶ πάλιν δ' ὑστεραία ἐθύετο, καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὰ, διὰ τὸ μέλειν πᾶσιν, ἐκυκλοῦτο περὶ τὰ ἱερά· τὰ δὲ δύμαλα ἐπελελοίπει. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐξῆγον μὲν οὐ, συνεκάλεσαν δ' εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἴσως οἱ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀνάγκη μάχεσθαι· εἰ

not surprised that the victims were unfavourable to their departure; for he had just heard from a sailor that had come into port yesterday, that it was the intention of Cleander, the Lacedæmonian governor of Byzantium, to proceed hither with transports and galleys for the purpose of conveying them into Greece." On hearing which, the army instantly resolved to wait for him. Provisions, however, must be had during their stay; concerning which, sacrifice was again three times offered, but with no better success than before. The soldiers then assailed Xenophon's tent door, and became clamorous; but he told them candidly, he would not head them, nor lead them out, 'till the victims were propitious.¹

The following day, Xenophon again offered sacrifice; on which so much interest was felt, that nearly the whole army attended. The oblations however failed; which led the generals to conclude, that they ought not to lead them out. However, calling the soldiers around them, Xenophon said, "I think it probable, soldiers, that ere this the enemy may have strongly collected themselves; and in that case, we shall be under the necessity of

¹ A modest character is generally a firm one.

οὖν καταλιπόντες τὰ σκεύη ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ χωρίῳ, ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένοι ἵοιμεν, ἴσως ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ μᾶλλον προχωροῖη ἡμῖν. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνέκραγον ὡς οὐδὲν δέον εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ θύειν ὡς τάχιστα. Καὶ πρόβατα μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, βοῦς δὲ ὑφ' ἀμάξης πριάμενοι ἐθύοντο· καὶ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνορος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Ἀρκάδος προθυμῆσθαι, εἴ τι ἐν τούτῳ εἴη. Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἐγένετο τὰ ἱερὰ.

Νέων δὲ ἦν μὲν στρατηγὸς κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου μέρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔωρα τῆς ἀνθρώπων, ὡς εἶχον δεινῶς τῇ ἐνδείᾳ, βεβλόμενος αὐτοῖς χαρίσασθαι, εὐρών τινα ἄνθρωπον Ἡρακλεώτην, ὃς ἔφη κώμας ἐγγύς εἰδέναι, ὅθεν εἶη λαβεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐκήρυξε, τὸν βεβλόμενον ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἔσομένον. Ἐπεξέρχονται δὲ σὺν δορατίοις, καὶ ἀσκοῖς, καὶ θυλάκοις, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀργείοις, εἰς δισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους. Ἐπειδὴ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ διεσπείροντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν, ἐπι-

fighting for our provisions. Suppose then we place our baggage in security, and prepare ourselves for an excursion: 'tis possible the victims may *then* be more propitious." On hearing this, the army exclaimed, "That it was no use to march where he proposed, but to go on offering sacrifice."¹ As there were no victims left, they purchased oxen from a cart going by, and sacrificed them; Xenophon at the same time soliciting Cleanor, the Arcadian, to be very particular to the indications; which were still prohibitory.

On this, Neon, the successor to Cheirisophus, willing to gratify the soldiers, tho' there was certainly great want, found a native of Heraclea, who gave him to understand, that he was acquainted with the country and the adjacent villages, where he knew was plenty of provisions to be collected. Neon therefore published, that whatever soldiers wished to go on plunder were at liberty to do so, as there was a guide at hand. On which two thousand men left the camp, provided with spears, leather bags, sacks, and other utensils for lading. During the time these soldiers were dispersed in the villages collecting necessaries,

¹ This was tantamount to laughing at their religion.

πίπλισιν αὐλοῖς οἱ Φαρναβάζου ἰππεῖς πρῶτοι (βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἦσαν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς) βυλόμενοι σὺν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, εἰ δύναιτο, ἀποκωλύσαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας μὴ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν. Οὗτοι οἱ ἰππεῖς ἀποκλείουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ μείον ἢ πεντακοσίουσ' οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνέφυγον.

Ἐκ τούτου ἀπαγγέλλει τις ταῦτα τῶν ἀποπεφευγόντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐγγένητο τὰ ἱερὰ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λαθὼν βῆν ὑπὸ ἀμάξης, (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλα ἱερεῖα) σφασιάσάμενος ἐβοήθει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μέχρι πενήκοντα ἐτῶν πάντες. Καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὰς λοιποὺς ἄνδρας, εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνεῖνται. Καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἦν, καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες μάλα ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο. Καὶ ἐξάπίνης διὰ τῶν λασίων τῶν Βιθυνῶν τινες ἐπιγεγόμενοι τοῖς προφύ-

Pharnabazus fell on them with a body of horse, and killed five hundred. This was effected more particularly by a detachment of troops coming to the assistance of the Bithynians, with a design to co-operate with that people, and to hinder the Greek army from penetrating into Phrygia.

One of the soldiers that escaped brought the news of this catastrophe to the camp; adding, that the remaining part of the army had taken refuge on an adjoining hill. On which news, Xenophon again taking an ox from a cart, there being no other victims, and the sacrifice in the morning being unpropitious, offered sacrifice again, and immediately marched out to the relief of his comrades in arms, whom he brought off to the camp in safety. The soldiers who served with Xenophon on this occasion were men who had not seen fifty, and by the time they had all returned the day had nearly closed, on which the whole army supped under the influence of terror and consternation.¹ Nor was it without reason; for on a sudden a detachment of Bithynians, by pressing through a thicket, had surprised

¹ Here is another disaster occasioned by irreligion.

λαξι, τοὺς μὲν κατέκτανον, τοὺς δὲ ἐδίωξαν μέχρις εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ κραυγῆς γενομένης, εἰς τὰ ὄπλα πάντες ἔδραμον οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ διώκειν μὲν καὶ κινεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀσφαλές ἐδόκει εἶναι· λάσια γὰρ ἦν τὰ χωρία· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐνυκτέρευον, φυλαττόμενοι ἱκανοῖς φύλαξιμάχεσθαι.

Τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἔτω διήγαγον· ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸ ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον ἠγούντο· οἱ δὲ εἶποντο, ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη. Πρὶν δὲ ἀρίστου ὤραν εἶναι, ἀπετάφρευσαν ἢ ἡ εἴσοδος ἦν εἰς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσαν ἅπαντα, καταλιπόντες τρεῖς πύλας. Καὶ πλοῖον ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἦκεν ἄλφιστα ἄγον, καὶ ἰερεῖα, καὶ οἶνον. Πρῶτον δ' ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ἐθύετο ἐπεξόδια, καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἱερά ἐπὶ τῷ πρώτῳ ἰερείῳ. Καὶ ἤδη τέλος ἐχόντων τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁρᾷ αἰετὸν αἰσίον ὁ μάνις Ἀρεξίων Παρρᾶσιος, καὶ ἠγείσθαι κελεύει τὸν

the advanced guard, killed some, and pursued the others quite up to the camp. On which alarm the whole army flew to arms; but the generals of the Greeks did not deem it prudent to pursue the enemy, nor to quit the camp that night, for the country, by being full of thickets, offered great facilities for an ambuscade; hence the Greeks, after having strongly reinforced the out-posts, lay to their arms.

Having thus passed the night, they were, as soon as day, led by their generals to a place strongly fortified by nature, accompanied by their arms and baggage, and before mid-day had arrived the soldiers had cut a fosse quite across the neck of land that joined the promontory to the continent, and fortified it with a strong palisade, leaving only three gates from which to sally. While the soldiers were in the act of doing this, a vessel arrived from Heraclea laden with barley-meal, oxen, and wine. On which Xenophon, rising early in the morning, offered sacrifice relative to the undertaking an expedition against the enemy, and the first victim was propitious. Moreover, when the sacrifice was nearly completed, Arexion the priest espied an eagle on the *right side*,¹ and called out to Xenophon to

¹ For illustration, see Note 1, Page 388.

Ξενοφῶντα. Καὶ δια-
 βάντες τὴν τάφρον, τὰ
 ὄπλα τίθενται, καὶ
 ἐκήρυξαν ἀριστήσαντας
 ἐξίεναι τοὺς ἑραλιώτας
 σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις, τὸν
 θεὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὰ ἀν-
 δράποδα αὐτοῦ κατα-
 λιπεῖν. Οἱ μὲν δὴ
 ἄλλοι πάντες ἐξήεσαν,
 Νέων δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει γὰρ
 κάλλιστον εἶναι, τοῦ-
 τον φύλακα καταλι-
 πεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ στρατο-
 πέδῳ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ
 λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρα-
 τιῶται ἀπέλιπον αὐ-
 τοὺς, αἰσχυρόμενοι μὴ
 ἔπεςθαι, τῶν ἄλλων
 ἐπεξιόντων, κατέλιπον
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ
 τετταράκοντα ἔτη. Καὶ
 οὗτοι μὲν ἔμενον· οἱ
 δ' ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο.
 Πρὶν δὲ πέντε καὶ δέκα
 στάδια διεληλυθέναι,
 ἐνέτυχον ἤδη νεκροῖς
 καὶ τὴν οὐρανὸν τοῦ κέ-
 ραιος ποιησάμενοι κα-
 τὰ τοὺς πρῶτους φα-
 νέντας νεκροὺς, ἔθαπ-
 τον πάντας ὀπίσους
 ἐπελάμβανε τὸ κέρας.
 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς πρῶ-
 τους ἔθαψαν, προα-
 γαγόντες, καὶ τὴν οὐ-
 ραν αὐθις ποιησάμενοι
 κατὰ τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν ἀτάφων, ἔθαπτον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὀπίσους ἐπε-
 λάμβανεν ἡ στρατιὰ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἤκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ἔνθα
 ἔκειντο ἀθρόοι, συννεγκόντες αὐτὰς ἔθαψαν.

Ἦδη δὲ πέρα μεσέ-
 σης τῆς ἡμέρας προα-
 γαγόντες τὸ στρατεύμα
 ἔξω τῶν κωμῶν, ἐλάμ-

lead on the troops. When the army had passed the fosse, they all stood to their arms; a herald then proclaimed, that "As soon as they had dined they should leave their baggage and slaves with those appointed to take charge of them behind." It is necessary to mention, that Neon's division marched not with the rest of the army at first, because it was thought advisable for it to remain as a guard in the camp; but on seeing their comrades about to proceed, shame, or some other passion, operated on both officers and men, which induced them to leave as a guard only those soldiers who had arrived near fifty. All the rest pressed forward together, but had not advanced above fifteen stadia before they came to their slain countrymen; when extending one of their wings in a right line, they interred all that fell within its reach; and then extending their other wing, followed the same order; those that lay dead in the road leading to the villages were collected and buried together.

Mid-day being past, the army, that day, steered clear of the villages; and while the soldiers were employed in

θανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅτι τις ὁρῶν ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος. Καὶ ἐξαίφνης ὁρῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λόφους τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τεταγμένους ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, ἰσώεας τε πολλοὺς καὶ πεζοὺς· καὶ γὰρ Σπιθριδάτης καὶ Ῥαδίνης ἦκον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ἔχοντες δύναμιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ πολέμιοι, ἔστησαν ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους. Ἐκ τούτου εὐθὺς Ἀρεξιὼν ὁ μάντις τῶν Ἑλλήνων σφαιλιάζειται, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου καλὰ τὰ σφάλγια. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, “ Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ, ἐπιτάξασθαι τῇ φάλαγγι λόχους φύλακας, ἵνα, ἢν σου δέη, ὥσιν οἱ ἐπιβοηθήσοντες τῇ φάλαγγι, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τεταραγμένοι ἐμπίπτωσιν εἰς τεταγμένους καὶ ἀκεραίους.” Συνεδόκει ταῦτα πάντα πᾶσιν. “ Ὑμεῖς μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, προηγεῖσθε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὡς μὴ ἐσῆκωμεν, ἐπεὶ ὠφθημεν καὶ εἶδομεν τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐγὼ δὲ ἤξω τοὺς τελευταίους λόχους καταχωρίσας, ἵππερ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ.”

collecting whatever was within reach of their line, they espied on a sudden the enemy marching over some rising ground just opposite to them. The Bithynian army was disposed in line, quite regular, and in consequence of a junction having been formed between Spithridates and Rathines, with detachments from Pharnabazus, the enemy was formidable both in horse and foot. They were within fifteen stadia of the Greek forces before the latter saw them, when the enemy instantly made a dead halt. Upon this, Arexion the Greek priest offered sacrifice, and the first victim being favourable, Xenophon immediately addressed the generals, and gave his opinion on the best mode of attack, which was as follows: first, “That some bodies of reserve should be formed in the rear of the main line, to sustain it, if required, and to take opportunities of any disorder happening among the enemy to attack them with fresh and vigorous troops:” which suggestion met with general consent. “Then,” said he, “I have to add, that since we have seen and been seen by the enemy, let no time be lost in attacking him; press forward, therefore, with your main body, and I will form and follow with the reserve immediately:” which

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἡσύχως προῆγον· ὁ δὲ, τρεῖς ἀφελὼν τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις, ἀνὰ διακοσίας ἄνδρας, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπέταξεν ἐφέπεσθαι, ἀπολιπόντας ὡς πλέθρον· Σαμόλας Ἀχαιῶν ταύτης ἤρχε τῆς τάξεως· τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ ἐχώρισεν ἐπέταξαι· Πυρίας Ἀρκάδος ταύτης ἤρχε· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Φρασίας Ἀθηναῖος ταύτη ἐφείσθηκει. Προϊόντες δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἠγόμενοι ἐπὶ νάπυι μεγάλῃ καὶ δυσπέραστῃ, ἔσθησαν, ἀγνοοῦντες εἰ διαβατὸν εἴη τὸ νάπος· καὶ παρεγγυῶσι στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς παριέναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἠγούμενον. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, θαυμάσας ὅτι τὸ ἰσχυρὸν εἴη τὴν πορείαν, καὶ τάχα ἀκούων τὴν παρεγγυήν, ἐλαύνει ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει Σοφαίνετος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι ἐκ ἄξιον εἴη διαβαίνειν τοιοῦτον ὃν τὸ νάπος. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν σπαρδῆ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν,

“Ἄλλ' ἴστε μὲν με, ὃ ἄνδρες, οὐδένα πω κίνδυνον προξενήσαντα ὑμῖν ἐδελέσιον· οὐ γὰρ δόξης ὀρῶ δεο-

he did. The reserve was formed from the three hindmost ranks of the main body, and were drawn up in three divisions of about two hundred men each. The one placed to sustain the right was commanded by Samolas of Achaia; that which sustained the centre by Pyrias of Arcadia; and that to support the left was commanded by an Athenian named Phrasias. The main body moved on in silence; the reserve following in the rear, at the distance of about one hundred feet. The main body coming to a valley that was wide and difficult to cross, halted, and was doubtful whether it was capable of being crossed or not, and orders were given for all the generals to come up to the front. Xenophon being surprised on seeing the army halt, and hearing this command, galloped up with all haste. On the generals being collected together, Sophænetes, the senior general, declared it as his opinion that the valley was impassable, and ought not to be attempted. On which Xenophon cried out *warmly*,—

“Gentlemen, — You are aware that I have never at any time purposely sought dangers for you, — much less would I do so on an occasion, when

μένους ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀνδρείότητα, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας. Νῦν δε οὕτως ἔχει· ἀμαχεὶ μὲν ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔσιν ἀπειθεῖν· ἦν γὰρ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμῆς, οὕτοι ἡμῖν, ὅταν ἀπίωμεν, ἔψονται καὶ ἐπιωπεσῶνται. Ὁρᾷτε δὴ πότερον κρεῖττον ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας προβαλλομένους, τὰ ὄπλα, ἢ μεταβαλλομένους, ὅπισθεν ἡμῶν ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολεμῆς, δεῖσασθαι. Ἰσεγε μέντοι ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀπίεναι ἀπὸ πολεμίων, οὐδενὶ καλῶ ἔοικε· τὸ δὲ ἐρέπεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς κακίοσι θάρβος ἐμποιεῖ. Ἐγὼ γ' οὖν ἥδιον ἂν σὺν ἡμίσεσιν ἐποίμην, ἢ σὺν διπλασίοις ἀποχωροίην. Καὶ τούτους οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπιόντων μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ἐλωίσετε δεξασθαι ἡμᾶς· ἀπίόντων δὲ, πάντες ἐπισάμεθα ὅτι τολμήσουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ διαβάνιας, ὅπισθεν νάπος χαλεπὸν ποιήσασθαι, μέλλοντας μάχεσθαι, ἃρ' ἔχει ἢ ἀρπάσαι ἄξιον; Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολε-

safety rather than glory is what you all want; but since our present situation is such as to render it impossible for us to go hence without fighting, say whether we had not better be the assailants *now*, or suffer ourselves to be attacked by them while retreating? consider also whether we had not better attack them with our arms to cover us, than offer them our backs, uncovered and defenceless? You know, soldiers, that no honour is to be obtained by flying; and that *even cowards* gain courage by pursuing. As a general, I declare, that I would rather pursue an enemy with a force in number one half of his, than retreat, tho' my army should be double the number of the enemy.¹ Besides, you know well that the enemy will not stand your charge, tho' he will make shift, no doubt, to follow your heels; and I would ask again, whether or not it would not even be an advantage worth contending for, to have a difficult valley in our rear when we engage?² But for our enemies, may they

¹ This is an opinion held by most great generals. See *Vita Agricolaë*, by Tacitus, sec. xxx. "Quod ad me attinet, jampridem mihi decretum est, neque exercitus, neque ducis terga tuta esse."

² Napoleon considered it a mark of bad generalship in the Duke of Wellington posting his troops with ravines in their rear, tho' he admits

μίοις ἔγωγε βελοίμην
 ἂν εὐποροῦν πάντα φαί-
 νεσθαι, ὥστε ἀποχω-
 ρεῖν ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ
 τοῦ χωρίου δεῖ διδάσ-
 κεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι
 μὴ νικῶσι σωτηρία·
 Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε,
 καὶ τὸ νόπος τοῦτο εἴ-
 τις μᾶλλον φοβερὸν
 νομίζει εἶναι τῶν ἄλ-
 λων, ὧν διαπεπορεύ-
 μεθα χωρίων. Πῶς
 μὲν γὰρ ἐδυσδιάβαλον
 τὸ χωρίον, εἰ μὴ νική-
 σομεν τοὺς ἰππέας;
 πῶς δὲ ἂ διεληλύθα-
 μεν ὄρη, ἣν πελτασαὶ
 τοσοῖδε ἐφέπωνται;
 ἢν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν
 ἐπὶ θάλατταν, πόσον
 τι νόπος ὁ Πόντος;
 ἔνθα οὐδὲ πλοῖά ἐστι
 τὰ ἀπάξοντα, οὔτε
 σίτος ᾧ θρεψόμεθα
 μέγοντες· δεήσει δὲ, ἂν
 θάλαττον ἐκεῖ γενώμεθα,
 θάττον ἐξίεναι πάλιν

always have room to run away; and for ourselves, may victory be always our safeguard; and as the nature of this place instructs us there can be no safety without it, I wonder that any one should hesitate for a moment on the subject. Is this valley more formidable or dreadful to cross than those places we have already passed? Nay, will not the very place on which we stand present equal difficulties with the valley, unless we first destroy the enemy's cavalry? Nay, if we even climb again the mountains from whence we have descended, what safety will they afford, followed by such a body of targeteers as the enemy presents to us? But admit that we can reach again the sea coast in safety, yet how difficult a valley is the Euxine to wade;¹ where we shall find no ships to transport us, nor provisions, if we encamp, to subsist on; so that if we hurry thither, we must soon hurry off again in quest of necessaries, or starve. All these circumstances conspire and tell us, in emphatic language, that we ought to attack instantly; and since

that the British won the battle from that circumstance; "They could not retreat," says he, "tho' a disposition to do so was not wanting."

¹ That is, I suppose, if the army had to wade the sea.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Οὐκοῦν νῦν κρεῖττον ἡριστηκότας μάχεσθαι, ἢ αὐριον ἀναρίστους. Ἄνδρες, τὰ τε ἱερὰ ἡμῖν καλὰ, οἳ τε οἰωνοὶ αἰσιοί, τὰ τε σφάγια κάλλιστα. Ἰωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. Οὐ δεῖ ἔτι τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντα εἶδον, ἡδέως δεῖπνῆσαι, οὐδ' ὅπου ἂν ἐδέλωσι σκηνηῆσαι."

Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἠγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγε. Καὶ ὃς ἠγεῖτο, παραγείλας διαβαίνειν ἢ ἕκαστος ἐτύγχανε τοῦ νάπουσ ὦν. Θᾶπτον γὰρ ἂν ἀδρόον ἐδόκει οὕτω πέραν γενέσθαι τὸ στρατεύμα, ἢ εἰ κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ νάπει ἦν, ἐξεμνηρύνοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, παριῶν παρὰ τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔλεγεν, "Ἄνδρες, ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε ὅσας δὴ μάχας σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμόσε ἰόντες νενικήκατε, καὶ οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ πολεμίους φεύγοντες· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνόησατε, ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσμέν. "Ἄλλ' ἔπεισθε Ἡγεμόνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀλλήλους παρακαλεῖτε ὀνομασί. Ἡδὺ τοι ἀνδρείον τι καὶ καλὸν νῦν εἰπόντα

we have just taken refreshment, we had better fight now than to-morrow, when we can have none to partake. Soldiers! the sacrifices are favourable, the omens propitious, and the victims assure us of victory!—Let us march on; and since the enemy have seen us, let them not sup without feeling us, nor encamp but at our pleasure."

On this the captains cried out, "Lead us on!" and none of the generals opposing, Xenophon headed the army, commanding every man to cross the valley in his rank, and not to file off and cross the bridge that was thrown over it, for he judged this would destroy much valuable time. When the whole army had crossed over, Xenophon rode up to the front rank, and said, "Consider, gentlemen, how many battles, by the assistance of the gods, you have already won, and what those men are to look for who turn their backs. Reflect also, that we are at the very gates of Greece; therefore exhort one another by name, and follow Hercules your conductor. Is not the anticipation pleasing, soldiers, that whoever of you singularizes himself, either by word or action, this

καὶ ποιήσαντα, μνή-
μην ἐν οἷς ἐδέλει παρέ-
χειν ἑαυτοῦ.”

Ταῦτα παρελαύνων
ἔλεγε, καὶ ἅμα ὑφη-
γεῖτο φάλαγγος, καὶ
τοὺς πελταστὰς ἑκα-
τέρωθεν ποιησάμενος
ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς πο-
λεμίους. Παρηγγέλ-
λετο δὲ, τὰ δόρατα
ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον
ἔχειν, ἕως σημαῖνοι τῇ
σάλπιγγι· ἔπειτα δὲ
εἰς προσβολὴν καθέν-
τας ἔπεσθαι βάδην, ἢ
μηδένα δρόμῳ διώκειν·
Ἐκ τούτου σύνθημα
παρήει, ΖΕΥΣ ΣΩ-
ΤΗΡ, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ
ἩΓΕΜΩΝ. Οἱ δὲ
πολέμιοι ὑπέμενον, νο-
μίζοντες καλὸν ἔχειν
τὸ χωρίον· Ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἔωλησίαζον, ἀλαλάξ-
αντες οἱ Ἕλληνας πελ-
τασταὶ ἔδρον ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους, πρὶν τινα
κελεύειν· οἱ δὲ πολέ-
μιοι ἀντίοι ὤρμησαν,
οἱ τε ἰππεῖς καὶ τὸ
στίφος τῶν Βιθυνῶν·
καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς
πελταστὰς ἅμα· Ἐ-
πεὶ δὲ ὑψηντίαζεν ἡ
φάλαγξ τῶν ὀσπιτῶν
ταχὺ πορευομένη, καὶ
ἅμα ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέλ-
ξατο, καὶ ἐπαιάνιζον,
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἠλά-
λαζον, καὶ ἅμα τὰ
δόρατα καθίεσαν· ἐν-
ταῦθα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ’ ἔφευγον. Καὶ Τιμασίῳ μὲν
ἔχων τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἐφείπετο, καὶ ἀπεκλίνουσιν ὅσους περ ἔδυναντο, ὡς ὀλίγοι
όντες. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εὐδὺς διεσπάρη, καθ’ ὃ οἱ Ἕλληνας

day, will receive the applause of his country?”

Having said thus, he posted the targeteers on the wing, and again putting himself at their head, marched against the enemy. He had previously commanded the heavy troops to carry their pikes on their right shoulders 'till the trumpet sounded the charge, when they were to present them and march on steadily; and that on the enemies turning their backs no one was to run in the pursuit. The word was now given — “*Jupiter the preserver, and Hercules the leader!*” However, the enemy was encouraged by his position, and stood his ground; and on our troops drawing near, the Greek targeteers shouted and attacked *without orders*. The enemy's horse, and a body of Bithynians received them, and put them to flight; then came up the heavy troops briskly, and marched on to meet the enemy by sound of trumpet; at the same moment they sung the pæan, shouted, charged, and put the enemy to flight. Timasion pursued with his cavalry, but his squadron being small, killed but few; and thus was the left wing of the enemy, which had the Greek

ἰππεῖς ἦσαν· τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν, ἅτε οὐ σφόδρα διακόμενον, ἐπὶ λόφου συνέστη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπομένοντας αὐτοὺς, ἐδόκει ῥᾶστόν τε καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον εἶναι ἰέναι ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτούς. Παιανίσαντες οὖν, εὐθύς ἐπορεύοντο· οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν. Καὶ ἔνταῦθα οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδίωκον, μέχρι τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῶν διεσπάρη· ἀπέθανον δ' ὀλίγοι· τὸ γὰρ ἰππικὸν φόβον παρεῖχε, τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, πολὺ ὄν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες τότε Φαρναβάζου ἰππικὸν ἔτι συνεστηκὸς, καὶ τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἰππέας πρὸς τέτθες συναδροιζομένους, καὶ ἀπὸ λόφου τινὸς καταθεωμένους τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν, ὅμως δ' ἐδόκει καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἰτέον εἶναι οὕτως, ὥπως δύναιτο, ὡς μὴ τεθαρβήκοτες ἀναπαύσαιντο. Συνταξάμενοι δὴ πορεύονται. Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἰππεῖς φεύγουσι κατὰ τοῦ πελάγους, ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἰππέων διακόμενοι· νάπτος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ προαπετράποντο διώκοντες· ὀψία γὰρ ἦν. Ἐπανελθόντες δὲ ἔνθα δὴ ἡ

cavalry opposed to them, dispersed. But the right wing, which could not be thus followed up through want of horse, rallied again on a hill, which caused the Greeks immediately to come to the resolution to charge again. They therefore sung the pæan and advanced against the enemy; but he would not stop to receive them. The targeteers pursued; and thus was their right wing scattered. Very few of the enemy, however, fell; for their cavalry being numerous, kept the Greeks in check. But on seeing a body of cavalry belonging to Pharnabazus still in order, and the Bithynian horse rallying around them, though the Greeks were much exhausted, yet did they resolve to charge the third time; and lest the enemy should recover his spirits, put it into execution immediately; which rendered the victory complete: for the enemy's horse fled down the hill with as much haste as tho' they had been pursued by horse; indeed, below was a valley to receive them, of which the Greeks were ignorant, and night coming on, they had given over the pursuit before they saw this valley. The Greeks then returned to the ground on which the action first began; and having

πρώτη συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, στησάμενοι τρόπαιον,

ἀπήρσαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν
περὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς· ἑσπέρων
γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς ἐξήκοντα
ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι εἶχον ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἀπήγοντο τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅπῃ ἔδυναν ἰσχυρῶς οἱ δὲ Ἕλληες ἀνέμενον μὲν Κλέανδρον, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ὡς ἔξοντα· ἐξιόντες δὲ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας σὺν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις, ἐφέροντο ἀδεῶς ἤδη πυρρῆς, κριθᾶς, οἶνον, ὄσπρια, μελίνας, σῦκα· πάντα γὰρ εἶχεν ἡ χώρα, πλὴν ἐλαίου. Καὶ ὁπότε μὲν καταμένοι τὸ στρατεύμα ἀναπαυόμενον, ἐξῆν ἐπὶ λείαν

ing erected a trophy,¹ marched back to the sea coast, where they arrived about sunset. The distance from the field of battle to the camp was sixty stadia.

From this time the enemy employed themselves in removing their families and effects to the greatest possible distance, while the Greeks waited in their camp patiently for Cleander and his galleys; not forgetting to make excursions every day with their slaves and sumpter-horses, which they did with all possible safety, and thus supplied themselves with wheat, barley, wine, legumens, panic, and figs; for the country, as before observed, produced every thing but oil. During the time the army thus lay encamped, the soldiers individually had liberty to

¹ The Greek trophies varied according to circumstances, as may be seen in the Archæology, lib. iii. c. 12. The one described by Virgil, speaking Greek, graced with the arms of Mezentius, must appear beautiful to those who have likings of the sort: —

“ He bared an ancient oak of all its boughs ;
Then on a rising ground the trunk he placed,
Which with the spoils of his dead foe he graced :
The coat of arms by proud *Mezentius* worn,
Now on a naked snag in triumph borne ;
A trophy sacred to the god of war.
Above his arms, fix'd on the leafless wood,
Appear'd his plummy crest, besmear'd with blood.
His brazen buckler on the left was seen,
Truncheons of shiver'd lances hung between ;
And on his right was placed his corslet, bored,
And to the neck was tied the unavailing sword.”

DRYDEN.

ιέναι· καὶ ἐλάμβανον ἐξιόντες· ὅποτε δ' ἐξίοι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, εἴ τις χωρὶς ἀπελθὼν λάβοι τι, δημόσιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. Ἦδη δὲ ἦν πολλὴ πάντων ἀφθονία· καὶ γὰρ ἀγοραὶ πάντοθεν ἀφικνῶντο ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, καὶ οἱ παραπλέοντες ἄσμενοι κατῆγον, ἀκούοντες ὡς οἰκίζοιτο πόλις, καὶ λιμὴν εἶη. Ἐπεμπον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἤδη πλησίον οἰκοῦντες πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἀκούοντες ὅτι οὗτος πολίζει τὸ χωρίον, ἐρωτῶντες ὅτι δέοι ποιοῦντας φίλους εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις. Καὶ τούτῳ Κλέανδρος ἀφικνεῖται, δύο τριήρεις ἔχων, πλοῖον δ' ἕδεν. Ἐτύγ-

plunder the enemy, and *then* what every man could get was his own; but when the whole army in a body made an excursion, it was resolved, that whatever was taken (tho' picked up by a straggler from the main body) should be the property of all. Consequently, the camp abounded in every thing. And *now* even the Greek cities sent them provisions also;¹ and the captains of coasting vessels that sailed along, having heard the Greek army was about to form a settlement, and build a city, put into the harbour willingly. And even the enemy who lived in the neighbourhood, being desirous to obtain the favour of Xenophon, from understanding that he had the command of the new settlement, sent to enquire what office of kindness they could perform to obtain his friendship. Which envoys Xenophon shewed to the army. While things were proceeding thus, Cleander arrived with two galleys, but no transports; but at the

¹ Yes, only help yourselves, and mankind will help you. Strange propensity! The rich, who do not want, are crammed with presents; — the starving may starve! But let not the opulent mistake those gifts for *grateful offerings*. Change the scene — for

“ If we from wealth to poverty descend,
Want gives to know the flatt'rer from the friend;
But if from poverty to wealth we soar,
The sneaking throng come fawning as before.”

Old Tales.

χανε δὲ τότε στρα-
τευμα ἔξω ὄν, ὅτε ἀ-
φίκετο, καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν
τινὲς οἰχόμενοι, ἄλλοι
εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εἰλή-
φισαν πρόβατα πολλά·
ὄκνητες δὲ μὴ ἀφαιρε-
θῆεν, τῷ Δεξιππῷ λέ-
γουσιν, (ὃς ἀπέδρα τὴν
πεντηκόντορον ἔχων ἐκ
Τραπεζοῦντος) καὶ κε-
λεύουσι διασώσαντα
τὰ πρόβατα, τὰ μὲν
αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦ-
ναι.

Εὐθύς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀ-
πελαύνει τοὺς περιε-
στῶτας τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν, καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι
δημόσια ταῦτ' εἴη· καὶ
τῷ Κλεάνδρῳ εὐθύς
ἔλθων λέγει ὅτι ἀρ-
πάξειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Ὁ
δὲ κελεύει τὸν ἀρπάξ-
ουσα ἀγειν πρὸς αὐτόν.
Καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ἄλει-
τινά· περιλυχῶν δ' Ἀ-
γασίας ἀφαιρεῖται· καὶ
γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀγῶ-
μενος λοχίτης. Οἱ δὲ
ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες τῶν
στρατιωτῶν ἐπιχειροῦ-
σι· βάλλειν τὸν Δέξ-
ιππον, ἀνακαλοῦντες
τὸν προδότην. *Εδει-

time of his arrival the army was out foraging. It happened, however, that a straggling party ascending a mountain after a flock of sheep, caught a great many of them; and being unwilling that the whole army should participate, told Dexippus (the same who had run away from Trebisond with the fifty-oared galley) that they feared the sheep would be taken from them; at the same time offered, that if he would secure them he should have a part for his trouble.

On this Dexippus drove away the soldiers who stood near, because they insisted that the sheep were the general property of the army; on which he reported to Cleander that the soldiers were insolent, and wished to take away the sheep by force. On this representation, Cleander commanded the man who had attempted *this* to be brought before him; on which Dexippus seized one of them, and was dragging him off, when Agasias, to whose company this man belonged, met him and rescued him; many soldiers also stoned Dexippus, and told him he was a traitor.¹ This conduct, however, put

¹ And told him a fact for which he ought to have suffered. Xenophon has informed us, page 306, that, finally, Dexippus lost his life through being detected in an intrigue, &c. &c.

σαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριη-
 ριτῶν πολλοὶ, καὶ ἔφευ-
 γον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν.
 Κλέανδρος δ' ἔφευγε.
 Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλ-
 λοι στρατηγοὶ κατε-
 κώλυόν τε, καὶ τῷ
 Κλέανδρῳ ἔλεγον ὅτι
 οὐδὲν εἶη πρᾶγμα, ἀλ-
 λά τὸ δόγμα εἶη αἴ-
 τιον, τὸ τοῦ στρατεύ-
 ματος, ταῦτα γενέσ-
 θαι. Ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεξιππου τε
 ἀνερεθιζόμενος, καὶ αὐ-
 τὸς ἀχθεσθεὶς ὅτι ἐ-
 φοβήθη, ἀπολευσεῖσ-
 θαι ἔφη, καὶ κηρύξειν,
 μηδεμίαν πόλιν δέχεσ-
 θαι, ὡς πολέμιους.
 Ἦρχον δὲ τότε πάν-
 των τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

Ἐνταῦθα πονηρὸν
 ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐ-
 κείνο εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλ-
 λησι, καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ

Dexippus in fear;¹ and not *he alone*, but many others belonging to the galleys, Cleander himself not exempt, which occasioned that commander immediately to put out to sea. On this Xenophon interfered, as did the other generals, and sent to inform Cleander, "That he had nothing to fear; that the misunderstanding had been occasioned by the standing order of the army." But Cleander, set on by Dexippus, but more particularly from the shame he felt for having betrayed his fears,² declared he would sail off, and have the whole army proclaimed as traitors, neither should any Greek city assist or receive them.³ The Lacedæmonians being then masters of Greece, were able to enforce this order; hence the commanders considered the affair as of great moment,

¹ Very natural that it should —

"Conscience makes cowards of us all."

SHAKESPEARE.

² Why should one passion thus oppose another, except for the purpose of demonstrating to ourselves that reason ought only to govern? This is the lesson we may be taught by it, if we choose to learn at all. For aught I can see, there was nothing of shame to be attached to an individual's being afraid of ten thousand men: but we all want to make one another believe we are heroes, and have nothing of fear in our compositions; and particularly is this the case with the sons of Neptune and Mars. Fear, indeed! Pardonnez moi. Il n'y a rien plus scandaleux et faux, et ce sont des coquins qui font courir tous ces bruits-là.

³ How common it is to hear men swagger when danger is at a distance.

ποιεῖν ταῦτα. Ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔφη γένεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκδώσει τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν καὶ τὸν ἀρελόμενον. Ἦν δὲ, ὃν ἐζήτει, Ἀγασίας, διὰ τέλους φίλος τῷ Ξενοφῶντι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ὁ Δέξιππος. Ἐνιεύθεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπορία ἦν, συνήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ἔνιοι μὲν αὐτῶν παρ' ὀλίγον ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Κλέανδρον· τῷ δὲ Ξενοφῶντι ἐκ ἐδόκει φαῦλον εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν,

and solicited Cleander not to do so; but he strenuously declared, that nothing should alter his determination, but the delivering up of the men who stoned Dexippus, and of the person who had rescued the soldier which he had in charge. Now this person, as before noticed, was the veteran captain Agasias, the steady friend of Xenophon, and it was on this ground that Dexippus had so strenuously accused him.¹ The commanders, therefore, thus perplexed, assembled the army, and laid before them the resolution of Cleander, many of whom treated the affair with contempt, saying, "That Cleander was a man of no importance;" but Xenophon viewed the circumstance differently, and rising on his legs, said:—

“Ὁ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐμοὶ οὐ φαῦλον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ ἡμῖν ἔτως ἔχων τὴν γνώμην Κλέανδρος ἀπεισιν, ὥσπερ λέγει. Εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη ἐγγὺς αἱ Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις· τῆς δ' Ἑλλάδος Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεστήκασιν· ἱκανοὶ

“Gentlemen, — This affair, in my opinion, is become a subject of extreme moment; since, if Cleander puts his threats into execution, and sails off, our being in the neighbourhood of the Greek cities will add nothing to our comforts; for you are aware that the Lacedæmonians are at the head of the Grecian states,² and that every

¹ An honest upright man is sure to procure enemies; villains of every description proclaim hostilities against him. Agasias too must suffer, because he is the friend of honesty.

² The Peloponnesian war lasted twenty-seven years; the history of

δὲ εἰσι καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς
 πόλεσιν ὅ,τι βύβονται
 διαπράττεσθαι. Εἰ ἔν
 οὔτος πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς
 Βυζαντίε ἀποκλείσει,
 ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἀρμοςαῖς παραγγέλλη
 εἰς τὰς πόλεις μὴ δέ-
 χεσθαι, ὡς ἀπιστοῦν-
 τας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ
 ἀνόμους ὄντας· ἔτι δὲ
 πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν
 ναύαρχον οὔτος ὁ λό-
 γος περὶ ἡμῶν ἤξει·
 ὥστε χαλεπὸν εἶναι
 καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπο-
 πλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ
 γῇ ἄρχουσι Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι καὶ ἐν τῇ θα-
 λάττῃ τὸν νῦν χρόνον.
 Οὐκ οὐν δεῖ οὔτε ἐνὸς
 ἀνδρὸς ἕνεκα οὔτε δυοῖν
 ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος ἀποσχέσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ πειστέον ὅ,τι ἂν
 κελεύωσι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ
 πόλεις ἡμῶν, ὅθεν ἐσ-
 μὲν, πείθονται αὐτοῖς.
 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, (καὶ
 γὰρ ἀκούω Δέξιππον
 λέγειν πρὸς Κλέαν-
 δρον ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐποίη-
 σεν Ἀγασίας ταῦτα,
 εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐκέ-

individual of them can effect what he
 pleases in his own city. If, therefore,
 at the command of Cleander, we should
 be shut out from Byzantium, and he
 issues similar orders to the other Greek
 cities, representing us as disobedient
 to Spartan orders, and ungovernable,
 this character of us will finally reach
 the ears of the admiral Anaxibius,
 which will not only render it unsafe
 for us to sail hence, but will make it
 difficult for us to remain even where
 we are; for the Lacedæmonians, you
 are aware, at this time command Greece,
 both by sea and land. Nor is it acting
 justly towards yourselves, to exclude
 yourselves from your nativities, merely
 for the sake of a couple of men. I
 advise, therefore, that these men be
 given up, and that we obey the Lacedæ-
 monians in the same manner as do
 the cities in which we were born. As
 for myself I value not, tho' Dexippus
 tells Cleander that Agasias would not
 have rescued the man, if he had not

which was written by Thucydides. It was not, however, at the termina-
 tion of this war that Sparta got a complete ascendancy; for the
 Athenians somewhat recovered themselves, and had not Alcibiades ad-
 vised them to send an army to Syracuse, the probabilities are, they
 would have maintained their independence. Lysander, however, put
 the finishing stroke, by taking Athens, and placing its affairs in the hands
 of thirty tyrants.

λευσα) ἐγὼ οὖν ἀπολύω καὶ ὑμᾶς τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ Ἀγασίαν, ἂν αὐτὸς Ἀσασίας φήσῃ ἐμὲ τινὸς τούτων αἰτίον εἶναι, καὶ καταδικάζω ἑμαυτοῦ, εἰ ἐγὼ πειροβολίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς βιαίου ἐξάρχω, τῆς ἐσχάτης δίκης ἄξιός εἶναι, καὶ ὑφέξω τὴν δίκην. Φημί δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον αἰτιᾶται, ἑαυτὸν χρῆναι παρασχεῖν Κλεάνδρῳ κριναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀπολελυμένοι τῆς αἰτίας εἴητε. Ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχει, χαλεπὸν, εἰ διόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τευξέσθαι, ἀντὶ τούτων μὴδ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰρηξόμεθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων."

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ἀγασίας εἶπεν, "Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅμνυμι θεοὺς καὶ θεᾶς, ἢ μὴν μήτε ἐμὲ Ξενοφῶντα κελεύσαι ἀφελεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, μήτε ὑμῶν ἄλλον μηδένα· ἰδόντι δὲ μοι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀγόμενον τῶν ἐμῶν λοχιτῶν ὑπὸ Δεξιππου, (ὃν ὑμεῖς

been ordered by me; but am willing to stand forward in defence both of you and Agasias, and to suffer any punishment, if Dexippus will prove that I was the author of throwing stones, or of any other species of violence. I further advise, that should Cleander accuse any other person, that he instantly surrender himself; for, depend on it, that this is the only line of conduct that will free us from censure, and banish suspicion.¹ Is it to be borne, that we, who expect the applause of all Greece, should, after all our exploits, be excluded from our nativities at the instance of a calumniator, and be shut out from the common privilege of Greeks?"

On this Agasias stepped forward, and said, "My Fellow Comrades, — I call the gods and goddesses to witness, that neither Xenophon, nor any other individual, commanded me to rescue the man; but seeing Dexippus (who you know is a traitor) marching off by force a brave soldier of my own com-

ἐπίστασθε ὑμᾶς προδόντα) δεινὸν ἔδοξεν εἰ-

¹ This was unquestionably the best advice that could be given, under all the circumstances. In fact, whenever any misrepresentation, or misunderstanding takes place, whether between individuals or states, the only proper mode, (if peace is the desired object,) is for the parties to see each other *facies ad faciem*, or by their representatives.

ναι· καὶ ἀφειλόμην, ὁμολογῶ. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν μὴ ἐκδῶτε· ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτὸν, ὡσπερ Ξενοφῶν λέλει, παρασχῆσω κρίναντι Κλεάνδρῳ, ὃ ἂν βούληται ποιῆσαι· τούτου ἕνεκα μῆτε πολεμῆτε Λακεδαιμονίοις, σώζεσθε τε ἀσφαλῶς ὅπῃ θέλει ἕκαστος· Συμπέμφατε μέντοι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλθόμενοι πρὸς Κλεάνδρον, οἵτινες, εἴαν τι ἐγὼ παραλείπω, ἢ λέξουσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ πράξουσιν.” Ἐκ τούτου ἔδωκεν ἡ στρατιὰ οὐσίνας βέλοιο προελόμενον ἰέναι. Ὁ δὲ προεἶλε τοὺς στρατηγούς. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς Κλεάνδρον Ἀγασίας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου· καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατηγοί,

“Ἐπεμφεν ἡμᾶς ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς σε, ὦ Κλεάνδρε· ἢ ἐκέλευσέ σε, εἴτε πάντας αἰτιά, κρίναντα σε αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι ὅ,τι ἂν βούλη· εἴτε ἓνα τινὰ, ἢ δύο, ἢ

pany, I was roused at his insolence, and rescued the man. Talk not, therefore, of delivering me up as a prisoner to Cleander, for I will surrender myself voluntarily to that officer's decisions, agreeable to my friend's advice, and take my trial as he thinks proper; for I would scorn to be the cause of war between you and the Lacedæmonians; and *for me*, every man shall be at liberty to return to whatever part of Greece he pleases. I have only therefore to desire, that you will select men from among yourselves, and despatch them with me to Cleander, in order that, should I err, they may correct my statement.”¹ On this, the army gave him leave to choose whatever companions he pleased; he therefore selected the generals, who gave their ready assent. Agasias, therefore, and the generals immediately marched off to see Cleander, and the man who had been rescued accompanied them. When they arrived, the generals told Cleander, that they waited on him by desire of the army, with instructions to say, that “If he condemned them all, they were willing to submit to his awardment; but if only the two or three individuals

¹ This was talking like a Greek of the old school: we have seen, indeed, that Agasias was a brave man and a veteran captain.

ἢ πλείους αἰτιᾶ, τού-
 τες ἀξιῖσι παρασχεῖν
 σοι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κρίσιν.
 Εἴ τι οὖν ἡμῶν τινὰ
 αἰτιᾶ, πάρεσμέν σοι
 ἡμεῖς· εἴ τε καὶ ἄλλον
 τινὰ, φράσον· οὐδεὶς
 γὰρ σοι ἀπέσται, ὅσ-
 τινς ἂν ἡμῖν ἐδελήσει
 πείθεσθαι." Μετὰ ταῦ-
 τα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀγα-
 σίας εἶπεν, "Ἐγὼ
 εἰμι, ὦ Κλέανδρε, ὁ
 ἀφελόμενος Δεξιππου
 ἄγοντος τῆτον τὸν ἄν-
 δρα, καὶ παῖειν κε-
 λεύσας Δέξιππον. Τῆ-
 τον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα ἄν-
 δρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα· Δέξ-
 ιππον δὲ αἰρεθέντα οἶ-
 दा ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς
 ἄρχειν τῆς πεντηκον-
 τόρου ἧς ἦτησάμεθα
 παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων,
 ἐφ' ᾧ τε πλοῖα συλ-
 λέγειν, ὡς σωζόμεθα·
 καὶ ἀποδράντα Δέξ-
 ιππον, καὶ προδόντα
 τοὺς στρατιώτας, μεθ'
 ὧν ἐσώθη. Καὶ τοὺς
 τε Τραπεζουντίους ἀ-
 πεσερήκαμεν τὴν πεν-
 τηκόντορον, καὶ κακοὶ
 δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τῆ-
 τον· αὐτοὶ τε, τὸ ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ, ἀπολώλαμεν
 πάντες." Ἦκουε γὰρ,
 ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἀπο-
 ρον εἶη περὶ ἀπιόντας
 τοὺς ποταμούς τε δια-
 βῆναι, καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς

had offended him, whom they had sent, they wished Cleander to pass sentence on them agreeable to their demerit. Therefore, here we are," said the generals, "before you; if you accuse *us*, or any other who may be absent, *we* are willing to submit, as shall *they*, for there is no man who will yield to our command, that shall not submit to your judgment." On this Agasias addressed him, and said, "I am the man, Cleander, who rescued the soldier from Dexippus, and who commanded my men to chastise him; for the soldier that he was bearing off was a brave and worthy man, but Dexippus is a scoundrel. The instance I shall adduce in proof of this is, that when we were at Trebisond, the citizens gave us a large galley to collect transports to convey us to Greece, over which Dexippus was placed as commander; but, instead of doing his duty, he betrayed his comrades by sailing off with the vessel, and thus brought a stigma on the whole army; but what added to his guilt was, that he had been previously informed, as well as ourselves, of the total impracticability of the army's proceed-

¹ This language was in rather too low a tone for an Athenian; tho', perhaps, the circumstances of the case might justify it.

τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Τέτον οὖν τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἀφειλόμην. Εἰ δὲ σὺ ἦγες, ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ μὴ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποδράντων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων ἐποίησα. Νόμιζε δ', ἐὰν ἐμὲ νῦν ἀποκτείνης, δι' ἄνδρα δειλόν τε καὶ πονηρόν, ἀγαθὸν ἀποκτενών."

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος ἔφη ὅτι Δέξιππον μὲν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ, εἰ ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς εἶη· οὐ μέντοι ἔφη νομίζειν, οὐδ' εἰ σαμπόνηρος ἦν Δέξιππος, βίαν χρῆναι πάσχειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κριθέντα (ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς νῦν ἀξιούτε) τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν. Νῦν μὲν

ing to Greece by land, on account of the many large rivers that opposed them : and from hence, O Cleander ! draw your opinion of his character ; for from such a wretch is it that I have rescued a brave and worthy soldier.¹ Had you, Cleander, seized the man, or any other person belonging to you, (except a traitor from among ourselves,) I would not have sought to rescue him. But now be assured, that if you put me to death, you will sacrifice a brave man for the sake of a coward and a villain."

On hearing this Cleander was struck, and said, " If Dexippus had done this, he could by no means approve of his conduct ;" but added, " that tho' Dexippus might be the wickedest of men, it offered no apology for retaliation, except inflicted through the medium of a judgment resulting from a fair trial.²

¹ There are some men so wretchedly constituted, that the happiness of their fellow mortals never enters within the range of their contemplations : let *self* be satisfied, the devil take all the rest. But, in this instance, impudence was added to guilt. How Dexippus could, after stealing the galley, again see the Greek army, may be accounted for by a counterpart, but by no honest, modest man : but it so happens —

" In the corrupted currents of this world,
Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice ;
And oft 'tis seen, the *wicked prize itself*
Buys out the law."

SHAKESPEARE.

² The English laws are framed in this spirit, which causes many offenders to pass unpunished. If the state found lawyers to plead the

οὐν ἄπιτε, καταλιπόν-
τες τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα·
ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ κελεύσω,
πάρεστε πρὸς τὴν κρί-
σιν. Αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὔτε
τὴν στρατιάν, οὔτε
ἄλλον οὐδένα· ἐπεὶ γε
οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ
ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα.
'Ὁ δ' ἀφαιρεθεὶς εἶπεν,
'Εγὼ, ὦ Κλέανδρε, εἰ
καὶ οἶμι με ἀδικοῦντά
τι ἄλυσθαι, ὅτ' ἔπαιον
οὐδένα, οὔτ' ἔβαλλον·
ἀλλ' εἶπον ὅτι δημόσια
εἴη τὰ πρῶτα· ἦν
γὰρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
δόγμα, εἴτις, ὅποτε ἡ
στρατιὰ ἐξίοι, ἰδίᾳ
ληΐζοιτο, δημόσια εἶναι
τὰ ληφθέντα. Ταῦτ'
εἶπον· καὶ ἐκ τούτου
με λαβὼν οὗτος ἤγεν·
ἵνα μὴ φθέγγοιτο μη-
δεὶς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς λα-
βὼν τὸ μέρος, διασώ-
σειε τοῖς λησταῖς πα-
ρὰ τὴν ρήτρεν τὰ
χρήματα. Πρὸς ταῦ-

As for you, Greek generals," said he, "you may depart and leave Agasias with me, and when I give you notice, be present at his trial; for, believe me, I neither accuse the army, nor any other individual *now*, since Agasias himself has confessed that he rescued the man." On this the soldier who had been rescued observed, "That tho' Cleander might possibly think that he had been apprehended as an offender, yet he would wish to inform him, that he not only had desisted from throwing stones, but had not even insulted any one; and, indeed, the only observation he had made on the business was, that the sheep were not the property of any individual, but belonged to the army collectively; and that this had resulted from a standing order, to which the army itself had agreed. *This*, Cleander, be assured," said he "constitutes the whole of my offence; and it was for stating this fact that Dexippus seized me, hoping thereby to prevent my evidence, and secure, unjustly, the booty for himself and his accomplices."¹ "Since, then,"

part of the oppressed, it would be all very well; but as the poor, *in ever so just a cause*, have got their lawyer to pay, poverty obliges them to pack up with injustice and oppression.

¹ This speech seems to have stung Cleander, who, I am inclined to

τα· ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν,
Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοιοῦτος
εἶ, κατάμενε, ἵνα καὶ
περὶ σοῦ βουλευσώ-
μεθα.

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν
ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον ἠρίσ-
των τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν
συνῆγε Ξενοφῶν, καὶ
συνεβόλευε πέμψαι ἄν-
δρας πρὸς Κλέανδρον,
παραιτησομένους περὶ
τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Ἐκ τῆ-
του ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, πέμ-
ψαντας στρατηγοὺς ἢ
λοχαγοὺς καὶ Δρα-
κόντιον τὸν Σπαρτιά-
την, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ
ἔδόκουν ἐπιτήδεια εἶ-
ναι, δεῖσθαι Κλέαν-
δρου κατὰ πάντα τρό-
πον ἀφεῖναι τῷ ἄνδρῃ.
Ἐλθὼν οὖν Ξενοφῶν
λέγει, “Ἐχεῖς μὲν,
ὦ Κλέανδρε, τοὺς ἄν-
δρας· καὶ ἡ στρατιά
σοι ἐφείτο ὅτι ἐβόλου
ποιῆσαι καὶ περὶ τού-
των, καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν
ἀπάντων. Νῦν δὲ σε
αἰτοῦνται καὶ δέονται,
δοῦναι σφίσι τῷ ἄνδρῃ,
καὶ μὴ κατακαίνειν·
πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρόσ-
θεν χρόνῳ περὶ τὴν
στρατιὰν ἐμοχθησάτην.

says Cleander, “you are in the same story with Agasias, do you remain behind also, that we may judge of your case at the same time.”

Cleander and his company then retired to dine; and Xenophon returned and assembled the army; whom he advised to send, competent persons, to intercede for the men. The army agreed to do so, and accordingly selected the generals, together with the *Spartan*,¹ Dracontius, for this purpose, and despatched them with this message, — “Cleander, by releasing the persons in custody, would confer a favour on the army.” To which Xenophon added, “You know, Cleander, that the men you demanded are in your power, and the army has not only made you master of their fate, but of its own; and now they intreat you not to deliver over those two brave men to death, who on all occasions have been so ready to do them service. Should they prevail, they offer in return, if the gods be propitious,² and you agreeable,

think, from the spirit of the text, was about to participate of the sheep which the soldiers had taken.

¹ Under the supposition that a Spartan would have more influence than an Athenian.

² No general was ever elected to command an army without sacrifice, and auspicious indications in the victims.

Ταῦτα δὲ σοῦ τυχόν-
τες, ὑπισχνοῦνταί σοι
ἀντὶ τούτων, ἐὰν βέλη
ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, καὶ
ἐὰν οἱ θεοὶ Ἰλευρῶσιν,
ἐπιδείξειν σοι καὶ ὡς
κόσμοιοί εἰσι, καὶ ὡς
ἱκανοὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι πει-
θόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίας
σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μη φο-
βείσθαι. Δέονται δὲ
σου καὶ τοῦτο, παρα-
γενόμενον καὶ ἀρχαῖνα
αὐτῶν, πείραν λαβεῖν
καὶ Δεξίππου καὶ σφῶν
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷος
ἕκαστός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν
ἀξίαν ἐκάστος νεῖμαι.”
Ἀκέσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέ-
ανδρος, “Ἄλλὰ ναὶ
μὰ τῷ Σιῶ, ἔφη, τα-
χύ τοι ὑμῖν ἀποκρι-
νοῦμαι. Καὶ τῷ τε
ἄνδρι ὑμῖν δίδωμι, καὶ
αὐτὸς παρέσομαι· καὶ
ἐὰν οἱ θεοὶ παραδιδώσι
τι, ἐξηγήσομαι εἰς τὴν
Ἑλλάδα. Καὶ πολλοὶ
οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἀντίοι
εἰσὶν, ἢ οὐς ἐγὼ περὶ
ὑμῶν ἐνίων ἤκουον, ὡς
τὸ σράτευμα ἀφισᾶτε
ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.”

that for the future you shall command them, in order that you may see, in the first place, how incapable they are, *while Heaven assists*, of disobeying orders, or of fearing an enemy; and, secondly, that when you shall have taken on yourself the command, you may make trial of Dexippus and themselves, and reward accordingly.” On hearing this candid offer, Cleander swore by Castor and Pollux,¹ that he would reply to them instantly. “And therefore,” said he, “I not only give up your men, but I will repair to the army myself, and if agreeable to the will of the gods, I will myself conduct you into Greece.² You have been misrepresented, Xenophon,” said he; “your discourse savours very differently from the reports that have reached me, for it has been insinuated as tho’ you endeavoured to make the army disaffected towards the Lacedæmonians.”

¹ This was a common oath: indeed, to swear by any of the Argonauts was a practice commonly adopted by all Greeks; nor did the Latins omit to do so, as may frequently be seen in the comedies of Terence. See the *Andria*:—

“Non, Hercle, intelligo.”

“Sane, Pol, illa temulenta ’st mulier et temeraria.”

² What a wonder-working power is flattery! “O Flattery! *Delicious essence!* How refreshing art thou to *nature!* How strangely are all its powers and all its weaknesses on thy side.”—*STERNE’S Sent. Jour.*

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν, ἐπαινοῦντες, ἀπῆλθον ἔχοντες τὸν ἄνδρα· Κλέανδρος δὲ ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ συνῆν Ξενοφῶντι φιλικῶς, ἢ ξενίαν συνεβάλοιο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἑώρα αὐτοὺς τὸ παραγγελόμενον εὐτάκτως ποιούοντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεθύμει ἡγεμῶν εἶναι αὐτῶν. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι θυομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς εἶπεν, “Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐδέλξει γενέσθαι τὰ ἱερά ἐξάγειν· ὑμεῖς μέντοι μὴ ἀδυμεῖτε τούτου ἕνεκα· ὑμῖν μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, δέδοται ἐκχομίσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκείσε ἤκητε, δεξόμεθα ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κάλλιστα.”

Ἐκ τῆς ἑδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ δημόσια πρό-

On this, the generals thanked Cleander for his kindness, and applauded his resolution, relative to commanding them, and returned with Agasias and the soldier. Cleander, however, offered sacrifice on the occasion, and conversed very friendly with Xenophon; and from that time they became extremely intimate. But when Cleander had seen the extraordinary discipline, tactics, and obedience of the army, his desire for commanding them increased; but the gods forbade it — for after sacrificing three days, the victims indicated unfavourably. On which he called the generals together, and told them, that tho' the victims were unfriendly to his taking the command, and of conducting the army into Greece, yet they should not be discouraged on that account; for it looks, turning to Xenophon, that this honour is reserved for you.¹ “Go forward, therefore,” said he, “to Byzantium; and when you shall have arrived there, we will shape you another course, and serve you to the best of our ability.”

On hearing this, the army presented him with some sheep, which he cor-

¹ The Greeks themselves were fully aware of the wonders of this retreat. They knew it would live in the annals of time.

βατα. Ὁ δὲ, δεξά-
μενος, πάλιν αὐτοῖς
ἀπέδωκε· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν
ἀπέπλει. Οἱ δὲ στρα-
τιῶται, διαθέμενοι τὸν
σίτον, ὃν ἦσαν συγ-
κεκομισμένοι, καὶ τάλ-
λα, ἃ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξε-
πορεύοντο διὰ τῶν Βι-
θυνῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδενὶ
ἐνετύγχανον, πορευό-
μενοι τὴν ὁρθὴν ὁδὸν,
ὥστ' ἔχοντές τι εἰς
τὴν φιλίαν διεξελθεῖν,
ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοῦμ-
παλιν ὑποστρέψαντας
ἔλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ
νύκτα. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιή-
σαντες, ἔλαβον πολλὰ
καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ πρό-
βατα· καὶ ἀφίκοντο
ἕκταϊοι εἰς Χρυσόπο-
λιν τῆς Χαλκηδονίας· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ, τὰ λάφυρα πωλοῦντες.

dially received, and again presented them to the army; and on this being done he sailed off.¹ The soldiers then sold their corn, and indeed the chief of their spoils, and commenced marching through Bithynia; but meeting nothing more in their way, to carry home to their friends, resolved to turn aside one day's march, to seek for something. In this excursion the army took a vast quantity of slaves and cattle; and after six days arrived at Chryso- polis, a city of Chalcedonia, where the soldiers halted seven days, to sell their spoils.

¹ There is something morally pleasing in this General's conduct. — He was evidently very desirous of commanding those veterans, and of having his name enrolled in the Page of History as one of their commanders; but his passion for Fame was checked from the considerations of Religion. By obeying the latter, however, he has raised himself in the estimate of every good man. For further illustration, see note 2, page 436.

THE
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK VII.

Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα, ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ, μέχρις εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου περὶ ἐξιόντες καὶ πλεόντες ἐποίησαν, μέχρις ἔξω τοῦ στόματος ἐγέ-

EVERY circumstance of moment, that occurred from the commencement of the Cyrean expedition to the battle; the achievements of the Greeks, from Cyrus's death 'till¹ their arrival on the Euxine; the difficulties encountered by sea and land after their departure 'till their arrival at Chrysopolis,² an

¹ Μέχρις, *usque*, until, is a term not found in the ancient manuscripts of Guelf; but the sense is not altered by an adverb merely connective.

² Chrysopolis is the last town of Chalcedonia, north of Bithynia; it is called by Stephanus, χρυσόπολις, *i. e.* say the etymologists, χρυσός, gold, πόλις, city — the city of gold, or the golden city; and it received this appellation, it should seem, from the circumstance of its being the place where the revenue of the adjacent provinces was paid to the satrap of the Persian kings. Others go back much further, and say it derived its name from Chryseis, the daughter of the priest of Apollo, whom the readers of Homer will recollect was the fair victim that fell to the lot of Agamemnon, and whom that hero was obliged to return to the arms of her father, to stop the plague, &c. in the Greek camp. Vide Iliad, line *a.* 430. *et seq.*

Ἐς Χρύσην ἵκανε, ἄγων ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην, κ. τ. λ.

“ Where at his solemn altar, as the maid
He gave to Chryses, thus the hero said: —

νοντο ἐν Χρυσόπολει τῆς Ἀσίας, πάντα ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Φαρνάβαζος, φοβούμενος τὸ στράτευμα μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν στρατεύηται, πέμψας πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον, (ὁ δὲ ἔτυχεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὦν) ἔδειτο διαβιβάσαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πάντα ποιήσιν αὐτῷ, ὅσα δέοι.

Asiatic city without the mouth of that sea; have been faithfully related in the preceding books.¹

It remains to be stated, that Pharnabazus, being apprehensive that the Greeks would make an excursion into his viceroyship, sent to Anaxibius, the commanding admiral at Byzantium, soliciting, as a favour, that he would transport the army out of Asia into Greece; adding, that if he did so *he* should not forget to reward his com-

‘ Hail, reverend priest! to Phoebus’ awful dome,
A suppliant I from great Atrides come:
Unransom’d here receive the spotless fair;
Accept the hecatomb the Greeks prepare,
And may thy god, who scatters darts around,
Atoned by sacrifice, desist to wound!’ ”

POPE.

This city is now called Scutari. See map.

¹ This passage is completely in the style of Xenophon, and in fact of most of the classic writers of his time. I have purposely preserved it to gratify the English reader, and that he might ask himself how he likes it. Its peculiarity consists in reserving the sense to the last two or three terms in the period; which has been, and still is a style much admired by scholars. All the books, except the first, are introduced in the same manner; but it will be seen, that I have transposed some members of the period in every book, in order to render them more sonorous to an English ear. The Latins, in imitation of their masters, (Athens being the seat of learning for all opulent Romans,) finally exceeded the Greeks in this peculiarity. The means by which they seem to have attained it was, by contracting their periods. The one which I have here selected from Xenophon, would read beautifully if it were shorter. The orator, however, who adopted this style, had a decided advantage over modern declaimers, for his auditors *must* listen to the whole of his periods, or they could not possibly understand him; whereas *modern speakers* frequently in the first part of their sentences anticipate the last, and their auditors, as a consequence, hang down their heads, and sometimes, indeed, with such significant faces and attitudes, as tell the speaker plainly, “ I know all the rest.”

Καὶ Ἀναξίβιος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς στρατηγούς ἢ λοχαγούς τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς Βυζάντιον· καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ διαβαίεν, μισθοφορὰν ἔσσεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἔφασαν βουλευσάμενοι ἀπαγγελεῖν· Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀπαλλάξοιτο ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ βέλιοιο ἀποπλεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν συνδιαβάντα, ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Ἐφην οὖν ταῦτα ποιήσειν.

pliance¹ in every reasonable manner. On this information, Anaxibius sent for the Greek generals and captains to Byzantium, and gave them assurances, that if the army passed over he would give them regular pay.² All the officers, with the exception of Xenophon, told him they would reflect on his proposal, and give him a definite answer as quick as possible; but Xenophon told him frankly, that he intended to quit the army and sail for Athens; and therefore his compliance was immaterial. But the admiral pressed him earnestly to accompany the army to Byzantium before he quitted it; to which he finally agreed.³

¹ After the Persians felt themselves incapable of encountering the Greeks in the field, they attacked them in the cabinet, and found money achieve what darts and swords could not. This admiral, we see, was ready to destroy a veteran army whose actions have astonished, and will continue to astonish all posterity, for the sake of a little pelf; and he has had many imitators in all nations:—

“ For money is the common scale,
Of things by *measure, weight, and tale*;
In all the affairs of *church and state*,
Is both the *balance and the weight*.
Yes, money, like the swords of kings,
Is the *last reason of all things*.”

Hudibras.

² The regular pay of a Greek soldier was one daric, or 1*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* per month. Sometimes, when on foreign service, he received one and a half daric, or 2*l.* 8*s.* 4½*d.* *i. e.* equivalent to 1*s.* 1*d.* per diem at home, and 1*s.* 8*d.* abroad. I believe there is a correspondent regulation in the British army, or at least something analogous to it, which is perfectly equitable. The Daric, we have before observed, sometimes differed in value.

³ This admiral seemed perfectly aware of Xenophon's influence.

Σεύθης δὲ ὁ Θραξ
πέμπει Μηδοσάδην, ἢ
κελεύει Ξενοφῶντα
συμπροθυμεῖσθαι ὅπως
διαβῆ τὸ στράτευμα,
καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ ταῦτα
συμπροθυμηθέντι οὐ
μέταμελήσειν. Ὁ δ'
εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν
στράτευμα διαβήσεται
τούτου ἕνεκα μηδὲν τε-
λείτω μήτε ἐμοὶ, μήτε
ἄλλω μηδενί. Ἐπει-
δὲν δὲ διαβῆ, ἐγὼ μὲν
ἀπαλλάξομαι πρὸς δὲ
τοὺς διαμένοντας καὶ
ἐπικαιρίως ὄντας προσ-
φερέσθω, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ
δοκῆ.

Ἐκ τούτου διαβαί-
νουσι πάντες εἰς Βυ-
ζάντιον οἱ στρατιῶται.

It was at this juncture also, that Seuthes,¹ the Thracian, sent Medosades to Xenophon, soliciting his assistance. This ambassador's instructions warranted him to say, "That if Xenophon would comply, and bring over the army, he should have no reason to repent it." Xenophon got rid of Medosades, by saying, "Let not your master offer any thing to *me*, or to any other officer, on *that account*, as we purpose to pass over in compliance with our own plans; and on our arrival there, *I* shall leave the army. If, therefore, your master wishes any assistance, he had better apply *then* to those officers who may remain, and can be of service to him, and to whom he will be at liberty to make what proposals he pleases."²

The army, shortly after, crossed over to Byzantium; but the admiral failed

¹ It would be altogether superfluous to say any thing respecting this man *in a note*, from whose own mouth, in another place, we have his whole history and character, but for the circumstance of mentioning, that the distress which caused him to apply to Xenophon arose out of a revolution brought on by a neighbouring state, but which by individual perseverance he finally silenced. Xenophon, in the latter part of this book, numbers him among the king's satraps; but this was a mistake, as we shall in a proper place demonstrate. In fact, he was one of the independent kings of Thrace.

² Thus leaving the door fairly open for another application, and, by the same stroke of policy, gains *time* to see what the admiral Anaxibius will do for the army.

καὶ μισθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἀναξίβιτος· ἐκήρυξε δὲ, λαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκευὴ τῆς στρατιώτας ἐξίεναι, ὡς ἀποπέμψων τε ἅμα καὶ ἀριθμὸν ποιήσων. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον ἀργύριον ἐπισιτίζεσθαι εἰς τὴν πορείαν, καὶ ὀκνηρῶς συνεσκευάζοντο.

Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνδρῳ τῷ ἀρμοστῇ ξένος γεγεννημένος, προσελθὼν ἠσπάζετο αὐτὸν, ὡς ἀποπλευσόμενος ἦδη. Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ λέγει. Μὴ ποιήσης ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔφη, αἰτίαν ἔξεις· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν τινὲς ἦδη σὲ αἰτιῶνται, ὅτι οὐ ταχὺ ἐξέρπει τὸ στρατεύμα. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' αἴτιος μὲν ἔγωγε οὐκ εἰμὶ τάτου, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ ἐπισιτισμοῦ δεόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες, διὰ τοῦτο ἀθυμοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδόν. Ἄλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη, ἐγὼ σοὶ συμβουλεύω ἐξελθεῖν μὲν ὡς πορευσόμενον· ἐπειδὴν δ'

to fulfil his engagement, and contented himself merely by issuing in his order of the day, — “That the army, with its arms and baggage, was to quit the city;” and this order was so worded as though he intended to take a census of their numbers and dismiss them.¹ The soldiers took great displeasure at this, for they had no money to take them to their homes; consequently they packed up their baggage very reluctantly.

Xenophon was at this moment taking leave of Cleander, with whom he had become very intimate, intending to set sail immediately; but Cleander advised him to delay it, stating, at the same time, that he was censured by many for the slowness with which the army moved out of the city. But Xenophon assured Cleander, “That this reluctance did not originate with him, but was simply the result of the soldiers wanting money to defray their expences home.” “Well,” says Cleander, “take my advice, quit the city with them, as though you intended to march in company, and when you are out take your leave of the army, then depart.”

¹ This was not only a very impolitic, but a very unjust step; and for which he afterwards, it will be seen, received a very proper punishment. But 'twas not till he had endangered the lives of the citizens, and the destruction of Byzantium.

τεσθαι. Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐλθόντες πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον διαπραξόμεθα οὕτως. Ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. Ὁ δ' ἐκέλευσεν οὕτω ποιεῖν, καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἐξίεναι συνεσκευασμένους καὶ προσανεπιτεῖν, ὃς ἂν μὴ παρῆ εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αἰψάσειαι. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξήρσαν οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ πρῶτον, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. Καὶ ἤδη τε πάντες πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔξω ἦσαν, καὶ Ἐτεόνικος εἰσήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας, ὡς, ὅταν ἔξω γένωνται πάντες, ἀποκλείσω τὰς πύλας, τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβαλὼν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς, ἔλεγε, Τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια, ἔφη, λαμβάνετε ἐκ τῶν Θρακίων κωμῶν (εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι πολλαὶ κριθαὶ καὶ πυροὶ, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια) λαβόντες δὲ πορεύεσθε εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον, ἐκεῖ δὲ Κυνίσκος ὑμῖν

¹ This advice of Cleander's, no doubt, had its origin in friendship, and in some measure sprang out of *his knowledge* of his colleague's character, which was formed and governed by that monster of all monsters, *Avarice*, that, like Homer's Charybdis, received, but never emitted any thing. But I doubt whether Xenophon ought to have yielded to it, because any thing like subterfuge was foreign to his character. But 'tis possible he might see the *necessity* of the case, and that a refusal would have been his passport to death.

² This is quite in the style of a military commandant.

³ The Chersonesus Thracia is here meant, for which see map, where

departure."¹ "Let us then," said Xenophon, "proceed to the admiral, and thus arrange matters." On their arrival to Anaxibius, Xenophon stated his intentions, of which that officer much approved; and added, "That he would give orders for the army immediately to depart;" at the same time intimated to the other Greek officers, that whatever soldier absented himself from the muster-roll, or omitted to march out with the army, should incur his displeasure.² On this order being issued, the generals first, and then the army left the city; but just as the last division were quitting the gates, and Eteonicus stood ready to bolt them, Anaxibius told the Greek generals, that they might supply themselves with provisions out of the Thracian villages, where they would find great plenty of barley and wheat, and every other necessary, and then pass on to the Chersonesus,³ where

μισθοδοτήσει Ἐπακῆσαντες δὲ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῦτα, ἢ καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν τις, διαγγέλλει εἰς τὸ στρατεύμα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἐπυθάνοντο περὶ τοῦ Σεύθη, πότερα πολέμιος εἶη ἢ φίλος· καὶ πότερα διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους δέοι πορεύεσθαι, ἢ κύκλω διὰ μέσης τῆς Θράκης. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἔτοι ταῦτα διελέγοντο, οἱ γε στρατιῶται ἀναρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα θέουσι δρόμῳ

Cyniscus¹ would give them pay. Whether any of the soldiers overheard the admiral, or whether any of the captains had told the soldiers what passed, it would be difficult to say, but while the Greek generals were enquiring of him whether Seuthes was a friend to the Lacedæmonians, or an enemy, or whether the army was to march over the holy mountain,² or through the heart of Thrace, the soldiers snatched up their arms and ran hastily to the

the reader will discover the march of the army marked out, which is entirely omitted in Hutchinson's, and all other maps that have come under the translator's inspection. Indeed, every other map of the expedition is not only falsely laid down in latitude and longitude, but is incorrect in fifty other particulars. For the corrections effected in *this* the public are chiefly indebted to Mr. Arrowsmith. This country is now called Gallipolis.

¹ Κυνίσκος, in the MSS., Paris and Eton, is found Κυνίκος, and the opinion of a German critic, as to who he was, is as follows: — "Haud dubio Laco, qui in Chersoneso bellum cum Thracibus gessit." A Spartan general by that name, who *then* was engaged in carrying on a war against the Thracians. The probabilities are, that this critic is correct. See Index Nominum, edit. *Lipsiæ*, ab Carolo Zeunio, Gr. Prof. 1785.

² Mons Sacer, Διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, the Holy Mountain. Among the ancients every lofty hill was sacred: first, because they were supposed to be nearer to the heavens, the seats of the gods, than the flat parts of the earth; secondly, because it was on those elevated places that the gods were reported to converse with mortals. As the Pentateuch are the oldest books extant, it is but fair to infer, that *this idea* was derived originally from the descriptions these give of the interviews between Jehovah and the Jewish leader, Moses, on Mount Sinai and Horeb, &c. &c., which are exceedingly sublime. Vide Exodus, chap. xix. xx. xxi.; and for *moral illustration*, see Hebrews, chap. xii. xviii. xix. xx. xxi. *et seq.*

πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ὡς πάλιν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος εἰσιόντες. Ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος ἃ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ὡς εἶδον προσθέντας τὰς ὀπλίτας, συγκλείουσι τὰς πύλας, ἢ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. Οἱ δὲ σφραλιῶται ἔκοπλον τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀδικώτατα πιάσχοιεν ἐκβαλλόμενοι εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ κατασχίσειν τὰς πύλας ἔφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἐκόντες ἀνοίξουσιν. Ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῶν ἔβηον παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τοῦ τεύχους ὑπερβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἄλλοι δ' οἱ ἠτύχωνον ἔνδον ὄντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ὀρώσι τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις πράγματα, διακόψαντες ταῖς ἀξίταις τὰ κλεῖθρα, ἀναπειανύουσι τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' εἰσπίπτουσιν.

gates, with a view of forcing themselves back into the city; but on Eteonicus and his assistants seeing the heavy-armed troops running towards them, they immediately closed and bolted the gates. The soldiers then knocked lustily, and complained they were treated cruelly and unjustly,¹ and were shut out of the place as a prey to the enemy; and added, that unless the gates were immediately opened, they would cut them in pieces. Some of the soldiers ran to the sea and got over the mole into the city; and some, who happened to be left behind, seeing what was going on, broke the bars in pieces, and set the gates open, on which the whole army rushed into the place.²

¹ The complaint was well founded; it originated in the admiral's cupidity, as we have before seen.

² What would not Anaxibius, at this critical juncture, have given for an advocate? and how richly did he merit what he soon after met with, viz. the loss of *command*, and with it, the loss of the money promised by Pharnabazus! But his successor was no better; in fact, it was about this period that the *secret service money* of the Persians operated the most forcibly, and finally brought Athens and Sparta under Macedonian sway. We gather this fact from the life of the virtuous and brave Agesilaus, who soon after the return of the ten thousand was despatched into Asia to wage war against Artaxerxes, and would, unquestionably, have done what Alexander afterwards effected, but for Persian money; but that was applied so effectually as to set the governments of Athens and Sparta by the ears, and Agesilaus was recalled for the purpose of exercising those military talents against the Athenians, which ought to have been directed against the common enemy. How bitterly did he bewail the effects of the battles of Coronea

Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ὡς εἶδε τὰ γιγνόμενα, δέισας μὴ ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τράποιτο τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ γένοιτο τῇ πόλει, καὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔδει, καὶ συνεισπίπτει εἰσω τῶν πυλῶν σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ. Οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι, ὡς εἶδον τὸ στράτευμα βία εἰσπίπτον, φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, οἱ δὲ οἴκαδε· ὅσοι δὲ ἔυδον ἐτύγγχανον ὄντες, ἔξω· οἱ δὲ καθεῖλλον τὰς τριήρεις, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι σώζοιτο· πάντες δὲ ᾤοντο ἀπολωλέναι, ὡς ἐαλωκυίας τῆς πόλεως· Ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἀποφεύγει. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος κατὰ δρᾶ-

Xenophon, observing the temper of the soldiers and their proceedings, and being apprehensive they would sack the city, and bring an indelible disgrace on themselves, and an irreparable injury on the citizens, rushed in among them, and was carried within the city by the crowd. The citizens, affrighted, quitted the market, and some fled to their ships, others to their houses; some who were within their houses ran to the beach, and began to haul the galleys into the basin, with a view to escape; and all, indeed, acted as though an enemy had taken the place by assault.¹ The keeper of the gates also fled to the citadel; and Anaxibius himself was so much alarmed,

and Leuctra! and tho' not present at the latter, he foretold the consequences.

“ When Greeks fought Greeks then was the tug of war,
The labour'd battle sweat and conquest bled.”

LEX's Alex.

But Agesilaus was proof against every bribe; “ Atque in hoc illud imprimis fuit admirabile; cum maxima munera ei ab regibus, et dynastis, civitatibusque conferrentur, nihil unquam in domum suam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de vestitu Laconum mutavit. Domo eadem fuit contentus, qua Eurysthenes, progenitor majorum suorum, fuerat usus: quam qui intrarat, nullum signum libidinis, nullum luxuriæ videre poterat; contra, plurima patientiæ atque abstinentiæ.”

¹ And thus it would have been, but for the timely interference of Xenophon, whose knowledge of human nature led him to oppose all its weaknesses by *forbearance*. In this particular Xenophon has never had a rival, if we except the great *Washington*, whose forbearance indeed was proverbial. See “ Rise and Progress of the American Colonies,” 1803, Philadelphia edit. quarto.

μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ἀλιευτικῷ πλοίῳ περιέπλει εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται ἐκ Χαλκηδόνης φρουρούς· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει σχεῖν τοὺς ἀνδρας.

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ξενοφῶνα, προσπίπτουσιν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ, καὶ λέγουσι, Νῦν σοι ἔξεστιν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι. Ἔχεις πόλιν, ἔχεις τριήρεις, ἔχεις χρήματα, ἔχεις ἀνδρας τοσούτους. Νῦν, εἰ βούλοιο, σύ τε ἡμᾶς ὀνήσαιο, καὶ ἡμεῖς σὲ μέγαν ποιήσαιμεν. Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἄλλ' εὐτε λέγετε, καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε, θέσθε τὰ ὄπλα ἐν τάξει ὡς τάχιστα· βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς κατηρημησαι, καὶ αὐτὸς παρηγγύα ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευσε παρεγγυᾶν, καὶ τίθεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα. Οἱ δὲ, αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ταλτόμενοι, οἱ τε ὀπλιταὶ ἐν ὀλίῳ χρόνῳ εἰς πενήκοντα

that he sailed round to the same place in a fishing-boat, and despatched a courier for the troops in the garrison at Chalcedon, fearing lest the soldiers who then occupied the citadel of Byzantium were not sufficient to defend it.

On the soldiers seeing Xenophon they flocked round him, and exclaimed, “Now, Xenophon, is the time to make yourself a man; you are now master of a great city, ships of war, money, and all the inhabitants; you may now make us rich and yourself considerable if you please.” “And which I assuredly will do,” said Xenophon, “if ’tis your desire; therefore fall into your ranks, and stand to your arms immediately.”¹ He gave similar orders to all the rest of the officers, with a view of *gaining time*, and thereby to cool them. The heavy troops readily formed fifty

¹ A man in a passion is usually treated by his friends in the same manner as a man inebriated by liquor. This Xenophon had no doubt observed, and regulated his conduct accordingly. What might not a bad disposed general have done with this army at such a juncture? — what would not Anaxibius himself have done with it, but a very short time afterwards, to Pharnabazus, when that satrap had duped and laughed at him? Ah! he would not only have sacked his city and butchered his person, but he would have laid waste his Province. Ah! I know no such monster as *Avarice*, deprived of his prey; — a Bear robbed of her whelps is a lamb compared to him.

ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ πελ-
τάσταί ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας
ἐκάτερον παραδεδρα-
μήκεσαν. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον
οἶον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξ-
ασθαί ἐστι, τὸ Θρά-
κιον καλούμενον, ἔρη-
μον οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδιόν.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔκειτο τὰ
ὄπλα, καὶ κατηρεμή-
θησαν, συγκαλεῖ Ξε-
νοφῶν τὴν στρατιάν,
καὶ λέγει τάδε.

“Ὅτι μὲν ὀργίζεσ-
θε, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατιῶ-
ται, καὶ νομίζετε δεῖνὰ
πάσχειν ἑξαπατώμε-
νοι, οὐ θαυμάζω. Ἐὰν
δὲ τῶ θυμῷ χαρίζω-
μεθα, καὶ Λακεδαι-
μονίους τε τὰς παρόν-
τας τῆς ἑξαπάτης τι-
μωρησώμεθα, καὶ τὴν
πόλιν τὴν οὐδὲν αἰτίαν
διαρπάσωμεν, ἐνθυμή-
θητε ἃ ἔσται ἐντεῦθεν.
Πολέμιοι μὲν ἐσόμεθα
ἀποδοδειγμένοι Λακε-

deep; and the targeteers, knowing
their place, fell in on the wings. It
was in the Thracian square¹ where
the army thus drew up, and being free
from houses, was an excellent place for
a parade. The soldiers having formed,
and their minds being somewhat tran-
quillized, Xenophon addressed them
as follows:—

“Fellow Soldiers,—That you should
be angry and resent the fraud prac-
tised on you, does not at all surprise
me; and had your resentment been
confined to those who have deceived
you, little could be said in their behalf:
but if *you*, for *their crimes*, plunder the
inhabitants of this city, who *are inno-*
cent, consider well what will be the
consequences. From that moment, I
have no hesitation in saying, you will
be the declared enemy of Sparta and

¹ Θράκιον καλούμενον, the Thracian Square, or *La Place du Thrace*. The French mode of expression is more agreeable to the original than the English; but neither of them is exactly Greek. There was one of the porches of Solomon's Temple called the *Beautiful Porch of the Temple*: so Θράκιον καλούμενον, *The Beautiful Thracia*, or the place where the most regular building, and finest specimens of Thracian architecture were to be seen. It was situated very near the entrance to the port, as may be inferred from ἀνοίξαντες τὰς π'λας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενας, &c.* Very near it stood the Temple of Mercury; † indeed, according to Polybius, this temple was erected immediately on the gorge of the citadel, which was not more than twenty-five stadia, or two miles and three quarters from the Asiatic side; which accounts at once for Xerxes having chosen this place to throw his bridge over.

* Hist. Gr. lib. iii.

† Herodotus.

δαιμονίοις τε καὶ τοῖς
 συμμάχοις· οἷος δὲ
 πόλεμος ἂν γένοιτο,
 εἰκάζειν δὴ πάρεστιν,
 ἑωρακότας καὶ ἀνα-
 μνησθέντας τὰ νῦν δὴ
 γεγενημένα. Ἡμεῖς
 γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς-
 ἤλθομεν εἰς τὸν πό-
 λεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἢ τὰς
 συμμάχους, ἔχοντες
 τριήρεις, τὰς μὲν ἐν
 θαλάττῃ, τὰς δ' ἐν
 τοῖς νεωρίοις ἐκ ἐλάτ-
 τως τετρακοσίων, ὑπαρ-
 χούτων δὲ πολλῶν χρη-
 μάτων ἐν τῇ πόλει,
 καὶ προσόδη ἑσθης κατ'
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τε τῶν
 ἐνδήμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς
 ὑπερορίας, ἢ μείον χι-
 λίων ἰαλάντων ἀρχον-
 τές τε τῶν νήσων ἀ-
 पासῶν, καὶ ἐν τε τῇ
 Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις πολλὰς
 ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ
 Βυζάντιον, ὅπου νῦν ἔσμεν, ἔχοντες, κατεπολεμήθημεν οὕτως, ὡς
 πάντες ἐπίσασθε. Νῦν δὲ δὴ τί οἰόμεθα παθεῖν, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν καὶ

her allies; and that you may judge of the issue of such a war, let me remind you of what has recently happened, and *that*, indeed, within the period of your own recollections. When the Athenians commenced war with Sparta and her allies, they had a fleet, including those on the stocks, of no less than four hundred galleys; the coffers of the treasury were full; and the home and foreign¹ revenue no less than one thousand talents annually.² They were possessed of many cities both in Asia and Europe, and even of this city where we now stand; yet with all these advantages they were vanquished, *as you very well know*. What then have we to hope in contending against Sparta

¹ From hence we learn, that the Greeks levied a tax on their colonies; but in what manner this tax was collected we are not exactly informed. Whether it was a sum paid in the *gross* from every colony, or levied on the merchant and tradesman, or from the lands, or the whole of them together, we have no means *now* of ascertaining; but it will be recollected, that the *mode of taxing* (not *paying a tax*) was the cause of dispute between England and her American colonies; and certainly it cannot be denied, that in reference to taxes the *modus operandi* is almost every thing.

² That is, 193,750*l.* English. Let the reader compute the following: the mina was equivalent to 100 drachmæ, or 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* English; the talent was equivalent to sixty minæ, *i. e.* 193*l.* 15*s.*, which sum \times by 1000 = to the sum above stated. Now this revenue, which sounded so largely in a Grecian ear, forms about $\frac{1}{200}$ of the English, on her peace establishment. — *O tempora! O mores!*

τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμμαχῶν ὑπαρχόντων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ, καὶ ὅσοι ἐκείνοις τότε ἦσαν σύμμαχοι, πάντων προσγεγενημένων; Τισσαφέρνους δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄλλων βαρβάρων πάντων πολεμίων ἡμῖν ὄντων, πολεμιωτάτη δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως; ὃν ἤλθομεν ἀφαιρησόμενοι τε τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ δυναίμεθα. Τούτων δὲ πάντων ὁμῶ ὄντων, ἔστι τις οὕτως ἄφρων, ὅστις οἶεται ἂν ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι; Μὴ, πρὸς θεῶν, μαινώμεθα, μηδὲ αἰσχρῶς ἀπολώμεθα, πολέμιοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς πατράσι, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν φίλοις τε καὶ οἰκείοις. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν εἰσὶ πάντες, ταῖς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατευσόμεναις· καὶ δικαίως· εἰ βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἠδελήσαμεν κατασχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα, κρατοῦντες· Ἑλληνίδα δὲ, εἰς ἣν πρῶτον ἤλθομεν πόλιν, ταύτην ἐξαλαπάξομεν. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν εὐχομαι πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιθεῖν ὑφ' ἡμῶν γενομένα, μυρίας ἐμέ γε κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀργυιάς γενέσθαι. Καὶ ὑμῖν συμβουλεύσω, Ἑλληνας ὄντας, τοῖς Ἑλλήνων ποσειτηκόσι

and Athens united, backed by their allies, and by Tissaphernes and Artaxerxes to boot, (if required,) whom we have attempted to deprive of dominion and of life? With their united forces, is there any one so weak as to suppose that we could contend successfully?— and if so, what madness is it to talk of seizing this city!— For heaven's sake, comrades, let us not betray our weakness by becoming the proclaimed enemies of our fathers, friends, and relatives, and thus perish with dishonour and infamy! For you know all those cities where our friends reside will declare war against us, and not without reason, seeing we have given up all the towns of the Persians whom we have conquered,¹ and have now seized upon the very first city of our friends we have arrived at.² Rather than see you guilty, therefore, of such folly as this, would I solicit annihilation, or a bed in the earth ten thousand fathoms deep. I therefore solicit you, as Greeks, to endeavour by obedience to the masters

¹ This alludes not merely to the towns given up, but rather to the unwillingness the soldiers had evinced when indirectly solicited to colonize. How often must this army have repented not taking Xenophon's advice, on discovering the ingratitude and the reception given them by their countrymen.

² That is in Greece *proper*.

πειθομένους πειρᾶσθαι τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνησθε ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀδικουμένους τῆς γῆν Ἑλλάδος μὴ στέρεσθαι. Καὶ νῦν μοι δοκεῖ πέμψαντας Ἀναξιβίῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν βίαιον ποιήσομεν παρεληλύδαμεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ', ἣν μὲν δυνώμεθα, παρ' ὑμῶν ἀγαθόν τι εὐρίσκεισθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ δηλώσοντες ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἔξαπατώμενοι, ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι ἔξερχόμεθα."

Ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ πέμπουσιν Ἰερώνυμόν τε Ἡλείον ἐροῦντα ταῦτα, καὶ Εὐρύλοχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ Φιλήσιον Ἀχαιόν. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ᾤοντο ἐρεθίζεσθαι. Ἐτι δὲ καθημένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, προσέρχεται Κυρατάδης Θηβαῖος, ὃς οὐ φεύγων τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιήει ἀλλὰ στρατηγιῶν, καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, εἴ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος στρατηγῶν δέοιτο· καὶ τότε

of Greece to obtain justice; and if you fail, (though wronged,) it would be impolitic to resent it, unless you wish voluntarily to exclude yourselves from Greece for ever. My advice, therefore, is, that you send competent persons to Anaxibius, to inform him, that you did not re-enter the city with a view of committing violence, but, if possible, to obtain justice. And should this fail, let us shew him that we are willing again to quit it, not from being compelled to do so, but from a sense of duty."¹

This proposal was well received, and immediately they despatched Hieronymus of Elis, the Arcadian Eurylochus, and Philesius of Achaia, to the admiral, with instructions that incorporated those sentiments. While the soldiers were thus assembled, and under arms, waiting their return, a Theban, by name Cyratades, approached them, and wished to ingratiate himself with the soldiers. This man was an exile, who wandered about seeking military employment from city to city, offering himself to any state that wanted a general.²

¹ This advice was noble, and in unison with the character of the man who gave it; and, in fact, might serve as a general maxim, viz. "To sacrifice *resentment* to the obligations of *duty*."

² In days of *yore*, the profession and qualifications of a General were as regularly taught under masters as that of a mechanic or agriculturist;

προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὅτι
εἵτοιμος εἶη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐ-
τοῖς εἰς τὸ Δέλτα κα-
λούμενον τῆς Θρακίης,
ἐνθα πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ
λήψοιντο· ἔς τε δ' ἂν
μολῶσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν
παρέξειν ἔφη καὶ σῖτα
καὶ ποτά.

Ἀκούουσι ταῦτα οἱ
στρατιῶται, καὶ τὰ
παρὰ Ἀναξιβίου ἅμα
ἀπαγγελλόμενα· ἀ-
πεκρίνατο γὰρ ὅτι πει-

He gave the soldiers to understand, that he was ready to conduct them into the Delta¹ of Thrace, where he would venture to assert they would make their fortunes; and 'till they should arrive in that country he would supply them with necessaries.

While this man was talking with them, and making those proposals, they received an answer from Anaxibius, the purport of which was, that the

and if there was no employment at home, to seek it abroad was equally common. This fact, in a limited sense, is exemplified in our author; but for a man to go about offering himself as a *general*, de facto, seems as novel to an Englishman, as tho' a man should go from state to state offering himself to be a king; of which, I believe, there is but one solitary instance on record. The proposal, however, *unfortunately*, was made to that *amator regum*, Benjamin Franklin, during the revolution of the American colonies, and when that gentleman was the American ambassador at Paris; the manner of its reception, therefore, may be easily anticipated. The proposal was made in a letter to the Doctor, wherein the writer endeavoured to shew, that he was a *Norman* whose family was much more ancient than the Dukes of Normandy, and had never, like that, been polluted by bastardy; and as the Americans had turned away (*renvoyé*) one who sprang from them, meaning George the Third, *he thought* the Americans could have no objection to receive a branch of a family so much more ancient, *et ergo plus honorable*. The Doctor laughed; but that would not do—the Norman was not so easily to be quieted: for tho' in his second letter he did not absolutely threaten to go over and conquer America, yet he told the Doctor, that he thought an acknowledgment of 30,000*l.* was the least the Americans could have made him for his generosity. The letters of this Norman are in the possession of the distinguished family of the Beaumarchais, at Paris!!!

¹ Δέλτα, Delta, so called because the figure of the country resembled the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet Δ. There is one part of Egypt that has the same name, and for the same reason; and among ancient writers every country that described the figure of two right angles, was called the Delta.

δομένοις αὐτοῖς οὐ με-
ταμελήσει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
τε οἴκοι τέλεσι ταῦτα
ἀπαγγελεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς
βουλεύσοιτο περὶ αὐ-
τῶν ὅτι δύναιτο ἀγα-
θόν. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ
στρατιῶται τὸν τε Κυ-
ρατιάδην δέχονται στρα-
τηγόν, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ
τείχους ἀπῆλθον. Ὁ
δὲ Κυρατιάδης συνιάσ-
σεται αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν
ὑστεραίαν παρέσσεσθαι
ἐπὶ τὸ σφάτευμα, ἔχων
καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ μάντιν,
καὶ σίτα καὶ ποτὰ τῆ
στρατιά. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλ-
θον, ὁ Ἀναξίβιος ἔ-
κλεισε τὰς πύλας, καὶ
ἐκήρυξεν ὅτι ὅστις ἂν
ἄλῳ ἔνδον ὦν τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν, πεπράσεται.
Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κυ-
ρατιάδης μὲν ἔχων τὰ
ἱερεῖα καὶ τὸν μάντιν
ἦκε· καὶ ἄλφιτα φέ-
ροντες εἶποντο αὐτῷ
εἰκοσὶν ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλ-
λοι οἶνον εἰκοσὶν ἄν-
δρες, καὶ ἑλαιῶν τρεῖς,
καὶ σκόροδων εἰς ἀνήρ
ἕσσον ἐδύνατο μέγιστον
φορτίον, καὶ ἄλλος
προμύων. Ταῦτα δὲ
καταθέμενος ὡς ἐπὶ
θάσμευσιν, ἐθύετο.

Greek army should have no occasion to repent obeying his orders; that he would report their conduct to the government of Sparta; and would endeavour, all that lay in his power, personally to serve them.¹ The soldiers then accepted this Theban for their general, who proposed to meet them the next day with a priest, victims,² and provisions for them all; and thus having arranged things, they quitted the city, which Anaxibius no sooner saw, than he caused the gates to be shut, and issued a proclamation, that if any soldiers were found again within the walls they should be sold for slaves. The next morning, as proposed, Cyratades came to the army with the offerings and the priest: he was followed by twenty men laden with barley-meal; twenty also came bringing wine; and some few brought olives, garlic, and onions; which were ordered to be set down, as if intended to be divided among the soldiers; he then prepared to offer sacrifice.

¹ The admiral's tone was much changed; but, as will be seen, it was only for a season, for when his fears subsided his cruelties returned.

² We have before seen that no general ever undertook the command of an army without sacrifice, and consulting the will of the gods. Cleander would not take on himself the command of this very army, because the victims were inauspicious. See page 438.

Ξενοφῶν δὲ μεταπεμφάμενος Κλέανδρον, ἐκέλευεν οἱ διαπραῖσαι ὅπως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τε εἰσέλθοι, καὶ ἀποπλεύσαι ἐκ Βυζαντίου. Ἐλθὼν δὲ Κλέανδρος, Μάλα μόλις, ἔφη, διαπραξάμενος ἤκω λέγειν γὰρ Ἀναξίβιον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον εἶη τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ τεύχους, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔνδον τοὺς Βυζαντίους δὲ στασιάζειν καὶ πονηροὺς εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅμως δὲ εἰσιέναι, ἔφη, ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ μέλλει σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἐκπαλεῖν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοφῶν ἀσπασάμενος τὰς στρατιώτας, εἶσω τοῦ τεύχους ἀπήει σὺν Κλεάνδρῳ.

Ὁ δὲ Κυρατάδης τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει, οὐδὲ διέμερισεν ἕδεν τοῖς στρατιώταις· τῇ δ' ὑσεραίᾳ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα εἰστήκει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν, καὶ Κυρατάδης ἐστεφανωμένος, ὡς θύσων· προσελθὼν δὲ Τιμασιῶν ὁ Δαρδανεὺς, καὶ Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος, καὶ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος, ἔλεγον Κυρατάδῃ μὴ θύσειν, ὡς οὐχ ἡγησόμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰ μὴ δώσει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ὁ δὲ κελεύει διαμε-

Whilst these things were going forward, Xenophon sent to Cleander, and begged that he would procure leave for him to re-enter the city, that he might embark from Byzantium. When Cleander came to Xenophon, he told him he had *finally* prevailed on the admiral to comply with his request, but it had been accomplished with great difficulty; for Anaxibius thought that it was highly improper for the army to be near the city while Xenophon was within it, and the inhabitants engaged in broils; “notwithstanding, if you propose to sail with *him*, you are at liberty,” he says, “to come;” on which Xenophon took his leave of the army, and re-entered the city with Cleander.

The victims being inauspicious the first day, Cyratades distributed nothing to the army. The second day, Cyratades approaching the altar with his victims, and his head decorated with a garland, was preparing again to offer sacrifice, when he was interrupted by Timasion, Neon, and Cleanor, who forbid him to proceed; and added, that unless he distributed provisions to the army, he should not command it. On which he ordered the provisions brought to be divided among them;

τρεῖσθαι. Ἐπει δὲ πολλῶν ἐνέδει αὐτῶ, ὥστε ἡμέρας σῆτον ἐκάστω γενέσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἀναλαβὼν

but *these* falling short of one day's supply, he resigned the command, and departed in company with his victims.¹

τὰ ἱερεῖα ἀπήει, καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπειπῶν.

Νέων δὲ ὁ Ἀσιναῖος, καὶ Φρυνίσκος Ἀχαιὸς. καὶ Τιμασίῳ Δαρδανεύς ἐπέμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ εἰς κώμας τῶν Θρακῶν προσελθόντες τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον, ἐστρατεπέδοντο. Καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ Ἐσασίαζον, Κλεάνωρ μὲν καὶ Φρυνίσκος πρὸς Σεύθην βουλόμενοι ἄγειν (ἐπειθε γὰρ αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ μὲν ἵππον, τῷ δὲ γυναῖκα) Νέων δὲ εἰς Χερρόνησον οἰόμενος, εἰ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις γενοίτο, παντὸς ἀνπροστάναι τοῦ στρατεύματος. Τιμασίῳ δὲ προύθυμειτο πέραν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβῆναι, οἰόμενος ἀνὸς καταελθεῖν. Καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ταῦτα ἐβούλοντο. Διατριβο-

On this, Neon, Phryniscus, and Timasion, who remained with the army, led them into some Thracian villages, which were in the vicinity of Byzantium, and in these they lay encamped. Here the generals disagreed; Cleander and Phryniscus having a wish to carry the army to Seuthes, (for this prince had bought the one with a horse, and the other with a woman,²) and Neon wished to lead it into the Chersonesus,³ under the hope, if he could once get them within the Lacedæmonian territory, that he should have conferred on him the chief command; Timasion, on the other hand, wanted to go back into Asia, expecting by this means to return home.⁴ The soldiers voted for Timasion;⁵ but while much time was

¹ This scene is extremely ludicrous.

² Very cheap, no doubt, in the estimation of Seuthes.

³ There were two places distinguished by this name; the one, *Chersonesus Thracia*, which is here meant; the other, Chersonesus Taurica, which is now called the Crimea. See map.

⁴ Timasion being a Greek colonist on the Asiatic side; possibly a native of Cerazunt or Heraclea.

⁵ Though Xenophon, their chief friend, could not be heard, when only an indirect intimation was given them of the advantages of remaining in Asia; but the reception the army had met with at Byzantium, &c. &c. had no doubt contributed to produce this change.

μένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν, τὰ ὄπλα ἀποδιδόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς, χώρους, ἀπέπλεον ὡς ἐδύνατο· οἱ δὲ, καὶ διδόντες τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τοὺς χώρους, εἰς τὰς πόλεις κατεμίγνυντο. Ἀναξίβιος δ' ἔχαιρεν ἀκούων διαφθειρόμενον τὸ στράτευμα· τέτων γὰρ γιγνομένων, ᾤετο μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι Φαρναβάζω.

Ἀποωλέοντι δὲ Ἀναξίβιω ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ Ἀριστάρχος ἐν Κυζίκω, διάδοχος Κλεάνδρω, Βυζαντίου δὲ ἀρμοστής· ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ὅτι ναύαρχος διάδοχος Πῶλος ὅσον οὐ παρείη ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλησποντον. Καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος τῷ μὲν Ἀριστάρχω ἐπιστέλλει, ὅπως εὔροι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῶν Κύρου στρατιωτῶν ὑπολέλειμμένους, ἀποδόσθαι· ὁ δὲ Κλεάνδρος οὐδένα ἐπεπράκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐθεράπευσεν, οἰκτείρων, καὶ

spent in debate on this subject, many of the soldiers availed themselves of the interim; sold their arms, and sailed off. Others gave them to the villagers, and settled in the adjacent towns, and became denizens thereof; nor was Anaxibius displeased to see this, for he considered the disbandment of the army would be very agreeable to the feelings of Pharnabazus.¹

During the time that Anaxibius was engaged on his voyage from Byzantium, Aristarchus fell in with him at Cyzicus.² This general was sent to succeed Cleander in his command of Byzantium, and informed him that Polus was almost ready to sail, in order to succeed Anaxibius in the command of the fleet; and then it was that Anaxibius ordered Aristarchus to sell all the soldiers of Cyrus's army that he should find in Byzantium.³ So different a man, however, was Cleander, that he not only abstained from selling any of them, but on the contrary he had compelled the citizens to take their

¹ All self.

² Cyzicus was a sea-port town built on an island of the same name, situated in the Propontis. It originally belonged to Mysia, and is joined to the continent by two bridges. See map.

³ See how consistent in wickedness this man acts!—to sell such veterans who had so often conquered, for slaves!—to finish their existence in the bottom of some iron mines! *Infamous*.

ἀναγκάζων οἰκίᾳ δέ-
 χεσθαι. Ἀρίσταρχος
 δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθε τάχιστα
 οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρα-
 κοσίων ἀπέδοτο. Ἀ-
 ναξίβιος δὲ παραπλεύ-
 σας εἰς Πάριον, πέμ-
 πει παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον
 κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα.
 Ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο
 Ἀρίσταρχόν τε ἦκοντα
 εἰς Βυζάντιον ἄρμος ἦν,
 καὶ Ἀναξίβιον οὐκέτι
 ναυαρχοῦντα, Ἀναξι-
 βίῳ μὲν ἠμέλησε, πρὸς
 Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ διεπρά-
 τετό τε τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ
 τοῦ Κυρσίου στρατεύ-
 ματος, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς
 Ἀναξίβιον.

sick into their houses, and to restore them to health. Aristarchus, however, immediately on his arrival, sold no less than four hundred;¹ and Anaxibius, on his arrival at Parium,² sent to Pharnabazus, to remind him of his agreement. But that satrap, finding Aristarchus was about to succeed Cleander, as governor of Byzantium, and that Anaxibius was no longer admiral, forgot his promise to the old commander, and transferred it to the new, making the same agreement respecting the Greek army with Aristarchus that he had broken with his predecessor.³

¹ Here was baseness ; but the two commanders, no doubt, pocketed the profits. It was by such men as these, I presume, that Isocrates was influenced, in his famous Panegyric, to call these soldiers “ The scum of Greece,” and to designate them by other epithets equally handsome, tho’ we have the testimony of Xenophon himself, that the majority of the army had not become soldiers through necessity. But there are such writers as Isocrates to be found in every age and in every nation — hirelings to the base.

² Πάριον, Parium ; a sea-port town in lesser Mysia, situated on the Propontis, between Cyzicus and Lampsacus. “ It was built,” says Strabo, “ by a mixed banditti of islanders, called Milesii, Erythræi, and Parii, that emigrated from — no one knows where.” The latter tribe gave name to the place.

³ This is quite in character with a courtier and a man in power, “ to feed with promises,” and then to apologise for breaking them ; like the saint in Hudibras, who tells us, demurely enough, that

“ We’re not commanded to forbear
 Indefinitely at all to swear ;
 But to swear idly and in vain,
 Without self-interest or gain ;
 For breaking of an oath and lying,
 Is but a kind of self-denying.”

But let such base wretches know the opposite opinion —

Ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἄν-
αξιβίος καλέσας Ξε-
νοφῶνα, κελεύει πᾶση
τέχνη πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ
στράτευμα ὡς τάχιστα,
καὶ συνέχειν τε τὸ
στράτευμα, καὶ συνα-
θροίζει τῶν διεσπαρ-
μένων ὡς ἂν πλείους
δύνηται, καὶ παραγα-
γόντα εἰς Πέρινθον,

Anaxibius being thus outwitted,
called Xenophon into his cabin, and
begged he would set sail immediately
for the army, and keep it together, and
collect those again who were dispersed;
then lead them to Perinthus,¹ and pass
back into Asia.² He commanded at
διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὀπιτάχιστα· καὶ

“ That promises once made are past debate ;
And truth's of more necessity than fate.”

DRYDEN.

Yet in the case before us we can't be sorry to see such a scoundrel as Anaxibius out-witted. But what a state was Greece *now* arrived at!—her generals and admirals ready to sell or sacrifice their fellow-comrades, through the lust of cupidity, to the common enemy! England is not gone so far, I trust, in corruption as this; tho' there are some shocking instances of her foreign policy on record, that must one day pass into and blot the page of her history. At present, these acts, and the perpetrators of them, are but partially exposed; but the *future historian* is not to be biassed like the *present*: *he* will have nothing to fear nor hope from survivors. Let the wretch, then, who has tarnished the honour of his country, think of this and tremble! Let him know, that *he* will one day have an historian who will stretch him on the rack of history, expose all his moral deformity, and point him out as the Scylla to be avoided!

¹ Perinthus; a sea-port town in Thrace, with a good harbour. It is situated on the Propontis, about fifty miles west of Byzantium. The town itself was originally built by a colony from Samos. See map.

² Revenge now succeeds his avarice:—

“ He found his veins with indignation swell,
And felt within the fire and rage of hell.
Legions of spleenful spirits fill'd his breast,
And dire revenge his troubled soul possess'd.”

BLACK.

And in this mood he sent Xenophon off, hoping to employ him as his minister of vengeance. But he mistook the man: and tho' Xenophon would have had no objection to have chastised Pharnabazus, and to have formed a colony, yet he feels not disposed to risk the safety of the army in order to gratify the heart of a wretch, who, ten days before, would have put the price of every man of them, and Xenophon to boot, into his pocket.

δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τριακόν-
τορον καὶ ἐπιστολὴν,
καὶ ἄνδρα συμπέμπει
κελεύοντα τοὺς Πε-
ρινθίους ὡστάχιστα
Ξενοφῶντα προπέμψαι
τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ στρα-
τευμα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν
Ξενοφῶν διαπλεύσας
ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ στρα-
τευμα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶ-
ται ἐδέξαντο ἠδέως, καὶ
εὐθύς εἶποντο ἄσμενοι,
ὡς διαβησόμενοι ἐκ τῆς
Θράκης εἰς Ἴν' Ἀσίαν.

Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἀκού-
σας ἤκοντα πάλιν Ξε-
νοφῶντα, πέμψας πρὸς
αὐτὸν κατὰ θάλατταν
Μηδοσάδην, ἐδεῖτο τὴν
στρατιὰν ἀγειν πρὸς
ἐαυτὸν ὑπισχυόμενος
αὐτῷ ὅτι ᾤετο λέγων
πείσειν. Ὁ δ' ἀπε-
κρίνατο αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐδὲν
οἶόν τε εἶη τούτων γε-
νέσθαι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν
ταῦτα ἀκέσας ᾤχετο.
Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ
ἀφίκοντο εἰς Πέρινθον,
Νέων μὲν ἀποσπάσας,
ἐστρωτοπεδεύσατο χω-
ρίς, ἔχων ὡς ὀκτακο-
σίους ἀνθρώπους· τὸ δ'

the same time a thirty-oar galley to at-
tend him; and not only gave him let-
ters of recommendation, but sent a
courier with peremptory orders for the
Perinthians to furnish Xenophon with
horses to carry him to the army. Xeno-
phon accordingly set sail, crossed the
Propontis, and joined the army. The
soldiers received him with inexpressi-
bly joy, and followed him cheerfully
under the hope of leaving Thrace for
Asia.¹

Seuthes, however, on hearing that
Xenophon had returned, sent Medo-
sades again by sea, to beg that he
would bring the army to him, promis-
ing those things, at the same time,
which he thought would operate on
the mind of the general the most forcible.² Xenophon replied, that it was
impossible for him to comply with his
wishes; on which Medosades departed.
On the arrival of the Greeks to Perin-
thus, Neon drew off about eight hun-
dred men, and encamped apart; the

¹ When it was too late they could see with the same eyes as their benevolent commander.

² The chief or primary business of a man who wants to bribe, or carry a point with another, is first to find out his *weak quarter*; it will not do to attack those points that are invulnerable. The reader must have seen, as he has gone on, that Xenophon wished to have formed a settlement; Seuthes had, no doubt, heard of this, and therefore promises *secretly* to put him in possession of a maritime situation, in the event of his compliance.

ἄλλο στράτευμα πᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Περινθίων ἦν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἔπραττε περὶ πλοίων, ὅπως ὀτιτάχιστα διαβαίεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Ἐν δὲ τήνῳ ἀφικόμενος Ἀρίσταρχος ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστής, ἔχων δύο τριήρεις, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις ἀπέειπε μὴ διάγειν ἑλθῶν τε ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, εἶπε τοῖς στρατιώταις, μὴ περαιούσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεξεν ὅτι Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπεμψεν ἐνθάδε. Πάλιν δ' Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεξεν, Ἀναξίβιος μὲν οὐκ ἔστι ναύαρχος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῆδε ἀρμοστής· εἰ δέ τινα ὑμῶν λήψομαι, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καταδύσω. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ᾤχετο εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία μετεπέμπετο τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἦδη δὲ ὄντων πρὸς τῷ τείχει, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ὅτι, εἰ εἰσεῖσι, συλληφθήσεται, καὶ ἢ αὐτοῦ τι πείσεται ἢ καὶ Φαρναβάζω παραδοθήσεται. Ὁ δὲ, ἀκέσας ταῦτα, αὐτὸς μὲν προπέμπεται, αὐτὸς δ' εἶπεν ὅτι δύσαι

remainder sat down with Xenophon, close under the walls of the town.

Here Xenophon employed himself in collecting ships, with a view of transporting the army again into Asia, when Aristarchus coming from Byzantium with two galleys, did, at the request of Pharnabazus, command the captains of the transports not to convey the troops over; and then proceeding to the army, told the soldiers if they passed into Asia, to take the consequences. On which Xenophon informed him, that Anaxibius had commanded it, and had sent him to the army for that purpose. To which he replied, “Anaxibius is not admiral now, for I have succeeded him; and if I catch any of you attempting to pass into Asia, I will sink you to the bottom of the Euxine!” — and, on saying this, he went into the town. The next morning he sent for the Greek generals and captains to come to him; and on drawing near, Xenophon had notice given, that if *he entered*, Aristarchus would either cause him to be taken into custody, or deliver him up to Pharnabazus. On receiving this intimation, he told the captains and the generals to go on; that he would remain behind and offer sacrifice; and

τι βούλοιτο. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐθύετο εἰ προεῖεν αὐτὸν οἱ θεοὶ πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς Σεύθην ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα· ἑώρα γὰρ οὔτε διαβαίνειν ἀσφαλές ὄν, τριήρεις ἔχοντος τοῦ κωλύσοντος· οὐτ' εἰς Χερρόνησον ἐλθὼν κατακλεισθῆναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν πολλῇ σπάνει πάντων γενέσθαι· ἔνθα δὲ κείσθαι μὲν ἀνάγκη τῷ ἐκεῖ ἀρμολογῆ, τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ἔχειν τὸ στράτευμα.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἦκοντες παρὰ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου, ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀπιέναι σφᾶς κελεύει, τῆς δειλῆς δὲ ἦκειν· ἔνθα καὶ δήλη μᾶλλον ἐδόκει εἶναι ἢ ἐπιβηλῆ. Ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει τὰ ἱερὰ γενέσθαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς Σεύθην ἰέναι, παραλαβὼν Πολυκράτην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον λοχαγόν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἑκάστου ἄνδρα (πλὴν παρὰ Νέωνος) ὃν ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν, ὄψετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Σεύθου στράτευμα ἐξήκοντα στάδια. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγύς ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπιβίχοντες πυροῖς ἐρή-

accordingly presented his victims to the gods, in order to be informed whether it was their pleasure that he should convey the army over to Seuthes or not. He did this, on seeing the danger he should be exposed to if he passed into Asia in opposition to him who had the command of the galleys; nor did he feel disposed to shut up the army in the Chersonesus, where a scarcity of provisions was inevitable; and in addition to this, the army would be compelled to obey the commander of that district.

During the time Xenophon was employed in offering sacrifice, the Greek officers returned from Aristarchus, and informed him that he had dismissed them for the present, but had commanded that they should return to him in the evening of that day. This fully disclosed his treacherous intentions; and Xenophon, discovering that the sacrifices promised fairly for the army's going over to Seuthes, took Polycrates, an Athenian captain, and from each of the other generals (with the exception of Neon) an officer in whom they individually confided, and went that very night to the army of Seuthes, which lay not above sixty stadia from the Greek camp. On drawing near, Xenophon found many fires, but no

μοις· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ᾤετο μετακεχωρηκέναι ποὶ τὸν Σεύθην. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ θορύβου τε ἤσθετο καὶ σημαιόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν περὶ Σεύθην, κατέμαθεν ὅτι τοῦτου ἕνεκα τὰ πυρὰ προκεκαυμένα εἶη τῷ Σεύθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὅπως οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ ὀρῶντο ἐν τῷ σκοτεινῷ ὄντες, μήθ' ὅπου εἶεν· οἱ δὲ προσιόντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς εἶεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤσθετο, προπέμπει τὸν ἑρμηνέα ὃν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων, καὶ εἰπεῖν κελεύει Σεύθῃ ὅτι Ξενοφῶν πάρεστι, βουλόμενος συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ. Οἱ δ' ἤροντο, εἰ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔφη ἕτος εἶναι, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐδίωκον· καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον παρήσαν πελλασαῖον διακόσιοι, καὶ παραλαβόντες Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, ἤγον πρὸς Σεύθην. Ὁ δ'

troops near them, which led to the conclusion, that Seuthes had decamped;¹ but on hearing some tumult, and men calling to each other, they conceived that Seuthes had commanded his night-fires to be placed before his guard, with a view, that while themselves were concealed by this stratagem, they might have an opportunity of seeing all comers at some distance.² Xenophon therefore sent his interpreter, which he took with him, to Seuthes, to inform him of his arrival, and that *Xenophon* the Greek general wished a conference with him. The interpreter was then asked, whether it was Xenophon the *Athenian*;³ and on being answered in the affirmative, the officer on guard quickly returned, followed by about two hundred light-armed troops, who politely conducted Xenophon into the presence of their

¹ The British general at Trenton drew the opposite conclusion, on seeing General Washington adopt this plan. He considered it as indicative of the American commander's determination to rest secure for the night, and to risk a battle the following day; but Washington improved the opportunity, and retreated to Prince-Town, and thereby suspended the operations of the British commander for five months. See "The Rise and Progress of the Colonies," by General Washington.

² It is a well ascertained fact, that *flame* can no more be looked through than a *wall*; consequently, the operations of an army thus situated must be completely secreted from an enemy.

³ This particular mode of enquiry would lead to the suspicion, that there were other officers of the same name. It exhibits likewise the precaution of the chieftain.

ἦν ἐν τύρσει μάλα φυλαττόμενος, καὶ ἵπποι περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ ἐγκεχαλινωμένοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸν φόβον τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐχίλις τὰς ἵππους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐφυλάττετο· ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν Τήρης, ὁ τοῦτε πρόγονος, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ πολὺ ἔχων στράτευμα, ὑπὸ τέτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσαι, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἀφαιρῆσαι· ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Θυνοὶ, πάντων λεγόμενοι εἶναι μάλιστα νυκτὸς πολεμικώτατοι.

chieftain. He was closely shut up in his castle, with guards on all quarters, and round the castle-yard stood horses ready bridled; for being under continual apprehension, he fed and rested his cavalry by day, and stood on his guard at night.¹ Tradition reported, that Teres,² an ancestor of Seuthes, had formerly entered this country with a considerable army, and had been cut off by the inhabitants. The people of this district receive the appellation of Thunians, and of all nations are reported to be the most dangerous enemies in night attacks.³

¹ This reminds us of the Border Tales, with many others during the feudal system. —

----- "It was the time

When creeping murmur, and the poring dark,
Fill the wide vessel of the universe:
The hum of every army stilly sounds;
Fire answers fire, steed answers steed
In boastful neighs."

² Something has been left us, illustrative of this report, by Thucydides the historian, lib. ii. c. 29. 'Ο δὲ Τήρης ὄντος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατῆρ, πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπιπλέον τῆς ἄλλης Θράκης ἐποίησε. And for further illustration, see notes, book vi.

³ The Arii, among the Germans, according to Tacitus, were famed for *night attacks*, also: "Arii super vires quibus enumeratos paulo antè populos antecedunt, truces, insita feritati arte ac tempore denocinantur nigra scuta, tincta corpora: atras ad prælia noctes legunt: ipsaque formidine atque umbrâ feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum: nam primi in omnibus præliis oculi vincuntur." — The Arii form another race, whose ferocity is more than human, and far exceeds any of those nations which we have already described. They heighten their savage aspects by

Ἐπειδ' ἐγγύς ἦσαν, ἐκέλευεν εἰσελθεῖν Ξενοφῶντα ἔχοντα δύο, οὓς βούλοιοτο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἡσπάζοντο μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Θυράκιον νόμον κέρατα οἴνου παρούπινον (παρῆν δὲ καὶ Μηδοσάδης τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅσπερ ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ πάντοσε) ἔπειτα δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν Ἐπεμψας πρὸς ἐμὲ, ὃ Σεύθῃ, εἰς Χαλκηδόνα πρῶτον Μηδοσάδην τετονὶ, δεόμενός μὲ συμπροθυμηθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας· καὶ ὑπισχνόμενος, εἰ ταῦτα πράξαιμι, εὖ ποιήσεις, ὡς ἔφη Μηδοσάδης ἄτοσί. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἐπήρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' εἶπεν. Ὁ δ'

When the Greek officers arrived at the castle, Xenophon and two of his colleagues *only* were granted admittance. On meeting, they mutually bowed and paid their respects; and then, agreeable to Thracian manners, drank to each other from horns filled with wine. Medosades,¹ who had been sent to Xenophon by the chieftain, and who, in fact, was his ambassador on all occasions, was present at this interview, when Xenophon addressed Seuthes to this effect:—“ I believe, Sire, you sent your ambassador, who is present, to me first at Chalcedon,² to desire that I would co-operate with you in procuring ships, in order to transport the army out of Asia; and promised, in the event of my effecting this, to return the obligation: at least such was the language of your ambassador to me;” and casting his eyes on Medosades. The ambassador said, “ Yes, I did

artificial helps; black targets, and painted bodies, form their military costume. The darkest nights are chosen for the attack, by which circumstance additional terror is excited by this black banditti. No enemy is able to withstand their singular, and, as I may say, their infernal appearance; for in all battles the eyes are first conquered. See sec. xlii. De Moribus Germ.

¹ Μηδοσάδης is found in the margin of *Stephanus*, and also in the Paris MS. Δημοσάδην.

² Chalcedon was the capital of a district of the same name, situated on the Bosphorus, directly opposite Byzantium. “ It was built,” says Strabo, “ by the Megarenses.”

ἔφη. Αὐθις ἦλθε Μηδοσάδης ἕτος, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ δίδεθην πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα ἐκ Πάριου, ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ ἄγοιμι τὸ στρατεύμα πρὸς σέ, τᾶλλα τέ σοι φίλω χρήσεσθαι καὶ ἀδελφῶ, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ μοι χωρία, ὧν σὺ κρατεῖς, ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ σοῦ. Ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ἐπήρετο Μηδοσάδην εἰ ἔλεγε ταῦτα. Ὁ δὲ συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα. Ἴδι νῦν, ἔφη, ἀφήγησαι τούτῳ, τί σοι ἀπεκρινάμην ἐν Χαλκηδόνι. Πρῶτον ἀπεκρίνω ὅτι τὸ στρατεύμα διαβήσοιτο εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου ἕνεκα δέοι τελεῖν οὔτε σοὶ οὔτ' ἄλλῳ· αὐτός τ', ἐπεὶ διαβαίης, ἀπιέναι ἔφησθα· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως, ὥσπερ σὺ ἔλεγες. Τί γὰρ ἔλεγον, ἔφη, ὅτε κατὰ Σηλυμβρίαν ἀφίκου; Οὐκ ἔφησθα

say so." Xenophon proceeded, "And after I had arrived with the army from Parium, Medosades visited me the second time, with assurances, that if I would bring it over to you, that I should not only receive the treatment of a friend and brother, but that you would put me in possession of some strong sea-port towns that you occupied." On asking Medosades whether he had delivered such a message, he answered, "Yes, that was the language of his instructions." "Then," said Xenophon, "be so good as to let Seuthes know the purport of my first answer delivered at Chalcedon." "You replied, 'That as the army had resolved to pass over to Byzantium, there was no occasion for any donation to be presented either to yourself or your colleagues, the more so, *as it related to yourself*, as you then purposed to quit the army;' which I have been informed you actually did." "Then state," said Xenophon, "what I said when you visited me at Selymbria."¹ "You

¹ Σηλυμβρίαν is found in some authors Σηλυβρίαν. Leunclavius, however, denies that Thrace had a city by this name; at least he never heard of it. But Strabo says, "That Σηλυβρία is a Thracism;" with whom Stephanus fully agrees. "In Greek, the orthography," says Strabo, "would stand thus, Σήλυος πόλις, the city Selos; but in the Thracian dialect they would write Σήλυ-βρία because that βρία, is πόλις, which solves the difficulty." Our author is also borne out by Herodot. lib. vi. c. 33. Plin. N. H. lib. iv. c. 11. Mel. lib. ii. c. 2.

οὐκ ἔστιν εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰς Πέρινον ἐλθόντας διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάρεμι καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οὗτος Φρυνίσκος, εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Πολυκράτης οὗτος, εἰς τῶν λοχαγῶν· καὶ ἔξω εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πιστότατος ἐκάστω, πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. Εἰ οὖν βούλει πιστοτέραν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν, καὶ ἐκείνους κάλεσον. Τὰ δὲ ὄπλα σὺ ἐλθὼν εἰπέ, ὡς Πολύκρατες, ὅτι ἐγὼ κελεύω καταλιπεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ καταλιπὼν τὴν μάχαιραν εἰσιθι.

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἂν ἀπιστήσειεν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἶεν εἰδέναι, καὶ φίλους εὐνοῦς ἔφη νομίζειν. Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον οὐς ἔδει, πρῶτον Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρето Σεύθην, τί δέοιλο χρῆσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν ἄθε,

denied the possibility of your acquiescing in my master's proposal, as the army was about to proceed to the Perinthus, with a view of passing into Asia."¹ Addressing himself to Seuthes, "Behold," says Xenophon, "here I am, with Phryniscus my colleague, and Polycrates, a captain; and without the walls stand those officers that have the confidence of all the generals, with the exception of Neon the Lacedæmonian. And should you require a stronger guarantee than our assurances, who are before you, let them be called in also, that what we state may receive a greater sanction. Go, therefore," said he to Polycrates, "and tell them I desire they would leave their arms without, and leave your sword there also, and come in."

On Seuthes hearing this candid proposal, he said, "He should distrust no Athenian; for he was aware they were related to him, and he regarded them as his best friends." When all those whom it became to enter had arrived, the first question Xenophon proposed to Seuthes was, "What use he intended to make of the army?" To which

¹ Xenophon has every thing thus clearly stated, because he had been before so often distrusted. Moreover, as there were other officers present, every thing would be fairly reported to the army, and by this means suspicion avoided.

Μαισάδης ἦν μοι πατήρ, ἐκείνῳ δ' ἦν ἀρχὴ Μελανδέπται, καὶ Θυνοί, καὶ Θρανίψαι. Ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς χώρας, ἕπει τὰ Ὀδρυσσῶν πρᾶγματα ἐνόσησεν, ἐκπεσὼν ὁ πατήρ, αὐτὸς μὲν θνήσκει νόσῳ· ἐγὼ δ' ἐξετράφημ ὀρφανὸς παρὰ Μηδόκῳ τῷ νῦν βασιλεῖ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ζῆν εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων· καὶ ἐκαθελόμενος ἐνδίδριος αὐτῷ ἰκέτης δοῦναί μοι ὀπίσθας δυνατὸς εἶη ἄνδρας, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἡμᾶς, εἴ τι δυναίμην, κακὸν ποιοίην, καὶ ζῶν μὴ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων, ὥσπερ κύων. Ἐκ τούτου μοι δίδωσι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε, ἐπειδὴν ἡμέρα γένηται. Καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ζῶ τούτους ἔχων, λεγόμενος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρῶαν χώραν. Εἰ δέ μοι ὑμεῖς παραγένοισθε, οἶμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ῥαδίως ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. Ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ ἐγὼ ὑμῶν δέομαι.

he replied, “ Mæsadēs was my father, and under his government were the Melandeptans, the Thunians, and the Thranipsans ; but on the revolution of the Odryssians, my father was driven from his kingdom, and died of grief. Being thus left an orphan, I was nursed and brought up at the court of the reigning king, *Medocus* ;¹ but on my arrival at manhood, I could not endure living at the expence and charity of another. I therefore, one day, when sitting by the king’s side, earnestly solicited him to spare me some troops, that I might avenge my family injuries, and recover my paternal kingdom, and exist no longer like a dog at his table. On this representation, he gave me those soldiers, both cavalry and infantry, which I will shew you on the approach of day ; and now I live by plundering my paternal kingdom with these troops. I believe, therefore, if you would join your forces to mine, I might, by the help of the gods, easily recover my legitimate inheritance. And this is the use I purpose to make of the army, and the favour I have to solicit at your hands.”²

¹ Μηδόκω. Leuncl. suspects the reading ought to be Ἀμάδοκω.

² This frank declaration would give birth to many reflections, which, for the present, prudence must stifle in embryo.

Τί οὖν ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺ δύναιο, εἰ ἔλθοιμεν, τῇ τε στρατιᾷ διδόναι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἢ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, λέξον· ἵνα οὗτοι ἀπαγγείλωσιν. Ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο τῷ μὲν στρατιῶτῃ Κυζικηνόν, τῷ δὲ λοχαγῷ διμοιρίαν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τετραμοιρίαν· καὶ γῆν ὀπόσῃ ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ ζεύγη, καὶ χωρίον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τέλειχισμένον. * Ἄν δ', ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ταῦτα πειρώμενος μὴ διαπράξωμαι, ἀλλὰ τις φόβος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ, δέξῃ εἰς τὴν σαυτοῦ, ἂν τις βούληται ἀπιέναι πρὸς σε; Ὁ δ' εἶπε, Καὶ ἀδελφούς γε ποιήσομαι, καὶ ἐνδιφρίους, καὶ κοινωνούς ἀπάντων ὧν ἂν δυνώμεθα κτήσασθαι. Σοὶ δ', ὡς Ξενοφῶν, καὶ θυγατέρα δώσω, καὶ εἴ τις σοὶ ἐστὶ θυγάτηρ, ὧνήσομαι Ἰθρακίῳ νό-

“The next question,” says Xenophon, “is, what you have in your turn to offer to the generals, captains, and the troops, if they perform this signal favour for you? And on *this head* I should wish you to be explicit, as I shall have to report thereon.” He replied, “That he would give to every soldier a cyzicene,¹ to the captains two, and to the generals four, with as much land as they might individually require, and oxen to plough it, and a fortified town on the sea-coast.” “If,” says Xenophon, “I effect, generally, what you desire, but cannot fully accomplish the whole, through the jealousy that may be entertained by the Spartans, will you receive into your dominions any who may be desirous of settling there?”² To which he replied, “That he would not only receive them as brothers, but they should have a seat at his table, and participate in all his conquests: and to *you*, Xenophon, I will give my daughter in marriage, and will purchase one of yours, if you have one; for this is a Thracian

¹ See note 1, page 350.

² We have before seen, that Xenophon was anxious, like every other great man in Greece, to secure an asylum, in the event of his falling under the suspicion of his government. He was finally banished, under the supposition that he had imbibed his master's principles; tho' *ostensibly* for another reason.

μῶ· καὶ Βισάνθην οἴ-
κησιν δώσω, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ
κάλλιστον χωρίον ἐστὶ
τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.

Ἀκῶσαντες ταῦτα,
καὶ δεξιὰς δόνιες καὶ λα-
βόνιες, ἀπήλαυον· καὶ
πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐγένοντο
ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ,
καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ἕκα-
στοὶ τοῖς πέμψασιν.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο,
ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος πά-
λιν ἐκάλει τὰς στρατη-
γούς καὶ λοχαγούς·
τοῖς δ' ἔδοξε τὴν μὲν
πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον ὁδὸν
εἶσαι, τὸ δὲ στρατεύ-
μα συγκαλέσαι. Καὶ
συνῆλθον πάντες, πλὴν
οἱ Νέωνος· οὗτοι δὲ
ἀπέειχον ὡς δέκα σά-
δια. Ἐπει δὲ συνῆλ-
θον, ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν
εἶπε τάδε,

custom.¹ And, in addition, I will give you Bisanthe² for your city residence, which is one of the handsomest maritime cities in my dominions.”

On the Greek officers hearing these things, they shook hands with the chieftain, in token of individual assent, and departed. They made their own camp before sun-rise, and reported the proposals to those who deputed them. Just at this moment, also, a messenger came from Aristarchus, desiring the Greek generals and captains would come to him; but they declined doing so, and resolved, instead of complying with his mandate, to assemble the army, and lay every thing before them. The soldiers of Neon, however, who encamped alone, were not called; but on the others falling into rank, Xenophon addressed them, and observed, in the first place, —

“ Ἄνδρες, διασωλεῖν
μὲν ἔνθα βουλόμεθα,
Ἀρίσταρχος ὅδε, τριή-
ρεις ἔχων, κωλύει· ὡς”

“ That Aristarchus, with his galleys, had completely thwarted their original intention of sailing back into Asia;

¹ So was it a German custom. “Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert.”—Tacitus de Mor, sect. xviii. See note 120, also, of our translation on this custom. See also Exodus xxii. 17. “If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.” *i. e.* according to the customary sum.

² Bysanthe, a town in Thrace, which is sometimes confounded with Παιδεστον, Rodoste. It was built by a colony from Samos, and formed one of the handsomest sea-ports of Thrace. Ptolemy.

εἰς πλοῖα οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐμβαίνειν· οὗτος δὲ αὐτὸς εἰς Χερρόνησον κελεύει βία διὰ τοῦ ἱερῶ ὄρους πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δὲ κρατήσαντες τῆτος, ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, οὔτε πωλήσειν ἔτι φησὶν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οὔτε ἐξαπατήσεσθαι ἔτι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ λήψεσθαι μισθὸν μάλλον· οὔτε περιόψεσθαι ἔτι, ὥσπερ νυνὶ, ἐνδεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα λέγει· Σεύθης δὲ φησὶν, ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνον ἴητε, εὖ ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς. Νῦν οὖν σκέψασθε πότερον ἐνθάδε μένοντες τοῦτο βουλεύσεσθε, ἢ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπανελθόντες. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἀργύριον ἔχομεν, ὥστε ἀγοράζειν, οὔτε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου ἐῶσι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπανελθόντας εἰς τὰς κώμας, ὅθεν οἱ ἥττους ἐῶσι λαμβάνειν, ἐκεῖ ἔχοντας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀκούοντας ὅτι τις ὑμῶν δεῖται, αἰρεῖσθαι ὅτι ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι.

and by his threats had rendered it unsafe even to embark. He wants us, soldiers," said Xenophon, *emphatically*, "to force a passage over the sacred mountain, and to penetrate into the Chersonesus; and on our forcing that pass, and arriving safe there, he promises to sell no more of you, as. at Byzantium, nor ever more deceive you; and *then*, he adds, you shall be entitled to pay." Thus much for Aristarchus. — On the other hand, Seuthes pledges himself, that if you will engage in his service, that you shall never have cause to repent it. Consider, therefore, whether it be better to reflect on their proposals *now*, or after you are returned from supplying yourselves with provisions. I deliver you my opinion freely, gentlemen; and that is, since we are destitute of money to purchase what we really want, and are prohibited from supplying ourselves in the neighbourhood, through Lacedæmonian arrogance, that we do now retire on those weak villages before us, and after having supplied ourselves with necessaries, weigh maturely the probable results of those services in which Aristarchus and Seuthes purpose to employ us, and decide on that which may appear the most for our individual advantage.

Καὶ ὅτω, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα.” Ἀνέτειναν πάντες. “Ἀπιόντες τοίνυν, ἔφη, συσκευάζεσθε ἢ ἑσπείδαν παραγγεῖλη τίς, ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ.”

Μετὰ τοῦτο Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἡγεῖτο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο. Νέων δὲ ἢ παρὰ Ἀρισάρχου ἄλλοι ἔπειδον ἀποτρέπεσθαι· οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅσον Ἰριάκουῖα σαδίως προεληλύθεσαν, ἀπαντᾷ Σεύθης. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν, προσελάσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως πλείων ἀκρόντων εἴποι αὐτῷ, ἃ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, Ἡμεῖς πορευόμεθα ὅπου μέλλει τὸ στράτευμα ἔξειν τροφήν· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀκούοντες καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικῆ, αἰρησόμεθα ἃ ἂν κράτιστα δοκοῖν εἶναι. Ἦν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡγήσῃ ὅπε πλείοστά ἐσιν ἐπιτήδεια, ὑπὸ σοῦ νομιῶμεν ξενίζεσθαι. Καὶ ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ οἶδα κώ-

Those, therefore, whose opinions acquiesce in mine, let them hold up their hands as a token thereof.” On which the whole army instantly held up their hands. “Go, then,” said Xenophon, “and prepare the baggage; and when the signal is given, follow your officers.”

The soldiers having done what was proposed, re-assembled, and Xenophon placing himself at their head, they followed him. Neon, however, and others secretly employed by Aristarchus, endeavoured to dissuade the army from their purpose, but the soldiers gave no heed to them, and after having marched about thirty stadia, Seuthes met them. Xenophon immediately desired him to draw near the army, and state what he had to propose, in such a manner as the soldiers might distinctly hear him. On his coming up, Xenophon added, “That the army was marching somewhere to collect provisions; and after we have heard what you and the Spartans have to propose, to act according to the probable advantages that may offer themselves. If you will, therefore, conduct the army into the regions of plenty, they will be as much obliged as 'tho you were to supply them at your personal expence.” Seuthes replied, “That he knew where

μας πολλὰς ἀδρόα, καὶ πάντα ἐχούσας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἀπεχέσας ἡμῶν ὅσον διελθόντες ἂν ἡδέως ἀριστῶμεν. Ἦγοῦ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆς δείλης, συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ εἶπε Σεύθης τοιάδε, Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δέομαι ὑμῶν στρατεύεσθαι σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν τῷ μηνὸς δώσειν Κυζικηνὸν, λοχαγοῖς τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα· ἔξω δὲ τούτων, τὸν ἄξιον τιμήσω· σῖτα δὲ καὶ ποτὰ, ὥσπερ καὶ νυν, ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνοντες ἔχετε· ὅποσα δὲ ἂν ἀλίσκηται, ἀξιῶσω αὐτὸς ἔχειν, ἵνα ταῦτα διαλιθέμενος ὑμῖν τὸν μισθὸν πορίζω. Καὶ τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντα ἡμεῖς ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν· ἣν δὲ τις ἀνδίστηται, σὺν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι. Ἐπήρητο Ξενοφῶν, Πόσον δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀξιῶσεις συνέπεσθαί σοι τὸ στρατεύμα; Ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Οὐδαμῆ

many hamlets lay close together, and so abounded in provisions, that nothing could possibly be wanting. And what is more," said he, "they are so near that you may arrive at them before dinner." "Lead us on, then," said Xenophon; which he did accordingly. And in the afternoon, after the soldiers had taken refreshment, they re-assembled, and waited to hear the proposals of Seuthes. He then addressed them, and said, "All I desire, gentlemen, is, that you will assist me with your arms, to recover my paternal dominion, and for your aid, I promise to give you a Cyzicene per man per month; and to the captains and generals, in proportion. In addition, I will reward every soldier of merit; and as to provisions, you shall supply yourselves as now, out of the country; but to the superfluous booty thus acquired I must lay a distinct claim, as it will be by the sale of it that I must provide for your pay. My soldiers will, of themselves, be quite adequate to pursue and look out for the fastnesses of those who fly and conceal themselves; while you will conquer, I expect, those who attempt resistance." On Xenophon's asking him, "How far from the coast he purposed to lead the army?" He re-

πλεῖον ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν,
μεῖον δὲ πολλαχῆ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδίδοιο
λέγειν τῷ βουλομένῳ.
Καὶ ἔλεγον πολλοὶ κα-
τὰ ταυτὰ, ὅτι παντὸς
ἄξια λείπει Σευθῆς· χει-
μῶν γὰρ εἶη, καὶ οὔτε
οἴκαδὲ ἀποπλεῖν ἰῶ βε-
λομένων δυνατὸν εἶη, δια-
λεσέσθαι τε ἐν φιλίᾳ ἔχ-
σόν τ' εἶη, εἰ δέοι ἄνου-
μένους ζῆν· ἐν δὲ τῇ
πολεμίᾳ διαίριβειν καὶ
τρέφεσθαι ἀσφαλές ε-
ρον μετὰ Σεύθου, ἢ
μόνους· ὄντων ἀγαθῶν
τοσούτων· εἰ δὲ μισθὸν
προσλήψοιντο, εὐρύμα
ἔδδοκει εἶναι. Ἐπὶ τέ-
τοις εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, Εἴ
τις ἀντιλέγει, λεγέτω·
εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐπιψηφίσεσθε
ταῦτα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ-
δεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, ἐπεψη-
φίσαντο, καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα.
Εὐθύς δὲ Σεύθῃ εἶπεν
ὅτι συστρατεύουσιντο
αὐτῷ.

Μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν
ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐ-
σκήνησαν· στρατηγοὺς

plied, "At the most seven days march;
frequently much less."

Now it was that every soldier had liberty to give his opinion. When the majority thought, that the proposals of Seuthes were sufficiently advantageous to be accepted; for it was then winter, and the facilities of sailing home did not present themselves; moreover, they could not subsist on Spartan territories without money in their pockets, as every thing acquired there must be paid for: moreover, the army thought, also, that they should be more secure, and provisions more certain, in junction with Seuthes, than alone; and in addition, while they possessed these advantages, to *receive pay* was, under existing circumstances, more than they had a right to expect. Xenophon, notwithstanding, asked whether any man had aught to object against Seuthes's proposal, and if he had, to speak out freely; or if he agreed to it, to give his vote in the same spirit. And no opposition offering itself, it was resolved to enter into the service of Seuthes; which resolution Xenophon immediately communicated.

This business being finished, the soldiers encamped in ranks, as they had been drawn up, while the Greek

δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Σεύθης ἐκάλεσε, πλησίον κώμην ἔχων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἰόντες, ἦν τις Ἡρακλείδης Μαρωνείτης· οὗτος προσίων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ, οὐσίνας ᾤετο ἔχειν τὶ δοῦναι Σεύθῃ, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς Παριανούς τινας, οἱ παρῆσαν φιλίαν διαπραξόμενοι πρὸς Μήδοκον τὸν Ὀδρυσσῶν βουσιλέα, καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντες αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί, ἔλεγεν ὅτι Μήδοκος μὲν ἄνω εἴη δώδεκα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὁδόν· Σεύθης δὲ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ στράτευμα τῆτο εἴληφεν, ἄρχων ἔσοιτο ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ· γείτων ἔν ὧν, ἰκανώτατος ἔσαι ὑμᾶς καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν· ἦν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τούτῳ δώσετε ὅ,τι ἄγετε· καὶ ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται, ἢ εἰάν Μήδοκῳ τῷ πρόσω οἰκῆντι δῶτε. Τούτους μὲν οὕτως ἔπειθεν. Αὐθις

officers retired to sup with Seuthes, in a neighbouring village. On entering the house where they were to be entertained, a gentleman, whose name was Heraclides, a native of Maronea, addressed himself to those whom he thought capable of offering the customary presents on such occasions.¹ The first persons he spoke to were some Parian ambassadors, who had been sent for the purpose of confirming an alliance with Medocus, king of the Odrussians, and had brought presents both for the king and queen. He told them, that as Medocus lived in the interior of the country, to the distance of twelve days' journey from the coast, and as Seuthes must be, by the assistance of the Greeks, the undisputed master of the sea-ports, it would be more politic in them to seek the friendship of Seuthes their powerful neighbour, who could be of so great service, or otherwise, to them, than it would to seek the smiles of Medocus, residing at such a distance; and if they were wise, they would proceed no further with their presents than where they then stood.² Which intimation had the

¹ The reader will find very copious illustrations of this custom in Bruce's Abyssinia.

² This is like a true courtier.

δὲ Τιμασίῳ τῷ Δαρδανεῖ προσελθὼν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουεν αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ τάπηδας βαρβαρικὰς, ἔλεξεν ὅτι νομίζοιτο, ὡσὸτε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσαι Σεύθης, δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τὰς κληθέντας· ἔτοσι δ' ἂν μέγας ἐνθάδε γένηται, ἱκανὸς ἔσται σε καὶ οἴκαδε κατάγειν, καὶ ἐνθάδε πλούσιον ποιήσαι. Τοιαῦτα πρέμνατο, ἐκάσῃ προσίων. Προσελθὼν δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι, ἔλεγε, Σὺ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης εἶ, καὶ παρὰ Σεύθη τὸ σὸν ὄνομα μέγιστόν ἐστι· καὶ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἴσως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τείχη λαμβάνειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔλαβον, καὶ χώραν ἄξιον οὖν σοὶ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα τιμῆσαι Σεύθην. Εὐνυς δὲ σοὶ ἂν παραινῶ· εὐ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὅσῃ ἂν μείζω τούτων δωρήσῃ, τοσούτῃ μείζω ὑπὸ τέττε ἀγαθὰ πείσῃ. Ἀκούων ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἠπόρει· οὐ γὰρ διαβεβήκει ἔχων ἐκ

desired effect. He then addressed himself to Timasion, a Greek general, whom, he said, he had been given to understand, possessed silver goblets, and Persian carpets, and brought him acquainted with the usual ceremonies; to which he added, that if Timasion should *rise to any consideration* in the country, his presents to Seuthes would be well laid out, who would take care to enrich him, whether he domiciled in his dominions, or returned to Greece. And thus he addressed all as they came in, and procured *presents* for the chieftain. At last, when it came Xenophon's turn to enter, he said, "Since, Xenophon, you are not only a citizen of Athens, but stand in the highest repute with Seuthes, and may, possibly, be desirous, some day, of commanding some fortified place in his dominions, and possessing lands, as do other Athenians, it may be worth your while to be very select and magnificent in your present to the prince; and I beg you to consider this intimation as friendly, as I am well assured, that in proportion as your present exceeds your companions', in proportion will be your remunerations." Which observation gave Xenophon great uneasiness, since he had brought nothing with him from

Παρίου, εἰ μὴ παῖδα
καὶ ὄσον ἐφοδιον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον
ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, τῶν τε
Θρακῶν οἱ κράτιστοι
τῶν τότε παρόντων, καὶ
οἱ στρατηγοὶ, καὶ οἱ
λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων, καὶ εἴ τις πρῶ-
βεία παρῆν ἀπὸ πό-
λεως, τὸ δεῖπνον μὲν
ἦν καθημένοις κύκλω·
ἔπειτα δὲ τρίποδες εἰσ-
ητέχθησαν πᾶσιν· οὗ-
τοι δ' ὄσον εἴκοσι,
κρεῶν μεσοὶ νενεμημέ-
νων, καὶ ἄρτοι ζυμίται
μεγάλοι προσπεπερονη-
μένοι ἦσαν πρὸς τοῖς
κρέασι. Μάλιστα δὲ
αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τὰς
ξένους αἰεὶ ἐτίθεντο νό-
μος γὰρ ἦν. Καὶ πρῶ-
τος τοῦτο ἐποίει Σεύ-
θης· Ἀνελόμενος τοὺς
παρακειμένους αὐτῷ
ἄρτους, διέκλα κατὰ
μικρὸν, καὶ διεῖρριπτε
οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει· καὶ
τὰ κρέα ὡσαύτως, ὄσον
μόνον γεύσασθαι ἑαυ-
τῷ καταλιπών. Καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ ταῦ-
τα ἐποίουν, καθ' οὓς
αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο.
Ἄρκας δὲ τις Ἄριστος
ὄνομα, φαγεῖν δεῖνός,
τὸ μὲν διαῖρριπτεῖν εἰς
χαίρειν, λαβὼν δὲ εἰς
τὴν χεῖρα ὄσον τρι-
χοίνικον ἄρτον, καὶ
κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ
γόνατα, ἐδείπνει· κέ-

Parium, but one servant, and just
money enough to liquidate his ex-
pences.

After this, the most opulent Thracians present, and the Greek officers, and the Parian deputies, entered the supper-room, and having arranged themselves in a circle, sat down. A tripod was then placed before each individual, about twenty in number, covered with meat cut into pieces, and to the meat were skewered large loaves that had been leavened. The repast was first presented to the strangers, agreeable to Thracian custom. Seuthes then set them an example, and taking the meat and loaves set before him, broke them in pieces, and threw them to what individuals in the company he thought proper; in like manner he did the meat, leaving but a very small quantity for himself. All the others, who had tripods before them, did the same thing. There happened to be a *gourmand* in company, whose name was Aristus, an Arcadian, who, instead of distributing the provisions, was only mindful of himself, and taking a loaf about the weight of three choenixes,¹ with meat in proportion, placed it on his knees, and sat contentedly eating

¹ A loaf made from about five pints of wheat or barley.

ρατα δ' οἴνου περιέφερον, καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο· ὁ δ' Ἀριστος, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος ἦν, εἶπεν, ἰδὼν τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκέτι δεῖπνούντα, Ἐκείνῳ, ἔφη, δὸς· σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη, ἐγὼ δ' οὐπῶ. Ἀκούσας ὁ Σεύθης τὴν φωνήν, ἠρώτα τὸν οἰνοχόον τί λέγοι. Ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος εἶπεν· Ἑλληνίζειν γὰρ ἠπίστατο. Ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἤδη γέλωσ ἐγένετο.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ προύχῳρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Θραξίης, ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν· καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστὸν, εἶπε, Προπίῳ σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τρίτον δωρεῖμαι, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ διώκων ὄν ἂν ἐθέλης, αἰρήσεις, καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δέσῃς τὸν πολέμιον ἄλλος παῖδα ἀσάων, οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο προπίων, καὶ ἄλλος ἰμάτια τῇ γυναικί. Καὶ Τιμασίῳ προπίων ἐδωρήσατο φιάλην ἀργυρεῖαν, καὶ τάπηδα ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. Γνήσιππος δὲ τις Ἀθηναῖος

his supper. The wine was then passing round in horn cups, when every person drank, with the exception of Aristus, who desired the cup-bearer to take it to Xenophon, observing, that *He* had done, and was at leisure; “But for my part,” said he, “I have no time.” When Seuthes heard him speak, he asked the cup-bearer what Aristus said; and the man, understanding the Greek tongue, related it to him *distinctly*, on which there was a most hearty laugh.

The horn was passing merrily round, when in came a Thracian, leading a beautiful white horse, and taking a cup full of wine, said, — “Seuthes, prosperity to you!” and presented him with his charger. “This,” said he, “is a horse that will enable you to overtake any one you wish to pursue; and in case of retreat you will have no reason to fear an enemy.” On this another of the party presented him with a boy, and pledged the chief, as the Thracian had done before him; another offered presents for Seuthes’s Consort; but Timasion, drinking to him, presented a silver goblet, together with a Persian carpet, value ten minæ.¹ On which, Gnesippus getting on his legs,

¹ Equivalent to 3*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*, besides the goblet. The ambassador’s hint had extracted *this*.

ἀναστὰς εἶπεν ὅτι ἀρχαῖος εἶη νόμος κάλλιστος, τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα· τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι διδόναι τὸν βασιλέα· ἵνα καὶ γὰρ, ἔφη, σοὶ ἔχω δωρεῖσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἠσπορεῖτο ὅτι ποιήσοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς τιμώμενος, ἐν τῷ πλησιαιτάτῳ δίφρῳ Σεύθῃ καθήμενος. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸ κέρας ὀρέξει τὸν οἰνοχόον. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν (ἤδη γὰρ ὑποπεπωκώς ἐτύγχανεν) ἀνέστη θαρραλέως δεξιόμενος τὸ κέρας, καὶ

addressed Seuthes thus:—“The ancient custom, sire, of presenting kings with gifts, is one of which I have always approved, as I have of another old custom, which is, for kings to present gifts to those who have nothing to offer;¹ and if,” said he, “the latter custom *be now* observed, *I*, Seuthes, shall have something to present you, as well as my comrades.” Xenophon sat all this while in great perplexity, not knowing how to apologise; and what added to his chagrin the more, was, that he had been purposely honoured with a seat next to Seuthes himself; and now the master of the ceremonies, *Heraclides*, had ordered the cup-bearer to present *him* with the horn; but Xenophon having drunk already a little more than usual, stood up boldly²

¹ This was a wiper; “For so spoke *the wine* in Gnesippus’s pate.” &c.

² Wine does wonders; letting loose *too often* the tongue of the stammerer; tho’, according to Falstaff, “Good sherris-sack has a *two-fold* operation in it. It ascends me into the brain: dries me there all the foolish dull, and crudy vapours which environ it: makes it apprehensive, *quick, inventive*; full of nimble, fiery, and *delectable shapes*; which delivered over to the voice, the tongue, which is the birth, becomes excellent wit. The second property of your excellent sherris, is the warming of the blood; which, before cold and settled, left the liver white and pale, which is the badge of pusillanimity and cowardice; but the sherris warms it, and makes it course from the inwards to the parts extreme. It illuminateth the face, which, as a beacon, gives warning to all the rest of this little kingdom *man*, to arm; and then the vital commoners, and inland petty spirits, muster me all to their captain, the *heart*; who, great and puffed up with his retinue, doth any deed of

εἶπεν, “Εγὼ δὲ σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, δίδωμι ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἑμοὺς τούτους ἑταίρους, φίλους εἶναι πιστούς· ἢ οὐδένα ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ πάντας μᾶλλον ἑμοῦ σοι βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι. Καὶ νῦν παρ-εἰσιν οὐδέν σε προσ-αιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέμενοι καὶ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκιν-δυνεύειν· μεθ’ ὧν, ἂν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι, πολλὴν χάραν τὴν μὲν ἀπολήψῃ, πατρώων οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ κτήσῃ· πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ Ἰυναῖκας καλὰς κτήσῃ, οὓς οὐ λήξουσθαι δεή-σει, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ φέ-ροντες παρέσονται πρὸς

and said: — “O Seuthes, I have nothing to present to you but *myself*; and if you will accept *me*, in junction with these my comrades, as your faithful abettors and allies, certain am I, that none of them will refuse you his courage and exertions. On the contrary, they will contend with me and with each other in zeal in endeavouring to restore you to the throne of your ancestors. *Here*, then, we now are, and we ask you nothing more than that we may have the satisfaction to undertake dangers and difficulties for your sake, and by whose assistance, if the gods permit, you shall possess your own kingdom, and as much territory beside as we can conquer for you. We trust that our exertions will *present you* with thousands of fine horses, with thousands of subjects, and many beautiful women, whom you need not draw to your arms by compulsion, but who will come and courtesy to your person voluntarily, and offer presents with

courage — and this valour comes of sherris. So that skill in the weapon is nothing without sack, for that sets it a-work; and *learning a mere hoard of gold kept by a devil*, ’till sack commences it, and sets it in act and use. Hereof comes it that Prince Harry is valiant; for the cold blood he did naturally inherit of his father, he hath, like lean, sterile, and bare land, manured, husbanded, and tilled with drinking good, and good store of fertile sherris. If I had a thousand sons, the first *human principle* I would teach them, should be to forswear thin potations, and to addict themselves to sack.” — SHAKSPEARE.

σε δῶρα." Ἀναστὰς ὁ Σεύθης συνεξέπιε, καὶ συγκατεσκέδασε τῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρας. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον Κερασουνταῖοι, οἱ ση-μαίνουσιν αὐλοῖς τε καὶ σάλπιγγιν ὁμοβοῖταις, ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἶον μαγάδι σαλπίζοντες. Καὶ αὐτὸς Σεύθης ἀναστὰς ἀνέκραγέ τε πολεμικὸν, καὶ ἐξήλατο, ὥσπερ βέλος φυλαττόμενος, μάλα ἐλαφρῶς. Εἰσῆεσαν δὲ καὶ γελωτοποιοί.

their own hands." On hearing which, the chieftain sprang on his legs and pledged Xenophon in a bumper, pouring the bottom of his horn on the person next him. Then entered some citizens of Cerazunt and sounded the charge with pipes and horns manufactured from raw hides,¹ and kept time equal to those who play on the magade;² on which the Chieftain himself arose and gave his native war-whoop with great effect,³ and then with uncommon agility sprung from where he stood, and placed himself in the attitude of a man who is warding off the arrow of an archer.⁴ Then entered

¹ It has been thought by some scholars, and not without reason, that these instruments resembled the Highland bagpipes.

² Μαγάδι, Magade. The Eton MS. read Μεγάδιν. It was a circular instrument, strung with wire, every one of which was fastened to a small peg in the centre, and screwed up at the extremity of the circle, having a sounding-board much like the dulcimer. It was a very ancient instrument. See Athen. lib. iv. c. ult. Ὁ δὲ μάγαδις, &c. &c. Anacreon calls it βάρβιτον.

"Ἄ βάρβιτος δὲ χορδαῖς Ἐρωτα μῶνον ἤχεϊ, &c. &c.

But my magade, with its strings, sounds only love.

But βάρβιτος, as explained by the commentators of Horace, is, "Lyra septichordis eburnea;" an ivory lyre, with seven strings, and no shape mentioned. Vide notes Anac. p. 70.

³ We have observed, note 26, De Moribus Germanorum, every thing that can be said on this subject; which may again be comprised by saying, that every nation has had its *war-whoop*, or "chansons de guerre;" and each and every one is *peculiar to itself*; yet all agree in *sentiment*. See Mémoires de l'Académie Inscrip. Royale.

⁴ Which somewhat resembled those attitudes assumed by men in various other warlike exercises.

Ὦς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ἐπὶ
 δυσμαῖς, ἀνέστησαν οἱ
 Ἕλληνες, καὶ εἶπον
 ὅτι ὦρα εἶν νυκτοφύ-
 λακας καδισάναι, καὶ
 σύνθημα παραδιδόναι.
 Καὶ Σεύθην ἐκέλευον
 παραγγεῖλαι ὅπως εἰς
 τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ στρατό-
 πεδα μηδεὶς τῶν Θρα-
 κῶν εἰσεῖσι νυκτός· οἱ
 τε γὰρ πολέμιοι Θρακῆς
 ἡμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ
 φίλοι. Ὦς δ' ἐξήεσαν,
 συνανέστη ὁ Σεύθης,
 οὐδέν τι μεθύοντι εἰσι-
 κῶς. Ἐξελθὼν δ' εἶ-
 πεν, αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρα-
 τηγοὺς ἀποκαλέσας,
 ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ πολέμιοι
 ἡμῶν οὐκ ἴσασι πω
 τὴν ἡμετέραν συμμα-
 χίαν· ἦν οὖν ἔλθωμεν
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν φυ-
 λάξασθαι ὥστε μὴ ληφ-
 θῆναι, ἢ παρασκευά-
 σασθαι ὥστε ἀμύνασ-
 θαι, μάλισα ἂν λά-
 βοιμεν χρήματα καὶ
 ἀνθρώπους. Συνεπήνεν
 ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοί,
 καὶ ἠγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευ-
 ον. Ὁ δ' εἶπε, Παρα-

some players: ¹ but it being near sun-
 set the Greek officers rose up, and
 observed that it was time to place
 the guards and give the watch-word;
 and on departing desired Seuthes to
 give strict orders, that no Thracian
 enter the Greek camp by night, ob-
 serving, at the same time, that though
he was their particular friend, yet *they*
 had many enemies among the Thra-
 cians. Seuthes accompanied them to the
 egress of the house, and so far was he
 from shewing any symptoms of ebriety
 that he collected the Greek officers
 around him and addressed them thus:—
 “Gentlemen, — As the enemy is totally
 ignorant of our having formed alliance,
 it occurs to me that we might attack
 him immediately with better prospects
 of success than if delayed 'till to-
 morrow; for being off his guard, and
 open to a surprise, and otherwise vul-
 nerable, we should be sure of making
 many prisoners, and of taking a great
 booty — what say you?” The generals
 fully agreed with him in opinion, and
 desired him to lead the way. “Then
 make ready,” said Seuthes, “the army,

¹ The picture here given by Xenophon of a Thracian entertainment, is the most perfect on record. We have before observed that Θρακῆς is interpreted, by some critics, *ferox*; and the whole scene wears the air of barbarism and ferocity, and nearly corresponds with many of the pictures of the Scotch clans, drawn by the author of *Waverly*.

σχευασάμενοι ἀναμενεῖτε· ἐγὼ δ', ὁπόταν καιρὸς εἴη, ἤξω παρ' ὑμᾶς· καὶ τοὺς πελταστάς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναλαβών, ἠγήσομαι σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε, Σκέψαι τοίνυν, εἴπερ νυκτὸς πορευσόμεθα, εἰ ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς νόμος κάλλιον ἔχει· μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πορείαις ἠγεῖται τὸ στρατεύματος, ὅποῖον αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν συμφέρει, ἐάν τε ὀπλιτικόν, ἐάν τε ἵππικόν· νύκτωρ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐστὶν ἠγεῖσθαι τὸ βραδύτατον· οὕτω γὰρ ἦκιστα διασπᾶται τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ ἦκιστα λανθάνουσιν ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀλλήλους· οἱ δὲ διασπασθέντες πολλαὶς καὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἀγνοῦντες κακῶς ποιοῦσι καὶ πάσχουσιν. Εἶπεν ἔν Σευθῆς, Ὁρθῶς τε λέγετε, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πείσομαι. Καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἠγεμόνας δώσω, τῶν σωρεσβυτάτων τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῆς χώρας, αὐ-

and await my arrival, and at a *proper hour* I and my targeteers, by permission of the gods, will come to you, and will march and attack the enemy in company." "Since then," said Xenophon, "you are resolved to march by night, what say you to the Greek method of conducting night-marches? — for with us, either the heavy-armed or the cavalry, according to the nature of the country, lead the van in the *day*, but by *night* we place the slowest corps to lead.¹ Our reasons for this are, first, that the army, by this means, is less liable to be separated; secondly, men can't stray from the ranks without being noticed; and, thirdly, we are less subject to be surprised; for it has often happened in Greek armies, before this plan was adopted, that the troops, becoming separated, fell on each other in mistake, and taking each other for an enemy, have done irreparable damage."² Seuthes declared the plan was a good one, and he would conform to the Greek custom: "Moreover," said he, "I will send some of my best guides to con-

¹ I think some error must have *here* crept into the text, as we have no description by Xenophon, of any troops slower on the march than the ὀπλίται, or the heavy-armed.

² This must have been occasioned, I conceive, by the want of giving the watch-word.

τὸς δ' ἐφέψομαι τελευ-
ταῖος, τοὺς ἵππους ἔ-
χων ταχὺ γὰρ πρῶ-
τος, ἂν δέη, παρεσο-
μαι· Σύστημα δ' εἶπον
Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὴν
συγγένειαν. Ταῦτ' εἰ-
πόντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

duct you, and will myself bring up the rear with the cavalry." He added, "That should there be any necessity, he could come up quickly to the assistance of the corps in advance." The Athenians, in consequence of their alliance with Seuthes, then gave the watch-word¹ and retired.

About midnight Seuthes arrived with his well armed cavalry, rendered invulnerable by coats of mail. His targeteers were equally well equipped; and after giving Xenophon the guides, the heavy troops were placed in the van and led the way;² next were arranged the targeteers, while the cavalry brought up the rear. As soon as day broke, Seuthes rode up to the front and eulogised the Greek custom; and added frankly, that it had often happened to him when on night-march, though with few troops, to have been separated at a great distance from his infantry in the morning, which necessarily led him open to an attack; "but by this plan," said he, "we all

Ἦνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ
μέσας νύκτας, παρὴν
Σεύθης, ἔχων τῆς ἵπ-
πέας τεθωρακισμένους,
καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς
σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. Καὶ
ἐπεὶ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἡ-
γεμόνας, οἱ μὲν ὀπλί-
ται ἡγοῦντο, οἱ δὲ πελ-
τασταὶ εἶποντο, οἱ δὲ
ἵππεῖς ἀπισθοφυλάκην.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἦν, ὁ
Σεύθης παρήλαυνεν εἰς
τὸ πρόσθεν· καὶ ἐπαή-
νεσε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν
νόμον· πολλάκις γὰρ
ἔφη νύκτωρ αὐτὸς, καὶ
σὺν ὀλίγοις πορευό-
μενος, ἀποσπασθῆναι
σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἀπὸ
τῶν πεζῶν· νῦν δὲ, ὡς-
περ δεῖ, ἀθροοὶ πάντες

¹ The right of giving the watch-word, was, it seems, determined by the circumstance of what state held the reins, or was at the head of the Greek republics. The exception *here made*, was in consequence of the relationship, which it is alleged, existed between Seuthes and the Athenians; and, possibly, was intended as a compliment to Xenophon personally.

² This is confirmatory of my observation in note 1, p. 484.

ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινό-
μεθα. Ἄλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν
περιμένετε αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ἀναπαύεσθε· ἐγὼ δὲ
σκεψάμενός τι ἤξω.
Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνε
δι' ὄρους, ὁδὸν τινα
λαβών. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφι-
κετο εἰς χιόνα πολ-
λὴν, ἐσκέψατο ἐν τῇ
ὁδῷ, εἰ εἶη ἴχνη ἀν-
θρώπων ἢ προηγου-
μενα ἢ ἐναντία. Ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἀτριβῆ ἑώρα τὴν
ὁδόν, ἤκει ταχὺ πάλιν,
καὶ ἔλεγε, Καλῶς, ὦ
ἄνδρες, ἔσται, ἐὰν θεὸς
θέλη· τοὺς γὰρ ἀν-
θρώπους λήσομεν ἐπι-
πεσόντες. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ
μὲν ἠγήσομαι τοῖς ἴπ-
ποις, ὅπως, ἂν τινα
ἴδωμεν, μὴ διαφυγῶν
σημήνη τοῖς πολεμίοις·
ὑμεῖς δ' ἔπεισθε· καὶ
λειφθῆτε, τῷ σίβῳ τῶν
ἵππων ἔπισθε· ὑπερ-
βάντες δὲ τὰ ὄρη ἤξο-
μεν εἰς τὰς κάμας
πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαί-
μονας.

appear at day-break together, as we ought." He then ordered the whole army to halt, and desired they would recline themselves in their ranks while he himself went and reconnoitred. Going forward accordingly, he met with a narrow path that led up a very steep mountain. As he proceeded onwards, he came to that part which was covered with snow; and narrowly examining the road to see whether any prints of shoes, backward or forward, recently made, manifested themselves, and discovering none, rode back and said, "Gentlemen, — Our plan will succeed! We shall, by the help of the gods, surprise the enemy. But I will lead the way with the horse, as by that means any one who may escape to give information to the others, will be the more easily overtaken and brought back, and do *you* follow on smartly; and should we leave you *far behind*, the tracks of the horses' feet will direct you to find us, for there are many rich vil-
lages on the other side the mountain." ¹

¹ This would make a fine picture in *scenic representation*. There is nothing in the *Forty Thieves*, nor the *Mountaineers*, equal to it, *if well got up*; and it is a matter of surprise to all thinking men, that our dramatic writers do not borrow more from the classic page; nor do I conceive that it is to be accounted for in any other way, than either the extreme ignorance of the actors, or the false taste of the public. But 'tis the business of the former to correct the latter.

Ἡνίκα δὲ ἦν μέσον
 ἡμέρας, ἤδη τε ἦν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς ἄκροις, καὶ κατ-
 ιδὼν τὰς κώμας, ἤκεν
 ἐλαύνων πρὸς τοὺς ὀπ-
 λίτας, καὶ ἔλεγεν, Ἄ-
 φήσω ἤδη καταθεῖν
 τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας εἰς τὸ
 πεδῖον, τοὺς δὲ πελ-
 τασὰς ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας.
 Ἄλλ' ἔπεσθε ὡς ἂν
 δύνησθε τάχιιστα, ὅπως,
 ἂν τις ὑφιστῆται, ἀ-
 λέξησθε. Ἀκούσας
 ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κα-
 τέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου.
 Καὶ ὃς ἤρετο, Τί κα-
 ταβαίνεις, ἵεπει σπεύ-
 δειν δεῖ; Οἶδα, ἔφη,
 ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνον δέη-
 οῖ δ' ὀσλίται θάττον
 δραμοῦνται καὶ ἥδιον,
 ἂν καὶ ἐγὼ πεζὸς ἡ-
 γῶμαι.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ᾤχετο
 τὸ Τίμασιον μετ' αὐ-
 τοῦ, ἔχων ἰσπώεας ὡς
 τετραράκοντα τῶν Ελ-
 λήνων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ
 παρηγγύησε τοὺς εἰς
 τριάκοντα ἔτη παριέναι
 ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων εὐζώ-
 νους. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν
 ἐτροχάζε, τούτους ἔ-
 χων Κλεάνωρ δὲ ἡεῖ-
 το τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλή-
 νων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς
 κώμας ἦσαν, Σεύθης

By the time mid-day had arrived
 Seuthes had made the summit of the
 mountain, and having taken a view of
 the situation of the villages, rode back
 to our heavy-armed soldiers advancing,
 and told them he then purposed to
 scour the plain with his cavalry, and
 to attack the villages with his tar-
 geteers. "And do you," said he, "press
 on with all expedition; that in the
 event of the conflict being obstinate
 you may support them." On Xenophon
 hearing these orders, he dismounted,
 and Seuthes observing it, asked why
 he did so. Xenophon replied, that
 his troops would follow him more ex-
 peditionally, led on by their general on
 foot, than if mounted. "Moreover,"
 said he, "I can render you no service,
 Seuthes, without my veterans."¹

Immediately after this, Timasion,
 with about forty horse, and Seuthes with
 his cavalry, pressed forward, and Xeno-
 phon quickly selected the youngest
 men out of each company, prepared
 for expedition, and followed their ex-
 ample, leaving Cleanor to bring up the
 rest. Seuthes and Timasion entered the
 villages pell-mell with the enemy, and
 took them; after which Seuthes galloped

¹ This was *well said*; the troops must have felt it: besides, it will be recollected, that an impudent fellow, Soteridas, had upbraided him once on this occasion. See page 206, note 3.

ἔχων ὅσον πενήκοντα ἵππείας, προσελάσας εἶπε, Τάδε δὴ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἃ σὺ ἔλεγες· ἔχονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἔρημοι οἴχονται μοι, ἄλλος ἀλλαχῆ διώκων· καὶ δέδοικα, μὴ συστάντες ἄδρόοι που κακόν τι ἐργάζωνται οἱ πολέμιοι. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμῶν· μεσταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν ἄνδράπων. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺν οἷς ἔχω, τὰ ἄκρα καταλήψομαι· σὺ δὲ Κλεάνορα κέλευε διὰ τοῦ πεδίου παρατεῖναι τὴν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὰς κώμας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, συνηλίσθησαν ἀνδράποδα μὲν ὡς χίλια, βόες δὲ δισχίλιοι, καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα μύρια. Καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ ἠύλισθησάν·

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ κατακάυσας ὁ Σεύθης τὰς κώμας παντελῶς, καὶ ἑδεμίαν οἰκίαν λιπῶν, (ὅπως φόβον ἐνδείη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷα πείσονται, ἂν μὴ πείθωνται) ἀπήει πᾶ-

back to Xenophon, accompanied only by about fifty of his horse, and told him that things had fallen out as he had predicted. "The people," he said, "are prisoners, but our cavalry have dispersed in the pursuit of some fugitives without a commander, and I am apprehensive the enemy will rally and commit injury, unless a strong body of troops remain in these villages and keep the inhabitants in check; for they are full of men." "Then, since this is the case," said Xenophon, "I will with my troops take possession of the hills, and do you Seuthes command Cleanor to draw up his soldiers before the villages on the plain:" which plan was immediately put into execution. The result was, that one thousand slaves, two thousand oxen, and ten thousand head of small cattle, fell into our hands; for nothing could escape us, and here the army rested that night.

The following day, in order to deter the enemy, and to let them see what they were to expect, if they offered resistance, Seuthes ordered all the villages to be fired, without any exception,¹ and returning from whence

¹ This was acting as Cromwell and Suwarrow have since acted, and is contended by many to be the most humane mode of making war.

λιν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν ἀπέπεμψε διατίθεσθαι Ἑρακλείδῃ εἰς Πέρινον, ὅπως μισθὸς γένηται τοῖς στρατιώταις· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐσθραλοπεδεύσαντο ἀνὰ τὸ Θυνῶν πεδῖον. Οἱ δ' ἐκλιπόντες, ἐφευγον εἰς τὰ ὄρη.

Ἦν δὲ χιῶν πολλή, καὶ ψύχος οὕτως, ὥς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἐπήλυτο, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐν τοῖς ἀγυαίοις, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν καὶ ῥῖνες ἀπεκαίοντο καὶ ὠτα. Καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο, οὗ ἕνεκα οἱ Θραῖκες τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶ, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς· καὶ ζειράς μέχρι ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας. Ἀφιεῖς δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σεύθης

he had set out, sent all the booty under the command of Heraclides to Perinthus to be sold. He did this with a view to raise money to pay the troops. While this business was transacting the Greek soldiers, and those of Seuthés, lay encamped on the plains of the Thunians,¹ from which the inhabitants retired and betook themselves to the hills.

While the troops lay here there fell a tremendous snow, and the cold was so intense, that even the water brought in for supper, and the wine, became frozen, and the noses and ears of many of the Greek soldiers were frost-bitten; which at once explained the reason why the Thracians wore fox-skin caps to cover their ears, and waistcoats of the same material; and some of them have trowsers made of them, and surtouts, instead of cloaks, for riding, which reach down so long as to cover their feet.² Some of the prisoners Seuthés

When Cromwell took Drogheda, he put every man, woman, and child, to the sword! which struck such a panic through Ireland, that the people every where sent in their submission. The great Suwarrow used to say, "That the only way to put an end to a war was, for the Belligerents to determine, *in the first battle*, neither to give nor receive quarter; for *honourable and humane* warfare was, *in fact*, the most *dishonourable and cruel*." What shall we say after such doctors?

¹ "Thyni Thraces erant, quæ nunc Bithynia fertur."

² Ἦν δὲ χιῶν, Erat autem nix multa. This country was mountainous,

εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ἔλεγεν ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καταθήσονται οἰκήσοντες ἢ πείσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ τούτων τὰς κώμας καὶ τὸν σῆτον, καὶ ἀπολοῦνται τῷ λιμῷ. Ἐκ τούτου κατέβαινον καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κώμαῖς ἠύ-

despatched to the mountains, commanding those who had fled to come down, and to retire to their habitations; and added, that if they did not comply with his orders and submit to his authority, he would burn their habitations and every thing they had, and they would *then* have to perish from famine. This threat had in some measure the desired effect, for the women, children, and old men came down *immediately*, but the young men betook themselves to those villages that lay at the feet of the

consequently subject to great falls of snow; indeed the summits of the Thracian hills, like those of the Andes, were capped with eternal snow, 'tho situated so low as the 41° and 44° of north latitude. This is proved by many ancient authors; as is also the description here given of Thracian clothing. Vide Herodotus, lib. vii. c. 75. *Θρήικες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῆσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες, &c. &c.* See also Ovid. *Trist.* lib. iii. el. 10. v. 13. et seq.

“ Nix jacet: et jactam nec sol pluviae resolvunt:
Indurat Boreas, perpetuamque facit.
Ergo, ubi delucit nondum prior, altera venit:
Et solet in multis bima manere locis.
Tantaque commoti vis est Aquilonis, ut altas
Æquet humo turres, tectaque rapta ferat.
Pellibus et sutis arcent malè frigora braccis.
Oraque de toto corpore sola patent.
Sæpe sonant moti glacie pendente capilli,
Et nitet inducto candida barba gelu:
Udaque consistunt formam servantia testæ
Vina: nec hausta meri, sed data frustra bibunt.”

Virgil's description of a Scythian's and Belgian's winter clothing is very similar; a few lines of which I will give, after Dryden:—

“ Such are the cold Riphean race, and such
The savage Scythian, and unwarlike Dutch;
Where skins of beasts the rude Barbarians wear,
The spoils of foxes, and the furry bear.”

λίζοντο. Καὶ ὁ Σεύ-
 δης καταμαθὼν, ἐκέ-
 λευσε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὰς νεω-
 τάτους λαβόντα συνέ-
 πεσθαι. Καὶ ἀνασαν-
 τες τῆς νυκτὸς ἅμα τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ παρῆσαν ἐπὶ
 ταῖς κώμαις· καὶ οἱ
 μὲν πλείους ἐξέφυγον
 (πλησίον γὰρ ἦν τὸ
 ὄρος) ὅσους δὲ κατέ-
 λαβον, κατηκόντισεν
 ἅπαντας ὁ Σεύθης.

hills. On Seuthes observing this, he solicited Xenophon to put himself at the head of those picked men with whom he had the day before occupied the mountain, and follow him; and leaving the camp about midnight, arrived, by break of day, at those villages where those young men had fled; but the greater part of them had quitted and betook themselves to the neighbouring mountains before our arrival: those, however, who were made prisoners, were ordered to be put to the sword.¹

Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἦν
 τις Ὀλύνθιος παιδε-
 ραστῆς, ὃς ἰδὼν καλὸν

Episthenes, the Olynthian,² a great lover of boys, being present at the

¹ The Thracians frequently sacrificed their prisoners on the altars of their gods.

² Ὀλύνθιος. I notice this city because it will be recollected that the *cause* of its inhabitants was pleaded in the three Olynthian orations of Demosthenes. It is, however, generally considered by geographers, a city of Macedon. "Urbs Macedoniae maritima," says the Leipsic professor. But this is an error, as I shall attempt to prove.* The town of Olynthus was built immediately on the Thracian frontier, by some of the inhabitants of Amphipolis, an Athenian colony. Hence the two places are frequently blended and considered as one. Indeed Xenophon himself sometimes calls Episthenes a native of Amphipolis (Ἐπισθένει Ἀμφιπολίτην, p. 268), and sometimes, *as here*, Episthenes of Olynthus, which is tantamount to an English author saying, "Episthenes of Devon," and "Episthenes of Plymouth," the latter town being in that county; as was Olynthus in the colony of Amphipolis. That it was an Athenian colony on the Thracian frontier, is further confirmed from the contentions of

* The error originated with geographers, through the want of accurately noticing the time in which their authorities lived. Stephanus, Ἀμφίπολις, πόλις Μακεδονίας κατὰ Θράκην. And again, Ὀλύνθος, πόλις Θράκης, πρὸς τῇ Σιδανίᾳ τῆς Μακεδονίας. But did Stephanus write before or after the Macedonian conquest? *After*, unquestionably, when both Amphipolis and Olynthus had fallen under the Macedonian phalanx: but it was originally, and in the time that Xenophon wrote, what I have stated.

παῖδα ἠθάσκούλα ἄρι,
πέλτην ἔχοντα, μέλ-
λοντα ἀποθνήσκειν,
προσδραμῶν Ξενοφών-
τα ἰκέτευσε βοηθήσαι
παιδί καλῷ. Καὶ ὃς
πρὸς ἐλθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ
δέεται μὴ ἀποκτείναι
τὸν παῖδα· καὶ τοῦ
Ἐπισθένουσ διηγείται
τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι
λόχον πολὲ συνελέξατο,
σκοπῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο,
ἢ εἰ τινες εἶεν καλοί·
καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἦν
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. Ὁ δὲ
Σεύθης ἤρετο, ἢ καὶ
ἐθέλοις ἂν, ὧ Ἐπίσ-
θενες, ὑπερ τούτου ἀ-
ποθανεῖν; Ὁ δ' ἐπα-
ναλείνας τὸν τράχηλον,
Παῖς, εἶπεν, εἰ κελεύει
ὁ παῖς, καὶ μέλλει
χάριν εἰδέναί. Ἐπή-
ρετο ὁ Σεύθης τὸν παῖ-
δα εἰ παῖσειεν αὐτὸν
ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. Οὐκ εἶα
ὁ παῖς, ἀλλ' ἰκέτευε
μηδὲ ἕτερον κατακαί-
νειν. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ
Ἐπισθένης περιλαβὼν
τὸν παῖδα, εἶπεν, ὦρα
σοι, ὧ Σεύθῃ, περὶ
τοῦδε μοι διαμάχεσ-
θαι· οὐ γὰρ μεθήσω
τὸν παῖδα. Ὁ δὲ Σεύ-
θης γελῶν, ταῦτα μὲν

place of execution, and seeing a very handsome lad with a shield in his hand about to suffer, stepped forward to Xenophon, and begged that he would intercede for the youth. On which, Xenophon applied to Seuthes, and after defining the character of the man, desired he would spare him. He added, that Episthenes once raised a company in which he chiefly considered the persons of his men, and at the head of whom he had always conducted himself with bravery. Upon which Seuthes addressed Episthenes thus: “Are you willing, Episthenes, to suffer for the boy?” “Yes,” said he; and stretching forth his neck, he bid Seuthes strike if the *youth* commanded it. Seuthes then asked the boy whether he was willing that Episthenes should die for him. “No,” he replied; “but, O Seuthes, spare both of us!” On saying which, Episthenes sprang forward and embraced the boy, and said, “Seuthes, now you and I must contend for him; for I will part with him on no other conditions:” which made the old veteran laugh heartily.¹

the Lacedæmonians with that people concerning it; and, finally, from its becoming the bone of contention with the Athenians and Philip. The western frontier of Thrace joined Macedonia.

¹ Let the reader consult Leviticus, xviii. 22—28, and then ask himself, wherefore is Grecian glory departed?

εἶα· ἔδοξε δ' αὐτῶ αὐ-
τοῦ αὐλισθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ
ἐκ τούτων τῶν κωμῶν
οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τρέ-
φοιντο. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑποκατα-
βάς ἐσκήνου· Ξενοφῶν
δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέκ-
τους, ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος
ἀνωτάτω κώμῃ, καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες, ἐν τοῖς
ὄρειοῖς τοῖς καλου-
μένοις Θραξί, πηλείον
κατεσκήνησαν.

Ἐκ τούτου ἡμέραι
οὐ πολλὰ διετρίβοντο,
καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους
Θραξες καταβαίοντες
πρὸς τὸν Σευ.ην περὶ
ὀμήρων καὶ σπονδῶν
διεπράτιοντο. Καὶ Ξε-
νοφῶν ἔλθων ἔλεγε τῷ
Σεύθῃ ὅτι ἐν πονηροῖς
τόποις σκηνώμεν, καὶ
πλησίον εἶεν οἱ πολέ-
μοι ἢ διον δ' ἂν ἔξω
αὐλίξεσθαι ἔφη ἐν ἐχυ-
ροῖς ἂν χωροῖς μᾶλ-
λον ἢ ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς,
ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι. Ὅ

Seuthes, however, quickly changed the subject, and first observed, that he thought where they then stood was no very improper place to pitch camp, as by that means the people who had escaped to the mountains, would the more easily be cut off from supplying themselves from the villages on the plains, and descending a little further down towards the plain, the troops encamped accordingly. But Xenophon with his picked corps, sat down in the village nearest the foot of the mountain; whilst the other Greeks took up their quarters further up among those villagers that receive the appellation of Thracian mountaineers.¹

We had not long occupied this position before the fugitives and the Thracian mountaineers came down and treated with Seuthes respecting peace, giving hostages in confirmation thereof. After which, Xenophon communicated his opinions to Seuthes, viz. that the place the troops *then* occupied was disadvantageous, in the event of there being any treachery; and he contended that it was more expedient to quit that strait, and encamp abroad in an open country, than to remain so near a lately subdued enemy. But

¹ This confirms what we have observed note 2, p. 489.

δὲ θάρρειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἔδειξεν ὁμήρους παρόντας αὐτῶν. Ἐδεοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος καλαβαίνοντες τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆ ὄρης συμπράξαι σφίσι τὰς σπονδὰς. Ὁ δ' ὠμολόγει, καὶ θάρρειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἡγγυάτο μηδὲν αὐτοὺς κακὸν πείσθαι πειθομένους Σεύθῃ. Οἱ δ' ἄρα ταῦτ' ἔλεγον κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα.

Ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐπιτίθενται ἐλθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους οἱ Θυνοί. Καὶ ἡγεμῶν μὲν ἦν ὁ δεσπότης ἐκάστης οἰκίας· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἄλλω τὰς οἰκίας, σκότους, ὄντος, ἀνευρίσκειν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι κύκλω περιεσαύρωντο μεγάλοις σταυροῖς, τῶν προβάτων ἕνεκα. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας ἐκάστου οἰκήματος, οἱ μὲν εἰσηκόν-

Seuthes silenced his fears by bidding him look at the hostages. After this, some Thraci-Thunians,¹ from another quarter, came to Xenophon and begged his kind offices towards procuring them peace. He promised them his support, and told them if they quietly submitted to the government of Seuthes, he had no doubt but all would be well. But it ultimately turned out, that those men were spies, sent for the purpose of gaining time by offers of negotiation; for though these Thunians had made those proposals on that very day, yet on the following night they made an assault on the Greek quarters. The enemy's squadrons were headed by masters of houses; as was inferred from the impossibility for any others to find out insulated and detached buildings in the dark, each and every one of which was surrounded with a palisade for securing the cattle: and, indeed, this was further evinced from the following circumstances. For on the enemy approaching each habitation, they would call out to the Greeks,

¹ The Thunians were Thracians; but lived on the Thunian hills, and received that name as indicative of their locality. This passage is not literally translated; but the Greek scholar will see in two or three lines forward, the terms ὄρους οἱ Θυνοί, as he has already met with ὄρους Θραῖκες. From hence I have taken the liberty to make use of the compound Thraci-Thunians, as more explanatory.

τιζον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἔβαλλον, ἃ ἔχειν ἔφασαν, ὡς ἀποκόψοντες τῶν δοράτων τὰς λόγχας· οἱ δὲ ἐνέπιμπρασαν· καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ὀνομαστὶ καλοῦντες, ἐξιόντα ἐκέλευον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ ἔφασαν κατακαυθήσεσθαι αὐτόν.

Καὶ ἤδη τε διὰ τοῦ ὁρόφου ἐφαίνετο πῦρ, καὶ ἐντεθωρακισμένοι οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἀσπίδας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ κράνη ἔχοντες. Καὶ Σιλανὸς Μακέστιος, ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ὢν, σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι καὶ εὐθύς ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων σκηνωμάτων. Οἱ δὲ

and some would even throw in darts, others bludgeons, which they carried, as they afterwards said, for the purpose of breaking off the points of our pikes in the attack; some of them challenged even Xenophon by name, and told him to come forth and meet his doom. Others again were employed in setting fire to the buildings, and threatening Xenophon, in particular, that if he did not come forth they would consume him in the flames. The fire, indeed, by this time, was ready to burst through the roof of the house in which he was; but Xenophon and the soldiers with him had taken the precaution to clad themselves in coats of mail, had their helmets on their heads, shields on their arms, and drawn swords in their hands.¹ And then it was that a young Greek, not more than eighteen years of age, by name Silanus Macestius, sounded the charge, on which the Greeks simultaneously, and as though by a premeditated plan, rushed forth out of their houses, attacked, and routed the enemy!² The

¹ In this manner was the great Alcibiades attacked through the intrigue of the Athenians with Lysander; and tho' he escaped the flames unhurt, he could not escape the arrows of the assassins. "Noctu ligna contulerunt circa casam eam in quâ quiescebat," &c. &c. "Barbari incendium effugisse viderunt, telis eminens missis, interfecerunt, caputque ejus ad Pharnabazum retulerunt." Vide Vita Alcib. Corn. Nep.

² 'Tis an old observation, "That sometimes a battle is won by chance." According to our author, this young Greek seems to have

Θρᾶκες φεύγουσιν, ὥσπερ δὴ τρόπος αὐτοῖς, ὀπισθεν περιβαλλόμενοι τὰς πέλτας· καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπεραλλομένων τοὺς σταυροὺς ἐλήψθησάν τινες κρεμασθέντες, ἐνισχομένων τῶν πελτῶν ἐν τοῖς σταυροῖς· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανον, διαμαρτόντες τῶν ἐξόδων· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐδίωκον ἕξω τῆς κόμης. Τῶν τε Θυνῶν ὑποστραφέντες τινὲς ἐν τῷ σκότει, τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν καιομένην ἠκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἔτρωσαν Ἱερώνυμόν τε καὶ Ἐνοδιαν τὸν λοχαγόν, καὶ Θεαγένην δὲ Λοκρὸν τὸν λοχαγόν· ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς· κατεκαύθη μέντοι καὶ ἐσθῆς τινῶν καὶ σκεύη. Σεύθης δὲ ἤκε βοηθήσων σὺν ἑπτὰ ἰππεύσει τοῖς πρώτοις, καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἔχων τὸν Θρᾶκιον. Καὶ ἐπειπερ ἤσθετο, ὅσον περ χρόνον ἐβοήθει, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ· ὥστε

Thracians, according to their national discipline, ran off covering their backs with their shields; but in scaling the palisades in haste, many of them got accidentally hung up on the top of them by their shields, which rendered them an easy prey to the devouring sword; others again lost their lives by missing their way; and thus were their intentions finally defeated. A party, however, of the Thunians rallied, and, covered by a dark night, came back, and levelled their darts at some Greeks who were running by a fire, and taking their aim from a dark place, at those who were to be seen by the fire-light, easily wounded them. Among the number thus disabled were three Greek captains, Enodias, Theagenes, and Hieronymus; but no soldier lost his life, though many were hurt by the houses being ignited, and many also lost their property. Seuthes by this time came up panting to our relief, and was all anxiety for our welfare; but he only brought the first seven horse he met with and a Thracian trumpeter, who from the commencement of the attack ceased not to sound the charge till the affair was over, and thus ren-

σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι, *tuba signum dat*, to have sounded the charge without orders, *i. e.* at his own suggestion, which succeeded; and by it we see he has immortalised his name.

καὶ τοῦτο φόβον συμ-
 παρεῖχε τοῖς πολεμίοις
 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἤλθεν, ἐδεξιᾶ-
 τό τε καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι
 οἷοιτο τεθνεῶτας πολ-
 λούς εὐρίσκειν.

Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ξενο-
 φῶν δεῖται τοὺς ὀμή-
 ρους τε αὐτῶ παρα-
 δοῦναι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος,
 εἰ βούλεται, συστρα-
 τεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐ-
 τὸν ἔασαι. Τῇ οὖν
 ὑστεραία παραδίδωσιν
 ὁ Σεύθης τοὺς ὀμήρους,
 πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας,
 τοὺς κρατίστους, ὡς
 ἔφασαν, τῶν ὀρειῶν·
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχεται σὺν
 τῇ δυνάμει. Ἦδη δ'
 εἶχε καὶ τριπλασίαν
 δύναμιν ὁ Σεύθης· ἐκ
 γὰρ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν, ἀ-
 κούοντες ἂ πρᾶττοι ὁ
 Σεύθης, πολλοὶ κατέ-

dered us an essential service by terri-
 fying the enemy, tho' we knew nothing
 of it at the time.¹ On approaching us,
 he embraced some of the soldiers sin-
 cerely, and said he expected that many
 of them would have been slain.

Xenophon then desired Seuthes to
 deliver up the hostages to him, and to
 accompany the Greeks up the moun-
 tain, but if he could not proceed con-
 veniently, to leave the settling of that
 business with himself alone. Conse-
 quently, the next day Seuthes delivered
 over to Xenophon the hostages, who
 were men in years, but had been
 selected from among the most con-
 siderable families among the Thracian
 mountaineers; when Xenophon, with
 his Greeks, accompanied by the host-
 ages, set forward to punish the delin-
 quents. By this time, however, the
 forces of Seuthes had been considerably
 increased, having trebled their number.
 This had been effected in part by the
 subjects of Medocus; for the Odryssians,
 on seeing him likely to succeed in his

¹ Battles have been often won, or at least the plans of an enemy have
 been frequently thwarted through the sound of the terrifying trumpet.
 Napoleon, on one occasion, drove a very large Austrian force with a
 small army, through placing in the hands of his van-guard about two
 hundred trumpets, and advancing by night. The enemy concluded,
 through the number of trumpets sounding, that he had been reinforced,
 and consequently retreated; giving up, thereby, a very advantageous
 position.

βαινον συστρατευσόμενοι. Οἱ δὲ Θυνοὶ, ἐπεὶ εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ πελταστας, πολλὰς δὲ ἰππεῖς, κατὰ βάντες ἰκέτεον σπείσασθαι· καὶ πάντα ὠμολόγην ποιήσῃν, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευον. Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης καλέσας τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεδείκνυεν ἀλέγοιεν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔφη σπείσασθαι, εἰ Ξενοφῶν βούλοιο τιμωρῆσασθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε ἰκανὴν νομίζω δίκην ἔχειν, εἰ οὗτοι δοῦλοι ἔσονται ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων· συμβουλεύειν μέντοι ἔφη αὐτῷ, τολοῖπὸν ὁμήρου λαμβάνειν τοὺς δυνατῶν κακόν τι ποιῆν, τοὺς δὲ γέροντας οἴκοι ἔαν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτη πάντες προσωμολόγουν.

Ἐπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρακῆς, εἰς τὸ

enterprise, had flocked to him from all quarters. The Thunians also, observing from their fastnesses in the mountains the great number of troops of all descriptions which Seuthes had about him, came down and sued for peace, offering to do any thing that he required; and again proffered hostages, as pledges of their sincerity. Which circumstance induced the chieftain to send for Xenophon, and to lay their proposals before him; “Notwithstanding,” said he, “if you desire, Xenophon, to avenge yourself for the insult and wrongs you have received, go and chastise them.” Xenophon replied, “That he was sufficiently avenged by their submission, which implied their loss of freedom;” but added, “that for the future he hoped Seuthes would take those kind of hostages that could insure his cause, and not a set of decrepid old men, that could be of no sort of service to his enemies.”¹

The submission of the Thracians of this country being effected, led the chieftain to contemplate future operations; and the next day he accordingly led his forces to that part of Thrace

¹ Xenophon seems at first to have been determined to inflict punishment, which appears only to have been defeated by their timely submission; but his advice to Seuthes, shews him not only to be well acquainted with human nature, but an able politician.

Δέλλα καλέμενον· αὐτή δ' ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Μαισαδάς, ἀλλὰ Τήρου τοῦ Ὀδρυσσῶ ἀρχαίου τινός. Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἐνταῦθα ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λείας παρῆν. Καὶ Σεύθης ἐξαγαγὼν ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ τρία, (οὐ γὰρ ἦν πλείω) τὰ δ' ἄλλα βοεικὰ, καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα ἐκέλευσε λαθεῖν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διανεῖμαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς. Ξενοφῶν δὲ τὰδ' εἶπεν, Ἔμοι μὲν τοῖνυν ἀρκεῖ καὶ αὐθις λαθεῖν· τοῖς δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς δωροῦ, οἳ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ λοχαγοῖς. Καὶ τῶν ζευγῶν λαμβάνει ἐν μὲν Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεύς, ἐν δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος, ἐν δὲ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιοῦς· τὰ δὲ βοεικὰ ζεύγη τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατέμερισε. Τὸν δὲ μισθὸν ἀποδίδωσιν, ἕξ ἡλλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ μηνός, εἴκοσι μόνον ἡμερῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης ἔλελεν ὅτι ἔπλεϊον ἐμπωλῆσαι. Ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν ἀχθεσθεὶς εἶπε, Δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ

called the Delta, which lay just above Byzantium.¹ This territory did not originally pertain to the kingdom of Mæsadæ, but to Teres, the Odryssian, one of their ancient kings. Here the chieftain fell in with his ambassador, Heraclides, who was returning with the money acquired by the sale of the slaves and cattle; and it was in this place also that Seuthes sent for Xenophon, and after having ordered three yokes of mules and some oxen to be brought forward, (for these were all that were left,) he desired Xenophon to accept the first, and distribute the rest among his generals. But Xenophon declined the offer, observing that he should be satisfied with his favours on some future occasion, and should for the present be content if he distributed those *favours* to his comrades, who had contributed to the success of the expedition. He accordingly gave a yoke of mules to Timasion, and another to Cleanor, and the third to Phryniscus. The oxen he distributed among the captains, but to the army he only advanced twenty days' pay, Heraclides alledging that he could sell the booty for no more. At which circumstance Xenophon was extremely hurt, and accordingly told Heraclides, that he

¹ See map, and our former note on Delta.

Ἡρακλείδῃ, οὐχ ὡς
δεῖ κηδεσθαι Σεύθου·
εἰ γὰρ ἐκῆδου, ἦκες
ἂν πλήρη φέρων τὸν
μισθόν, καὶ προσδα-
νεισάμενος, εἰ μὴ γ'
ἄλλως ἐδύνω, καὶ ἀ-
ποδόμενος τὰ σαυτοῦ
ιμάτια.

Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἡρα-
κλείδης ἤχθρεσθη τε, καὶ
ἔδεισε μὴ ἐκ τῆς Σεύ-
θου φιλίας ἐκβληθεῖν·
καὶ ὅτι ἐδύνατο ἀπὸ
λαύτης τῆς ἡμέρας Ξε-
νοφῶντα διέβαλλε πρὸς
Σεύθην. Οἱ μὲν δὲ
σρατιῶται Ξενοφῶντι
ἐνεκάλουν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶ-
χον τὸν μισθόν· Σεύ-
θης δὲ ἤχθετο αὐτῶ,
ὅτι ἐντόνως τοῖς σρα-
τιώταις ἀπήτει τὸν
μισθόν. Καὶ τέως μὲν
αἰεὶ ἐμέμνητο ὡς, ἐπει-
δὲν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπέλ-
θοι, παραδώσει αὐτῶ
Βισάνθην, καὶ Γάνον,
καὶ Νέον τεῖχος· ἀπὸ
δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου
οὐδενὸς ἔτι τούτων ἐ-
μέμνητο. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ
Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τούτο
διαβεβλήκει, ὡς οὐκ

did not sufficiently study his master's interest; "For if," said he, "you had consulted the welfare of Seuthes, you would have brought the army the whole of their money, though you might have taken up the residue at an interest, or sold your own garments to have completed it, if no other resource had offered itself." This plain dealing ruffled the mind of the ambassador, and made him apprehensive of losing the good graces of his master; and from that period he ceased not to impress the mind of Seuthes with unfavourable ideas respecting Xenophon's character, on whom, in fact, the troops lay the entire blame of not receiving the whole of their pay. Seuthes also somewhat resented the manner of his demanding it; and whereas he was always telling Xenophon, that on his arrival on the coast he would immediately put him in possession of Bisanthe, Ganus, and Neon,¹ fortified places, yet after this affair he no more adverted to that subject. Nor did Heraclides let slip the occasion, but in addition had recourse to calumny;

¹ Bisanthe, Ganus, and Neon. In a former note we have shewn the situation of Bisanthe. Ganus was at no great distance from it, near the mouth of the Propontis. It is now called *Scylax*. Νέον τεῖχος, according to Pliny, and the best commentators, was a fortified place or castle, and not a town.

ἀσφαλές εἶη, τείχη παραδιδόναι ἀνδρὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντι.

Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν ἐβουλεύετο τί χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι· ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης, εἰσαγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς πρὸς Σευθήν, λέγειν τε ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἦτον σφεῖς ἀγάγοιεν τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ Ξενοφῶν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ὀλίγῳ ἡμερῶν ἔκπλεον παρέσσεσθαι δυοῖν μηνῶν· συσραλεύεσθαι τε ἐκέλευε. Καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν οὐδ' ἂν πέντε μηνῶν μισθὸς μέλλῃ εἶναι, στρατεύσαιμην ἂν ἄνευ Ξενοφῶντος. Καὶ ὁ Φρυνίσκος καὶ ὁ Κλεάνωρ συνωμολόγουν Τιμασίῳν.

Ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ὅτι οὐ παρακαλεῖ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα.

suggesting also the impropriety of delivering up places of such importance to a man at the head of a veteran army. Xenophon, however, banished this circumstance from his mind, and began to lay down plans for attacking Upper Thrace. But Heraclides continuing his insidious operations, conducted all the other generals into the presence of Seuthes, and solicited them to tell his master that they could conduct the army as well as Xenophon; and in the event of their promising to say as much, he would advance them two months' pay; and indeed he said many other things to induce them to acquiesce in his views, and to remain in his master's service. But Timasion was not to be bought, for he had repented former actions;¹ and therefore told Heraclides boldly, "That if he would advance him five months' pay, he would not serve without Xenophon!"—as said also Cleanor and Phryniscus. Which open declaration altered the tone of Seuthes,² and led him to blame Heraclides for not calling in Xenophon with

¹ See page 358, for illustration.

² He had discovered the mal-policy of his ambassador, though he would have had no objection, it seems, to have broken his promise with Xenophon, now his turn was served. "Put not your trust in princes," is a scriptural maxim; how far just every reader must determine for himself.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν μόνον. Ὁ δὲ, γνοὺς τῆ Ἡρακλείδῃ τὴν πανουργίαν, ὅτι βέλοιο αὐτὸν διαβάλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, παρέρχεται λαβὼν τοὺς τε στρατηγούς πάντας καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς· καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπέισθησαν, συνεστρατεύοντο, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον, διὰ τῶν Μελινοφάγων καλεσμένον Θρακῶν, εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησσόν. Ἐνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεουσῶν νηῶν πολλὰ ἰκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι τέναγος

the rest of the generals.¹ He therefore sent for Xenophon *alone*, for the chieftain was suspicious of the trick played off by his ambassador; but Xenophon would not go without his companions; and taking all the generals and captains with him, heard all what Seuthes had to propose relative to the intended expedition into Upper Thrace; and his plans being approved of, were accordingly resolved on. After marching through the territories of those Thracians surnamed the Melinophagi,² with the Euxine on their right, the army finally arrived at the sea-port of Salmydessus.³ *Here* a vast quantity of ships, on their entrance into the Euxine, are usually wrecked, the coast being full of shoals,

¹ As kings can do no wrong, their ministers must necessarily be responsible; and in this instance, and it is to be feared in most all others, 'tis nothing but just that they should suffer for their ungracious advice.

² It was a custom among the ancients, to surname nations or provinces by their peculiarities in *eating* or *dress*: hence, in Diodorus Siculus we have the *Ichthyophages*, the nation of fish-eaters; *Rhizophages*, vegetable-eaters, particularly such as fed on roots; *Hyllophages*, fruit-eaters; and *Spermophages*, or those who lived on the young buds of trees; *Strutophages*, from their living on ostriches; *Acridophages*, from their eating grasshoppers, &c. *Here* we have the *Melinophages*, or those Thracians who chiefly lived on bread, or food made of *panic*, which we have before, (in note 2, page 17,) illustrated: there was no less than thirty-five species of this kind of grain.

³ Salmydessus, Σαλμυδησσόν, in the Eton and Paris MSS. is found Ἀλμυδησσόν. Stephanus and all the old editions read nearly like our author. It was a name given to a town situated on the mouth of the Euxine, and lay between Byzantium and Apollonium, the celebrated seat of literature.

γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐπιπολὺ τῆς θαλάττης. Καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες, στήλας ὀρίσάμενοι, τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐκπίπτοντα ληΐζονται τέως δ' ἐλέγοντο, πρὶν ὀρίσασθαι, ἀρπάζοντες πολλοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποδηύσκειν. Ἐνταῦθα εὐρίσκονται πολλὰ μὲν κλίνας, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλὰ δὲ βίβλοι, καὶ τᾶλλα πολλὰ, ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροὶ ἄγισιν. Ἐν εὐδεν ταῦ-

that protrude far out into the sea.¹ Those Thracians who reside on this coast have their regular lines of demarcation, marked out by stone pillars raised for that purpose. It is alledged, that before this was done great riots took place, and many lives were lost in quarrelling about the booty arising from the wrecks.² This also accounted for the vast quantity of beds, books, boxes, &c., wherewith this place abounded, as sailors generally have those stores in abundance.³ The army

¹ This is confirmed by many writers; indeed the city of Salmydessus (now Midjeh) is situated in a bay extremely difficult to enter. See Strabo, lib. vii. "Ἔστι δ' οὗτος, ἔρημος αἰγιαλὸς καὶ λιθώδης, ἀλίμενος, ἀναπεπτάμενος, πολὺς πρὸς τοὺς βορέας, &c. &c., and Diodorus Siculus, lib. xiv. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θρᾷκες εἰώθεισαν, &c. &c.; and so dreadful was it in a storm, that Jupiter, in Æschylus, could find no where to punish Prometheus, for stealing fire from heaven, equal to chaining him on one of the rocks at the entrance of this bay. Vide line 752, et seq. of Prometh. in Vinculis, which has been so beautifully translated by Archbishop Potter.

² This was the case on the coast of Cornwall, before the Rev. John Wesley visited it. The *Breagers* were far-famed for their cruelties to the shipwrecked sailors, and have been taxed (and I believe justly) with putting up lights on poles on dark stormy nights to entice the distressed mariners on the rocks. In one instance, a London merchant visited the coast of Cornwall, where one of his vessels had been wrecked, and found the pictures and furniture of the cabin decorating the parlour of the clergyman of the parish. Mr. Wesley inveighed manfully and successfully against this crime. The translator knew a man in Truro, who built a row of houses from the spoils of a Spanish galleon, wrecked on that coast.* The prevalence of Christianity in that county has, however, entirely done away the practice.

³ Beds and boxes must always, of necessity, make a part of the stores of a ship; but as for *books*, I am afraid these make, in modern times, but a small share of a sailor's stock. Yet nautical men, on long voy-

* The buildings were significantly called *Dollars Row*.

τα καταστρεψάμενοι, having completed the conquest of
ἀπῆσαν πάλιν. "Εν- this country, again returned from

ages, must necessarily have a great deal of idle time on their hands that could not be better filled up than in reading. Bibles have recently been introduced among them; but that book ought to be accompanied by others that have a moral tendency. The learned Grotius, it will be recollected, wrote his "De Veritate Religionis Christianæ," purposely to amuse and instruct the Dutch sailors. "Propositum enim mihi erat omnibus quidem civibus meis, sed *precipue navigantibus*," &c. "For my design was, to undertake something which might be useful to my countrymen, *especially seamen*, that they might have an opportunity of employing that time which in long voyages lies upon their hands, and is usually *thrown away*."* Nay, 'tis worse than *thrown away*; for here one of the principal causes offers itself, that goes to explain why sailors differ in their manners and language so much from other men. † For what is reading modern books, but conversing with the modern world? and, in fact, makes us one of the same age with those with whom we have no other opportunity of mixing. Grotius, however, had still a more benevolent intention; for he thought, by inducing the navigator to study Christianity, and making him acquainted with the evidences on which it stood, that the sailor might become a sort of missionary to the residents of distant climates; *an idea* which it would be very laudable for our Bible and Missionary Associations to foster. "Itaque sumpto exordio a laude nostræ gentis, quæ navigandi solertia cæteras facile vincat, excitavi eos, ut hac arte, tanquam divino beneficio, non ad suum tantum quæstum, sed et ad veræ, hoc est, Christianæ religionis propagationem, uterentur," &c. &c. &c. ‡ But in *England*, the generality of men laugh at the idea of ever making a *sailor think*. They suppose that *he* has always been the same sort of animal they now see him; not considering that no other sailor of the surrounding nations is like him. Nor can they disassociate the idea, but that his *incoherence*, his *slang*, his *cursing* and *swearing*, are necessary appendages and auxiliaries to his *courage*; and that without the *former* he would not possess the *latter*. This idea, so demoralizing in its tendency, wants to be rooted out of the nation; and it would be worth while for the moral world to make a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull altogether, to effect it; for sterling

* Vide book i.

† A sailor's *waste time* is employed in coining *slang terms* and new oaths, for the purpose of exciting laughter between each other; and on coming on shore he is again laughed at, which gives him a sort of encouragement to persevere.

‡ Vide book i.

θα δὴ Σεύθης εἶχε
 στρατεύματα πλεον τοῦ
 Ἑλληνικῶ· ἔκ τε γὰρ
 Ὀδρυσῶν πολὺ ἔτι
 πλείους καταβέβηκε-
 σαν, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ πειθό-
 μενοι συνεστράτευοντο.
 Κατηλύθησαν δὲ ἐν
 τῷ πεδίῳ ὑπὲρ Ση-
 λυμβρίαν, ὅσον πεντή-
 κοντα σταδίου ἀπέ-
 χοντες τῆς θαλάττης.
 Καὶ μισθὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς
 πω ἐφαίνετο· τρὸς δὲ
 τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οἱ τε
 στρατιῶται πάντες χα-
 λепῶς εἶχον, ὅ, τε Σεύ-
 θης οὐκέτι οἰκείως διέ-
 κειτο, ἀλλ' ὁπότε συλ-
 λυγέσθαι αὐτῷ βουλό-
 μενος ἔλθοι, πολλὰ
 ἤδη ἀσχολίαι ἐρίνοντο.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ
 χρόνῳ, σχεδὸν ἤδη δύο
 μνηῶν ὄντων, ἀφικνεῖ-
 ται Χαρμίνος τε ὁ
 Λάκων καὶ Πολύνεικος
 παρὰ Θίμβρωνος· καὶ
 λέγουσιν ὅτι Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις δοκεῖ στρα-
 τεύεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ Τισ-

whence it primarily set out; but by this time was so wonderfully increased by natives, Odryssians, Thracians, &c., who had submitted, or come over to the conqueror, as much to exceed the Greeks in number. And here it was they all lay encamped, on the plain just above Selymbria, which was situated not more than fifty stadia from the coast, waiting for their pay; none, however, made its appearance; consequently, the troops began to censure Xenophon; and not only so, but Seuthes himself shewed a coolness towards him, which was finally carried so far as to lead him always to say, "He was engaged," whenever Xenophon wanted admittance to his presence; and thus two months passed on.

At this juncture, however, two Spartan deputies, by name Charminus and Polynicus, arrived from Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian admiral, and informed the Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had resolved to wage war against Tis-

courage is the offspring of virtue. Yet after all, perhaps, I shall be told, —

"Hence with this *peevish virtue*, 'tis a cheat,
 And they who taught it first were *hypocrites*." OTWAY'S *Orphan*.

But they were not hypocrites — they were men who thoroughly understood human nature, and, that a confidence of becoming happy in another world could alone enable men to effect *wonders* in this.

σαφέρην, καὶ Θίμβρων ἐκπέπλευκεν ὡς πολέμησων· καὶ δεῖται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ λέγει ὅτι δαρεικὸς ἐκάστῳ ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός, καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς διμοιρία, καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τετραμοιρία. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, πυθόμενος ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ σφάτευμα ἤκουσι, λέγει τῷ Σεύθῃ ὅτι κάλλιον γεγένηται· Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεόνται τοῦ στρατεύματος, σὺ δ' οὐδέη· ἀποδιδούς δὲ τὸ σφάτευμα αὐτοῖς χαριεῖ, σὲ δὲ ἐκέτι ἀπαιτήσουσι τὸν μισθόν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάξονται ἐκ τῆς γῆς.

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης, κελεύει πα-

saphernes;¹ that Thimbron himself had already set sail from Greece with the design of making a descent on the coast of his viceroyship: and added, that he was in want of their services; and if they would engage in the expedition, every private soldier should receive one daric per month for his pay, the captains two, and the generals four.² Heraclides, hearing of the arrival of the deputies, and the purport of their mission, immediately communicated it to Seuthes; adding, that it was a *lucky incident*, “for *they*,” said he, “want the army, and *you* do not; you will therefore be able to oblige them while you oblige yourself, and what is more, you may by this means shift out of the arrears of pay that is due to them.”³

Seuthes did not receive this intimation as *unfriendly*, and as proof thereof,

¹ The *éclat* of the expedition had already excited the attention of the Spartan government; and they would have effected the conquest of Persia, (as already observed,) but for the successful application of Persian gold.

² This was the regular pay of the Greek army, as before observed. There was not so great distinction *in pay* between a private Greek soldier and his general, as at present; which is only to be accounted for on the *then* prevalency of democratic principles.

³ Here is a specimen of a vacillating bad politician. The best advice he could have given his master was, to have retained the Greek army in his service for at least two years, 'till his power was firmly established. 'Tis by such men kings frequently lose their kingdoms.

ράγειν· καὶ ἐπεὶ εἶπον
 ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα
 ἤκουσι, λέγει ὅτι τὸ
 στράτευμα ἀποδίδωσι,
 φίλος τε καὶ σύμμα-
 χος βούλεται εἶναι·
 καλεῖ τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
 ξενίᾳ, καὶ ἐξένιζε με-
 γαλοπρεπῶς. Ξενο-
 φῶντα δὲ οὐ καλεῖ,
 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων στρα-
 τηγῶν οὐδένα. Ἐρω-
 τῶντων δὲ τῶν Λακε-
 δαιμονίων τίς ἀνὴρ εἶη
 Ξενοφῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο
 ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἶη
 οὐ κακός, φιλοστρατιώ-
 τῆς δέ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 χειρόν ἐστιν αὐτῶ.
 Καὶ οἱ εἶπον, Ἄλλ' ἢ

ordered the deputies immediately to be sent for; when, on communicating to him the purport of their mission, he told them they were very welcome to the army, and hoped that henceforward they would consider *him* in the light of a friend and an ally.¹ He then, in pursuance of the rites of hospitality, invited the deputies to participate at his table of a splendid entertainment, but entirely omitted to invite Xenophon,² or any other of the Greek generals. At this meeting the deputies asked Seuthes something respecting the character of Xenophon, to which he replied, “That *on the whole* he was not a bad man; but he is too great a stickler for the soldiers, which injures him.”³ “Then,” said they, “it is to

¹ So then, he was not only willing to wrong the Greek soldiers, by whom he had recovered his kingdom, out of their pay, but wanted to make a merit, and to gain an alliance with a previous enemy, as a *reward* for parting with them, on those ungracious terms. Let the reader mark well the effect of this mal-policy, and what it cost Seuthes; and to whose firmness the soldiers were indebted.

² Here is an ingrate, who is hardly seated on his throne before he shews the savage disposition of

“ Ruling without reason, of confounding
 Just and unjust, by an unbounded will;
 By whom *religion, honour*, all the bands
 That ought to hold the jarring world in peace,
 Are held as tricks of state.”

Rowe's *Tamerlane*.

³ In whose opinion? Surely not in Seuthes's? O yes; and tho' these

δημαγωγῆι ὁ ἀνὴρ τὰς ἀνδρας; Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, Πάνυ μὲν ἔν, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφασαν, μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐναντιώσεται περὶ τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς; Ἄλλ' ἦν ὑμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, συλλέξαντες αὐτοὺς ὑπόσχθητε τὸν μισθὸν, ὀλίγον ἐκείνω προσχόντες, ἀποδραμῦνται σὺν ὑμῖν. Πῶς ἂν οὖν, ἔφασαν, ἡμῖν συλλεγεῖεν; Αὔριον ὑμᾶς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, πρῶτ' ἄξομεν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐπειδὴν ὑμᾶς ἰδῶσιν, ἄσμενοι συνδραμοῦνται. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτως ἔληξε·

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς Λάκωνας Σεύθης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ συλλέγεται ἡ στρατιὰ τῷ δὲ Λάκωνε ἐλεγέτην

be presumed, he is popular with them?"

"Altogether so," said Heraclides.

"Then 'tis possible he may oppose our designs in leading off the army?"

"That," said the ambassador, "is another question; but I dare to assert, if you can assemble the army, and promise them liberal pay, they will soon throw off all regard for *him*, and follow you freely."¹ "How then," said they, "shall we bring about this matter?" "By assembling them to-morrow morning," said he; "but I have no doubt, on their seeing you, they will readily assemble of themselves; and therefore I will accompany you to the camp to-morrow morning." And here terminated the *business part* of that day.

The following morning, Heraclides, accompanied by his master, conducted the Spartan deputies to the Greek camp, to meet whom the army voluntarily assembled. The deputies then

soldiers have but just put him in possession of his kingdom, he is ready to turn round and say,

"Base mongrel souls! flesh 'em but once with fortune,
And they will wring royalty to death."

And thus it is "the *Ingrate* bites off the hand that feeds him."

¹ The fickleness of the multitude soon teaches mankind to draw this inference, —

"A habitation giddy and unsure
Has he that builds on vulgar hearts."

ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δο-
 κεί πολεμεῖν Τισσα-
 φέρνει τῷ ὑμᾶς ἀδι-
 κήσαντι· ἦν οὖν ἴητε
 σὺν ἡμῖν, τὸν τε ἐχ-
 θρὸν τιμωρήσεσθε, καὶ
 δαρεικὸν ἕκαστος οἴσει
 τοῦ μηνὸς ὑμῶν· λο-
 χαγὸς δὲ, τὸ διπλοῦν·
 στρατηγὸς δὲ, τὸ τε-
 τραπλοῦν. Καὶ οἱ
 στρατιῶται ἄσμενοί τε
 ἤκουσαν, καὶ εὐθύς ἀ-
 νίσταται τις τῶν Ἀρ-
 κάδων τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος
 κατηγορήσων. Παρῆν
 δὲ καὶ Σεύθης, βουλό-
 μενος εἰδέναι τιπραχ-
 θήσεται· καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ
 εἰστήκει, ἔχων τὸν ἐρ-
 μηνέα· συνίει δὲ καὶ
 αὐτὸς Ἑλληνιστὶ τὰ
 πλεῖστα. Ἐνθα δὲ
 λέγει ὁ Ἀρκάς, Ἄλλ'
 ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὧ Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι, καὶ πάλαι ἂν
 ἦμεν παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ
 Ξενοφῶν δεῦρο ἡμᾶς
 πείσας ἀπήγαγεν· ἔν-
 θα δὲ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν
 δεινὸν χειμῶνα στρα-
 τευόμενοι καὶ νύκτα
 καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν πε-
 πώμεθα· ὁ δὲ τοῦς
 ἡμετέρους πόνους ἔχει·

unfolded to the soldiers their mission. "That the Lacedæmonian govern- ment had resolved on a war against Tissaphernes, who," said they, "is your enemy as well as ours, and has done you a very material injury. If, therefore, you will engage with us, you will not only avenge *our cause*, but your own: and for doing *this* you shall receive one daric per month, and the officers that which is usual." The army received this proposition cordially; and before they dispersed, an Arcadian soldier stood up and began to accuse Xenophon vehemently. Seuthes seemed desirous to hear what this man had to say, and accordingly drew near him with his interpreter, 'tho he himself was pretty conversant in the Greek tongue. Among other things, this Arcadian said, "That he wished particularly to inform the depu- ties, that it was the desire of the army long since to have engaged in the Spartan service; and it certainly would have done so, had it not been for the influence and intrigue of Xenophon, who persuaded them to come *here*; and 'tho ever since their arrival they had been on duty both night and day, through a severe winter, yet have they acquired neither booty nor pay; while

καὶ Σεύθῃς ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐκεῖνον πεπλούτικεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀποστρεβεί τὸν μισθόν· ὥσε, ὅγε πρῶτος λέγων, ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, εἰ τοῦτον ἴδοιμι καταλευσθέντα, καὶ δόντα δίκην ὧν ἡμᾶς περιεῖλκε, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι τοῖς πεπονημένοις ἄχθεσαι. Μετὰ τῆτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλος. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων Ξενοφῶν ἔλεξεν ὧδε,
 “ Ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα προσδοκᾶν δεῖ, ὅποτε καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑφ’ ὑμῶν

Xenophon himself is enriched by Seuthes, and makes his own market of the army’s services.” He added, “That for *his part*, if he could see Xenophon stoned to death¹ he should not much value *his pay*, as that act would sufficiently remunerate his services.” On this another stood up, and after he had spoken another, and alledged things equally false;² which called Xenophon on his legs.

“He told them, that after what he had just heard he should never more feel surprised at any thing that might proceed from *man*,³ for the majority of

¹ The death of lapidation, or stoning, was common among eastern nations. The Jews punished malefactors thus by the command of God. See Leviticus, xx. 27. From whom, ’tis probable, the Greeks borrowed it.

² This accusation must, on first view, methinks, astonish the reader; but let him recollect who is behind the scenes—’tis Seuthes’s ambassador, tho’ the ingratitude of the army to Xenophon has all along been sufficiently conspicuous. But this is what most commanders have to pay for their fame. “Iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est: *prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur.*” Vita Agricolaë, sect. 27.

³ Nor will any *wise man*, because he knows that all men are, more or less, the *creatures of circumstances*: I have often thought that if we could be informed of the exact process of any man’s education, that is, the millions of circumstances and opinions that have affected his character, (*for this is what I mean by education,*) we should at all times see the effects correspond with their causes. Dreadful as is the character of Valdez in “Don Carlos,” yet the culprit’s confession of the *means* by which his *then character* was formed is *true to nature*, and is drawn by a masterly hand. A popish priest, it will be recollected, is forbidden to marry; hence, he frequently becomes a misanthrope, and loses all humanity; and therefore, when asked by *Lucero* whether he had no feelings for a father’s pangs? he says, with some surprise, —

αἰτίαν ἔχω, ἐν ᾧ πλεί-
στην προθυμίαν ἐ-
μαυτῶ γε δὴ μοι δοκῶ
συνειδέναι περὶ ὑμᾶς
παρεσχημένους. Ἀπε-
τραπόμην μὲν γε ἤδη
οἰκαδὲ ὀρμώμενος μὰ

the army knew, and his conscience told him, with how much zeal he had always served them." He added, "That they were perfectly aware that he had once left them for the purpose of proceeding home, but was induced to return back, not through having heard

——— "Feelings! No, — none! Why should I?

Is not each warmer motion of the blood, —
Nay, all the innocent and pure affections,
Conjugal tenderness, parental love,
The great command of *Nature*, that encircles
In one dear nest a brood of *infant loves*
Beneath a mother's wing, the cherish'd bonds
That turn mere *habitation* into *home*, —
To us prohibited?

Lucero. 'Tis so, indeed :
Yet we are human.

Valdez. List awhile, *Lucero* : —
I once was human ; had a heart as soft
To sensible impressions, tears as quick
To flow for misery, and a spirit as high
To right the injured as man can have :
My parents chain'd me to the church ; but yet
No oath within *my power* could bar the way
To natural affections ; and I loved —
Spare me the rest. I triumph'd o'er a passion,
As pure, as fervent, and as well return'd,
As e'er bound heart to heart : I triumph'd ! — yes,
I triumph'd ; but the fire burnt inwards, 'till
My soul grew hard with suffering : I became
A being half human ; *sense* and *reason*,
Ambition too remain'd, but kindlier feelings,
Filial, *fraternal*, *friendly*, all were dead !
I woke from agony, and found my breast
Of marble !"

Vide *Don Carlos*, by Lord John Russell,
p. 84, 85. fourth edition.

And thus it happens to every man : for at some period or another of his life, *he wakes*, and is astonished at the process by which his *then character* is formed. Happy is it for that man whose astonishment is of that agreeable kind which morality and religion approve.

τὸν Δία, οὐτι πυνθανόμενος ὑμᾶς εὖ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀκέων ἐν ἀπόροις εἶναι, ὡς ὠφελήσων εἴ τι δυναίμην. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἤλθον, Σεύθου τουτουὶ πολλοὺς ἀγγέλους πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπισχνουμένου ἐμοί, εἰ παίσαιμι ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησα ποιεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐπίστασθε ἦγον δ' ὅθεν ᾤμην τάχιστ' ἀν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι. Ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ βέλτιστα ἐνόμιζον ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡδεῖν βελομένους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀριστάρχος ἐλθὼν σὺν τριήρεσιν ἐκάλυσε διαπλεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἐκ τούτου (ὅπερ εἰκὸς δήσου ἦν) συνέλεξα ὑμᾶς, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν. Οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς ἀκούοντες μὲν Ἀριστάρχου ἐπιτάττοντος ὑμῖν εἰς Χερρόνησον πορεύεσθαι, ἀκόντες δὲ Σεύθῳ παίθοντος ἑαυτῶ συσρατεύεσθαι, πάντες μὲν ἐλέγετε σὺν Σεύθῳ ἵεναι, πάντες δ' ἐπεψηφίσασθε ταῦτα; Εἴ τι οὖν ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα ἠδίκησα, ἀγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἐνθα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, εἶπατε. Ἐπεὶ γεμὴν ψεύδεσθαι ἤρξατο Σεύθης περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, εἰ μὲν

that they were in *prosperity*, but because they were in *adversity*; and he did this to the intent, that to the best of his ability he might extricate them from it, and thereby do them his last service. In pursuance of this design, when I returned to you, though Seuthes had previously sent me many messages soliciting I would bring you to him, yet did I do this without your consent? Nay; on the contrary, I led you to that place which offered the quickest passage into Asia, believing *that to be* more agreeable to your interest and wishes. But on Aristarchus preventing our passage, I did, in pursuance of my duty, call you together for the purpose, as you very well know, of deliberation, and of coming to some decision relative to future operations. On that occasion the proposal of Aristarchus, 'That we should proceed to the Chersonesus,' and that of 'entering the service of Seuthes,' were laid before you; on which *you chose* the latter. What injury then have I done by leading you to him into whose service you had previously resolved to enter? If, when Seuthes broke his engagement, I had approved of it, you would *then* have had reason to blame and despise ἐπαιῶ αὐτὸν, δικαίως ἂν με αἰτιῶσθε καὶ

μισοῖτε· εἰ δὲ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα φίλος ὦν, νῦν πάντων διαφορώτατός εἰμι, πῶς ἔτι δικαίως, αἰρήμενος ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ Σεύθου, ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίαν ἔχοιμι περὶ ὧν πρὸς τοῦτον διαφέρομαι; Ἄλλ' εἰποῖτε ἂν ὅτι ἕξεσσι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχοντα παρὰ Σεύθε, ληχνάζειν. Οὐκοῦν δῆλον τῆτό γε, ὅτι εἴπερ ἐμοὶ ἐτέλει τί Σεύθης, οὐχ οὕτως ἐτέλει δῆπου, ὡς ὦν τε ἐμοὶ δοίη στεροῖτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἀπολίσσειεν; Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, εἰ ἐδίδου, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἂν ἐδίδου, ὅπως ἐμοὶ δούς μείον, μὴ ἀποδοίη ὑμῖν τὸ πλεῖον. Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν οἴσθε, ἕξεσθιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ματαίαν ταύτην τὴν πράξιν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, ἐὰν πράξητε αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι Σεύθης, εἰ ἔχω τὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπαιτήσεται μέντοι δικαίως, ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιῶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' ἧ ἔδωροδοκούμην. Ἄλλα πολλοῦ μοι δοκῶ δεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχειν· ὁμνύω γὰρ ὑμῖν θεοὺς ἀπαντας καὶ πάσας, μηδὲ ἂ ἐμοὶ ἰδία ὑπέσχετο Σεύθης, ἔχειν· πάρεστι δὲ αὐ-

me; but if *I*, who was before his chief friend, have in consequence of *this treatment to you* become his greatest enemy, how can you with common consistency blame me? or am I censurable for preferring your friendship to his? — You may possibly say, ‘This is all artifice and trick, to throw off the odium of having received your pay;’ but if Seuthes has paid me any thing, it is evident he did not mean to deprive himself of *that part*, and give you your pay in addition:¹ on the contrary, if this had taken place, the probabilities are, that he would excuse himself from paying you any thing, in consideration of the bribe which he had given me. If, therefore, this is your opinion, you can easily disconcert both of our plans, by insisting immediately on the stipulated reward for your services, and then will Seuthes, in justice to himself, re-demand the bribe of me, for having failed to fulfil my agreement.² But my conscience, soldiers, bears me witness, and so do all the gods and goddesses by whom I swear, that so far am I from having received your pay, that I have been deprived by Seuthes of my own: and as he is present and hears

¹ That is, he did not mean to bribe me for you to receive your pay.

² This is close reasoning.

τὸς, καὶ ἀκούων σύν-
 οιδέ μοι εἰ ἐπιορκῶ.
 Ἴνα δὲ μᾶλλον θαυ-
 μάσητε, συνεπέμνυμι
 μηδὲ ἂ οἱ ἄλλοι στρα-
 τητοὶ ἔλαβον εἰληφέναι,
 μὴ τοίνυν μηδ' ὅσα τῶν
 λοχαγῶν ἔνιοι. Καὶ
 τί δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν;
 Ὡμιην, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅσα
 μᾶλλον συμφέροίμι
 τέτω τὴν τότε πεινίαν,
 τοσούτω μᾶλλον αὐτὸν
 φίλον μοι ἔσσεσθαι, ὁ-
 πότε δυνηθεῖη. Ἐγὼ
 δὲ ἅμα ὁρῶ αὐτὸν εὖ
 πράττοντα, καὶ γιγ-
 νώσκω δὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν
 γνώμην. Εἶποι δὴ τις
 ἂν, Οὐκ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ
 οὕτω μωρῶς ἐξαπατώ-
 μενος; Ναὶ μὰ Δία
 ἡσχυνόμην μέντοι, εἰ
 ὑπὸ πολεμίου γε οὕτως
 ἐξηπατήθην· φίλω δ'
 ὄντι ἐξαπατᾶν αἰσχίον
 μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἢ ἐξα-
 πατᾶσθαι. Ἐπεὶ εἴ

me, he knows whether I perjure myself or not by this declaration. And that you may still feel greater reason for surprise, I also swear, that I have not only been deprived of receiving the pay of a general, but have received less than any of the captains. You will naturally ask me, then, ‘How I could possibly suffer myself to be thus imposed on?’ My answer is—that I thought the more I participated in this man’s adversity, the greater share I should enjoy of his prosperity;¹ but now, his character has disclosed itself. And let no man blame me for being thus deceived; though I allow, that I should have been blameable to have been thus imposed on by an *enemy*:² but to be deceived by a *friend* is a circumstance that carries with it its own apology.³ If, however, it should be insisted on that a man ought to be on

¹ A very natural inference, yet has often proved fallacious.

² Because that would have indicated bad generalship.

³ So said Socrates, Tully, and all the moralists from their time to the present; “Better,” says Hugh Blair, “for a man sometimes to be deceived, than to be always suspicious.”

“The king has got a demon: ’tis *Suspicion*;

_____ and, mark you well, Lucero,

He who reposes not in confidence

That men are somewhat better than they are,

Conceives them worse.”

Don Carlos, p. 8. fourth edition.

Hence it is, that *he who knew what was in man*, has inculcated the necessity of our cultivating that “*charity which thinketh no evil*,” if we wish for happiness.

γε πρὸς φίλους ἐστὶ φυλακῆ, πάντα οἶδα ὑμᾶς διαφυλαξαμένους, ὡς μὴ παρασχεῖν τῶ πρόφασιν δικαίαν μὴ ἀποδιδόναι ὑμῖν ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἠδικήσαμεν τοῦτον οὐδὲν, οὔτε κατεβλακυσσαμεν τὰ τούτου, οὔτε μὴν κατεδειλιάσαμεν οὐδὲν, ἐφ' ὅ,τι ἡμᾶς ἔλος παρεκάλεσεν. Ἀλλὰ φαίητε ἂν, ἔδει τὰ ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν, ὡς, μηδὲ εἰ ἐβούλετο, ἐδύνατο ἐξαπαλῆν. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσατε, ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἶπον τέττε ἐναντίον, εἰ μὴ μοι ἢ παντάπασιν ἀγνώμονες ἐδοκεῖτε εἶναι, ἢ λίαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀχάριστοι. Ἀναμνήσθητε γὰρ ἐν ποίοις τισὶν ὄντες πράγμασιν ἐτυγχάνετε, ἐξ ὧν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον πρὸς Σεύθην. Οὐκ εἰς

his guard against a friend¹ — my reply is, that *you* have been so, in the *only legitimate sense of that opinion*; for you have done your *duty* to Seuthes:² you have been very careful not to merit his neglect, nor give him a just cause to deprive you of your pay. As proof, his affairs have not suffered under your auspices; seeing you have never through fear declined any enterprise he has thought necessary for his advantage. ‘We ought then to have taken a *pledge*,’ say you, ‘to have secured his fidelity.’ Consider then, I reply, under what circumstances we were placed when we engaged in this man’s service, and the difficulties from whence I extricated you: respecting which I would never have said one word, had not your inconsiderateness and ingratitude called it from me.³ When we attempted to

¹ A doctrine strongly inculcated by the Stoics of the old school, but strenuously opposed by Socrates, our author’s tutor.

² This was one of the most beautiful doctrines ever inculcated by the Socratic school: “To guard against your friend *legitimately*, is to do your *duty* by him.” And what is my duty to him? To fulfil my engagements; to tell him the *truth* on all occasions. And then I offend him, say you. Well, if he is offended at *truth*, he is incapable and unworthy of being a friend; and let that thought console us. However, there is a certain *mannerism* necessary to be observed in telling those truths which convey reproof; and if this be not attended to, we ourselves are culpable. If a definition of the kind of manners be required, — I reply, *that*, which humanity and a feeling heart dictate; *that*, which must be necessarily uppermost when we are reproofing under a deep sense of our liability to fall into the errors reproofed.

³ ‘Tis painful to a good heart to chide: it always goes about it reluctantly.

μὲν Πέρηνθον, εἰ προ-
 σίγητε τῇ πόλει, Ἀρί-
 σαρχος ὑμᾶς ὁ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιος οὐκ εἶα εἰσ-
 ιέναι, ἀποκλείσας τὰς
 πύλας; ὑπαίθριοι δὲ
 ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετε;
 μέσος δὲ χειμῶν ἦν;
 ἀγορᾶ δὲ ἐχρήσθε,
 σπάνια μὲν ὀρῶντες τὰ
 ὄνια, σπάνια δὲ ἔχον-
 τες ὄτων ὠνήσεσθε;
 Ἀνάγκη δὲ ἦν μένειν
 ἐπὶ Θράκης· (τριήρεις
 γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσαι ἐκώ-
 λυον διαπλεῖν) εἰ δὲ
 μένοι τις, ἐν πολεμίᾳ
 χώρα εἶναι, ἔνθα πολ-
 λοὶ μὲν ἰππεῖς ἐναντίοι
 ἦσαν, πολλοὶ δὲ πελ-
 τασταί. Ἡμῖν δὲ ὀ-
 πλιτικὸν μὲν ἦν, ὡς
 ἀθρόοι μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ
 τὰς κάμας, ἴσως ἂν
 ἐδυνάμεθα σῖτον λαμ-
 βάνειν οὐδὲν τι ἄφθο-
 νον· ὅταν δὲ διώκοντες
 ἂν ἡ ἀνδράποδα ἢ πρό-
 βατα καταλαμβάνοι-
 μεν, οὐκ ἦν ἡμῖν· οὔτε
 γὰρ ἰππικὸν οὔτε πελ-
 ταστικὸν ἔτι ἐγὼ συ-
 νεστηκὸς κατέλαβον
 παρ' ὑμῖν. Εἰ οὖν, ἐν
 τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ὄντων
 ὑμῶν, μηδ' ὄντιναοῦν
 μισθὸν προσαίτησας,
 Σεύθην σύμμαχον ὑ-
 μῖν προσέλαβον, ἔχον-
 τα ἰππέας καὶ πελ-
 ταστάς, ὧν ὑμεῖς προ-
 σεδεῖσθε, κακῶς ἂν
 ἐδόκην ὑμῖν βεβηλεῦσ-
 θαι πρὸ ὑμῶν; Τούτων
 γὰρ δήπου κοινωνήσαν-
 τες καὶ σῖτον ἀφθονώτερον

enter Perinthus, did not Aristarchus shut the gates against us? and were we not in consequence obliged to encamp in the middle of winter in an open country? Did not a scarcity of provisions prevail? and what is more, was not our means of purchasing them equally limited? Were we not also placed under the necessity of remain- ing in Thrace, in consequence of the look-out of Aristarchus's galleys? and were not the inhabitants themselves our enemies, and stood ready with their cavalry and targeteers to co-operate with the galleys, if we attempted to move for Asia? And though our heavy-armed soldiers might, by moving into the ad- jacent villages, have provided them- selves with some corn, yet we were not prepared to pursue the enemy, nor to provide ourselves with slaves nor cattle, seeing that on my return you were dis- organized, and without targeteers or cavalry. Moreover, did I then by extricating you from these difficulties, do you an injury, *even though I should have entirely overlooked the article of pay?* By becoming the ally of Seu- thes, who had cavalry and targeteers to co-operate with you, provisions were insured; — and was this nothing? Was it not owing to his assistance that

ἐν ταῖς κώμαις εὐρίσκει, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τὰς Θρακίας κατὰ σπουδὴν μᾶλλον φεύγειν· καὶ προβάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων μετέσχελε. Καὶ πολέμιον οὐδένα ἔτι ἐωρῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἰππικὸν ἡμῖν προσεγένετο· τῶς δὲ θαρσαλέως ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἰππικῶ καὶ πελταστικῶ, κωλύοντες μηδαμῆ κατ' ὀλίγους ἀποσκευαδανυμένους τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα ἀφθονώτερα ἡμᾶς πορίζεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαρέχων ὑμῖν ταύτην ἴην ἀσφάλειαν, μὴ πάνυ πολὺν μισθὸν προσετέλει τῆς ἀσφαλείας, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πάθημα τὸ σχέτλιον; καὶ διὰ τῆτο ἔδαμῃ οἴεσθε χρῆναι ζῶντά μ' ἀνεῖναι; Νῦν δὲ δὴ πῶς ἀπέρχεσθε; Οὐ διαχειμάσαντες μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, περιττὸν δ' ἔχοντες τῆτο ὅτι ἐλάβετε παρὰ Σεύθου; τὰ γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων ἔδαπανᾶτε· καὶ ταῦτα πραττοντες, οὔτε ἀνδρας ἐπίειδετε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας, ἕτε ζῶντας ἀπεβάλετε. Εἰ δέ τι καλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους ἐπέσπρακτο ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνο σὼν ἔχετε, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνοις νῦν ἄλλην εὐκλείαν προσειλήφατε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ

you found so great a quantity of corn in the villages? and did you not owe the booty of cattle and slaves to the same quarter? From the moment Seuthes's cavalry co-operated with us, we were no more terrified by the enemies' who before continually intercepted our foraging parties, and cut off our supplies: and though he is culpable in depriving you of *pay*, yet by joining him we have avoided the greater evil — *famine*. And the man who has been thus instrumental in preserving all your lives, you think ought not to live any longer! If it be necessary to say any thing more, I would only beg you to contrast your *then circumstances* with the *present*: — a winter approaching — accompanied by famine, — now it is past, — during which you have lived well, and have that part of your pay which Seuthes has advanced in your pockets; and though you have subsisted on an enemy, and have certainly exerted yourselves, yet not an individual of you has been made prisoner, nor a man lost his life. The reputation you have gained in Asia is still your own, and you have added to it by the conquest of European Thrace. For my

τήσαντες; Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς φημι δίκαιως ἂν, ἂν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, τέτων τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι ὡς ἀγαθῶν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα, τοιαῦτα. Ἄγετε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ σκέψασθε ὡς ἔχει. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὅτε πρῶτον ἀπῆρα οἴκαδε, ἔχων μὲν ἔπαινον πολὺν πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀπεπορευόμεν, ἔχων δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εὐκλειαν· ἐπιστευόμεν δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· (οὐ γὰρ ἂν με ἔπεμπον πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς) νῦν δ' ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑφ' ὑμῶν διαβεβλημένος, Σευθή δὲ ἀπεχθόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὃν ἤλπισ' ἂν εὖ ποιήσας μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἀποστροφὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ καλὴν καὶ παισίν, εἰ γένοιτο, καταδήσσειν. Ἑμεῖς δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἀπήχθημαί τε πλεῖστα, καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ κρείττοσιν ἑμαυτοῦ, πραγματευόμενός τε οὐδὲ νῦν πω πέπαυμαι ὅ,τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ ἐμοῦ. Ἄλλ' ἔχετε μὲν με, οὔτε φεύγοντα λαβόν-

part, then, *I think*, instead of being angry with me, you would much better perform your duty by returning thanks to the gods for the many favors unexpectedly received.¹ And having thus faithfully depicted your circumstances, and alluded to what your feelings and sentiments ought to be — consider, I beseech you, and reflect a little on *mine*. When I set sail with the intent to return to Athens, your praises and good wishes attended me; and indeed, went before me: and thereby my reputation among my countrymen was insured. I enjoyed also the good opinion of the Lacedæmonians, or they would not have desired me to return, and have escorted me back. But look at the contrast! — I depart *now*, suspected, at *your instance*, by the very people who conducted me hither, and hated by Seuthes for asserting your rights. I have destroyed what I chiefly proposed, (that of making this country an honourable refuge, in the event of wanting any for a wife and children,) and am loaded unjustly with your execrations for having procured for you every advantage that was within the limits of my ability. But here I am, completely in your power; I shall not fly, nor endeavour to extricate my-

¹ Here is Xenophon, again, like himself.

τες, οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκοντα ἦν δὲ ποιήσητε ἃ λέγετε, ἵστε ὅτι ἄνδρα κατακάνοντες ἔσεσθε, πολλὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸ ὑμῶν ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πονήσαντα καὶ κινδυνεύσαντα, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος· θεῶν δὲ ἴλεων ὄντων, καὶ τρώπαια βαρβάρων πολλὰ δὴ σὺν ὑμῖν στησάμενον· ὅπως δέ γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδενὶ πολέμιοι γένοισθε, πᾶν ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην, πρὸς ὑμᾶς διατεινόμενον. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ὑμῖν ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι, ὅποι ἂν θέλητε καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Ἔμεις δὲ, ὅτι πολλὴ ὑμῖν εὐπορία φαίνεται, καὶ πλείτε ἐνθα δὴ ἐπιθυμεῖτε πάλαι, δέονται δὲ ὑμῶν οἱ τὸ μέγιστον δυνάμενοι, μισθὸς δὲ φαίνεται, ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἤκουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κράτιστοι νομιζόμενοι εἶναι, νῦν δὴ καιρὸς δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι ὡς τάχιστα ἐμὲ κατακτανεῖν; Οὐ μὲν, ὅτε γε ἐν τοῖς ἀσώροις ἦμεν, ὃ πάντων μνημονικώτατοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτε, καὶ αἰὲ ὡς εὐεργέτου μεμνησθῆναι ὑπισχεῖσθε. Οὐ μέντοι ἀγνώμονες οὐδ' οὗτοι εἰσὶν, οὐδὲ τούτοις δοκεῖτε

self: but know, if you reduce to practice what that Arcadian has proposed, that you will sacrifice a man who has not only watched your welfare, and undergone hardships and labours with you, but one that has done his own duty and the duty of others, and has helped to raise many a trophy at the Barbarian's expense, on his own soil; and what is more, has prevented you from incurring the ill-will of any of your countrymen. And thus, with prosperity all around you, ready to sail for a country where you have long wished to be, with leave to go either by sea or land, backed with the friendship of the most powerful of the Grecian states, who are desirous of your services, headed by Lacedæmonian generals, who are allowed to be the best in Europe, — and this is the season you have selected for putting me to death! Why did you not select a season of difficulty to punish me — when you called me father, and promised to remember me as your friend for ever? But I rely on the good sense of those who are come to command you, and am apprehensive that your conduct towards me will have the opposite effect of raising you in their estimation.” Xenophon here closed;

οἱ νῦν ἤκουες ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὥστε, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, βελτίονες εἶναι, τοιοῦτοι ὄντες περὶ ἐμέ.”

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

Χαρμῖνος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀναστὰς, εἶπεν οὕτως, ' Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ μέντοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐ δικαίως γε δοκεῖτε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ χαλεπαίνειν· ἔχω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι· Σεύθης γὰρ, ἐρωτῶντος ἐμοῦ καὶ Πολυκράτους περὶ Ξενοφῶντος, τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχε μέμφεσθαι, ἄγαν δὲ φιλοσυραλιώτην ἔφη αὐτὸν εἶναι· διὸ καὶ χεῖρον αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς ἡμῶν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἄναστας ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρύλοχῳ ὁ Λουσιάτης Ἄρκας εἶπε, Καὶ δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἡμῶν συρατιγῆσαι, παρὰ Σεύθῃ ἡμῖν τὸν μισθὸν πρᾶξαι ἢ ἐκόντος, ἢ ἄκοντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἡμᾶς ἀγαγεῖν. Πολυκράτης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος μὴν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη,

on which Charminus, the Spartan, rose and spoke as follows : —

“Gentlemen, — There is no just cause existing of displeasure against Xenophon, as I myself can fully prove. For when Polynicus and myself enquired of Seuthes relative to his character, he had nothing to allege against him but his having too great a partiality for the soldiers, which Seuthes observed hurted him not only in *his* opinion but in the opinion of the Lacedæmonians.”¹ “Then,” said Eurylochus, “since this is the case, I hope the first act of Lacedæmonian generalship will be, *with or without consent*,² to obtain our pay from Seuthes; nor do I think that the army will do right to move till this object be effected.”³ The Athenian, Polycrates, also spoke in favour of Xenophon, and said, “That man, *Heraclides*, who is before you, gentlemen, is the culprit

εἶπεν ἀναστὰς ὑπὲρ Ξενοφῶντος, Ὁρῶ γε καὶ Ἡρακλείδην ἐνταῦθα παρόντα· ὃς παραλα-

¹ It frequently happens, that a perseverance in our duty reconciles our enemies. The Lacedæmonians were very suspicious, and in some instances more than suspicious of Xenophon; but his consistent conduct had made Cleander his friend; and this deputy, we see, is so much pleased at his dignified sincerity, that he could not withhold his favourable testimony.

² Soldier-like; who are educated under the influence of summary laws.

³ This was a very *subordinate* soldier! and must have given the Lacedæmonian deputies strange ideas of this army.

θῶν τὰ χρήματα ἃ
 ἡμεῖς ἐπονήσαμεν, λαῦ-
 τα ἀποδόμενος, οὔτε
 Σεύθη ἀπέδωκεν οὔτε
 ἡμῖν τὰ γινόμενα, ἀλλ'
 αὐτὸς κλέψας πέπαλαι.
 Ἦν οὖν σωφρονῶμεν,
 ἐξόμεθα αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ
 δὴ οὗτος γε, ἔφη, Θραῖξ
 ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνα
 ὦν Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖ.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ
 Ἡρακλείδης μάλα ἐξε-
 πλάγη· καὶ προσελ-
 θὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ λέγει,
 Ἡμεῖς, ἦν σωφρονῶ-
 μεν, ἄπιμεν ἐντεῦθεν
 ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρα-
 τείας. Καὶ ἀναβάντες
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἄχοντο
 ἀπελαύνοντες εἰς τὸ
 ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον.
 Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης
 ἀέμπει Ἐβοζέλμιον
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐρμηγέα
 πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ
 κελεύει αὐτὸν κατα-
 μέναι παρ' ἑαυτῶ ἔ-
 χοντα χιλίης ὀπλίτας·
 καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτῷ
 ἀποδώσειν τὰ τεχωρία
 τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, καὶ
 τὰ ἄλλα, ἃ ὑπέσχετο.
 Καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιη-
 σάμενος, λέγει ὅτι ἀ-
 κήκοε Πολυνείκου ὡς,
 εἰ ὑποχείριος ἔσται
 Λακεδαιμονίοις, σα-
 φῶς ἀποθάνοι ὑπὸ

who sold the booty acquired by our labour; and has, by appropriating the the effects to his own use, robbed both Seuthes and the Greeks. If, therefore, we are wise, we shall order his immediate apprehension, for he is no Thracian, but a Greek, which in my opinion, enhances his crime."¹

Heraclides, on hearing this open accusation, was filled with terror; and going to Seuthes, intimated that they had better withdraw themselves. And accordingly, speedily mounting their horses, rode off to their own camp; from which place Seuthes sent Ebozelmus, his interpreter, to Xenophon, soliciting him to remain in his service, with one thousand of his heavy-armed soldiers; and assured him, in the event of his compliance, that he would fulfill his former promise, and put him in possession of those places on the coast. He added *a sort of secret message*, derived from Polynicus, which was, that Xenophon should be careful how he put himself in the power of the Spartans, as in that case he would certainly be put to death by Thimbron.²

¹ There was room for this charge: tho', perhaps, it was made in too positive a strain; as nothing but *conjectural* evidence of the truth of it appears; which is certainly heightened by the ambassador's subsequent conduct.

² Thimbron, it will be recollected, was the Spartan admiral who had

Θίμβρωνος. Ἐπώζελλον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ξένοι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὡς διαβεβλημένος εἴη, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δέοι. Ὁ δ' ἀκούων ταῦτα, δύο ἱερεῖα λαβὼν, ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, πώτερὰ οἱ λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη μένειν παρὰ Σεύθῃ ἐφ' οἷς Σεύθης λέγει, ἢ ἀπιέναι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι. Ἀναιρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπιέναι.

Ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης μὲν ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο προσωτέρω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας, ὅθεν ἔμελλον πλεῖστα ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἔκειν. Αἱ δὲ κώμαι αὗται ἦσαν δεδομένοι ὑπὸ Σεύθῃ Μηδοσάδῃ. Ὅρων οὖν ὁ Μηδοσάδης δαπανώμενα τὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, χαλεπῶς ἔφερε· καὶ λαβὼν ἄνδρα Ὀδρύσσην δυνατώτατον τῶν ἄνωθεν καλαβεθηκόλων, καὶ ἱππέας ὅσον πενήκοντα, ἔρχεται, καὶ

He received similar intimations from many other friends, begging him to be on his guard. Which information induced him to offer two victims to Jupiter the King, that he might be directed whether he had better to embrace the proffers of Seuthes, or depart with the army;¹ when Jupiter plainly indicated that he ought to depart with the army.

After, therefore, Xenophon had declined joining Seuthes, he withdrew his camp at a greater distance from the Greeks than before; while the Greeks, taking up their residence in those villages that most abounded in provisions, were preparing to return to the coast. These villages, however, had been given by Seuthes to Medosades, his ambassador, who on seeing the Greeks strip them of their provisions was displeased; and taking with him an Odryssian, a man the greatest in power of any who had joined the chieftain from Upper Thrace, and surrounding himself with about fifty horse, came to the Greek army,

conceived the same prejudice against Xenophon which Cleander had done before him.

¹ Heaven is the first and last resource of the pious: when in difficulties, his heart says, "Lead me to that rock which is higher than I." "And King Hezekiah laid the letter of Sennacherib before the Lord."

προσκαλεῖται Ξενοφῶντα ἐκ τῶ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἃ δὲ, λαβὼν τινὰς τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, προσέρχεται. Ἐνθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Μηδοσάδης, Ἄδικεῖτε, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τὰς ἡμετέρας κώμας πορθήντες. Προλέγομεν οὖν ὑμῖν, ἐγὼ τε ὑπὲρ Σεύθου, καὶ ὄδε ἀνὴρ παρὰ Μηδόκου ἦκων τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐκ ἐπίτρεψομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' εἰάν ποιῆτε κακῶς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, ὡς πολεμίους ἀλεξήσομεθα.

Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα, εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ σοὶ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγοντι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι χαλεπὸν τοῦδε δὲ ἕνεκα τοῦ νεανίσκου λέξω, ἵν' εἰδῆ οἱοί τε ὑμεῖς ἔστε, καὶ οἱοί ἡμεῖς. Ἡμεῖς μὲν, ἔφη, πρὶν φίλοι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν ἐπορευόμεθα διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ὅποι ἐβουλόμεθα, ἦν μὲν ἐθέλοισμεν πορθοῦντες, ἦν δ' ἐθέλοισμεν κατακαίοντες. Καὶ σὺ, ὅποτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἦλθες πρεσβεύων,

and called for Xenophon by name. Xenophon accordingly went to him, surrounded by some captains and other proper attendants for the occasion. On meeting, he said, "Xenophon, you do me much injury in laying waste these villages; therefore we have called to give you notice, I for Seuthes, and this gentleman for Medocus, King of Upper Thrace, that unless you leave this country immediately, we shall take the necessary steps to compel you, and shall then be obliged to treat you as enemies."¹

On Xenophon's hearing such language held out, he told him, "That it was extremely painful to make any reply to such a message; nor would he do so, but for the lesson that he intended the youth present might learn from his example, by comparing the conduct of the parties by the rules of reciprocal right.² Know then, young man," said Xenophon, "that before we entered into any alliance with Seuthes, we traversed this country at our pleasure, and consumed whatever grew in it as our own; but when Medosades came to us in the quality of that chieftain's

¹ Here was a piece of impudence.

² This was extremely well turned, and indicated great self-possession.

ηύλιζου παρ' ἡμῖν, οὐ-
 δένα φοβούμενος τῶν
 πολεμίων. Ὑμεῖς δὲ
 οὐκ ἤτε εἰς τήνδε τὴν
 χώραν, ἢ, εἴ ποτε ἔλ-
 θοιτε, ὡς ἐν κρειττό-
 νων χώρα ἠύλιξοσθε
 ἐγχεχαλινωμένοις τοῖς
 ἵπποις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν
 φίλοι ἐγένεσθε, καὶ δι'
 ἡμᾶς ἔχετε τήνδε τὴν
 χώραν, νῦν δὴ ἐξελαύ-
 νετε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώ-
 ρας, ἣν παρ' ἡμῶν
 ἐκόντων κατὰ κράτος
 παρελάβετε· ὡς γὰρ
 αὐτὸς οἶσθα, οἱ πο-
 λέμιοι οὐκ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ
 ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνειν. Καὶ
 οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δούς
 καὶ εὖ ποιήσας, ἀνδ'
 ὦν εὖ ἔπαδες, ἀξιοῖς
 ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψασθαι,
 ἀλλὰ πορευομένους ἡ-
 μᾶς οὐδ' ἐναυλισθῆναι,
 ὅσον δύνασαι, ἐπιτρέψ-
 πεις. Καὶ ταῦτα λέ-
 γων, οὔτε θεοὺς αἰσ-
 χύνη, οὔτε τόνδε τὸν
 ἄνδρα, ὃς νῦν σε ὄρα
 πλουτοῦντα· πρὶν δὲ
 ἡμῖν φίλον γενέσθαι,
 ἀπὸ ληστείας τὸν βίον
 ἔχοντα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφησ-
 θα. Ἀτὰρ τί καὶ
 πρὸς ἐμὲ ταῦτα λέ-
 γεις; ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ
 εἶμι ἄρχω, ἀλλὰ Λα-
 κεδαιμονίοις ὑμεῖς πα-
 ρεδάκατε τὸ στράτευ-
 μα ἀπάγειν, οὐδὲ ἐμὲ
 παρακαλέσαντες, ὡ
 δαυμαστότατοι, ὅπως

ambassador, we suffered him to remain
 with us at his ease, and without appre-
 hensions; nor did he or his master
 before dare put foot in this country,
 except they had horses bridled by
 night, and plundered it under the cover
 of its shades. But since Seuthes has
 become our ally, we have conquered
 this country for him, and the people
now bow to his authority; and though
 we are about to quit it as a conquest
 we do not want to hold, yet does he
 wish to send us away without any ac-
 knowledgments for the benefits we
 have conferred; — nay, is even de-
 siring of depriving us of real neces-
 saries while travelling to the coast, with
 only a view to leave it. Is it possible,"
 said Xenophon, addressing himself to
 Medosades, "that *you* can be such an
 ingrate, and have so little reverence
 for the gods? *You*, who before you
 joined us, lived by plunder, and *now*
 abound in so much riches? But why,"
 added Xenophon, "do you address
 yourself thus to *me*, who am now no
 longer commander? Why do you not
 apply to the Lacedæmonian com-
 manders, to whose care you have re-
 signed the army, and *that* without
 consulting me, as was your duty? Are
 you not ashamed that you should pre-

ὡσπερ ἀπηχθάνομην αὐτοῖς, ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦγον, οὕτω καὶ χαρισάιμην γῦν ἀποδιδές.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ὀδρύσης, εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης, ἀκῆων ταῦτα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν πρόσθεν ἠπιστάμην, οὐκ ἂν συνηκολούθησά σοι· καὶ γῦν ἄπειμι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν Μήδοκός με ὁ Βασιλεὺς ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξελαύνοιμι τοὺς εὐεργέτας. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλαυε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς, πλὴν τετάρων ἢ πέντε. Ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης (ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χώρα πορδουμένη) ἐκέλευε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καλέσαι τὸν Λακεδαιμονίω. Ὁ δ' ἀπολαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, προσῆλθε τῷ Χαρμίνῳ καὶ τῷ Πολυνείκῳ, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὅτι καλεῖ αὐτὸς Μηδοσάδης, προσερῶν ἄπερ αὐτῷ, ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. Οἶμαι ἂν οὖν, ἔφη, ἡμᾶς ἀπολαβεῖν τῆ στρατιᾷ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν, εἰ εἴποιτε ὅτι δεόιτο ὑμῶν ἡ στρατιὰ συναναπαρᾶξαι τὸν μισθὸν ἢ παρὰ ἐκόντος ἢ παρὰ ἄκοντος Σεύθε· καὶ ὅτι τέτων

τυυχόντες, προθύμως μὲν ἂν συνέωσθαι ὑμῖν φασί· καὶ ὅτι δίκαια ὑμῖν δοκῶσι λείπειν· καὶ ὅτι ὑπέσχεσθε αὐτοῖς τότε ἀπιέναι, ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται.

vent by *this act* my obliging the Spartans, whom I had previously disoblged by taking the army to Seuthes?" Which observation the young Odryssian had no sooner heard, than he exclaimed, "O Medosades! I am ready to sink into the earth with shame! Could I have supposed you capable of *this*, you should not have had my company hither. I therefore now leave you, being assured that Medocus, my sovereign, would much disapprove of any attempt being made at driving a benefactor from his territories." And having said this, he mounted and rode off, with all the horse excepting four or five. Medosades, still vexed about his villages, desired Xenophon to conduct him to the Spartan generals; which he did accordingly: and coming to Charminus and Polynicus, he told them, that Medosades wanted to see them, intimating that the ingrate had desired him to quit the country; "and I suppose," says Xenophon, "he wants to give you similar notice." Xenophon also told the Spartan generals, that *now* was the time to insist on the soldiers' pay, whether Seuthes was agreeable or not, and to intimate that the army was determined not to depart without it.

Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ταῦτα, ἔφασαν ἔρεῖν, καὶ ἄλλα ὅποια ἂν δύνωνται κράτιστα. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. Ἐλθόντων δ' ἔλεξε Χαρμῖνος, Εἰ μὲν τι σὺ ἔχεις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἡμεῖς πρὸς σε ἔχομεν. Ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης μάλα ὑφειμένως, Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, λέγω καὶ Σεύθῃς ταῦτα, ὅτι ἀξιοῦμεν τοὺς φίλους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ὅ,τι γὰρ ἂν τέτους κακῶς ποιῆτε, ἡμας ἤδη ποιεῖτε· ἡμέτεροι γὰρ εἰσιν. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφασαν οἱ Λάκωνες, ἀπίομεν ἂν, ὅποτε τὸν μισθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῖν καταπράξαντες· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐρχόμεθα μὲν καὶ νῦν βοηθήσοντες τούτοις, καὶ τιμωρησόμενοι ἄνδρας, οἱ τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἠδίκησαν· ἦν δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτοι ἦτε, ἐνδένδε ἀρξόμεθα τὰ δίκαια λαμβάνειν.

Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν, Ἐθέλοιτε δ' ἂν, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, τούτοις ἐπιτρέψαι, (ἐπεὶ δὴ φατέ φίλους εἶναι ὑμῶν) ἐν ᾧ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσμὲν, ὅπότερα ἂν ψηφίσωνται, εἴθ' ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπιέναι, εἴθ' ἡμᾶς;

¹ How grateful 'tis to the nerves to see an ingrate thus handled! "Next to the satisfaction of seeing a good man prosper, is that of beholding the confusion of a scoundrel."

² This must have been very *grating*, — the manner, perhaps, quite as

The Lacedæmonians promised to act accordingly, and proceeding forward to where Medosades stood, asked him whether he had any thing to say to them? For if he had not, they had something to say to him. Medosades, in a humble voice, replied, "That *he* and *Seuthes* had to solicit that those who had recently become *their friends*, might not receive any injuries from the Greeks, as such conduct was tantamount to *personal injuries*." The Spartans replied, "We are ready to depart as soon as those who have compelled them to be your friends are paid for their services, otherwise we intend to assist them in obtaining it, and to take vengeance on those who in violation of their oaths would wrong them; and if you, Medosades, are one of that number, we purpose to begin with you first." Xenophon added, "'Tis possible, Medosades might like to leave it to the decisions of his *new-conquered friends*, whether Seuthes or the Greeks should leave it?"² To which proposal

Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔφη· ἐκέλευε δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν τῷ Λάκωνε παρὰ Σεύθῃν περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ οἰεσθαι ἂν Σεύθῃν ἀκούσαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, Ξενοφῶντα σὺν αὐτῷ πέμπειν, καὶ συμπράξαι ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἔδειτο δὲ τὰς κόμας μὴ κἄναι. Ἐντεῦθεν πέμπουσι τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτηδεϊότατοι εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν λέγει πρὸς τὸν Σεύθῃν, “Οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσω, ὡς Σεύθῃ, πᾶρμι, σέ, ἀλλὰ διδάξων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι, ὡς οὐδὲν δικαίως μοι ἠχθήσῃς ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπῆττον σε ἂν ὑπέσχου αὐτοῖς προθύμως· σοὶ γὰρ ἔχαγε οὐχ ἥττον ἐνόμισον εἶναι συμφέρον ἀποδοῦναι, ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀπαραθεῖν. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ φανερόν σε τούτους καταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ γε βασιλέα σε ἐποίησαν πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ λαν-

Medosades replied *no*, but desired the Spartan generals would go to Seuthes respecting the pay, expressing *his opinion*, that a remonstrance from them would procure it. “But,” said he, “if you do not like to go, send Xenophon, and I will back his pretensions with my influence.” He begged in the interim, that they would not burn the villages. Xenophon accordingly set forward with a proper escort, and arriving at the tent of Seuthes, told him that he was not come for the purpose of asking any thing, but rather to prove that he was unjustly angry with *him* for demanding the soldiers’ pay.¹ “You know, Seuthes,” said Xenophon, “with what cheerfulness you promised it, and by this time you must be convinced that it was your *interest* to have paid it; for next to the gods,² the Greeks have done you the greatest of all services, by making you the king of an extensive country, and over a vast number of people, so that your actions, whether *virtuous* or other-

much as the matter. Xenophon bore very hard upon him; the question had in it the sting of keen satire.

¹ Xenophon never flatters, but he is frequently very happy in the introduction of his subjects.

² Xenophon always acknowledges a *First Cause*, and was a firm believer in a *particular Providence*.

θάνατον οὔτε ἦν τι κα-
λὸν οὔτε ἦν τι αἰσχρὸν
ποιήσης. Τοιοῦτω δ'
ὄντι ἀνδρὶ μέγα μὲν
μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, μὴ δο-
κεῖν ἀχαρίστως ἀπο-
πέμψασθαι ἀνδρας εὖ-
εργέτας, μέγα δ' εὖ
ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἑξακισ-
χιλίων ἀνθρώπων τὸ
δὲ μέγιστον, μηδαμῶς
ἄπιστον σαυτὸν κα-
ταστήσαι ὅ,τι λέγεις.
Ὅρῳ γὰρ τῶν μὲν
ἀπίστων ματαίους καὶ
ἀδυνάτους καὶ ἀτίμους
τοὺς λόγους πλανω-
μέους· οἱ δ' ἂν φανε-
ροὶ ὄσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀσ-
κοῦντες, τούτων οἱ λό-
γοι, ἦν τι δέωνται,
οὐδὲν μείον δύνωνται
ἂν ἔσεσθαι, ἢ ἄλλων
ἢ βία· ἦν τε τινὰ σω-
φρονίζειν βούλωνται,
γιγνώσκω τὰς τούτων
ἀπειλὰς οὐχ ἧττον σω-
φρονιζούσας, ἢ ἄλλων
τὸ ἤδη κολάζειν· ἦν
τέ τῳ τι ὑπισχνῶνται
οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀνδρες, οὐ-
δὲν μείω διαπράττειν,
ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα

wise, cannot now escape animadversion.¹

And seeing you are thus circumstanced, can it be a subject of little moment, to have it reported that you have sent away your benefactors without rewarding them,² and to have the scoff and detestation of six thousand men who have risked their lives for you? Do not you know, Seuthes, that it becomes a prince, in an especial manner, to fulfill his promises, and that a prince without honour is allied to a prince without power,³ that the lack of one frequently produces the miseries of the other? What will avail your future promises, when it shall be known that you have so shamefully disregarded those that it was so much your interest to have fulfilled? If adversity should again overtake you, who is there that will fly to your aid? A prince with a lost character is as nerveless as a peasant with lost health; whereas a prince famed for *veracity*, obtains as much credit from his *promise* as the opposite does for his *cash*.⁴

¹ Kings are set on a hill, consequently ought to be particularly careful how they do any thing unworthy of their high office. But Seuthes was but lately initiated; he was a *young king*, and Xenophon proceeds to give him a lecture on kingly duty, which the reader will see not only had its desired effect, but covered the lecturer with eternal honour.

² Might not such a report produce a counter-revolution?

³ This is noble — passing praise.

⁴ Here opens a fine field for political discussion; but I shall forbear, and only offer on it one solitary remark, and that is, (to the honour of

διδόντες. Ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ καὶ σὺ τὴν προτελέσασαν ἡμῖν συμβουλίαν ἧμας ἔλαβες. Οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδέν' ἀλλὰ πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσειν ἔειπες, ἐπήρας τούτους ἀνθρώπους συστρατεύσασθαι τε καὶ κατεργασθαι σοὶ ἀρχὴν οὐ πεντήκοντα μόνον ἀξίαν ταλάντων, (ὅσα οἶονται δεῖν οὗτοι νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν) ἀλλὰ πολλαπλασίων. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον τὸ πιστεύεσθαι σε (τὸ κατεργασμένον) τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὸ σοῦ περιπράσσεται. Ἰδίῃ δὲ, ἀναμνήσθητι πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ τοῦτο καταπράξαι, ὃ νῦν καταστρεψάμενος ἔχεις. Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδ' ὅτι εὖξω ἂν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα μᾶλλον σοὶ καταπραχθῆναι, ἢ πολλαπλάσια τούτων τῶν χρημάτων γενέσθαι. Ἐμοὶ τοίνυν μείζον βλάβος καὶ αἰσχίον δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ταῦτα νῦν μὴ κατασχεῖν, ἢ τότε μὴ λαβεῖν, ὅσω περ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ πλουσίου πένητα γενέσθαι, ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ πλουτῆσαι· καὶ ὅσω λυπηρότερον ἐκ βασιλείως ἰδιώτην φανῆναι, ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ βασιλεῦσαι. Οὐκοῦν ἐπίστασαι μὲν ὅτι οἱ νῦν σοὶ ὑπήκοοι γινόμενοι, οὐ φιλίᾳ τῇ σῇ ἐπέισθησαν ὑπὸ σοῦ

In proof of my argument, what did you pay *us* before we entered your service? *Nothing but your promise.* We took *that* as cash, and have fulfilled our obligations, and you have obtained a kingdom, by *a promise*; take care that you do not lose it by a *breach of it*.¹ Consider how wretched you would be if again thrown into adversity, and the dreadful feelings of that man who changes the situation of a king for that of a subject. Would it not have been better for that man never to have been a king?² I would remind you also, that the people who now compose your subjects are not so from *affection*, but

my country and king,) the maxim recommended by this noble Greek has passed into and been more copiously exemplified in English politics, than in all the nations that have ever lived on the face of the habitable globe, and in fact has made her more than the rival of Rome herself. I hold it as a firm belief, that at the time I now write, England could obtain more by *her promise*, than all the nations in Europe could by their cash. And thus it is, by her inflexible adherence to her engagements, she owes her unequalled glory.

¹ I have not translated this speech literally; but I have taken pains with it; and, without vanity, I beg leave to assure the English reader, that it reads quite as well in his own tongue as in Greek.

² In a *general sense*, perhaps, it would; but history offers many exceptions.

σοῦ μὲν γὰρ κρατοῦν-
 τας, δουλεία ὑπάρχει
 αὐτοῖς κρατουμένου δὲ
 σοῦ, ἐλευθερία. Εἰ δὲ
 καὶ τῆς χώρας προ-
 νοεῖσθαι ἤδη τι δεῖ, ὡς
 σῆς οὐσης, ποτέρως ἂν
 οἶει, ἀπαθῆ κακῶν αὐ-
 τὴν εἶναι μᾶλλον, εἰ
 οὗτοι οἱ στρατιῶται
 ἀπολαβόντες ἂ ἐγκα-
 λοῦσιν, εἰρήνην κατα-
 λιπόντες οἴχοιντο, ἢ
 εἰ οὗτοί τε μένοιν ὡς
 ἐν πολεμίας, σύ τε ἄλ-
 λους πειρῶο πλείονας
 τούτων ἔχων ἀντιστρα-
 τοπεδεύεσθαι, δεομένης
 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων; Ἄρ-
 γύριον δὲ ποτέρως ἂν
 πλεῖον ἀναλωθεῖη, εἰ
 τούτοις τὸ ὀφειλόμενον
 ἀποδοθεῖη, ἢ εἰ ταῦτά
 τε ὀφείλοιο, ἄλλους
 τε κρείττονας τούτων
 δεοίμισθαι; Ἄλ-
 λά γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης,
 ὡς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐδήλου,
 πάμπολυ τούτο δοκεῖ
 τὸ ἀργύριον εἶναι. Ἡ
 μὲν πολὺ γέ ἐστιν
 ἕλαττον νῦν σοι καὶ
 λαβεῖν τούτο καὶ ἀπο-
 δοῦναι, ἢ, πρὶν ἡμᾶς
 ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σε, τὸ δέ-
 κατον τούτου μέρος.
 Ἐ γὰρ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὀρίζων
 ἐστὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὀλι-
 γον, ἀλλ' ἢ δύναμις
 τοῦ τε ἀποδιδόντος ἢ
 τοῦ λαμβάνοντος. Σοὶ
 δὲ νῦν ἢ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν

against you than for you, since by your defeat they would be *free*. Besides, if you will only reflect on the riches of the country, now it is your own, and the comparative value of it, should our troops remain and make it the seat of warfare, what is the trifle of their pay, set in opposition to the damage that will be incurred, even admitting you should be finally successful? Add to this, the expence you will be at in supplying the auxiliaries you must then call to your assistance.— But the circumstances, you must be convinced, will bear no comparison, though Heraclides, I understand, thinks this sum you owe the Greeks very considerable; but if it be considerable *now*, with such a vast territory before you, of how much greater consideration was it when you had not one tenth part, nor any part in fact, to call your own?—for this is the fair way of valuing money, by the facility or non-facility of procuring it,¹ or of the ability or non-ability of the person who has to pay. *Now*, when we quit you, your *annual income* is greater than was your *personal property* before we met with you; and yet the persons who have effected this differ-

¹ Let the reader ask himself from whom we have borrowed our most just maxims.

πρόσοδος πλείων ἐστίν, ἢ πρόσθεν τὰ παρόντα, ἀ ἐκέκτησο. Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὡς Σεύθη, ταῦτα, ὡς φίλου σου ὄντος, σοῦ προενουούμην, ὅπως σύ τε ἄξιος δοκοῖς εἶναι ὧν οἱ θεοὶ σοι ἔδωκαν ἀγαθῶν, ἐγὼ τε μὴ διαφθαρεῖν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ. Εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν κακῶς ποιῆσαι βουλόμενος δυνήθειν σὺν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ, οὐτ' ἂν, εἰ σοι πάλιν βουλοίμην βοηθῆσαι, ἰκανὸς ἂν γενοίμην. Οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἡ στρατιὰ διάκειται. Καίτοι αὐτόν σε μάρτυρα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς εἰδόσι ποιῶμαι, ὅτι οὔτε ἐγὼ ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐδέν, οὔτε ἤτησα πάποτε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τὰ ἐκείνων, οὔτε ἀ ὑπέσχου μοι ἀπήτησα. Ὁμνυμι δὲ σοὶ μὴδ' ἀποδιδόντος δέξασθαι ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐμελλον τὰ ἑαυτῶν συναπολαμβάνειν. Αἰσ-

ance in your circumstances, you wish to send off in poverty.¹ I have only to add," said Xenophon, "that in all I have said, I have not lost sight of the principle of a *true friend*.² 'Tis because, Seuthes, I wish you to act somewhat worthy of the favour the gods have bestowed on you, that I have dealt thus faithfully: nor do I wish to lose my own credit with the army; — but such is its present feeling, that if I desired to punish an enemy, or to serve you again as a friend, I have not the power; nor shall I ever regain that power, unless you discharge your obligations. And now, I call upon you and the gods to prove, that I have never received from you any thing that was due to the army, nor have I received or made any demand of what you promised me *in particular*. I also declare, in the presence of the gods, that had you offered to have fulfilled your obligations to me, and have omitted to have paid the troops, I would not have received it, for I should have considered such conduct might fairly

¹ I much question whether any man ever offered a finer lecture to a king, than the one here exhibited. 'Tis full of pith, and the arguments rise in sense as well as sound. Would that every king had so faithful an adviser!

² That is, to tell truth, and to reason calmly with you on the impropriety of your conduct; to prove to you, that honesty is the best policy. "Am I become your enemy by telling you the truth?" ST. PAUL.

χρὸν γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ διαπεπράχθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων περιορᾶν ἐμὲ κακῶς ἔχοντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. Καίτοι γὰρ Ἡρακλείδῃ λῆρος πάντα ἐδόκει εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον ἔχειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου· ἐγὼ δὲ, ὦ Σεύθῃ, οὐδὲν νομίζω γὰρ ἀνδρὶ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντι, κάλλιον εἶναι κτῆμα οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ γενναιότητος· ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχων πλουτεῖ μὲν ὄντων φίλων πολλῶν, πλουτεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων βουλομένων γενέσθαι· καὶ εὖ μὲν πρᾶττων ἔχει τοὺς συνησθησομένους· ἐὰν δὲ τι σφαλῆ, οὐ σπανίζει τῶν βοηθησόντων. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ εἰ μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων κατέμαρξες ὅτι σοι ἐκ τῆς

be construed into a bribe, or that I had obtained my own stipulation in consideration of conniving at my comrades loss; a conduct which I should have detested if practised by one private soldier against another, much more should I abhor it in a man, like myself, who has been risen by those men from the ranks, to become their general.¹ Heraclides, I am aware, regards all things as trifles when compared to the acquisition of wealth; and of the manner of obtaining it, I understand, he is equally indifferent. But I am of opinion, Seuthes, that no possessions sit so gracefully on *man*, and particularly on a prince, as *virtue, justice, and generosity*; ² for whatever prince enjoys *these*, is *rich*, not only in numerous friends, but in numbers of other men who aspire to that honour. In his prosperity, therefore, his friends rejoice with him; and if overtaken with adversity, they plant themselves around, and are as a tower of strength to support him against the weapons of his enemies. But if my arguments and declarations should fail to convince you

¹ Dibdin said, "A sailor should be as a piece of the ship;" *i. e.* as careful of her as of himself. And Xenophon thinks, that a general should be as careful of the soldier, *by whom he sails for fame*, as of himself.

² That prince who is not clad in them is unworthy of the name.

ψυχῆς φίλος ἦν, μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων δύνασαι τοῦτο γνῶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγους κατανόησον· παρῆσθα γάρ, καὶ ἤκουες οὐς ἔλεγον οἱ ψέγειν ἐμὲ βουλόμενοι. Κατηλόρην μὲν γάρ μου πρὸς Λακεδαιμόνιους, ὡς σὲ περὶ πλείονος ποιούμεν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιους· αὐτοὶ δ' ἐνεκάλουν ἐμοὶ, ὡς μᾶλλον ἐλοίμην ὅπως τὰ σὰ καλῶς ἔχοι, ἢ ὅπως τὰ ἐαυτῶν· ἔφασαν δέ με καὶ δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ. Καίτοι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα πότερον οἶει αὐτοῦς, κακόνοιάν τινα ἐνιδόντας μοι πρὸς σε, αἰτιᾶσθαί με ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ, ἢ προθυμίαν πολλήν περὶ σὲ κατανόησαντας; Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὖνοιαν δεῖν ἀποδείκνυσθαι τέττω, παρ' οὗ ἂν τις δῶρα λαμβάνη. Σὺ δὲ, πρὶν μὲν ὑπηρετῆσαι τι σοὶ ἐμὲ, ἐδέξω ἡδέως καὶ ὄμμασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ ξενίοις, καὶ ὅσα ἔσοιτο ὑπισχνόμενος οὐκ ἐνεπίμωλασο· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπραξας ἂ ἐβούλους, καὶ γεγένησαι ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην μέγιστος, νῦν οὕτω με ἀτιμον ὄντα ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις τολμᾶς περιορᾶν; Ἄλλὰ μὴν ὅτι σοὶ

that I am your sincere friend, reflect one moment on the declarations of the soldiers, — for as you were present, you could not have failed to have heard the aspersions thrown on my character, and the calumnies heaped upon me; and among *these* stood foremost my preferring *your interest* to theirs. They also taxed me with receiving bribes from you: — now, do you think these opinions were generated from a discovery of any coolness of mine in your service? Nay! were they not the result of my zeal? and did not my zeal give birth to those suspicions? ‘He is bribed,’ said they; ‘hence his earnestness to serve him.’ Again: — Before I entered your service, you received me with looks, words, and actions truly engaging; and now, having obtained what you desired, and I have restored you to your paternal kingdom, do you dare, Seuthes, to discharge me, fallen and in disgrace, and lowered in the opinion of those very men by whose assistance I have done you this favour? But I am confident, Seuthes, that if my arguments fail in convincing you, that *time* will argue more successfully, and that the period is not far in advance when you δόξει ἀποδῆναι πιστεύω καὶ τὸν χρόνον διδάξει.

σέ; καὶ αὐτὸν γέ σε οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὰς σοὶ προεμένους εὐεργεσίαν ὀρῶντα ἐγκαλοῦντάς σοι. Δέομαι οὖν σοῦ, ὅταν ἀποδίδως, προθυμῆσθαι ἐμὲ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοιοῦτον ποιῆσαι, οἷόν περ καὶ παρέλαβες.”

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κατηράσατο τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ μὴ πάλαι ἀποδεδόσθαι τὸν μισθόν· (καὶ πάντες τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ὑπώπτευσαν εἶναι) Ἐγὼ γὰρ, ἔφη, οὔτε δεινοθήσθην πώποτε ἀποσερῆσαι, ἀποδώσω τε. Ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, Ἐπει τοίνυν ἀποδιδόναι βούλει, νῦν ἐγὼ σου δέομαι δι' ἐμοῦ ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ μὴ παριδεῖν με διὰ σε ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε πρὸς σε ἀφικόμε-

will wish you had fulfilled your promises; and under this conviction, therefore, I have to hope that whenever *that time* shall arrive, you will do me the justice to let the money with which you pay the troops pass through my hands. I ask *this*, to the end I may leave the army in the same credit that I enjoyed when you first found me.”¹

On hearing those things so earnestly enforced, Seuthes cursed the man² who had occasioned the troops to suffer this inconvenience (every Greek present supposing he had reference to Heraclides); and added, “That for his own part he never had intended to defraud them, nor should they suffer any loss by him.” “Then, since this is your determination,” said Xenophon, “have you any objection of delivering over the money to me, to the end I may quit the army in repute?” “Cer-

¹ This speech is full of noble sentiments, and is unquestionably the *chef d'œuvre* of Xenophon. From it the prince and the peasant, the philosopher and the statesman, may learn salutary lessons of wisdom and equity. Such a set of well-digested maxims are not again to be found in any speech extant. In one word, we gather not flowers only *here*, but fruit fully ripe.

² The man who persuades another to a bad deed is culpable, but that does not screen him who yields to it. We have before seen that Seuthes listened with some degree of pleasure to the unjust policy of his minister; but Xenophon has both convinced him of his error, and awakened him to a sense of duty. He trembled, no doubt, on seeing the danger to which an unjust conduct had exposed him, and retraces his steps; a conduct worthy for all to imitate.

θα. 'Ο δ' εἶπεν, 'Αλλὰ οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔσῃ δι' ἐμὲ ἀτιμότερος· ἂν τε μένης παρ' ἐμοὶ χιλίους μόνους ὀπλίτας ἔχων, ἐγὼ σοι τὰ τε χωρία ἀποδώσω καὶ τᾶλλα, ἃ ὑπέσχόμην. 'Ο δὲ πάλιν εἶπε, Ταῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐχ οἶόν τε· ἀπόπεμπε δὲ ἡμᾶς. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Σεύθης, καὶ ἀσφαλές ερον γέ σοι οἶδα ὄν παρ' ἐμοὶ μένειν ἢ ἀπιέναι. 'Ο δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν, 'Αλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινω· ἐμοὶ δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἶόν τε· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐντιμότερος ᾶ, νόμιζε καὶ σοι τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι. Ἐντεῦθεν λέγει Σεύθης, Ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, ἀλλ' ἢ μικρόν τι, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι, τάλαντον βῆς δ' ἑξακοσίους, καὶ πρόβατα εἰς τετρακισχίλια, καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Ταῦτα λαβὼν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε ὀμήρους προσλαβὼν,

tainly not," said Seuthes; "you shall never suffer in their opinion on my account; and if you will remain in my service, with one thousand of your heavy-armed troops, I will give you those fortified towns that I originally promised you." Xenophon told him, in reply, "That it was totally impossible for him to comply with his request, and he wished now to be dismissed." Seuthes again said, "You will find it much more safe to remain with me, Xenophon, than to depart." To which Xenophon replied, "That he felt much obliged to him for the interest he took in his safety; and though he could not *then* comply with his request, yet might he rest assured that wherever Xenophon was in credit, there should Seuthes be in credit also."¹ Seuthes then confessed, "That he had but little money, and, he believed, not more than *one talent* by him,² which," said he, "I will give to you, Xenophon; but I have six hundred oxen, four thousand sheep, and six score slaves, which you may take with you; and in addition I will give, in order to cover your *personal injury*, the hostages left

¹ Xenophon here again shews us his nature: it was forgiving — it was gentle.

² One talent, 193*l.* 15*s.* A small sum of money for a king.

ἀπιθι. Γελάσας ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν, Ἄν οὖν μὴ ἐξαρκῆ ταῦτα εἰς τὸν μισθὸν, τίνος τάλαντον φήσω ἔχειν; Ἄρ' οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ μοι καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν ἐστιν ἀπεινόντι, ἄμεινον φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς πέτρους; Ἡκουες δὲ τὰς ἀπειλάς. Τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν.

Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἀπέδωκεν αὐλοῖς ἃ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα ἐλάσσοντας συνέπεμψεν. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τέως μὲν ἔλεγον ὡς Ξενοφῶν οἴχοιτο πρὸς Σεύθην οἰκήσων, καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῶ ἀποληψόμενος, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκοντα εἶδον, ἤσθησάν τε καὶ προσέειπον. Ξενοφῶν δ',

by those persons who did it." Xenophon replied, smiling, "But suppose the cattle and slaves should not fetch sufficient to pay the troops, whose talent am I to say this is?—for you have heard their threats, and the apprehensions I am under of being stoned." To which Seuthes replied, by asking Xenophon and his colleagues to spend the day with him; and to which they all acceded¹

The next morning, Seuthes dismissed them with the cattle he had promised, and supplied them with drovers to drive them to the Greek camp: in the interim, however, the soldiers had circulated among themselves that Xenophon had gone over to Seuthes, and was about to pocket their pay;² but on seeing him return with the booty in company, they all ran towards him rejoicing, with expressions of gratitude. But Xenophon sought for the Spartan

¹ How pleasant it is to witness concessions of this nature, and behold all parties again become amicable; and how frequently might our errors thus be subdued, if we were remonstrated with temperately, urbanely, and gently. But there are many men who have the best intentions, who are altogether unqualified either to become mediators or conciliators: their own passions are of too blustering a nature; hence, like unskilful physicians, they injure, while they intend to heal: let such learn a lesson from Xenophon.

² These must have been that part of the army which may be fairly denominated vulgar.

ἔπει εἶδε Χαρμίνον ἢ Πολύνεικον, Ταῦτα, ἔφη, καὶ σέσωσται δι' ὑμᾶς τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ παραδίδωμι αὐτὰ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ διατιθέμενοι διάδοτε τῇ στρατιᾷ. Οἱ μὲν οὖν, παραλαβόντες καὶ λαφυροπώλας καταστήσαντες, ἐπώλουν, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον αἰτίαν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔπροσῆει, ἀλλὰ φανερός ἦν οἴκαδε παρασκευαζόμενος· οὐ γάρ πω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. Προσελθόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐπιτήδαιοι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐδέοντο μὴ ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στρατεύμα, καὶ Θίμβρωνι παραδοίῃ.

Ἐντεῦθεν διέπλευσαν εἰς Λάμψακον· ἢ ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι Εὐκλείδης μάντις Φλιασίος, Κλεαγόρου υἱὸς

generals; ¹ and on finding Charminus and Polynicus, he said, "The army must thank you for these cattle," ² and I now deliver them into your hands to be sold, that the troops may receive the benefit." The generals accordingly received them, and appointed proper persons to turn them into cash; but all would not please, for they incurred great censure for their services, but as Xenophon would have nothing to do with this business, he escaped their displeasure. He then openly prepared to return home, for he was not yet banished from Athens; but his friends came and begged he would not do so, till he had delivered over the army formally to Thimbron.

Yielding to their request, the troops, with Xenophon in company, crossed over the sea to Lampsacus. ³ Here he was agreeably met by Euclides the Phliasian priest, ⁴ who was a son to that

¹ That is to say, he took little notice of their approbation, tho' he was obliged to take notice of their *disapprobation*, or risk his life.

² How modest and conciliating! How much like a *Christian gentleman* is this!

³ Lampsacus: a city of Mysia Minor, with a commodious harbour. It was a Greek city, originally built by a colony of Phocians, but was lost, as were all the other Greek cities in Asia, at the shameful peace concluded at the termination of what was designated the Corinthian war. Themistocles, when obliged to fly to Artaxerxes, had this city given to him, from whence to draw his wine. It was situated between Parium and Abydos, in the little district of Callipolis. Vide Map.

⁴ That is, Euclides, who was a native of Phliasius, a city of Achaia,

τοῦ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ γεγραφότος. Οὗτος συνήδετο τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ὅτι ἐσέσωστο καὶ ἡρώτα αὐτὸν πόσον χρυσίον ἔχει. Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐπομόσας εἶπεν, ἢ μὴν ἐσεσθαι μηδ' ἐφόδιον ἰκανὸν οἴκαδε ἀπίνοντι, εἰ μὴ ἀπόδοιτο τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἂ ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν. Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐπίστευεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεμψαν Λαμψακηνοὶ ξένια τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ δῶσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παρεστήσατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην,

Cleagoras who had painted the Dreams in the Lyceum;¹ and after congratulating Xenophon on his safe arrival, asked him what money he had made by the expedition? "Not enough, by Jupiter," said Xenophon, "to carry me home, unless I sell my horse and equipage." Euclides, however, gave no credit to this statement;² but after the citizens of Lampsacus had made Xenophon presents, as tokens of their friendship, and he was offering sacrifice to Apollo, in the presence of Euclides, the priest

in the Peloponnesus, and the son of the great Athenian painter, Cleagoras.

¹ Λυκεῖον, or Lyceum, was one of the Gymnasia of Athens. It was situated on the banks of the Ilissus. It received its name from Apollo, *Λυκογονόος*, or *Λύκιος*, to whom it was dedicated: "Nor was it without reason," says Plutarch, "that this place was sacred to Apollo, but upon a good and rational account; since from the same Deity that cures our diseases and restores our health, we may reasonably expect strength and ability to contend in the exercises." Lib. viii. 2. 4. in *Symp.* The building of this structure is ascribed by some to Pisistratus; by others, to Pericles and Lycurgus. The probabilities are, that Pisistratus laid the foundation, Pericles raised it, and Lycurgus beautified it. The interior was lined with elegant paintings copied from the poetical pictures of Homer, here called *Dreams*, *ἐνύπνια*, *somnia*; because the immortal poet had seen them only with his *mental eye*, (being naturally blind,) as we see things in our nightly visions: *this is the meaning of the passage.* Note, — all the *great paintings* in Greece were taken from Homer; as all our magnificent paintings, such as the Cartoons, &c., are taken from the Bible.

² Why? — Because the three hundred Greeks who had escorted Cyrus to Babylon, together with their commander Xenias, mentioned in page 2, of this work, had all made their fortunes; the report of which through Greece, as we have seen, produced Cyrus the major part of this army.

ιδὼν τὰ ἱερὰ ὁ Εὐκλείδης εἶπεν ὅτι πείθοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ εἶναι χρήματα. Ἄλλ' οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι, καὶ μὲλλη ποτὲ γενήσεσθαι, φαίνεται τι ἐμπόδιον, ἐὰν μηδὲν ἄλλο, σὺ σαυτῷ. Συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐμποδιος γάρ σοι ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλίχιος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ ἤδη ποτὲ θύσειεν, ὡσπερ οἴκοι, ἔφη, εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι καὶ ὀλοκαυτεῖν. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἐξ ὅτου ἀπεδήμησε τεθυκέναι τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. Συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ θύεσθαι, καὶ ἔφη συνοίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ὁ Ξενοφῶν προελθὼν εἰς

was satisfied of the truth of his statement, and observed, that from the indications of the victims no doubt remained on his mind of his having returned poor; but added, "I observe, also, from them, that if an opportunity ever does offer itself, that you will meet with some opposition, and if no other, you will oppose yourself." "That," said Xenophon, "is very probable."¹ The priest then said, "I perceive that Meilichian Jupiter² opposes you, and I fear you have neglected to sacrifice to him in the manner I used to offer for you at Athens, that is, by presenting him a holocaust." Xenophon confessed that he had neglected his duty towards that god from the time he left home; on which the priest desired him immediately to offer an oblation, predicting if he did so that it would be attended with success. The following day, as Xenophon was on his march to

¹ He had done this all through the campaign, but unquestionably from very laudable motives; tho' it cannot be denied that Xenophon sought *for power*; which, by-the-by, he deserved, as 'tis such men as Xenophon that only know how to use it.

² Ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλίχιος. This was a surname given to Jupiter by late writers; see Thucyd. lib. i. c. 126. "Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη: For it is the Διάσια of the Athenians, in which feast Jupiter was named Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, — the great bestower of riches, or favours; and was an epithet, according to Suidas and Plutarch, synonymous with *μαιμάκτης*. See also Cl. Duker, note on Aristophanes, *Νεφ*, verse 407.

Ὀφρύνιον ἐθύετο, καὶ ὠλοκαύτει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ· καὶ ἐκαλλιέρει. Καὶ ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφικνεῖται Βίτων καὶ ἄμα Εὐκλείδης χρήματα δώσοντες τῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ ξηνοῦνταί τε τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ ἵππον, ὃν ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἀπέδοτο πεντήκοντα δαρεικῶν, ὑποπτεύουσις αὐτὸν δι' ἔνδειαν πεπρακέναι, ὅτι ἤκουον αὐτὸν ἤδεσθαι τῷ ἵππῳ, λυσάμενοι ἀπέδοσαν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν οὐκ ἤθελον ἀπολαβεῖν.

Ἐνλεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τροίας, καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἰδην, εἰς Ἀντανδρον ἀφικνοῦνται πρῶτον· εἶτα παρὰ θάλατταν πορευόμενοι τῆς Λυδίας,

Ophryinion,¹ he offered whole burnt hogs,² the customary sacrifice to that divinity, and on inspecting the intestines he found the indications favourable; on the same day also, Biton and the priest Euclides arrived with money for the army.³ These persons became extremely attached to him, and hearing that he had sold his horse at Lampsacus, for fifty darics, whom they knew Xenophon much valued, became suspicious that he had been influenced to do so through poverty; they therefore redeemed it, and returned this favourite animal to his master, nor could Xenophon prevail on them to take the price of his redemption.

From hence they marched through Troas,⁴ and crossing mount Ida,⁵ came first to Antandrus.⁶ The army then traversed the coast of the Lydian sea,⁷

¹ Ophryinion, a city of Troas near Dardanus. Here, Strabo says, he saw the Temple of Hector.

² That is the meaning of a *holocaust* — a sacrifice of a number of whole hogs; as a *hecatomb* was for a number of bulls.

³ Biton seems to have been the paymaster-general of the army; and as he is accompanied by a priest, it appears that the latter had something to do in this department, as well as inspecting the sacrifices.

⁴ See note 2, page 305.

⁵ See note 1, page 233.

⁶ Antandrus, situated near the Gulf of Adramyttium, just at the foot of mount Ida. It is said to have derived its name from Antander, an Æolian general.

⁷ Lydian sea; more properly Ægean sea. See Map.

εις Θήβης πεδίου. Ἐν- and arrived on the plain of Thebes ;¹

¹ There were three cities by this name. The one in Egypt, the ruins of which were visited by the French in the Egyptian campaign ; this city had its hundred gates, &c. &c. The other stood in Bœotia, and was founded by Cadmus, the Phœnician. This Thebes was the scene of Œdipus's sufferings, who solved the riddle of the Sphinx, which circumstance shews the Bœotian Thebes to have been anterior to the Egyptian, from whom the latter copied the story. See the history of the Sphinx in Egypt. The third Thebes, *here alluded to*, was the birth-place of Andromache, and surnamed Θήβη Ὑποπλακίη, *Hypoplacian Thebes* ; by others it was called *Cilicia Hypoplacia* : it stood near Troy. *Sita in Ciliciâ Hypoplaciâ, propè Trojam.* * Ætion, king of this Thebes, was the father of Andromache, between whose house and Priam's an alliance was formed.

“ Thou grace of Asia's empire, tow'rd Thebe,
From whence, with all the gorgeous pomp of gold
Endow'd, to Priam's royal house I came
In marriage given to Hector ; in those days
Andromache was blest.”

Euripedes' Andromache, Abp. Potter.

Achilles, in his rage about Βρισηίς, sacked and destroyed this Thebes, as appears from *Iliad* ii. 691.

Λυρνησσὸν διαπορδίησας, καὶ τείχεα Θήβης, &c.

Since fair Briseïs from his arms was torn
The noblest spoil from sack'd Lyrnessus borne ;
Then, when the chief the *Theban walls* o'erthrew, &c. &c.

The passage, however, which I select from *Iliad* vi., is still more illustrative of what we have said, —

Ἄνδρῶμαχη, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡετίωνος
Ἡετίων, ὃς ἔναιεν Ὑποπλάκιω ὕληέσση,
Θήβη Ὑποπλακίη, Κιλίκισσ' ἀνδρεσσιν ἀνάσσων
Andromache, the daughter of magnanimous Ætion,
The Ætion who possess'd the woody Hypoplacia,
And sway'd *Cilician Thebe*.

As this Thebes was situated in Mysia Major, † the critics are at a loss for Homer's calling it *Cilician Thebe*, and hence they suppose there must have been a fourth Thebes. — But did it never occur to any of them that Hypoplacian Thebes might have been originally reared by a colony of Cilicians ?

* Strabo.

† See Map.

τεῦθεν δι' Ἀτραμυτ-
τίου ἢ Κερτονίου παρ'
Ἀταρνεία εἰς Καΐκου
πεδίον ἐλθόντες, Πέρ-
γαμον καταλαμβάνου-
σι τῆς Μυσίας. Ἐπει-
ταῦτα δὲ ξενούται
Ξενοφῶν παρ' Ἑλλάδι
τῇ Γογύλου τοῦ Ἐρε-
τριέως γυναικί, καὶ
Γοργίωνος καὶ Γογύ-
λου μητρί. Αὕτη δ'
αὐτῷ φράζει ὅτι Ἀσι-
δάτης ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ,
ἄνθρωπος Πέρσης· τοῦτον
ἔφη αὐτὸν, εἰ ἔλθοι
τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν τρια-
κοσίοις ἀνδράσι, λα-
βεῖν ἄν, καὶ αὐτὸν, ἢ
γυναῖκα, καὶ παῖδας,
καὶ τὰ χρήματα· εἶναι
δὲ πολλά. Ταῦτα δὲ
καθηγησομένους ἔπεμ-
ψε τὸν τε αὐτῆς ἀνε-
ψιὸν, ἢ Δαφναγόραν,
ὃν περὶ πλείους ἐποιεί-
το. Ἐχὼν οὖν ὁ Ξε-
νοφῶν τούτους παρ'

from thence through Atramyttium¹ and Certonium,² by Aterne,³ to the plains of Caicus,⁴ and arrived at Pergamus,⁵ a city of Mysia. In this city Xenophon was entertained by Hellas, the wife, and Gorgione, the mother, of Gongylus. From the former of these ladies Xenophon obtained information that a Persian chief, named Asidades, lay encamped in a neighbouring plain, and gave it as her opinion that, with a company of three hundred men led on by night, he might surprise him, and capture the chief, wife, children, and all his riches. She also sent her cousin, and a gentleman named Daphnagoras, whom she much esteemed, to assist Xenophon in conducting the enterprise. Xenophon, therefore, with these persons in company, offered sacrifice

¹ Atramyttium. This city was visited by St. Paul, Acts xxvii. It stands near a gulf of the same name. Vide Map.

² Κερτονίου, or Certonium, a city of Mysia, in Asia Minor; which seems to be the same as the Καρίνη of Herodotus and Pliny.

³ Ἀταρνεία, or Arterne, a city of Æolia. Vide Map.

⁴ Caicus, so called from the river that flows through the plains.

⁵ Pergamus, the capital of Mysia Major. It gave birth to, and formed the capital of Attalus, and was the country of the great physician Galen. Here was a most magnificent library, called *the King's Library*, from the circumstance of the kings of Pergamus and Alexandria being the founders. Galen says, it contained two hundred thousand volumes. The name of "vellum" was derived from the circumstance of that article being first manufactured there. "Charta Pergamena, inventa apud Pergamum." Here also was founded one of the early Christian churches, mentioned in the Apocalypse of St. John.

ἑαυτῶ, ἐθύετο. Καὶ Ἄγασίας ὁ Ἥλειος μάντις παρῶν εἶπεν ὅτι κάλλιστα εἶεν τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶ, καὶ οἱ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἂν ἀλώσιμος εἴη. Δειπνήσας ἔν ἐπορεύετο, τοὺς τε λοχαγοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα φίλους λαβὼν καὶ πιστοὺς γεγεννημένους διαπαντός, ὅπως εὖ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς. Συνεξέρχονται δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ ἄλλοι βιασάμενοι, εἰς ἕξακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλαινον, ἵνα μὴ μεταδοῖεν τὸ μέρος, ὡς εἰσὶ μὲν δὴ χρημάτων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο περὶ τὰς μέσας νύκτας, τὰ μὲν περίεξ ὄντα ἀνδράποδα τῆς τύρσιος καὶ χρήματα πλείεα ἀπέδρα αὐτοὺς παραμελοῦντας, ὡς τὸν Ἀσιδάτην αὐτὸν λάβοιεν, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου. Πυργομαχοῦντες δ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο λαβεῖν τὴν τύρσιν, (ὑψηλὴ γὰρ ἦν, καὶ μεγάλη, καὶ προμαχῶνας καὶ ἀνδρας πολλοὺς καὶ μαχίμους ἔχουσα) διορύττειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὸν πύργον. Ὁ δὲ τοῖχος ἦν ἐπὶ ὀκτώ πλίνθων γηίνων τὸ εὖρος. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωρῶρυκτο· καὶ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον διεφάνη, ἐπάταξεν ἔνδαθεν βεπύρωτις ὀβελίσκῳ διαμπερὲς τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ ἐγυυτάτω· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν

on the occasion, and Agasias the Elean, who officiated as priest, declared the victims were favourable to the expedition. Accordingly that very night, after supper, Xenophon set out, taking with him those captains and soldiers who had been always faithful to him; but nearly six hundred soldiers volunteered, and would go whether or not; but the captains pressed on before, thinking by that means to secure the booty; for whom, indeed, Xenophon chiefly intended it.

They made the chieftain's castle about midnight, and suffered the slaves keeping guard, with considerable property, to escape, under the hope of making the chief himself prisoner. But the castle was strong, and could not be taken by assault, the walls being high and thick, and studded with battlements full of armed men. The captains then endeavoured to make a breach in the wall, which was eight bricks thick, but by the time this was accomplished, day broke, and while the foremost man was entering the breach his thigh was perforated by a spear. A shower of arrows immediately followed, which made it no longer possible to approach the wall.

ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐποίουν μὴδὲ παριέναι ἔτι ἀσ-

φαλῆς εἶναι. Κεκρα-
γόντων δ' αὐτῶν. καὶ
πυρσευόντων, ἐκβοη-
θοῦσιν Ἰταβέλιος μὲν
ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύνα-
μιν, ἐκ Κομανίας δὲ
ὀπλίται φρουροί, καὶ
ἰππεῖς Ἰρκαῖοι, καὶ
οὗτοι βασιλέως μισ-
θοφόροι, ὡς ὀγδοήκον-
τα, καὶ ἄλλοι πελ-
τασταὶ εἰς ὀκτακοσίους·
ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ Παρθενίης,
ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ Ἀπολ-
λωνίας, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πη-
σίον χωρίων, καὶ ἰππεῖς.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥρα
ἦν πῶς ἔσται ἡ ἄφοδος
σκοπεῖν· καὶ λαβόντες
ὅσοι ἦσαν βόες καὶ
πρόβατα, ἤλαυνον, καὶ
τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἐντὸς
πλαισίης ποιησάμενοι·
οὐ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἔτι
προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν,
ἀλλὰ μὴ φυγὴ εἶη ἡ
ἄφοδος, εἰ καταλιπόν-
τες τὰ χρήματα ἀ-
πίοιεν, καὶ οἱ τε πο-
λέμιοι θρασύεργοι εἶεν,
καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀ-
θυμότεροι· νῦν δὲ ἀπή-
σαν ὡς περὶ τῶν χρη-
μάτων μαχόμενοι.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔώρα Γογγύ-

The enemy then made shouts and lighted fires as signals for Itabelius, a neighbouring chief, to come to his assistance; who obeyed immediately, drawing with him the garrison troops in the king's pay from Comania,¹ all heavy-armed men. He was also accompanied by about eighty Hyrcanian horse, and eight hundred targeteers, with auxiliaries of all kinds from Parthenium² and Apollonia.³

By this time the Greeks thought of retreating, and placing the oxen and slaves they had acquired together, within the hollow square into which they had formed, marched off. The Greek officers did not value the booty, but took off what they had captured, lest their retreat might have the semblance of flight, which would not only increase the confidence of the enemy, but would have struck a panic into their own men. Moreover, a retreat conducted thus always carries with it a determination to defend what is acquired. On the other hand, Gongylus

¹ Comania. This place is not to be found amongst ancient geographers. Hutchinson supposes it to have been a village attached to the castle; deriving its name from the plains of Caicus, &c. &c.

² Parthenium, a city of Mysia, originally founded by the Persians, who were primarily called Parthii.

³ Apollonia. There were many cities by this name in Asia Minor. This was the Apollonia situated on the river Rhyndacus.

λος ὀλίγους μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνας, πολλοὺς δὲ τὰς ἐπικειμένους, ἐξέρεχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βία τῆς μητρὸς, τὴν ἑαυτῆ δύναμιν ἔχων, βουλόμενος συµμετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου· συνεβοήθει δὲ καὶ Προκλῆς ἐξ Ἐλισάρνης καὶ Τευθρανίας, ὁ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου. Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ πάνυ ἤδη ἐπιέζοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ σφενδονῶν, πορευόμενοι κύκλω, ὅπως τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοιεν πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, μόλις διαβαίνουσι τὸν Κάϊκον ποταμὸν, τετραωμένοι ἐγγυὺς οἱ ἡμίσεις. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος ὁ λοχαγὸς τιτρώσκειται, τὸν πάντα χρόνον μαχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Καὶ διασώζονται ἀνδράποδα ὡς διακόσια ἔχοντες, καὶ πρόβατα ὅσον δύο ματα.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσαμένους ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐξάγει νύκτωρ πᾶν τὸ

observing the paucity of our numbers, and that a very considerable force hung upon our rear, came on with his own troops to keep these in check; and although his mother dissuaded him from it, yet his desire of having something to do in the action, rendered her entreaties useless. Procles also, a descendant of Damaratus, came to our aid with troops drawn from Elisarne¹ and Teuthrania,² but Xenophon's men had suffered by this time much from the arrows and slings of such a formidable enemy; indeed, by the Greeks marching nearly in a circle, they could not so well cover themselves with their shields as in any other position, and particularly was this felt when they came to cross the Caicus. It was *there*, by the time they were over, they found that nearly one half of their number were wounded. It was there also the intrepid Agasias was wounded, while fighting with his usual bravery. The Greeks finally made their camp, with about two hundred slaves, and cattle enough for sacrifice.

The following day Xenophon again offered sacrifice, and at night led his

¹ Elisarne, according to Stephanus and Strabo, was a small town in Mysia Major.

² Teuthrania, a town of Mysia Major, situated about seventy stadia from Pitana and Elæa, opposite Pergamus.

στράτευμα, ὅπως ὀτι-
μακροτάτην ἔλθοι τῆς
Λυδίας, ὥστε μὴ διὰ
τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι φοβεῖσ-
θαι, ἀλλ' ἀφυλακίῃν.
'Ὁ δ' Ἀσιδάτης, ἀ-
κούσας ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ'
αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἶη
Ξενοφῶν, καὶ παντὶ
τῷ στρατεύματι ἤξει,
ἐξαυλίζεσθαι εἰς κώμας
ὑπὸ τὸ Παρθενικὸν
πόλισμα ἐχέσας. Ἐν-
ταῦθα οἱ περὶ Ξενο-
φῶντα συμπεριτυγ-
χάνουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ
λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ
γυναῖκα, καὶ παῖδας,
καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ
πάντα τὰ ὄντα· καὶ
οὕτω τὰ πρότερα ἱερὰ
ἀπέβη. Ἐπειτα πάλιν
ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Πέρ-
γαμον. Ἐνταῦθα τὸν
θεὸν οὐκ ἠτιάσατο ὁ
Ξενοφῶν· συνέπρατον
γὰρ καὶ οἱ Λάκωνες,
καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ, καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ,
καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται,
ὥστε ἐξαίρετα λαμ-
βάνειν, καὶ ἵππους,
καὶ ζεύγη, καὶ τάλ-
λα· ὥστε ἰκανὸν εἶναι
καὶ ἄλλον ἤδη εὖ ποιεῖν.

Ἐκ τούτου Θίμ-
βρων παραγεγόμενος
παρέλαβε τὸ σφέλιον

forces with an intent to march as far as possible into Lydia, that this chieftain being freed from fear by their removal, might be seized on a future opportunity when unguarded. But the Persian gained information by some means that a second expedition was in agitation against him, and that Xenophon was offering sacrifice on the occasion, with an intent to fall on him with the whole Greek army; he therefore left his castle, and pitched camp in some villages nearly under the walls of Parthenium. Here Xenophon caught him, with his wife, children, and all his riches, which was the accomplishment of the success indicated in the first sacrifice.¹ The army then returned to Pergamus, where Xenophon was well rewarded by Jupiter Meilichius; for the Spartan generals, the old captains, and the soldiers, all agreed to select for him horses, oxen, and other property, and supplied him so plentifully, that Xenophon, in *his turn*, had it in his power to oblige a friend.²

Just after this had happened, Thimbron arrived, and Xenophon delivered

¹ The holocaust is here alluded to, offered to the Meilichian Jupiter.

² And most richly deserved it. I notice, that this was speaking in the language of the Socratic school, whose motto was, "I am worth all I have given away." A motto that would not disgrace a Christian: "Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where moth nor rust doth corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal." Mat. vi. 19, 20.

μα, καὶ συμμίξας τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐπολέμει πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.

Ἀρχοντες δὲ οἶδε τῆς βασιλείας χώρας, ὅσων ἐπήλθομεν, Λυδίας, Ἀρτίμας· Φρυγίας, Ἀρτακάμας· Λυκαονίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας, Μιθραδάτης· Κιλικίας, Συέννεσις· Φοινίκης καὶ Ἀραβίας, Δέρνης· Συρίας καὶ Ἀσσυρίας, Βελεσις· Βαβυλῶνος, Ῥωπάρας· Μηδείας, Ἀρβάκας· Φασιανῶν καὶ Ἑσπεριῶν, Τηρίβαζος· (Καρδοῦχοι δὲ, καὶ Χάλυβες, καὶ Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Μάκρωνες, καὶ Κόλχοι, καὶ Μοσυνοικοι, καὶ Κοῖτοι, καὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ, αὐτόνομοι) Παφλαγονίας, Κορύλας· Βιδυνῶν, Φαρνάβαζος· τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Θρακῶν, Σεύθης.

Ἀριθμὸς συμπάσης τῆν ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ καταβάσεως, σταθμοὶ διακόσιοι δεκαπέντε, παρασάγγαι

over to his charge the Greek army; this general accordingly joined them to his other forces, and commenced hostilities against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.¹

I close my narration by enumerating the Satraps of those provinces through which the Greek army passed: — *Artimas* governed Lydia; *Artacamás*, Phrygia; *Mithridates*, Lycaonia and Cappadocia; *Syennesis*, Cilicia; *Dernis*, Phœnicia and Arabia; *Belesis*, Syria and Assyria; *Roparas*, Babylonia; *Arbacas*, Media; *Teribazus*, the Phasians and Hesperitans; *Corylas*, Paphlagonia; *Pharnabazus*, Bithynia; and *Seuthes*, European Thrace:² all the others, — the Carduchians, the Chalybians, the Chaldæans, the Macronians, the Colchians, the Mosynoecians, the Cœtans and Tibarenians, were free states, and under the control of their own chieftains.

The journey of the advance and retreat was accomplished in two hundred and fifteen marches. The distance comprised eleven hundred and fifty-

¹ The effects of this war we have before illustrated, except I add one fact more, to gratify the reader, which is, that Tissaphernes, being suspected of conniving at the invasion of the Lacedæmonians, was beheaded by command of Artaxerxes, and thus expiated for his treachery to the Grecian generals.

² Not satrap, — an independent king, as were all the kings of Thrace.

χίλιοι ἑκατὸν πενή-
κοντα, στάδια τρις-
μύρια τετρακισχίλια,
διακόσια πενήκοντα
πέντε. Χρόνου πλῆ-
θος τῆς ἀναβάσεως
καὶ καταβάσεως, ἑνιαυτὸς καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες.

five parasangas, or thirty-four thousand
six hundred and fifty stadia; ¹ and the
time employed in the performance was
no less than fifteen months.

¹ That is, in round numbers, 1155 leagues, or 3465 miles. — For exact particulars see note 2, page 30, and note 1, page 100.

THE END.

LONDON :
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

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