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## XENOPHON

### SCRIPTA MINORA

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## SCRIPTA MINORA

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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## INTRODUCTION

“WELL, Xenophon, I had been told that you are an Athenian, and that was all I knew about you. but now I praise you for your words and deeds, and I should wish as many as possible to be like you. That would be good for everybody.”—Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian, in *Anabasis*, III 1. 45

Various modern writers have challenged the ascription to Xenophon of every one of the works included in this volume. The *Agésilas* and the *Ways and Means* have suffered much from the onslaughts of the critics, the *Agésilas* on account of its style, the *Ways and Means* for its subject matter. It must suffice here to say that no case has been made out against any one of them, with the exception of the *Hunting*; and, even in that case, it is impossible to state with confidence that the main portion of the treatise was not written by Xenophon<sup>1</sup>. The rest may be accepted with confidence as the work of the man whose name they bear.

Undoubtedly there is something unusual about the miscellany, when regarded as the product of one author. Most authors write only in one manner, and when we have read some of their works, we easily recognise their hand in the rest. With Xenophon it is not so; for there is an obvious difference of manner in different parts of the

<sup>1</sup> See below, VII (p. XXXVI).

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*Hellenica* Xenophon tried his hand at several kinds of prose literature—history, dialogue, the encomium, the technical treatise, the essay—and he had his ideas, gleaned from his reading, of the style appropriate to each kind. In the early part of the *Hellenica* we find him trying to write in the manner of Thucydides, in the rhetorical parts of the *Agésilas* he clearly has the model of Gorgias before him. But of course for us it is not always possible to understand just *why* he regarded this or that manner as appropriate. Thus in the historical portion of the *Agésilas*, he repeats passages of the *Hellenica* almost but not quite exactly, here he changes, there adds a word or two; but no modern reader can appreciate his reason for these minute alterations. But even in a translation, however inadequate, a reader must detect a difference in style between his rhetoric and his history.

More interesting for us is the variety of subjects that Xenophon knows and can expound. Of course he is better at some things than at others; but even about matters of which he is not a master he can tell us a good deal that is worth knowing. He flounders in the high finance, but even at that he is far from being such a duffer as some moderns have declared him to be. His speculations on forms of government and the secrets of national greatness are not profound, but they come from a singularly lucid, well-ordered mind. Of the theory of war he is a master. About horses, riding, the organisation and command of cavalry he knew everything that could be known in his day. His treatise on *Horsemanship*, especially, is in its way a masterpiece.

Like Socrates himself, he is continually trying to

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make himself useful. Perhaps for us there is rather too much of the *don* about him: his books are too full of instruction, admonition and reproof, nor is it surprising that some think that he intended them to form a series of educational manuals for the use of his sons. What is abundantly clear to anyone who reads all his works is that his real purpose was to do good to everybody, and, generous man that he was, everybody meant to him the people of Athens—those by whom he had been driven into banishment. Exiles do not, as a rule, spend their time in heaping coals of fire on their fellow-countrymen. Happily his fellow-countrymen showed themselves not ungrateful, they annulled the decree of banishment, though too late to entice him back to Athens. He died at Corinth. In these lesser productions of a virtuous and versatile Athenian gentleman there is, even in our age, not a little that is worth reading, apart from the information about ancient Greek life and manners that we owe to them. Their brevity too is a merit, for owing to his pedantry, Xenophon in his longer works is apt to be tedious.

In style Xenophon is simple and natural; he avails himself, indeed, of the resources of rhetoric, but he uses them moderately, and, except occasionally in the *Agesilaus*, he uses them soberly and sensibly. By the Atticists and the later Sophists he was taken as a model of simplicity.

Few traces of these *opuscula*, with the exception of the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, occur in literature anterior to the Christian era; but the Atticist Demetrius of Magnesia, friend of Cicero's friend, Atticus, included all of them in his list of

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Xenophon's works.<sup>1</sup> They are not cited by name by any extant Greek or Latin author earlier than Cicero, who refers in laudatory terms to the *Agesilaus*, and has made use of its design in his *Pro Lege Manilia*. But echoes may be heard here and there by an attentive listener. The *Constitution* quickly attained an importance disproportionate to its merit. Isocrates in his *Panathenaeus* makes some combative remarks that certainly apply, though not perhaps exclusively, to Xenophon's *Constitution*. All those who wrote on the Spartan institutions, including Aristotle, and especially the early Stoics, Zeno and his followers, used it as an authority. Nor was its influence exerted solely on the compilers of such works. Thinkers who speculated on the balanced or mixed form of Constitution also found it serviceable. Plato, indeed, as we should expect, ignores it in his *Laws*, but Aristotle in his *Politics* does not, and Polybius, in his sixth book, is clearly indebted to it. From the *Hiero* Isocrates has borrowed the matter and even some of the language in his address *On the Peace* (§ III f), and this is interesting, because Xenophon in the same year returned the compliment by borrowing from this address of Isocrates in his *Ways and Means*. We may safely hazard a guess that the *Hiero* was a favourite work with the Cynics, amongst whom the unhappiness of the despot was a common theme.<sup>2</sup> In the age of Polybius, the traveller Polemon of Ilium wrote a book with the curious title, *About the*

<sup>1</sup> It is inconceivable that Demetrius, as the text of Diogenes Laertius says, challenged the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*. Most of what follows, and much more, may be found in R. Munscher's *Xenophon in der griechisch-römischen Literatur* (*Philologus*, Sup. xiii 1920).

<sup>2</sup> The writer of [Diogenes] cp. 29, which is an onslaught on Dionysius II, drew from a Cynic source.

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*Cur in Xenophon (Agesilaus, c. viii. 7)*, in which he gave an account of Spartan customs that is not to be found in Xenophon's *Constitution*<sup>1</sup> Nepos used the *Agesilaus* in his life of the king<sup>2</sup> The *Ways and Means* does not turn up once, but this is not surprising, since the brochure was written for a special occasion, and contains very little of general application. We may anticipate here by mentioning the adaptation of the passage (c. i. 2-8) on the nature of Attica by Aristides, the Sophist of the second century A D, in his *Panathenaicus*.<sup>3</sup> About the earlier history of the *Cavalry Commander* and the *Horsemanship* there is a strange circumstance worthy of mention. Cato the Censor, as we know from Cicero, read, and highly esteemed Xenophon. The method of the opening of Cato's *de Re Rustica* has given rise to a suspicion that he had included these two treatises in his studies<sup>4</sup> Considering the age at which Cato began Greek, he must have found the *Horsemanship* "a tough proposition," if he really tackled it. The *Horsemanship* did not oust Simon's work on the same subject from its position as an authority, but it is often impossible to be sure on which of the two treatises later writers draw<sup>5</sup> Pollux came across a commentary on the *Horsemanship*, we cannot tell whether it was written before the Christian era. Probably Theophrastus already culled something from the

<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus iv p 138 E

<sup>2</sup> It is now said that he did not use it directly, but I cannot believe this.

<sup>3</sup> A. Binkmann, *Rheinisches Museum*, lxxvii, 1912, p. 135. Among the Xenophontine works cited by Aristides are the *Agesilaus* and the *Hunting* (Persson, p 74)

<sup>4</sup> Leo started this.

<sup>5</sup> Oder in his *Anecdota Cantabrigiensia*, credits to Simon all the repetitions of matter that is common to Simon and Xenophon.

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*Hunting*.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear that Grattius, who wrote his poem between 30 B.C. and 8 A.D., owes anything to the *Hunting*, nor is it likely, since he did not go to Simon or to Xenophon for his treatment of the horse.

Into the complicated history of Xenophon's shorter works in the Christian era we cannot enter.

To speak generally, the *Hiero* and *Agesilaus* seem to have been most read by the Atticists and Sophists; while the Romans, for the most part, neglected all of them.<sup>2</sup> But mention of one Greek author cannot be omitted, owing to the unique position that he occupies in the history of Xenophontine literature. Dio of Prusa (fl. 90 A.D.) not only, like Arrian, took Xenophon as his model of style, but his mind is saturated with Xenophon's thoughts and words. There is much of the *Hiero* and *Agesilaus* in Dio's discourses on kingship and despotism (I, II, III, VI, LXII). There is also, I think, a clear echo of the *Hunting* in Dio III. 135-6. The *Agesilaus* is cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as the type of the encomium. To Roman encomiasts it furnished a model. Its influence is felt in the design of Nepos' *Atticus*, in the *Agricola* of Tacitus, in the *Panegyric* of the younger Pliny, and, according to Leo, in the balanced estimate of the Emperor Valentinian in Ammianus Marcellinus (fl. 370 A.D.), book xxx.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *περὶ φουτῶν αἰτιῶν* vi 19-20 compared with *Hunting* v and viii

<sup>2</sup> Only the *Cyropaedia* and *Memorabilia* of Xenophon's works gained a strong footing among the Romans

<sup>3</sup> I am not myself conscious of this. Resemblances are rather readily detected by keen investigators. Thus Rademacher says that Oppian used the *Hunting* in his *Cynegetica*, but I have waded through Oppian without detecting any reminiscence of it

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Finally, we may refer to an amusing passage in the *Apollonius* of the Athenian Philostratus (age of Caracalla), which appears to be a "dig" at the *Hunting*, as the scholiast says it is. "They (Apollonius and his companion in India) came in," writes Philostratus, "for a dragon hunt which I must tell about, for it is highly absurd that the devotees of hunting should have found so much to say about the hare, and how she is, or shall be, caught, and we should pass over the record of this noble and marvellous sport."<sup>1</sup>

### I. *Hiero*

"Government of unwilling subjects and not controlled by laws, but imposed by the will of the ruler, is despotism."—*Memorabilia*, iv vi. 12.

"Despotic rule over unwilling subjects the gods give, I fancy, to those whom they judge worthy to live the life of Tantalus, of whom it is said that in hell he spends eternity, dreading a second death"—*Oeconomicus*, the end

The *Hiero* is an imaginary conversation between King Hiero, who ruled Syracuse from 478 to 467 B. C., and the poet Simonides of Ceos, one of the many famous strangers whom the hospitable despot entertained at his court. Its purpose is twofold—first to show that a despot, ruling without regard to the interests of his subjects, is less happy than the private citizen; and secondly, to show by what means a despot may succeed in winning the affection of his subjects, and, by so doing, may gain happiness for himself. This subject was a common topic of

<sup>1</sup> *Apollonius* III. 6, Phillimore's translation



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speculation among the Sociatics<sup>1</sup>. it had been discussed by Socrates himself, and we are told that Plato during his first visit to the court of Syracuse had spoken his mind upon it to Dionysius the Elder. Had it been possible for Xenophon to bring Socrates and a great despot together, we might have found just such a conversation in the *Memorabilia*<sup>2</sup>. Isocrates, in his oration addressed to Nicocles (374 B. C.), says that many doubt whether the life of men who live virtuously or the life of a despot is preferable, and in the letter which he wrote to the children of Jason, the "tagus" of Thessaly (359 or 358 B. C.), he declares that the private citizen is the happier.<sup>3</sup>

Modern writers, anxious to discover the date at which the *Hiero* was written, have ransacked the records of the despots contemporary with Xenophon to find some special event or events that may have prompted him to compose it. Grote, for example, refers to an incident that occurred at the Olympic Festival of 388 or 384 B. C. In one of those years the orator Lysias delivered his *Olympic* oration, in which he stirred up hatred of despots,<sup>4</sup> and incited the Greeks to unite in ridding Syracuse of Dionysius. The despot on that occasion was represented at the festival by a magnificent mission. The date of composition has therefore been placed at about 383 B. C. Another view is that Xenophon wrote his

<sup>1</sup> Dio of Prusa, in his third discourse, puts into the mouth of Socrates a discussion on the question of the happiness of the despot.

<sup>2</sup> Just as Dio (VI) brings Diogenes and the Persian king together

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, p. 1325<sup>a</sup>, and Stobaeus XLIX.

<sup>4</sup> The tone of Antisthenes' *Archelaus* was similar (Dummler, *Akademika*, p. 13).

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dialogue as a warning to Dionysius the Younger soon after his accession to the throne of Syracuse in 367 B C. A third opinion is that the career of Jason of Pheriae, who was assassinated in 370 B.C., was specially in Xenophon's mind, and a modification of this view is that our author had lately read the letter of Isocrates already referred to, and that his dialogue, like Isocrates' epistle, is a warning to Jason's children who now shared the power in Thessaly. This last opinion is supported by reference to the passage in which Hiero remarks that many despots have been destroyed by their own wives (iii 8); for Jason's nephew, Alexander, joint "tagus" of Thessaly, was murdered by his brothers-in-law at the instigation of his wife Thebé in 359 B C.

But it is surely unnecessary to suppose that Xenophon had any special purpose or event in mind when he wrote the *Hiero*. The thing is merely a "Socratic" dialogue on a theme that interested him. He thought of despots in general, as the Sociatics supposed them to be; and of course, like Plato in the ninth book of his *Republic*, when he writes of despotism he has an eye on the career of Dionysius I.<sup>1</sup> All that can be said about the date of composition is that, to judge from the language and the rhetoric of the *Hiero*, it appears to have been written in the author's later years.

There is no attempt at characterisation in the

<sup>1</sup> There is a close resemblance between *Republic*, ix p. 579 B and *Hiero*, c 1 ll. Were the *Hiero* the later work it would be impossible to resist the impression that Xenophon had lately read the *Republic*. This may be so, since the *Republic* was written between 380 and 370 B C.

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persons of the dialogue *Hiero* is not in the least the historical *Hiero* whom we know from the Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides. He is not the great warrior nor the enlightened ruler, and of course there is no indication of the true basis of his power and of his constitutional position. He is just a despot of the better type. As for Simonides, Xenophon, in drawing his favourite analogy from the Chouuses, once faintly alludes to his craft (c. ix. 4), but he makes no attempt anywhere to represent the courtier poet, had he done so he must have made Simonides bring in the subject of verse panegyrics on princes at c. 1. 14. The remark of the poet at c. 1. 22 is singularly inappropriate to a man who had a liking for good living. At c. viii Xenophon discards the thin disguise, and Simonides stands clearly revealed as Xenophon himself. To some of the recommendations offered to rulers that he makes in these concluding chapters we have parallels in the *Cavalry Commander* and the *Ways and Means*.

The *Hiero* is a naive little work, not unattractive in this case, as in that of the *Banquet*, it is unfortunate for our amiable author that Plato has written on the same subject with incomparably greater brilliancy.

The gist of Xenophon's counsel to despots is that a despot should endeavour to rule like a good king. The same counsel is given by Isocrates in his *Helen*, which was written about 370 B.C.<sup>1</sup> No man, in Xenophon's opinion, is fit to rule who is not better than his subjects.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle in the *Politics* (p. 1313 A) agrees.

<sup>2</sup> *Cyropaedia*, VIII 1. 37.

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### II. *Agesilaus*

“What is government, and what is a governor?”—  
*Memorabilia*, I i 16

“Government of men with their consent and in accordance with the laws of the State is kingship”—  
*Memorabilia*, IV vi 12

Agesilaus became one of the two joint kings of Sparta in 398 B C. Though over forty at the time of his accession,<sup>1</sup> he reigned for nearly forty years, and died on active service, probably in the winter of 361–60 B C. His long career as a commander in the field began with his expedition to Asia Minor in 396 B.C. We do not know for certain when Xenophon joined Agesilaus in Asia, and it is impossible to say with confidence whether or not he was an eye-witness of the campaign of Agesilaus against Tissaphernes, the satrap of Lydia, in 395 B C.<sup>2</sup> But he was certainly with Agesilaus in the following year, and returned with him from Asia to Greece. He fought under the king at the battle of Coronea in the summer of 394 B C. against his fellow-citizens, and was banished in consequence. He spent some

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon calls him “still young” at the time of his accession, no doubt having in mind the great age to which he lived in full activity, and using the pardonable exaggeration of an “encomiast.” Similarly Isocrates implies that Evagoras (who was really assassinated) died a happy death.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon’s account of the campaign is utterly different from that which may now be read in a fragment of another history. But even if Xenophon was in Greece in 395 B C, he of course heard the facts from Agesilaus himself. Busolt has successfully defended the accuracy of his account. In one instance (c 1 33) X tacitly corrects the account he had given in the *Hellenica* (III iv. 24). At c 11 7 he defends what he had said in *Hell.* IV III. 15.

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time at Sparta, and thence removed to Scillus, near Olympia, to an estate that had been presented to him by the Lacedaemonians, doubtless at the suggestion of Agesilaus

Xenophon, always a hero-worshipper, and an admirer of the ideal Spartan character and the institutions of Lycurgus, saw in Agesilaus the embodiment of his conception of a good king. Doubtless, he, like Isocrates,<sup>1</sup> regarded the Spartan kingship as the best form of monarchy. Shortly after the death of his hero he produced this tribute to his memory. In spite of its rhetorical embellishments, there are signs of hasty composition in the *Agesilaus*. Haste probably accounts for the extensive borrowing from the *Hellenica*. Now why should Xenophon be in a hurry? From some pretty strong hints that all did not consider the king to be above adverse criticism, we may conclude that there was adverse criticism<sup>2</sup>; quite possibly something had been written about Agesilaus that was not entirely complimentary. The *Agesilaus*, in the main an encomium, is incidentally a defence.

A few years before, Isocrates had produced his encomium on Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus, who was assassinated in 374 B.C. Isocrates says that he is the first to "praise a man's virtues in prose." If he means to say that nobody had written a prose encomium of an historical personage before him, it is very doubtful whether his claim can be sustained.<sup>3</sup> But perhaps he means only that he was the first to combine an account of a man's actions with praise of his character, pointing out the significance of

<sup>1</sup> Isocrates, *de Pace*, §§ 142-143.

<sup>2</sup> C II 21, IV 3, v. 6, VIII 7.

<sup>3</sup> Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, xxxv. p 533.

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the actions as indicating the virtues of his hero.<sup>1</sup> That is just what he does in the *Evagoras*. Now in the first portion of the *Agesilaus* (c. i.-ii), Xenophon has clearly taken the *Evagoras* for his model. The king's exploits, judiciously selected, are narrated in chronological order, passages from certain portions of the *Hellenica* being repeated with trifling alterations of the language, and into the narrative are woven comments on the king's character, as it is illustrated by his deeds.

Having finished with the king's actions, Xenophon gives an account of his virtues (c. iii-ix). This portion of his work has no counterpart in the *Evagoras*. But even here Xenophon's idea is not original. The great virtues—piety, justice, self-control, courage, wisdom—are treated elsewhere in the same order. In Plato's *Banquet* the poet Agathon praises the justice, self-control, courage and wisdom of Love, and Socrates remarks that the encomium reminds him of Gorgias. Xenophon himself at the end of the *Memorabilia* writes of the piety, justice, self-control and wisdom of Socrates.<sup>2</sup> The order of the categories no doubt goes back to Gorgias. To these great virtues Xenophon adds patriotism, and several minor excellences. He rounds off his encomium with a formal epilogue (c. x.)

To the epilogue is appended a summary (c. xi.) of the king's virtues, and here again the categories are arranged in the same order.<sup>3</sup> The summary

<sup>1</sup> So Usener.

<sup>2</sup> In *Cyropaedea*, VIII. 1 23-33, Xenophon enumerates the piety, justice and self-control of Cyrus.

<sup>3</sup> The indications of the order are fainter, but they can be discerned. But the disposition does not agree closely with that of the second part of the work.

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was a device introduced by the sophist Corax, and the use of it is alluded to as an established practice at the end of the *Palamedes*, an oration ascribed to Gorgias. The extant fragment of Gorgias' *Funeral Oration* appears to belong to a summary. There are examples of the summary also in Isocrates.<sup>1</sup> To the material of the eleventh chapter a passage of the *Evagoras* has contributed something.<sup>2</sup>

What is peculiar in the structure of the *Agésilas* is the separate treatment of the actions and the virtues of the hero. Xenophon has followed Isocrates in one section of his encomium and Gorgias in the other.<sup>3</sup> The result is, of course, a want of unity in the design. The work, however, was much admired by Cicero and by Nepos,<sup>4</sup> and the latter's sketch of Cicero's friend Atticus is evidently modelled on it.

### III *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*

"Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian now—have you realised that he would not have made Sparta to differ from other cities in any respect, had he not established obedience to the laws most securely in her?"—*Memorabilia*, iv iv 15

"When will Athenians show the Lacedaemonian reverence for age . . . when will they adopt the Lacedaemonian system of training . . . when will they reach that standard of obedience to their rulers

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Antidosis*, §§ 127, 128, the character of Timotheus.

<sup>2</sup> *Evagoras*, §§ 43-46. The notion that the eleventh chapter of the *Agésilas* is spurious is wrong. Compare the character sketches of Proxenus and Menon in *Anabasis* II.

<sup>3</sup> All the little tricks of rhetoric that have been adversely criticised by modern writers come in this second part.

<sup>4</sup> Nepos, *Agésilas*, c. 1.

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. or when will they attain that harmony?"—  
*Memorabilia*, III v. 16

Xenophon's purpose in this work was to show that the greatness and fame of the Lacedaemonians were due to "the laws of Lycurgus" He had no intention of writing a treatise on the Lacedaemonian constitution; and though here and there he refers to details of that constitution as things familiar to his readers, it is only in the last chapter, about the position and privileges of the kings, that he even mentions the word "constitution" Even the remarks on the constitutional powers of the Ephors in c. viii are merely illustrative. After the tenth chapter he gradually loses sight of his subject. For if the eleventh and the twelfth, on the excellence of the Spartan army, have a loose connexion with it, the thirteenth, on the powers of the kings, has none The fourteenth is clearly an afterthought, an appendix, and the same is true of the fifteenth

The title, then, is inaccurate, nevertheless there can be no doubt that it was chosen by the author himself The first ten chapters are homogeneous, and they have the appearance of a complete essay. For evidently when he started Xenophon did not intend to trace the "power" of Sparta to the organisation of its army: he says clearly at the beginning that he attributes her power to her institutions or "principles"; and one of these principles turns out to be (c. ix.) that a glorious death is preferable to a base life—which is a good enough reason, in an essay, to account for the power of the state on the military side Possibly, after writing the first ten chapters, Xenophon kept them by him, and added later on the appendices on the army and the functions



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of the kings in war, on the violation of the "laws of Lycurgus,"<sup>1</sup> and on the constitutional position of the kings. The thesis of the appendix on the army is not the thesis of the essay proper, for the thesis of this appendix is not that the Lacedaemonians owe their power and fame to their army, but that the Lacedaemonians are artists in warfare, and the rest of the Greeks, in comparison with them, are mere amateurs (c XIII 6). In the last chapter he supports no thesis; he is merely stating certain facts about the kings, is, indeed, writing a fragment of a "Constitution."

The fourteenth chapter is strange and bewildering, and many have maintained that it is spurious. It is written in a spirit of disillusion, and it contradicts some of the statements made in earlier chapters. Internal evidence shows that it was written certainly before the battle of Leuctra (371 B. C.), and probably after 378 B. C. Observe, however, that Xenophon is not indicting the people. His wrath falls only on a small section of powerful Spartans, on the governors, "harbors," whose conduct was a violation of the "laws of Lycurgus" and of the principles so strictly adhered to by his hero Agesilaus.

But the change of tone is manifest. It is tempting to seek the cause of the change in the impression made on Xenophon's mind by the scandalous seizure of the Theban citadel by the Spartan Phoebidas in 381 B. C. In the *Hellenica* Xenophon denounces that

<sup>1</sup> Some hold that the first thirteen chapters describe what *had been* the state of affairs at Sparta in better times. Though such great authorities as E. Meyer and Köhler agree that all the fifteen chapters were written at the same time, I cannot believe that they are right.

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crime as an outrage against heaven. Again, in 378 B.C., Sphodrias, a Spartan governor, was persuaded or bribed by the Thebans to make an attempt on the Peiraeus. The plan miscarried and Sphodrias was put on his trial for his gross act of treachery; but he was acquitted. There is probably a covert reference to Sphodrias in the second section of this fourteenth chapter. The part taken by King Agesilaus in the inquiries that followed both these crimes was highly discreditable, and naturally Xenophon makes no allusion to it in his *Agesilaus*.

As for the essay (c. i.-x.), one reads it with a feeling of regret that the author, who during his sojourn at Sparta had such excellent opportunities for observation, did not undertake the task of writing an account of the Lacedaemonian constitution. Even what he tells us of the primitive institutions of the Spartans in support of his thesis comes to very little; but the facts that he selects are sufficient for his purpose. He touches on the surprising marriage customs of the Lacedaemonians, but not with entire accuracy; and of course he disguises the extraordinary laxity of the relations between the sexes at Sparta. He gives no connected or detailed account of the class organisation of boys and youths. Thus in c. ix. 5 he refers incidentally to the "sides in a game of ball"; but does not trouble to explain that the term "ball-players" had a special meaning among the Spartans;<sup>1</sup> the proper place for mentioning them, if he had been writing a treatise, would have been at c. iv. 6. In speaking of the common meals he uses, almost consistently, the Spartan

<sup>1</sup> Those who were no longer Ephebi and were not quite men (Pausanias III. xiv. 6)

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technical term *Syskania* and its cognate words, without giving their explanation.<sup>1</sup> The reference in c 11 9 to the ceremonial rite of flagellation at the altar of *Artemis Orthia*<sup>2</sup> is so confused that it is quite impossible that Xenophon, who must have witnessed it, can have written what stands in the text.

Whatever we may think of the method of the essay it is characteristic of Xenophon that he borrowed it from a predecessor in the same field.<sup>3</sup> Critias the politician, once a disciple of Socrates, had already produced a prose and a verse *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*.<sup>4</sup> In the prose work he compared the usages of different states with those of Sparta, and though, like Hellanicus and Thucydides, he ignored Lycurgus, the existing fragments of his work show that Xenophon is indebted to Critias, certainly for the method, and perhaps for some of the details of his essay.<sup>5</sup> No doubt it is the *Constitution of Critias* that is used by Plato, to the exclusion of Xenophon's, in the *Laws*.

The excellence of the Spartan institutions was of course a stock theme among the Socratics. Overemphasis led to the inevitable protest. Isocrates in his *Panathenaicus* makes some caustic remarks about those who are for ever harping on the subject

<sup>1</sup> Also in c xv.

<sup>2</sup> The rite is a substitute for human sacrifice

<sup>3</sup> Kohler in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie* 1896, p. 361.

<sup>4</sup> The quotation from the verse *Constitution* in Athenæus x. 432 D, about drinking, corresponds closely with what Xenophon says on the same subject (c v 6)

<sup>5</sup> *e.g.* for the view he takes of the "Syssitia," or common meals, as neither a military nor a political institution. At c 11 1 Xenophon echoes Plato, *Protag.* p 325 D

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Amongst other things he says that some talk of the Spartans as if the demi-gods had been Spartan statesmen, and that Lycurgus borrowed his best ideas from Athens! The date of the *Panathenaicus* is 342 B C or thereabouts

### IV *Ways and Means*

“Now tell me, from what sources are the city’s revenues at present derived and what is their total? No doubt you have gone into this matter, in order to raise the amount of any that are deficient and supply any that are lacking.”—*Memorabilia*, III. vi. 5.

The *Ways and Means* appears from internal evidence to have been written in 355 B C. There are no convincing reasons for refusing to believe that Xenophon is the author. The diction and style are his, and there is nothing in the opinions expressed that renders his authorship impossible, or even unlikely. In the opening sentence he repeats a remark that he has made at the end of the *Cyropaedia* (VIII VIII 4),<sup>1</sup> there are passages that have a parallel in the *Hiero* and the *Cavalry Commander*; and the epilogue both in language and sentiment is thoroughly Xenophontine. We might, no doubt, have expected more moralising than we find, and we miss evidence of his interest in agriculture. But if the brochure was intended to support the financial policy of the statesman Eubulus, the reason why these features are lacking becomes apparent. This, then, is Xenophon’s last work. He probably died a few months after writing it.

Since 370 B C, or thereabouts, Xenophon had

<sup>1</sup> A similar remark occurs in Isocrates *On the Peace*.

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lived at Corinth. Some years later his banishment from Athens was annulled on the proposal of Eubulus. He did not, however, return to his native city; but he sent his two sons home to serve in the Athenian cavalry.

In 355 B.C. Athens emerged in a state of serious financial exhaustion from a disastrous war with her most powerful allies. It was through Eubulus that the peace was concluded. In the following year Eubulus practically assumed control of the state finances,<sup>1</sup> and he at once set to work to increase the revenue and to relieve the poverty of the citizens. The citizen body at this time, as we can see from the *Ways and Means*, was in a deplorable condition. Lazy and poverty-stricken, the people looked to the state for maintenance. Trade was in the hands of the resident aliens, among whom were many Asiatics (c. 11. 3). How precisely Eubulus dealt with the problems that faced him we do not know. But as Controller of the "theoric" fund he raised enough money from this tax upon the well-to-do to enable him to make distributions to the people on an unprecedented scale. From a passage in the orator Demarchus we infer that Eubulus also introduced measures for the improvement of the cavalry. And when his administration came to an end, probably in 339 B.C., the mines at Laurium, which had been neglected, were once again being vigorously worked by men in partnership and by private companies.

The resemblance between these operations of Eubulus and some of the proposals contained in

<sup>1</sup> See especially Beloch, *Attische Politik seit Perikles*, p. 177 f.

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Xenophon's brochure is obvious. The brochure is addressed, apparently, to the Council of Five Hundred. The author confines himself rigidly to proposals of a practical nature. It is not his business here to probe the causes of the prevalent distress. The author of the *Memorabilia* knew well enough what was wrong with the Athenians; but when the problem of the moment is how to raise cash, it is useless to demand a change of national habits: you must take the conditions as they are, and make the best of them. The recognition of the demoralising dole system was, of course, unavoidable. Then, according to Xenophon's plan, capital is to be raised by the imposition of an income tax—whether for one year or more is not stated—and expended on the erection of hotels, the provision of accommodation for merchants and visitors both in the Peiræus and in the city, and on a fleet of state-owned merchant vessels. Much space is given to measures to be adopted for the improved working of the mines: amongst them are a measure of state socialism (c. iv. 30) and a proposal for the formation of a great Joint-Stock Company (c. iv. 32). To encourage internal trade, it is essential to encourage the resident aliens, their status must be improved. It is a shock to find Xenophon proposing to make these aliens—including Lydians, Phrygians and Syrians—eligible for the aristocratic cavalry.

The insistence on the necessity of maintaining peace as an essential condition of financial recovery is in accordance with the policy of Eubulus.

Earlier in this same year, 355 B.C., Isocrates, now an octogenarian, issued his pamphlet *On the Peace*,

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in which he exhorted the Athenians to endeavour to conciliate the Greek world. His pamphlet is ostensibly a harangue addressed to the Assembly, and its subject is political morality. There are clear indications that Xenophon had read it before writing the *Ways and Means* <sup>1</sup>

### V *The Cavalry Commander* <sup>2</sup>

“Perhaps you think you can do something for the good of the State as a cavalry leader, in case there is any occasion to employ that arm.”—*Memorabilia*, III. III. 2

The discourse on the duties of the cavalry commander was written at a time when there was some reason to anticipate the outbreak of war between Athens and Thebes (c. VII. 3), probably in 365 B.C. It is ostensibly addressed to an individual about to enter on that exalted office, but the convention is not consistently maintained, especially towards the end of the treatise. It is almost certain that Xenophon in his younger days had himself been a member of the Athenian cavalry corps, in 409 B.C. and the years following, and he had lately sent his two sons home to Athens to serve in the force. His profound interest in cavalry and his knowledge of its use are, of course, apparent in the *Cyropaedia*, the *Anabasis* and the *Memorabilia*. Our treatise may, indeed, be viewed as a commentary on the statement of a cavalry commander's duties that is put into the mouth of Socrates in the last mentioned work (III. III. 1).

<sup>1</sup> He has levied toll on §§ 21, 30, 42, 53 and 138.

<sup>2</sup> Literally the Greek title means “A discourse on the command of cavalry.”

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When Xenophon wrote the discourse Athens was at peace. But even in peace time the duties of the cavalry, though ornamental, were important, since the cavalry procession was a prominent feature of all the great state festivals. And of course training for war was always being carried on with more or less vigour. Things were at the moment in a pretty bad way with the corps. Owing to the prevailing poverty, and the slackness of the Council and their immediate agents, the two annually elected commanders of cavalry ("hipparchs"), the number of troopers had apparently fallen from the thousand required by law to about six hundred and fifty; and the quality of the horses and the efficiency of the riders left much to be desired. It is probable that in this case, as in others, Xenophon's exhortations were not without practical result, for at the time of the battle of Mantinea (361 B.C.) the Athenian cavalry was able to play a creditable part in the field.

Xenophon recommends the use of infantry among the cavalry (c v 13); and his words imply that at the time infantry were not regularly provided for this service. In the *Constitution of Athens*, written some forty years later, Aristotle mentions such a body of infantry as a normal appendage to the cavalry. In the *Memorabilia*, as in our treatise, the cavalry commander is urged to require that the horses incapable of going the pace should be rejected. Aristotle, repeating the very expression used by Xenophon, says that the Council marked and rejected such horses. Both reforms may be due to Xenophon, at least in part. For it is hardly likely that the advice of such an authority can have gone entirely unheeded.



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Each of the ten tribes was supposed to furnish a hundred cavalymen. The roll was drawn up annually by ten officials elected for the purpose,<sup>1</sup> who acted apparently under the direction of the two commanders. At the head of each of these ten regiments was a colonel ("phylarch"), who was responsible for the details of control, for the instruction, condition and equipment of his regiment. Each of the two commanders had five of these regiments under him, because in the field the chief duty of the cavalry was to protect the flanks of the infantry. On ceremonial occasions each colonel rode at the head of his regiment in the procession, and each commander at the head of his five regiments.

Preparation for service in the cavalry began while a youth was still under the control of his guardian (c. i. 11), that is to say, before the age of eighteen. The service, at any rate at this time, was continuous. The object of the annual enrolment, therefore, was to fill the places of those who retired through old age or other causes. It also appears that not all the recruits were young men. no doubt the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of young men of means led to the inclusion of persons of maturer years, men who could not be trained to vault on to a horse, but had to be assisted to mount by means of a leg-up, "in the Persian fashion."

Every recruit had to appear with his horse before a committee of the Council and to pass a test. On being approved the recruit had a legal right to receive a sum of money to defray the cost of his horse and equipment; but the colonels had sometimes to intervene to get the money paid over to

<sup>1</sup> At any rate this was so when Aristotle wrote.

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the men. The cavalryman received, in addition, a daily allowance of a *drachma* for the keep of his horse in peace as well as in war, and the annual cost to the state of this wage amounted, says Xenophon, to nearly forty talents. The cost of the initial sum paid to the recruits did not fall on the state, as each man who left the service had to pay the amount over to his successor.

Each man was attended by a mounted groom (c. v. 6), but the grooms did not ride in the ranks, and were not armed. There were also mounted aides-de-camp (c. iv. 4)<sup>1</sup>. The commanders had about them a corps of couriers (c. i. 25), of whom we know only that they had to pass a test before the Council (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* c. 49).

The author's purpose is, of course, to make recommendations for the improvement of the cavalry. Incidentally the *Cavalry Commander* is our chief authority on the organisation and employment of the Athenian cavalry, and it contains many details about the ceremonial processions.

None of Xenophon's shorter writings is more entirely characteristic of the writer. Note especially the frequent exhortation to "work with God"; it is the first and the last duty that he insists on. "If," he says, "you are surprised that I say this so often, I assure you that you will cease to wonder if you find yourself often in danger." He speaks from experience.

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* assigns many functions to the aides in the army of Cyrus, including attention to the wounded.

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### VI. *On the Art of Horsemanship*

“Seeing you are forced to meddle with horses, don't you think that common sense requires you to see that you are not ignorant of the business?”—*Oeconomicus*, III 9

The treatise on *Horsemanship*, the oldest complete treatise on the subject in existence, was written soon after the *Cavalry Commander* (c. 411. 14). It is a masterly production. The text has suffered considerably from corruption, and even with the aid of restoration it is not easy reading; nevertheless, it presents no serious problems that still await solution. Bearing in mind the cardinal differences between the Greek cavalry horse of which Xenophon writes, and the modern riding horse, we shall have no serious difficulty in following the author. The Greek cavalry horse, familiar to everybody from the Parthenon sculptures, was small and cob-like. He was a troublesome creature to ride, and given the conditions, although the cavalry was not always an efficient arm in the field, it is a mistake to suppose that the individual Greek rider was a poor horseman; nor is the supposition borne out by the Parthenon figures. The horses were ungelded and unshod, they were given to biting, and the rider had neither stirrups, nor saddle, nor curb to assist him. The well-to-do young Athenian rode, but did not often ride merely for pleasure. He rode commonly as a member or a prospective member of the cavalry—it is significant that the same word is used for a “horseman” and a “cavalryman”, occasionally he rode in order to compete in the horse-races at the Games, or if he were rich he hunted on horse-

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back.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, therefore, the only gaits in use were the walk, the trot and the gallop.

The practical horseman will no doubt notice certain details in which modern practice differs from the Greek usage. But he will assuredly be surprised to find that so much of Xenophon's doctrine survives unchanged in the modern lore of the horse and his rider, and he will acknowledge that Xenophon was both an excellent judge of a horse and a highly accomplished horseman.

Xenophon recommends a "flexible" in preference to a "stiff" bit (c x). Two "flexible" bits now in the Berlin Museum are figured and described by E. Pernice in his monograph entitled *Griechisches Pferdegeschirr* (Berlin, 1896). The bits, which are of bronze, and belong to the fourth century, B.C., were found along with a beautiful bronze muzzle and bronze ornaments of the headstall in a grave in Boeotia. They are complete in every detail, including the curved branches at the ends to which the straps of the headstall were fastened and the branches to which the reins were attached. Xenophon is concerned only with the bit itself. This, in the two examples referred to, consists of two axles joined in the middle by two links, one link within the other. Next to the links are discs; then on either side a cylinder covered with four rows of sharp teeth. Next to the cylinders come the branches to be attached to the headstall, and outside these the branches for the reins. Discs,

<sup>1</sup> Thus Ischomachus (*Oeconomicus*, xi. 17 f), an excellent horseman (20), says that he has his horse led to and from his farm, he mounts at the farm, and goes through military exercises. Xenophon is, of course, describing his own practice.

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cylinders and branches move on the axles. From each of the central links hangs a little chain, of three or four rings (see c x 9).

When the horse was led out to be groomed or to give him a roll, a muzzle was used. The muzzle is depicted on several vases. For example, a black-figured amphora in the Ashmolean Museum (No. 212) shows a led horse wearing the muzzle, and, in this case, bridled as well. The muzzles for ordinary use were made either of straps or of wicker. The Ashmolean horse's muzzle is attached by a strap passing under the ears. In another example figured in E. Walpole's *Memoirs of European and Asiatic Turkey*, we have two horses muzzled and tied together by the leading reins that hang from the muzzle. A groom is cleaning the back of the horse on the right with a stugil (cf. c. v. 5). Another groom is examining the uplifted forefoot of the horse on the left, crouching beneath the horse in a manner not approved by Xenophon. A halter was also attached to the bridle and used in mounting or in leading the horse when not muzzled (c vii. 1). The halter is clearly seen on one of the horses depicted on an Attic *cylix* in the Berlin Museum, of which the subject is the examination of the cavalry recruits; and there are other extant examples.

In the twelfth chapter Xenophon recommends that the horse should be protected in war with a frontlet, breastplate and thigh-pieces<sup>1</sup>. It is not unlikely that these came into use in Greece as the result of his recommendation. Their origin is

<sup>1</sup> From this chapter it is clear that the rider's thighs were not protected by thigh-pieces.

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Asiatic, and of course Xenophon had seen them used during the expedition of the Ten Thousand

The methodical construction of this treatise contrasts strongly with the want of arrangement that we find in the *Discourse on Hunting*. The author starts with a modest reference to his skill in horsemanship; and here let the translator, whose own acquaintance with horses has been brief and disastrous, offer an apology to any practical horseman into whose hands this version, or perversion, may fall, for any absurdities that he may—it is but too likely—detect in the English equivalents used in the translation to represent the technical terms of the original. After this brief and characteristic exordium the author falls at once to business. Here is a list of the contents: (1) Buying a colt—points and size of the young horse (c. i) (2) Breaking a young horse (c. ii) (3) Buying a horse already ridden (c. iii) (4) Stable and yard (c. iv). (5) The groom's duties (c. v–vi) (6) Instructions to the rider—mounting, starting, exercises (c. vii.–viii.). (7) Management of a fiery horse (c. ix.). (8) How to make the best of a war-horse (c. x. 1–5) (9) Bits, their form and use (c. x. 6). (10) The horse for ceremonial occasions (c. xi). (11) Armour of rider and horse (c. xii. 1–10). (12) Offensive weapons and their use (c. xii. 11) (13) Brief reference to the *Cavalry Commander* for further information. The exposition is as clear as the arrangement.

In his opening words, and elsewhere, Xenophon refers to the treatise of Simon, of which an important fragment survives in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> There is much matter common to both

\* <sup>1</sup> There are several modern editions.

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treatises, but it is unfair to represent Xenophon as merely repeating Simon.<sup>1</sup> Both authors begin their description of the parts of the horse at the hoofs and work upwards to the head. All later writers on the horse, Greek and Roman, start at the head. Very likely Xenophon consciously followed Simon's method: it would be like him to do that.

### VII *Hunting*

When an Englishman tells you that he is "going to hunt," you understand him to mean that he intends to hunt the fox on horseback. Had you heard a young Greek of the fourth century B.C. make the same remark, the odds would have been that he was going to hunt the hare on foot. Two other branches of the sport in which the average young Greek then indulged were the hunting of the red deer and the boar. But if either of these creatures was to be the object of his pursuit, he would have said so; and in either case he would have been intending to go unmounted,<sup>2</sup> unless he had said definitely that he was going on horseback. These simple facts explain the absence of a statement early in this treatise (c. 11), that its author intends to deal first with hare hunting, and also explain why there is nothing in the treatise about hunting on horseback, apart from an incidental reference in the appendix on hunting abroad (c. xi. 3). Sons of aristocratic houses often rode to hounds;

<sup>1</sup> Oder in his *Anecdota Cantabrigiensia*, a mine of information on the ancient horse-literature, is hardly just to Xenophon.

<sup>2</sup> The term *κυνηγετεῖν*, consistently used for hunting in the treatise, is normally confined in classical authors to hunting *on foot*.

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and no doubt Xenophon's boys were mounted when they hunted boar $\epsilon$ , gazelles and red deer at Scillus.<sup>1</sup> But this treatise is addressed to the average young hunter, and is confined to those forms of the sport that were open to him

The art of hunting, like other arts and crafts, was a gift of the gods to the centaur Chiron, who imparted it to many heroes, all of whom enjoyed the special favour of the gods. To this topic is devoted a lengthy rhetorical exordium, which differs entirely by its elaborate style from the rest of the treatise, in which the rules of formal composition are almost entirely disregarded. There is no parallel to this exordium in Greek literature anterior to the Christian era.<sup>2</sup> To Xenophon, indeed, a long exordium of any kind is alien

The writer's object is instruction of the novice. He undertakes to enumerate and to explain all the paraphernalia required in hunting (c. 11 2). But his promise is but indifferently fulfilled in the sequel. He is excellent in description, but, like so many modern teachers, he unconsciously reckons on too much knowledge in his pupils. Especially confusing is his use of the same term for the track and the scent of the hare; and the directions for untravelling the tracks and for setting up the nets, the parts of which he does not explain, are anything but clear

<sup>1</sup> *Anabasis*, v. iii. 10. We see that this treatise was not written, as is sometimes supposed, for the use of Xenophon's sons

<sup>2</sup> As for the date of the exordium see below. J. Mewaldt (*Hermes*, xlv. p. 76), has pointed out a remarkable parallel in the exordium to the *Physician* falsely attributed to Galen, but contemporary with him



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Nor is his arrangement of his matter in the section on the hare wholly satisfactory. For most of the seventh chapter and the whole of the eighth consist of remarks, in the nature of an appendix, on the subject of the third chapter.

It is surprising to find that nets were not used in Greece for hunting the red deer on foot, though the "net-keeper" accompanied the hunt (c ix. 6). Their place was taken by the abominable traps or caltrops, which are carefully and clearly described. We wonder how an unmounted hunter was to get among the deer and to isolate a member of the herd (c ix 10).

To the survey of the three branches of hunting the author appends a few irrelevant remarks on the hunting of big game abroad, apparently just because the subject interested him and might be expected to interest his young readers. These remarks, it may be observed, do not include varieties of hunting that Xenophon had witnessed in Asia, and would be expected to describe if he had written the *Hunting at Scillus*.

Having finished with the technical side of the subject, our author launches out into an enumeration of the benefits to be derived from hunting on foot (c xii. 1-9). It is good for the health, fits men for their military duties, and affords a fine moral training. Some, he says, meaning, probably, Aristippus and his followers, object to hunting on the ground that it leads men to waste the time that ought to be given to their business and to the service of the state. These objectors are utterly wrong, and many of them are even vicious. But hunters are a virtuous folk, because they love toil (c xii 10, end). The

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argument here, and in the last chapter, is sloppy, but the writer disarms criticism by his zeal.

The task that the writer set himself at the beginning is now completed, and we should have expected him to end here. But he is in a fighting mood, and is determined to warn his young readers against all the enemies of his theories. Chief among these are the "sophists," that is, the professors of other systems of education than that in which he believes. They have never made a man virtuous, and their writings, for all the care lavished on their style, do nobody any good. Very likely one of them will attack this treatise for its slipshod style and want of "beauty." What does the author care? He seeks to do good, not to train the young in sophistry. Beware of the professors and cleave to the lovers of wisdom! Then there are the unscrupulous self-seekers and reckless politicians. Don't emulate them! The best of them incur envy,<sup>1</sup> and the bad ones are rogues. But hunters are genial and kindly, and they seek only to do good.

The technical portion of this treatise (c 11.-xi) and the curious epilogue (c 12.-13) are certainly contemporary with Xenophon, and—as all competent critics now agree—both were written by one man. The attack on the "sophists" in the last chapter must have been written in the fourth century B.C., when "philosophers" and "sophists" wrangled over the theory and practice of education, and flooded the world with books on the subject. The descriptive portions of the technical part are worthy of Xenophon, and the sentiments expressed in the

<sup>1</sup> This, I think, must have been the meaning of c 13.11 before the text was corrupted.

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epilogue strongly remind us of his sentiments. The difficulty in accepting the treatise as his lies mainly in the jerkiness of the style and the looseness of the grammar. We miss the combination of short simple sentences with long periods that is characteristic of his manner, and the constant indulgence in "ellipse," "asyndeton," "chiasmus," "infinitive of command," and so on, is not at all like what we find in his acknowledged works. On the whole, when the pros and cons are weighed and re-weighed, it does not appear utterly impossible that he wrote it as a first experiment in authorship before leaving Athens for Asia. The work is full of his zest for hunting, his pietism, his insistence that "before you try to do a thing, you must understand how to do it, and, above all, his belief in the efficacy of diligence and toil. The author of the treatise is clearly an Athenian, and though his opinions bear a strong resemblance to those of the older Cynics, and especially of Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school, I see no decisive reason for thinking it impossible—though it is certainly difficult to believe—that Xenophon wrote it in the last years of Socrates' life. He was then aged thirty,<sup>1</sup> and might employ a didactic tone towards the youth of eighteen. If he did, he must have adopted a manner of writing that he judged appropriate to a didactic treatise addressed to the young.<sup>2</sup> We must suppose that he deliberately

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon was born 430 B. C.; Apollodorus (fl. 150 B. C.) in his *Chronica* wrongly suggested 440 B. C. From Apollodorus the error passed into Diogenes Laertius and Suidas.

<sup>2</sup> There is a similar manner in one or two didactic sentences quoted from Antisthenes by Diogenes Laertius (vi 12). Mewaldt detects a similarity in the style of Simon's treatise on *Horsemanship*. The manner is common enough in technical

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avoided formal rhetoric, of which there are only very few examples in the treatise. Xenophon in the *Hellenica* and the *Agésilas* does experiment in different styles of writing, though within limits that he passes far beyond in the *Hunting*, if this work be really his. But a great difficulty confronts us. In the thirteenth chapter (3-7) the writer, in his most rhetorical passage, says in effect that he despises rhetoric as practised in his day, and has no belief in its value. Now the rhetoric of the fourth-century sophists is based on the teaching of Gorgias and Prodicus. Xenophon elsewhere always writes respectfully of these two great stylists, and he shows both by his statements and by his practice that he has a keen appreciation of rhetoric as an aid to persuasion.<sup>1</sup> Already at the beginning of the *Hellenica* (I 1 30-31) he attributes the reputation of Hermocrates the Syracusan "as speaker and adviser" to the attention that he paid to oratory; and Sicilian oratory without rhetoric is unthinkable. Can it be that between, say, 401 B.C. and 393 B.C. he so entirely changed his opinion?<sup>2</sup> It is possible that he did so, in consequence of his experience in Asia, where the influence of oratory on the soldiers was continually made manifest.<sup>2</sup>

In at least two parts of the epilogue it is highly probable that Aristippus is attacked, first as object-

<sup>1</sup> The results of his study of Gorgias can be traced in the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* and the *Ways and Means* as well as in the *Agésilas*.

<sup>2</sup> Note especially what he says about Proxenus (*Anabasis*, II vi. 16), that in his youth he had an ambition to become a man of affairs, and therefore put himself under Gorgias.

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writings. A pretty specimen of it is to be found in Plato's description of the two horses (*Phaedrus*, p. 253 D).

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ing to toil, and further on as a self-seeker (xii. 10, xiii. 10); Aristippus was, in fact, the first of the Socratics to take fees from his pupils.<sup>1</sup> Now we know that Xenophon had an aversion to Aristippus, whose opinions and conduct naturally jarred on him. What is more likely than that Xenophon should warn his young readers against such an alluring but dangerous teacher?<sup>2</sup>

Here we may leave the problem. The style does not in the least suggest Xenophon. Much of the matter, both in the technical part and in the epilogue, does suggest him. Absurdities have been pointed out<sup>2</sup> in the reasoning of the epilogue, but some of these absurdities are probably due to the corrupt state in which the text of it has come down to us. For whereas in the technical part we have the powerful aid of Pollux in correcting the text, he cites nothing from the epilogue.

The laboured exordium is not contemporary with the rest of the work. Certain rhythms are persistently used in it that were not in vogue earlier than the first half of the third century B.C.<sup>3</sup> But the "sophistic" list of Chiron's pupils and, still more, the highly artificial order of the words show that the date is much later than the third century. Norden, the highest authority in these matters, states confidently that the exordium belongs to the period of the "second sophistic."<sup>4</sup> We may con-

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertius, ii. 65

<sup>2</sup> Especially by Hartman in his *Analecta Xenophontea*.

<sup>3</sup> Especially the *duchoreus* (— — —) at the end of the sentence, which is characteristic of the *Asiatic* style. (Radermacher in *Rheinisches Museum*, lii)

<sup>4</sup> In *Die Antike Prosakunst* (p. 433) he cites some striking parallels from the Lemnian Philostratus' *Imagines* and from *Aelian*

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clude without hesitation that it was composed in the reign of Hadrian (A. D. 117–138), when also the reference to it in c. xiii. 18 was added<sup>1</sup>. Somewhere about A. D. 150 Arrian must have come across a copy of the *Hunting* in Athens, with the exordium already prefixed. He took the exordium at its face value, and assumed that it too was written by Xenophon<sup>2</sup>. In the *Heroicus* (p. 308), written between A. D. 213 and 219, the Lemnian Philostratus includes Telamon, Theseus and Palamedes among the disciples of Chiron. These heroes are mentioned nowhere else as pupils of the Centaur except in our epilogue<sup>3</sup>.

The earliest author who alludes to the *Hunting* as Xenophon's work is Plutarch, but Demetrius of Magnesia, a contemporary of Cicero, already recognised it as his<sup>4</sup>.

The principal manuscripts are the following:—

- 1 For the *Hiero*, *Agessilaus*, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* and *Ways and Means*
  - A. (*Vaticanus*, 1335), tenth or eleventh century. Of the *Ways and Means* only a part (c. i. 5 to c. iii. 5) has survived.

<sup>1</sup> This passage furnished, as it were, a text to the writer of the exordium.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, *Cyngeticus*. It is odd that Arrian, no mean judge of style, accepted the whole work, including the exordium, as certainly genuine.

<sup>3</sup> The coincidence at least shows that these names were introduced into the list by the late sophists. K. Munscher (*Philologus, Supplementband*, x, p. 503) doubts whether Philostratus consciously repeats the author of the exordium, nor do I think it certain that he does so.

<sup>4</sup> Diogenes Laertius, ii. 57.

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- B. (*Vaticanus*, 1950), fifteenth century. Probably copied from A.
- C. (*Mutinensis*, 145), fifteenth century. This MS does not include the *Agesilaus*. It contains many peculiar readings, of which many are conjectures.
- M (*Marcianus*, 511), probably thirteenth century.

A papyrus fragment of the *Ways and Means*, c. 1 5-6, belonging to the second century A D, is edited by Wilcken in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, vol. 1.

The copious extracts contained in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus are specially important for checking the text of the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*.

### 2 For the *Cavalry Commander*, *Horsemanship* and *Hunting*.

- A. (*Vindobonensis*, IV 37), sixteenth century. This MS does not include the *Cavalry Commander*. It is derived from an archetype of the twelfth century, and is the best MS of the *Horsemanship* and *Hunting*. Its version of c. 1 of *Hunting* is peculiar, evidently because the MS from which it was copied was blurred and partly illegible.
- B. (*Vaticanus*, 989), thirteenth century. The best MS of the *Hipparchicus*, and the next best to A of the other two. The first chapter of *Hunting*, and the opening words of the second are missing.

M (*Marcianus*, 511)

The lexicon of Pollux is of the utmost value in checking and restoring the corrupted text of the

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treatise on *Horsemanship* and the technical parts of that on *Hunting*. ¶

An excellent critical edition of the text of the first four treatises by A. Thalheim and of the last three by E. Ruehl is included in the Teubner Series

There is also a recent text of the whole in Vol. V. of *Xenophontis Opera Omnia* (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis)

A translation of the *Horsemanship* with notes by R. Berenger is included in his *History of the Art of Horsemanship* (1671). Paul Louis Courier's translation of the *Cavalry Commander* and *Horsemanship* (1st ed 1807) contains many valuable notes, and his contribution to the purification and elucidation of the text is of the first importance. The MS. that he followed was *Vaticanus* 989.

*The Art of Horsemanship* translated, with chapters on the Greek Riding-Horse, and with notes, by MORRIS H. MORGAN (1894) is excellent.

The German translation of the last-mentioned work by E. Pollack (1912) includes a commentary and a full bibliography and is indispensable to students

O. Manns, *Über die Jagd bei den Griechen* (1888-1890), has given a complete exposition of the technical portions of the treatise on *Hunting*.

R. M. Radermacher's articles in the *Rheinisches Museum*, li, lii, mark an epoch in the criticism of the *Hunting*.

All recent textual criticism of the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* and of the last three treatises included in this volume is based on the exhaustive work of three Italian scholars. The results arrived



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at by them are contained in the following Berlin editions.—

G Pierleoni:	Xenophontis	<i>Respublica · Lacedaemonorum</i> ,	1905
”	”	<i>Cynegeticus</i> ,	1902.
P. Cerocchi:	”	<i>Hipparchicus</i> ,	1901
V Tommasini:	”	<i>de Re Equestris</i> ,	1902.

The Greek text of this volume follows that of Sauppe (= S in the footnotes) except where stated

The earliest printed edition of the collected works is that of Filippo Giunta (Florence, 1516); but it does not include the *Agesilaus* and *Ways and Means*. The *Agesilaus* was first printed by J Reuchlin in 1520 (with the *Apology* and *Hiero*), and the *Ways and Means* in the Aldine ed (1525)

# HIERO

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝ

Ι. Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς Ἰέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἄρ' ἄν μοι ἐβελήσαις, ὦ Ἰέρων, διηγῆσασθαι ἃ εἰκὸς εἰδέναί σε βέλτιον ἐμοῦ;

Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ὅποια δὴ ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σοῦ οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός;

2 Οἰδὰ σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ νῦν τύραννον ὄντα· εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένον καὶ εἰδέναί σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ, πῆ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικός τε καὶ ὁ<sup>1</sup> ἰδιωτικός βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις.

3 Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, οὐχὶ καὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἔτι ἰδιώτης εἶ, ὑπέμνησάς με τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ βίῳ; οὕτως γὰρ ἄν σοι οἶμαι μάλιστα ἐγὼ δύνασθαι δηλοῦν τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ

4 Οὕτω δὲ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτας ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἰέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὀράμασιν ἡδομένους τε καὶ ἀχθομένους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὠτων ἀκούσμασι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ῥινῶν ὀσμαῖς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σίτις τε καὶ ποτοῖς, τὰ δ' ἀφροδίσια δι' ὧν δὴ πάντες  
5 ἐπιστάμεθα· τὰ δὲ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ κούφα καὶ βαρέα ὄλω τῷ σώματί μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφη, κρίνοντες ἥδεσθαί τε

## XENOPHON'S HIERO

I. SIMONIDES, the poet, once paid a visit to Hiero, the despot. When both found time to spare, Simonides said: "Hiero, will you please explain something to me that you probably know better than I?"

"And pray what is it," said Hiero, "that I can know better than one so wise as yourself?"

"I know you were born a private citizen," he answered, "and are now a despot. Therefore, as you have experienced both fortunes, you probably know better than I how the lives of the despot and the citizen differ as regards the joys and sorrows that fall to man's lot."

"Surely," said Hiero, "seeing that you are still a private citizen, it is for you to remind me of what happens in a citizen's life; and then, I think, I could best show you the differences between the two."

"Well," said Simonides, taking the suggestion, "I think I have observed that sights affect private citizens with pleasure and pain through the eyes, sounds through the ears, smells through the nostrils, meat and drink through the mouth, carnal appetites—of course we all know how. In the case of cold and heat, things hard and soft, light and heavy, our sensations of pleasure and pain depend on the

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<sup>1</sup> δ A. Sauppe omits with the other MSS.

## XENOPHON

- καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· ἀγαθοῖς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν ἠδυσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι, ἔστι δ' ὅτε κοινῇ διὰ  
 6 τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος· τῷ δ' ὕπνῳ ὅτι μὲν ἠδόμεθα, δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ καὶ ᾤτινι καὶ ὁπότε, ταῦτα μᾶλλον πως, ἔφη, δοκῶ μοι ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως τοῦτο θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι σαφεστέρας ἡμῖν τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχεται ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ.
- 7 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἰέρων ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἔξω τούτων ὧν εἴρηκας σύγχε οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν αἰσθοιτό τις ἄλλου ὁ τύραννος ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τούτου οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τιμι διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς βίος τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ βίου.
- 8 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' ἐν τοῖσδε, ἔφη, διαφέρει· πολλαπλάσια μὲν δι' ἐκάστου τούτων εὐφραίνεται, πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει  
 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν· Οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθ', ὅτι μείω πολὺ εὐφραίνονται οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων ἰδιωτῶν, πολὺ δὲ πλείω καὶ μείζω λυποῦνται.
- 9 Ἄπιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ οὕτω ταῦτ' εἶχε, πῶς ἂν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν τυραννεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δοκούντων ἰκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, πῶς δὲ πάντες ἐζήλουν ἂν τοὺς τυράννους,
- 10 Ὅτι ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ἀπειροὶ ὄντες ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦνται περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πειράσομαί σε διδάσκειν, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψέως· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σὲ δοκῶ μεμνησθαι ἀρξάμενον λέγειν.

## HIERO, I. 5-10

whole body, I think. In good and evil we seem to feel pleasure or pain, as the case may be—sometimes through the instrumentality of the moral being only, at other times through that of the moral and the physical being together. Sleep, it seems clear to me, affects us with pleasure, but how and by what means and when are puzzles that I feel less able to solve. And perhaps it is no matter for surprise if our sensations are clearer when we are awake than when we are asleep.”

“For my part, Simonides,” said Hiero in answer to this, “I cannot say how a despot could have any sensations apart from those you have mentioned. So far, therefore, I fail to see that the despot’s life differs in any respect from the citizen’s.”

“In this respect it does differ,” said Simonides: “the pleasures it experiences by means of these various organs are infinitely greater in number, and the pains it undergoes are far fewer.”

“It is not so, Simonides,” retorted Hiero, “I assure you far fewer pleasures fall to despots than to citizens of modest means, and many more and much greater pains.”

“Incredible!” exclaimed Simonides. “Were it so, how should a despot’s throne be an object of desire to many, even of those who are reputed to be men of ample means? And how should all the world envy despots?”

“For this reason of course,” said Hiero, “that they speculate on the subject without experience of both estates. But I will try to show you that I am speaking the truth, beginning with the sense of sight. That was your first point, if I am not mistaken.”

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- 11 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὄψεως θεάμασι λογιζόμενος εὐρίσκω μειονεκτοῦντας τοὺς τυράννους ἄλλα μὲν γε ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς πόλεις ἃς ἂν βούλωνται καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις, ἔνθα ἂ<sup>1</sup> ἀξιοθεατότατα
- 12 δοκεῖ ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὔτε τὰ οἴκοι κέκτηνται ἐχυρά, ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδημεῖν. φοβερὸν γάρ, μὴ ἅμα στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι γένωνται τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς
- 13 ἀδικήσαντας. εἴποις οὖν ἂν ἴσως σύ, Ἄλλ' ἄρα ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσι. ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδῃ, ὀλίγα γε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὕτω τίμια πωλεῖται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὥστε οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἀξιούσι πολλαπλάσια λαβόντες ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀπιέναι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἢ ὅσα ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων κτῶνται.
- 14 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' εἰ τοῖς θεάμασι μειονεκτεῖτε, διὰ γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε. ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἠδίστου ἀκροάματος, ἐπαίνου, οὐποτε σπανίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ὑμῖν πάντα καὶ ὅσα ἂν λέγητε καὶ ὅσα ἂν ποιῆτε ἐπαινοῦσι. τοῦ δ' αὖ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος, λοιδορίας, ἀνήκοοί ἐστε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλει τύραννον κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς κακηγορεῖν.<sup>3</sup>
- 15 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπε, Καὶ τί οἶει, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ

<sup>1</sup> & Lenklau τὰ Sauppe with the MSS. and Stobaeus.

## HIERO, I. 11-15

"In the first place, then, taking the objects that 11  
 we perceive by means of vision, I find by calculation  
 that in regard to sight-seeing, despots are worse off.  
 In every land there are things worth seeing and in  
 search of these private citizens visit any city they  
 choose, and attend the national festivals, where all  
 things reputed to be most worth seeing are assembled  
 But despots are not at all concerned with missions 12  
 to shows For it is risky for them to go where they  
 will be no stronger than the crowd, and their pro-  
 perty at home is too insecure to be left in charge  
 of others while they are abroad For they fear to  
 lose their throne, and at the same time to be unable  
 to take vengeance on the authors of the wrong.  
 Perhaps you may say 'But, after all, such spectacles 13  
 come to them even if they stay at home' No, no,  
 Simonides, only one in a hundred such, and what  
 there are of them are offered to despots at a price  
 so exorbitant that showmen who exhibit some trifle  
 expect to leave the court in an hour with far more  
 money than they get from all the rest of the world  
 in a lifetime."

"Ah," said Simonides, "but if you are worse off 14  
 in the matter of sight-seeing, the sense of hearing,  
 you know, gives you the advantage. Praise, the  
 sweetest of all sounds, is never lacking, for all your  
 courtiers praise everything you do and every word  
 you utter. Abuse, on the contrary, that most offensive  
 of sounds, is never in your ears, for no one likes to  
 speak evil of a despot in his presence."

"And what pleasure," asked Hiero, "comes, do 15

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<sup>2</sup> συναγείρεται Lenklau συναγείρεσθαι Sauppe with the  
 MSS and Stobaeus

<sup>3</sup> τύραννον . . . κατηγορεῖν Cobet Sauppe reads τυράννου  
 . . . κατηγορεῖν with the MSS. and Stobaeus



## XENOPHON

λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδῆ τις σαφῶς, ὅτι οἱ σιωπῶντες οὗτοι πάντα κακὰ νοοῦσι τῷ τυράνῳ; ἢ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν ὑποπτοὶ ᾧσιν ἔνεκα τοῦ κολακεύειν τοὺς ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι;

- 16 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία ἔγωγέ σοι, Ἰέρων, πάνυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς ἐπαίνους παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων ἠδίστους εἶναι, ἀλλ', ὄρας, ἐκεῖνό γε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πείσαις ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὡς οὐχὶ δι' ᾧν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πολὺ πλείω ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε.
- 17 Καὶ οἶδά γε, ἔφη, ᾧ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι τούτῳ κρίνουσιν οἱ πλείστοι ἠδίων ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠδίων ἂν δειπνήσαι τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερ-
- 18 βάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς ἡδονάς. διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἠδέως προσδέχονται τὰς ἐορτὰς πλὴν οἱ τυράννοι· ἐκπλεῶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ παρεσκευασμένοι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἰ τράπεζαι αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν· ὥστε ταύτῃ πρῶτον τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν
- 19 ἰδιωτῶν. ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω τις παραθῆται τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν, τοσοῦτῳ θάπτον κόρος ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς ὥστε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρατιθέμενος πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως διαιτωμένων.
- 20 Ἄλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἢ ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡδονται οἱ ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων.

HIERO, I. 15-20

you suppose, of this shrinking from evil words, when one knows well that all harbour evil thoughts against the despot, in spite of their silence? Or what pleasure comes of this praise, do you think, when the praises sound suspiciously like flattery?"

"Well yes," replied Simonides, "in this of course 16 I agree with you entirely, Hiero, that praise from the freest is sweetest. But this, now, you will not persuade anyone to believe, that the things which support human life do not yield you a far greater number of pleasures."

"Yes, Simonides, and I know that the reason 17 why most men judge that we have more enjoyment in eating and drinking than private citizens is this; they think that they themselves would find the dinner served at our table better eating than what they get. Anything, in fact, that is better than what they are accustomed to gives them pleasure. This is why all men look forward to the festivals, 18 except the despots. For then table is always laden with plenty, and admits of no extras on feast days. Here then is one pleasure in respect of which they are worse off than the private citizen, the pleasure of anticipation. But further, your own experience tells 19 you, I am sure, that the greater the number of superfluous dishes set before a man, the sooner a feeling of repletion comes over him; and so, as regards the duration of his pleasure too, the man who has many courses put before him is worse off than the moderate liver."

"But surely," said Simonides, "so long as the 20 appetite holds out, the man who dines at the costlier banquet has far more pleasure than he who is served with the cheaper meal."

## XENOPHON

- 21 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, τὸν ἐκάστω ἠδόμενον μάλιστα, τοῦτον οἶεῖ καὶ ἐρωτικώτατα ἔχειν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ;  
 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.  
 Ἦ οὖν ὄρας τι τοὺς τυράννους ἠδίου ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρασκευὴν ἰόντας ἢ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ;  
 Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγλυεκέστερον, ὡς πολλοῖς ἂν δόξειε.
- 22 Τί γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανήματα κατανεύηκας, ἀ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὀξέα καὶ δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά ;  
 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις.
- 23 Ἄλλο τι οὖν οἶε, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσματα εἶναι ἢ μαλακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης τρυφῆ ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα ; ἐπεὶ εὖ οἶδ' ἔγωγε, ὅτι οἱ ἠδέως ἐσθίοντες, καὶ σύ που οἶσθα, ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων.
- 24 Ἄλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, τῶν γε πολυτελῶν ὀσμῶν τούτων, αἷς χρίεσθε, τοὺς πλησιάζοντας οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἀπολαύειν ἢ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τῶν ἀχαρίτων ὀσμῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ βεβρωκῶς αἰσθάνεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ πλησιάζοντες.
- 25 Οὕτω μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, καὶ τῶν σίτων ὁ μὲν ἔχων παντοδαπὰ ἀεὶ οὐδὲν μετὰ πόθου αὐτῶν λαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ σπανίσας τινός οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μετὰ χαρᾶς πιμπλάμενος, ὅταν αὐτῷ προφανῆ τι.
- 26 Κινδυνεύουσιν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, αἱ τῶν ἀφρο-

HIERO, I. 21-26

"Don't you think, Simonides, that the greater a man's pleasure in any occupation the stronger is his devotion to it?"

"Certainly"

"Then do you notice that despots fall to their meal with any more zest than private persons to theirs?"

"No, no, of course not, I should rather say with more disgust, according to the common opinion"

"Well now," said Hiero, "have you observed all those pickles and sauces that are put before despots—acid, bitter, astringent and so forth?"

"Yes, certainly; and very unnatural cates I think them for human beings."

"Don't you look on these condiments, then, as mere fads of a jaded and pampered appetite? I know well enough, and I expect you know too, that hearty eaters have no need of these concoctions"

"Well, I certainly think that those costly unguents with which you anoint your bodies afford more satisfaction to those who are near you than to yourselves, just as the man who has eaten rank food is less conscious of the disagreeable smell than those who come near him."

"Quite so, and we may add that he who has all sorts of food at all times has no stomach for any sort. Offer a man a dish that he seldom tastes, and he eats a bellyful with gusto."

"It seems," remarked Simonides, "as if the

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- δισίων μόνον ὑμῖν ἀπολαύσεις τοῦ τυραννεῖν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας παρέχειν· ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ἕξεστιν ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν κάλλιστον ἴδητε τούτῳ συνεῖναι.
- 27 Νῦν δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, εἴρηκας ἐν ᾧ γε, σάφ' ἴσθι, μειονεκτοῦμεν τῶν ιδιωτῶν πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ γάμος ὁ μὲν ἐκ μειζόνων δήπου καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει κάλλιστος δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ παρέχειν τινὰ τῷ γήμαντι φιλοτιμίαν μεθ' ἡδονῆς. δεύτερος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων· ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν φανλοτέρων
- 28 πάνυ ἄτιμός τε καὶ ἄχρηστος νομίζεται. τῷ τοίνυν τυράννῳ, ἂν μὴ ξένην γῆμη, ἀνάγκη ἐκ μειόνων γαμῆν, ὥστε τὸ ἀγαπητὸν οὐ πάνυ αὐτῷ παραγίγνεται. πολὺ δὲ καὶ αἱ θεραπείαι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μέγιστον φρονουσῶν γυναικῶν εὐφραίνουσι μάλιστα, αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δούλων παροῦσαι μὲν οὐδέν τι ἀγαπῶνται, ἐὰν δέ τι ἐλλείπωσι, δεινὰς ὀργὰς καὶ λύπας ἐμποιοῦσιν.
- 29 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς παιδικαῖς ἀφροδισίοις ἔτι αὖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς τεκνοποιαῖς μειονεκτεῖ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν ὁ τύραννος. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια πολὺ διαφερόντως εὐφραίνει,
- 30 πάντες δήπου ἐπιστάμεθα. ὁ δὲ ἔρωσ πολὺ αὖ ἐθέλει ἠκιστα τῷ τυράννῳ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἐτοίμων ἡδεται ὁ ἔρωσ ἐφιέμενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων. ὥσπερ οὖν οὐκ ἂν<sup>1</sup> τις ἄπειρος ὦν δίψους τοῦ πιεῖν ἀπολαύει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄπειρος ὦν ἔρωτος ἄπειρός ἐστι τῶν ἡδίστων ἀφροδισίων.
- 31 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰέρων οὕτως εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἐπιγελάσας, Πῶς λέγεις, ἔφη, ᾧ Ἰέρων; τυράννῳ οὐ φῆς παιδικῶν ἔρωτας ἐμφύεσθαι; πῶς μὴν
- <sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἔν Stephanus εἰ S. with the MSS. and Stobaeus.

satisfaction of the carnal appetites were the only motive that produces in you the craving for despotism. For in this matter you are free to enjoy the fairest that meets your eye."

"I assure you that we are worse off than private 27 citizens in the matter to which you now refer. First take marriage. It is commonly held that a marriage into a family of greater wealth and influence is most honourable, and is a source of pride and pleasure to the bridegroom. Next to that comes a marriage with equals. A marriage with inferiors is considered positively degrading and useless. Now unless a 28 despot marries a foreign girl, he is bound to marry beneath him, and so the thing to be desired does not come his way. And whereas it is exceedingly pleasant to receive the attentions of the proudest of ladies, the attentions of slaves are quite unappreciated when shown, and any little shortcomings produce grievous outbursts of anger and annoyance."

"In his relations with favourites, again, even much 29 more than in his relations with women, the despot is at a disadvantage. We all know, I suppose, that passion increases the sweets of love beyond measure. Passion, however, is very shy of entering the heart 30 of a despot, for passion is fain to desire not the easy prize, but the hoped-for joy. Therefore, just as a man who is a stranger to thirst can get no satisfaction out of drinking, so he who is a stranger to passion is a stranger to love's sweetest pleasures."

To this speech of Hiero's Simonides replied, 31 laughing.

"How say you, Hiero? You deny that passion springs up in a despot's heart? Then how about

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συ, ἔφη, ἐρᾶς Δαιλόχου τοῦ καλλίστου ἐπικαλου-  
μένου ;

- 32 Ὅτι μὰ τὸν Δί, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, οὐ τοῦ  
έτοιμου παρ' αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι τυχεῖν τούτου  
μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἥκιστα τυράννω  
33 προσήκοντος κατεργάσασθαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ δὴ ἐρῶ  
μὲν Δαιλόχου ὧνπερ ἴσως ἀναγκάζει ἢ φύσις  
ἀνθρώπου δεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν καλῶν, τούτων δὲ  
ὧν ἐρῶ τυχεῖν, μετὰ μὲν φιλίας καὶ παρὰ  
βουλομένου πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμῶ τυγχάνειν,  
βία δὲ λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦττον ἂν μοι δοκῶ  
34 ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ ἔμαυτὸν κακόν τι ποιεῖν. παρὰ μὲν  
γὰρ πολεμίων ἀκόντων λαμβάνειν πάντων ἡδιστον  
ἔγωγε νομίζω εἶναι, παρὰ δὲ παιδικῶν βουλομένων  
35 ἡδισται οἶμαι αἱ χάριτές εἰσιν. εὐθύς γὰρ παρὰ  
τοῦ ἀντιφιλοῦντος ἡδεῖται μὲν αἱ ἀντιβλέψεις,  
ἡδεῖται δὲ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις, ἡδεῖται δὲ αἱ ἀποκρίσεις,  
ἡδισται δὲ καὶ ἐπαφροδιτόταται αἱ μάχαι τε  
36 καὶ ἔριδες· τὸ δὲ ἀκόντων παιδικῶν ἀπολαύειν  
ληλασία, ἔφη, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἰκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ  
ἀφροδισίοις. καίτοι τῷ μὲν ληστήῃ παρέχει τινὰς  
ὅμως ἡδονὰς τό τε κέρδος καὶ τὸ ἀνιᾶν τὸν  
ἐχθρόν· τὸ δὲ οὐ ἂν ἐρᾶ τις τούτῳ ἡδεσθαι  
ἀνωμένῳ καὶ φιλοῦντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ ἄπτεσθαι  
ἀχθομένου πῶς οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἤδη δυσχερὲς τὸ  
37 πάθημα καὶ οἰκτρόν ; καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰδιώτῃ  
εὐθύς τεκμήριόν ἐστιν, ὅταν ὁ ἐρώμενός τι  
ὑπουργῇ, ὅτι ὡς φιλῶν χαρίζεται, διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι,  
ὅτι οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης οὔσης ὑπηρετεῖ, τῷ δὲ  
τυράννω οὐποτ' ἐστι πιστεῦσαι, ὡς φιλεῖται.  
38 ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ τοὺς<sup>1</sup> διὰ φόβον ὑπηρετοῦντας  
ὡς ἢ μάλιστ' ἂν δύνωνται ἐξεικάζουσιν αὐτοὺς

your passion for Dailochus, whom they call most fair<sup>2</sup>”

“Why, Simonides, the explanation, of course, is 32  
 this. I desire to get from him not what I may have,  
 apparently, for the asking, but that which a despot  
 should be the last to take. The fact is, I desire of 33  
 Dailochus just that which human nature, maybe,  
 drives us to ask of the fair. But what I long to get,  
 I very strongly desire to obtain by his goodwill,  
 and with his consent, but I think I could sooner  
 desire to do myself an injury than to take it from  
 him by force. For to take from an enemy against 34  
 his will is, I think, the greatest of all pleasures, but  
 favours from a loved one are very pleasant, I fancy,  
 only when he consents. For instance, if he is in 35  
 sympathy with you, how pleasant are his looks, how  
 pleasant his questions and his answers, how very  
 pleasant and ravishing are the struggles and bicker-  
 ings. But to take advantage of a favourite against 36  
 his will seems to me more like brigandage than  
 love. Nay, your brigand finds some pleasure in his  
 gain and in hurting his foe; but to feel pleasure in  
 hurting one whom you love, to be hated for your  
 affection, to disgust him by your touch, surely that  
 is a mortifying experience and pitiful! The fact is, 37  
 a private citizen has instant proof that any act of  
 compliance on the part of his beloved is prompted by  
 affection, since he knows that the service rendered  
 is due to no compulsion; but the despot can never  
 feel sure that he is loved. For we know that acts 38  
 of service prompted by fear copy as closely as

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<sup>2</sup> τοὺς Dindorf: αὐτοὺς τοὺς S : αὐτοὺς MSS.



ταῖς τῶν φιλοῦντων ὑπουργαίαις. καὶ τοῖνυν αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ ἐξ οὐδένων πλέονες τοῖς τυράννοις εἰσὶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν μάλιστα φιλεῖν αὐτοὺς προσποιησαμένων.

- II. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πάνυ ἔμοιγε μικρὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἃ σὺ λέγεις. πολλοὺς γάρ, ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὀρῶ τῶν δοκούντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἐκόντας μειονεκτοῦντας καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ὄψων καὶ ἀφροδισίων
- 2 γε ἀπεχομένους. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνοις γε πολὺ διαφέρετε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι μεγάλα μὲν ἐπινοεῖτε, ταχὺ δὲ κατεργάζεσθε, πλείστα δὲ τὰ περιττὰ ἔχετε, κέκτησθε δὲ διαφέροντας μὲν ἀρετῇ ἵππους, διαφέροντα δὲ κάλλει ὄπλα, ὑπερέχοντα δὲ κόσμον γυναιξί, μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας δ' οἰκίας καὶ ταύτας κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστου ἀξίοις, ἔτι δὲ πλήθει καὶ ἐπιστήμαις θεράποντας ἀρίστους κέκτησθε, ἰκανώτατοι δ' ἐστὲ κακῶσαι μὲν ἐχθροὺς, ὀνήσαι δὲ φίλους.
- 3 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οὐδέν τι θαυμάζω· μάλα γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος μοι δοκεῖ δοξάζειν ὀρῶν καὶ εὐδαιμονίας
- 4 τινὰς εἶναι καὶ ἀθλίους· ἢ δὲ τυραννὶς τὰ μὲν δοκούντα πολλοῦ ἄξια κτήματα εἶναι ἀνεπτυγμένα θεᾶσθαι πᾶσι παρέχεται, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τυράννων κέκτηται ἀποκεκρυμμένα, ἔνθα περ καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ τὸ κακο-
- 5 δαιμονεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόκειται. τὸ μὲν οὖν τὸ πλῆθος περὶ τούτου λεληθῆναι, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οὐ θαυμάζω· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν, οἱ διὰ τῆς γνώμης θεᾶσθαι δοκεῖτε κάλλιον ἢ διὰ τῶν

possible the ministrations of affection. Indeed, even plots against despots as often as not are the work of those who profess the deepest affection for them ”

II To this Simonides replied : “ Well, the points that you raise seem to me mere trifles. For I notice that many respected men willingly go short in the matter of meat and drink and delicacies, and deliberately abstain from sexual indulgence. But I will 2 show you where you have a great advantage over private citizens Your objects are vast, your attainment swift; you have luxuries in abundance: you own houses unequalled in excellence, arms unmatched in beauty, superb jewelry for women, stately houses full of costly furniture moreover you have servants many in number and excellent in accomplishments and you are rich in power to harm enemies and reward friends ”

To this Hiero answered: “ Well, Simonides, 3 that the multitude should be deceived by despotic power surprises me not at all, since the mob seems to guess wholly by appearances that one man is happy, another miserable Despotism flaunts its 4 seeming precious treasures outspread before the gaze of the world but its troubles it keeps concealed in the heart of the despot, in the place where human happiness and unhappiness are stored away That this escapes the observation of the multitude I 5 say, I am not surprised But what does seem surprising to me is that men like you, whose intelligence is supposed to give you a clearer view of

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ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ πλείστα τῶν πραγμάτων, τοῦτο  
 6 μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ πεπειραμένος  
 σαφῶς οἶδα, ὡς Σιμωνίδη, καὶ λέγω σοι, ὅτι οἱ  
 τύραννοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐλάχιστα μετέ-  
 χουσι, τῶν δὲ μεγίστων κακῶν πλείστα κέκτην-  
 7 ται. αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰ μὲν εἰρήνη δοκεῖ μέγα  
 ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ταύτης ἐλάχιστον  
 τοῖς τυράννοις μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα  
 κακόν, τούτου πλείστον μέρος οἱ τύραννοι μετέ-  
 8 χουσιν. εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις, ἂν μὴ ἢ  
 πόλις αὐτῶν κοινὸν πόλεμον πολεμῆ, ἕξεστιν  
 ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν φοβου-  
 μένους, μὴ τις αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι  
 πάντες πανταχῆ ὡς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύονται.  
 αὐτοὶ τε γοῦν ὀπλισμένοι οἴονται ἀνάγκη εἶναι  
 9 διάγειν καὶ ἄλλους ὀπλοφόρους αἰεὶ συμπεριάγε-  
 σθαι.

Ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται, ἔαν καὶ στρα-  
 τεύωνται ποι εἰς πολεμίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδὰν  
 γε ἔλθωσιν οἴκαδε, ἀσφάλειαν σφίσις ἡγούνηται  
 εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν  
 πόλιν ἀφίκωνται, τότε ἐν πλείστοις πολεμίοις  
 10 ἴσασιν ὄντες. ἔαν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι στρατεύωσιν  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρείττους, ἔαν ἕξω τοῦ τείχους  
 ὄντες οἱ ἥττους ἐν κινδύνῳ δοκῶσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπειδὰν γε εἴσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἔλθωσιν, ἐν  
 ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζουσι καθεστάναι, ὁ δὲ  
 τύραννος οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας παρέλθῃ  
 ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα  
 11 φυλακτέον οἴεται εἶναι. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις  
 καὶ διὰ σπουδῶν καὶ δι' εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου  
 ἀνάπαυσις, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὔτε εἰρήνη ποτὲ

most things than your eyes, should be equally blind to it. But I know well enough by experience, Simonides, and I tell you that despots get the smallest share of the greatest blessings, and have most of the greatest evils. Thus, for instance, if peace is held to be a great blessing to mankind, very little of it falls to the share of despots: if war is a great evil, of that despots receive the largest share. To begin with, so long as their state is not engaged in a war in which all take part, private citizens are free to go wherever they choose without fear of being killed. But all despots move everywhere as in an enemy's country, at any rate they think they are bound to wear arms continually themselves, and to take an armed escort about with them at all times.

“Secondly, in the event of an expedition against an enemy's country, private citizens at least think themselves safe as soon as they have come home. But when despots reach their own city, they know that they are now among more enemies than ever. Again, suppose that strangers invade their city in superior force, true, the weaker are conscious of danger while they are outside the walls; yet once they are inside the fortress, all feel themselves bestowed in safety. But the despot is not out of danger even when he passes within the palace gates, nay, it is just there that he thinks he must walk most warily. Once again, to private citizens a truce or peace brings rest from war; but despots are never at peace with the people subject to their

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- πρὸς τοὺς τυραννεομένους γίνεται οὔτε σπου-  
δαῖς ἂν ποτε πιστεύσας ὁ τύραννος θαρρήσειε.
- 12 Καὶ πόλεμοι μὲν δὴ εἰσιν οὓς τε αἱ πόλεις  
πολεμοῦσι καὶ οὓς οἱ τύραννοι πρὸς τοὺς βεβιασ-  
μένους· τούτων δὴ τῶν πολέμων ὅσα μὲν ἔχει  
χαλεπὰ ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, ταῦτα καὶ ὁ τύραννος  
13 ἔχει· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὄπλοις δεῖ εἶναι ἀμφοτέρους  
καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν, καὶ ἂν τι  
πάθωσι κακὸν ἠττηθέντες, λυποῦνται ἐπὶ τούτοις  
14 ἑκάτεροι. μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτου ἴσοι οἱ πόλεμοι  
ἂ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἡδέα οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς  
15 πόλεις ταῦτα οὐκ ἔτι ἔχουσιν οἱ τύραννοι. αἱ  
μὲν γὰρ πόλεις δήπου ὅταν κρατήσωσι μάχῃ τῶν  
ἐναντίων, οὐ ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν, ὅσῃ μὲν ἡδονὴν  
ἔχουσιν ἐν τῷ τρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅσῃ  
δ' ἐν τῷ διώκειν, ὅσῃ δ' ἐν τῷ ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς  
πολεμίους, ὡς δὲ γαυροῦνται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς δὲ  
δόξαν λαμπρὰν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ὡς δ' εὐφραί-  
16 νονται τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες ἠύξηκέναι. ἕκαστος  
δέ τις προσποιεῖται καὶ τῆς βουλῆς μετεσχηκέναι  
καὶ πλείστους ἀπεκτονέειν, χαλεπὸν δὲ εὐρεῖν  
ὅπου οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιψεύδονται, πλέονας φάσκοντες  
ἀπεκτονέειν ἢ ὅσοι ἂν τῷ ὄντι ἀποθάνωσιν· οὕτω  
17 καλόν τι αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πολὺ νικᾶν. ὁ δὲ  
τύραννος ὅταν ὑποπτέυσῃ καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῷ  
ὄντι ἀντιπραττομένους τινὰς ἀποκτείνῃ, οἶδεν, ὅτι  
οὐκ αὔξει ὅλην τὴν πόλιν, ἐπίσταται τε, ὅτι  
μειόνων ἄρξει, φαιδρός τε οὐ δύναται εἶναι οὐδὲ  
μεγαλύνεται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μειοὶ καθ'  
ὅσου ἂν δύνηται τὸ γεγενημένον καὶ ἀπολογεῖται

<sup>1</sup> *z.e.* in the wars that he wages against his subjects. The whole of this paragraph is obscurely expressed and highly  
20

HIERO, II. 11-17

despotism, and no prince can ever make a despot confident

“There are, of course, wars that are waged by 12  
states against one another, and wars waged by the  
despot against his oppressed subjects. Now the  
hardships incidental to these wars that fall on  
the citizen fall also on the despot. For both must 13  
wear arms, be watchful, run risks; and the sting  
of a defeat is felt by both alike. So far, then, 14  
both are equally affected by wars. But the joys  
that fall to the citizens of states at war are not  
experienced by despots<sup>1</sup>. For, you know, when states 15  
defeat their foes in a battle, words fail one to  
describe the joy they feel in the rout of the enemy,  
in the pursuit, in the slaughter of the enemy.  
What transports of triumphant pride! What a halo  
of glory about them! What comfort to think that  
they have exalted their city! Everyone is crying: 16  
‘I had a share in the plan, I killed most’; and it’s  
hard to find where they don’t revel in falsehood,  
claiming to have killed more than all that were really  
slain. So glorious it seems to them to have won a  
great victory! But when a despot harbours sus- 17  
picion, and, well aware that opposition is on  
foot, puts the conspirators to death, he knows  
that he does not exalt the city as a whole; he  
understands that the number of his subjects will be  
less; he cannot look cheerful; nor does he boast  
himself of his achievement; nay, he belittles  
the occurrence as much as possible, and explains,  
while he is at the work, that there is nothing

artificial; and it has been variously interpreted. The text also is uncertain.

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18 ἄμα πράττων, ὡς οὐκ ἀδικῶν<sup>1</sup> πεποιήκεν. οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι. καὶ ὅταν ἀποθάνωσιν οὓς ἐφοβήθη, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τούτου θαρρεῖ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. καὶ πόλεμον μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔχων διατελεῖ ὁ τύραννος, ὃν ἐγὼ δηλῶ.

III. Φιλίας δ' αὖ καταθέασαι ὡς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι. πρῶτον μὲν εἰ μέγα ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώ-  
 2 ποις ἢ φιλία, τοῦτο ἐπισκεψώμεθα. ὃς γὰρ ἂν φιληται δήπου ὑπὸ τινων, ἡδέως μὲν τοῦτον οἱ φιλοῦντες παρόντα ὀρώσιν, ἡδέως δ' εὖ ποιούσι, ποθοῦσι δέ, ἅν που ἀπῆ, ἡδιστα δὲ πάλιν προσιόντα δέχονται, συνήδονται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθοῖς, συνεπικουροῦσι δέ, εἴαν τι σφαλλόμενον  
 3 ὀρώσιν. οὐ μὲν δὴ λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι ἢ φιλία μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡδιστον ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ· μόνους γοῦν τοὺς μοιχοὺς νομίζουσι πολλὰ τῶν πόλεων νηπιονὶ ἀποκτείνειν, δηλὸν ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι λυμαντήρας αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι.  
 4 ἐπεὶ ὅταν γε ἀφροδισιασθῆ κατὰ συμφορὰν τινα γυνή, οὐδὲν ἤττον τούτου ἕνεκεν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς οἱ ἄνδρες, εἴανπερ ἢ φιλία δοκῆ αὐταῖς ἀκήρατος  
 5 διαμένειν. τοσοῦτον δέ τι ἀγαθὸν κρίνω ἔγωγε τὸ φιλεῖσθαι εἶναι, ὥστε νομίζω τῷ ὄντι αὐτόματα τὰγαθὰ τῷ φιλουμένῳ γίγνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων.  
 6 Καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος τοιοῦτου ὄντος μειονεκτοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι πάντων μάλιστα. εἰ

<sup>1</sup> *Cyropaedia*, I vi. 24

<sup>2</sup> ἐπεὶ should be rendered "though," not "since" here,

wrong in what he has done, so far are his deeds from seeming honourable even to himself. Even 18 the death of those whom he feared does not restore him to confidence; he is yet more on his guard afterwards than before. And now I have shown you the kind of war that a despot wages continually.

III "Turn next to friendship, and behold how despots share in it. First let us consider whether friendship is a great blessing to mankind. When a 2 man is loved by friends, I take it, they rejoice at his presence, delight to do him good, miss him when he is absent, greet him most joyfully on his return, rejoice with him in his good fortune, unite in aiding him when they see him tripping<sup>1</sup>. Even states are 3 not blind to the fact that friendship is a very great blessing, and very delightful to men. At any rate, many states have a law that adulterers only may be put to death with impunity, obviously for this reason, because they believe them to be destroyers of the wife's friendship with her husband, although,<sup>2</sup> 4 when a woman's lapse is the result of some accident, husbands do not honour their wives any less on that account, provided that wives seem to reserve their affection unblemished. In my judgment, to be 5 loved is a blessing so precious that I believe good things fall literally *of themselves* on him who is loved from gods and men alike.

"Such, then, is the nature of this possession—a 6 possession wherein despots above all other men are

for it introduces a reason why one might suppose that there would be some restriction on the right to kill an adulterer, and *not* the reason why all adulterers may be killed with impunity. Compare, for instance, Plato, *Protagoras*, 335 c. The "accident" is, of course, rape.



## XENOPHON

δὲ βούλει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω,  
 7 ὧδε ἐπίσκεψαι. βεβαιόταται μὲν γὰρ δῆπου  
 δοκοῦσι φιλίαι εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς παῖδας καὶ  
 παισὶ πρὸς γονέας καὶ ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς ἀδελφούς  
 καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἑταίροις πρὸς  
 8 ἑταίρους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοεῖν, εὐρήσεις  
 μὲν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ὑπὸ τούτων μάλιστα φιλου-  
 μένους, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους πολλοὺς μὲν παῖδας  
 ἑαυτῶν ἀπεκτονότας, πολλοὺς δ' ὑπὸ παίδων  
 αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδελφούς ἐν  
 τυραυνίᾳ ἀλληλοφόνους γεγενημένους, πολλοὺς  
 δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἑαυτῶν τυράννους  
 διεφθαρμένους καὶ ὑπὸ ἑταίρων γε τῶν μάλιστα  
 9 δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι. οὔτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φιλεῖν καὶ νόμῳ  
 συνηναγκασμένων οὕτω μισοῦνται, πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου  
 γέ τινος οἴεσθαι χρὴ αὐτοὺς φιλεῖσθαι ;

IV. Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ πίστεως ὅστις ἐλάχιστον  
 μετέχει, πῶς οὐχὶ μεγάλου ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ ;  
 ποία μὲν γὰρ συνουσία ἡδεῖα ἄνευ πίστεως τῆς  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ποία δ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τερπνὴ  
 ἄνευ πίστεως ὁμιλία, ποῖος δὲ θεράπων ἡδὺς  
 2 ἀπιστούμενος ; καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ πιστῶς  
 πρὸς τινος ἔχειν ἐλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράννω·  
 ὅποτε γε οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων, πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς,  
 τοὺς διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύουσιν ἀπογεύσασθαι  
 διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν, μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακόν τι  
 3 φάγωσιν ἢ πίωσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ πατρίδες  
 τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις πλείστου ἄξιαί.  
 πολῖται γὰρ δορυφοροῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους ἄνευ  
 μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους, δορυφοροῦσι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς

stinted If you want to know that I am speaking  
 the truth, Simonides, consider the question in this  
 way. The firmest friendships, I take it, are sup- 7  
 posed to be those that unite parents to children,  
 children to parents, wives to husbands, comrades  
 to comrades Now you will find, if you will but 8  
 observe, that private citizens are, in fact, loved most  
 deeply by these But what of despots? Many have  
 slain their own children; many have themselves  
 been murdered by their children, many brothers,  
 partners in despotism, have perished by each other's  
 hand, many have been destroyed even by their  
 own wives,<sup>1</sup> aye, and by comrades whom they  
 accounted their closest friends Seeing, then, 9  
 that they are so hated by those who are bound by  
 natural ties and constrained by custom to love them  
 most, how are we to suppose that they are loved by  
 any other being?

IV. "Next take confidence. Surely he who has  
 very little of that is stinted in a great blessing?  
 What companionship is pleasant without mutual  
 trust? What intercourse between husband and  
 wife is delightful without confidence? What squire  
 is pleasant if he is not trusted? Now of this con- 2  
 fidence in others despots enjoy the smallest share  
 They go in constant suspicion even of their meat and  
 drink, they bid their servitors taste them first,  
 before the libation is offered to the gods, because  
 of their misgiving that they may sup poison in the  
 dish or the bowl Again, to all other men their 3  
 fatherland is very precious. For citizens ward one  
 another without pay from their slaves and from

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

## XENOPHON

- κακούργους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα φῶν πολιτῶν βιαίω  
 4 θανάτῳ ἀποθνήσκειν. οὕτω δὲ πόρρω προελήλυ-  
 θασι φυλακῆς, ὥστε πεποίηνται πολλοὶ νόμον τῷ  
 μισαιφόνῳ μηδὲ τὸν συνόντα καθαρῆσαι· ὥστε διὰ  
 τὰς πατρίδας ἀσφαλῶς ἕκαστος βιοτεύει τῶν  
 5 πολιτῶν. τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν  
 ἀνέστραπται. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αὐτοῖς αἱ  
 πόλεις μεγάλως τιμῶσι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν  
 τύραννον, καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ εἶργειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν,  
 ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν φονέας, ἀντὶ τούτου καὶ  
 εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰστᾶσιν αἱ πόλεις τῶν τοῦτο  
 ποιησάντων.
- 6 Εἰ δὲ σὺ οἶει, ὡς πλείω ἔχων τῶν ἰδιωτῶν κτή-  
 ματα ὁ τύραννος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλείω ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
 εὐφραίνεται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς Σιμωνίδη,  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθληταὶ οὐχ ὅταν ἰδιωτῶν γένων-  
 ται κρείττονες, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει, ἀλλ' ὅταν  
 τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἤττους, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἀνιά,  
 οὕτω καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐχ ὅταν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλείω  
 φαίνεται ἔχων, τότε εὐφραίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐτέ-  
 ρων τυράννων ἐλάττω ἔχη, τούτῳ λυπείται· τού-  
 τος γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἠγεῖται αὐτῷ τοῦ πλούτου  
 7 εἶναι. οὐδέ γε θᾶπτόν τι γίγνεται τῷ τυράννῳ ἢ  
 τῷ ἰδιώτῃ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώτης οἰκίας ἢ  
 ἀγροῦ ἢ οἰκέτου ἐπιθυμεῖ, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἢ πόλεων  
 ἢ χώρας πολλῆς ἢ λιμένων ἢ ἀκροπόλεων ἰσχυ-  
 ρῶν, ἃ ἔστι πολὺ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα  
 κατεργάσασθαι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων.
- 8 ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ πένητας ὄψει<sup>1</sup> οὕτως ὀλίγους  
 τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὡς πολλοὺς τῶν τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ  
 τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ

HIERO, IV. 3-8

evildoers, to the end that none of the citizens may perish by a violent death. They have gone so far 4 in measures of precaution that many have made a law whereby even the companion of the bloodguilty is deemed impure, and so—thanks to the fatherland—every citizen lives in security. But for despots 5 the position is the reverse in this case too. Instead of avenging them, the cities heap honours on the slayer of the despot, and, whereas they exclude the murderers of private persons from the temples, the cities, so far from treating assassins in the same manner, actually put up statues of them in the holy places.

“If you suppose that just because he has more 6 possessions than the private citizen, the despot gets more enjoyment out of them, this is not so either, Simonides. Trained athletes feel no pleasure when they prove superior to amateurs, but they are cut to the quick when they are beaten by a rival athlete, in like manner the despot feels no pleasure when he is seen to possess more than private citizens, but is vexed when he has less than other despots; for he regards them as his rivals in wealth. Nor even 7 does the despot gain the object of his desire any quicker than the private citizen. For the private citizen desires a house or a farm or a servant; but the despot covets cities or wide territory or harbours or strong citadels, and these are far more difficult and perilous to acquire than the objects that attract the citizen. And, moreover, you will find that even 8 poverty is rarer among private citizens than among despots. For much and little are to be measured not

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<sup>1</sup> ὄψει οὐχ S. with the MSS. and Stobaeus: οὐχ was removed by Bremi.

## XENOPHON

ὀλίγα,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις· ὥστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἱκανὰ πολλά ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ τῶν  
 9 ἱκανῶν ἐλλείποντα ὀλίγα. τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια ἤττου ἱκανά ἐστὶν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα ἢ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις ἕξεστι τὰς δαπάνας συντέμνειν εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν, ὅπη βούλονται, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. αἱ γὰρ μέγισται αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ ἀναγκαιόταται εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς φυλακὰς εἰσι· τὸ δὲ τούτων συντέμνειν ὀλεθρὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι.  
 10 ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν δύνανται ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσων δέονται, τί ἂν τούτους οἰκτεῖροι τις ὡς πένητας; ὅσοι δ' ἀναγκάζονται δι' ἔνδειαν κακόν τι καὶ αἰσχροὺς μηχανώμενοι ζῆν, πῶς οὐ τούτους  
 11 ἀθλίους ἂν τις καὶ πένητας δικαίως καλοῖη; οἱ τύραννοι τοίνυν ἀναγκάζονται πλεῖστα συλᾶν ἀδίκως καὶ ἱερά καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαῖας δαπάνας αἰεὶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων. ὥσπερ γὰρ πολέμου ὄντος αἰεὶ ἀναγκάζονται στρατεύματα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολωλέναι.

V. Χαλεπὸν δ' ἐρῶ σοι καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ᾧ Σιμωνίδῃ, τῶν τυράννων. γινώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἤττου τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἀλκίμους<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ δικαίους. τούτους δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγασθαι φοβοῦνται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους, μὴ τι τολμήσωσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἕνεκεν, τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς, μὴ τι μηχανήσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους, μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃ  
 2 τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ' αὐτῶν προστατεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ τὸν φόβον ὑπεξαίρωνται, τίνες ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρῆσθαι ἄλλ' ἢ οἱ ἄδικοί τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις; οἱ μὲν ἄδικοι πιστευόμενοι, διότι φοβοῦνται ὥσπερ

by number, but in relation to the owner's needs; so that what is more than enough is much, and what is less than enough is little. Therefore, the 9  
despot with his abundance of wealth has less to meet his necessary expenses than the private citizen. For while private citizens can cut down the daily expenditure as they please, despots cannot, since the largest items in their expenses and the most essential are the sums they spend on the life-guards, and to curtail any of these means ruin. Besides, when men 10  
can have all they need by honest means, why pity them as though they were poor? May not those who through want of money are driven to evil and unseemly expedients in order to live, more justly be accounted wretched and poverty-stricken? Now, 11  
despots are not seldom forced into the crime of robbing temples and their fellow men through chronic want of cash to meet their necessary expenses. Living, as it were, in a perpetual state of war, they are forced to maintain an army, or they perish

V "Despots are oppressed by yet another trouble, Simonides, which I will tell you of. They recognize a stout-hearted, a wise or an upright man as easily as private citizens do. But instead of admiring such men, they fear them,—the brave lest they strike a bold stroke for freedom, the wise lest they hatch a plot, the upright lest the people desire them for leaders. When they get rid of such 2  
men through fear, who are left for their use, save only the unrighteous, the vicious and the servile,—the unrighteous being trusted because, like the

<sup>1</sup> ὀλίγα Coppello: ἱκανά S with the MSS and Stobaeus

<sup>2</sup> ἀλκίμους Stobaeus. κοσμίους S. with the MSS.

## XENOPHON

οἱ τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις μήποτε ἐλεύθεραι γενόμεναι ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν γένωνται, οἱ δ' ἀκρατεῖς τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας ἕνεκα, οἱ δ' ἀνδραποδώδεις διότι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιούσιν ἐλεύθεροί εἶναι. χαλεπὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἄλλους μὲν ἠγεῖσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ χρῆσθαι ἀναγκάζεσθαι.

- 3 Ἔτι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον εἶναι· ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὔτ' ἂν σώζεσθαι δύναίτο οὔτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονεῖν· ἢ δὲ τυραννὶς ἀναγκάζει καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλκίμους οὔτ' εὐόπλους χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους δεινοτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιῶντες ἤδονται μᾶλλον καὶ  
4 τούτοις χρῶνται δορυφόροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν εὐετηριῶν γενομένων ἀφθουία τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραννος. ἐνδεεστέροις γὰρ οὔσι ταπεινότεροις αὐτοῖς οἴονται χρῆσθαι.

- VI. Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, κακείνας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλώσαι, ὅσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος, ὅτ' ἦν ιδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος  
2 ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ συνῆν μὲν ἠλικιώταις ἠδόμενος ἠδομένοις ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ ἑμαυτῷ, ὅποτε ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι, διῆγον δ' ἐν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἦν, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ᾠδαῖς τε καὶ θαλίαις καὶ χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι κοίτης<sup>1</sup> ἐπιθυμίας  
3 ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων. νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι μὲν τῶν ἠδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ δούλους ἀντὶ φίλῶν

despots, they fear that the cities may some day shake off the yoke and prove their masters, the vicious on account of the licence they enjoy as things are, the servile because even they themselves have no desire for freedom? This too, then, is a heavy trouble, in my opinion, to see the good in some men, and yet perforce to employ others

“Furthermore, even a despot must needs love his 3 city, for without the city he can enjoy neither safety nor happiness. But despotism forces him to find fault even with his fatherland. For he has no pleasure in seeing that the citizens are stout-hearted and well armed; rather he delights to make the foreigners more formidable than the citizens, and these he employs as a body-guard. Again, even 4 when favourable seasons yield abundance of good things, the despot is a stranger to the general joy; for the needier the people, the humbler he thinks to find them

VI “But now, Simonides,” he continued, “I want to show you all those delights that were mine when I was a private citizen, but which I now find are withheld from me since the day I became a despot. I communed with my fellows then they pleased me 2 and I pleased them. I communed with myself whenever I desired rest. I passed the time in carousing, often till I forgot all the troubles of mortal life, often till my soul was absorbed in songs and revels and dances, often till the desire of sleep fell on me and all the company. But now I am cut 3 off from those who had pleasure in me, since slaves

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<sup>1</sup> *κοίτης* Hermann. *κοιῶης* S with the MSS.



## XENOPHON

- ἔχειν τοὺς ἑταίρους, ἀπεστέρημαι δ' αὐτὸς τοῦ  
 ἠδέως ἐκείνοις ὀμιλεῖν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐνορᾶν  
 εὐνοίαν ἐμοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν· μέθην δὲ καὶ ὕπνον  
 4 ὁμοίως ἐνέδρα φυλάττομαι. τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὲν  
 ὄχλον, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐρημίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἀφυ-  
 λαξίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυλάττου-  
 τας καὶ μὴτ' ἀόπλους ἔχειν ἐθέλειν περὶ αὐτὸν  
 μὴτ' ὀπλισμένους ἠδέως θεᾶσθαι πῶς οὐκ ἄργα-  
 5 λέον ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα; ἔτι δὲ ξένοις μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ  
 πολίταις πιστεύειν, βαρβάροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ  
 Ἕλλησιν, ἐπιθυμεῖν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους δού-  
 λους ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ δούλους ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν  
 ἐλευθέρους, οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ ψυχῆς ὑπὸ  
 6 φόβῳ καταπεπληγμένης τεκμήρια εἶναι, ὃ γέ  
 τοι φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνὼν ταῖς ψυχαῖς  
 λυπηρὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἠδέως  
 συμπαρακολουθῶν λυμῶν γίγνεται.
- 7 Εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὦ Σιμων-  
 νίδη, καὶ ἤδη ποτὲ πολεμία φάλαγγι πλησίον  
 ἀντετάξω, ἀναμνήσθητι, ποῖον μὲν τινα σῖτον  
 ἤρου ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ποῖον δὲ τινα ὕπνον  
 8 ἐκοιμῶ. οἷα μέντοι σοὶ τότε ἦν τὰ λυπηρά, τοι-  
 αῦτά ἐστι τὰ τῶν τυράννων καὶ ἔτι δεινότερα· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοθεν πολε-  
 μίους ὄραν νομίζουσιν οἱ τύραννοι.
- 9 Ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν  
 εἶπεν· Ὑπέρευ μοι δοκεῖς ἔνια λέγειν. ὁ γὰρ  
 πόλεμος φοβερὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ Ἰέρων, ἡμεῖς  
 γε ὅταν ὤμεν ἐν στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστά-  
 μενοι θαρραλέως δείπνου τε καὶ ὕπνου λαγχα-  
 νομεν.
- 10 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων ἔφη· Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδη·

HIERO, VI. 3-10

instead of friends are my comrades; I am cut off from my pleasant intercourse with them, since I see in them no sign of good-will towards me. Drink and sleep I avoid as a snare. To fear a crowd, and yet yet fear solitude, to fear to go unguarded, and yet fear the very men who guard you, to recoil from attendants unarmed and yet dislike to see them armed—surely that is a cruel predicament! And then, to trust foreigners more than citizens, strangers more than Greeks, to long to keep free men slaves, and yet be forced to make slaves free—do you not think that all these are sure tokens of a soul that is crushed with fear? Fear, you know, is not only painful in itself by reason of its presence in the soul, but by haunting us even in our pleasures it spoils them utterly.

“If, like me, you are acquainted with war, Simondes, and ever had the enemy’s battle-line close in front of you, call to mind what sort of food you ate at that time, and what sort of sleep you slept. I tell you, the pains that despots suffer are such as you suffered then. Nay, they are still more terrible; for despots believe that they see enemies not in front alone, but all around them.”

To this Simondes made answer: “Excellent words in part, I grant! War is indeed a fearsome thing; nevertheless, Hiero, our way, when we are on active service, is this: we post sentries to guard us, and sup and sleep with a good courage.”

Then Hiero answered: “No doubt you do, 10

<sup>1</sup> *Cyropaedia*, III. i. 27.

## XENOPHON

- αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ προφυλάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ὥστε  
περὶ ἑαυτῶν φοβοῦνται καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· οἱ δὲ  
τύραννοι μισθοῦ φύλακας ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ θερισ-  
11 τάς. καὶ δεῖ μὲν δήπου τοὺς φύλακας μηδὲν  
οὔτω ποιεῖν δύνασθαι ὡς πιστοὺς εἶναι· πιστὸν  
δὲ ἓνα πολὺ χαλεπώτερον εὐρεῖν ἢ πάνυ πολλοὺς  
ἐργάτας ὁποίου βούλει ἔργου, ἄλλως τε καὶ  
ὀπίσταν χρημάτων μὲν ἕνεκα παρῶσιν οἱ φυλάτ-  
τοντες, ἐξῆ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολὺ  
πλείω λαβεῖν ἀποκτείνασι τὸν τύραννον ἢ ὅσα  
πολὺν χρόνον φυλάττοντες παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου  
λαμβάνουσιν.
- 12 Ὁ δ' ἐξήλωσας ἡμᾶς, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους  
μάλιστα εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς  
πάντων μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως  
13 ἔχει. φίλους μὲν γὰρ πῶς ἂν νομίσεις ποτὲ  
εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῆς, ὅτι ὁ τὰ πλείεστα λαμβά-  
νων παρὰ σοῦ ἥδιστ' ἂν ὡς τάχιστα ἐξ ὀφθαλ-  
μῶν σου γένοιτο; ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν τις λάβῃ παρὰ  
τυράννου, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ νομίζει, πρὶν ἂν  
14 ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας γένηται. ἐχθροὺς  
δ' αὖ πῶς ἂν φαίης μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις  
ἐξεῖναι χειροῦσθαι, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῶσιν, ὅτι ἐχθροὶ  
αὐτῶν εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ τυρανοῦμενοι, τούτους δὲ  
μήτε κατακαίνειν ἅπαντας μήτε δεσμεύειν οἶόν  
τε ἢ· τίνων γὰρ ἔτι ἄρξει, ἀλλ' εἰδόμενος,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι  
ἐχθροὶ εἰσι, τούτους ἅμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δέη  
15 καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι, εὖ δ' ἴσθι  
καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς Σιμωνίδῃ, ὅτι καὶ οὐς τῶν πολιτῶν  
δεδίασι, χαλεπῶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ζῶντας ὀρώσι,  
χαλεπῶς δ' ἀποκτείνουσιν. ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἵππος  
εἰ ἀγαθὸς μὲν εἴη, φοβερὸς δὲ μὴ ἀνήκεστόν τι

<sup>1</sup> εἰδόμενος S.

HIERO, VI. 10-15

Simonides<sup>1</sup> For you<sup>1</sup> sentries have sentries in front of them—the laws,—and so they fear for their own skins and relieve you of fear But despots hire their guards like harvesters Now the chief qualification 11 required in the guards, I presume, is faithfulness But it is far harder to find one faithful guard than hundreds of workmen for any kind of work, especially when money supplies the guards, and they have it in their power to get far more in a moment by assassinating the despot than they receive from him for years of service among his guards.

“You said that you envy us our unrivalled power 12 to confer benefits on our friends, and our unrivalled success in crushing our enemies But that is another delusion For how can you possibly feel that you 13 benefit friends when you know well that he who receives most from you would be delighted to get out of your sight as quickly as possible? For, no matter what a man has received from a despot, nobody regards it as his own, until he is outside the giver’s dominion Or again, how can you say 14 that despots more than others are able to crush enemies, when they know well that all who are subject to their despotism are their enemies and that it is impossible to put them all to death or imprison them—else who will be left for the despot to rule over?—and, knowing them to be their enemies, they must beware of them, and, nevertheless, must needs make use of them? And I can assure you of this, 15 Simonides: when a despot fears any citizen, he is reluctant to see him alive, and yet reluctant to put him to death. To illustrate my point, suppose that a good horse makes his master afraid that he will do him some fatal mischief the man will feel

## XENOPHON

ποιήσῃ, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειαι  
 διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, χαλεπῶς δὲ ζῶντι χρῶτο, εὐλα-  
 βούμενος, μὴ τι ἀνήκεστου ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις  
 16 ἐργάσῃται. καὶ τὰλλά γε κτήματα, ὅσα χαλεπὰ  
 μὲν χρήσιμα δ' ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ἅπαντα λυπεῖ μὲν  
 τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ Σιμων-  
 ίδης, εἶπεν, Ἔοικεν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἰέρων, μέγα τι εἶναι  
 ἢ τιμὴ, ἧς ὀρεγόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα μὲν  
 πόνον ὑποδύονται, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομένουσι.  
 2 καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐχούσης,  
 ὅποσα λέγεις, τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅμως προπετῶς  
 φέρεσθε εἰς αὐτήν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶσι  
 μὲν ὑμῖν πάντες πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπρο-  
 φασίστως, περιβλέπωσι δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται  
 δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων ὀδῶν τε παραχωρῶσι, γεραί-  
 ρωσι δὲ καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες οἱ παρόντες  
 αἰεὶ ὑμᾶς· τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις  
 οἱ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὄντιν' ἂν αἰεὶ τιμῶντες  
 3 τυγχάνωσι. καὶ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Ἰέρων, τούτῳ  
 διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέ-  
 γεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σιτίοις γε καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὕπνοις  
 καὶ ἀφροδισίοις πάντα ὁμοίως ἠδεδεσθαι ἔοικε τὰ  
 ζῶα· ἢ δὲ φιλοτιμία οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις  
 ἐμφύεται οὐτ' ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· οἷς δ' ἂν  
 ἐμφύῃ τιμῆς τε καὶ ἐπαίνου ἔρως, οὗτοί εἰσιν  
 ἤδη οἱ πλείστον μὲν τῶν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες,  
 ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι.  
 4 ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα πάντα ὑπο-  
 μένειν, ἃ φέρετε ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἐπεὶ περ τιμᾶσθε  
 διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ

reluctant to slaughter him on account of his good qualities, and yet his anxiety lest the animal may work some fatal mischief in a moment of danger will make him reluctant to keep him alive and use him. Yes, 16 and this is equally true of all possessions that are troublesome as well as useful it is painful to possess them, and painful to get rid of them "

VII These statements drew from Simonides the following reply. "A great thing, surely, Hiero, is the honour for which men strive so earnestly that they undergo any toil and endure any danger to win it! And what if despotism brings all those troubles that 2 you tell of, yet such men as you, it seems, rush headlong into it that you may have honour, that all men may carry out your behests in all things without question, that the eyes of all may wait on you, that all may rise from their seats and make way for you, that all in your presence may glorify you by deed and word alike (Such, in fact, is the behaviour of subjects to despots and to anyone else who happens to be their hero at the moment) For 3 indeed it seems to me, Hiero, that in this man differs from other animals—I mean, in this craving for honour In meat and drink and sleep and love all creatures alike seem to take pleasure, but love of honour is rooted neither in the brute beasts nor in every human being But they in whom is implanted a passion for honour and praise, these are they who differ most from the beasts of the field, these are accounted men and not mere human beings<sup>1</sup> And 4 so, in my opinion, you have good reason for bearing all those burdens that despotism lays on you, in that you are honoured above all other men For no

<sup>1</sup> *Cyropaedia*, I vi 25.

## XENOPHON

οὐδεμία ἀνθρωπίνη ἡδονὴ τῷ θεῷ ἐγγυτέρω  
δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς εὐφροσύνη.

5 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰέρων· Ἄλλ', ὦ Σι-  
μωνίδη, καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν τυράννων ὅμοιαι ἐμοὶ  
δοκοῦσιν εἶναι οἷάπερ ἐγὼ σοι τὰ ἀφροδίσια ὄντα  
6 αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξα. οὔτε γὰρ αἱ μὴ ἐξ ἀντιφιλοῦν-  
των ὑπουργίαι χάριτες ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οὔτε  
τὰ ἀφροδίσια τὰ βίαια ἡδέα ἐφαίνετο. ὥσαύτως  
7 μένων τιμαὶ εἰσι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν φαίημεν ἢ τοὺς  
βία ἐξανισταμένους θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς  
ἀδικούντας ἐξανίστασθαι ἢ τοὺς ὀδῶν παρα-  
χωρῶντας τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδι-  
8 κούντας παραχωρεῖν; καὶ δῶρά γε διδόασιν οἱ  
πολλοὶ τούτοις, οὓς μισοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅταν  
μάλιστα φοβῶνται, μὴ τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πά-  
θωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δουλείας ἔργα  
εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο· αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν  
9 ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις γίγνεσθαι. ὅταν γὰρ ἄν-  
θρωποι ἄνδρα ἡγήσάμενοι εὐεργετεῖν ἱκανὸν εἶναι  
καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες ἔπειτα  
τούτον ἀνὰ στόμα τε ἔχωσιν ἐπαινοῦντες θεῶνταί  
τ' αὐτὸν ὡς οἰκείον ἕκαστος ἀγαθὸν ἐκόντες τε  
παραχωρῶσι τούτῳ ὀδῶν καὶ θάκων ὑπανιστῶν-  
ται φιλοῦντές τε καὶ μὴ φοβούμενοι καὶ στεφανῶσι  
κοινῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα καὶ δωρεῖσθαι  
ἐθέλωσιν, οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν  
τε τούτον ἀληθῶς, οἱ ἂν τοιαῦτα ὑπουργήσωσι,  
10 καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιούμενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ ὄντι. καὶ  
ἔγωγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω τιμώμενον μακαρίζω· αἰ-  
σθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιβουλευόμενον, ἀλλὰ  
φροντιζόμενον, μὴ τι πάθῃ, καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ

human joy seems to be more nearly akin to that of heaven than the gladness which attends upon honours."

To this Hiero replied "Ah, Simonides, I think 5 even the honours enjoyed by despots bear a close resemblance to their courtships, as I have described them to you. The services of the indifferent 6 seemed to us not acts of grace, and favours extorted appeared to give no pleasure. And so it is with the services proffered by men in fear they are not honours. For how can we say that men who are 7 forced to rise from their seats rise to honour their oppressors, or that men who make way for their superiors desire to honour their oppressors? And as 8 for presents, most men offer them to one whom they hate, and that too at the moment when they have cause to fear some evil at his hands. These acts, I suppose, may not unfairly be taken for acts of servility, but honours, I should say, express the very opposite feelings. For whenever men feel that some person is 9 competent to be their benefactor, and come to regard him as the fountain of blessings, so that henceforward his praise is ever on their lips, everyone of them looks on him as his peculiar blessing, they make way for him spontaneously and rise from their seats, through love and not through fear, crown him for his generosity and beneficence, and bring him freewill offerings, these same men in my opinion, honour that person truly by such services, and he who is accounted worthy of them is honoured in very deed. And, for myself, I count him a happy man who is 10 honoured thus, for I perceive that, instead of being exposed to treason, he is an object of solicitude, lest harm befall him, and he lives his life unassailed



## XENOPHON

ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα· ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι' ἀδικίαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὕτως, ὧς Σιμωνίδῃ, εὐ ἴσθι καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διάγει.

- 11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, ὧς Ἰέρων, εἰ οὕτως πονηρόν ἐστὶ τὸ τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐκ ἀπαλλάττη οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐκὼν εἶναι τυραννίδος ἀφείτο, ὅσπερ ἄπαξ ἐκτήσατο;
- 12 Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὧς Σιμωνίδῃ, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθλιώτατόν ἐστιν ἢ τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατὸν αὐτῆς ἐστὶ. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε τύραννος ἢ χρήματα ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο ἢ δεσμοὺς ἀντιπάσχοι ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν ἢ ὅσους κατέκανε πῶς ἂν ἰκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαράσχοιτο ἀποθανουμένας; ἀλλ' εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ, ὧς Σιμωνίδῃ, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι τυράνῳ ἔγωγε εὐρίσκω μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσιτελοῦν ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἔχειν οὔτε καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.

VIII. Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν, ὧς Ἰέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα οὐ θαυμάζω, ἐπειπερ ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐμποδῶν σοι τούτου νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι σε, ὡς τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ιδιωτείας.

- 2 ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει μήπω ἐκεῖνο σκοπῶμεν, εἰ διὰ τὸ μείζον δύνασθαι ὁ ἄρχων καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πλείω δύναιτ' ἂν, ἀλλ' ἂν τὰ

by fear and malice and danger, and enjoys unbroken happiness. But what is the despot's lot? I tell you, Simonides, he lives day and night like one condemned by the judgment of all men to die for his wickedness."

When Simonides had listened to all this he asked 11  
 "Pray, how comes it, Hiero, if despotism is a thing so vile, and this is your verdict, that you do not rid yourself of so great an evil, and that none other, for that matter, who has once acquired it, ever yet surrendered despotic power?"

"Simonides," said he, "this is the crowning 12  
 misery of despotic power, that it cannot even be got rid of. For how could any despot ever find means to repay in full all whom he has robbed, or himself serve all the terms of imprisonment that he has inflicted? Or how could he forfeit a life for every man whom he has put to death? Ah, 13  
 Simonides," he cried, "if it profits any man to hang himself, know what my finding is: a despot has most to gain by it, since he alone can neither keep nor lay down his troubles with profit"

VIII "Well, Hiero," retorted Simonides, "I am not surprised that you are out of heart with despotism for the moment, since you hold that it cuts you off from gaining the affection of mankind, which you covet. Nevertheless, I think I can show you that rule so far from being a bar to popularity, actually has the advantage of a citizen's life. In 2  
 trying to discover whether this is so, let us for the time being pass over the question whether the ruler, because of his greater power, is able to confer more favours. Assume that the citizen and

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ὁμοια ποιῶσιν ὃ τε ἰδιώτης καὶ ὁ τύραννος, ἐννόει, πότερος μείζω ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων κτᾶται χάριν.

Ἄρξομαι δέ σοι ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων παρα-  
3 δειγμάτων. ἰδὼν γὰρ πρῶτον προσειπάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς ὃ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης. ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ποτέρου πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τὸν ἀκούσαντα νομίζεις; ἴθι δὴ ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέρων τὸν αὐτὸν τὸν ποτέρου δοκεῖς ἐπαινοῦ ἐξικνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἰς εὐφροσύνην; θύσας δὲ τιμησάτω ἑκάτερος· τὴν παρὰ ποτέρου τιμὴν  
4 μείζονος ἢ χάριτος δοκεῖς τυγχάνειν; κάμνοντα θεραπευσάτωσαν ὁμοίως· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφές, ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι καὶ χαρὰν ἐμποιοῦσι μεγίστην; δότωσαν δὴ τὰ ἴσα· οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σαφές, ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἡμίσειαι χάριτες πλέον ἢ ὅλον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ  
5 ἰδιώτου δῶρημα δύνανται; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκ θεῶν τιμὴ τις καὶ χάρις συμπαρέπεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καλλίονα ποιεῖ ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἡδιον θεώμεθά τε ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἢ ὅταν ἰδιωτεύῃ διαλεγόμενοί τε ἀγαλλόμεθα τοῖς προτετιμημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ  
6 τοῦ ἴσου ἡμῖν οὔσι. καὶ μὴν παιδικά γε, ἐν οἷς δὴ καὶ σὺ μάλιστα κατεμέμφω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἥκιστα μὲν γῆρας ἄρχοντος δυσχεραίνει, ἥκιστα δ' αἰσχος, πρὸς δὲ ἂν τυγχάνῃ ὁμιλῶν, τούτου ὑπολογίζεται. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ τετιμηθῆναι μάλιστα

the despot act alike, and consider which of the two wins the greater measure of gratitude from the same actions. .

“You shall have the most trifling examples to begin with. First, suppose that two men greet 3 someone with a friendly remark on seeing him. One is a ruler, the other a citizen. In this case which greeting, do you think, is the more delightful to the hearer? Or again, both commend the same man. Which commendation, do you think, is the more welcome? Suppose that each does the honours when he offers sacrifice. Which invitation, think you, will be accepted with the more sincere thanks? Suppose they are equally 4 attentive to a sick man. Is it not obvious that the attentions of the mightiest bring most comfort to the patient? Suppose they give presents of equal value. Is it not clear in this case too that half the number of favours bestowed by the mightiest count for more than the whole of the plain citizen’s gift? Nay, to my way of thinking, even the gods 5 cause a peculiar honour and favour to dance attendance on a great ruler. For not only does rule add dignity of presence to a man, but we find more pleasure in the sight of that man when he is a ruler than when he is a mere citizen, and we take more pride in the conversation of those who rank above us than in that of our equals. And 6 favourites, mark you, who were the subject of your bitterest complaint against despotism, are not offended by old age in a ruler, and take no account of ugliness in the patron with whom they happen to be associated. For high rank in itself is a most striking embellishment to the person. it casts a

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- συνεπικοσμεί, ὥστε τὰ μὲν δυσχερῆ ἀφανίζειν,  
 7 τὰ δὲ καλὰ λαμπρότερα ἀναφαίνειν. ὅποτε γε  
 μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἴσων ὑπουργημάτων μειζόνων  
 χαρίτων ὑμεῖς τυγχάνετε, πῶς οὐκ ἐπειδὴν γε  
 ὑμεῖς πολλαπλάσια μὲν διαπράττοντες ὠφελεῖν  
 δύνησθε, πολλαπλάσια δὲ δωρεῖσθαι ἔχητε,  
 ὑμᾶς καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον φιλεῖσθαι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν  
 προσήκει ;
- 8 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εὐθύς ὑπολαβὼν, "Ὅτι νῆ Δί',  
 ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀπεχθάνονται ἄν-  
 θρωποι, ἡμᾶς πολὺ πλείω τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀνάγκη  
 9 ἐστὶ πραγματεῦσθαι. πρακτέον μὲν γε χρήματα,  
 εἰ μέλλομεν ἔξειν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὰ δεόντα, ἀναγ-  
 καστέον δὲ φυλάττειν ὅσα δεῖται φυλακῆς, κο-  
 λαστέον δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκους, κωλυτέον δὲ τοὺς  
 ὑβρίζειν βουλομένους, καὶ ὅταν γε τάχους καιρὸς  
 παραστῆ ἢ πεζῆ ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξορμᾶσθαι,  
 10 οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον τοῖς ῥαδιουργοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ  
 μισθοφόρων μὲν ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ δεῖ· τούτου δὲ  
 βαρύτερον φόρημα οὐδέν ἐστι τοῖς πολίταις. οὐ  
 γὰρ τυράννοις ἰσοτιμίας,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα  
 νομίζουσι τούτους τρέφεσθαι.

IX. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης·  
 Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὲν οὐ πάντων τούτων ἐπιμελητέον,  
 ὦ Ἰέρων, οὐ λέγω ἐπιμέλειαί μέντοι μοι δο-  
 κοῦσιν αἱ μὲν πάνυ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἄγειν, αἱ δὲ  
 2 πάνυ διὰ χαρίτων εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκειν  
 ἅ ἐστι βέλτιστα καὶ τὸν κάλλιστα ταῦτα  
 ἐξεργαζόμενον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, αὕτη μὲν

<sup>1</sup> ἰσοτιμίας of an inferior MS is doubtless a conjecture  
 S gives ἰσοτίμους with B and a later hand in A The

shade over anything repulsive in him and shows up his best features in a high light. Moreover, inas- 7  
 much as equal services rendered by you rulers are rewarded with deeper gratitude, surely, when you have the power of doing far more for others by your activities, and can lavish far more gifts on them, it is natural that you should be much more deeply loved than private citizens”

Hiero instantly rejoined “Indeed it is not so, 8  
 Simonides, for we are forced to engage far oftener than private citizens in transactions that make men hated. Thus, we must extort money in order to 9  
 find the cash to pay for what we want; we must compel men to guard whatever needs protection; we must punish wrongdoers; we must check those who would fain wax insolent, and when a crisis arises that calls for the immediate despatch of forces by land and sea, we must see that there is no dilly-dally-  
 ing. Further, a great despot must needs have mer- 10  
 cenaries, and no burden presses more heavily on the citizens than that, since they believe that these troops are maintained not in the interests of equality, but for the despot’s personal ends.”

IX In answer to this Simonides said “Well, Hiero, I do not deny that all these matters must receive attention. But I should divide a ruler’s activities into two classes, those that lead inevitably to unpopularity, and those that are greeted with thanks. The duty of teaching the people what 2  
 things are best, and of dispensing praise and honour to those who accomplish the same most

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original reading in A was *ισότιμος*. The best conjecture is still *τιμῆς*.

## XENOPHON

ἡ ἐπιμέλεια διὰ χαρίτων γίνεται, τὸ δὲ τὸν  
 ἐνδεῶς τι ποιούντα λαιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν  
 καὶ ζημιοῦν καὶ κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη  
 3 δι' ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν  
 φημι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι τὸν μὲν<sup>1</sup> ἀνάγκης δεόμενον  
 ἄλλοις προστακτέον εἶναι κολάζειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ  
 ἄθλα ἀποδιδόναι. δι' αὐτοῦ ποιητέον. ὡς δὲ  
 4 ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γινόμενα. καὶ  
 γὰρ ὅταν χοροὺς ἡμῖν βουλώμεθα ἀγωνίζεσθαι,  
 ἄθλα μὲν ὁ ἄρχων προτίθησιν, ἀθροίζειν δὲ  
 αὐτοὺς προστέτακται χορηγοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις δι-  
 δάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι τοῖς ἐνδεῶς τι  
 ποιούσιν. οὐκοῦν εὐθύς ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν ἐπί-  
 5 χαρι διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, τὰ δ' ἀντίτυπα  
 δι' ἄλλων. τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πολιτικὰ  
 οὕτως περαίνεσθαι; διήρηνται μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαι αἱ  
 πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ  
 δὲ κατὰ λόχους, καὶ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' ἑκάστω μέρει  
 6 ἐφεστήκασιν. οὐκοῦν εἴ τις καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ  
 τοῖς χοροῖς ἄθλα προτιθείη καὶ εὐοπλίας καὶ  
 εὐταξίας καὶ ἵππικῆς καὶ ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ  
 καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις, εἰκὸς καὶ  
 ταῦτα πάντα διὰ φιλονικίαν ἐντόνως ἀσκεῖσθαι.  
 7 καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ὀρμῶντό γ' ἂν θάπτον ὅποι δέοι  
 τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ χρήματα θάπτον εἰσφέροιεν,  
 ὁπότε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὸ πάντων γε χρη-  
 σιμώτατον, ἥκιστα δὲ εἰθισμένον διὰ φιλονικίας  
 πρᾶπτεσθαι, ἢ γεωργία αὐτῇ ἂν πολὺ ἐπιδοίη,

<sup>1</sup> τὸν μὲν Thalheim. τὸ μὲν MSS τὸ μὲν τὸν S, after Stephanus

efficiently, is a form of activity that is greeted with thanks. The duty of pronouncing censure, using coercion, inflicting pains and penalties on those who come short in any respect, is one that must of necessity give rise to a certain amount of unpopularity. Therefore my sentence is that a great ruler should 3 delegate to others the task of punishing those who require to be coerced, and should reserve to himself the privilege of awarding the prizes. The excellence of this arrangement is established by daily 4 experience. Thus, when we want to have a choral competition, the ruler offers prizes, but the task of assembling the choirs is delegated to choir-masters, and others have the task of training them and coercing those who come short in any respect. Obviously, then, in this case, the pleasant part falls to the ruler, the disagreeables fall to others. Why, 5 then, should not all other public affairs be managed on this principle? For all communities are divided into parts—'tribes,' 'wards,' 'unions,' as the case may be—and every one of these parts is subject to its appointed ruler. If, then, the analogy of the 6 choruses were followed and prizes were offered to these parts for excellence of equipment, good discipline, horsemanship, courage in the field and fair dealing in business, the natural outcome would be competition, and consequently an earnest endeavour to improve in all these respects too. And 7 as a matter of course, with the prospect of reward there would be more despatch in starting for the appointed place, and greater promptitude in the payment of war taxes, whenever occasion required. Nay, agriculture itself, most useful of all occupations, but just the one in which the spirit of



## XENOPHON

- εἴ τις ἄθλα προτιθείη κατ' ἀγροὺς ἢ κατὰ κόμας τοῖς κάλλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐξεργαζομένοις, καὶ τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πολιτῶν ἐρρωμένως τρεπομένοις
- 8 πολλὰ ἂν ἀγαθὰ περαίνοιτο. καὶ γὰρ αἱ πρόσοδοι αὐξοῦντ' ἂν, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη πολὺ μᾶλλον τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτεῖ. καὶ μὴν κακουργίαι γε
- 9 ἦττον τοῖς ἐνεργοῖς ἐμφύονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμπορία ὠφελεῖ τι πόλιν, τιμώμενος ἂν ὁ πλείστα τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ ἐμπόρους ἂν πλείους ἀγείροι. εἰ δὲ φανερὸν γένοιτο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πρόσοδόν τινα ἄλυπον ἐξευρίσκων τῇ πόλει τιμῆσεται, οὐδ' αὐτὴ ἂν ἡ
- 10 σκέψις ἀργοῖτο. ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἶπεῖν, εἰ καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐμφανὲς εἶη, ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθὸν τι εἰσηγούμενος οὐκ ἀτίμητος ἔσται, πολλοὺς ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξορμήσειεν ἔργον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν τι ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὅταν γε πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν ὠφελίμων μέλη, ἀνάγκη εὐρίσκεσθαι τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.
- 11 Εἰ δὲ φοβεῖ, ὧ Ἰέρων, μὴ ἐν πολλοῖς ἄθλων προτιθεμένων<sup>1</sup> πολλαὶ δαπάναι γίγνωνται, ἐννόησον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμπορεύματα λυσιτελέστερα ἢ ὅσα ἄνθρωποι ἄθλων ὠνοῦνται. ὀρᾶς ἐν ἵππικοῖς καὶ γυμνικοῖς καὶ χορηγικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὡς μικρὰ ἄθλα μεγάλας δαπάνας καὶ πολλοὺς πόνους καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἐξάγεται ἀνθρώπων ;

X. Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν· Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὧ Σιμωνίδη, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν· περὶ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἔχεις τι εἰπεῖν, ὡς μὴ μισεῖσθαι δι'

<sup>1</sup> προτιθεμένων Cobit : προτεθειμένων S. with the MSS

competition is conspicuous by its absence, would make great progress if prizes were offered for the farm or the village that can show the best cultivation, and many good results would follow for those citizens who threw themselves vigorously into this occupation. For apart from the consequent 8 increase in the revenues, sobriety far more commonly goes with industry; and remember, vices rarely flourish among the fully employed. If commerce 9 also brings gain to a city, the award of honours for diligence in business would attract a larger number to a commercial career. And were it made clear that the discovery of some way of raising revenue without hurting anyone will also be rewarded, this field of research too would not be unoccupied. In 10 a word, once it becomes clear in every department that any good suggestion will not go unrewarded, many will be encouraged by that knowledge to apply themselves to some promising form of investigation. And when there is a wide-spread interest in useful subjects, an increase of discovery and achievement is bound to come.

“In case you fear, Hiero, that the cost of offering 11 prizes for many subjects may prove heavy, you should reflect that no commodities are cheaper than those that are bought for a prize. Think of the large sums that men are induced to spend on horse-races, gymnastic and choral competitions, and the long course of training and practice they undergo for the sake of a paltry prize.”

X. “Well, Simonides,” said Hiero, “I think you are right in saying that. But what about the mercenaries? Can you tell me how to employ them without incurring unpopularity? Or do you

## XENOPHON

- αὐτούς ; ἢ λέγεις, ὡς φιλίαν ἕκτησάμενος ἄρχων οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσεται δορυφόρων ;
- 2    Ναὶ μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεήσεται μὲν οὖν. οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποις οὕτως καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσῳ ἂν ἐκπλεα τὰ δέοντα
- 3    ἔχῃσι, τοσούτῳ ὑβριστοτέροις εἶναι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτους μᾶλλον ἂν σωφρονίζοι ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαῦτα ὠφελήματα
- 4    παρασχεῖν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων. τρέφεις μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς σαυτῷ φύλακας ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δεσπότηται βία ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων ἀπέθανον. εἰ οὖν ἐν πρῶτον τοῦτ' εἶη τῶν προστεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ὡς πάντων ὄντας δορυφόρους τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν πᾶσιν, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον αἰσθάνωνται γίνονται δέ που, ὡς πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, κακοῦργοι ἐν πόλεσιν· εἰ οὖν καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν εἶεν τεταγμένοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν εἶδείεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελούμενοι.
- 5    πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐργάταις καὶ κτήνεσιν οὗτοι ἂν εἰκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ ἀσφάλειαν δύναιτο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς σοῖς ἰδίοις, ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν. ἱκανοὶ γε μὴν εἰσι καὶ σχολὴν παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταις τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπί-
- 6    καιρα φυλάττοντες πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πολεμίων ἐφόδους κρυφαίας καὶ ἔξαπιναίας τίγες ἑτοιμότεροι ἢ προαισθέσθαι ἢ κωλύσαι τῶν αἰεὶ ἐν ὅπλοις τε ὄντων καὶ συντεταγμένων ; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν στρατείᾳ τί ἐστὶν ὠφελιμώτερον πολί-

say that a ruler, once he becomes popular, will have no further need of a bodyguard?"

"No, no, he will need them, of course," said 2  
 Simonides "For I know that some human beings  
 are like horses—the more they get what they want,  
 the more unuly they are apt to become The way 3  
 to manage men like that is to put the fear of the  
 bodyguard into them And as for the gentlemen,  
 you can probably confer greater benefits on them by  
 employing mercenaries than by any other means  
 For I presume that you maintain the force primarily 4  
 to protect yourself But masters have often been  
 murdered by their slaves. If therefore the first  
 duty enjoined on the mercenaries were to act as  
 the bodyguard of the whole community and render  
 help to all, in case they got wind of any such  
 intention—there are black sheep in every fold, as  
 we all know—I say, if they were under orders to  
 guard the citizens as well as the depot, the citizens  
 would know that this is one service rendered to  
 them by the mercenaries Nor is this all for 5  
 naturally the mercenaries would also be able to  
 give fearlessness and security in the fullest measure  
 to the labourers and cattle in the country, and the  
 benefit would not be confined to your own estates,  
 but would be felt up and down the countryside.  
 Again, they are competent to afford the citizens 6  
 leisure for attending to their private affairs by  
 guarding the vital positions Besides, should an  
 enemy plan a secret and sudden attack, what  
 handier agents can be found for detecting or pre-  
 venting their design than a standing force, armed  
 and organized? Or once more, when the citizens go  
 campaigning, what is more useful to them than mer-

## ΧΕΝΟΡΗΘΝ

ταις μισθοφόρων; τούτους γὰρ προπονεῖν καὶ  
προκινδυνεύειν καὶ προφυλάττειν εἰκὸς ἐτοιμο-  
7 τάτους εἶναι. τὰς δὲ ἀγχιτέρμονας πόλεις οὐκ  
ἀνάγκη διὰ τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐν ὄπλοις ὄντας καὶ εἰρήνης  
μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οἱ γὰρ συντεταγμένοι καὶ  
σώζειν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα καὶ σφάλλιν τὰ  
8 τῶν πολεμίων δύναιντ' ἂν ὅταν γε μὴν γνῶσιν  
οἱ πολῖται, ὅτι οὗτοι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ποιούσι  
τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ κακουργεῖν βουλομέ-  
νους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις,  
προνοοῦσι δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν πολιτῶν,  
πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ δαπανᾶν εἰς τούτους ἥδιστα;  
τρέφουσι γοῦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ μείοσι τούτων φύλακας.

XI. Χρῆ δέ, ὦ Ἰέρων, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων  
κτημάτων ὀκνεῖν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν.  
καὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνα-  
λούμενα μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ δέον τελεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ  
2 εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ. καθ' ἐν δ' ἕκαστον  
σκοπῶμεν. οἰκίαν πρῶτον ὑπερβαλλούσῃ δα-  
πάνῃ κεκαλλωπισμένην μᾶλλον ἢ γῆ κόσμον ἂν  
σοι παρέχειν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τείχεσί τε καὶ  
ναοῖς καὶ παστάσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι  
3 κατεσκευασμένην; ὄπλοις δὲ πότερον τοῖς ἔκπα-  
γλοτάτοις αὐτὸς κατακεκοσμημένος δεινότερος  
ἂν φαίνοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης  
4 εὐόπλου σοι οὔσης, προσόδους δὲ ποτέρως ἂν  
δοκεῖς πλείονας γίνεσθαι, εἰ τὰ σὰ ἴδια μόνον  
ἐνεργὰ ἔχοις ἢ εἰ τὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν

cenaries<sup>2</sup> For these are, as a matter of course, the readiest to bear the brunt of toil and danger and watching. And must not those who possess a standing force impose on border states a strong desire for peace<sup>2</sup> For nothing equals an organized body of men, whether for protecting the property of friends or for thwarting the plans of enemies. Further, when the citizens get it into their heads that these troops do no harm to the innocent and hold the would-be malefactor in check, come to the rescue of the wronged, care for the citizens and shield them from danger, surely they are bound to pay the cost of them with a right good-will. At all events they keep guards in their homes for less important objects than these

XI "Nor should you hesitate to draw on your private property, Hiero, for the common good. For in my opinion the sums that a great despot spends on the city are more truly necessary expenses than the money he spends on himself. But let us go into details. First, which do you suppose is likely to bring you more credit, to own a palace adorned with priceless objects of art, or to have the whole city garnished with walls and temples and verandahs and market-places and harbours<sup>2</sup> Which will make you look more terrible to the enemy, to dazzle all beholders with your own glittering panoply, or to present the whole of your people in goodly armour<sup>2</sup> Which plan, think you, will yield revenues more abounding, to keep only your own capital employed, or to contrive to bring the capital of all the citizens

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<sup>1</sup> παστάσι rests on the authority of Pollux παραστάσι S. with the MSS.

## XENOPHON

- 5 μεμηχανημένος εἶης ἐνεργὰ εἶναι ; τὸ δὲ πάντων  
 κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον νομιζόμενον  
 εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα ἄρματοτροφίαν ποτέρως ἂν  
 δοκεῖς μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν, εἰ αὐτὸς πλείστα τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἄρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμποις εἰς  
 τὰς πανηγύρεις ἢ εἰ ἐκ τῆς σῆς πόλεως πλείστοι  
 μὲν ἵπποτρόφοι εἶεν, πλείστοι δ' ἀγωνίζονται ;  
 νικᾶν δὲ πότερα δοκεῖς κάλλιον εἶναι ἄρματος  
 ἀρετῇ ἢ πόλεως, ἧς προστατεύεις, εὐδαιμονία ;
- 6 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ προσήκειν φημι ἀνδρὶ τυράνῳ  
 πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι. νικῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἂν θαυμάζοιο, ἀλλὰ φθονοῖο, ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν  
 οἴκων τὰς δαπάνας ποιούμενος, νικώμενος δ' ἂν
- 7 πάντων μάλιστα καταγελῶ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ  
 φημι, ὦ Ἰέρων, πρὸς ἄλλους προστάτας πόλεων  
 τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶναι, ὧν εἴαν σὺ εὐδαιμονεστάτην  
 τὴν πόλιν, ἧς προστατεύεις, παρέχῃς, εὖ ἴσθι  
 νικῶν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἐν
- 8 ἀνθρώποις ἀγωνίσματι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθύς  
 κατειργασμένος ἂν εἶης τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἀρχομένων, οὗ δὴ σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν τυγχάνεις· ἔπειτα  
 δὲ τὴν σὴν νίκην οὐκ ἂν εἰς εἶη ὁ ἀνακηρύττων,  
 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ὑμνοῖεν ἂν τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν.
- 9 περίβλεπτος δὲ ὢν οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν πόλεων ἀγαπῶ ἂν καὶ θαυμα-  
 στὸς οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ παρὰ
- 10 πᾶσιν ἂν εἶης, καὶ ἐξείη μὲν ἂν σοὶ ἕνεκεν  
 ἀσφαλείας, εἴ ποὶ βούλοιο, θεωρήσουσι πορεύ-  
 εσθαι, ἐξείη δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ μένουσι τοῦτο πράττειν.

into employment? • And what about the breeding 5  
of chariot horses, commonly considered the noblest  
and grandest business in the world? By which  
method do you think you will gain most credit for  
that, if you out-do all other Greeks in the number  
of teams you breed and send to the festivals, or if  
the greatest number of breeders and the greatest  
number of competitors are drawn from your city?  
And how is the nobler victory gained, by the excel-  
lence of your team, or by the prosperity of the  
city of which you are the head? Indeed my own 6  
opinion is that it is not even seemly for a great despot  
to compete with private citizens. For your victory  
would excite envy rather than admiration, on the  
ground that many estates supply the money that  
you spend, and no defeat would be greeted with  
so much ridicule as yours. I tell you, Hiero, 7  
you have to compete with other heads of states,  
and if you cause your state to surpass theirs in  
prosperity, be well assured<sup>1</sup> that you are the victor  
in the noblest and grandest competition in the  
world. And in the first place you will forthwith 8  
have secured just what you really want, the affection  
of your subjects. Secondly, your victory will not  
be proclaimed by one herald's voice, but all the  
world will tell of your virtue. The observed of 9  
all observers' eyes, you will be a hero, not only to  
private citizens, but to many states. you will be  
admired not only in your home, but in public among  
all men. And you will be free to go wherever you 10  
choose, so far as safety is concerned, to see the  
sights, and equally free to enjoy them in your

<sup>1</sup> But εἶ ἴσθι is not right. All the MSS have εἶ ἔσει, which perhaps conceals εὐδαίμων ἔσει, "you will be happy being the victor."



## XENOPHON

ἀεὶ γὰρ ἂν παρὰ σοὶ πανήγυρ' εἶη τῶν βουλο-  
 μένων ἐπιδεικνύναι, εἴ τίς τι σοφὸν ἢ καλὸν ἢ  
 ἀγαθὸν ἔχοι, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμούντων ὑπηρετεῖν  
 11 πᾶς δὲ ὁ μὲν παρῶν σύμμαχος ἂν εἶη σοι, ὁ δὲ  
 ἂπὼν ἐπιθυμοίῃ ἂν ἰδεῖν σε

“Ὡστε οὐ μόνον φιλοῖο ἂν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρῶο ὑπ’  
 ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς οὐ πειρᾶν, ἀλλὰ  
 πειρώμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι ἂν σε δέοι,  
 φόβον δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλ’ ἄλλοις παρέχοις,  
 12 μὴ τι πάθης, ἐκόντας δὲ τοὺς πειθόμενους ἔχοις  
 ἂν καὶ ἐθελουσίως σου προνοοῦντας θεῶο ἂν, εἰ  
 δέ τις κίνδυνος εἶη, οὐ συμμάχους μόνον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχους καὶ προθύμους ὀρώης  
 ἂν, πολλῶν μὲν δωρεῶν ἀξιούμενος, οὐκ ἀπορῶν  
 δέ, ὅτῳ τούτων εὐμενεῖ μεταδώσεις, πάντας  
 μὲν συγχαίροντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγαθοῖς,  
 πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὥσπερ τῶν ἰδίων  
 13 μαχομένους. θησαυροὺς γε μὴν ἔχοις ἂν πάντας  
 τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους.

Ἄλλὰ θαρρῶν, ὧ Ἰέρων, πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς  
 φίλους· σαυτὸν γὰρ πλουτιεῖς αὖξε δὲ τὴν  
 14 πόλιν· σαυτῷ γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῶ δὲ  
 αὐτῇ συμμάχους· . . <sup>1</sup> νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα  
 οἶκον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους  
 τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὅτιπερ τὴν  
 σὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τούτους πάντας πειρῶν κικᾶν εὐ  
 15 ποιῶν. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς φίλους κρατῆς εὐ ποιῶν  
 οὐ μὴ σοι δύνωνται ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμιοι.

Κὰν ταῦτα πάντα ποιῆς, εὐ ἴσθι πάντων τῶν  
 ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον κνήμα  
 κεκτήσῃ. εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ οὐ φθονηθήσῃ.

<sup>1</sup> Weiske indicates a lacuna here. S does not

HIERO, XI. 10-15

home; for you will have a throng of aspirants before you, some eager to display something wise or beautiful or good, others longing to serve you. Everyone 11 present will be an ally, everyone absent will long to see you

“Thus you will be not only the loved, but the adored of mankind. You will need not to court the fair, but to listen patiently to their suit. Anxiety for your welfare will fall not on yourself, but on others. You will have the willing obedience of 12 your subjects, you will mark their unsolicited care for you, and should any danger arise, you will find in them not merely allies, but champions and zealots<sup>1</sup>. Accounted worthy of many gifts, and at no loss for some man of goodwill with whom to share them, you will find all rejoicing in your good fortune, all fighting for your interests, as though they were their own. And all the riches in the 13 houses of your friends will be yours in fee.

“Take heart then, Hiero, enrich your friends, for so you will enrich yourself. Exalt the state, for so you will deck yourself with power. Get her allies 14 [for so you will win supporters for yourself]. Account the fatherland your estate, the citizens your comrades, friends your own children, your sons possessions dear as life. And try to surpass all these in deeds of kindness. For if you out-do your friends 15 in kindness, it is certain that your enemies will not be able to resist you.

“And if you do all these things, rest assured that you will be possessed of the fairest and most blessed possession in the world, for none will be jealous of your happiness.”

<sup>1</sup> Or ‘champions full of zeal.’ The καλ is not free from suspicion



# AGESILAUS

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ

Ι Οἶδα μὲν, ὅτι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης οὐ ῥάδιον ἄξιον ἔπαινον γράψαι, ὅμως δ' ἐγχειρητέον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι, εἰ ὅτι τελέως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μείονων τυγχάνοι ἐπαίνων.

- 2 Περὶ μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ τί ἂν τις μείζον καὶ κάλλιον εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ἢ ὅτι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς προγόνους ὀνομαζομένοις ἀπομνημονεύεται, ὁπόστος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο, καὶ τούτοις οὐκ
- 3 ἰδιώταις, ἀλλ' ἐκ βασιλέων βασιλεύουσιν; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ταύτη γ' ἂν τις ἔχοι καταμέμψασθαι αὐτούς, ὡς βασιλεύουσι μὲν, πόλεως δὲ τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἐντιμώτατον, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνδοξοτάτη· ὥστε οὐ δευτέρων πρω-
- 4 τεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνων ἡγεμονεύουσι. τῆδέ γε μὴν καὶ κοινῇ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ· ἢ τε γὰρ πόλις οὐδεπώποτε φθονήσασα τοῦ προτετιμῆσθαι αὐτούς ἐπεχείρησε καταλύσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν οἷ τε βασιλεῖς οὐδεπώποτε μειζόνων ὠρέχθησαν ἢ ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβον. τοιγαροῦν ἄλλη μὲν οὐδεμία ἀρχὴ φανερά ἐστι διαγεγενημένη ἀδιάσπαστος οὔτε δημοκρατία οὔτε ὀλι-

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I. I KNOW how difficult it is to write an appreciation of Agesilaus that shall be worthy of his virtue and glory. Nevertheless the attempt must be made. For it would not be seemly that so good a man, just because of his perfection, should receive no tributes of praise, however inadequate.

Now concerning his high birth what greater and nobler could be said than this, that even to-day the line of his descent from Heracles<sup>1</sup> is traced through the roll of his ancestors, and those no simple citizens, but kings and sons of kings? Nor are they open to the reproach that though they were kings, they ruled over a petty state. On the contrary, as their family is honoured above all in their fatherland, so is their state glorious above all in Greece; thus they are not first in the second rank, but leaders in a community of leaders. On one account his fatherland and his family are worthy to be praised together, for never at any time has the state been moved by jealousy of their pre-eminence to attempt the overthrow of their government, and never at any time have the kings striven to obtain greater powers than were conferred on them originally at their succession to the throne. For this reason, while no other government—democracy, oligarchy, despotism or kingdom—

<sup>1</sup> Agesilaus was twenty-fifth in line of descent from Heracles (Herodotus, VIII 131; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, c. 1, *Agesilaus*, c. 1)

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γαρχία οὔτε τυραννὶς οὔτε βασιλεία· αὕτη δὲ μόνη διαμένει συνεχῆς βασιλεία.

5 "Ὡς γε μὴν καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι ἄξιός τῆς βασιλείας ἐδόκει εἶναι Ἀγησίλαος, τάδε τὰ σημεῖα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἅγις βασιλεὺς ὧν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρισάντων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Λεωτυχίδα μὲν ὡς Ἄγιδος ὄντος υἱοῦ, Ἀγησιλάου δὲ ὡς Ἀρχιδάμου, κρίνασα ἡ πόλις ἀνεπικλητότερον εἶναι Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τούτου ἐστήσατο βασιλέα. καίτοι τὸ ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ πόλει ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων κριθέντα τοῦ καλλίστου γέρωσ ἀξιωθῆναι ποίωον ἔτι τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται τῆς γε πρὶν ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς;

6 "Ὅσα γε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεπράξατο, νῦν ἤδη διηγῆσομαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοῦ τρόπου αὐτοῦ κάλλιστα νομίζω καταδήλους ἔσεσθαι.

Ἀγησίλαος τοίνυν ἔτι μὲν νέος ὧν ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλείας· ἄρτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, ἐξηγγέλθη βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἀθροίζων καὶ ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζὸν πολὺ στράτευμα ὡς ἐπὶ

7 Ἑλλήνας· βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ τούτων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀγησίλαος ὑπέστη, εἰάν δώσιν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, δισχιλίους δὲ νεοδαμώδεις, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, διαβήσεται εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πειράσεσθαι εἰρήμην ποιῆσαι, ἢ ἂν πολεμῆν βούληται ὁ βάρβαρος, ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ παρέξειν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς

8 Ἑλλήνας. εὐθύς μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πάνυ ἠγάσθησαν αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πέρσης πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβη, ἀντι-

## AGESILAUS, I. 4-8

can lay claim to an unbroken existence, this kingdom alone stands fast continually.

However, there are not wanting signs that even 5 before his reign began Agesilaus was deemed worthy to be king. For on the death of King Agis there was a struggle for the throne between Leotychidas, as the son of Agis, and Agesilaus, as the son of Archidamus. The state decided in favour of Agesilaus, judging him to be the more eligible in point of birth and character alike. Surely to have been pronounced worthy of the highest privilege by the best men in the mightiest state is proof sufficient of his virtue, at least before he began to reign.

I will now give an account of the achievements 6 of his reign, for I believe that his deeds will throw the clearest light on his qualities.

Now Agesilaus was still a young man<sup>1</sup> when he gained the throne. He had been but a short time in power when the news leaked out that the king of the Persians was assembling a great navy and army for an attack on the Greeks. While the Lacedaemonians and their allies were considering the matter, Agesilaus declared, that if they would give him thirty Spartans, two thousand newly enrolled citizens, and a contingent of six thousand allies, he would cross to Asia and try to effect a peace, or, in case the barbarian wanted to fight, would keep him so busy that he would have no time for an attack on the Greeks. His eagerness to pay back the 8 Persian in his own coin for the former invasion of Greece, his determination to wage an offensive

<sup>1</sup> He was over forty, but see the Introduction



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διαβῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν, τό τε αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπιόντα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπομένοντα μάχεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τὰ κείνου δαπανῶντα βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολεμεῖν, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων ἐκρίνετο τὸ μὴ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάναι.

- 9 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν λαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξέπλευσε, πῶς ἂν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν, ὡς ἐστρατήγησεν, ἢ εἰ αὐτὰ διηγῆσαιτο ἃ ἔπραξεν; ἐν τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἦδε πρώτη πράξις ἐγένετο. Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, εἰ σπείσαιτο, ἕως ἔλθοιεν οὓς πέμπυει πρὸς βασιλέα ἀγγέλους, διαπράξεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀφεθῆναι αὐτονόμους τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀντῷ μοσε σπονδὰς ἄξιεν ἀδόλως, ὀρισά-
- 11 μενος τῆς πράξεως τρεῖς μῆνας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθύς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην πράττειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ πρόσθεν εἶχε μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καίπερ αἰσθόμενος ταῦτα ὅμως
- 12 ἐνέμεινε ταῖς σπονδαῖς. ἐμοὶ οὖν τοῦτο πρῶτον καλὸν δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι Τισσαφέρνην μὲν ἐμφανίσας ἐπίορκον ἄπιστον πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν, ἑαυτὸν δ' ἀντεπιδείξας πρῶτον μὲν ὄρκους ἐμπεδύοντα, ἔπειτα συνθήκας μὴ ψευδόμενον, πάντας ἐποίησε καὶ Ἑλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους θαρροῦντας συντίθεσθαι ἑαυτῷ, εἴ τι βούλοιτο.
- 13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ καταβάντι στρατεύματι προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἄπιοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθεσθέντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες μείονα

## AGESILAUS, I. 8-13

rather than a defensive war, and his wish to make the enemy pay for it rather than the Greeks, were enough to arouse an immediate and widespread enthusiasm for his project. But what appealed most to the imagination was the idea of entering on a struggle not to save Greece, but to subdue Asia

And what of his strategy after he had received the army and had sailed out? A simple narrative of his actions will assuredly convey the clearest impression of it. This, then, was his first act in Asia Tissaphernes had sworn the following oath to Agesilaus "If you will arrange an armistice to last until the return of the messengers whom I will send to the King, I will do my utmost to obtain independence for the Greek cities in Asia", and Agesilaus on his part had sworn to observe the armistice honestly, allowing three months for the transaction. What followed? Tissaphernes forthwith broke his oath, and instead of arranging a peace, applied to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. As for Agesilaus, though well aware of this, he none the less continued to keep the armistice. I think, therefore, that here we have his first noble achievement. By showing up Tissaphernes as a perjurer, he made him distrusted everywhere, and, contrariwise, by proving himself to be a man of his word and true to his agreements, he encouraged all, Greeks and barbarians alike, to enter into an agreement with him whenever he wished it.

The arrival of the new army emboldened Tissaphernes to send an ultimatum to Agesilaus, threatening war unless he withdrew from Asia, and the allies and the Lacedaemonians present made no concealment of their chagrin, believing that the

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τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν Ἀγησίλαω τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς εἶναι· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι, ὅτι ἐπιорκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἕλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν.

- 14 ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθύς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν· ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν, εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἐφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους.
- 15 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἵππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἢ δὲ Καρία ἀφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἠγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν ὀρμήσειν αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δὲ ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδῖον περιήγαγε, νομίζων ἰκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὶν εἰς τὰ
- 16 δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἵεναι εὐθύς ἀντιστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τὰς τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκῆτως παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἔλαβε.
- 17 Στρατηγικὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐδόκει διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι ἐπεὶ πόλεμος προερρήθη καὶ τὸ ἐξαπατᾶν ὀσιόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐγένετο, παῖδα ἀπέδειξε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην τῇ ἀπάτῃ. φρονίμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε πλου-

## AGESILAUS, I. 13-17

strength of Agesilaus was weaker than the Persian king's armament. But Agesilaus with a beaming face bade the envoys of Tissaphernes inform their master that he was profoundly grateful to him for his perjury, by which he had gained the hostility of the gods for himself and had made them allies of the Greeks. Without a moment's delay he gave 14 the word to his troops to pack up in preparation for a campaign, and warned the cities that lay on the lines of march to Caria to have their markets ready stocked. He advised by letter the Greeks of Ionia, the Aeolid and the Hellespont, to send their contingents for the campaign to his headquarters at Ephesus.

Now Tissaphernes reflected that Agesilaus was 15 without cavalry, while Caria was a difficult country for mounted men, and he thought that Agesilaus was wroth with him on account of his deceit. Concluding, therefore, that his estate in Caria was the real object of the coming attack, he sent the whole of his infantry across to that district and took his cavalry round into the plain of the Maeander, confident that he could ride down the Greeks before they reached the country where cavalry could not operate. But 16 instead of marching on Caria, Agesilaus forthwith turned round and made for Phrygia. Picking up the various forces that met him on the route, he proceeded to reduce the cities and captured a vast quantity of booty by sudden attacks.

This achievement also was thought to be a proof 17 of sound generalship, that when war was declared and cozening in consequence became righteous and fair dealing, he showed Tissaphernes to be a child at deception. It was thought, too, that he made shrewd

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- 18 τίσαι· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ<sup>κ</sup> χρήματα εἰληφθαι ἀντίπροικα τὰ πάντα ἐπωλεῖτο, τοῖς μὲν φίλοις προεῖπεν ὠνεῖσθαι, εἰπὼν ὅτι καταβήσοιτο ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐν τάχει τὸ στράτευμα κατάγων· τοὺς δὲ λαφυροπώλας ἐκέλευσε γραφομένους, ὁπόσου τι πρίαιντο, προίεσθαι τὰ χρήματα. ὥστε οὐδὲν προτελέσαντες οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τὸ δημόσιον βλάβαντες πάντες παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἔλαβον.
- 19 ἔτι δὲ ὁπότε αὐτόμολοι, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς βασιλέα ἰόντες χρήματα ἐθέλοιεν ὑφηγεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπεμέλετο ὡς διὰ τῶν φίλων ἀλίσκοιτο, ὅπως ἅμα μὲν χρηματίζοιντο, ἅμα δὲ ἐνδοξότεροι γίνονται. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐθύς πολλοὺς ἐρασ-  
τὰς τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλίας ἐποιήσατο.
- 20 Γιγνώσκων δ' ὅτι ἡ μὲν πορθουμένη καὶ ἐρημουμένη χώρα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο πολὺν χρόνον στράτευμα φέρειν, ἡ δ' οἰκουμένη μὲν σπειρομένη δὲ ἀέναον ἂν τὴν τροφήν παρέχοι, ἐπεμέλετο οὐ μόνον τοῦ βία χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀλλὰ
- 21 καὶ τοῦ πραότητι προσάγεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν προηγόρευε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοὺς ἀλίσκο-  
μένους μὴ ὡς ἀδίκους τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνθρώπους ὄντας φυλάττειν, πολλάκις δὲ ὁπότε μεταστρατοπεδεύοιτο, εἰ αἴσθοιτο καταλελειμ-  
μένα παιδιάρια μικρὰ<sup>1</sup> ἐμπόρων, ἃ πολλοὶ ἐπώ-  
λουν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μὴ δύνασθαι ἂν φέρειν αὐτὰ καὶ τρέφειν, ἐπεμέλετο καὶ τούτων ὅπως συγ-  
22 κομίζοιντό ποι. τοῖς δ' αὖ διὰ γῆρας καταλει-

<sup>1</sup> μικρὰ MSS. παρὰ S with Reuchlin.

## AGESILAUS, I. 17-22

use of this occasion to enrich his friends. For the 18  
accumulation of plunder was so great that things were  
selling for next to nothing. So he gave his friends  
the word to buy, saying that he was shortly going  
down to the coast with his army.<sup>1</sup> The auctioneers  
were ordered to have a schedule made of the prices  
obtained and to give delivery of the goods. Thus  
without capital outlay, and without any loss to the  
treasury, all his friends made a prodigious amount  
of money. Further, whenever deserters offered to 19  
give information where plunder might be taken,  
they naturally went to the king. In such a case  
he took care that the capture should be effected by  
his friends, so that they might at one and the same  
time make money and add to their laurels. The  
immediate result was that he had many ardent  
suitsors for his friendship.

Recognizing that a country plundered and de- 20  
populated could not long support an army, whereas  
an inhabited and cultivated land would yield inex-  
haustible supplies, he took pains not only to crush  
his enemies by force, but also to win them over by  
gentleness. He would often warn his men not to 21  
punish their prisoners as criminals, but to guard  
them as human beings, and often when shifting  
camp, if he noticed little children, the property of  
merchants, left behind—many merchants offered  
children for sale because they thought they would  
not be able to carry and feed them<sup>2</sup>—he looked  
after them too, and had them conveyed to some  
place of refuge. Again, he arranged that prisoners 22

<sup>1</sup> Where the goods would be re-sold at a profit

<sup>2</sup> The dealers often failed to find a buyer and consequently abandoned these captured children.

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πομένοις αἰχμαλώτοις προσέειπεν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ κυνῶν μήθ' ὑπὸ λύκων διαφθείροντο. ὥστε οὐ μόνου οἱ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀλισκόμενοι εὐμενεῖς αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο. ὀπόσας δὲ πόλεις προσαγάγοιτο; ἀφαιρῶν αὐτῶν ὅσα δοῦλοι δεσπότηαις ὑπηρετοῦσι, προσέειπεν ὅσα ἐλεύθεροι ἄρχουσι πείθονται καὶ τῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀναλώτων τειχέων τῇ φιλανθρωπία ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἐποιεῖτο.

- 23 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἐδύνατο στρατεῦσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἰππείαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἰππικὸν κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι αὐτόν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ
- 24 πόλεων ἰπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε. προεῖπε δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὡς ἐξέσοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεῦσθαι· καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως ἕκαστον προθύμως ταῦτα πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως μαστεύιο. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ πόλεις, ἐξ ὧν δέοι τοὺς ἰππέας παρασκευάζειν, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν ἰπποτρόφων πόλεων εὐθύς καὶ φρονηματίας μάλιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰππικῇ γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ἀγαστῶς ἔδοξε πράξαι, ὅτι κατεσκευάστο τὸ ἰππικὸν αὐτῷ καὶ εὐθύς ἐρρωμένον ἦν καὶ ἐνεργόν.
- 25 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔαρ ὑπέβαινε, συνήγαγε πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἔφεσον· ἀσκήσαι δὲ<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἄθλα προὔθηκε καὶ ταῖς ἰππικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἧτις κράτιστα ἰππεῦοι, καὶ ταῖς ὀπλιτι-

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. of the *Hellenica* have δ' correctly. the MSS. have καὶ here δὲ καὶ S.

of war who were too old to accompany the army were to be looked after, that they might not fall a prey to dogs or wolves. It thus came about that he won the goodwill not only of those who heard of these facts, but even of the prisoners themselves. In his settlement with the cities that he won over, he invariably excused them from all servile duties and required only such obedience as freemen owe to their rulers, and by his clemency he made himself master of fortresses impregnable to assault.

However, since a campaign in the plains was im- 23  
possible even in Phrygia, owing to Pharnabazus' cavalry, he decided that he must raise a mounted force, if he was to avoid continually running away from the enemy. He therefore enrolled the wealthiest men in all the cities thereabouts as breeders of horses, and issued a proclamation that 24  
anyone who supplied a horse and arms and an efficient man should be exempt from personal service. In this way he brought it about that every one of them carried out these requirements with the zeal of a man in quest of someone to die in his stead. He also specified cities that were to furnish contingents of cavalry, feeling sure that from the horse-breeding cities riders proud of their horsemanship would be forthcoming. This again was considered an admirable stroke on his part, that no sooner had he raised his cavalry than it became a powerful body ready for action.

At the first sign of spring<sup>1</sup> he collected the whole 25  
of his forces at Ephesus. With a view to their training he offered prizes for the cavalry squadron that rode best, and for the company of heavy in-

<sup>1</sup> 395 B C



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καίς, ἥτις ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχου· καὶ πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἄθλα προὔθηκεν, οἵτινες κράτιστοι τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φαίνονται. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὄραν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια μεστὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δὲ ἵππόδρομον ἱππέων ἱππαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκουτιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας

26 ἐπὶ στόχον ἰέντας. ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν, ἐν ἧ ἦν, θέας ἐποίησεν. ἦ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ μεστή ἦν παντοδαπῶν καὶ ὄπλων καὶ ἵππων ὠνίων οἵ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς καὶ οἱ σκυτεῖς καὶ οἱ γραφεῖς πάντες πολεμικὰ ὄπλα κατεσκευάζον· ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ὄντως ἂν

27 ἠγήσω πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι. ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἂν τις κἀκεῖνο ἰδὼν, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους τε, ὅπου ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἴοιεν, καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέβοιεν, πολεμικὰ δὲ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχίαν δὲ μελετῶεν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν

28 εἶναι; ἠγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην τινὰ ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλισκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν. ὀρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, πίονας δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων εἶναι ἐνόμισαν μηδὲν διοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι.

Προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὡς εὐθὺς ἠγήσοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν αὐτῷ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἀγωνιού-

## AGESILAUS, I. 25-28

fantry that reached the highest level of physical fitness. He also offered prizes to the targeteers and the archers who showed the greatest efficiency in their particular duties. Thereupon one might see every gymnasium crowded with the men exercising, the racecourse thronged with cavalymen riding, and the javelin-men and archers shooting at the mark. Indeed he made the whole city in which he was 26 quartered a sight to see. For the market was full of arms and horses of all sorts on sale, and the coppersmiths, carpenters, workers in iron, cobblers, and painters were all busy making weapons of war, so that you might have thought that the city was 27 really a war factory. And an inspiring sight it would have been to watch Agesilaus and all his soldiers behind him returning garlanded from the gymnasium and dedicating their garlands to Artemis. For where men reverence the gods, train themselves in warfare and practise obedience, there you surely find high hopes abounding. More- 28 over, believing that contempt for the enemy would kindle the fighting spirit, he gave instructions to his heralds that the barbarians captured in the raids should be exposed for sale naked. So when his soldiers saw them white because they never stripped, and fat and lazy through constant riding in carriages, they believed that the war would be exactly like fighting with women.

He also gave notice to the troops that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route to the most fertile parts of the country, so that he might at once find them preparing themselves in body and

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- 29 **μενοι.** ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης\* ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπατήσῃαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τῷ ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν. τό τε οὖν πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου κατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προεῖπεν, εὐθύς εἰς<sup>1</sup> τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐχώρησε, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων πορευόμενος πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ παρέϊχε· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἤκουσιν οἱ
- 30 τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῖς. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολουθούς ἐσπαρμένους καθ' ἄρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἵππέας. οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο
- 31 παμπληθέσι τῶν ἵππέων τάξεσιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιγνώσκων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις οὐπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπειὴ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἠγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ δύναίτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθύς ἤγεγνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἵππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑφηγεῖσθαι· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἵππεύσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς
- 32 τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἵππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν Περσῶν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐνέκλιναν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> εἰς is added from *Hellenica* III. iv. 21. S adds ἐπὶ

## AGESILAUS, I. 28-32

mind for the coming struggle Tissaphernes, how- 29  
 ever, believed that in saying this he meant to  
 deceive him again, and that now he would really  
 invade Caria Accordingly he sent his infantry  
 across into Caria as before, and stationed his  
 cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. But  
 Agesilaus did not play false in accordance with  
 his notice he marched straight to the neighbour-  
 hood of Sardis; and for three days his route lay  
 through a country bare of enemies, so that he  
 supplied his army with abundance of provisions.  
 On the fourth day the enemy's cavalry came up 30  
 Their leader told the officer in command of the  
 baggage-train to cross the river Pactolus and encamp.  
 The cavalry, meantime, catching sight of the Greek  
 camp-followers plundering in scattered bands, killed  
 a large number of them On noticing this, Agesilaus  
 ordered his cavalry to go to their help The Persians  
 in turn, seeing the supports coming, gathered in a  
 mass and confronted them with the full strength  
 of their horse Then Agesilaus, realising that the 31  
 enemy's infantry was not yet up, while he had all  
 his resources on the spot, thought the moment was  
 come to join battle if he could. Therefore, after  
 offering sacrifice, he led forward the battle line  
 immediately against the opposing cavalry, the heavy  
 infantrymen of ten years service having orders to  
 run to close quarters with the enemy, while the  
 targeteers were to lead the advance at the double  
 He also sent word to the cavalry to attack in the  
 knowledge that he himself was following with the  
 whole army The charge of the cavalry was met by 32  
 the flower of the Persians but as soon as the full  
 weight of the attack fell on them, they swayed, and

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οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ πῦθαμῶ ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπόμενοι αἰρούσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν ἐτρέποντο· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἔχων κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιστρατοπεδεύσατο.

- 33 Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε τοὺς πολεμίους ταράττεσθαι διὰ τὸ αἰτιᾶσθαι ἀλλήλους τοῦ γεγενημένου, εὐθὺς ἤγγεν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις. κακεῖ ἅμα μὲν ἔκαιε καὶ ἐπόρθει τὰ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ κηρύγματι ἐδήλου τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθερίας δεομένους ὡς πρὸς σύμμαχον αὐτὸν παρεῖναι· εἰ δὲ τινες τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας διακρινομένους<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὄπλοις παρεῖναι.
- 34 ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει, ἀδεῶς δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐστρατεύετο, τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν προσκυνεῖν Ἕλληνας ἀναγκαζομένους ὁρῶν τιμωμένους ὑφ' ὧν ὑβρίζοντο, τοὺς δ' ἀξιούντας καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καρποῦσθαι, τούτους ποιήσας μηδ' ἀντιβλέπειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δύνασθαι καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν φίλων χώραν ἀδήωτον παρέχων, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οὕτω καρπούμενος, ὥστε ἐν δυοῖν ἐτοῖν πλέον τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων τῷ θεῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς δεκάτην ἀποθῆσαι.

- 35 Ὁ μέντοι Περσῶν βασιλεὺς νομίσας Τισσαφέρην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀπέτεμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ἀθυμότερα ἐγένετο, τὰ δὲ Ἀγησι-

<sup>1</sup> The text as corrected by Reiske and Schneider τὸ ἐλευθεροῦν διακρινομένους S. τῷ ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς (or tous) διακρινομένους MSS.

## AGESILAUS, 1. 32-35

some were cut down immediately in the river, while the rest fled. The Greeks followed up their success and captured their camp. The targeteers naturally fell to pillaging; but Agesilaus drew the lines of his camp round so as to enclose the property of all, friends and foes alike.<sup>1</sup>

On hearing that there was confusion among the 33 enemy, because everyone put the blame for what had happened on his neighbour, he advanced forthwith on Sardis. There he began burning and pillaging the suburbs, and meantime issued a proclamation calling on those who wanted freedom to join his standard, and challenging any who claimed a right to Asia to seek a decision between themselves and the liberators by an appeal to arms. As no one 34 came out to oppose him, he prosecuted the campaign henceforward in complete confidence: he beheld the Greeks, compelled erstwhile to cinge, now honoured by their oppressors; caused those who arrogantly claimed for themselves the honours paid to the gods to shrink even from looking the Greeks in the face, rendered the country of his friends inviolate, and stripped the enemy's country so thoroughly that in two years he consecrated to the god at Delphi more than two hundred talents as tithe.

But the Persian king, believing that Tissaphernes 35 was responsible for the bad turn in his affairs, sent down Tithaustes and beheaded Tissaphernes. After this the outlook became still more hopeless for the barbarians, while Agesilaus received large accessions

<sup>1</sup> *z e* he intrenched.

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λάου πολὺ ἔρρωμενέστερα. ἄπο πάντων γὰρ τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ φιλίας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφίσταντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρεγόμενοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὥστε οὐκέτι Ἑλλήνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων πολλῶν ἡγεμῶν ἦν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος.

- 36 Ἀξιόν γε μὴν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὑπερβαλλόντως ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅστις ἄρχων μὲν παμπόλλων ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλεων, ἄρχων δὲ καὶ νήσων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προσήψεν αὐτῷ ἢ πόλις, αὐξανόμενος δὲ καὶ εὐκλεία καὶ δυνάμει, παρὸν δ' αὐτῷ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι ὅ τι ἐβούλετο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπινοῶν καὶ ἐλπίζων καταλύσειν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσασαν πρότερον ἀρχὴν ὅμως ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐκρατήθη, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι, ἐπέιθετο τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν διαφερόντως ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ ἔτυχεν ἐστηκῶς μόνος παρὰ τοὺς πέντε, μάλα ἐνδηλον ποιῶν, ὡς οὔτε ἂν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δέξαιτο ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε τοὺς ἐπικτήτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φίλων οὔτε αἰσχροὰ καὶ ἀκίνδυνα κέρδη μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια.

- 37 Ὅσον γε μὴν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔμεινε, πῶς οὐκ ἀξιεπαίνου βασιλέως καὶ τοῦτ' ἔργον ἐπεδείξατο, ὅστις παραλαβὼν πάσας πόλεις, ἐφ' ἃς ἄρξων ἐξέπλευσε, στασιαζούσας διὰ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κινήθῃναι, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔληξαν, ἐποίησεν ὥστ' ἄνευ φυγῆς καὶ θανάτων, ἕως αὐτὸς παρῆν, ὁμονόως πολιτευομένας καὶ
- 38 εὐδαίμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι; τοιγαροῦν οἰ

<sup>1</sup> In the market at Sparta. The Five Ephors sat there daily, and it was in their power to censure the kings.

## AGESILAUS, I 35-38

of strength. For all the nations of the empire sent embassies seeking his friendship, and the desire for freedom caused many to revolt to him, so that not Greeks alone, but many barbarians also now acknowledged the leadership of Agesilaus.

His conduct at this juncture also merits unstinted 36  
admiration. Though ruler of countless cities on the mainland, and master of islands—for the state had now added the fleet to his command—becoming daily more famous and more powerful, placed in a position to make what use he would of his many opportunities, and designing and expecting to crown his achievements by dissolving the empire that had attacked Greece in the past, he suppressed all thought of these things, and as soon as he received a request from the home government to come to the aid of his fatherland, he obeyed the call of the state, just as though he were standing in the Ephoians' palace<sup>1</sup> alone before the Five, thus showing clearly that he would not take the whole earth in exchange for his fatherland, nor new-found friends for old, and that he scorned to choose base and secure gains rather than that which was right and honourable, even though it was dangerous.

Throughout the time that he remained in his 37  
command, another achievement of his showed beyond question how admirable was his skill in kingcraft. Having found all the cities that he had gone out to govern rent by faction in consequence of the political disturbances that followed on the collapse of the Athenian empire, he brought it about by the influence of his presence that the communities lived in unbroken harmony and prosperity without recourse to banishment or executions. Therefore the 38



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ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνας οὐχ ὡς ἄρχοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς καὶ ἐταίρου ἀπίοντος αὐτοῦ ἔλυποῦντο. καὶ τέλος ἐδήλωσαν, ὅτι οὐ πλαστήν τὴν φιλίαν παρείχοντο. ἐβελούσιοι γοῦν αὐτῷ συνεβοήθησαν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες, ὅτι οὐ χείροσιν ἑαυτῶν δεήσοι μάχεσθαι. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο.

II. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐθνῶν ὡς περὶ ὁ Πέρσης τῷ παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ· καὶ ἦν ἐνιαυσίαν ὁδὸν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐποίησατο, ταύτην μείον ἢ ἐν μηνὶ κατήνυσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑστερήσει 2 τῆς πατρίδος προεθυμείτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἕξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο, Λαρισαῖοι μὲν καὶ Κρανωνῖοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοὶ πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν οὗτοι ἐφεπόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δὲ ἐπ' οὐρὰν ἔχων τῶν ἰππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας αὐτὸν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοῖς ὀπίσθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ προηγούμενου στρα- 3 τεύματος ἰππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἵππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν· οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐφείποντο. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἅ ἐκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον παραπέμπει τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μάλ' εὐρώστους ἰππέας καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν 80

Greeks in Asia mourned his departure as though they were bidding farewell not merely to a ruler, but to a father or a comrade. And at the end they showed that their affection was unfeigned. At any rate they went with him voluntarily to aid Sparta, knowing as they did that they must meet an enemy not inferior to themselves. This then was the end of his activities in Asia.

II. After crossing the Hellespont, he passed through the very same tubes as the Persian king with his mighty host, and the distance that had been traversed by the barbarian in a year was covered by Agesilaus in less than a month. For he had no intention of arriving too late to aid his fatherland. When he had passed through Macedonia and reached 2 Thessaly, the people of Larisa, Crannon, Scotussa and Pharsalus, who were allies of the Boeotians, all the Thessalians, in fact, except those who happened to be in exile at the time, followed at his heels and kept molesting him. For a time he led the army in a hollow square, with one half of the cavalry in front and the other half in the rear, but finding his progress hampered by Thessalian attacks on his rearguard, he sent round all the cavalry from the vanguard to the rear, except his own escort. When 3 the two forces faced one another in line of battle, the Thessalians, believing it inexpedient to engage heavy infantry with cavalry, wheeled round and slowly retired, their enemy following very cautiously. Agesilaus, noticing the errors into which both sides were falling, now sent round his own escort of stalwart horsemen, with orders to bid the others to charge at full speed, and to do the same themselves,

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κατὰ κράτος καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναί αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναστρέφειν πειρώμενοι πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους  
 4 ἠλίσκοντο. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, φυγὴ γίνεται ἐξαισία· ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἠλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ  
 5 ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τρόπαιόν τε ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου· καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινε μάλα ἠδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονούντας ἐφ' ἵππικῇ ἐνευικήκει σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἐμηχανήσατο ἵππικῶ.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ὑπερβάλλων τὰ Ἀχαικὰ τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν ἤδη πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας  
 6 ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀντιτεταγμένους εὐρῶν Θηβαίους, Ἀθηναίους, Ἀργεῖους, Κορινθίους, Αἰνιᾶνας, Εὐβοέας καὶ Λοκροὺς ἀμφοτέρους οὐδὲν ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀντιπαρέταττε, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἔχων μόραν καὶ ἦμισυ, τῶν δ' αὐτόθεν συμμαχῶν Φωκέας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους μόνους τό τ' ἄλλο  
 7 στράτευμα, ὅπερ ἠγάγετο αὐτός. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο λέξων ἔρχομαι, ὡς πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττους, πολὺ δὲ χείρονας ἔχων ὅμως συνέβαλεν· εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοιμι, Ἀγησίλαόν τ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἄφρονα ἀποφαίνειν καὶ ἐμαυτὸν μῶρον, εἰ ἐπαινοίην τὸν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων εἰκὴ κινδυνεύοντα· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τάδ' αὐτοῦ ἄγαμαι, ὅτι πλήθός τε οὐδὲν

## AGESILAUS, II. 3-7

and not to give the enemy a chance of rallying. As for the Thessalians, on seeing the unexpected charge they either did not rally at all, or were captured in the attempt to do so with their horses broadside to the enemy. Polycharmus the Pharsalian, commander 4 of the cavalry, did indeed turn, and fell fighting along with those about him. Hereupon ensued a wild flight, so that some of the enemy were killed and some were taken prisoners. at any rate they never halted until they reached Mt. Narthacium. On that day Agesilaus set up a trophy between 5 Pras and Narthacium, and here for the moment he paused, mightily pleased with his exploit, since he had defeated an enemy inordinately proud of his horsemanship with the cavalry that he had himself created.

On the morrow he crossed the Achaean mountains in Phthia, and now his route led him through friendly country till he reached the borders of Boeotia. Here he found arrayed against him the Thebans, 6 Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aemianians, Euboeans, and both the Locrian tribes. Without a moment's delay, in full view of the enemy, he drew up his army for battle. In addition to the army that he had brought with him he had a regiment and a half of Lacedaemonians, and of the local allies only the Phocians and Orchomenians. Now I am not going 7 to say that his forces were far inferior in numbers and in quality, and that nevertheless he accepted battle. That statement, I think, would but show a want of common sense in Agesilaus and my own folly in praising a leader who wantonly jeopardised interests of vital moment. On the contrary—and this is what I do admire him for—he brought into

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- μείον ἢ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων παρέσκευάσατο ὥπλισέ  
 τε οὕτως, ὡς ἅπαντα μὲν χαλκόν, ἅπαντα δὲ  
 8 φοινικᾶ φαίνεσθαι· ἐπεμελήθη δ' ὅπως οἱ στρα-  
 τιῶται τοὺς πόνους δυνησούντο ὑποφέρειν· ἐνέ-  
 πλησε δὲ καὶ φρονήματος τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, ὡς  
 ἱκανοὶ εἶεν πρὸς οὐστυνας δέοι μάχεσθαι· ἔτι  
 δὲ φιλονικίαν ἐνέβαλε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς μετ'  
 αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἄριστοι φαίνονται.  
 ἐλπίδων γε μὴν πάντας ἐνέπλησεν, ὡς πᾶσι  
 πολλὰ καγαθὰ ἔσοιτο, εἰ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται,  
 νομίζων ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπους προθυμό-  
 τατα τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ  
 ἐψεύσθη.
- 9 Διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην· καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο  
 οἷα περ οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνήεσαν μὲν  
 γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίου οἱ μὲν σὺν  
 Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς  
 Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλικῶνος. ἐώρων δὲ τὰς τε  
 φάλαγγας ἀλλήλων μάλα ἰσομάχους, σχεδὸν δὲ  
 καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἦσαν ἑκατέρων ἰσοπληθεῖς. εἶχε  
 δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ,  
 Ὀρχομένιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.  
 οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι  
 10 δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον. συνιόντων δὲ τέως  
 μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἦν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων· ἠνίκα δὲ  
 ἀπέειχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ  
 Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν  
 ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ  
 τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὦν Ἡριππίδας ἐξε-  
 11 νάγει (ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι τῶν τε ἐξ οἴκου αὐτῷ  
 συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῶν Κυρεῖων τινές)<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι ἐχόμενοι.

AGESILAUS, II 7-11

the field an army not a whit inferior to the enemy's ;  
 he so armed it that it looked one solid mass of  
 bronze and scarlet, he took care to render his men 8  
 capable of meeting all calls on their endurance, he  
 filled their hearts with confidence that they were  
 able to withstand any and every enemy ; he inspired  
 them all with an eager determination to out-do one  
 another in valour, and lastly he filled all with an-  
 ticipation that many good things would befall them,  
 if only they proved good men. For he believed that  
 men so prepared fight with all their might ; nor  
 in point of fact did he deceive himself

I will describe the battle, for there has been none 9  
 like it in our time. The two armies met in the  
 plain of Coronea, Agesilaus advancing from the  
 Cephissus, the Thebans and their allies from Helicon.  
 Their eyes told them that the opposing lines of  
 battle were exactly matched in strength, and the  
 number of cavalry on both sides was about the  
 same. Agesilaus was on the right wing of his army  
 and had the Orchomenians on his extreme left. On  
 the other side the Thebans themselves were on the  
 right wing and the Argives held the left. As they 10  
 approached both sides for a time maintained com-  
 plete silence, but when they were about a furlong  
 apart, the Thebans raised the battle-cry and rushed  
 forward at the double. The distance between them  
 was still about one hundred yards when the mer-  
 cenary troops under Herippidas, consisting of the 11  
 men who had gone with Agesilaus from home and  
 some of the Cyreians, dashed out in turn from their  
 main body, closely followed by Ionians, Aeolians and

<sup>1</sup> The parenthesis is due to Lippelt S, with the MSS, has a full stop after ἐξενόγει, and no break after τινές

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καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς ἀμφ' Ἀγησίλαου, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλικῶνα. κἀνταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαου, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις αὐτῷ, ὅτι Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἰσί. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθύς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεεν ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τῷ Ἐλικῶνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρου ἐρρωμένως.

12 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαου ἀνδρείῳ μὲν ἕξεστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφιλόγως, οὐ μέντοι εἴλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα· ἕξον γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἐπομένῳ χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὄπισθεν οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις. καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον. καὶ κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρήν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιγὴ, φωνὴ δέ τις ἦν τοιαύτη, οἶαν ὀργή τε καὶ μάχη παράσχοιτ' ἄν. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον.

13 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν νίκη σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐγένετο, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσηνέχθη πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντές τινες τῶν ἰππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ ναῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἡρώτων, τί χρῆ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων πάντοσε καὶ παντοίοις ὅπλοις ὅμως οὐκ ἐπε-

## AGESILAUS, II. 11-13

Hellespontines All these took part in the dash, and coming within spear-thrust put to flight the force in front of them As for the Argives, they fled towards Helicon without awaiting the attack of Agesilaus And now some of the mercenaries were in the act of crowning Agesilaus with a wreath, when a man reported to him that the Thebans had cut their way through the Oichomenians and were among the baggage train So he immediately wheeled his main body and advanced against them; and the Thebans in their turn, seeing that their allies had sought refuge at the foot of Mt Helicon, and wanting to break through and join their friends, made a strong move forward.

At this juncture one may say without fear of 12 contradiction that Agesilaus showed courage, but the course that he adopted was not the safest For he might have allowed the men who were trying to break through to pass, and then have followed them and annihilated those in the rear. Instead of doing that he made a furious frontal attack on the Thebans. Thrusting shield against shield, they shoved and fought and killed and fell There was no shouting, nor was there silence, but the strange noise that wrath and battle together will produce In the end some of the Thebans broke through and reached Helicon, but many fell during the retreat.

The victory lay with Agesilaus, but he himself 13 had been carried wounded to his battle-line, when some horsemen rode up, and told him that eighty of the enemy retaining their arms had taken cover in the temple, and they asked what they should do Though wounded in every part of his body with every sort of weapon, he did not



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λάβητο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἔαν τε ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλονται ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶα καὶ προπέμψαι ἐπέταξε τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἵππεις, ἔστε ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένοντο.

- 14 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη, παρῆν δὴ θεάσασθαι, ἔνθα συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, τὴν μὲν γῆν αἵματι πεφυρμένην, νεκροὺς δὲ κειμένους φιλίουσ καὶ πολεμίους μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀσπίδας δὲ διατεθρυμμένας, δόρατα συντεθραυσμένα, ἐγχειρίδια γυμνὰ κολεῶν, τὰ μὲν χαμαί, τὰ δ' ἐν σώματι,<sup>1</sup>
- 15 τὰ δ' ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὄψέ, συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος ἐδειπνοποίησαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν· πρῶι δὲ Γύλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τρόπαιον ἴστασθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀυλητὰς πάντα αὐλεῖν.
- 16 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτως δὴ αἶ τε σπονδαὶ γίγνονται καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρει, ἐλόμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ μέγιστος εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οἴκοι τὰ νόμιμα μὲν ἄρχειν, τὰ νόμιμα δὲ ἄρχεσθαι.
- 17 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατανοήσας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους· τὰ μὲν οἴκοι καρπουμένους, Κόρινθον δὲ προσειληφότας, ἠδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ στρατεύει ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ δηώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν

<sup>1</sup> σώματι MSS σώμασι S

AGESILAUS, II. 13-17

forget his duty towards the gods, but gave orders that these men should be suffered to go whithersoever they wished, and would not suffer them to be harmed, and charged his escort of cavalry to conduct them to a place of safety

Now that the fighting was at an end, a weird 14 spectacle met the eye, as one surveyed the scene of the conflict—the earth stained with blood, friend and foe lying dead side by side, shields smashed to pieces, spears snapped in two, daggers bared of their sheaths, some on the ground, some embedded in the bodies, some yet gripped by the hand. Then, 15 as the day was far spent, having dragged the enemy's dead<sup>1</sup> within their battle line, they supped and slept. Early next morning Agesilaus ordered Gylys, the polemarch, to draw up the army in battle order and to set up a trophy, and to command every man to wear a wreath in honour of the god<sup>2</sup> and all the flute-players to play.

Now while they were carrying out these orders the 16 Thebans sent a herald, asking leave to bury their dead under protection of a truce. And so a truce was made, and Agesilaus left for home, choosing, instead of supreme power in Asia, to rule and to be ruled at home according to the constitution.

Some time afterwards, finding that the Argives 17 were enjoying the fruits of their land, that they had appropriated Corinth and were finding the war a pleasant occupation, he made an expedition against them. He first laid waste all their territory, then

<sup>1</sup> In order that the Thebans might not recover them. But some think τῶν πολεμίων corrupt

<sup>2</sup> Apollo.

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εὐθύς ἐκέϊθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ τὰ στενὰ εἰς Κόρινθον αἰρεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον τείνοντα τείχη· καὶ ἀναπετάσας τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς πύλας οὕτως οἴκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ ἿΤακίνθια, ὅπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ, τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ συνεπετέλει.

- 18 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τοὺς Κορινθίους πάντα μὲν τὰ κτήνη ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ σωζομένους, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Πείραιον σπείροντας καὶ καρπουμένους, μέγιστον δὲ ἠγησάμενος, ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ ταύτη ἐκ Κρέυσιος ὀρμώμενοι εὐπετῶς τοῖς Κορινθίοις παρεγίγνοντο, στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὸ Πείραιον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ὡς ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, ἐξ ἀρίστου μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο
- 19 πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ· αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα βεβοηθηκότας ἐκ τοῦ Πειραίου εἰς τὴν πόλιν πασσυδίᾳ, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἰρεῖ τὸ Πείραιον ἔρημον εὐρὼν φυλακῆς καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐνόντα λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ τείχη, ἃ ἐνετετείχιστο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησε.
- 20 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προθύμων ὄντων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ δεομένων συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν . . .<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐπιθεμένων ἐν στενοῖς τῶν Ἀκαρνανῶν καταλαβὼν τοῖς ψιλοῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν μάχην συνάπτει καὶ

<sup>1</sup> There is no indication of a gap in S

<sup>1</sup> The MSS of *Hellenica*, IV IV 19 give κατὰ Τεγέαν in the corresponding passage, this is corrected to κατὰ Τενέαν "by way of Tenea," which is probably the right reading here.

AGESILAUS, II. 17-20

crossed to Corinth by the pass<sup>1</sup> and captured the walls leading to Lechaëum. Having thus unbarred the gates of Peloponnese, he returned home for the festival of Hyacinthus<sup>2</sup> and joined in singing the pæan in honour of the god,<sup>3</sup> taking the place assigned to him by the chonmaster

After a time, discovering that the Corinthians 18 were keeping all their cattle safe in Peiræum, and sowing and reaping the crops throughout that district, and—what he thought most serious—that the Boeotians were finding this route convenient for sending support to the Corinthians, with Creusis as their base, he marched against Peiræum. Seeing that it was strongly guarded, he moved his camp after the morning meal to a position before the capital, as though the city was about to surrender. But becoming aware that supports had been hurriedly 19 poured into the city during the night from Peiræum, he turned about at daybreak and captured Peiræum, finding it undefended, and everything in it, along with the fortresses that stood there, fell into his hands. Having done this, he returned home.

After these events, the Achæans, who were zealous 20 advocates of the alliance, begged him to join them in an expedition against Acarnania. <sup>4</sup> And when the Acarnanians attacked him in a mountain pass he seized the heights above their heads with his light infantry,<sup>5</sup> fought an engagement and, after inflicting

<sup>2</sup> Celebrated annually at Amyclæ, early in the summer

<sup>3</sup> Apollo, who had accidentally killed Hyacinthus

<sup>4</sup> Something seems to be lost here, probably a passage that ended with the words *συστρατεύει αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν*.

<sup>5</sup> The words *τοῖς ψιλοῖς* are probably a correction by X, he says the heights were taken by the heavy infantry in *Hellenica*, iv. vi. 11.

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πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας αὐτῶν τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἔληξε, πρὶν Ἀχαιοῖς μὲν φίλους ἐποίησεν Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀργείους, ἑαυτῷ δὲ καὶ συμμάχους.

- 21 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Ἀγησίλαος ἀντεῖπε τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἕως τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας Κορινθίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἠνάγκασε τὰς πόλεις οἴκαδε καταδέξασθαι. ὕστερον δ' αὖ καὶ Φλειασίων τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας κατήγαγεν, αὐτὸς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλη πη ταῦτα μέμφεται, ἀλλ' οὖν φιλειταιρία γε
- 22 πραχθέντα φανερά ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐν Θήβαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέκανον οἱ ἐναντίοι, βοηθῶν αὖ τούτοις στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας. εὐρῶν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένα ἅπαντα, ὑπερβὰς τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἐδήου τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεος, παρέχων καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη μάχεσθαι Θηβαίοις, εἰ βούλονται. ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐπίοντι ἔτει πάλιν ἐπὶ Θήβας καὶ ὑπερβὰς τὰ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταυρώματα καὶ τάφρους ἐδήωσε τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας.
- 23 Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου κοινῇ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ πόλις εὐτύχει· ὅσα γε μὴν μετὰ τοῦτο σφάλματα ἐγένοντο οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ὡς Ἀγησιλάου ἡγουμένου ἐπράχθη. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ τῆς ἐν Δεύκτροις συμφορᾶς γεγενημένης κατακαίνουσι τοὺς ἐν Τεγέᾳ φίλους καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι σὺν Μαντινεῦσι, συνεστηκότων ἤδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων καὶ Ἀρκά-

severe losses on them, set up a trophy, nor did he cease until he had induced the Acarnanians, Aetolians and Argives to enter into friendship with the Achaeans and alliance with himself.

When the enemy sent embassies desiring peace, 21 Agesilaus opposed the peace until he forced Corinth and Thebes to restore to their homes the citizens who had been exiled on account of their sympathy with the Lacedaemonians. And again later, having led an expedition in person against Phleius, he also restored the Phleiasian exiles who had suffered in the same cause. Possibly some may censure these actions on other grounds, but at least it is obvious that they were prompted by a spirit of true comradeship. It was in the same spirit that he subsequently 22 made an expedition against Thebes, to relieve the Lacedaemonians in that city when their opponents had taken to murdering them. Finding the city protected on all sides by a trench and stockade, he crossed the Pass of Cynoscephalae, and laid waste the country up to the city walls, offering battle to the Thebans both on the plain and on the hills, if they chose to fight. In the following year he made another expedition against Thebes, and, after crossing the stockade and trenches at Scolus, laid waste the rest of Boeotia.

Up to this time he and his city enjoyed unbroken 23 success, and though the following years brought a series of troubles, it cannot be said that they were incurred under the leadership of Agesilaus. On the other hand, after the disaster at Leuctia, when his adversaries in league with the Mantineans were murdering his friends and acquaintances in Tegea, and a coalition of all Boeotia, Arcadia and Elis

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δων καὶ Ἡλείων, στρατεύει σὺν μόνῃ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ δυνάμει, πολλῶν νομιζόντων οὐδ' ἂν ἐξελθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν. δηώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν κατακαυόντων τοὺς φίλους οὕτως αὐτῷ οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν.

- 24 Ἀπό γε μὴν τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα στρατευσαμένων Ἀρκάδων τε πάντων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Φωκέων καὶ Δοκρῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ Αἰνείων καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Εὐβοέων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀφεστηκότων μὲν τῶν δούλων, πολλῶν δὲ περιοικίδων πόλεων, καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐ μείονων ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχῃ ἢ λειπομένων, ὅμως διεφύλαξε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, ὅπου μὲν ἐν παντὶ πλέον ἂν εἶχον οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐκ ἐξάγων ἐνταῦθα, ὅπου δὲ οἱ πολῖται πλέον ἔξειν ἔμελλον, εὐρώστως παρατεταγμένος, νομίζων εἰς μὲν τὸ πλατὺ ἐξιὼν πάντοθεν ἂν περιέχεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ ὑπερδεξίοις τόποις ὑπομένων τῷ παντὶ κρατεῖν ἂν
- 25 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἀπεχώρησε τὸ στράτευμα, πῶς οὐκ ἂν φαίη τις αὐτὸν εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἑαυτῷ, ὡς γὰρ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππων ἀπείργεν ἤδη τὸ γῆρας, χρημάτων δὲ ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν δεομένην, εἰ μέλλοι σύμμαχόν τινα ἔξειν, ἐπὶ τὸ πορίζειν ταῦτα ἑαυτὸν ἔταξε καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐδύνατο οἴκοι μένων ἐμηχανᾶτο, ἃ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν οὐκ ὤκνει μετιέναι οὐδ' ἠσχύνετο, εἰ μέλλοι τὴν πόλιν ὠφελήσειν,

## AGEÍ ILAUS, II. 23-25

had been formed,<sup>23</sup> he took the field with the Lacedaemomian forces only, thus disappointing the general expectation that the Lacedaemomians would not even go outside their own borders for a long time to come. It was not until he had laid waste the country of those who had murdered his friends that he returned home once more.

After this Sparta was attacked by all the Arcadians, 24 Argives, Eleians and Boeotians, who had the support of the Phocians, both the Locrian peoples, the Thessalians, Aemianians, Acarnanians and Euboeans. In addition the slaves and many of the outlandish communities were in revolt, and at least as many of the Spartan nobles had fallen in the battle of Leuctra as survived. He kept the city safe notwithstanding, and that though it was without walls, not going out into the open where the advantage would have lain wholly with the enemy, and keeping his army strongly posted where the citizens would have the advantage; for he believed that he would be surrounded on all sides if he came out into the plain, but that if he made a stand in the defiles and the heights, he would be master of the situation.

After the retirement of the enemy, none will deny 25 that his conduct was marked by good sense. The marching and riding incidental to active service were no longer possible to a man of his years, but he saw that the state must have money if she was to gain an ally anywhere. So he applied himself to the business of raising money. At home he did all that ingenuity could suggest, and, if he saw any prospect of serving the state abroad, shrink from no measures that circumstances called for, and he was not ashamed to go out, not as a general, but as an



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- 26 πρεσβευτῆς ἐκπορευομενος ἀντι στρατηγοῦ. ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ ἔργα διεπράξατο. Αὐτοφραδάτης τε γὰρ πολιορκῶν ἐν Ἀσσω Ἀριοβαρζάνην σύμμαχον ὄντα δείσας Ἀγησίλαον φεύγων ᾤχετο. Κότυς δ' αὖ Σηστὸν πολιορκῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔτι οὔσαν λύσας καὶ οὗτος τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπηλλάγη· ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τρόπαιον τῶν πολεμίων ἐστήκει αὐτῷ. Μαύσωλός γε μὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ πολιορκῶν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα οὐκέτι δείσας, ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ἀπέ-  
 27 πλευσεν οἴκαδε. κἀνταῦθα οὖν ἄξια θαύματος διεπράξατο· οἳ τε γὰρ εὖ πεπονθένει νομίζοντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες αὐτὸν χρήματα ἀμφοτέροι ἔδοσαν. Ταχῶς γε μὴν καὶ Μαύσωλος, διὰ τὴν πρόσθεν Ἀγησιλάου ξενίαν συμβαλό-  
 28 μενος καὶ οὗτος χρήματα τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὸν οἴκαδε προπομπὴν δόντες μεγαλοπρεπῆ.
- 28 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἤδη μὲν ἔτη ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα· κατανενοηκῶς δὲ τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῷ Πέρσῃ πολεμεῖν καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππείας, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔχοντα ἄσμενος ἤκουσεν, ὅτι μετε-  
 29 πέμπετο αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεμονίαν ὑπισχνού-  
 30 μενος. ἐνόμιζε γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀρμῇ τῷ μὲν Αἰγυπτίῳ χάριν ἀποδώσειν ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργετήκει τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνας πάλιν ἐλευθερώσειν, τῷ δὲ Πέρσῃ δίκην ἐπιθήσειν καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν καὶ ὅτι νῦν σύμμαχος εἶναι  
 30 φάσκων ἐπέταττε Μεσσήνην ἀφιέναι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ μεταπεμψάμενος οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν

envoy. And even as an envoy he accomplished 26  
 work worthy of a great general. For instance,  
 Autophriadates laying siege to Ariobaizanes, an ally  
 of Sparta, at Assos, took to his heels from fear of  
 Agesilaus. Cotys for his part, besieging Sestos, while  
 it was still in the hands of Ariobaizanes, broke up the  
 siege and made off. With good reason, therefore,  
 might the victorious envoy have set up a trophy once  
 again to record these bloodless successes. Again, 27  
 Mausolus, laying siege to both these places with a  
 fleet of a hundred vessels, was induced, not indeed  
 by fear, but by persuasion, to sail for home. In this  
 affair too his success was admirable, for those who  
 considered that they were under an obligation to him  
 and those who fled before him, both paid. Yet again,  
 Tachos and Mausolus (another of those who con-  
 tributed money to Sparta, owing to his old ties of  
 hospitality with Agesilaus), sent him home with a  
 magnificent escort.

Subsequently, when he was now about eighty 28  
 years of age, he became aware that the king of  
 Egypt was bent on war with Persia, and was possessed  
 of large forces of infantry and cavalry and plenty  
 of money. He was delighted when a summons  
 for help reached him from the Egyptian king, who  
 actually promised him the chief command. For he 29  
 believed that at one stroke he would repay the  
 Egyptian for his good offices to Sparta, would again  
 set free the Greeks in Asia, and would chastise the  
 Persian for his former hostility, and for demanding  
 now, when he professed to be an ally of Sparta, that  
 her claim to Messene should be given up. However, 30  
 when this suitor for his assistance failed to give him

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αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ὡς το μέγιστον ἐξηπατη-  
 μένος ἐφρόντιζε, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ  
 πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δίχα στρατευόμενοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων  
 ἀφίστανται τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 πάντες ἀπέλιπον αὐτόν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δείσας  
 ἀπεχώρησε φυγῇ εἰς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης, οἱ δ'  
 Αἰγύπτιοι στασιάζοντες διττοὺς βασιλέας αἰροῦν-  
 31 ται. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος γνοῦς, ὅτι εἰ μὲν  
 μηδετέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, μισθὸν οὐδέτερος λύσει  
 τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει,  
 ὁπότερός τ' ἂν κρατήσῃ, οὗτος ἐχθρὸς ἔσται·  
 εἰ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, οὗτός γε εὖ παθῶν  
 ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς φίλος ἔσοιτο, οὕτω δὴ κρίνας, ὁπότερος  
 φιλέλλην μᾶλλον ἐδόκει εἶναι, στρατευσάμενος  
 μετὰ τούτου τὸν μὲν μισέλληνα μάχῃ νικήσας  
 χειροῦται, τὸν δ' ἕτερον συγκαθίστησι καὶ φίλον  
 ποιήσας τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ  
 προσλαβὼν οὕτως ἀποπλεῖ οἴκαδε καίπερ μέσου  
 χειμῶνος ὄντος, σπεύδων, ὡς μὴ ἀργὸς ἢ πόλις  
 εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν θέρος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους γένοιτο.

III. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου  
 ἔργων μετὰ πλείστων μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη. τὰ  
 γὰρ τοιαῦτα οὐ τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται, ἀλλ'  
 ἀναμνήσαι μόνον ἀρκεῖ καὶ εὐθύς πιστεύεται.  
 νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν πειράσομαι  
 δηλοῦν, δι' ἣν ταῦτα ἔπραττε καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 καλῶν ἦρα καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐξεδίωκεν.

2 Ἀγησίλαος γὰρ τὰ μὲν θεῖα οὕτως ἐσέβητο,  
 ὡς καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τοὺς ἐκείνου ὄρκους καὶ τὰς

the command Agesilaus felt that he had been grossly deceived, and was in doubt what he ought to do. At this juncture first a portion of the Egyptian troops, operating as a separate army, revolted from the king, and then the rest of his forces deserted him. The king left Egypt and fled in terror to Sidon in Phoenicia, while the Egyptians split up into two parties, and each chose its own king. Agesilaus now realised that if 31 he helped neither king, neither of them would pay the Greeks their wages, neither would provide a market, and the conqueror, whichever he proved to be, would be hostile, but if he co-operated with one of them, that one, being under an obligation to him, would in all probability adopt a friendly attitude. Accordingly, having decided which of them showed the stronger signs of being a friend to the Greeks, he took the field with him. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy of the Greeks, and helped to establish his rival; and so having made him the friend of Sparta, and having received a great sum of money in addition, he sailed home, though it was mid winter, with all haste, in order that the state might be in a position to take action against her enemies in the coming summer.

III Such, then, is the record of my hero's deeds, so far as they were done before a crowd of witnesses. Actions like these need no proofs, the mere mention of them is enough and they command belief immediately. But now I will attempt to show the virtue that was in his soul, the virtue through which he wrought those deeds and loved all that is honourable and put away all that is base.

Agesilaus had such reverence for religion, that 2 even his enemies considered his oaths and his

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ἐκείνου σπονδὰς πιστοτέρας ἐνόμιζον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν  
 φιλίαν· οἱ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔστιν ὅτε μὲν ὤκνουν  
 εἰς ταῦτόν ἰέναι, Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς νεχεῖριζον.  
 ὅπως δὲ μὴ τις ἀπιστῆ, καὶ ὀνομάσαι βούλομαι  
 3 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν. Σπιθριδάτης μὲν  
 γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης εἰδώς, ὅτι Φαρνάβαζος γῆμαι μὲν  
 τὴν βασιλέως ἔπραττε θυγατέρα, τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ  
 ἄνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὕβριν νομίσας  
 4 τούτο Ἀγησιλάῳ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ  
 τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεχείρισε. Κότυς δὲ  
 ὁ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἄρχων βασιλεῖ μὲν οὐχ  
 ὑπήκουσε δεξιὰν πέμποντι, φοβούμενος, μὴ  
 ληφθεὶς ἢ χρήματα πολλὰ ἀποτίσειεν ἢ καὶ  
 ἀποθάνοι, Ἀγησιλάου δὲ καὶ οὗτος ταῖς σπονδαῖς  
 πιστεύσας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἦλθε καὶ συμ-  
 μαχίαν ποιησάμενος εἴλετο σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ στρα-  
 τεύεσθαι, χιλίους μὲν ἰππέας, δισχιλίους δὲ  
 5 πελτοφόρους ἔχων. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος  
 Ἀγησιλάῳ εἰς λόγους καὶ διωμολόγησεν, εἰ μὴ  
 αὐτὸς πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς στρατηγὸς καταστα-  
 θεῖη, ἀποστήσεσθαι βασιλέως· ἦν μέντοι ἐγὼ  
 γένωμαι στρατηγός, ἔφη, πολεμήσω σοι, ὦ  
 Ἀγησίλαε, ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι κράτιστα. καὶ  
 ταῦτα λέγων ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παράσπονδον  
 παθεῖν. οὕτω μέγα καὶ καλὸν κτήμα τοῖς τε  
 ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ ἀνδρὶ δὴ στρατηγῷ τὸ ὄσιόν  
 τε καὶ πιστὸν εἶναι τε καὶ ὄντα ἐγνώσθαι. καὶ  
 περὶ μὲν εὐσεβείας ταῦτα.

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<sup>1</sup> The text here is quite uncertain : there is a gap in the manuscripts after *φιλίαν*.

### AGES LAUS, III. 2-5

treaties more to be relied on than their own friendship with one another for there were times when they shrank from meeting together,<sup>1</sup> and yet would place themselves in the power of Agesilaus. And lest anyone should think this statement incredible, I wish to name the most famous among them Spithridates the Persian, for example, knew that 3 Pharnabazus was negotiating for a marriage with the Great King's daughter, and intended to take his, Spithridates', daughter as a concubine. Regarding this as an outrage, he delivered himself, his wife, his children and all that he had into Agesilaus' hands. Cotys, ruler of the Paphlagonians, who had disobeyed 4 the command of the Great King, though it was accompanied with the symbol of friendship,<sup>2</sup> feared that he would be seized and either be fined heavily or even put to death; but he too, trusting in the armistice with Agesilaus, came to his camp and having entered into alliance elected to take the field at Agesilaus' side with a thousand horse and two thousand targeteers. And Pharnabazus too came 5 and parleyed with Agesilaus, and made agreement with him that if he were not himself appointed the Persian general, he would revolt from the Great King. "But," he said, "if I become general, I shall make war on you, Agesilaus, with all my might." He used this language in full confidence that nothing contrary to the terms of the armistice would happen to him. So great and so noble a treasure has every man, and above all a general, who is upright and trustworthy and is known to be so. So much, then, for the virtue of Piety.

<sup>2</sup> The "right hand," often mentioned as a pledge of good faith or friendship

- IV. Περὶ γε μὴν τῆς εἰς χρήματα δικαιοσύνης ποῖα ἂν τις μείζω τεκμήρια ἔχοι τῶνδε, ὑπὸ γὰρ Ἀγησιλάου στέρεσθαι μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐνεκάλεσεν, εὖ δὲ πεπονημένοι πολλοὶ πολλὰ ὠμολόγουν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἡδὺ τὰ αὐτοῦ διδόναι ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἀνθρώπων, πῶς ἂν οὗτος ἐθέλοι τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀποστερεῖν ἐφ' ᾧ κακόδοξος εἶναι, εἰ γὰρ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμοίῃ, πολὺ ἀπραγμονέστερον τὰ αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν ἢ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα λαμβά-  
 2 νειν. ὃς δὲ δὴ καὶ χάριτας ἀποστερεῖν μὴ ἐθέλοι, ὧν οὐκ εἰσὶ δίκαι πρὸς τὸν μὴ ἀποδιδόντα, πῶς ἄ γε καὶ νόμος κωλύει ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀποστερεῖν; Ἀγησίλαος δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας ἄδικον ἔκρινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴ πολὺ μείζους τὸν  
 3 μείζω δυνάμενον. τά γε μὴν τῆς πόλεως κλέπτειν πῆ ἂν τις αὐτὸν εἰκότως αἰτιάσαιτο, ὃς καὶ τὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας ὀφειλομένας τῇ πατρίδι καρποῦσθαι παρεδίδου; τὸ δ' ὅποτε βούλοιο εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ πόλιν ἢ φίλους χρήμασι, δύνασθαι παρ' ἐτέρων λαμβάνοντα ὠφελεῖν, οὐ καὶ τοῦτο μέγα τεκμή-  
 4 ριον ἐγκρατείας χρημάτων; εἰ γὰρ ἐπώλει τὰς χάριτας ἢ μισθοῦ εὐεργέτει, οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδὲν ὀφείλει αὐτῷ ἐνόμισεν· ἀλλ' οἱ προῖκα εὖ πεπονηότες, οὗτοι αἰεὶ ἡδέως ὑπηρετοῦσι τῷ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ διότι εὖ ἔπαθον καὶ διότι προ-  
 5 ἐπιστεύθησαν ἄξιοι εἶναι παρακαταθήκην χάριτος φυλάττειν. "Ὅστις δ' ἡρέιτο καὶ σὺν τῷ γενναίῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἢ σὺν τῷ ἀδίκῳ πλέου ἔχειν, πῶς οὗτος οὐκ ἂν

<sup>1</sup> *Symposium*, VIII 36.

## AGESILAUS, IV. 1-5

IV Next comes his Justice in money matters Of this what proofs can be more convincing than the following? No man ever made any complaint that he had been defrauded by Agesilaus. but many acknowledged that they had received many benefits from him. One who delighted to give away his own for the good of others could not possibly be minded to defraud others at the price of disgrace. For if he had coveted money it would have cost him far less trouble to keep his own than to take what did not belong to him. A man who would not leave unpaid 2 debts of gratitude, which are not recoverable in the courts, cannot have been minded to commit thefts that are forbidden by law. And Agesilaus held it wrong not only to repudiate a debt of gratitude, but, having greater means, not to render in return a much greater kindness. Again, with what show of 3 reason could embezzlement of public property be charged against a man who bestowed on his fatherland the rewards due to himself? And is it not a striking proof of his freedom from avarice that he was able to get money from others, whenever he wanted, for the purpose of rendering financial assistance to the state or his friends? For had he been 4 in the habit of selling his favours or taking payment for his benefactions, no one would have felt that he owed him anything. It is the recipient of unbought, gratuitous benefits who is always glad to oblige his benefactor in return for the kindness he has received and in acknowledgment of the trust reposed in him as a worthy and faithful guardian of a favour. 1

Further, is it not certain that the man who by a 5 noble instinct refused to take more and preferred to take less than his just share was far beyond the reach



## XENOPHON

πολυ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀποφεύγοι; ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν κριθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντα ἔχειν τὰ Ἄγιδος τὰ ἡμίσεα τοῖς ἀπὸ μητρὸς αὐτῷ ὁμογόνοις μετέδωκεν, ὅτι πενομένους αὐτοὺς ἑώρα. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, πᾶσα μάρτυς ἢ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις. διδόντος δ' αὐτῷ πάμπολλα δῶρα Τιθραύστου, εἰ ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ἄγησίλαος· ὦ Τιθραύστα, νομίζεται παρ' ἡμῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ ἑαυτὸν πλουτίζειν καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων λάφυρα μᾶλλον πειράσθαι ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνειν.

V. Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅσαι γε ἡδοναὶ πολλῶν κρατοῦσιν ἀνθρώπων, ποίας οὐδέ τις Ἄγησίλαου ἠττηθέντα; ὅς μέθης μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι ὁμοίως ᾤετο χρῆναι καὶ μανίας, σίτων δ' ὑπὲρ καιρὸν ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργίας. διμοιρίαν γε μὴν λαμβάνων ἐν ταῖς θοίναις οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρήτο, ἀλλὰ διαπέμπων οὐδετέραν αὐτῷ κατέλειπε, νομίζων βασιλεῖ τοῦτο διπλασιασθῆναι οὐχὶ πλησμονῆς ἕνεκα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχοι καὶ τούτῳ

2 τιμᾶν εἴ τινα βούλοιτο. οὐ μὴν ὑπνω γε δεσπότη, ἀλλ' ἀρχομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐχρήτο καὶ εὐνήν γε εἰ μὴ τῶν συνόντων φαυλοτάτην ἔχοι, αἰδούμενος οὐκ ἄδηλος ἦν· ἠγείτο γὰρ ἄρχοντι προσήκειν οὐ μαλακία, ἀλλὰ καρτερίᾳ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν περιεῖναι

3 Τάδε μέντοι πλεονεκτῶν οὐκ ἠσχύνετο, ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει τοῦ ἡλίου, ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τοῦ ψύχους· καὶ μὴν εἴ ποτε μοχθηῆσαι στρατιᾷ συμβαίη,

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<sup>1</sup> *μανίας* and *ἀργίας* are adopted from the text of Athenaeus, who refers to this passage (p 613 c). The MSS. of the

of covetousness? Now when the state pronounced him sole heir to the property of Agis, he gave half of it to his mother's kinsfolk, because he saw that they were in want, and all Lacedaemon bears witness that my statement is true. On receiving from 6 Tithraustes an offer of gifts unnumbered if only he would leave his country, Agesilaus answered. "Among us, Tithraustes, a ruler's honour requires him to enrich his army rather than himself, and to take spoils rather than gifts from the enemy."

V Again, among all the pleasures that prove too strong for many men, who can mention one to which Agesilaus yielded? Drunkenness, he thought, should be avoided like madness, overeating like idleness.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he received a double ration at the public meals, but instead of consuming both portions himself, he distributed both and left neither for himself, holding that the purpose of this double allowance to the king was not to provide him with a heavy meal, but to give him the opportunity of honouring whomsoever he would. As for sleep,<sup>2</sup> it was not his master,<sup>2</sup> but the servant of his activities, and unless he occupied the humblest bed among his comrades, he could not conceal his shame. For he thought that a ruler's superiority over ordinary men should be shown not by weakness but by endurance.

There were things, to be sure, of which he was 3 not ashamed to take more than his share—for instance, the summer's heat and the winter's cold.<sup>3</sup> and whenever his army was faced with a hard task,

Agesilaus have *λαιμαργίας*, "gluttony," and *ἁμαρτίας*, "error."

<sup>2</sup> *Lac Pol*, xv 4, *Cyropaedia*, VIII. II. 4

<sup>3</sup> *Cyropaedia*, I. IV 25

ἐκὼν ἐπόνει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, νομίζων πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα παραμυθίαν εἶναι τοῖς στρατιώταις. ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, Ἄγησίλαος πονῶν μὲν ἠγάλλετο, ῥαστώνην δὲ πάμπαν οὐ προσίετο.

- 4 Περὶ γε μὴν ἀφροδισίων ἐγκρατείας αὐτοῦ ἄρ' οὐχὶ εἰ μὴ του ἄλλου ἀλλὰ θαύματος ἔνεκα ἄξιον μνησθῆναι, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὦν μὴ ἐπεθύμησεν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀνθρώπινον ἂν τις φαίη εἶναι· τὸ δὲ Μεγαβάτου τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου παιδὸς ἐρασθέντα, ὥσπερ ἂν τοῦ καλλίστου ἢ σφοδροτάτη φύσις ἐρασθείη, ἔπειτα ἠνίκα, ἐπιχωρίου ὄντος τοῖς Πέρσαις φιλεῖν οὓς ἂν τιμῶσιν, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ὁ Μεγαβάτης φιλήσαι τὸν Ἄγησίκαον, διαμάχεσθαι ἀνὰ κράτος τὸ μὴ φιληθῆναι, ἄρ' οὐ τοῦτό γε ἤδη τὸ σωφρόνημα καὶ λίαν γεννικόν;
- 5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀτιμασθῆναι νομίσας ὁ Μεγαβάτης τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐκέτι φιλεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, προσφέρει τινὶ λόγον τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ Ἄγησίλαος πείθειν τὸν Μεγαβάτην πάλιν τιμᾶν ἑαυτὸν ἐρομένον δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου, ἣν πεισθῆ ὁ Μεγαβάτης, εἰ φιλήσει, ἐνταῦθα διασιωπήσας ὁ Ἄγησίλαος εἶπεν· Οὐ τῷ σιώ, οὐδ' εἰ μέλλοιμί γε αὐτίκα μάλα κάλλιστός τε καὶ ἰσχυρότατος καὶ τάχιστος ἀνθρώπων ἔσεσθαι· μάχεσθαί γε μέντοι πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν μάχην ὄμνυμι πάντας θεοὺς ἢ μὴν μᾶλλον βούλεσθαι ἢ πάντα μοι ὅσα ὀρῶ χρυσᾶ
- 6 γενέσθαι. καὶ ὅ τι μὲν δὴ ὑπολαμβάνουσί τινες ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ· ἐγὼ μέντοι δοκῶ εἰδέναι, ὅτι πολὺ πλείους τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τῶν τοιούτων δύνανται κρατεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὀλίγων εἰδόντων πολλοῖς ἔξεστιν ἀπιστεῖν· τὰ δὲ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι ἤκιστα μὲν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι

## AGESILAUS, v. 3-6

he toiled willingly beyond all others, believing that all such actions were an encouragement to the men. Not to labour the point, Agesilaus gloried in hard work, and showed a strong distaste for indolence.

His habitual control of his affections surely deserves a tribute of admiration, if worthy of mention on no other ground. That he should keep at arms' length those whose intimacy he did not desire may be thought only human. But he loved Megabates, the handsome son of Spithridates, with all the intensity of an ardent nature. Now it is the custom<sup>1</sup> among the Persians to bestow a kiss on those whom they honour. Yet when Megabates attempted to kiss him, Agesilaus resisted his advances with all his might—an act of punctilious moderation surely! Megabates, feeling himself slighted, tried no more<sup>5</sup> to kiss him, and Agesilaus approached one of his companions with a request that he would persuade Megabates to show him honour once again. "Will you kiss him," asked his companion, "if Megabates yields?" After a deep silence, Agesilaus gave his reply: "By the twin gods, no, not if I were straight-way to be the fairest and strongest and fleetest man on earth! By all the gods I swear that I would rather fight that same battle over again than that everything I see should turn into gold." What<sup>6</sup> opinion some hold in regard to these matters I know well enough, but for my part I am persuaded that many more men can gain the mastery over their enemies than over impulses such as these<sup>2</sup>. No doubt when these things are known to few, many have a right to be sceptical. but we all know this, that the

<sup>1</sup> *Cyropaedia*, I iv 27

<sup>2</sup> *Anabasis*, II vi. 28.

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τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαυθάνουσιν ὃ τι ἂν ποιῶσιν· Ἄγησίλαον δέ τι πράξαντα μὲν τοιοῦτον οὔτε ἰδὼν πώποτε οὐδεὶς ἀνήγγειλεν οὔτε εἰκάζων  
 7 πιστὰ ἂν ἔδοξε λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰς οἰκίαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἰδία ἐν ἀποδημία κατήγετο, αἰεὶ δὲ ἦν ἢ ἐν ἱερῷ, ἔνθα δὴ ἀδύνατον τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, ἢ ἐν φανερῷ, μάρτυρας τοὺς πάντων ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς σωφροσύνης ποιούμενος. εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα ψεύδομαι ἀντία τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπισταμένης, ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαινῶ, ἑμαυτὸν δὲ ψέγω.

VI. Ἄνδρείας γε μὴν οὐκ ἀφανῆ τεκμήριά μοι δοκεῖ παρασχέσθαι ὑφιστάμενος μὲν αἰεὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τούτους ἀγῶσι  
 2 πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν τάττων. ἔνθα γε μὴν ἠθέλησαν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχην συνάψαι, οὐ φόβῳ τρεψάμενος νίκης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μάχῃ ἀντιτύπῳ κρατήσας τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο, ἀθάνατα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα καταλιπὼν, σαφῆ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σημεῖα ἀπενεγκάμενος τοῦ θυμῷ μάχεσθαι· ὥστ' οὐκ ἀκούοντας, ἀλλ' ὀρῶντας ἐξῆν αὐτοῦ  
 3 τὴν ψυχὴν δοκιμάζειν. τρόπαια μὴν Ἄγησιλίου οὐχ ὅσα ἐστήσατο, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐστρατεύσατο δίκαιον νομίζειν. μείον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐκράτει, ὅτε οὐκ ἠθελον αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχεσθαι, ἀκινδυνότερον δὲ καὶ συμφωρότερον τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἦπτον τοὺς ἀκονιτὶ ἢ τοὺς διὰ μάχης νικῶντας στεφανοῦσι.

<sup>1</sup> *Memorabilia*, I 1. 11

<sup>2</sup> The reference is not general, but definitely to the battle of Coronea, see c 11, § 11-13

greater a man's fame, the fiercer is the light that beats on all his actions,<sup>1</sup> we know too that no one ever reported that he had seen Agesilaus do any such thing, and that no scandal based on conjecture would have gained credence, for it was not his habit, when abroad, to lodge apart in a private house, but he was always either in a temple, where conduct of this sort is, of course, impossible, or else in a public place where all men's eyes became witnesses of his rectitude. If I speak this falsely against the knowledge of the Greek world, I am in no way praising my hero; but I am censuring myself.

VI As for Courage, he seems to me to have afforded clear proofs of that by always engaging himself to fight against the strongest enemies of his state and of Greece, and by always placing himself in the forefront of the struggle. When the enemy were willing to join battle with him,<sup>2</sup> it was not by then panic flight that he won victory, but it was after overcoming them in stubborn fighting that he set up a trophy, leaving behind him imperishable memorials of his own valour, and bearing in his own body visible tokens of the fury of his fighting, so that not by hearsay but by the evidence of their own eyes men could judge what manner of man he was. In truth the trophies of Agesilaus are not to be counted by telling how many he set up, the number of his campaigns is the number of them. His mastery was in no way less complete when the enemy were unwilling to accept battle, but it was gained at less risk and with more profit to the state and to the allies. So in the Great Games the unchallenged champion is crowned no less than he who has fought to conquer.

- 4 Τὴν γε μὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ ποῖαι τῶν ἐκείνου πράξεων οὐκ ἐπιδεικνύουσιν; ὃς τῇ μὲν πατρίδι οὕτως ἐχρήτο, ὥστε μάλιστα πειθόμενος<sup>1</sup> ἑταίροις δὲ πρόθυμος ὦν ἀπροφασίστους τοὺς φίλους ἐκέκτητο· τοὺς δέ γε στρατιώτας ἅμα πειθόμενους καὶ φιλοῦντας αὐτὸν παρεῖχε. καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἰσχυροτέρα γένοιτο φάλαγξ ἢ διὰ τὸ μὲν πείθεσθαι εὐτακτος οὖσα, διὰ δὲ τὸ φιλεῖν
- 5 τὸν ἄρχοντα πιστῶς παρούσα; τοὺς γε μὴν πολεμίους εἶχε ψέγειν μὲν οὐ δυναμένους, μισεῖν δὲ ἀναγκαζομένους. τοὺς γὰρ συμμάχους αἰεὶ πλεον ἔχειν αὐτῶν ἐμνηχανάτο, ἐξαπατῶν μὲν ὅπου καιρὸς εἴη, φθάνων δὲ ὅπου τάχους δέοι, λήθων δὲ ὅπου τοῦτο συμφέροι, πάντα δὲ τὰναντία πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους
- 6 ἐπιτηδεύων. καὶ γὰρ νυκτὶ μὲν ὅσαπερ ἡμέρα ἐχρήτο, ἡμέρα δὲ ὅσαπερ νυκτὶ, πολλάκις ἀδηλὸς γιγνόμενος ὅπου τε εἴη καὶ ὅποι ἴοι καὶ ὅ τι ποιήσοι. ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἐχυρὰ ἀνώχυρα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθίστη, τὰ μὲν παριῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπερ-
- 7 βαίνων, τὰ δὲ κλέπτων. ὁπότε γε μὴν πορεύοιτο εἰδὼς, ὅτι ἐξείη τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι, εἰ βούλοιντο, συντεταγμένον μὲν οὕτως ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα, ὡς ἂν ἐπικουρεῖν μάλιστα ἑαυτῷ δύναιτο, ἡσύχως δ', ὥσπερ ἂν παρθένος ἢ σωφρονεστάτη προβαίνοι, νομίζων ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τό τε ἀτρεμὲς καὶ ἀνεκπληκτότατον καὶ ἀθορυβητότατον καὶ ἀναμαρτητότατον καὶ δυσεπιβουλευτότατον εἶναι.

<sup>1</sup> Something is wanting here many supply ἰσχυε πλείστον from Plutarch, Ages c 4—φησιν ὁ Ξ ὅτι πάντα τῇ πατρίδι πειθόμενος ἰσχυε πλείστον.

## AGELAUS, VI 4-7

Of his Wisdom I find the evidence in every 4  
 one of his deeds Towards his fatheland he  
 behaved in such a manner that, being entirely  
 obedient to her, he won the obedience of the  
 citizens, and by his zeal for his comrades he  
 held the unquestioning devotion of his friends · and  
 as for his troops, he gained at once their obedience  
 and their affection Surely nothing is wanting to  
 the strength of that battle-line in which obedience  
 results in perfect discipline, and affection for the  
 general produces faithful promptitude As for the 5  
 enemy, though they were forced to hate, he gave  
 them no chance to disparage him For he contrived  
 that his allies always had the better of them, by  
 the use of deception when occasion offered, by  
 anticipating their action if speed was necessary,  
 by hiding when it suited his purpose, and by  
 practising all the opposite methods when dealing with  
 enemies to those which he applied when dealing with  
 friends Night, for example, was to him as day, and 6  
 day as night,<sup>1</sup> for he often veiled his movements so  
 completely that none could guess where he was,  
 whither he was going, or what he meant to do.  
 Thus he made even strong positions untenable to the  
 enemy, turning one, scaling another, snatching a  
 third by stealth On the march, whenever he knew 7  
 that the enemy could bring him to an engagement if  
 they chose, he would lead his army in close order,  
 alert and ready to defend himself, moving on as  
 quietly as a modest maiden, since he held that this  
 was the best means of maintaining calm, of avoiding  
 panic, confusion, and blundering, and of guarding  
 against a surprise attack.

<sup>1</sup> *Hellenica*, VI 1. 15, *Lac Pol*, v. 7, *Cyropaedia* I v 12



## XENOPHON

8 *Τοιγαροῦν τοιαῦτα ποιῶν τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις δεινὸς ἦν, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις θάρρος καὶ ῥώμην ἐνεποίει. ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διετέλεσεν, ἀζήμιος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἄμεμπτος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, πολυεραστότατος δὲ καὶ πολυεπαινετώτατος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων.*

VII. *Ὡς γε μὴν φιλόπολις ἦν, καθ' ἓν μὲν ἕκαστον μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν· οὔμαι γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶναι τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ, ὅ τι οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο συντείνει. ὡς δ' ἐν βραχεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι Ἀγησίλαος ὅπου ᾤετο τὴν πατρίδα τι ὠφελήσειν, οὐ πόνων ὑφίετο, οὐ κινδύνων ἀφίστατο, οὐ χρημάτων ἐφείδετο, οὐ σῶμα, οὐ γῆρας προὔφασίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐνόμιζε, τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς*  
 2 *πλείστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν. ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δὲ ὠφελήμασι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τότε ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δυνατώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανερός ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς νόμοις λατρεύων. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἠθέλησεν ἀπειθεῖν ὄρων τὸν βασιλέα πειθόμενον, τίς δ' ἂν ἠγούμενος μειονεκτεῖν νεώτερόν τι ἐπεχείρησε ποιεῖν εἰδὼς τὸν βασιλέα νομίμως*  
 3 *καὶ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι φέροντα, ὃς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥσπερ πατὴρ πρὸς παῖδας προσεφέρετο. ἐλοιδορεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν, ἐτίμα δ' εἴ τι καλὸν πράττειεν, παρίστατο δ' εἴ τις συμφορὰ συμβαίνοι, ἐχθρὸν μὲν οὐδένα ἠγούμενος πολίτην, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ πάντας ἐθέλων, σώζεσθαι δὲ πάντας κέρδος νομίζων, ζημίαν δὲ τιθείς, εἰ καὶ ὁ μικροῦ ἄξιος ἀπόλοιτο· εἰ δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἡρεμοῦντες διαμένοιεν, δηλὸς*

And so, by using such methods, he was formidable 8  
to his enemies, and inspired his friends with strength  
and confidence. Thus he was never despised by his  
foes, never brought to account by the citizens, never  
blamed by his friends, but throughout his career he  
was praised and idolised by all the world.

VII Of his Patriotism it would be a long task to  
write in complete detail, for there is no single action  
of his, I think, that does not illustrate that quality.  
To speak briefly, we all know that when Agesilaus  
thought he would be serving his fatherland he never  
shirked toil, never shrank from danger, never spared  
money, never excused himself on the score of bodily  
weakness or old age,<sup>1</sup> but believed that it is the  
duty of a good king to do as much good as possible  
to his subjects. Among the greatest services he 2  
rendered to his fatherland I reckon the fact that,  
though the most powerful man in the state, he was  
clearly a devoted servant of the laws. For who  
would be minded to disobey when he saw the king  
obeying? Who would turn revolutionist, thinking  
himself defrauded of his due, when he knew that the  
king was ready to yield in accordance with the  
laws? Here was a man whose behaviour to his 3  
political opponents was that of a father to his  
children: though he would chide them for their  
errors he honoured them when they did a good  
deed, and stood by them when any disaster befell  
them, deeming no citizen an enemy, willing to  
praise all, counting the safety of all a gain, and  
reckoning the destruction even of a man of little  
worth as a loss. He clearly reckoned that if the  
citizens should continue to live in peaceful sub-

<sup>1</sup> *Memorabilia*, III. 11

## XENOPHON

ἦν εὐδαίμονα μὲν ἀεὶ ἔσσεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα  
 λογιζόμενος, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τότε, ὅταν οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 σωφρονῶσιν.

- 4 Εἰ γε μὴν αὖ καλὸν Ἕλληνα ὄντα φιλέλληνα  
 εἶναι, τίνα τις οἶδεν ἄλλον στρατηγὸν ἢ πόλιν  
 οὐκ ἐθέλοντα αἰρεῖν, ὅταν οἴηται πορθήσειν, ἢ  
 συμφορὰν νομίζοντα τὸ νικᾶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἕλληνας  
 5 πολέμῳ; ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν, ἀγγελίας μὲν ἐλθούσης  
 αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐν Κορίνθῳ μάχῃ ὀκτὼ μὲν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐγγὺς δὲ μύριοι τῶν ἀντιπάλων  
 τεθναίεν, οὐκ ἐφησθεῖς φανερὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ'  
 εἶπεν ἄρα· Φεῦ σου,<sup>1</sup> ὦ Ἕλλάς, ὅποτε οἱ νῦν  
 τεθνηκότες ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν ζῶντες νικᾶν μαχόμενοι  
 6 πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους. Κορινθίων γε μὴν τῶν  
 φευγόντων λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐνδίδοιτο αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις,  
 καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπιδεικνύντων, αἷς πάντως ἠλπίζον  
 ἂν<sup>2</sup> ἐλείν τὰ τείχη, οὐκ ἠθέλε προσβάλλειν,  
 λέγων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δέοι Ἑλληνίδας  
 πόλεις, ἀλλὰ σωφρονίζειν. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμαρτάν-  
 οντας, ἔφη, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀφανιοῦμεν, ὁρᾶν χρή, μὴ  
 οὐδ' ἔξομεν μεθ' ὅτου τῶν βαρβάρων κρατήσομεν.  
 7 Εἰ δ' αὖ καλὸν καὶ μισοπέρσην εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ  
 ὁ πάλαι ἐξεστράτευσεν ὡς δουλωσόμενος τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ ὁ νῦν συμμαχεῖ μὲν τούτοις, μεθ'  
 ὀποτέρων ἂν οἴηται μείζω βλάβειν, δωρεῖται δ'  
 ἐκείνοις, οὓς ἂν νομίζῃ λαβόντας πλεῖστα κακὰ  
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιήσειν, εἰρήνην δὲ συμπράττει,  
 ἐξ ἧς ἂν ἠγῆται μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις πόλε-  
 μήσειν· ὁρῶσι μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ταῦτα· ἐπεμελήθη  
 δὲ τις ἄλλως πῶποτε πλὴν Ἀγησίλαος, ἢ ὅπως

<sup>1</sup> σου is added from P1iscian 2 p 188 · it is not in S's text.

AGESILAUS, vii. 3-7

mission to the laws, the fatherland would always prosper and that she would be strong when the Greeks were prudent

Again, if it is honourable in one who is a Greek 4 to be a friend to the Greeks, what other general has the world seen unwilling to take a city when he thought that it would be sacked, or who looked on victory in a war against Greeks as a disaster? Now 5 when a report reached Agesilaus that eight Lacedaemonians and near ten thousand of the enemy had fallen at the battle of Corinth, instead of showing pleasure, he actually exclaimed. "Alas for thee, Hellas! those who now lie dead were enough to defeat all the barbarians in battle had they lived!" And when the Corinthian exiles told him that the 6 city was about to be surrendered to them and pointed to the engines with which they were confident of taking the walls, he would not make an assault, declaring that Greek cities ought not to be enslaved, but chastened. "And if," he added, "we are going to annihilate the living members of our own race, let us beware lest we lack men to help in the conquest of the barbarians"

Or again, if it is honourable to hate the Persian 7 because in old days he set out to enslave Greece, and now allies himself with that side which offers him the prospect of working the greater mischief, makes gifts to those who, as he believes, will injure the Greeks most in return, negotiates the peace that he thinks most certain to produce war among us—well, everyone can see these things, but who except Agesilaus has ever striven either to bring about

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<sup>2</sup> *ἀν* is added by Richards it is not in S.'s text

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φύλον τι ἀποστήσεται τοῦ Πέρσου ἢ ὅπως τὸ ἀποστὰν μὴ ἀπόληται ἢ τὸ παράπαν ὡς καὶ βασιλεὺς κακὰ ἔχων μὴ δυνήσεται τοῖς Ἑλλησι πράγματα παρέχειν; ὃς καὶ πολεμούσης τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς Ἑλληνας ὅμως τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὃ τι δύναίτο κακὸν ποιήσων τὸν βάρβαρον.

VIII. Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἀξιόν γε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐχαρι μὴ σιωπᾶσθαι· ᾧ γε ὑπαρχούσης μὲν τιμῆς, παρούσης δὲ δυνάμεως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βασιλείας, καὶ ταύτης οὐκ ἐπιβουλευομένης ἀλλ' ἀγαπωμένης, τὸ μὲν μέγαλαυχον οὐκ ἂν εἶδέ τις, τὸ δὲ φιλόστοργον καὶ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν φίλων καὶ 2 μὴ ζητῶν κατενόησεν ἄν. καὶ μὴν μετείχε μὲν ἥδιστα παιδικῶν λόγων, συνεσπούδαζε δὲ πᾶν ὃ τι δέοι φίλοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ εὐελπισ καὶ εὐθυμος καὶ αἰεὶ ἰλαρὸς εἶναι πολλοὺς ἐποίει μὴ τοῦ διαπράξασθαι τι μόνον ἔνεκα πλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἥδιον διημερεύειν. ἦκιστα δ' ὦν οἷος μεγαληγορεῖν ὅμως τῶν ἐπαινούντων αὐτοὺς οὐ βαρέως ἤκουεν, ἠγούμενος βλάπτειν οὐδὲν αὐτούς, 3 ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δὲ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῇ μεγαλογνωμοσύνῃ γε ὡς εὐκαίρως ἐχρήτη, οὐ παραλείπτειν. ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ὅτ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ βασιλέως, ἣν ὁ μετὰ Καλλέα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Πέρσης ἠνεγκε, περὶ ξενίας τε καὶ φιλίας αὐτοῦ, ταύτην μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τῷ δὲ φέροντι εἶπεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι βασιλεῖ, ὡς ἰδίᾳ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν δέοι ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν, ἣν δὲ 116

## AGESILAUS, VII. 7-VIII. 3

the revolt of a tribe from the Persian, or to save a revolting tribe from destruction, or by some means or other to involve the Great King in trouble so that he will be unable to annoy the Greeks? Nay, when his fatherland was actually at war with Greeks, he did not neglect the common good of Greece, but went out with a fleet to do what harm he could to the barbarian.

VIII Another quality that should not go unrecorded is his urbanity. For although he held honour in fee, and had power at his beck, and to these added sovereignty—sovereignty not plotted against but regarded with affection—yet no traces of arrogance could have been detected in him, whereas signs of a fatherly affection and readiness to serve his friends, even if unsought, were evident. He<sup>2</sup> delighted, moreover, to take his part in light talk, yet he showed an eager sympathy with friends in all their serious concerns. Thanks to his optimism, good humour, and cheerfulness he was a centre of attraction to many, who came not merely for purposes of business, but to pass the day more pleasantly. Little inclined to boastfulness himself, he heard without annoyance the self-praise of others, thinking that, by indulging in it, they did no harm and gave earnest of high endeavour. On the other hand,<sup>3</sup> one must not omit a reference to the dignity that he showed on appropriate occasions. Thus, when the Persian envoy who came with Calleas, the Lacedaemonian, handed him a letter from the Great King containing offers of friendship and hospitality, he declined to accept it. "Tell his Majesty," he said to the bearer, "that there is no need for him to send me private letters, but, if he

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- φίλος τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι εὖνους ὦν φαίνεται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς φίλος ἀνὰ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔσοιτο ἦν μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύων ἀλίσκηται, μηδ' ἂν πάνυ πολλὰς ἐπιστολὰς δέχωμαι, φίλον
- 4 ἔξειν με οἰέσθω. ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησιλάου, τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσκειν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν βασιλέως ξενίαν. ἄγαμαι δὲ καὶ κεῖνο, ὅτι οὐχ ὀπότερος πλείω τε χρήματα ἔχει καὶ πλείονων ἄρχοι, τούτῳ ἠγήσατο μείζον φρονητέον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὀπότερος αὐτὸς τε ἀμείνων εἶη καὶ ἀμεινόνων ἠγοῖτο.
- 5 Ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ κεῖνο τῆς προνοίας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι νομίζων ἀγαθὸν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς πλείστους σατράπας οὐκ ἐκρατήθη οὔθ' ὑπὸ δώρων οὔθ' ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλέως βρώμης ἐθελῆσαι ξενωθῆναι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐφυλάξατο μὴ ἄπιστος γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀφίστασθαι βουλομένοις.
- 6 Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθείη; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσης νομίζων, ἦν χρήματα πλείστα ἔχη, πάνθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσεσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο πᾶν μὲν τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον, πάντα δὲ τὰ πολυτελέστατα ἐπειρᾶτο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀθροίζειν. ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἀντεσκευάσατο τὸν οἶκον, ὥστε τούτων μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι.
- 7 εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖ, ιδέτω μὲν, οἷα οἰκία ἦρκει αὐτῷ, θεασάσθω δὲ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ· εἰκάσειε γὰρ ἂν τις ἔτι ταύτας ἐκείνας εἶναι, ἄσπερ Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Ἡρακλέους, ὅτε κατήλθε,

<sup>1</sup> Aristodemus was great grandson of Hyllus, son of Heracles. Xenophon follows the Lacedaemonian account, according to which Aristodemus himself was leader at the time when the Lacedaemonians obtained Sparta (Herodotus,

gives proof of friendship for Lacedaemon, and goodwill towards Greece, I on my part will be his friend with all my heart. But if he is found plotting against them, let him not hope to have a friend in me, however many letters I may receive." In this 4 contempt for the king's hospitality, as nothing in comparison with the approval of the Greeks, I find one more reason for praising Agesilaus. Admirable too was his opinion that it is not for the ruler with the deeper coffers and the longer roll of subjects to set himself above his rival, but for him who is the better leader of the better people.

Again, an instance of his foresight that I find 5 worthy of praise is this: believing it to be good for Greece that as many satraps as possible should revolt from the king, he was not prevailed on either by gifts or by the king's power to accept his hospitality, but was careful not to give cause to those who wanted to revolt for mistrusting him.

There is yet another side of his character that 6 everyone must admire. It was the belief of the Persian king that by possessing himself of colossal wealth, he would put all things in subjection to himself. In this belief he tried to engross all the gold, all the silver and all the most costly things in the world. Agesilaus, on the contrary, adopted such a simple style in his home that he needed none of these things. If anyone doubts this, let him 7 mark what sort of a house contented him, and in particular, let him look at the doors: one might imagine that they were the very doors that Aristodemus, the descendant of Heracles<sup>1</sup> set up with his

vi, 52) His sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, became the first joint-kings



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λαβὼν ἐπεστήσατο· πειράσθω δὲ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἔνδον κατασκευὴν, ἐννοησάτω δέ, ὡς ἐθόιναζεν ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις, ἀκουσάτω δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ καννάθρου κατῆει εἰς Ἀμύκλας ἢ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ.  
 8 τοιγαροῦν οὕτως ἐφαρμόσας τὰς δαπάνας ταῖς προσόδοις οὐδὲν ἠναγκάζετο χρημάτων ἔνεκα ἄδικον πράττειν. καίτοι καλὸν μὲν δοκεῖ εἶναι τείχη ἀνάλωτα κτᾶσθαι ὑπὸ πολεμίων· πολλοὶ μὲντοι ἔγωγε κάλλιον κρίνω τὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀνάλωτον κατασκευάσαι καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων καὶ ὑπὸ ἡδονῶν καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου.

IX. Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γε, ὡς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεστήσατο τῇ τοῦ Πέρσου ἀλαζονείᾳ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν τῷ σπανίως ὀραῖσθαι ἐσεμνύετο, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐμφανῆς εἶναι ἠγάλλετο, νομίζων αἰσχροουργία μὲν τὸ ἀφανίζεσθαι πρέπειν, τῷ δὲ εἰς κάλλος βίῳ τὸ φῶς μᾶλλον κόσμον 2 παρέχειν. ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ μὲν τῷ δυσπρόσοδος εἶναι ἐσεμνύετο, ὁ δὲ τῷ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος εἶναι ἔχαιρε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἠβρύνετο τῷ βραδέως διαπράττειν, ὁ δὲ τότε μάλιστα ἔχαιρεν, ὅποτε τάχιστα τυχόντας ὧν δέοιντο ἀποπέμποι.

3 Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν εὐπάθειαν ὅσῳ ῥίονα καὶ εὐπορωτέραν Ἀγησίλαος ἐπετήδευσεν, ἄξιον κατανοῆσαι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσῃ πᾶσαν γῆν περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες, τί ἂν ἡδέως πίοι, μυρίοι δὲ τεχνῶνται, τί ἂν ἡδέως φάγοι· ὅπως γε μὴν καταδάρθοι, οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὅσα πραγματεύονται. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ διὰ τὰ φιλόπονος

own hands in the days of his home-coming. Let him try to picture the scene within; note how he entertained on days of sacrifice, hear how his daughter used to go down to Amyclae<sup>1</sup> in a public car. And so, thanks to this nice adjustment of his expenditure to his income, he was never compelled to commit an act of injustice for the sake of money. Doubtless it is thought noble to build oneself fortresses impregnable to an enemy. but in my judgment it is far nobler to fortify one's own soul against all the assaults of lucre, of pleasure, and of fear.

IX I will next point out the contrast between his behaviour and the imposture of the Persian king. In the first place the Persian thought his dignity required that he should be seldom seen. Agesilaus delighted to be constantly visible, believing that, whereas secrecy was becoming to an ugly career, the light shed lustre on a life of noble purpose. In the second place, the one prided himself on being difficult of approach the other was glad to make himself accessible to all. And the one affected tardiness in negotiation the other was best pleased when he could dismiss his suitors quickly with their requests granted.

In the matter of personal comfort, moreover, it is worth noticing how much simpler and how much more easily satisfied were the tastes of Agesilaus. The Persian king has vintners scouring every land to find some drink that will tickle his palate; an army of cooks contrives dishes for his delight, and the trouble his lackeys take that he may sleep is indescribable. But Agesilaus, thanks to his love of

<sup>1</sup> To the feast of Hyacinthus; see c ii 17

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εἶναι πᾶν μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἡδέως ἔπινε, πᾶν δὲ τὸ  
 συντυχὸν ἡδέως ἦσθιεν· εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀσμένως  
 4 κοιμηθῆναι πᾶς τόπος ἱκανὸς ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ  
 ταῦτα οὐ μόνον πράττων ἔχαιρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἐνθυμούμενος ἠγάλλετο, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν μέσαις  
 ταῖς εὐφροσύναις ἀναστρέφοιτο, τὸν δὲ Βάρβαρον  
 ἑώρα, εἰ μέλλοι ἀλύπως βιώσεσθαι, συνελκυστέον  
 αὐτῷ ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς γῆς τὰ τέρψοντα.  
 5 εὐφραине δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τάδε, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἦδει  
 τῇ τῶν θεῶν κατασκευῇ δυνάμενος ἀλύπως  
 χρῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἑώρα φεύγοντα μὲν θάλλῃ,  
 φεύγοντα δὲ ψύχῃ δι' ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς, οὐκ  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ θηρίων τῶν ἀσθενεστάτων  
 βίον μιμούμενον.

6 Ἐκεῖνόν γε μὴν πῶς οὐ καλὸν καὶ μεγαλόγνωμον,  
 τὸ αὐτὸν μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἔργοις καὶ κτήμασι κοσμεῖν  
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον, κύνας τε πολλοὺς θηρευτὰς  
 καὶ ἵππους πολεμιστηρίους τρέφοντα, Κυνίσκαν  
 δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν πείσαι ἄρματοτροφεῖν καὶ  
 ἐπιδειξαι νικώσης αὐτῆς, ὅτι τὸ θρέμμα τοῦτο  
 οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίας, ἀλλὰ πλούτου ἐπίδειγμά ἐστι.

7 τόδε γε μὴν πῶς οὐ σαφῶς πρὸς τὸ γενναῖον  
 ἔγνω, ὅτι ἄρματι μὲν νικήσας τοὺς ἰδιώτας οὐδὲν  
 ὀνομαστότερος ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ δὲ φίλην μὲν πάντων  
 μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἔχοι, πλείστους δὲ φίλους  
 καὶ ἀρίστους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κεκτῆτο, νικῶν  
 δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους εὐεργετῶν,  
 τοὺς δὲ ἀντιπάλους τιμωρούμενος, ὅτι ὄντως ἂν  
 εἶη νικηφόρος τῶν καλλίστων καὶ μεγαλοπρε-  
 πεστάτων ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ ὀνομαστότατος καὶ  
 ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας γένοιτ' ἂν ;

X. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησίλαον.

toil, enjoyed any drink that was at hand and any food that came his way; and any place was good enough to give him soft repose. Nor was he happy 4 only in this behaviour. he was also proud to reflect that, while he was surrounded with good cheer, he saw the barbarian constrained to draw from the ends of the world the material for his enjoyment, if he would live without discomfort. And it cheered 5 his heart to know that he could accommodate himself to the divine ordering of the world, whereas he saw his rival shunning heat and shunning cold through weakness of character, imitating the life, not of brave men, but of the weakest of the brutes.

Surely, too, he did what was seemly and dignified 6 when he adorned his own estate with works and possessions worthy of a man, keeping many hounds and war horses, but persuaded his sister Cynisca to breed chariot horses, and showed by her victory that such a stud marks the owner as a person of wealth, but not necessarily of merit<sup>1</sup>. How clearly his true 7 nobility comes out in his opinion that a victory in the chariot race over private citizens would add not a whit to his renown; but if he held the first place in the affection of the people, gained the most friends and best all over the world, outstripped all others in serving his fatherland and his comrades and in punishing his adversaries, then he would be victor in the noblest and most splendid contests, and would gain high renown both in life and after death.

X Such, then, are the qualities for which I praise

<sup>1</sup> *Hero*, xi, 5.

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- ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ ὥσπερ εἰ θησαυρῶ τις ἐντύχοι, πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἂν εἴη, οἰκονομικώτερος δ' οὐδὲν ἂν, καὶ εἰ νόσου δὲ πολεμίους ἐμπεσοῦσης κρατήσκειν, εὐτυχέστερος μὲν ἂν εἴη, στρατηγικώτερος δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν· ὁ δὲ καρτερία μὲν πρωτεύων, ἔνθα πονεῖν καιρός, ἀλκῇ δέ, ὅπου ἀνδρείας ἀγών, γνώμη δέ, ὅπου βουλήs ἔργον, οὗτος ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ δικαίως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς παντελῶς ἂν νομίζεσθαι
- 2 εἰ δὲ καλὸν εὖρημα ἀνθρώποις στάθμη καὶ κανὼν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, καλὸν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ ἢ Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετὴ παράδειγμα γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀσκεῖν βουλομένοις. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ θεοσεβῆ μιμούμενος ἀνόσιος γένετο ἢ δίκαιον ἀδικος ἢ σώφρονα ὑβριστῆς ἢ ἐγκρατῆ ἀκρατῆς; καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλων βασιλεύειν ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχειν ἐμεγαλύνετο οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἠγεῖσθαι τοῖς πολίταις
- 3 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ ὅτι τετελευτηκῶς ἐπαινεῖται, τούτου ἕνεκα θρήνον τις τούτου τὸν λόγον νομισάτω, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐγκώμιον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἄπερ ζῶν ἤκουε, ταῦτα καὶ νῦν λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἔπειτα δὲ τί καὶ πλεον θρήνου ἄπεστιν ἢ βίος τε εὐκλεῆς καὶ θάνατος ὠραίος; ἐγκωμίων δὲ τί ἀξιώτερον ἢ νικάϊ τε αἰ κάλλιστα
- 4 καὶ ἔργα τὰ πλείστου ἀξία, δικαίως δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνός γε μακαρίζοιτο, ὃς εὐθύς μὲν ἐκ παιδὸς ἐρασθεὶς τοῦ εὐκλεῆς γενέσθαι ἔτυχε τούτου μάλιστα τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν· φιλοτιμότητος δὲ

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the ceremonial hymns sung at or after funerals, which of course contained much that would not have been said or sung in the hero's life-time,

## AGESILAUS, x. 1-4

Agesilaus These are the marks that distinguish him, say, from the man who, lighting on a treasure, becomes wealthier but not wiser in business, or from the man who wins victory through an outbreak of sickness among the enemy, and adds to his success but not to his knowledge of strategy. The man who is foremost in endurance when the hour comes for toil, in valour when the contest calls for courage, in wisdom when the need is for counsel—he is the man, I think, who may fairly be regarded as the perfect embodiment of goodness. If line and rule are a noble discovery of man as aids to the production of good work, I think that the virtue of Agesilaus may well stand as a noble example for those to follow who wish to make moral goodness a habit. For who that imitates a pious, a just, a sober, a self-controlled man, can come to be unrighteous, unjust, violent, wanton? In point of fact, Agesilaus prided himself less on reigning over others than on ruling himself, less on leading the people against their enemies than on guiding them to all virtue.

However, let it not be thought, because one whose life is ended is the theme of my praise, that these words are meant for a funeral dirge.<sup>1</sup> They are far more truly the language of eulogy. In the first place the words now applied to him are the very same that he heard in his lifetime. And, in the second place, what theme is less appropriate to a dirge than a life of fame and a death well-timed? What more worthy of eulogies than victories most glorious and deeds of sovereign worth? Justly may the man be counted blessed who was in love with glory from early youth and won more of it than any man of his age, who, being by nature very covetous

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πεφυκῶς ἀήττητος διετέλεσεν, ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο· ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκιστον ἀνθρωπίνου αἰῶνος ἀναμάρτητος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ περὶ τούτους, ὧν ἠγείτο, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους, οἷς ἐπολέμει.

ΧΙ. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ὁ ἔπαινος εὐμνημονεστέρως ἔχη.

Ἀγασίλαος ἱερὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσέβετο, ἠγούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ ἤττον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ χρῆναι ἢ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ συμμάχους ποιείσθαι.

Ἰκέτας δὲ θεῶν οὐδὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐβιάζετο, νομίζων ἄλογον εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἱερῶν κλέπτοντας ἱεροσύλους καλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ βωμῶν ἰκέτας ἀποσπῶντας εὐσεβεῖς ἠγείσθαι

2 Ἐκεῖνός γε μὴν ὑμῶν οὐποτ' ἔληγεν, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς οἶοιτο οὐδὲν ἤττον ὀσίοις ἔργοις ἢ ἀγνοῖς ἱεροῖς ἠδεσθαι

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁπότε εὐτυχοίη, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὑπερεφρόνει, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς χάριν ἤδει. καὶ θαρρῶν πλείονα ἔθνευ ἢ ὀκνῶν ἠύχετο.

Εἰθιστο δὲ φοβούμενος μὲν ἰλαρὸς φαίνεσθαι, εὐτυχῶν δὲ πρᾶος εἶναι

3 Τῶν γε μὴν φίλων οὐ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους μάλιστα ἠσπάζετο.

Ἐμίσει δὲ οὐκ εἴ τις κακῶς πάσχων ἠμύνητο, ἀλλ' εἴ τις εὐεργετούμενος ἀχάριστος φαίνοιτο.

Ἐχαιρε δὲ τοὺς μὲν αἰσχροκερδεῖς πένητας ὀρῶν, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους πλουσίους ποιῶν, βουλόμενος τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἀδικίας κερδαλεωτέραν καθιστάναι.

AGESILAUS, x. 4-xi. 3

of honour, never once knew defeat from the day that he became a king; who, after living to the utmost limit of human life, died without one blunder to his account, either concerning the men whom he led on in dealing with those on whom he made war

XI I propose to go through the story of his virtue again, and to summarize it, in order that the praise of it may be more easily remembered

Agesilaus revered holy places even when they belonged to an enemy, thinking that he ought to make allies of the gods no less in hostile than in friendly countries

To suppliants of the gods, even if his foes, he did no violence, believing it unreasonable to call robbers of temples sacrilegious and yet to consider those who dragged suppliants from altars pious men.

My hero never failed to dwell on his opinion that the gods have pleasure in righteous deeds no less than in holy temples.

In the hour of success he was not puffed up with pride, but gave thanks to the gods. He offered more sacrifices when confident than prayers when in doubt

He was wont to look cheerful when in fear, and to be humble when successful

Of his friends he welcomed most heartily not the most powerful, but the most devoted.

He hated not the man who defended himself when injured, but such as showed no gratitude for a favour

He rejoiced to see the avaricious poor and to enrich the upright, desiring to render right more profitable than wrong



## XENOPHON

4 Ἦσκει δὲ ἐξομιλεῖν μὲν παντοδαποῖς, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς.

Ὅποτε δὲ ψεγόντων ἢ ἐπαινούντων τινὰς ἀκούοι, οὐχ ἦπτον ᾧετο καταμανθάνειν τοὺς τῶν λεγόντων τρόπους ἢ περὶ ὧν λέγοιεν.

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ φίλων ἐξαπατωμένους οὐκ ἔψεγε, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πολεμίων πάμπαν κατεμέμφετο καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντας ἐξαπατᾶν σοφὸν ἔκρινε, τὸ δὲ πιστεύοντας ἀνόσιον.

5 Ἐπαινούμενος δὲ ἔχαιρεν ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ ψέγειν ἐθελόντων τὰ μὴ ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν παρρησιαζομένων οὐδένα ἠχθραινε, τοὺς δὲ κρυψίνους ὥσπερ ἐνέδρας ἐφυλάττετο.

6 Τοὺς γε μὴν διαβόλους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς κλέπτας ἐμίσει, μείζω ζημίαν ἠγούμενος φίλων ἢ χρημάτων στερίσκεσθαι. καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀμαρτίας πρᾶως ἔφερε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγάλας ἦγε, κρίνων τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγα, τοὺς δὲ πολλὰ κακῶς διατιθέναι.

Τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ προσήκειν ἐνόμιζεν οὐ βραδυσουργίαν, ἀλλὰ καλοκάγαθίαν

7 Καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος εἰκόνα στήσασθαι ἀπέσχετο, πολλῶν αὐτῷ τοῦτο δωρεῖσθαι θελόντων, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς οὐδέποτε ἐπαύετο μνημεῖα διαπονούμενος, ἠγούμενος τὸ μὲν ἀνδριαντοποιῶν, τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔργον εἶναι καὶ τὸ μὲν πλουσίῳ, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

8 Χρήμασί γε μὴν οὐ μόνον δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθερίως ἐχρήτο, τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ ἀρκεῖν ἠγούμενος τὸ εἶναι τὰ ἀλλότρια, τῷ δὲ ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προσωφελητέον εἶναι.

## AGESILAUS, XI. 4-8

It was his habit to associate with all sorts and conditions of men, but to be intimate with the good. 4

Whenever he heard men praise or blame others, he thought that he gained as much insight into the character of the critics as of the persons they criticized

If friends proved deceivers he forebore to blame their victims, but he heaped reproaches on those who let an enemy deceive them, and he pronounced deception clever or wicked according as it was practised on the suspicious or the confiding.

The praise of those who were prepared to censure 5 faults they disapproved was pleasing to him, and he never resented candour, but avoided dissimulation like a snare.

Slandereis he hated more than thieves, deeming loss of friends graver than loss of money. The mistakes of private persons he judged leniently, because few interests suffer by their incompetence, but the errors of rulers he treated as serious, since they lead to many troubles

Kingship, he held, demands not indolence, but manly virtue

He would not allow a statue of himself to be set 7 up, though many wanted to give him one, but on memorials of his mind he laboured unceasingly, thinking the one to be the sculptor's work, the other his own, the one appropriate to the rich, the other to the good

In the use of money he was not only just but 8 generous, thinking that a just man may be content to leave other men's money alone, but the generous man is required also to spend his own in the service of others.

## XENOPHON

Ἄει δὲ δεισιδαίμων ἦν, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν καλῶς ζῶντας οὐπω εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ εὐκλεῶς τετελευτηκότας ἤδη μακαρίους

- 9 Μείζω δὲ συμφορὰν ἔκρινε τὸ γιγνώσκοντα ἢ ἀγνοοῦντα ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

Δόξης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἦρα, ἧς οὐκ ἐξεπόνει τὰ ἴδια.

Μετ' ὀλίγων δέ μοι ἐδόκει ἀνθρώπων οὐ καρτερίαν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' εὐπάθειαν νομίζειν· ἐπαινούμενος γοῦν ἔχαιρε μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα κτώμενος.

Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἀνδρείαν γε τὸ πλεόν μετ' εὐβουλίας ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ σοφίαν ἔργω μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις ἥσκει.

- 10 Πραότατός γε μὴν φίλοις ὧν ἐχθροῖς φοβερώτατος ἦν· καὶ πόνους μάλιστα ἀντέχων ἐταίροις ἥδιστα ὑπέϊκε, καλῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν.

Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις σωφρονεῖν ἐπιστάμενος ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐθαρσῆς ἐδύνατο εἶναι.

- 11 Καὶ τὸ εὐχαρι οὐ σκώμμασιν, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ ἐπετήδευε καὶ τῷ μεγαλόφρονι οὐ σὺν ὑβρεῖ, ἀλλὰ σὺν γνώμῃ ἐχρήτο· τῶν γοῦν ὑπεραύχων καταφρονῶν τῶν μετρίων ταπεινότερος ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκαλλωπίζετο τῇ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ σῶμα φαιλότητι, τῷ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα κόσμῳ, τῷ δ' αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων δεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φίλους
- 12 ὡς πλεῖστα ὠφελεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βαρύτατος μὲν ἀνταγωνιστῆς ἦν, κουφότατος δὲ κρατήσας, ἐχθροῖς μὲν δυσεξαπότητος, φίλοις δὲ εὐπαραπειστότατος.

## AGESILAUS, VI. 8-12

He was ever god-fearing, believing that they who are living life well are not yet happy, but only they who have died gloriously are blessed

He held it a greater calamity to neglect that 9 which is good knowingly than in ignorance

No fame attracted him unless he did the right work to achieve it.

He seemed to me one of the few men who count virtue not a task to be endured but a comfort to be enjoyed. At any rate praise gave him more pleasure than money

Courage, as he displayed it, was joined with prudence rather than boldness, and wisdom he cultivated more by action than in words.

Very gentle with friends, he was very formidable 10 to enemies, and while he resisted fatigue obstinately, he yielded most readily to a comrade, though fair deeds appealed more to his heart than fair faces.

To moderation in times of prosperity he added confidence in the midst of danger

His urbanity found its habitual expression not in 11 jokes but in his manner, and when on his dignity, he was never arrogant, but always reasonable; at least, if he showed his contempt for the haughty, he was humbler than the average man. For he prided himself on the simplicity of his own dress and the splendid equipment of his army, on a strict limitation of his own needs and a boundless generosity to his friends. Added to this, he was the bitterest of 12 adversaries, but the mildest of conquerors; wary with enemies, but very compliant to friends.

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Ἄει δὲ τιθεὶς τὰ τῶν φίλων ἀσφαλῶς ἀεὶ ἀμανροῦν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργον εἶχεν.

- 13 Ἐκείνου οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς φιλοκηδεμόνα ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ χρώμενοι ἀπροφάσιστον, οἱ δ' ὑπουργήσαντές τι μνήμονα, οἱ δ' ἀδικούμενοι ἐπίκουρον, οἳ γε μὴν συγκινδυνεύοντες μετὰ θεοὺς σωτήρα.
- 14 Δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ τόδε μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδειξαί, ὅτι ἢ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺς γηράσκει, ἢ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ῥώμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγήρατός ἐστιν. ἐκεῖνος γοῦν οὐκ ἀπέειπε μεγάλης καὶ καλῆς ἐφίεμενος δόξης,<sup>1</sup> εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ σῶμα φέρειν ἠδύνατο τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ῥώμην.
- 15 τοιγαροῦν ποίας οὐ νεότητος κρείττον τὸ ἐκείνου γῆρας ἐφάνη; τίς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀκμάζων οὕτω φοβερὸς ἦν ὡς Ἀγησίλαος τὸ μῆκιστον τοῦ αἵωνος ἔχων; τίνος δ' ἐκποδῶν γενομένου μᾶλλον ἤσθησαν οἱ πολέμοιο ἢ Ἀγησιλάου καίπερ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος; τίς δὲ συμμάχοις θάρρος παρέσχευ ὅσον Ἀγησίλαος καίπερ ἤδη πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ βίου ὢν, τίνα δὲ νέου οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἐπόθησαν ἢ Ἀγησιλάου γηραιὸν ἀποθανόντα, οὕτω δὲ τελέως ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ πατρίδι ὠφέλιμος ὢν διεγένετο, ὡς καὶ τετελευτηκῶς ἤδη ἔτι μεγαλειῶς ὠφελῶν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αἰδίον οἴκησιν κατηγάγετο, μνημεῖα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κτησάμενος, τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυχῶν.

<sup>1</sup> The text is corrupt δόξης εἰ καὶ μὴ is wanting in A, which has μεγάλην καὶ καλήν

## AGESILAUS, xi. 12-16

While ever ensuring security to his own side, he ever made it his business to bring to nought the designs of his enemy.

By his relatives he was described as "devoted to 13 his family," by his intimates as "an unflinching friend,"<sup>1</sup> by those who served him as "unforgetful," by the oppressed as "a champion," by his comrades in danger as "a saviour second to the gods"

In one respect, I think, he was unique He 14 proved that, though the bodily strength decays, the vigour of good men's souls is ageless At any rate, he never waned in the pursuit of great and noble glory so long as his body could support the vigour of his soul What man's youth, then, did not 15 seem weaker than his old age? For who in his prime was so formidable to his foes as Agesilaus at the very limit of human life? Whose removal brought such welcome relief to the enemy as the death of Agesilaus, despite his years? Who gave such confidence to allies as Agesilaus, though now on the threshold of death? What young man was more regretted by his friends than Agesilaus, though he died full of years? So complete was the record of 16 his service to his fatherland that it did not end even when he died he was still a bountiful benefactor of the state when he was brought home to be laid in his eternal resting-place, and, having raised up monuments of his virtue throughout the world, was buried with royal ceremony in his own land<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hellenica*, v v 45

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to the money which Agesilaus had obtained in Egypt, and which was brought to the city with his body For the burial see *Const. of the Lac*, end



CONSTITUTION OF THE  
LACEDAEMONIANS



## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

Ι. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἐννοήσας ποτέ, ὡς ἡ Σπάρτη τῶν ὀλιγανθρωποτάτων πόλεων οὔσα δυνατωτάτη τε καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐφάνη, ἐθαύμασα, ὅτῳ ποτὲ τρόπῳ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατενόησα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐκέτι ἐθαύμαζον.

- 2 Λυκοῦργον μέντοι τὸν θέντα αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους, οἷς πειθόμενοι ἠὺδαιμόνησαν, τοῦτον καὶ θαυμάζω καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα σοφὸν ἠγοῦμαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐ μιμησάμενος τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντία γνοὺς ταῖς πλείσταις προέχουσαν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπέδειξεν.
- 3 Αὐτίκα γὰρ περὶ τεκνοποιίας, ἵνα ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἄρξωμαι, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς μελλούσας τίκτειν καὶ καλῶς δοκούσας κόρας παιδεύεσθαι καὶ σίτῳ ἢ ἀνυστὸν μετριωτάτῳ τρέφουσι καὶ ὄψῳ ἢ δυνατὸν μικροτάτῳ οἴνου γε μὴν ἢ πᾶμπαν ἀπεχομένας ἢ ὑδαρεῖ χρωμένας διάγουσιν· ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων ἐδραῖοί εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰς κόρας οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες ἠρεμιζούσας ἐριουργεῖν ἀξιούσι. τὰς μὲν οὖν οὕτω τρεφομένας πῶς χρὴ προσδοκῆσαι μεγαλείου ἂν τι γεννήσῃαι,

## CONSTITUTION OF THE LACEDAEMONIANS

I. It occurred to me one day that Sparta, though among the most thinly populated of states, was evidently the most powerful and most celebrated city in Greece, and I fell to wondering how this could have happened. But when I considered the institutions of the Spartans, I wondered no longer.

Lycurgus, who gave them the laws that they<sup>2</sup> obey, and to which they owe their prosperity, I do regard with wonder, and I think that he reached the utmost limit of wisdom. For it was not by imitating other states, but by devising a system utterly different from that of most others, that he made his country pre-eminently prosperous.

First, to begin at the beginning, I will take the<sup>3</sup> begetting of children<sup>1</sup>. In other states the girls who are destined to become mothers and are brought up in the approved fashion, live on the very plainest fare, with a most meagre allowance of delicacies. Wine is either withheld altogether, or, if allowed them, is diluted with water. The rest of the Greeks expect their girls to imitate the sedentary life that is typical of handicraftsmen—to keep quiet and do wool-work. How, then, is it to be expected that women so brought up will bear fine children?

<sup>1</sup> The prose *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* by Critias began with the same point. See Introduction III.

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- 4 Ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος ἐσθήτας μὲν καὶ δούλας παρέχειν ἱκανὰς ἠγήσατο εἶναι, ταῖς δ' ἐλευθέραις μέγιστον νομίσας εἶναι τὴν τεκνοποιίαν πρῶτον μὲν σωμασκεῖν ἔταξεν οὐδὲν ἦττον τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος φύλου· ἔπειτα δὲ δρόμου καὶ ἰσχύος, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις ἀγῶνας πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐποίησε, νομίζων ἕξ ἀμφοτέρων ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα ἔρρωμενέστερα γίγνεσθαι.
- 5 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν γυνὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα ἔλθοι, ὄρων τοὺς ἄλλους τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ χρόνου ἀμέτρως ταῖς γυναιξὶ συνόντας, καὶ τούτου τὰναντία ἔγνω· ἔθηκε γὰρ αἰδεῖσθαι μὲν εἰσιόντα ὀφθῆναι, αἰδεῖσθαι δ' ἐξιόντα. οὕτω δὲ συνόντων ποθεινοτέρως μὲν ἀνάγκη σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἔρρωμενέστερα δὲ γίγνεσθαι, εἴ τι βλάστοι, οὕτω μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ
- 6 διάκοροι ἀλλήλων εἶεν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀποπαύσας τοῦ ὀπότε βούλοιτο ἕκαστοι γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι ἔταξεν ἐν ἀκμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων τοὺς γάμους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο συμφέρον τῇ εὐγονίᾳ
- 7 νομίζων. εἴ γε μέντοι συμβαίῃ γεραιῶ νέαν ἔχειν, ὄρων τοὺς τηλικούτους φυλάττοντας μάλιστα τὰς γυναῖκας τὰναντία καὶ τούτου ἐνόμισε· τῷ γὰρ πρεσβύτῃ ἐποίησεν, ὁποίου ἀνδρὸς σῶμά τε καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγασθείη, τοῦτον ἐπαγομένῳ
- 8 τεκνοποιήσασθαι εἰ δέ τις αὖ γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιτο, τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοίη, καὶ τούτῳ νόμον ἐποίησεν, ἦντινα

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, I. 4-8

But Lycurgus thought the labour of slave women 4 sufficient to supply clothing. He believed motherhood to be the most important function of freeborn woman. Therefore, in the first place, he insisted on physical training for the female no less than for the male sex: moreover, he instituted races and trials of strength for women competitors as for men, believing that if both parents are strong they produce more vigorous offspring.

He noticed, too, that, during the time immediately 5 succeeding marriage, it was usual elsewhere for the husband to have unlimited intercourse with his wife. The rule that he adopted was the opposite of this: for he laid it down that the husband should be ashamed to be seen entering his wife's room or leaving it. With this restriction on intercourse the desire of the one for the other must necessarily be increased, and their offspring was bound to be more vigorous than if they were surfeited with one another. In 6 addition to this, he withdrew from men the right to take a wife whenever they chose, and insisted on their marrying in the prime of their manhood, believing that this too promoted the production of fine children. It might happen, however, that an old 7 man had a young wife, and he observed that old men keep a very jealous watch over their young wives. To meet these cases he instituted an entirely different system by requiring the elderly husband to introduce into his house some man whose physical and moral qualities he admired, in order to beget children. On the other hand, in case a man did not want to 8 cohabit with his wife and nevertheless desired children of whom he could be proud, he made it lawful for him to choose a woman who was the

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εὐτεκνον καὶ γενναίαν ὄρωή, πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι.

- 9 Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα συνεχώρει· αἱ τε γὰρ γυναῖκες διττοὺς οἴκους βούλονται κατέχειν οἳ τε ἄνδρες ἀδελφούς τοῖς παισὶ προσλαμβάνειν, οἳ τοῦ μὲν γένους καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως κοινωνοῦσι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀντιποιοῦνται.
- 10 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τεκνοποιίας οὕτω τὰναντία ἡγνούς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴ τι διαφέροντας καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ κατ' ἰσχὺν ἄνδρας τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀπετέλεσεν, ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπισκοπεῖτω.

II. Ἐγὼ μέντοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ γενέσεως ἐξήγημαι, βούλομαι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἐκατέρων σαφηνίσαι.

Τῶν μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ φάσκοντες κάλλιστα τοὺς υἱεῖς παιδεύειν, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ παῖδες τὰ λεγόμενα συνιῶσιν, εὐθύς μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παιδαγωγοὺς θεράποντας ἐφιστᾶσιν, εὐθύς δὲ πέμπουσιν εἰς διδασκάλων μαθησομένους καὶ γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν παλαίστρᾳ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν παίδων πόδας μὲν ὑποδήμασιν ἀπαλύνουσι, σώματα δὲ ἱματίων μεταβολαῖς διαθρύπτουσι· σίτου γε μὴν αὐτοῖς γαστέρα μέτρον νομίζουσιν.

- 2 Ο δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἄντι μὲν τοῦ ἰδία ἕκαστον παιδαγωγοὺς δούλους ἐφιστάναι ἄνδρα ἐπέστησε κρατεῖν αὐτῶν ἐξ ὧνπερ αἱ μέγιστα ἀρχαὶ

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<sup>1</sup> i. e. at Sparta

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, I. 8-II 2

mother of a fine family and of high birth, and if he obtained her husband's consent, to make her the mother of his children

He gave his sanction to many similar arrangements. 9 For the wives<sup>1</sup> want to take charge of two households, and the husbands want to get brothers for their sons, brothers who are members of the family and share in its influence, but claim no part of the money

Thus his regulations with regard to the begetting 10 of children were in sharp contrast with those of other states. Whether he succeeded in populating Sparta with a race of men remarkable for their size and strength, anyone who chooses may judge for himself

II Having dealt with the subject of birth, I wish next to explain the educational system of Lycurgus, and how it differs from other systems.

In the other Greek states parents who profess to give their sons the best education place their boys under the care and control of a moral tutor<sup>2</sup> as soon as they can understand what is said to them, and send them to a school to learn letters, music and the exercises of the wrestling-ground. Moreover, they soften the children's feet by giving them sandals, and pamper their bodies with changes of clothing; and it is customary to allow them as much food as they can eat

Lycurgus, on the contrary, instead of leaving each 2 father to appoint a slave to act as tutor, gave the duty of controlling the boys to a member of the class from which the highest offices are filled, in

<sup>2</sup> I have adopted for *παιδαγωγός* the term used at Oxford for a person who has charge of, but does not teach, an undergraduate.

## XENOPHON

καθίστανται, ὃς δὴ καὶ παιδονόμος καλεῖται. τοῦτον δὲ κύριον ἐποίησε καὶ ἀθροίζειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα, εἴ τις ῥαδιουργοίη, ἰσχυρῶς κολάζειν. ἔδωκε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡβώντων μαστιγοφόρους, ὅπως τιμωροῖεν ὅτε δέοι· ὥστε πολλὴν μὲν αἰδῶ, πολλὴν δὲ πειθῶ  
 3 ἐκεῖ συμπαρεῖναι. ἀντί γε μὴν τοῦ ἀπαλύνειν τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν ἔταξεν ἀνυποδησίᾳ κρατύνειν, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἀσκήσειαν, πολὺ μὲν ῥᾶον ἂν ὀρθιάδε βαίνειν, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ πρηνῆ καταβαίνειν, καὶ πηδήσαι δὲ καὶ ἀναθορεῖν καὶ δραμεῖν θάττον τὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀνυπόδητον, εἰ ἡσκηκῶς εἴη  
 4 τοὺς πόδας, ἢ τὸν ὑποδεδεμένον.\* καὶ ἀντί γε τοῦ ἱματίοις διαθρύπτεσθαι ἐνόμισεν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ δι' ἔτους προσεθίζεσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ψύχῃ καὶ πρὸς θάλπῃ ἄμεινον ἂν παρεσκευάσθαι  
 5 σῖτόν γε μὴν ἔταξε τοσοῦτον ἔχοντα συμβουλεύειν τὸν εἶρενα, ὡς ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς μὲν μήποτε βαρύνεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρωσ διάγειν μὴ ἀπείρωσ ἔχειν, νομίζων τοὺς οὕτω παιδευομένους μᾶλλον μὲν ἂν δύνασθαι, εἰ δεήσειεν, ἀσιτήσαντας ἐπιπονήσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἂν, εἰ παραγαγελθείη, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σίτου πλείω χρόνον ἐπιταθῆναι, ἦττον δ' ἂν ὄψου δεῖσθαι, εὐχερέστερον δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ἔχειν  
 6 βρῶμα καὶ ὑγιεινοτέρωσ δ' ἂν διάγειν, καὶ εἰς

<sup>1</sup> τὸν, wanting in the MSS and in S, is twice supplied by Cobet

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<sup>1</sup> συμβουλεύειν is the conjecture of F Portus for συμβουλεύειν, and εἶρενα that of Schneider for ἄρρενα. The prefect took his meals with the class of which he had charge. But Stobaeus' text runs σῖτόν γε μὴν τοσοῦτον ἔχειν (for which read ἐσθίειν)

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, II. 2-6

fact to the "Warden" as he is called. He gave this person authority to gather the boys together, to take charge of them and to punish them severely in case of misconduct. He also assigned to him a staff of youths provided with whips to chastise them when necessary, and the result is that modesty and obedience are inseparable companions at Sparta. Instead of softening the boys' feet with sandals he required them to harden their feet by going without shoes. He believed that if this habit were cultivated it would enable them to climb hills more easily and descend steep inclines with less danger, and that a youth who had accustomed himself to go barefoot would leap and jump and run more nimbly than a boy in sandals. And instead of letting them be pampered in the matter of clothing, he introduced the custom of wearing one garment throughout the year, believing that they would thus be better prepared to face changes of heat and cold. As to the food, he required the prefect to bring with him<sup>1</sup> such a moderate amount of it that the boys would never suffer from repletion, and would know what it was to go with their hunger unsatisfied, for he believed that those who underwent this training would be better able to continue working on an empty stomach, if necessary, and would be capable of carrying on longer without extra food, if the word of command were given to do so. They would want fewer delicacies and would accommodate themselves more readily to anything put before them, and at the same time would enjoy better health. He also thought that a diet which

*συνεβούλευεν ὧς*, "he recommended them to eat so moderately that they", and this is probably right



## XENOPHON

μῆκος ἂν αὐξάνεσθαι τὴν ῥαδινὰ τὰ σώματα ποιούσαν τροφήν μᾶλλον συλλαμβάνειν ἢ γήσατο ἢ τὴν διαπλατύνουσαν τῷ σίτῳ.

Ὡς δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἄγαν αὐτὸ πιέζονται, ἀπραγμόνως μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔδωκε λαμβάνειν ὧν ἂν προσδέωνται, κλέπτειν δ' ἔφηκεν ἔστιν ἂν τῷ λιμῷ 7 ἐπικουροῦντας. καὶ ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπορῶν ὅτι δοίη ἔφηκεν αὐτοῖς γε μηχανᾶσθαι τὴν τροφήν, οὐδένα οἶμαι τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖν· δῆλον δ' ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα κλωπεύειν καὶ νυκτὸς ἀγρυπνεῖν δεῖ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀπατᾶν καὶ ἐνεδρεύειν, καὶ κατασκόπους δὲ ἐτοιμάζειν τὸν μέλλοντά τι λήψεσθαι. ταῦτα οὖν δὴ πάντα δῆλον ὅτι μηχανικωτέρους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων βουλόμενος τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖν καὶ πολεμικωτέρους οὕτως ἐπαίδευσεν.

8 Εἴποι δ' ἂν οὖν τις, τί δῆτα, εἶπερ τὸ κλέπτειν ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπέβαλε τῷ ἀλισκομένῳ; ὅτι, φημὶ ἐγώ, καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα ἄνθρωποι διδάσκουσι, κολάζουσι τὸν μὴ καλῶς ὑπηρετοῦντα. κάκεινοι οὖν τοὺς ἀλισκομένους 9 ὡς κακῶς κλέπτοντας τιμωροῦνται. καὶ ὡς πλείστους δὴ ἀρπάσαι τυροὺς [παρ' Ὀρθίας] καλὸν θεῖς μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε, τοῦτο δὴ δηλῶσαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ βουλόμενος, ὅτι ἔστιν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀλγίσαντα πολλὸν χρόνον εὐδοκιμοῦντα εὐφραίνεισθαι. δηλοῦται δὲ ἐν

<sup>1</sup> *Anabasis*, IV vi. 14

<sup>2</sup> At this altar the annual scourging of Spartan boys and youths took place, according to Plutarch and Pausanias, but

made their bodies slim would do more to increase their height than one that consisted of flesh-forming food

On the other hand, lest they should feel too much the pinch of hunger,<sup>1</sup> while not giving them the opportunity of taking what they wanted without trouble he allowed them to alleviate their hunger by stealing something. It was not on account of a difficulty in providing for them that he encouraged them to get their food by their own cunning. No one, I suppose, can fail to see that. Obviously a man who intends to take to thieving must spend sleepless nights and play the deceiver and lie in ambush by day, and moreover, if he means to make a capture, he must have spies ready. There can be no doubt then, that all this education was planned by him in order to make the boys more resourceful in getting supplies, and better fighting men.

Someone may ask. But why, if he believed stealing to be a fine thing, did he have the boy who was caught beaten with many stripes? I reply. Because in all cases men punish a learner for not carrying out properly whatever he is taught to do. So the Spartans chastise those who get caught for stealing badly. He made it a point of honour to steal as many cheeses as possible [from the altar of Artemis Orthia],<sup>2</sup> but appointed others to scourge the thieves, meaning to show thereby that by enduring pain for a short time one may win lasting fame and felicity. It is shown herein that

this custom seems to have no connexion with that of punishing those who were caught thieving. It is not improbable that the whole of this sentence is an interpolation, if not, the text is corrupt beyond restoration.

## XENOPHON

τούτω, ὅτι καὶ ὅπου τάχους δεῖ ὁ βλακεύων ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὠφελείται, πλείστα δὲ πράγματα λαμβάνει.

- 10 "Ὅπως δὲ μὴδ' εἰ ὁ παιδονόμος ἀπέλθοι, ἔρημοί ποτε οἱ παῖδες εἶεν ἄρχοντος, ἐποίησε τὸν ἀεὶ παρόντα τῶν πολιτῶν κύριον εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς παισὶν ὅ τι ἀγαθὸν δοκοίη εἶναι καὶ κολάζειν, εἴ τι ἁμαρτάνοιεν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας διέπραξε καὶ αἰδημονεστέρους εἶναι τοὺς παῖδας· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως αἰδοῦνται οὔτε παῖδες οὔτε ἄνδρες
- 11 ὡς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὡς δὲ καὶ εἴ ποτε μὴδεὶς τύχοι ἀνὴρ παρών, μὴδ' ὡς ἔρημοί οἱ παῖδες ἄρχοντος εἶεν, ἔθηκε τῆς ἱλῆς ἐκάστης τὸν τορώτατον τῶν εἰρένων ἄρχειν· ὥστε οὐδέποτε ἐκεῖ οἱ παῖδες ἔρημοί ἄρχοντός εἰσι.
- 12 Λεκτέον δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῶν παιδικῶν ἐρώτων· ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς παιδείαν οἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλοι "Ἕλληνες ἢ ὥσπερ Βοιωτοὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ παῖς συζυγέντες ὀμιλοῦσιν ἢ ὥσπερ Ἡλείοι διὰ χαρίτων τῇ ὥρᾳ χρώνται· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ παντάπασι τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἵργουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων
- 13 Ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος ἐναντία καὶ τούτοις πᾶσι γνοὺς εἰ μὲν τις αὐτὸς ὢν οἶον δεῖ ἀγασθεὶς ψυχὴν παιδὸς πειρῶτο ἄμεμπτον φίλον ἀποτελέσασθαι καὶ συνεῖναι, ἐπήνει καὶ καλλίστην παιδείαν ταύτην ἐνόμιζεν· εἰ δέ τις παιδὸς σώματος ὀρεγόμενος φανείη, αἰσχιστον τοῦτο θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι μὴδὲν ἦττον ἐραστὰς παιδικῶν ἀπέχεσθαι ἢ γονεῖς παίδων καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀφροδίσια ἀπέχονται.

<sup>1</sup> ἢ καὶ S with the MSS ἢ was removed by Schafer

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, II. 9-13

where there is need of swiftness, the slothful, as usual, gets little profit and many troubles

In order that the boys might never lack a ruler 10 even when the Warden was away, he gave authority to any citizen who chanced to be present to require them to do anything that he thought right, and to punish them for any misconduct. This had the effect of making the boys more respectful; in fact boys and men alike respect their rulers above everything. And that a ruler might not be lacking to 11 the boys even when no grown man happened to be present, he selected the keenest of the prefects, and gave to each the command of a division. And so at Sparta the boys are never without a ruler

I think I ought to say something also about intimacy 12 with boys, since this matter also has a bearing on education. In other Greek states, for instance among the Boeotians, man and boy live together, like married people; <sup>1</sup> elsewhere, among the Eleians, for example, consent is won by means of favours. Some, on the other hand, entirely forbid suitors to talk with boys.

The customs instituted by Lycurgus were opposed 13 to all of these. If someone, being himself an honest man, admired a boy's soul and tried to make of him an ideal friend without reproach and to associate with him, he approved, and believed in the excellence of this kind of training. But if it was clear that the attraction lay in the boy's outward beauty, he banned the connexion as an abomination, and thus he purged the relationship of all impurity, so that in Lacedaemon it resembled parental and brotherly love.

<sup>1</sup> *Symposium*, viii. 34

## XENOPHON

14 Τὸ μέντοι ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τινων οὐ θαυμάζω· ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ τῶν πόλεων οἱ νόμοι οὐκ ἐναντιοῦνται ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιθυμίαις.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ παιδεία εἴρηται ἢ τε Λακωνικὴ καὶ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ἐξ ὁποτέρας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ εὐπειθέστεροι καὶ αἰδημονέστεροι καὶ ὧν δεῖ ἐγκρατέστεροι ἄνδρες ἀποτελοῦνται, ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισκοπεῖσθω

III. "Όταν γε μὴν ἐκ παίδων εἰς τὸ μειρακιοῦσθαι ἐκβαίνωσι, τηρικαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ παιδαγωγῶν, παύουσι δὲ ἀπὸ διδασκάλων, ἄρχουσι δὲ οὐδένες ἔτι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτονόμους ἀφιασιν ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος καὶ τούτων  
2 τὰναντία ἔγνω. καταμαθῶν γὰρ τοῖς τηλικούτοις μέγιστον μὲν φρόνημα ἐμφυόμενον, μάλιστα δὲ ὕβριν ἐπιπολάζουσιν, ἰσχυροτάτας δὲ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἡδονῶν παρισταμένας, τηρικαῦτα πλείστους μὲν πόνους αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλε, πλείστην δὲ ἀσχολίαν  
3 ἐμμηχανήσατο ἐπιθεῖς δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ταῦτα φύγοι, μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν καλῶν τυγχάνειν, ἐποίησε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ δημοσίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κηδομένους ἐκάστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἀποδειλιάσαντες ἀδόκιμοι παντάπασιν ἐν τῇ πόλει γένοιοντο.  
4 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι ἰσχυρῶς ἐμφυσιῶσαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπέταξεν ἐντὸς μὲν τοῦ ἱματίου τὴν χεῖρα ἔχειν, σιγῇ δὲ πορευέσθαι, περιβλέπειν δὲ μηδαμοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὀρᾶν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ δῆλον γεγένηται, ὅτι τὸ ἄρρεν φύλον καὶ εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἰσχυρότερόν ἐστι τῆς θηλείας  
5 φύσεως ἐκείνων γοῦν ἦττον μὲν ἂν φωνῆν

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, II. 14-III. 5

I am not surprised, however, that people refuse 14  
to believe this For in many states the laws are  
not opposed to the indulgence of these appet-  
ites

I have now dealt with the Spartan system of edu-  
cation, and that of the other Greek states. Which  
system turns out men more obedient, more respectful,  
and more strictly temperate, anyone who chooses  
may once more judge for himself.

III When a boy ceases to be a child, and begins  
to be a lad, others release him from his moral tutor  
and his schoolmaster he is then no longer under  
a rule and is allowed to go his own way Here  
again Lycurgus introduced a wholly different  
system For he observed that at this time of life 2  
self-will makes strong root in a boy's mind, a  
tendency to insolence manifests itself, and a keen  
appetite for pleasure in different forms takes posses-  
sion of him At this stage, therefore, he imposed on  
him a ceaseless round of work, and contrived a con-  
stant round of occupation. The penalty for shirking 3  
the duties was exclusion from all future honours  
He thus caused not only the public authorities, but  
their relations also to take pains that the lads did  
not incur the contempt of their fellow citizens by  
finching from their tasks

Moreover, wishing modesty to be firmly rooted 4  
in them, he required them to keep their hands  
under their cloaks, to walk in silence, not to look  
about them, but to fix their eyes on the ground  
The effect of this rule has been to prove that even  
in the matter of decorum the male is stronger than  
the female sex. At any rate you would expect a 5

## XENOPHON

ἀκούσαις ἢ τῶν λιθίνων, ἦπτον δ' ἂν ὄμματα μεταστρέψαις ἢ τῶν χαλκῶν, αἰδημονεστέρους δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἠγήσαιο καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις παρθένων. καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ φιλιτίον γε ἀφίκωνται, ἀγαπητὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀκούσαι.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν αὖ παιδίσκων οὕτως ἐπεμελήθη.

- IV. Περὶ γε μὴν τῶν ἡβώντων πολὺ μάλιστα ἐσπούδασε, νομίζων τούτους, εἰ γένοιτο οἴους δεῖ, πλείστον ῥέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει.
- 2 ὄρων οὖν, οἷς ἂν μάλιστα φιλονεικία ἐγγένηται, τούτων καὶ χοροὺς ἀξιακροατοτάτους γιγνομένους καὶ γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιοθεατοτάτους, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἡβώντας συμβάλλοι εἰς ἔριν περὶ ἀρετῆς, οὕτως ἂν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀνδραγαθίας. ὥς οὖν τούτους αὖ συνέβαλεν, ἐξηγήσομαι
- 3 Αἰροῦνται τοίνυν αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τρεῖς ἄνδρας· οὗτοι δὲ ἵππαγρέται καλοῦνται. τούτων δ' ἕκαστος ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν καταλέγει, διασαφηνίζων, ὅτου ἕνεκα τοὺς μὲν
- 4 προτιμᾷ, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδοκιμάζει. οἱ οὖν μὴ τυγχάνοντες τῶν καλῶν πολεμοῦσι τοῖς τε ἀποστείλασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσιν ἀνθ' αὐτῶν, καὶ παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, εἴαν τι παρὰ τὰ καλὰ νομιζόμενα ῥαδιουργῶσι.
- 5 Καὶ αὕτη δὴ γίγνεται ἡ θεοφιλεστάτη τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Longinus and Stobaeus quote this with ὀφθαλμοῖς, "eyes," in place of θαλάμοις, "bridal chambers"; and the former ensures the use of παρθένων for κορῶν, meaning "pupils" of the eye

<sup>2</sup> *Cyropaedia*, II. 1 22.

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, III 5-IV 5

stone image to utter a sound sooner than those lads, you would sooner attract the attention of a bronze figure, you might think them more modest even than a young bride in the bridal chamber.<sup>1</sup> When they have taken their place at a public meal, you must be content if you can get an answer to a question.

Such was the care that he bestowed on the growing lads

IV For those who had reached the prime of life he showed by far the deepest solicitude. For he believed that if these were of the right stamp they must exercise a powerful influence for good on the state. He saw that where the spirit of rivalry<sup>2</sup> is strongest among the people, there the choruses are most worth hearing and the athletic contests afford the finest spectacle. He believed, therefore, that if he could match the young men together in a strife of valour, they too would reach a high level of manly excellence<sup>3</sup>. I will proceed to explain, therefore, how he instituted matches between the young men

The Ephors, then, pick out three of the very best<sup>3</sup> among them. These three are called Commanders of the Guard. Each of them enrolls a hundred others, stating his reasons for preferring one and rejecting another. The result is that those who fail to win<sup>4</sup> the honour are at war both with those who sent them away and with their successful rivals, and they are on the watch for any lapse from the code of honour

Here then you find that kind of strife that is 5

<sup>3</sup> *Cyropaedia*, VII. II 26



## XENOPHON

πολιτικωτάτη ἔρις, ἐν ἣ ἀποδέδεικται μὲν ἂ δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν ἀγαθόν, χωρὶς δ' ἐκάτεροι ἀσκοῦσιν, ὅπως αἰεὶ κράτιστοι ἔσονται, εἴαν δέ τι δέη, καθ' ἓνα ἀρήξουσιν τῇ πόλει παντὶ σθένει ἀνάγκη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐεξίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πυκτεύουσι διὰ τὴν ἔριν ὅπου ἂν συμβάλωσι διαλύειν μέντοι τοὺς μαχομένους πᾶς ὁ παραγενόμενος κύριος. ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῆ τῷ διαλύοντι, ἄγει αὐτὸν ὁ παιδονόμος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· οἱ δὲ ζημιοῦσι μεγαλείως, καθιστάναί βουλόμενοι εἰς τὸ μήποτε ὄργην τοῦ μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις κρατῆσαι.

7 Τοῖς γε μὴν τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν πεπερακόσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἤδη καὶ αἱ μέγιστα ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι "Ἕλληνας ἀφελόντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἰσχύος ἔτι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι στρατεῦσθαι ὅμως αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάττουσιν, ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος τοῖς τηλικούτοις νόμιμον ἐποίησε κάλλιστον εἶναι τὸ θηρᾶν, εἰ μὴ τι δημόσιον κωλύει, ὅπως δύναιντο καὶ οὗτοι μηδὲν ἥττον τῶν ἡβώντων στρατιωτικοὺς πόρους ὑποφέρειν.

V. "Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἐκάστη ἡλικία ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Λυκούργος ἐπιτηδεύματα, σχεδὸν εἴρηται· οἷαν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι δίκαιαν κατεσκεύασε, νῦν πειράσομαι διηγεῖσθαι.

2 Λυκούργος τοίνυν παραλαβὼν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ὡσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους "Ἕλληνας οἴκοι σκηνοῦντας, γνοὺς ἐν τούτοις πλείστα ῥαδιουργεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἐξήγαγε τὰ συσκήνια, οὕτως ἡγούμενος

<sup>1</sup> *Horsemanship*, II. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lit "moved the Syskanea out into the open." See Introduction III

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, IV 5-v. 2

dearest to the gods, and in the highest sense political—the strife that sets the standard of a brave man's conduct; and in which either party exerts itself to the end that it may never fall below its best, and that, when the time comes, every member of it may support the state with all his might<sup>1</sup> And they are bound, too, to keep themselves fit, for one effect of the strife is that they spar whenever they meet, but anyone present has a right to part the combatants. If anyone refuses to obey the mediator the Warden takes him to the Ephors, and they fine him heavily, in order to make him realize that he must never yield to a sudden impulse to disobey the laws

To come to those who have passed the time of youth, and are now eligible to hold the great offices of state While absolving these from the duty of bestowing further attention on their bodily strength, the other Greeks require them to continue serving in the army But Lycurgus established the principle that for citizens of that age, hunting was the noblest occupation, except when some public duty prevented, in order that they might be able to stand the fatigues of soldiering as well as the younger men.

V I have given a fairly complete account of the institutions of Lycurgus so far as they apply to the successive stages of life. I will now try to describe the system that he established for all alike

Lycurgus found the Spartans boarding at home<sup>2</sup> like the other Greeks, and came to the conclusion that the custom was responsible for a great deal of misconduct He therefore established the public messes outside in the open,<sup>2</sup> thinking that this

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ἥκιστ' ἂν παραβαίνεσθαι τὰ προσταττόμενα.  
 3 καὶ σῖτόν γε<sup>1</sup> ἔταξεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς μήτε ὑπερπλη-  
 ροῦσθαι μήτε ἐνδεεῖς γίγνεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ  
 παράλογα γίγνεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρευομένων· οἱ δὲ  
 πλούσιοι ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἄρτον ἀντιπαραβάλλουσιν·  
 ὥστε οὔτε ἔρημός ποτε ἢ τράπεζα βρωτῶν γί-  
 γνεται, ἔστ' ἂν διασκηνώσιν, οὔτε πολυδάπανος.  
 4 καὶ μὴν τοῦ πότου ἀποπαύσας τὰς<sup>2</sup> ἀναγκαίας  
 πόσεις, αἱ σφάλλουσι μὲν σώματα, σφάλλουσι  
 δὲ γνώμας, ἐφήκεν ὁπότε διψῶν ἕκαστος πίνειν,  
 οὕτω νομίζων ἀβλαβέστατόν τε καὶ ἥδιστον  
 ποτόν γίγνεσθαι.

Οὕτω γε μὴν συσκηνούντων πῶς ἂν τις ἢ ὑπὸ  
 λιχνείας ἢ οἰνοφλυγίας ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ οἶκον διαφθεί-  
 5 ρει; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὡς  
 τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἠλικες ἀλλήλοις σύνεισι, μεθ' ὧν περ  
 καὶ ἐλαχίστη αἰδῶς παραγίγνεται· ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος  
 ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀνέμιξε παιδεύεσθαι τὰ πολλὰ  
 τοὺς νεωτέρους ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γεραιτέρων ἐμπειρίας.  
 6 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιχώριον ἐν τοῖς φιλιτίοις λέγεσθαι  
 ὅτι ἂν καλῶς τις ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιήσῃ· ὥστ' ἐκεῖ  
 ἥκιστα μὲν ὕβρις, ἥκιστα δὲ παροιμία, ἥκιστα  
 7 δὲ αἰσχρορργίαν καὶ αἰσχρολογίαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι.  
 ἀγαθὰ γε μὴν ἀπεργάζεται καὶ τάδε ἢ ἔξω  
 σίτησις περιπατεῖν τε γὰρ ἀναγκάζονται ἐν τῇ  
 οἴκαδε ἀφόδῳ καὶ μὴν τὸ ὑπὸ οἴνου μὴ σφάλ-  
 λεσθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εἰδότες, ὅτι οὐκ ἔνθα περ

<sup>1</sup> γε Stephanus τε S with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> τὰς Madvig τὰς οὐκ S with the MSS

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<sup>1</sup> At the public meals each had his own cup there was no passing of cups along as at Athens and elsewhere Critias in *Athenaicus*, x. 432 D and xi 463 E.

would reduce disregard of orders to a minimum. The amount of food he allowed was just enough to 3 prevent them from getting either too much or too little to eat. But many extras are supplied from the spoils of the chase; and for these rich men sometimes substitute wheaten bread. Consequently the board is never bare until the company breaks up, and never extravagantly furnished. Another of his 4 reforms was the abolition of compulsory drinking,<sup>1</sup> which is the undoing alike of body of mind. But he allowed everyone to drink when he was thirsty, believing that drink is then most harmless and most welcome.

Now what opportunity did these public messes give a man to ruin himself or his estate by gluttony or wine-bibbing? Note that in other states the 5 company usually consists of men of the same age, where modesty is apt to be conspicuous by its absence from the board. But Lycurgus introduced mixed companies<sup>2</sup> at Sparta, so that the experience of the elders might contribute largely to the education of the juniors. In point of fact, by the custom of the 6 country the conversation at the public meals turns on the great deeds wrought in the state, and so there is little room for insolence or drunken uproar, for unseemly conduct or indecent talk. And the system 7 of feeding in the open has other good results. They must needs walk home after the meal, and, of course, must take good care not to stumble under the influence of drink (for they know that they will not

<sup>2</sup> Something appears to be lost after ἀνέμιξε. Schneider suggested ἀνέμιξε τὰς ἡλικίας ὥστε, "mixed the ages, so that"

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ἐδείπνου καταμενοῦσι· καὶ τῇ ὄρφνῃ ὅσα ἡμέρα χρηστέον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὸ φανού τὸν ἔτι ἔμφρουρον ἔξεστι πορεύεσθαι.

- 8 Καταμαθὼν γε μὴν ὁ Λυκούργος καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν σίτων οἱ μὲν διαπονούμενοι εὐχροί τε καὶ εὐσαρκοὶ καὶ εὐρωστοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἄπονοι πεφτυσημένοι τε καὶ αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀναφαίνονται, οὐδὲ τούτου ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐννοῶν, ὅτι καὶ ὅταν αὐτός τις τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώμῃ φιλοπονῇ, ἀρκούντως τὸ σῶμα ἔχων ἀναφαίνεται, ἐπέταξε τὸν αἰεὶ πρεσβύτατον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐκάστῳ<sup>1</sup> ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς μὴ πόνους αὐτοῖς<sup>2</sup>
- 9 ἐλάττους τῶν σιτίων γίνεσθαι. καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ σφαλῆναι δοκεῖ. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ῥαδίως γέ τις εὐροὶ Σπαρτιατῶν οὔτε ὑγιεινότερους οὔτε τοῖς σώμασι χρησιμωτέρους· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἀπὸ τε τῶν σκελῶν καὶ ἀπὸ χειρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τραχήλου γυμνάζονται

VI. Ἐναντία γε μὴν ἔγνω καὶ τάδε τοῖς πλείστοις ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος καὶ παίδων καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἄρχουσιν· ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος κατασκευάσαι βουλόμενος, ὡς ἂν μηδὲν βλάπτουτες ἀπολαύοιεν τι οἱ πολῖται ἀλλήλων ἀγαθόν, ἐποίησε παίδων ἕκαστον ὁμοίως τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν

2 ἀλλοτρίων ἄρχειν. ὅταν δέ τις εἰδῆ, ὅτι οὗτοι πατέρες εἰσὶ τῶν παίδων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἄρχει, ἀνάγκη οὕτως ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ ἂν καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι βούλοιο. ἦν δέ τις παῖς ποτε πληγὰς λαβὼν ὑπ' ἄλλου κατέπη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, αἰσχροῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκάστῳ MSS : S reads ἐκάστων with Hermann

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, v. 7-vi. 2

stay on at the table), and they must do in the dark what they do in the day. Indeed, those who are still in the army are not even allowed a torch to guide them

Lycurgus had also observed the effects of the same rations on the hard worker and the idler; that the former has a fresh colour, firm flesh and plenty of vigour, while the latter looks puffy, ugly and weak. He saw the importance of this, and reflecting that even a man who works hard of his own will because it is his duty to do so, looks in pretty good condition, he required the senior for the time being in every gymnasium to take care that the tasks set should be not too small for the rations allowed. And I think that in this matter too he succeeded. So it would not be easy to find healthier or handier men than the Spartans. For their exercises train the legs, arms and neck equally.

VI. In the following respects, again, his institutions differ from the ordinary type. In most states every man has control of his own children, servants and goods. Lycurgus wanted to secure that the citizens should get some advantage from one another without doing any harm. He therefore gave every father authority over other men's children as well as over his own. When a man knows that fathers have this power, he is bound to rule the children over whom he exercises authority as he would wish his own to be ruled.<sup>1</sup> If a boy tells his own father when he has been whipped by another father, it is

<sup>1</sup> The text of this sentence is open to suspicion. οἱ τοὶ πατέρες can hardly be sound

<sup>2</sup> The text as altered by Hug, πόνους is highly probable. the MSS have ὡς μήποτε αὐτοὶ ἐλάττους, and S merely omits αὐτοί, but this is not satisfactory.

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ἔστι μὴ οὐκ ἄλλας πληγὰς ἐμβάλλειν τῷ νίει οὕτω πιστεύουσιν ἀλλήλοις μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν προστάττειν τοῖς παισίν.

3 Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ οἰκέταις, εἴ τις δεηθείη, χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ κυνῶν δὲ θηρευτικῶν συνήψε κοινωνίαν ὥστε οἱ μὲν δεόμενοι παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπὶ θήραν, ὁ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸς σχολάζων ἠδέως ἐκπέμπει. καὶ ἵπποις δὲ ὡσαύτως χρῶνται· ὁ γὰρ ἀσθενήσας ἢ δεηθεὶς ὀχήματος ἢ ταχύ ποι βουλευθεὶς ἀφικέσθαι, ἦν που ἴδη ἵππον ὄντα, λαβὼν καὶ χρησάμενος καλῶς ἀποκαθίστησιν.

4 Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰθισμένον ἐποίησεν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ θήρας ὀψισθέντες δεηθῶσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἦν μὴ συνεσκευασμένοι τύχῳσι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔθηκε τοὺς μὲν πεπαμένους καταλείπειν τὰ πεποιημένα, τοὺς δὲ δεομένους ἀνοίξαντας τὰ σήμαντρα, λαβόντας ὅσων ἂν δέωνται, σημηναμένους καταλιπεῖν. τοιγαροῦν οὕτως μεταδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ οἱ τὰ μικρὰ ἔχοντες μετέχουσι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὅποταν τινὸς δεηθῶσιν.

VII Ἐναντία γε μὴν καὶ τάδε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι κατέστησεν ὁ Λυκούργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ νόμιμα ἐν μὲν γὰρ δήπου ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι πάντες χρηματίζονται ὅσον δύνανται ὁ μὲν γὰρ γεωργεῖ, ὁ δὲ ναυκληρεῖ, ὁ δ' ἐμπορεύεται, οἱ δὲ 2 καὶ ἀπὸ τεχνῶν τρέφονται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ ὁ Λυκούργος τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ χρηματισμὸν ἀπέειπε μηδενὸς ἀπτεσθαι, ὅσα δὲ ἐλευ-

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<sup>1</sup> i e so much of it as remained over

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, VI. 2-VII 2

a disgrace if the parent does not give his son another whipping. So completely do they trust one another not to give any improper orders to the children

He also gave the power of using other men's 3 servants in case of necessity, and made sporting dogs common property to this extent, that any who want them invite their master, and if he is engaged himself he is glad to send the hounds. A similar plan of borrowing is applied to horses also; thus a man who falls ill or wants a carriage or wishes to get to some place quickly, if he sees a horse anywhere, takes and uses it carefully and duly restores it.

There is yet another among the customs instituted 4 by him which is not found in other communities. It was intended to meet the needs of parties belated in the hunting-field with nothing ready to eat. He made a rule that those who had plenty should leave behind the prepared food,<sup>1</sup> and that those who needed food should break the seals, take as much as they wanted, seal up the rest and leave it behind. The result of this method of going shares with one another is that even those who have but little receive a share of all that the country yields whenever they want anything.

VII Nor does this exhaust the list of the customs established by Lycurgus at Sparta that are contrary to those of the other Greeks. In other states, I suppose, all men make as much money as they can. One is a farmer, another a ship owner, another a merchant, and others live by different handicrafts. But at Sparta Lycurgus forbade freeborn citizens to 2 have anything to do with business affairs. He insisted



- θερίαν ταῖς πόλεσι παρασκευάζει, ταῦτα ἔταξε  
 3 μόνα ἔργα αὐτῶν νομίζειν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τί πλοῦτος  
 ἐκεῖ γε σπουδαστέος, ἔνθα ἴσα μὲν φέρειν εἰς τὰ  
 ἐπιτήδεια, ὁμοίως δὲ διαιτᾶσθαι τάξας ἐποίησε  
 μὴ ἡδυνπαθείας ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὀρέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν οὐδ' ἱματίων γε ἔνεκα χρηματιστέον· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεία, ἀλλὰ σώματος εὐεξία κοσ-  
 4 μούνται. οὐδὲ μὴν τοῦ γε εἰς τοὺς συσκήνους<sup>1</sup>  
 ἔχειν δαπανᾶν χρήματα ἀθροιστέον, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῷ  
 σώματι ποιοῦντα ὠφελεῖν τοὺς συνόντας εὐδοξό-  
 τερον ἐποίησεν ἢ τὸ δαπανῶντα,<sup>2</sup> ἐπιδείξας τὸ  
 μὲν ψυχῆς, τὸ δὲ πλούτου ἔργον.  
 5 Τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀδίκων χρηματίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν  
 τοῖς τοιοῦτοις διεκώλυσε πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νό-  
 μισμα τοιοῦτον κατεστήσατο, ὃ δεκάμνων<sup>3</sup> μόνου  
 ἂν εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσελθὼν οὔτε δεσπότης οὔτε οἰκέτας  
 λάθοι· καὶ γὰρ χώρας μεγάλης καὶ ἀμάξης ἀγω-  
 6 γῆς δέοιτ' ἄν. χρυσίον γε μὴν καὶ ἀργύριον  
 ἐρευνᾶται, καὶ ἂν τί που φανῆ, ὃ ἔχων ζημιοῦται  
 τί οὖν ἂν ἐκεῖ χρηματισμὸς σπουδάζοιτο, ἔνθα ἢ  
 κτήσις πλείους λύπας ἢ ἢ χρήσις εὐφροσύνας  
 παρέχει;

VIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ μάλιστα  
 πείθονται ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ἴσμεν  
 ἅπαντες. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐδ' ἐγχειρήσαι οἶμαι πρό-  
 τερον τὸν Λυκούργον ταύτην τὴν εὐταξίαν<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἔνεκα, which S adds after *συσκήνους* with the MSS, was removed by Weiske

<sup>2</sup> *δαπανῶντα* Morus *δαπανῶντας* S with the MSS

<sup>3</sup> *δεκάμνων* Dindorf *δέκα μνῶν* S with the MSS

<sup>4</sup> *εὐταξίαν* Dindorf *εὐεξίαν* S with the MSS

on their regarding as their own concern only those activities that make for civic freedom. Indeed, 3 how should wealth be a serious object there, when he insisted on equal contributions to the food supply and on the same standard of living for all, and thus cut off the attraction of money for indulgence' sake? Why, there is not even any need of money to spend on cloaks for their adornment is due not to the price of their clothes, but to the excellent condition of their bodies. Nor yet is there any reason for 4 amassing money in order to spend it on one's messmates; for he made it more respectable to help one's fellows by toiling with the body than by spending money,<sup>1</sup> pointing out that toil is an employment of the soul, spending an employment of wealth.

By other enactments he rendered it impossible to 5 make money in unfair ways. In the first place the system of coinage that he established was of such a kind that even a sum of ten minae<sup>2</sup> could not be brought into a house without the master and the servants being aware of it. The money would fill a large space and need a wagon to draw it. Moreover, 6 there is a right of search for gold and silver, and, in the event of discovery, the possessor is fined. Why, then, should money-making be a preoccupation in a state where the pains of its possession are more than the pleasures of its enjoyment?

VIII To continue we all know that obedience to the magistrates and the laws is found in the highest degree in Sparta. For my part, however, I think that Lycurgus did not so much as attempt

<sup>2</sup> Some £40

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- καθιστάται, πρὶν ὁμογνώμονας ἐποιήσατο τοὺς  
 2 κρατίστους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οἱ δυνατώτεροι οὐδὲ βούλονται δοκεῖν τὰς ἀρχὰς φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι τοῦτο ἀνελεύθερον εἶναι. ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ ὑπέρχονται μάλιστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τῷ ταπεινοῖ εἶναι μεγαλύνονται καὶ τῷ ὅταν καλῶνται τρέχοντες ἀλλὰ μὴ βαδίζοντες ὑπακούειν, νομίζοντες, ἦν αὐτοὶ κατάρχωσι τοῦ σφόδρα πείθεσθαι, ἔψεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· ὅπερ καὶ γεγένηται.
- 3 Εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐφορείας δύναμιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους συγκатаσκευάσαι, ἐπεὶ περ ἔγνωσαν τὸ πείθεσθαι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν στρατιᾷ καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ· ὅσῳ γὰρ μείζω δύναμιν ἔχοι<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἀρχή, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἠγγήσαντο αὐτὴν καὶ καταπλήξειν τοὺς πολίτας τοῦ  
 4 ὑπακούειν. ἐφοροὶ οὖν ἱκανοὶ μὲν εἰσι ζημιοῦν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται, κύριοι δ' ἐκπράττειν παραχρῆμα, κύριοι δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντας μεταξὺ καταπαῦσαι<sup>2</sup> καὶ εἰρξαί γε καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστήσαι. τοσαύτην δὲ ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐχ ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐῶσι τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἀεὶ ἄρχειν τὸ ἔτος ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐπιστάται, ἦν τινα αἰσθάνωνται παρανομοῦντά τι, εὐθύς παραχρῆμα κολάζουσι.
- 5 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ὄντων μηχανημάτων καλῶν τῷ Λυκούργῳ εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις

<sup>1</sup> ἔχοι Dindorf ἔχει S with MSS

<sup>2</sup> καταπαῦσαι Stobaeus καὶ καταπαῦσαι S with the MSS

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, VIII. 1-5

to introduce this habit of discipline until he had secured agreement among the most important men in the state I base my inference on the following facts In other states the most powerful citizens do not even wish it to be thought that they fear the magistrates they believe such fear to be a badge of slavery But at Sparta the most important men show the utmost deference to the magistrates they pride themselves on their humility, on running instead of walking to answer any call, in the belief that, if they lead, the rest will follow along the path of eager obedience And so it has proved

It is probable also that these same citizens helped to set up the office of Ephor, having come to the conclusion that obedience is a very great blessing whether in a state or an army or a household For they thought that the greater the power of these magistrates the more they would impress the minds of the citizens<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the Ephors are competent to fine whom they choose, and have authority to enact immediate payment they have authority also to deprive the magistrates of office, and even to imprison and prefer a capital charge against them Possessing such wide power they do not, like other states, leave persons elected to office to rule as they like throughout the year, but in common with despots and the presidents of the games, they no sooner see anyone breaking the law than they punish the offender.

Among many excellent plans contrived by Lycurgus for encouraging willing obedience to the laws

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὑπακούειν is omitted in the translation It can hardly be right, Schneider removed it, and Cobet proposed εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν, "so as to make them obedient"

## XENOPHON

ἔθέλειν τοὺς πολίτας, ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐ πρότερον ἀπέδωκε τῷ πλήθει τοὺς νόμους, πρὶν ἔλθων σὺν τοῖς κρατίστοις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρητο τὸν θεόν, εἰ λῶον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶη τῇ Σπάρτῃ πειθομένη οἷς αὐτὸς ἔθηκε νόμοις ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεῖλε τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι, τότε ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ἄνομον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνόσιον θεῖς τὸ πυθοχρήστοις νόμοις μὴ πείθεσθαι.

IX. Ἄξιον δὲ τοῦ Λυκούργου καὶ τότε ἀγασθῆναι, τὸ κατεργάσασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰρετώτερον εἶναι τὸν καλὸν θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ βίου· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπισκοπῶν τις ἀν' εὖροι μείους ἀποθνήσκοντας τούτων ἢ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ  
 2 ἀποχωρεῖν αἰρουμένων. ὡς τὰληθες εἰπεῖν καὶ ἔπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ τὸ<sup>1</sup> σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν πλείω χρόνον μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ κακίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ῥᾶων καὶ ἡδίων καὶ εὐπορωτέρα καὶ ἰσχυροτέρα. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ εὐκλεία μάλιστα ἔπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν πως πάντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς βούλονται.

3 \*Ἡι μέντοι ὥστε ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι ἐμηχανήσατο, καὶ τοῦτο καλὸν μὴ παραλιπεῖν. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν σαφῶς παρεσκεύασε τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς εὐδαιμονίαν,  
 4 τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς κακοδαιμονίαν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁπόταν τις κακὸς γένηται, ἐπικλησιν μόνον ἔχει κακὸς εἶναι, ἀγοράζει δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὁ κακὸς τὰγαθῷ καὶ κάθηται καὶ γυμνάζεται, ἐὰν βούληται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πᾶς

<sup>1</sup> τὸ added by Morus : S. omits with the MSS

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, VIII. 5-IX 4

among the citizens, I think one of the most excellent was this · before delivering his laws to the people he paid a visit to Delphi,<sup>1</sup> accompanied by the most important citizens, and inquired of the god whether it was desirable and better for Sparta that she should obey the laws that he himself had framed. Only when the god answered that it was better in every way did he deliver them, after enacting that to refuse obedience to laws given by the Pythian god was not only unlawful, but wicked.

IX The following achievement of Lycurgus, again, deserves admiration. He caused his people to choose an honourable death in preference to a disgraceful life. And, in fact, one would find on consideration that they actually lose a smaller proportion of their men than those who prefer to retire from the danger zone. To tell the truth, escape <sup>2</sup> from premature death more generally goes with valour than with cowardice · for valour is actually easier and pleasanter and more resourceful and mightier.<sup>2</sup> And obviously glory adheres to the side of valour, for all men want to ally themselves somehow with the brave.

However, it is proper not to pass over the means <sup>3</sup> by which he contrived to bring about this result. Clearly, what he did was to ensure that the brave should have happiness, and the coward misery. For <sup>4</sup> in other states when a man proves a coward, the only consequence is that he is called a coward. He goes to the same market as the brave man, sits beside him, attends the same gymnasium, if he chooses. But in Lacedaemon everyone would be ashamed to

<sup>2</sup> The sentiment is taken from Tyrtaeus.

## XENOPHON

μὲν ἂν τις αἰσχυνθείη τὸν κακὸν σύσκηνον παρα-  
 λαβεῖν, πᾶς δ' ἂν ἐν παλαίσματι συγγυμναστήν.  
 5 πολλάκις δ' ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ διαιρουμένων τοὺς  
 ἀντισφαιριοῦντας ἀχώριστος περιγίγνεται καὶ ἐν  
 χοροῖς δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπονειδίστους χώρας ἀπελαύ-  
 νεται, καὶ μὴν ἐν ὁδοῖς παραχωρητέον αὐτῷ καὶ  
 ἐν θάκοις καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ὑπαναστατέον, καὶ  
 τὰς μὲν προσηκούσας κόρας οἴκοι θρεπτέον καὶ  
 ταύταις τῆς ἀνανδρείας<sup>1</sup> αἰτίαν ὑφεκτέον, γυναι-  
 κὸς δὲ κενὴν ἐστίαν περιοπτέον<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἅμα τούτου  
 ζημίαν ἀποτιστέον, λιπαρὸν δὲ οὐ πλανητέον  
 οὐδὲ μιμητέον τοὺς ἀνεγκλήτους, ἧ πληγὰς ὑπὸ  
 6 τῶν ἀμεινόνων ληπτέον. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης  
 τοῖς κακοῖς ἀτιμίας ἐπικειμένης οὐδὲν θαυμάζω  
 τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι ἐκεῖ θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ οὕτως  
 ἀτίμου τε καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίου.

X. Καλῶς δέ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Λυκοῦργος νομοθε-  
 τῆσαι καὶ ἧ μέχρι γήρωσ ἀσκοῖτ' ἂν ἀρετή. ἐπὶ  
 γὰρ τῷ τέρματι τοῦ βίου τὴν κρίσιν τῆς γερου-  
 τίας προσθεὶς ἐποίησε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ γήρῳ ἀμελεῖ-  
 2 σθαι τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν. ἀξιάγαστον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 τὸ ἐπικουρῆσαι τῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γήρῳ· θεὸς γὰρ  
 τοὺς γέροντας κυρίους τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶ-  
 νος διέπραξεν ἐντιμότερον εἶναι τὸ γήρας τῆς  
 3 τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ῥώμης. εἰκότως δέ τοι καὶ  
 σπουδάξεται οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων. καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ γυμνικοί· ἀλλ'  
 οὗτοι μὲν σωμάτων εἰσίν· ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς γεροντίας  
 ἀγὼν ψυχῶν ἀγαθῶν κρίσιν παρέχει. ὅσῳ οὖν  
 κρείττων ψυχῇ σώματος, τοσοῦτω καὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες

<sup>1</sup> ἀνδρείας S with the better MSS

THE LACEDAEMONIANS, ix. 4-x 3

have a coward with him at the mess or to be matched  
 with him in a wrestling bout Often when sides are 5  
 picked for a game of ball he is the odd man left out :  
 in the chorus he is banished to the ignominious  
 place, in the streets he is bound to make way,  
 when he occupies a seat he must needs give it up,  
 even to a junior, he must support his spinster  
 relatives at home and must explain to them why they  
 are old maids: he must make the best of a fireside  
 without a wife, and yet pay forfeit for that. he may not  
 stroll about with a cheerful countenance, nor behave  
 as though he were a man of unsullied fame, or else  
 he must submit to be beaten by his betters Small 6  
 wonder, I think, that where such a load of dishonour  
 is laid on the coward, death seems preferable to a  
 life so dishonoured, so ignominious.

X The law by which Lycurgus encouraged the  
 practice of virtue up to old age is another excellent  
 measure in my opinion By requiring men to face the  
 ordeal of election to the Council of Elders near the  
 end of life, he prevented neglect of high principles  
 even in old age Worthy of admiration also is the pro- 2  
 tection that he afforded to the old age of good men  
 For the enactment by which he made the Elders  
 judges in trials on the capital charge caused old age to  
 be held in greater honour than the full vigour of man-  
 hood And surely it is natural that of all contests 3  
 in the world this should excite the greatest zeal  
 For noble as are the contests in the Games, they  
 are merely tests of bodily powers But the contest  
 for the Council judges souls whether they be good  
 As much then, as the soul surpasses the body, so

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<sup>2</sup> περιπτέον Dindorf οὐ περιπτέον S with the MSS.



## XENOPHON

οἱ τῶν ψυχῶν ἢ οἱ τῶν σωμάτων ἀξιοσπουδαστότεροι.

- 4 Τόδε γε μὴν τοῦ Λυκούργου πῶς οὐ μεγάλως ἄξιον ἀγασθῆναι; ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθεν, ὅτι ὅπου<sup>1</sup> οἱ βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελοῦνται<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐχ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι τὰς πατρίδας αὔξειν, ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἠνάγκασε δημοσίᾳ πάντας πάσας ἀσκεῖν τὰς ἀρετάς. ὥσπερ οὖν ἰδιῶται ἰδιωτῶν διαφέρουσιν ἀρετῇ οἱ ἀσκούντες τῶν ἀμελούντων, οὕτως καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη εἰκότως πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀρετῇ διαφέρει, μόνῃ δημοσίᾳ ἐπιτηδεύουσα τὴν
- 5 καλοκάγαθίαν· οὐ γὰρ κἀκείνο καλόν, τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων κολαζουσῶν, ἣν τίς τι ἕτερος ἕτερον ἀδικῆ, ἐκείνον ζημίας μὴ ἐλάττους ἐπιθεῖναι, εἴ τις φανερὸς εἴη ἀμελῶν τοῦ ὡς βέλτισ-
- 6 τος εἶναι; ἐνόμιζε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνδραποδιζομένων τινὰς ἢ ἀποστερούντων τι ἢ κλεπτόντων τοὺς βλαπτομένους μόνου ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀνάνδρων ὅλας τὰς πόλεις προδίδοσθαι. ὥστε εἰκότως ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τούτοις μεγίστας ζημίας ἐπιθεῖναι.
- 7 Ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνάγκην ἀσκεῖν ἅπασαν πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκτελοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἅπασιν τὴν πόλιν οἰκείαν ἐποίησε καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπελογίσαστο οὔτε σωμάτων οὔτε χρημάτων ἀσθένειαν εἰ δέ τις ἀποδειλιάσειε τοῦ τὰ νόμιμα διαπονεῖσθαι, τοῦτον ἐκείνος ἀπέδειξε μηδὲ νομίζεσθαι ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων εἶναι.
- 8 Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν παλαιότατοι οὗτοι οἱ νόμοι

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι ἔστιν ὅπου S with Morus.

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, v. 3-8

much more worthy are the contests of the soul to kindle zeal than those of the body.

Again, the following surely entitles the work of 4  
Lyciugus to high admiration. He observed that where the cult of virtue is left to voluntary effort, the virtuous are not strong enough to increase the fame of their fatherland. So he compelled all men at Sparta to practise all the virtues in public life. And therefore, just as private individuals differ from one another in virtue according as they practise or neglect it, so Sparta, as a matter of course, surpasses all other states in virtue, because she alone makes a public duty of gentlemanly conduct. For 5  
was not this too a noble rule of his, that whereas other states punish only for wrong done to one's neighbour, he inflicted penalties no less severe on any who openly neglected to live as good a life as possible? For he believed, it seems, that enslave- 6  
ment, fraud, robbery, are crimes that injure only the victims of them, but the wicked man and the coward are traitors to the whole body politic. And so he had good reason, I think, for visiting their offences with the heaviest penalties.

And he laid on the people the duty of practising the 7  
whole virtue of a citizen as a necessity irresistible. For to all who satisfied the requirements of his code he gave equal rights of citizenship, without regard to bodily infirmity or want of money. But the coward who shrank from the task of observing the rules of his code he caused to be no more reckoned among the peers.

Now that these laws are of high antiquity there 8

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<sup>2</sup> ἐπιμελοῦνται Haase ἐπιμελεῖσθαι S with the MSS

## XENOPHON

εἰσί, σαφές· ὁ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας λέγεται γενέσθαι· οὕτω δὲ παλαιοὶ ὄντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις καινότετοί εἰσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάντων θαυμαστότατον ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμῆσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμία πόλις ἐθέλει.

ΧΙ. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ· εἰ δέ τις βούλεται καταμαθεῖν, ὃ τι καὶ εἰς τὰς στρατείας βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων ἐμηχανήσατο, ἕξεστι καὶ τούτων ἀκούειν.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν οἱ ἔφοροι προκηρύττουσι τὰ ἔτη, εἰς ἃ δεῖ στρατεῦσθαι καὶ ἵππευσι καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς χειρῶν τέχναις· ὥστε ὅσοις περ ἐπὶ πόλεως χρῶνται ἄνθρωποι, πάντων τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εὐποροῦσι· καὶ ὅσα δὲ ὀργάνων ἢ στρατιᾶ κοινῇ δεηθῆναι ἂν, ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν ἀμάξῃ προστέτακται παρέχειν, τὰ δὲ ὑποζυγίῳ· οὕτω γὰρ ἦκιστ' ἂν τὸ ἐκλείπον διαλάθοι.

3 Εἷς γε μὴν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγῶνα τοιάδ' ἐμηχανήσατο, στολὴν μὲν ἔχειν φοινικίδα καὶ χαλκῆν ἀσπίδα, ταύτην νομίζων ἦκιστα μὲν γυναικεία κοινωνεῖν, πολεμικωτάτην δ' εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα λαμπρύνεται καὶ σχολαιότατα ῥυπαίνεται· ἐφῆκε δὲ καὶ κομᾶν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἠβητικὴν ἡλικίαν, νομίζων οὕτω καὶ μείζους ἂν καὶ ἐλευθεριωτέρους καὶ γοργοτέρους φαίνεσθαι.

4 Οὕτω γε μὴν κατεσκευασμένων μόρας μὲν διεῖλεν ἕξ καὶ ἵππέων καὶ ὀπλιτῶν. ἐκάστη δὲ

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<sup>1</sup> The words καὶ χαλκῆν ἀσπίδα should probably come before καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα. There is also a suspicion that some words

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, x. 8-xi. 4

can be no doubt for Lycurgus is said to have lived in the days of the Heracleidae. Nevertheless, in spite of their antiquity, they are wholly strange to others even at this day. Indeed, it is most astonishing that all men praise such institutions, but no state chooses to imitate them.

XI The blessings that I have enumerated so far were shared by all alike in peace and in war. But if anyone wishes to discover in what respect Lycurgus' organisation of the army on active service was better than other systems, here is the information that he seeks.

The Ephors issue a proclamation stating the age-limit fixed for the levy, first for the cavalry and infantry, and then for the handicraftsmen. Thus the Lacedaemonians are well supplied in the field with all things that are found useful in civil life. All the implements that an army may require in common are ordered to be assembled, some in carts, some on baggage animals, thus anything missing is not at all likely to be overlooked.

In the equipment that he devised for the troops in battle he included a red cloak, because he believed this garment to have least resemblance to women's clothing and to be most suitable for war, and a brass shield, because it is very soon polished and tarnishes very slowly<sup>1</sup>. He also permitted men who were past their first youth to wear long hair, believing that it would make them look taller, more dignified and more terrifying.

The men so equipped were divided into six regiments of cavalry and infantry. The officers of referring to other details of the equipment have dropped out

## XENOPHON

τῶν πολιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἕνα, λοχαγούς τέτταρας, πευτηκοντῆρας ὀκτώ, ἐνωμοτάρχους ἑκκαίδεκα. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν μορῶν διὰ παρεργυήσεως καθίστανται τότε μὲν εἰς . . .<sup>1</sup> ἐνωμοτίας, τότε δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τότε δὲ εἰς ἕξ.

- 5 Ὁ δὲ οἱ πλείστοι οἴονται, πολυπλοκωτάτην εἶναι τὴν ἐν ὀπλοῖς Λακωνικὴν τάξιν, τὸ ἐναντιώτατον ὑπειλήφασιν τοῦ ὄντος· εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ τάξει οἱ πρωτοστάται ἄρχοντες καὶ ὁ στίχος ἕκαστος πάντ' ἔχων ὅσα δεῖ παρέχεσθαι
- 6 οὕτω δὲ ῥᾶδιον ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μαθεῖν, ὡς ὅστις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δύναται γιννώσκειν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμάρτοι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἠγεῖσθαι δέδοται, τοῖς δὲ ἔπεσθαι τέτακται. αἱ δὲ παραγωγαὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κήρυκος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνωμοτάρχου λόγῳ δηλοῦνται, αἷς ἀραιαί τε καὶ βαθύτεραι αἱ φάλαγγες γίνονται· ὧν δὴ οὐδ' ὅπως τι οὖν χαλεπὸν μαθεῖν. τὸ μέντοι κἂν ταραχθῶσι μετὰ τοῦ παρατυχόντος ὁμοίως μάχεσθαι, ταύτην τὴν τάξιν οὐκέτι ῥαδίον ἐστὶ μαθεῖν πλὴν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Λυκούργου νόμων πεπαιδευμένοις.

- 8 Εὐπόρωτατα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσι τὰ τοῖς ὀπλομάχοις πάνυ δοκοῦντα χαλεπὰ εἶναι· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ κέρως πορεύωνται, κατ' οὐρὰν δήπου ἐνωμοτία ἐνωμοτία ἔπεται· ἂν δ' ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πολεμία φάλαγξ ἐπιφανῆ, τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ παρεργυᾶται εἰς

<sup>1</sup> No gap is indicated in S

<sup>1</sup> Or, reading *ὀπλιτικῶν* with Stobaeus, "regiment of heavy infantry."

<sup>2</sup> On account of *Hellenica* VII IV. 20 and V. 10 it is thought that *δύο*, "two," should be read for *τέτταρας* (δ')

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, xi. 4-8

each citizen<sup>1</sup> regiment comprise one colonel, four<sup>2</sup> captains, eight first lieutenants and sixteen second lieutenants. These regiments at the word of command form sections<sup>3</sup> sometimes (two), sometimes three, and sometimes six abreast.

The prevalent opinion that the Laconian infantry formation is very complicated is the very reverse of the truth. In the Laconian formation the front rank men are all officers, and each file has all that it requires to make it efficient<sup>4</sup>. The formation is so easy to understand that no one who knows man from man can possibly go wrong. For some have the privilege of leading; and the rest are under orders to follow. Orders to wheel from column into line of battle are given verbally by the second lieutenant acting as a herald, and the line is formed either thin or deep, by wheeling. Nothing whatever in these movements is difficult to understand. To be sure, the secret of carrying on in a battle with any troops at hand when the line gets into confusion is not so easy to grasp, except for soldiers trained under the laws of Lycurgus.

The Lacedaemonians also carry out with perfect ease manœuvres that instructors in tactics think very difficult. Thus, when they march in column, every section of course follows in the rear of the section in front of it. Suppose that at such a time an enemy in order of battle suddenly makes his appearance in front. the word is passed to the

<sup>3</sup> A number, *ένα*, "in single file," or *δύο*, "two," must have fallen out before *ἐνωμοτίας*.

<sup>4</sup> The exact meaning is not clear and the text is possibly corrupt. Weiske suggested *πάντα παρέχει*, "acts exactly as it should."

## XENOPHON

μέτωπον παρ' ἀσπίδα καθίστασθαι, καὶ διὰ παν-  
 τὸς οὕτως, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ φάλαγξ ἐναντία καταστῆ.  
 ἦν γε μὴν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν οἱ πολέ-  
 μοι ἐπιφανῶσιν, ἐξελίττεται ἕκαστος ὁ στίχος,  
 ἵνα οἱ κράτιστοι ἐναντίοι αἰεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ᾦσιν.  
 9 ὅτι δὲ ὁ ἄρχων εὐώνυμος γίγνεται, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ  
 μειονεκτεῖν ἠγοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλεονεκ-  
 τεῖν. εἰ γάρ τινες κυκλοῦσθαι ἐπιχειροῦεν, οὐκ  
 ἂν κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ ὀπλισμένα  
 περιβάλλοιεν ἄν. ἦν δέ ποτε ἕνεκά τινος δοκῆ  
 συμφέρειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχειν, στρέ-  
 ψαντες τὸ ἄγημα ἐπὶ κέρας ἐξελίττουσι τὴν  
 φάλαγγα, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ μὲν ἡγεμὼν δεξιὸς ᾦ, ἡ δὲ  
 10 οὐρὰ εὐώνυμος γένηται. ἦν δ' αὖ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν  
 πολεμίων τάξις ἐπιφαίνεται ἐπὶ κέρως πορευο-  
 μένων, οὐδὲν ἄλλο πραγματεύονται ἢ τὸν λόχον  
 ἕκαστον ὡσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρωρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις  
 στρέφουσι, καὶ οὕτως αὖ γίγνεται ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν  
 λόχος παρὰ δόρυ. ἦν γε μὴν κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα  
 πολέμοι προσίωσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐώσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπω-  
 θοῦσιν ἢ ἐναντίους ἀντιπάλους τοὺς λόχους στρέ-  
 φουσι· καὶ οὕτως αὖ ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν λόχος παρ'  
 ἀσπίδα καθίσταται.

XII. Ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ ἡ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐνόμισε  
 χρῆναι Λυκούργος.

Διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ τετραγώνου

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<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* this was the regular plan, because each of two battle lines advancing to meet one another always tended to converge to the right. See Thucydides, v 71

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, XI. 8—XII. 1

second lieutenant to deploy into line to the left, and so throughout the column until the battle-line stands facing the enemy. Or again, if the enemy appears in the rear while they are in this formation, each file counter-marches, in order that the best men may always be face to face with the enemy. True, the leader is then on the left, but instead of 9 thinking this a disadvantage, they regard it as a positive advantage at times. For should the enemy attempt a flanking movement he would try to encircle them, not on the exposed but on the protected side<sup>1</sup>. If, however, it seems better for any reason that the leader should be on the right wing, the left wing wheels, and the army counter-marches by ranks until the leader is on the right, and the rear of the column on the left. If, on the other hand, an enemy 10 force appears on the right when they are marching in column, all that they have to do is to order each company to wheel to the right so as to front the enemy like a man-of-war, and thus again the company at the rear of the column is on the right. If again an enemy approaches on the left, they do not allow that either, but either push him back<sup>2</sup> or wheel their companies to the left to face him, and thus the rear of the column finds itself on the left.

XII I will now explain the method of encampment approved by Lycurgus.

Seeing that the angles of a square are useless, he

<sup>2</sup> This can only mean that if the Lacedaemonians are in battle-order the whole phalanx turns to the left to meet the attack wheeling by companies to the left would only be necessary when the army marching in column was threatened on the left. But ἀλλὰ προθέουσι found in C ("but either run forward") is almost certainly the right reading.



## XENOPHON

- ἀχρήστους εἶναι εἰς κύκλον ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, εἰ μὴ ὄρος ἀσφαλὲς εἴη ἢ τεῖχος ἢ ποταμὸν  
 2 ὀπισθεν ἔχοιεν. φυλακάς γε μὴν ἐποίησε μεσημερινὰς τὰς μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὄπλα εἴσω βλεπούσας· οὐ γὰρ πολεμίων ἕνεκα ἀλλὰ φίλων αὐταὶ καθίστανται· τούς γε μὴν πολεμίους ἰππεῖς φυλάττουσιν ἀπὸ χωρίων ὧν ἂν ἐκ  
 3 πλείστου προορῶεν. εἰ δέ τις προσίοι<sup>1</sup> νύκτωρ ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἐνόμισεν ὑπὸ Σκιριτῶν προφυλάττεσθαι· νῦν δ' ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ ξένων ἦν  
 4 τύχωσιν<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν τινες συμπαρόντες. τὸ δ' ἔχοντας τὰ δόρατα αἰεὶ περιμέναι, εὖ καὶ τοῦ οὐ  
~~δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκά ἐστιν ὡς περ~~  
~~καὶ τοὺς δούλους εἰρηνοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων.~~  
 καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀπιόντας οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν ὅτι οὔτε ἀλλήλων οὔτε τῶν ὄπλων πλέον ἢ ὅσον μὴ λυπεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀπέρχονται· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα ποιοῦσι.
- 5 Μεταστρατοπεδεύονται γε μὴν πυκνὰ καὶ τοῦ σίνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς φίλους

Καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ προαγορεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἅπασι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἕως περ ἂν στρατεύωνται· ὥστε μεγαλοπρεπεστέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς γίγνεσθαι, ἐλευθεριωτέρους δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φαίνεσθαι. δεῖ δὲ οὔτε περίπατον οὔτε δρόμον μάσσω ποιεῖσθαι ἢ ὅσον ἂν ἡ μόρα ἐφήκη, ὅπως  
 6 μηδεὶς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὄπλων πόρρω γίγνηται. - μετὰ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια καθίζειν μὲν ὁ πρῶτος πολέ-

<sup>1</sup> προσίοι Madvig προσίοι S with the MSS S places a comma after φάλαγγος.

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, XII. 1-6

introduced the circular form of camp, except where there was a secure hill or wall, or a river afforded protection in the rear. He caused sentries to be 2 posted by day facing inwards along the place where the arms were kept, for the object of these is to keep an eye not on the enemy but on their friends. The enemy is watched by cavalry from positions that command the widest outlook. To meet the 3 case of a hostile approach at night, he assigned the duty of acting as sentries outside the lines to the *Sciritae*. In these days the duty is shared by foreigners, if any happen to be present in the camp. The rule that patrols invariably carry their spears, 4 has the same purpose, undoubtedly, as the exclusion of slaves from the place of arms. Nor is it surprising that sentries who withdraw for necessary purposes only go so far away from one another and from the arms as not to cause inconvenience. Safety is the first object of this rule also.

The camp is frequently shifted with the double 5 object of annoying their enemies and of helping their friends.

Moreover the law requires all Lacedaemonians to practise gymnastics regularly throughout the campaign, and the result is that they take more pride in themselves and have a more dignified appearance than other men. Neither walk nor race-course may exceed in length the space covered by the regiment, so that no one may get far away from his own arms. After the exercises the senior 6 colonel gives the order by herald to sit down—thus

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<sup>2</sup> ἤν τύχῳσιον is added by Ruehl. S. reads αὐτῶν εἰ τιπες with Hermann.

## XENOPHON

μαρχος κηρύττει· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐξέτασις· ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ταχὺ τὸν πρόσκοπον ὑπολύεσθαι· ἐκ τούτου δ' αὖ διατριβαὶ καὶ ἀναπαύσεις πρὸ τῶν ἐσπερινῶν γυμνασίων.

- 7 μετὰ γε μὴν ταῦτα δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κηρύττεται, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἄσωσιν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς οἷς ἂν κεκαλλιεργήκότες ὦσιν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων ἀναπαύεσθαι.

“Ὅτι δὲ πολλὰ γράφω, οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν· ἥκιστα γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις εὖροι ἂν τις παραλελειμμένα ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὅσα δεῖ ἐπιμελείας.

XIII. Διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ὁ Λυκούργος βασιλεῖ δύναμιν καὶ\* τιμὴν παρεσκεύασε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς τρέφει ἢ πόλις βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· συσκηνοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, ὅπως αἰεὶ συνόντες μᾶλλον καὶ κοινοβουλῶσιν, ἦν τι δέωνται· συσκηνοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν ὁμοίων· οὗτοι τούτοις ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡς μηδεμίᾳ ἀσχολία ἢ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

- 2 Ἐπαναλήψομαι δέ, ὡς ἐξορμᾶται σὺν στρατιᾷ ὁ βασιλεὺς. θύει μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἴκοι ὧν Διὶ ἀγήτορι καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιερῆση, λαβὼν ὁ πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ προηγείται ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς χώρας· ὁ δὲ  
3 βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ αὖ θύεται Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ. ὅταν δὲ ἀμφοῖν τούτων τοῖν θεοῖν καλλιερῆσθῇ, τότε

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<sup>1</sup> Or, if we read οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ with Haase, “he and his staff” By “the associated gods” we should understand

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, VII. 6-VIII. 3

is their method of inspection—and next to take breakfast and to relieve the outposts quickly. After this there are amusements and recreations until the evening exercises. These being finished, the herald 7 gives the order to take the evening meal, and, as soon as they have sung to the praise of the gods to whom they have sacrificed with good omens, to rest by the arms.

Let not the length to which I run occasion surprise, for it is almost impossible to find any detail in military matters requiring attention that is overlooked by the Lacedaemonians

XIII I will also give an account of the power and honour that Lycurgus conferred on the King in the field. In the first place, while on military service the King and his staff are maintained by the state. The colonels mess with the King, in order that constant intercourse may give better opportunities for taking counsel together in case of need. Three of the peers also attend the King's mess. These three take entire charge of the commissariat for the King and his staff, so that these may devote all their time to affairs of war

But I will go back to the beginning, and explain 2 how the King sets out with an army. First he offers up sacrifice at home to Zeus the Leader and to the gods associated with him<sup>1</sup>. If the sacrifice appears propitious, the Fire-bearer takes fire from the altar and leads the way to the borders of the land. There the King offers sacrifice again to Zeus and Athena. Only when the sacrifice proves 3 acceptable to both these deities does he cross the  
Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri. In the Oxford text I gave *τοῖν σιῶν*, "the twin gods"

## XENOPHON

διαβαίνει τὰ ὄρια τῆς χώρας· καὶ τὸ πῦρ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἱερῶν προηγείται οὔποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον, σφάγια δὲ παντοῖα ἔπεται. αἰεὶ δὲ ὅταν θύηται, ἄρχεται μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἔτι κνεφαῖος, προλαμβάνειν βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ

4 εὐνοίαν. πάρεισι δὲ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν πολέμαρχοι, λοχαγοί, πεντηκοντῆρες, ξένων στρατάρχοι, στρατοῦ σκευοφορικοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ

5 τῶν πόλεων δὲ στρατηγῶν ὁ βουλόμενος· πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἱ πολυπραγμονοῦσι μὲν οὐδέν, ἢ μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλῆ· ὀρώντες δὲ ὅ τι ποιεῖ ἕκαστος πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἶκός. ὅταν δὲ τελεσθῆ τὰ ἱερά, ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλέσας πάντας παραγγέλλει τὰ ποιητέα. ὥστε ὀρών ταῦτα ἠγήσαιο ἂν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ μόνους τῷ ὄντι τεχνίτας τῶν πολεμικῶν.

6 Ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ἠγῆται βασιλεὺς, ἢ μὲν μηδεὶς ἐναντίος φαίνεται, οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν πορεύεται πλὴν Σκιρίται καὶ οἱ προερευνώμενοι ἰππεῖς· ἢ δὲ ποτε μάχην οἴωνται ἔσσεσθαι, λαβὼν τὸ ἄγγελμα τῆς πρώτης μόρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει στρέψας ἐπὶ δόρυ, ἔστ' ἂν γένηται ἐν μέσῳ δυοῖν

7 μόραιν καὶ δυοῖν πολεμάρχων. οὗς δὲ δεῖ ἐπὶ τούτοις τετάχθαι, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν συντάττει· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ὅσοι ἂν σύσκηνοι ὦσι τῶν ὁμοίων, καὶ μάντις καὶ ἰατροὶ καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ<sup>1</sup> οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἐθελούσιοι ἢ τινες παρῶσιν. ὥστε τῶν δεομένων γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπορεῖται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπρόσκεπτόν ἐστι.

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, XIII 3-7

borders of the land And the fire from these sacrifices leads the way and is never quenched, and animals for sacrifice of every sort follow At all times when he offers sacrifice, the King begins the work before dawn of day, wishing to forestall the goodwill of the god And at the sacrifice are assembled colonels, 4 captains, lieutenants, commandants of foreign contingents, commanders of the baggage train, and, in addition, any general from the states who chooses to be present There are also present two of the 5 Ephors, who interfere in nothing except by the King's request, but keep an eye on the proceedings, and see that all behave with a decorum suitable to the occasion When the sacrifices are ended, the King summons all and delivers the orders of the day And so, could you watch the scene, you would think all other men mere improvisors in soldiering and the Lacedaemonians the only artists in warfare

When the King leads, provided that no enemy 6 appears, no one precedes him except the Scutiae and the mounted vedettes But if ever they think there will be fighting, he takes the lead of the first regiment and wheels to the right, until he is between two regiments and two colonels The troops that 7 are to support these are marshalled by the senior member of the King's staff The staff consists of all peers who are members of the royal mess, seers, doctors, fluteplayers, commanding officers and any volunteers who happen to be present Thus nothing that has to be done causes any difficulty, for everything is duly provided for.

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<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Zeune. S omits with the MSS

## XENOPHON

- 8 Μάλα δὲ καὶ τάδε ὠφέλιμα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐμνηχανήσατο Λυκούργος εἰς τὸν ἐν ὄπλοις ἀγῶνα. ὅταν γὰρ ὀρώντων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζηται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον εἶναι· καὶ ὄπλα δὲ λαμπρύνεσθαι προαγορεύεται. ἔξεστι δὲ τῷ νέῳ καὶ κεκριμένῳ<sup>1</sup> εἰς μάχην συνιέναι καὶ φαιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον.
- 9 καὶ παρακελεύονται δὲ τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ· οὐδ' ἀκούεται γὰρ εἰς ἐκάστην πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἀφ' ἐκάστου ἐνωμοτάρχου ἔξω· ὅπως δὲ καλῶς γίγνηται, πολεμάρχῳ δεῖ μέλειν.
- 10 "Ὅταν γε μὴν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, τούτου μὲν κύριος βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ δεῖξάι γε, ὅπου δεῖ· τὸ μέντοι πρεσβείας ἀποπέμπεσθαι καὶ φιλίας καὶ πολεμίας, τοῦτ' οὐ<sup>2</sup> βασιλέως. καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν πάντες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὅταν
- 11 βούλωνται πράξαι τι. ἦν δ' οὖν δίκης δεόμενος τις ἔλθῃ, πρὸς ἑλλανοδίκας τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποπέμπει, ἦν δὲ χρημάτων, πρὸς ταμίας, ἦν δὲ ληίδα ἄγων, πρὸς λαφυροπώλας. οὕτω δὲ πραπτομένων βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον καταλείπεται ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς ἢ ἱερεῖ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι, στρατηγῷ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

XIV. Εἰ δέ τις με ἔροιτο, εἰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μοι

<sup>1</sup> κεκριμένῳ is somehow wrong Weiske proposed καὶ κόμην διακεκριμένῳ after Plutarch, *Lyc.* 22. εὐδόκιμον also comes in oddly as the text stands. Probably some words are lost either before φαιδρὸν or after εὐδόκιμον

<sup>2</sup> οὐ Weiske: αὐ S. with the MSS.

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, XIII 8-XIV. 1

The following arrangements<sup>1</sup> made by Lyciugus 8 with a view to the actual fighting are also, in my opinion, very useful. When a goat is sacrificed, the enemy being near enough to see, custom ordains that all the fluteplayers present are to play and every Lacedaemonian is to wear a wreath. An order is also given to polish arms. It is also the privilege of the young warrior to comb his hair (?) before entering battle, to look cheerful and earn a good report. Moreover, the men shout words of encourage- 9 ment to the subaltern, for it is impossible for each subaltern to make his voice travel along the whole of his section to the far end<sup>2</sup>. The colonel is responsible for seeing that all is done properly.

When the time for encamping seems to have 10 arrived, the decision rests with the King, who also indicates the proper place. On the other hand the dispatch of embassies whether to friends or enemies is not the King's affair. All who have any business to transact deal in the first instance with the King. Suitors for justice are remitted by the 11 King to the Court of Hellanodicae, applications for money to the treasurers, and if anyone brings booty, he is sent to the auctioneers. With this routine the only duties left to the King on active service are to act as priest in matters of religion and as general in his dealings with the men.

XIV. Should anyone ask me whether I think

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is an afterthought, supplementing c. xi. 3-4

<sup>2</sup> When two or more sections are abreast (c. xi. 4), the men take up and repeat the exhortations of the subaltern posted at the end of the line, and pass them along to the next subaltern, and so on. These detached notes are not clearly expressed.



## XENOPHON

δοκοῦσιν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ἀκίνητοι διαμένειν,  
2 τούτο μὰ Δι' οὐκ ἂν ἔτι θρασέως εἴποιμι. οἶδα  
γὰρ πρότερον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους αἰρουμένους  
οἴκοι τὰ μέτρια ἔχοντας ἀλλήλοις συνείναι μᾶλλον  
ἢ ἀρμόζοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κολακευομένους  
3 διαφθείρεσθαι. καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν οἶδα αὐτοὺς  
φοβουμένους χρυσίον ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι· νῦν δ'  
ἔστιν οὗς καὶ καλλωπιζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ κεκτῆσθαι.  
4 ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν τούτου ἕνεκα ξηνηλα-  
σίας γιγνομένης καὶ ἀποδημῆν οὐκ ἐξόν, ὅπως  
μὴ ῥαδιουργίας οἱ πολῖται ἀπὸ τῶν ξένων ἐμπί-  
πλαιντο· νῦν δ' ἐπίσταμαι τοὺς δοκούντας  
πρώτους εἶναι ἐσπουδακότας, ὡς μηδέποτε  
5 παύονται ἀρμόζοντες ἐπὶ ξένης. καὶ ἦν μὲν  
ὄτε ἐπεμελοῦντο, ὅπως ἄξιοι εἶεν ἡγείσθαι· νῦν  
δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον πραγματεύονται, ὅπως ἄρξουσιν  
6 ἢ ὅπως ἄξιοι τούτου ἔσονται. τοιγαροῦν οἱ  
Ἕλληνες πρότερον μὲν ἰόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα  
ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν ἡγείσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς δοκούντας  
ἀδικεῖν· νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ παρακαλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους  
7 ἐπὶ τὸ διακωλύειν ἄρξαι πάλιν αὐτούς. οὐδὲν  
μέντοι δεῖ θαυμάζειν τούτων τῶν ἐπιψόγων αὐτοῖς  
γιγνομένων, ἐπειδὴ φανεροί εἰσιν οὔτε τῷ θεῷ  
πειθόμενοι οὔτε τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις.

XV. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἄς βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὴν  
πόλιν συνθήκας ὁ Λυκούργος ἐποίησε διηγῆσα-  
σθαι· μόνη γὰρ δὴ αὕτη ἀρχὴ διατελεῖ οἷαπερ  
ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστάθη· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πολιτείας

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, xiv. 1-xv. 1

that the laws of Lycurgus still remain unchanged at this day, I certainly could not say that with any confidence whatever.<sup>1</sup> For I know that formerly the 2 Lacedaemonians preferred to live together at home with moderate fortunes rather than expose themselves to the corrupting influences of flattery as governors of dependent states. And I know too 3 that in former days they were afraid to be found in possession of gold; whereas nowadays there are some who even boast of their possessions. There 4 were alien acts in former days, and to live abroad was illegal; and I have no doubt that the purpose of these regulations was to keep the citizens from being demoralized by contact with foreigners, and now I have no doubt that the fixed ambition of those who are thought to be first among them is to live to their dying day as governors in a foreign land. There was a time when they would fain be worthy of 5 leadership, but now they strive far more earnestly to exercise rule than to be worthy of it. Therefore in 6 times past the Greeks would come to Lacedaemon and beg her to lead them against reputed wrongdoers, but now many are calling on one another to prevent a revival of Lacedaemonian supremacy. Yet we need not wonder if these reproaches are 7 levelled at them, since it is manifest that they obey neither their god nor the laws of Lycurgus.

XV. I wish also to give an account of the compact made by Lycurgus between King and state. For this is the only government that continues exactly as it was originally established, whereas

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ . . . ἔτι probably does not correspond to "no longer" here. On this chapter see Introduction.

## XENOPHON

εὔροι ἂν τις μετακεκινημένας καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετακινουμένας.

- 2 Ἔθηκε γὰρ θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια ἅπαντα, ὡς ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὄντα, καὶ στρατιὰν ὅποι ἂν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ ἠγείσθαι.
- 3 ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ γέρα ἀπὸ τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν καὶ γῆν τε ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων ἀπέδειξεν ἐξαίρετον τσαύτην, ὥστε μὴτ' ἐνδεῖσθαι
- 4 τῶν μετρίων μῆτε πλούτῳ ὑπερφέρειν. ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῖεν, σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διμοιρία γε ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ἵνα διπλάσια καταφάγοιεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τιμῆσαι ἔχοιεν εἴ τινα βούλοιντο.
- 5 ἔδωκε δ' αὖ καὶ συσκήνους δύο ἑκατέρῳ προσελέσθαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πασῶν τῶν συνῶν ἀπὸ τόκου χοῖρον λαμβάνειν, ὡς μήποτε ἀπορήσαι βασιλεὺς ἱερώων, ἣν τι δεηθῆ θεοῖς συμβουλεύσασθαι.
- 6 Καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ δὲ λίμνη ὕδατος ἀφθονίαν παρέχει· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς πολλὰ χρήσιμον, οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες αὐτὸ μᾶλλον γιγνώσκουσι. καὶ ἔδρας δὲ πάντες ὑπανίστανται βασιλεῖ πλὴν οὐκ
- 7 ἔφοροι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορικῶν δίφρων. καὶ ὄρκους δὲ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μῆνα ποιοῦνται, ἔφοροι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν, τῇ δὲ πόλει ἐμπεδορκοῦντος ἐκείνου ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέξειν
- 8 Αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ τιμαὶ οἴκοι<sup>1</sup> ζῶντι βασιλεῖ δέδονται, οὐδέν τι πολὺ ὑπερφέρουσαι τῶν ἰδι-

<sup>1</sup> S, following Cobet, regards οἴκοι as spurious

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, λV 1-8.

other constitutions will be found to have undergone and still to be undergoing modifications

He ordained that the King shall offer all the 2 public sacrifices on behalf of the state, in virtue of his divine descent, and that, whatever may be the destination to which the state sends out an army, he shall be its leader. He also gave him the right to 3 receive certain parts of the beasts sacrificed, and assigned to him enough choice land in many of the outlanders' cities to ensure him a reasonable competence without excessive riches. In order that even 4 the kings should mess in public, he assigned to them a public mess tent; he also honoured them with a double portion at the meal, not that they might eat enough for two, but that they might have the wherewithal to honour anyone whom they chose. He also allowed each King to choose two mess- 5 mates, who are called Pythii. Further, he granted them to take of every litter of pigs a porker, that a King may never want victims, in case he wishes to seek counsel of the gods

A lake near the house supplies abundance of water, 6 and how useful that is for many purposes none know so well as those who are without it. Further, all rise from their seats when the King appears, only the Ephors do not rise from their official chairs. And 7 they exchange oaths monthly, the Ephors on behalf of the state, the King for himself. And this is the King's oath "I will reign according to the established laws of the state." And this the oath of the state: "While you abide by your oath, we will keep the kingship unshaken."

These then are the honours that are bestowed on 8 the King at home during his lifetime; and they do

## XENOPHON

ωτικῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλήθη οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι  
τυραννικὸν φρόνημα παραστήσαι οὔτε τοῖς πολί-  
9 ταις φθόνον ἐμποιῆσαι τῆς δυνάμεως. αἱ δὲ  
τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇ δὲ  
βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι, ὅτι οὐχ  
ὡς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων  
βασιλεῖς προτετιμῆκασιν.

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<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (vi 58) gives details of these honours. The elaborate funeral obsequies were attended by a great concourse of men and women from all parts of Laconia. A man and a woman in every family were compelled to go into

## THE LACEDAEMONIANS, xv. 8-9

not greatly exceed those of private persons For it was not the wish of Lycurgus to put into the Kings' hearts despotic pride, nor to implant in the mind of the citizens envy of their power. As for the 9 honours assigned to the King at his death, the intention of the laws of Lycurgus herein is to show that they have preferred the Kings of the Lacedaemonians in honour not as mere men, but as demigods<sup>1</sup>

mourning If a king died on foreign service his body was embalmed and brought home if possible; if not, an image of him, as in the case of Agesilaus, was buried



# WAYS AND MEANS



## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΟΡΟΙ

Ἰ Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦτο αἰεὶ ποτε νομίζω, ὅποιοί τινες ἂν οἱ προστάται ᾧσι, τοιαύτας καὶ τὰς πολιτείας γίγνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθήνησι προεστηκότων ἐλέγοντό τινες ὡς γινώσκουσι μὲν τὸ δίκαιον οὐδενὸς ἦττον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πενίαν ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἔφασαν ἀδικώτεροι εἶναι περὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἐπεχείρησα σκοπεῖν, εἴ πη δύναιντ' ἂν οἱ πολῖται διατρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ὅθεν περ καὶ δικαιοτάτον, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἅμα τῇ τε πενίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπικεκουρηθῆσθαι ἂν καὶ τῷ ὑπόπτους τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἶναι.

- 2 Σκοποῦντι δὴ μοι ἃ ἐπενόησα τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνεφαίνετο, ὅτι ἡ χώρα πέφυκεν οἷα πλείστας προσόδους παρέχεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ γνωσθῆ, ὅτι ἀληθὲς τοῦτο λέγω, πρῶτον διηγήσομαι τὴν φύσιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς.
- 3 Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν τὰς ὥρας ἐνθάδε πραοτάτας εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γιγνόμενα μαρτυρεῖ· ἃ γοῦν πολλαχοῦ οὐδὲ βλαστάνειν δύναιτ' ἂν, ἐνθάδε καρποφορεῖ. ὥσπερ δὲ ἡ γῆ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν χώραν θάλαττα παμφορωτάτη ἐστί. καὶ μὴν ὅσα περ οἱ θεοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὥραις ἀγαθὰ παρέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνταῦθα πρωιαίτατα
- 4 μὲν ἄρχεται, ὀψιαίτατα δὲ λήγει. οὐ μόνου δὲ κρατεῖ τοῖς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν θάλλουσί τε καὶ γηράσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰδία ἀγαθὰ ἔχει ἡ

## WAYS AND MEANS

I For my part I have always held that the constitution of a state reflects the character of the leading politicians <sup>1</sup> But some of the leading men at Athens have stated that they recognize justice as clearly as other men; "but," they have said, "owing to the poverty of the masses, we are forced to be somewhat unjust in our treatment of the cities" This set me thinking whether by any means the citizens might obtain food entirely from their own soil, which would certainly be the fairest way. I felt that, were this so, they would be relieved of their poverty, and also of the suspicion with which they are regarded by the Greek world

Now as I thought over my ideas, one thing <sup>2</sup> seemed clear at once, that the country is by its nature capable of furnishing an ample revenue To drive home the truth of this statement I will first describe the natural properties of Attica.

The extreme mildness of the seasons here is shown <sup>3</sup> by the actual products At any rate, plants that will not even grow in many countries bear fruit here. Not less productive than the land is the sea around the coasts Notice too that the good things which the gods send in their season all come in earlier here and go out later than elsewhere. And the pre- <sup>4</sup> eminence of the land is not only in the things that bloom and wither annually: she has other good things

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

## XENOPHON

- χώρα. πέφυκε μὲν γὰρ λίθος ἐν αὐτῇ ἄφθουτος,  
 ἕξ οὗ κάλλιστοι μὲν ναοί, κάλλιστοι δὲ βωμοί  
 γίνονται, εὐπρεπέστατα δὲ θεοῖς ἀγάλματα·  
 πολλοὶ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι  
 5 προσδέονται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ γῆ ἢ σπειρομένη μὲν  
 οὐ φέρει καρπὸν, ὀρυττομένη δὲ πολλαπλασίους  
 τρέφει ἢ εἰ σῖτον ἔφερε. καὶ μὴν ὑπάργυρός  
 ἔστι σαφῶς θεία μοίρα· πολλῶν γοῦν πόλεων  
 παροικουσῶν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν  
 εἰς οὐδεμίαν τούτων οὐδὲ μικρὰ φλέψ ἀργυρί-  
 τιδος διήκει.
- 6 Οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως δέ τις οἰηθείη τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 καὶ πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀμφὶ τὰ μέσα  
 οἰκεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν πόλιν. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν τινες πλείον  
 ἀπέχων αὐτῆς, τοσοῦτῳ χαλεπωτέροις ἢ ψύ-  
 χεσιν ἢ θάλπεσιν ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ὅποσοι τ' ἂν  
 αὐ βουλευθῶσιν ἀπ' ἐσχάτων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ'  
 ἔσχατα ἀφικέσθαι, πάντες οὗτοι ὥσπερ κύκλου  
 τόρνον τὰς Ἀθήνας ἢ παραπλέουσιν ἢ παρέρ-  
 7 χονται. καὶ μὴν οὐ περίρρυτός γε οὕσα ὅμως  
 ὥσπερ νῆσος πᾶσιν ἀνέμοις προσάγεται τε ὦν  
 δεῖται καὶ ἀποπέμπεται ἂ βούλεται· ἀμφιθά-  
 λαττος γάρ ἐστι. καὶ κατὰ γῆν δὲ πολλὰ  
 8 δέχεται ἐμπορία·<sup>2</sup> ἡπειρος γάρ ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ  
 ταῖς μὲν πλείσταις πόλεσι βάρβαροι προσοικ-  
 οῦντες πράγματα παρέχουσιν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ  
 γειτονεύουσιν αἱ καὶ αὐταὶ πλείστον ἀπέχουσι  
 τῶν βαρβάρων

II. Τούτων μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων, ὥσπερ εἶπον,  
 νομίζω αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν αἰτίαν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ  
 πρὸς τοῖς αὐτοφνέσιν ἀγαθοῖς πρῶτον μὲν τῶν  
 μετοίκων ἐπιμέλεια γένοιτο· αὕτη γὰρ ἢ πρόσσδος

WAYS AND MEANS, I. 4-II. 1

that last for ever. Nature has put in her abundance of stone, from which are fashioned lovely temples and lovely altars, and goodly statues for the gods. Many Greeks and barbarians alike have need of it. Again, there is land that yields no fruit if sown, and 5 yet, when quaiued, feeds many times the number it could support if it grew corn. And recollect, there is silver in the soil, the gift, beyond doubt, of divine providence. at any rate, many as are the states near to her by land and sea, into none of them does even a thin vein of silver ore extend.

One might reasonably suppose that the city lies 6 at the centre of Greece, nay of the whole inhabited world. For the further we go from her, the more intense is the heat or cold we meet with, and every traveller who would cross from one to the other end of Greece passes Athens as the centre of a circle, 7 whether he goes by water or by road. Then too, though she is not wholly sea-girt, all the winds of heaven bring to her the goods she needs and bear away her exports, as if she were an island; for she lies between two seas: and she has a vast land trade as well, for she is of the mainland. Further, on the 8 borders of most states dwell barbarians who trouble them, but the neighbouring states of Athens are themselves remote from the barbarians.

II All these advantages, as I have said, are, I believe, due to the country itself. But instead of limiting ourselves to the blessings that may be called indigenous, suppose that, in the first place, we studied the interests of the resident aliens. For in them we

<sup>1</sup> οἰκείσθαι papyrus fragment: ὠκῆσθαι MSS φκίσθαι S, Dindorf

<sup>2</sup> ἐμπορίη Schanz with M ἐμπόρια S · ἐμπορεία AC.

## XENOPHON

- τῶν καλλίστων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ περ αὐτοὺς τρέφοντες καὶ πολλὰ ὠφελούντες τὰς πόλεις οὐ λαμβάνουσι μισθόν, ἀλλὰ μετοίκιον
- 2 προσφέρουσιν· ἐπιμέλειά γε μὴν ἢ δ' ἂν ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ, εἰ ἀφέλοιμεν μὲν ὅσα μηδὲν ὠφελούντα τὴν πόλιν ἀτιμίας τι<sup>1</sup> δοκεῖ τοῖς μετοίκις παρέχειν, ἀφέλοιμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ συστρατεύεσθαι ὀπλίτας μετοίκους τοῖς ἀστοῖς. μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτῶν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν
- 3 οἰκείων<sup>2</sup> ἀπιέναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ πόλις γ' ἂν ὠφεληθείη, εἰ οἱ πολῖται μετ' ἀλλήλων στρατεύοιτο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ συντάττοιτο αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ νῦν, Λυδοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Σύφοι καὶ ἄλλοι παντοδαποὶ βάρβαροι· πολλοὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι τῶν
- 4 μετοίκων. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τῷ τούτους τοῦ<sup>3</sup> συντάττεσθαι ἀφεθῆναι καὶ κόσμος ἂν τῇ πόλει εἴη, εἰ δοκοῖεν Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὰς μάχας αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἢ ἄλλοδαποῖς.
- 5 Καὶ μεταδιδόντες δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν τοῖς μετοίκις τῶν τ' ἄλλων ὧν καλὸν μεταδιδόναι καὶ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ εὐνουστέρους ἂν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἅμα ἰσχυροτέραν ἂν καὶ μείζω τὴν πόλιν ἀποδεικνύναι.
- 6 Εἶτα ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὰ οἰκιῶν ἔρημά ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν,<sup>4</sup> καὶ οἰκόπεδα εἰ ἡ πόλις διδοίη οἰκοδομησαμένοις ἐγκεκτῆσθαι οἱ ἂν αἰτούμενοι

<sup>1</sup> τι added by Weiske S omits with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> οἰκείων Dindorf οἰκιῶν S with the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Schneider ἐκ τοῦ S with the MSS

<sup>4</sup> Punctuation as corrected by Brinkmann S has the comma after οἰκόπεδα

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<sup>1</sup> The MSS have τῶν τέκνων, "their children."

## WAYS AND MEANS, II. 1-6

have one of the very best sources of revenue, in my opinion, inasmuch as they are self-supporting and, so far from receiving payment for the many services they render to states, they contribute by paying a special tax. I think that we should study their interests sufficiently, if we relieved them of the duties that seem to impose a certain measure of disability on the resident alien without conferring any benefit on the state, and also of the obligation to serve in the infantry along with the citizens. Apart from the personal risk, it is no small thing to leave their trades<sup>1</sup> and their private affairs<sup>2</sup> The state itself, too would gain if the citizens served in the ranks together, and no longer found themselves in the same company with Lydians, Phrygians, Syrians, and barbarians of all sorts, of whom a large part of our alien population consists. In addition to the advantage of dispensing with the services of these men, it would be an ornament to the state that the Athenians should be thought to rely on themselves rather than on the help of foreigners in fighting their battles

If, moreover, we granted the resident aliens the right to serve in the cavalry and various other privileges which it is proper to grant them, I think that we should find their loyalty increase and at the same time should add to the strength and greatness of the state

Then again, since there are many vacant sites for houses within the walls, if the state allowed approved applicants to erect houses on these and

<sup>1</sup> τῶν οἰκιῶν, "their houses," may possibly be right in spite of what is said below in § 6.

## XENOPHON

ἄξιοι δοκῶσιν εἶναι, πολὺ ἂν οἴομαι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλείους τε καὶ βελτίους ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς Ἀθήνησιν οἰκησεως.

- 7 Καὶ εἰ μετοικοφύλακας γε ὥσπερ ὀρφανοφύλακας ἀρχὴν καθισταίμεν καὶ τούτοις τιμὴ τις ἐπεὶ, οἵτινες πλείστους<sup>1</sup> μετοίκους ἀποδείξειαν, καὶ τοῦτο εὐνουστέρους ἂν τοὺς μετοίκους ποιοίη καί, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, πάντες ἂν οἱ ἀπόλιδες τῆς Ἀθήνηθεν μετοικίας ὀρέγοιντο καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἂν αὐξοίεν,

III. Ὡς γε μὴν καὶ ἐμπορεῦσθαι ἡδίστη τε καὶ κερδαλεωτάτη ἢ πόλις, νῦν ταῦτα λέξω.

- Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ δήπου ναυσὶ καλλίστας καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτας ὑποδοχὰς ἔχει, ὅπου γ' ἔστιν εἰσορμισθέντας ἀδεῶς<sup>2</sup> ἔνεκα χειμῶνος ἀναπαύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐν μὲν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι τι ἀνάγκη νομίσμασι γὰρ οὐ χρησίμοις ἔξω χρώνται· ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις πλείστα μὲν ἔστιν ἀντεξάγειν ὧν ἂν δέωνται ἄνθρωποι, ἣν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι, καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἀργύριον ἐξάγοντες καλὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐξάγουσιν. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν πωλῶσιν αὐτό, πανταχοῦ πλείον τοῦ ἀρχαίου λαμβάνουσιν.

- 3 Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἀρχῇ ἄθλα προτιθείη τις, ὅστις δικαιοτάτα καὶ τάχιστα διαιροίη τὰ ἀμφίλογα, ὡς μὴ ἀποκωλύεσθαι ἀποπλεῖν τὸν βουλόμενον, πολὺ ἂν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλείους τε καὶ ἡδιον ἐμπορεῦοιντο.

<sup>1</sup> πλείστους Cobet: πλείους S with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> ἀδεῶς Cobet. ἡδέως S with the MSS

<sup>3</sup> καὶ Deventer καὶ οἱ S. with the MSS.

## WAYS AND MEANS, II. 6-III. 4

granted them the freehold of the land, I think that we should find a larger and better class of persons desiring to live at Athens

And if we appointed a board of Guardians of 7 Aliens analogous to the Guardians of Orphans, and some kind of distinction were earmarked for guardians whose list of resident aliens was longest, that too would add to the loyalty of the aliens, and probably all without a city would covet the right of settling in Athens, and would increase our revenues.

III I shall now say something of the univalled amenities and advantages of our city as a commercial centre

In the first place, I presume, she possesses the finest and safest accommodation for shipping, since vessels can anchor here and ride safe at their moorings in spite of bad weather. Moreover, at 2 most other ports merchants are compelled to ship a return cargo, because the local currency has no circulation in other states, but at Athens they have the opportunity of exchanging their cargo and exporting very many classes of goods that are in demand, or, if they do not want to ship a return cargo of goods, it is sound business to export silver; for, wherever they sell it, they are sure to make a profit on the capital invested

If prizes were offered to the magistrates of the 3 market<sup>1</sup> for just and prompt settlement of disputes, so that sailings were not delayed, the effect would be that a far larger number of merchants would trade with us and with much greater satisfaction

<sup>1</sup> The market at the Perraeus. The functions of the Board alluded to are unknown, apart from what is implied in the text



## XENOPHON

- 4 ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ καλὸν καὶ προεδρίαῖς τιμᾶσθαι ἐμπόρους καὶ ναυκλήρους καὶ ἐπὶ ξενία γ' ἔστιν ὅτε καλεῖσθαι, οἳ ἂν δοκῶσιν ἀξιολόγοις καὶ πλοίοις καὶ ἐμπορεύμασιν ὠφελεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα γὰρ τιμώμενοι οὐ μόνον τοῦ κέρδους ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἕνεκεν ὡς πρὸς φίλους ἐπισπεύδοιεν ἂν.
- 5 "Ὅσῳ γε μὴν πλείονες εἰσοικίζονται τε καὶ ἀφικνοῦντο, δῆλον ὅτι τοσοῦτῳ ἂν πλείον καὶ εἰσάγοιτο καὶ ἐκπέμποιτο καὶ πωλοῖτο καὶ μισθοφοροῖτο καὶ τελεσφοροῖη.
- 6 Εἰς μὲν οὖν τὰς τοιαύτας ἀντιλήψεις τῶν προσόδων οὐδὲ προδαπανῆσαι<sup>1</sup> δεῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ψηφίσματά τε φιλόπρωπα καὶ ἐπιμελείας ὅσαι δ' ἂν ἄλλαι δοκοῦσί μοι πρόσοδοι γίνεσθαι, γινώσκω ὅτι ἀφορμῆς δεήσει εἰς αὐτάς.
- 7 οὐ μέντοι δύσελπίς εἰμι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ προθύμως ἂν τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰσφέρειν, ἐνθυμούμενος, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν εἰσήνεγκεν ἡ πόλις, ὅτε Ἀρκάσιν ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ Λυσιστράτου ἡγουμένου, πολλὰ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡγησίλεω. ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ τριῆρεις πολλάκις ἐκπεμπομένας σὺν πολλῇ δαπάνῃ<sup>2</sup> τούτου μὲν ἀδήλου ὄντος, εἴτε βέλτιον εἴτε κάκιον ἔσται, ἐκείνου δὲ δήλου, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἀπολήψονται ἅ ἂν εἰσενέγκωσιν οὐδὲ μεθέξουσιν
- 9 ὧν ἂν εἰσενέγκωσι. κτήσιν δὲ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἂν οὕτω καλὴν κτήσαιντο ὥσπερ ἀφ' οὗ ἂν προτελέσωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀφορμὴν· ὧ μὲν γὰρ ἂν δέκα μναὶ εἰσφορὰ

<sup>1</sup> προδαπανῆσαι inferior MSS. . προδαπανῆσαι S with A : δαπανῆσαι M

<sup>2</sup> S adds καὶ ταύτας γενομένας with the MSS Schneider conjectures καὶ ταῦτα γενόμενα : Bake κατεσκευασμένας.

## WAYS AND MEANS, III 4-9

It would also be an excellent plan to reserve front 4 seats in the theatre for merchants and shipowners, and to offer them hospitality occasionally, when the high quality of their ships and merchandise entitles them to be considered benefactors of the state. With the prospect of these honours before them they would look on us as friends and hasten to visit us to win the honour as well as the profit.

The rise in the number of residents and visitors 5 would of course lead to a corresponding expansion of our imports and exports, of sales, rents and customs

Now such additions to our revenues as these need 6 cost us nothing whatever beyond benevolent legislation and measures of control. Other methods of raising revenue that I have in mind will require capital, no doubt. Nevertheless I venture to hope 7 that the citizens would contribute eagerly towards such objects, when I recall the large sums contributed by the state when Lysistratus was in command and troops were sent to aid the Arcadians,<sup>1</sup> and again in the time of Hegesileos<sup>2</sup>. I am also 8 aware that large expenditure is frequently incurred to send warships abroad, though none can tell whether the venture will be for better or worse, and the only thing certain is that the subscribers will never see their money back nor even enjoy any part of what they contribute. But no investment 9 can yield them so fine a return as the money advanced by them to form the capital fund. For every subscriber of ten *minae*, drawing three *obols* a day,

<sup>1</sup> 366 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> 561 B.C. Hegesileos commanded at the battle of Mantinea

## XENOPHON

- γένηται, ὥσπερ ναυτικὸν σχεδὸν ἐπίπεμπτον αὐτῷ γίγνεται, τριῶβολον τῆς ἡμέρας λαμβάνουσι· ᾧ δέ γ' ἂν πέντε μναί, πλείον ἢ ἐπίτριτον.
- 10 οἱ δέ γε πλείστοι Ἀθηναίων πλείονα λήψονται κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ ὅσα ἂν εἰσενέγκωσιν. οἱ γὰρ μῶν προτελέσαντες ἐγγὺς δυοῖν μναῖν πρόσοδον ἔξουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πόλει, ὃ δοκεῖ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀσφαλέστατόν τε καὶ πολυχρονιώτατον εἶναι.
- 11 Οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀναγραφῆσεσθαι εὐεργέται εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ ξένους ἂν πολλοὺς εἰσενεγκεῖν, ἔστι δὲ ἅς ἂν καὶ πόλεις τῆς ἀναγραφῆς ὀρεγομένης. ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ βασιλέας ἂν τινὰς καὶ τυράννους καὶ σατράπας ἐπιθυμήσαι μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς χάριτος.
- 12 Ὅποτε γε μὴν ἀφορμὴ ὑπάρχοι, καλὸν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ναυκλήροις οἰκοδομεῖν καταγώγια περὶ λιμένας πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἐμπόροις προσήκοντας τόπους ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> ὠνῆ τε καὶ πράσει καὶ τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις δὲ δημόσια
- 13 καταγώγια. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγοραίοις οἰκήσεις τε καὶ πωλητήρια κατασκευασθείη καὶ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ἅμα τ' ἂν κόσμος εἴη τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλαὶ ἂν ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσοδοι γίγνοιτο
- 14 Ἀγαθὸν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι πειραθῆναι, εἰ καὶ ὥσπερ τριῆρεις δημοσίας ἢ πόλις κέκτηται, οὕτω καὶ ὀλκάδας δημοσίας δυνατὸν ἂν γένοιτο κτήσασθαι καὶ ταύτας ἐκμισθοῦν ἐπ' ἐγγυητῶν ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα δημόσια. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> προσήκοντας τόπους ἐπὶ Bergk. ἐπὶ προσήκοντας τόπους S. with the MSS.

### WAYS AND MEANS, III. 9-14

gets nearly twenty per cent.—as much as he would get on bottomry,<sup>1</sup> and every subscriber of five *minae* gets more than a third of his capital back in interest. But most of the Athenians will get over 10 a hundred per cent. in a year, for those who advance one *mina* will draw an income of nearly two *minae*, guaranteed by the state, which is to all appearances the safest and most durable of human institutions

I think, too, that if their names were to be 11 recorded in the roll of benefactors for all time, many foreigners also would subscribe, and a certain number of states would be attracted by the prospect of enrolment. I believe that even kings and despots and oriental governors would desire to share in this reward

When funds were sufficient, it would be a fine 12 plan to build more lodging-houses for shipowners near the harbours, and convenient places of exchange for merchants, also hotels to accommodate visitors. Again, if houses and shops were put up both in the 13 *Peiraeus* and in the city for retail traders, they would be an ornament to the state, and at the same time the source of a considerable revenue

Moreover, I think it would be a good plan to 14 take a hint from the state ownership of public warships, and to see whether it be possible to acquire a fleet of public merchant vessels and to lease them under securities, like our other public property

<sup>1</sup> 3 *obols* a day are to be paid by the state to every citizen, i. e. 180 *drachmae* a year, or nearly 2 *minae*, which is nearly 20 per cent on 10 *minae*, and exactly 36 per cent on half that sum

## XENOPHON

οἶόν τε ὄν φανείη, πολλή ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσσδος γίγνοιτο.

IV. Τά γε μὴν ἀργύρεια εἰ κατασκευασθείη ὡς δεῖ, πάμπολλα ἂν νομίζω χρήματα ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων προσόδων προσιέναι. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι τὴν τούτων δύναμιν δηλῶσαι· ταύτην γὰρ γνόντες καὶ ὅπως χρῆσθαι δεῖ αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον ἂν βουλευοίσθε.

- 2 Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ ἐνεργά ἐστι, πᾶσι σαφές· οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὐδὲ πειράται λέγειν, ἀπὸ ποίου χρόνου ἐπεχειρήθη. οὕτω δὲ πάλαι ὀρυττομένης τε καὶ ἐκφορουμένης τῆς ἀργυρίτιδος κατανοήσατε, τί μέρος οἱ ἐκβεβλημένοι σωροὶ
- 3 τῶν αὐτοφυῶν τε καὶ ὑπαργύρων λόφων. οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ ἀργυρώδης τόπος εἰς μεῖον τι συστελλόμενος, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐκτεινόμενος φανερός ἐστίν.

Ἐν ᾧ γε μὴν χρόνῳ οἱ πλείστοι ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἔργου ἠπόρησέν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἐργαζομένων περιῆν.

- 4 καὶ νῦν δὲ οἱ κεκτημένοι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις ἀνδράποδα οὐδεὶς τοῦ πλήθους ἀφαιρεῖ, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ προσκτᾶται ὅποσα ἂν πλείστα δύνηται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅταν μὲν ὀλίγοι ὀρύττωσι καὶ ζητῶσιν, ὀλίγα οἶμαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα εὐρίσκειται· ὅταν δὲ πολλοί, πολλαπλασία ἢ ἀργυρίτις ἀναφαίνεται. ὥστε ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔργων οὐδὲ φθονεῖ οὐδεὶς τοῖς ἐπικατασκευαζομένοις.<sup>1</sup>
- 5 Ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀγρούς κεκτημένοι πάντες

<sup>1</sup> ἐπικατασκευαζομένοις Cobet: ἐπισκευαζομένοις S with the MSS

For if this proved to be practicable, these vessels would yield another large revenue.

IV. As for the silver mines, I believe that if a proper system of working were introduced, a vast amount of money would be obtained from them apart from our other sources of revenue. I want to point out the possibilities of these mines to those who do not know. For, once you realize their possibilities, you will be in a better position to consider how the mines should be managed.

Now, we all agree that the mines have been 2 worked for many generations. At any rate, no one even attempts to date the beginning of mining operations. And yet, although digging and the removal of the silver ore have been carried on for so long a time, note how small is the size of the dumps compared with the virgin and silver-laden hills. And it is continually being found that, so 3 far from shrinking, the silver-yielding area extends further and further.

Well, so long as the maximum number of workmen was employed in them, no one ever wanted a job, in fact, there were always more jobs than the labourers could deal with. And even at the present day no 4 owner of slaves employed in the mines reduces the number of his men, on the contrary, every master obtains as many more as he can. The fact is, I imagine, that when there are few diggers and searchers, the amount of metal recovered is small, and when there are many, the total of ore discovered is multiplied. Hence of all the industries with which I am acquainted this is the only one in which expansion of business excites no jealousy.

Further than this, every farmer can tell just how 5

## XENOPHON

- ἔχιοιεν ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὅποσα ζεύγη ἀρκεῖ εἰς τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὅποσοι ἐργάται· ἦν δ' ἐπὶ πλείον τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐμβάλλη τις, ζημίαν λογίζονται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ἔργοις πάντες δὴ φασιν ἐνδεῖσθαι  
 6 ἐργατῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὅταν πολλοὶ χαλκοτύποι γένωνται, ἀξίων γενομένων τῶν χαλκευτικῶν ἔργων, καταλύονται οἱ χαλκοτύποι, καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς γε ὡσαύτως· καὶ ὅταν γε πολὺς σῖτος καὶ οἶνος γένηται, ἀξίων ὄντων τῶν καρπῶν, ἀλυσιτελεῖς αἱ γεωργίαι γίνονται, ὥστε πολλοὶ ἀφιέμενοι τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι ἐπ' ἐμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας καὶ τοκισμοὺς τρέπονται· ἀργυρίτις δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείων φαίνεται καὶ ἀργύριον πλείον γίνηται, τοσοῦτῳ  
 7 πλείονες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἔρχονται καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιπλα μὲν, ἐπειδὴν ἱκανά τις κτήσεται τῇ οἰκίᾳ, οὐ μάλᾳ ἔτι προσωνοῦνται· ἀργύριον δὲ οὐδεὶς πω οὕτω πολὺ ἐκτήσατο, ὥστε μὴ ἔτι προσδεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἦν τισι γένηται παμπληθές, τὸ περιττεῦον κατορύττοντες οὐδὲν ἤττον ἡδονται ἢ χρώμενοι αὐτῷ.
- 8 Καὶ μὴν ὅταν γε εὖ πράττωσιν αἱ πόλεις, ἰσχυρῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀργυρίου δέονται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ ὅπλα τε καλὰ καὶ ἵππους ἀγαθοὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς βούλονται δαπανᾶν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες εἰς ἐσθήητα πολυτελῆ καὶ χρυσοῦν κόσμον τρέπονται.
- 9 ὅταν τε αὖ νοσήσωσι πόλεις ἢ ἀφορίαις καρπῶν ἢ πολέμῳ, ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀργοῦ τῆς γῆς γιγνομένης καὶ εἰς ἐπιτήδεια καὶ εἰς ἐπικούρους νομίσματος δέονται.
- 10 Εἰ δέ τις φήσειε καὶ χρυσίον μηδὲν ἤττον χρήσι-

## WAYS AND MEANS, IV 5-10

many yoke of oxen are enough for the farm and how many labourers. To put more on the land than the requisite number is counted loss. In mining undertakings, on the contrary, everyone tells you that he is short of labour. Mining, in fact, is quite 6 different from other industries. An increase in the number of coppersmiths, for example, produces a fall in the price of copper work, and the coppersmiths retire from business. The same thing happens in the iron trade. Again, when corn and wine are abundant, the crops are cheap, and the profit derived from growing them disappears, so that many give up farming and set up as merchants or shopkeepers or money-lenders. But an increase in the amount of the silver ore discovered and of the metal won is accompanied by an increase in the number of persons who take up this industry. Neither is silver like furniture, of 7 which a man never buys more when once he has got enough for his house. No one ever yet possessed so much silver as to want no more; if a man finds himself with a huge amount of it, he takes as much pleasure in buying the surplus as in using it.

Mark too that, whenever states are prosperous, 8 silver is in strong demand. The men will spend money on fine arms and good horses and magnificent houses and establishments, and the women go in for expensive clothes and gold jewelry. If, on the other 9 hand, the body politic is diseased owing to failure of the harvest or to war, the land goes out of cultivation and there is a much more insistent demand for cash to pay for food and mercenaries.

If anyone says that gold is quite as useful as 10



## XENOPHON

μον εἶναι ἢ ἀργύριον, τούτῳ<sup>1</sup> μὲν οὐκ ἀντιλέγω, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι οἶδα, ὅτι καὶ χρυσίου ὅταν πολὺ παραφανῆ, αὐτὸ μὲν ἀτιμότερον γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον τιμιώτερον ποιεῖ.

- 11 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐδήλωσα τούτου ἕνεκα, ὅπως θαρροῦντες μὲν ὅτι πλείστους ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια ἄγωμεν, θαρροῦντες δὲ κατασκευαζόμεθα ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὔτε ἐπιλειψούσης ποτὲ ἀργυρίτιδος
- 12 οὔτε τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἀτίμου ποτὲ ἐσομένου δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἡ πόλις προτέρα ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἐγνωκέναι· παρέχει γοῦν ἐπὶ ἰσοτελείᾳ καὶ τῶν ξένων τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις.
- 13 "Ἴνα δὲ καὶ σαφέστερον περὶ τῆς τροφῆς εἶπω, νῦν διηγῆσομαι, ὡς κατασκευασθέντα τὰ ἀργύρεια ὠφελιμώτατ' ἂν εἴη τῇ πόλει. ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ἀφ' ὧν μέλλω λέγειν οὐδέν τι ἀξιῶ θαυμάζεσθαι ὡς δυσεύρετόν τι ἐξευρηκώς· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὧν λέξω καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ὀρώμεν, τὰ δὲ παροιχόμενα παρὰ τῶν πατέρων<sup>2</sup> κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἀκρούομεν<sup>3</sup>
- 14 τῆς μέντοι πόλεως πάνυ ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ αἰσθανομένην πολλοὺς πλουτιζομένους ἐξ αὐτῆς ιδιότητος μὴ μιμῆσθαι τούτους. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ δήπου οἷς μεμέληκεν ἀκηκόαμεν, ὅτι Νικίας ποτὲ ὁ Νικηράτου ἐκτήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις χιλίους ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ἐκεῖνος Σωσία τῷ Θρακί ἐξεμίσθωσεν ἐφ' ᾧ ὀβολὸν μὲν ἀτελῆ ἑκάστου τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποδιδόναι,
- 15 τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ἴσους αἰεὶ παρέχειν.<sup>4</sup> ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἴππονίκῳ ἑξακόσια ἀνδράποδα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τούτου ἐκδεδομένα, ἃ προσέφερε μῶν

<sup>1</sup> τούτῳ Heindorf τούτο S with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> παρὰ τῶν πατέρων Wilamowitz πάντων MSS. : τῶν πραγμάτων S with the Aldine

WAYS AND MEANS, IV 10-15

silver, I am not going to contradict him; but I know this, that when gold is plentiful, silver rises and gold falls in value.

With these facts before us, we need not hesitate 11 to bring as much labour as we can get into the mines and carry on work in them, feeling confident that the ore will never give out and that silver will never lose its value. I think, indeed, that the 12 state has anticipated me in this discovery; at any rate she throws open the mining industry to foreigners on the same terms as are granted to citizens.

To make myself clearer on the subject of alimony, 13 I will now explain how the mines may be worked with the greatest advantage to the state. Not that I expect to surprise you by what I am going to say, as if I had found the solution of a difficult problem. For, some things that I shall mention are still to be seen by anyone at the present day, and as for conditions in the past, our fathers have told us that they were similar. But what may well excite 14 surprise is that the state, being aware that many private individuals are making money out of her, does not imitate them. Those of us who have given thought to the matter have heard long ago, I imagine, that Nicias son of Niceratus, once owned a thousand men in the mines, and let them out to Sosias the Thracian, on condition that Sosias paid him an *obol* a day per man net and filled all vacancies as they occurred. Hipponicus, again, had 15 six hundred slaves let out on the same terms and

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<sup>3</sup> ταῦτά ἐν M ταῦτά αὖ S with other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> παρῆχεν Lenklau παρεῖχεν S with the MSS.

## XENOPHON

- ἀτελή τῆς ἡμέρας· Φιλημονίδῃ δὲ τριακόσια ἅ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἡμιμναῖον· ἄλλοις δὲ γε ὡς οἴομαι δύναμις ἐκά-  
 16 στοις ὑπῆρχεν. ἀτὰρ τί τὰ παλαιὰ δεῖ λέγειν, καὶ  
 γὰρ νῦν πολλοὶ εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ἀνθρώποι  
 17 οὕτως ἐκδεδομένοι. περαιομένων γε μὴν ὦν λέγω,  
 τοῦτ' ἂν μόνον καινὸν γένοιτο, εἰ ὥσπερ οἱ ἰδιῶται  
 κτησάμενοι ἀνδράποδα πρόσοδον ἀέναον κατε-  
 σκευασμένοι εἰσίν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις κτῶτο  
 δημόσια ἀνδράποδα, ἕως γίγνοιτο τρία ἐκάστω  
 18 Ἀθηναίων. εἰ δὲ δυνατὰ λέγομεν, καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον  
 αὐτῶν σκοπῶν ὁ βουλόμενος κρινέτω.

- Οὐκοῦν τιμὴν μὲν ἀνθρώπων εὐδηλον ὅτι  
 μᾶλλον ἂν τὸ δημόσιον δύναιτο ἢ οἱ ἰδιῶται παρα-  
 σκευάσασθαι. τῇ γε μὴν βουλῇ ῥᾶδιον καὶ κηρύ-  
 ξαι ἄγειν τὸν βουλόμενον ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ  
 19 προσαχθέντα πρίασθαι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὠνηθῆ, τί ἂν  
 ἦττον μισθοῦτό τις παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου ἢ παρὰ  
 τοῦ ἰδιώτου, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέλλων ἕξειν;  
 μισθοῦνται γοῦν καὶ τεμένη<sup>2</sup> καὶ οἰκίας καὶ τέλη  
 ὠνοῦνται παρὰ τῆς πόλεως.  
 20 Ὅπως γε μὴν τὰ ὠνηθέντα σφῆξεται, τῷ δημοσίῳ  
 ἔστι λαμβάνειν ἐγγύους παρὰ τῶν μισθουμένων,  
 ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὠνουμένων τὰ τέλη. ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν καὶ ἀδικῆσαι γε ῥᾶον τῷ τέλει πριαμένῳ ἢ  
 21 τῷ ἀνδράποδα μισθουμένῳ. ἀργύριον μὲν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> & added by Hager · S omits with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> After τεμένη S adds with the MSS καὶ ἱερά, which was removed by Bake

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<sup>1</sup> The MSS. add καὶ ἱερά, "and temples," for which καὶ ἱερεῖα (victims for sacrifice) has been conjectured. But (1) μισθοῦνται is not "contract to supply," and (2) it appears

## WAYS AND MEANS, IV. 15-21

received a rent of a *mina* a day net. Philomomides had three hundred, and received half a *mina*. There were others too, owning numbers in proportion, I presume, to their capital. But why dwell 16 on the past? At this day there are many men in the mines let out in this way. Were my proposals 17 adopted, the only innovation would be, that just as private individuals have built up a permanent income by becoming slave owners, so the state would become possessed of public slaves, until there were three for every citizen. Whether my plan is work- 18 able, let anyone who chooses judge for himself by examining it in detail.

So let us take first the cost of the men. Clearly the treasury is in a better position to provide the money than private individuals. Moreover the Council can easily issue a notice inviting all and sundry to bring slaves, and can buy those that are brought to it. When once they are purchased, 19 why should there be more hesitation about hiring from the treasury than from a private person, the terms offered being the same? At any rate men hire consecrated lands<sup>1</sup> and houses, and farm taxes under the state.

The treasury can insure the slaves purchased by 20 requiring some of the lessees to become guarantors, as it does in the case of the tax-farmers. In fact a tax-farmer can swindle the state more easily than a lessee of slaves. For how are you to detect 21

that the sacrifices were, in point of fact, paid for out of the rents received for the *τεμὲνη*, and the victims were *not* supplied by individuals on contract. Aristotle, *Ath Pol* c. 47, writing of the leases of state property, says nothing about victims.

## XENOPHON

πῶς καὶ φωράσειεν ἄν τις τὸ δημόσιον ἐξαγόμενον, ὁμοίου τοῦ ἰδίου ὄντος αὐτῷ; ἀνδράποδα δὲ σεσημασμένα τῷ δημοσίῳ σημάτρῳ καὶ προκειμένης ζημίας τῷ τε πωλοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἐξάγοντι, πῶς ἄν τις ταῦτα κλέψειεν;

Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τούτου δυνατὸν φαίνεται τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ ἀνθρώπους καὶ κτήσασθαι καὶ  
 22 φυλάξαι. εἰ δ' αὖ τις τοῦτ' ἐνθυμείται, πῶς ἐπειδὴν πολλοὶ ἐργάται γένωνται, πολλοὶ φανοῦνται καὶ οἱ μισθωσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνο κατανοήσας θαρρείτω, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν κατεσκευασμένων προσμισθώσονται τοὺς δημοσίους, πολλὰ γάρ ἐστι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις γηρασκόντες,<sup>1</sup> πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ ξένοι, οἳ τῷ σώματι μὲν οὔτε βούλονται ἂν οὔτε δύναιντ' ἂν ἐργάζεσθαι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ ἐπιμελούμενοι ἡδέως ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζοντο.

23 Ἦν γε μέντοι τὸ πρῶτου συστή διακόσια καὶ χίλια ἀνδράποδα, εἰκὸς ἤδη ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς προσόδου ἐν ἔτεσι πέντε ἢ ἕξ μὴ μείον ἂν τῶν<sup>2</sup> ἑξακισχιλίων γενέσθαι. ἀπὸ γε μὴν τούτου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἦν ὀβολὸν ἕκαστος ἀτελῆ τῆς ἡμέρας φέρη, ἢ μὲν  
 24 πρόσσδος ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἦν εἰς ἄλλα ἀνδράποδα τιθῆται εἴκοσι, τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἤδη ἐξέσται τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι εἰς ἄλλο ὅ τι ἂν δέη. ὅταν δέ γε μύρια ἀναπληρωθῇ, ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἢ πρόσσδος ἔσται.

25 Ὅτι δὲ δέξεται πολλαπλάσια τούτων, μαρτυρησάειν ἂν μοι εἴ τινες ἔτι εἰσὶ τῶν μεμνημένων, ὅσον τὸ τέλος εὔρισκε τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πρὸ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> γηράσκοντες Dindorf: γηρασκόντων S with the MSS  
 212

the export of public money? Money looks the same whether it is private property or belongs to the state. But how is a man to steal slaves when they are branded with the public mark and it is a penal offence to sell or export them?

So far, then, it appears to be possible for the state to acquire and to keep men. But, one may ask, when 22 labour is abundant, how will a sufficient number of persons be found to hire it? Well, if anyone feels doubtful about that, let him comfort himself with the thought that many men in the business will hire the state slaves as additional hands, since they have abundance of capital, and that among those now working in the mines many are growing old. Moreover there are many others, both Athenians and foreigners, who have neither will nor strength to work with their own hands, but would be glad to make a living by becoming managers.

Assume, however, that the total number of slaves 23 to begin with is twelve hundred. By using the revenue derived from these the number might in all probability be raised to six thousand at the least in the course of five or six years. Further, if each man brings in a clear *obol* a day, the annual revenue derived from that number of men is sixty *talents*. Out of this sum, if twenty *talents* are invested in 24 additional slaves, the state will have forty *talents* available for any other necessary purpose. And when a total of ten thousand men is reached, the revenue will be a hundred *talents*.

But the state will receive far more than that, as 25 anyone will testify who is old enough to remember how much the charge for slave labour brought in

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<sup>2</sup> ἀν τῶν Wilamowitz: ἀντὶ S. with the MSS

## XENOPHON

- ἐν Δεκελείᾳ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ κάκεῖνο, ὅτι εἰργασμέ-  
 νων ἀνθρώπων ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ἐν τῷ παντὶ  
 χρόνῳ ἀναριθμήτων νῦν οὐδὲν διαφέρει τὰ ἀργύ-  
 ρεῖα ἢ οἷα<sup>1</sup> οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ὄντα ἐμνημόνευον  
 26 αὐτά καὶ τὰ νῦν δὲ γιγνόμενα πάντα μαρτυρεῖ,  
 ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε πλείω ἀνδράποδα ἐκεῖ γένοιτο ἢ  
 ὅσων ἂν τὰ ἔργα δέηται. οὔτε γὰρ βάθους πέρας  
 27 οὔτε ὑπονόμων οἱ ὀρύττοντες εὐρίσκουσι. καὶ  
 μὴν καινοτομεῖν γε οὐδὲν ἤττον ἕξεισι νῦν ἢ  
 πρότερον. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἂν ἔχοι εἰδὼς  
 οὐδεὶς, πότερον ἐν τοῖς κατατετμημένοις πλείων  
 ἀργυρίτις ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀτμήτοις ἐστί.  
 28 Τί δῆτα, φαίη ἂν τις, οὐ καὶ νῦν, ὥσπερ ἔμ-  
 προσθεν, πολλοὶ καινοτομοῦσιν; ὅτι πενέστεροι  
 μὲν εἰσιν οἱ περὶ τὰ μέταλλα· νεωστὶ γὰρ πάλιν  
 κατασκευάζονται· κίνδυνος δὲ μέγας τῷ καινοτο-  
 29 μοῦντι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐρῶν ἀγαθὴν ἐργασίαν  
 πλούσιος γίγνεται· ὁ δὲ μὴ εὐρῶν πάντα ἀπόλ-  
 λυσιν, ὅσα ἂν δαπανήσῃ. εἰς τοῦτον οὖν τὸν  
 κίνδυνον οὐ μάλα πῶς ἐθέλουσιν οἱ νῦν ἵεναι.  
 30 Ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ καὶ περὶ τούτου  
 συμβουλευῆσαι, ὡς ἂν ἀσφαλέστατα καινοτομοῖτο.  
 εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ δήπου Ἀθηναίων δέκα φυλαί· εἰ δ' ἢ  
 πόλις δοιή ἐκάστη αὐτῶν ἴσα ἀνδράποδα, αἱ δὲ  
 κοινωσάμεναι τὴν τυχὴν καινοτομοῖεν, οὕτως ἂν,  
 31 εἰ μία εὐροί, πάσαις ἂν λυσιτελεῖς ἀποδείξειεν, εἰ  
 δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες ἢ αἱ ἡμίσειαι εὐροίεν,

<sup>1</sup> οἷα Hertlein and others & S with the MSS

WAYS AND MEANS, IV. 25-31

before the trouble at Decelea.<sup>1</sup> And there is another proof. During the history of the mines an infinite number of men has worked in them, and yet the condition of the mines to-day is exactly the same as it was in the time of our ancestors, and their memory ran not to the contrary. And present conditions all lead to the conclusion that the number of slaves employed there can never be greater than the works need. For the miners find no limit to shaft or gallery. And, mark you, it is as possible now to open new veins as in former times. Nor can one say with any certainty whether the ore is more plentiful in the area already under work or in the unexplored tracts.

Then why, it may be asked, are fewer new cuttings made nowadays than formerly? Simply because those interested in the mines are poorer. For operations have only lately been resumed, and a man who makes a new cutting incurs a serious risk. If he strikes good stuff he makes a fortune: but if he is disappointed, he loses the money he has spent. Therefore people nowadays are very chary of taking such a risk.

However, I think I can meet this difficulty too, and suggest a plan that will make the opening of new cuttings a perfectly safe undertaking. The Athenians, of course, are divided into ten tribes. Now assume that the state were to offer each tribe an equal number of slaves, and that when new cuttings were made, the tribes were to pool their luck. The result would be that if one tribe found silver, the discovery would be profitable to all, and if two,

<sup>1</sup> In 413 B.C., when great numbers of slaves deserted, and labour in the mines dwindled.



## XENOPHON

δῆλον ὅτι λυσιτελέστερα ἂν τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα γίγνοιτο.

Τό γε μὴν πάσας ἀποτυχεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρελη-  
 32 λυθότων εἰκόσ. οἷόν τε δὴ οὕτως καὶ ἰδιώτας συν-  
 ισταμένους καὶ κοινουμένους τὴν τύχην ἀσφαλέ-  
 στερον κινδυνεύειν. μηδὲν μέντοι τοῦτο φοβείσθε,  
 ὡς ἢ τὸ δημόσιον οὕτω κατασκευαζόμενον παραλυ-  
 πήσει τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ οἱ ἰδιῶται τὸ δημόσιον· ἀλλ'  
 ὥσπερ σύμμαχοι ὄσῳ ἂν πλείους συνιῶσιν, ἰσχυ-  
 ροτέρους ἀλλήλους ποιοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
 ἀργυρείοις ὄσῳ περ ἂν πλείους ἐργάζωνται, τόσῳ  
 πλείονα τὰ γαθὰ εὐρήσουσί τε καὶ ἐκφορήσουσι.<sup>1</sup>

33 Καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ εἴρηται, ὡς ἂν ἡγοῦμαι κατα-  
 σκευασθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἱκανὴν ἂν πᾶσιν Ἀθη-  
 34 ναίοις τροφήν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γενέσθαι. εἰ δέ τινες  
 λογιζόμενοι παμπόλλης ἂν δεῖν ἀφορμῆς εἰς  
 ταῦτα πάντα οὐχ ἡγούνται ἱκανὰ ἂν ποτε χρήματα  
 35 εἰσενεχθῆναι, μηδὲ οὕτως ἀθυμούντων. οὐ γὰρ  
 οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ἀνάγκη ἅμα πάντα ταῦτα  
 γίγνεσθαι, ἢ μηδὲν ὄφελος αὐτῶν εἶναι· ἀλλ'  
 ὅποσα ἂν ἢ οἰκοδομηθῆ ἢ ναυπηγηθῆ ἢ ἀνδράποδα  
 36 ὠνηθῆ, εὐθύς ταῦτα ἐν ὠφελείᾳ ἔσται. ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν καὶ τῆδέ γε συμφωρότερον τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἢ  
 τὸ ἅμα πάντα πράττεσθαι. οἰκοδομοῦντες μὲν  
 γὰρ ἀθρόοι πολυτελέστερον ἂν καὶ κάκιον· ἢ  
 κατὰ μέρος ἀποτελοῖμεν· ἀνδράποδα δὲ παμπληθῆ  
 ζητοῦντες ἀναγκαζοίμεθ' ἂν καὶ χεῖρω καὶ τιμιώ-  
 τερα ὠνεῖσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> ἐκφορήσουσι Cobet φορήσουσι S. with the MSS  
 216

three, four, or half the tribes found, the profits from these works would obviously be greater.

Nothing that has happened in the past makes it probable that all would fail to find. Of course, private individuals also are able to combine on this principle and pool their fortunes in order to diminish the risk. Nevertheless there is no reason to fear that a public company formed on this plan will conflict with the interests of private persons, or be hampered by them. No, just as every new adhesion to a confederacy brings an increase of strength to all its members, so the greater the number of persons operating in the mines, the more treasure they will discover and unearth.

I have now explained what regulations I think should be introduced into the state in order that every Athenian may receive sufficient maintenance at the public expense. Some may imagine that enough money would never be subscribed to provide the huge amount of capital necessary, according to their calculations, to finance all these schemes. But even so they need not despair. For it is not essential that the plan should be carried out in all its details in order that any advantage may come of it. No, whatever the number of houses built, or of ships constructed, or of slaves purchased, they will immediately prove a paying concern. In fact in one respect it will be even more profitable to proceed gradually than to do everything at once. For if everybody begins building, we shall pay more for worse work than if we carry out the undertaking gradually; and if we try to find an enormous number of slaves, we shall be forced to buy inferior men at a high price.

## XENOPHON

- 37 Κατά γε μὴν τὸ δυνατὸν περαίνοντες τὰ μὲν  
καλῶς γνωσθέντα καὶ αὐθις ἂν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι  
οἰόμεθα.<sup>1</sup> εἰ δέ τι ἁμαρτηθείη, ἀπεχοίμεθα ἂν
- 38 αὐτοῦ. ἔτι δὲ πάντων ἅμα γιγνομένων, ἡμᾶς ἂν  
ἅπαντα δέοι ἐκπορίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τὰ μὲν περαινοῖτο,  
τὰ δὲ μέλλοι, ἢ ὑπάρξασα<sup>2</sup> πρόσδοδος τὸ ἐπιτή-  
δειον συγκατασκευάζοι ἂν.
- 39 Ὁ δὲ ἴσως φοβερῶτατον δοκεῖ πᾶσιν εἶναι, μὴ  
εἰ ἄγαν πολλὰ κτήσαιοτο ἢ πόλις ἀνδράποδα,  
ὑπεργεμισθείη ἂν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τούτου τοῦ φόβου  
ἀπηλλαγμένοι ἂν εἶημεν, εἰ μὴ πλείονας ἀνθρώ-  
πους ἢ ὅσους αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα προσαιτοίη κατ'  
ἐνιαυτὸν ἐμβάλοισιν.
- 40 Οὕτως ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἥπερ ῥᾶστον, ταύτη καὶ  
ἄριστον εἶναι ταῦτα πράττειν· εἰ δ' αὖ διὰ τὰς ἐν  
τῷ νῦν πολέμῳ γεγενημένας εἰσφορὰς νομίζετ' ἂν  
μηδ' ὅτιοῦν δύνασθαι εἰσενεγκεῖν, ὑμεῖς δ' ὅσα μὲν  
πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήματα εὔρισκε τὰ τέλη, ἀπὸ  
τοσοῦτων καὶ τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος διοικεῖτε τὴν πόλιν·  
ὅσα δ' ἂν ἐφευρίσκη διὰ τὸ εἰρήνην τε εἶναι καὶ  
διὰ τὸ θεραπεύεσθαι μετοίκους καὶ ἐμπόρους καὶ  
διὰ τὸ πλειόνων συναγειρομένων ἀνθρώπων πλείω  
εἰσάγεσθαι καὶ ἐξάγεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὰ ἐλλειμνία<sup>3</sup>  
καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς αὐξάνεσθαι, ταῦτα λαμβάνοντες  
κατασκευάσασθε, ὡς ἂν πλείσται πρόσδοδος  
γίγνοιτο.
- 41 Εἰ δέ τινες αὖ φοβοῦνται, μὴ ματαία ἂν γένοιτο  
αὕτη ἢ κατασκευή, εἰ πόλεμος ἐγερθείη, εἴνοη-

<sup>1</sup> The text is corrupt. The MSS have ἡμῖν οἰόμεθα or οἰοίμεθα, and γενέσθαι is a conjectural and unsatisfactory addition.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπάρξασα MSS : ὑπάρξουσα S.

By proceeding as our means allow, we can repeat 37  
 whatever is well conceived and avoid the repetition  
 of mistakes. Besides, were the whole scheme put in 38  
 hand at once, we should have to find the whole of  
 the money; but if some parts were proceeded with  
 and others postponed, the income realised would  
 help to provide the amount still required.

Possibly the gravest fear in everyone's mind is 39  
 that the works may become overcrowded if the state  
 acquires too many slaves. But we can rid ourselves  
 of that fear by not putting more men in year by  
 year than the works themselves require.

Accordingly, I hold that this, which is the easiest 40  
 way, is also the best way of doing these things. On  
 the other hand, if you think that the burdens im-  
 posed during the late war<sup>1</sup> make it impossible for you  
 to contribute anything at all—well, keep down the  
 cost of administration during the next year to the  
 amount that the taxes yielded before the peace;  
 and invest the balances over and above that amount,  
 which you will get with peace, with considerate  
 treatment of resident aliens and merchants, with the  
 growth of imports and exports due to concentration  
 of a larger population, and with the expansion of  
 harbour and market dues, so that the investment  
 will bring in the largest revenue.<sup>2</sup>

Or again, if any fear that this scheme would 41  
 prove worthless in the event of war breaking out, they

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to the "War of the Allies" who had  
 revolted from Athens. It lasted from 357 to 355 B.C. See  
 Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* invest the balances in the mines, and use the revenue  
 obtained to carry out my scheme.

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<sup>3</sup> τὰ ἐλλιμένα Βεργκ: ἐν λιμένι S. with the MSS

## XENOPHON

- σάντων, ὅτι τούτων γιγνομένων πολὺ φοβερώτερος*  
 42 *ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσιν ἢ τῇ πόλει. τί γὰρ*  
*δὴ εἰς πόλεμον κτῆμα χρησιμώτερον ἀνθρώπων ;*  
*πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς πληροῦν ἱκανοὶ ἂν εἶεν*  
*δημοσίᾳ· πολλοὶ δ' ἂν καὶ πεζοὶ δημοσίᾳ δύναιντ'*  
*ἂν βαρεῖς εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἴ τις αὐτοὺς*  
*θεραπεύοι.*
- 43 *Λογίζομαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ πολέμου γιγνομένου*  
*οἷόν τ' εἶναι μὴ ἐκλείπεσθαι τὰ ἀργύρεια. ἔστι*  
*μὲν γὰρ δήπου περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἐν τῇ πρὸς*  
*μεσημβρίαν<sup>1</sup> τεῖχος ἐν Ἀναφλύστῳ, ἔστι δ' ἐν*  
*τῇ πρὸς ἄρκτον τεῖχος ἐν Θορικῶ· ἀπέχει δὲ*  
*ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα στάδια.*
- 44 *εἰ οὖν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὑψη-*  
*λοτάτῳ Βῆσης τρίτον ἔρυμα, συνήκοι τ' ἂν τὰ ἔργα*  
*εἰς ἐν ἑξ' ἀπάντων τῶν τευχῶν, καὶ εἴ τι αἰσθάνοιτο*  
*πολεμικόν, βραχὺ ἂν εἴη ἐκάστῳ εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς*
- 45 *ἀποχωρῆσαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθοιεν πλείους πολέμοιοι,*  
*δῆλον ὅτι εἰ μὲν σίτον ἢ οἶνον ἢ πρόβατα ἔξω*  
*εὔροιεν, ἀφέλοιντ' ἂν ταῦτα· ἀργυρίτιδος δὲ κρα-*  
*τήσαντες τί ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ λίθοις ἔχοιεν χρῆσθαι ;*
- 46 *πῶς δὲ καὶ ὀρμήσειαν ἂν ποτε πολέμοιοι πρὸς τὰ*  
*μέταλλα ; ἀπέχει μὲν γὰρ δήπου τῶν ἀργυρείων*  
*ἢ ἐγγύτατα πόλις Μέγαρα πολὺ πλείον τῶν*  
*πεντακοσίων σταδίων· ἀπέχει δὲ ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα*  
*πλησιαίτατα Θῆβαι πολὺ πλείον τῶν ἑξακοσίων.*
- 47 *ἦν οὖν πορεύονται ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια,*

<sup>1</sup> S with the MSS. adds *θαλάττῃ* which Bergk saw to be spurious.

should observe that, with this system at work, war becomes far more formidable to the aggressors than to the city. For what instrument is more service- 42  
able for war than men? We should have enough of them to supply crews to many ships of the state; and many men available for service in the ranks as infantry could press the enemy hard, if they were treated with consideration.<sup>1</sup>

But I reckon that, even in the event of war, the 43  
mines need not be abandoned. There are, of course, two fortresses in the mining district, one at Anaphlystus on the south side, the other at Thoricus on the north. The distance between them is about seven miles and a half. Now suppose that we had a third 44  
stronghold between them on the highest point of Besa. The works<sup>2</sup> would then be linked up by all the fortresses, and at the first intimation of a hostile movement, every man would have but a short distance to go in order to reach safety. In case an enemy 45  
came in force, he would, no doubt, seize any corn or wine or cattle that he found outside, but the silver ore, when he had got it, would be of as much use to him as a heap of stones. And how could an 46  
enemy ever go for the mines? The distance between Megara, the nearest city, and the silver mines, is of course much more than five hundred furlongs, and Thebes, which is next in proximity, lies at a distance of much more than six hundred furlongs from them. Let us assume, then, that an 47  
enemy is marching on the mines from some such point

<sup>1</sup> Observe that Xenophon alludes here not to the resident aliens, but to the state-owned slaves in the mines.

<sup>2</sup> Or, as some understand, "the workmen would gather from all the fortresses into one."

## XENOPHON

- παριέναι αὐτοὺς δεήσει τὴν πόλιν· κὰν μὲν ὧσιν ὀλίγοι, εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ ὑπὸ περιπόλων. πολλῇ γε μὴν δυνάμει πορεύεσθαι ἐξερημοῦντας τὰ ἑαυτῶν χαλεπὸν· πολὺ γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἂν εἴη ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄστυ ἢ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τοῖς πετάλ-*
- 48 *λοισ ὄντες· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθοιεν, πῶς ἂν καὶ δύναιντο μένειν μὴ ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ; ἐπισιτίζεσθαι γε μὴν μέρει μὲν κίνδυνος καὶ περὶ τῶν μετιόντων καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀγωνίζονται· πάντες δὲ αἰεὶ μετιόντες πολιορκοῦντ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ πολιορκοῖεν.*
- 49 *Οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀποφορὰ<sup>1</sup> τὴν διατροφήν τῇ πόλει αὔξει ἂν, ἀλλὰ πολυανθρωπίας περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἀθροισομένης καὶ ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἐκεῖ οὔσης καὶ ἀπ' οἰκῶν περὶ τὰργύρεια δημοσίων καὶ ἀπὸ καμίνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πρόσοδοι ἂν πολλαὶ*
- 50 *γίγνουντο. ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὕτη πολυάνθρωπος γένοιτο πόλις, εἰ οὕτω κατασκευασθεῖη· καὶ οἷ γε χῶροι οὐδὲν ἂν εἶεν μείονος ἄξιοι τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐνταῦθα ἢ τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἄστυ.*
- 51 *Πραχθέντων γε μὴν ὧν εἴρηκα σύμφημι ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον ἂν χρήμασιν εὐπορωτέραν τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπειθεστέραν καὶ εὐτακτοτέραν καὶ*
- 52 *εὐπολεμωτέραν γενέσθαι. οἷ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι πολὺ ἂν ἐπιμελέστερον τοῦτο πράτ-*

<sup>1</sup> ἀποφορὰ Schneider · εἰσφορὰ S with the MSS

He is bound to pass Athens; and if his numbers are small, he is likely to be destroyed by our cavalry and patrols. On the other hand, to march on them with a large force, leaving his own property unprotected, is no easy matter, for when he arrived at the mines the city of Athens would be much nearer to his own states than he himself would be. But even supposing that he should come, how is he to stay without supplies? And to send part of their forces in search of food may mean destruction to the foraging party and failure to achieve the ends for which he is contending, or if the whole force is continually foraging it will find itself blockaded instead of blockading.

However, the rent derived from the slaves would not be the only source of relief to the community. With the concentration of a large population in the mining district, abundant revenue would be derived from the local market, from state-owned houses near the silver mines, from furnaces and all the other sources. For a densely populated city would grow up there, if it were organised on this plan, yes, and building sites would become as valuable there as they are in our suburbs.

If the plans that I have put forward are carried out, I agree<sup>1</sup> that, apart from the improvement in our financial position, we shall become a people more obedient, better disciplined, and more efficient in war.<sup>2</sup> For the classes undergoing physical training will take more pains in the gymnasium when

<sup>1</sup> *σύμφημι* must mean "agree." If the text is right, one naturally asks "With whom?" Isocrates, Eubulus, or both? See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *Lac Pol* viii. 1.



## XENOPHON

τοινεν<sup>1</sup> ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείω ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιάρχου-  
μενοι· οἳ τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις οἳ τε  
πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν πάντα ταῦτα  
μᾶλλον ἂν πράττειεν, ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν ἔργων τῆς  
τροφῆς ἀποδιδομένης.

- V. Εἰ δὲ σαφὲς δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὡς εἰ μέλλουσι  
πᾶσαι αἱ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πόλεως προσιέναι, εἰρήνην  
δεῖ ὑπάρχειν, ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιον καὶ εἰρηνοφύλακας  
καθιστάναι, πολὺ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὕτη αἰρεθείσα ἢ  
ἀρχὴ προσφιλεστέραν καὶ πυκνοτέραν εἰς-  
αφικνεῖσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσειε τὴν πόλιν.
- 2 εἰ δέ τινες οὕτω γινώσκουσιν, ὥς ἐὰν ἡ πόλις  
εἰρήνην ἄγουσα διατελῇ, ἀδυνατωτέρα τε καὶ  
ἀδοξοτέρα καὶ ἡττοιονομαστή ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι  
ἔσται, καὶ οὗτοί γε ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ<sup>2</sup> παραλόγως  
σκοποῦσιν. εὐδαιμονέσταται μὲν γὰρ δήπου  
πόλεις λέγονται, αἱ ἂν πλείστον χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ  
διατελῶσι· πασῶν δὲ πόλεων Ἀθήναι μάλιστα
- 3 πεφύκασιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ αὐξέσθαι τίνες γὰρ ἠσυχίαν  
ἀγούσης τῆς πόλεως οὐ προσδέονται ἂν αὐτῆς  
ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐμπορέων; οὐχ οἱ  
πολύσιτοι, οὐχ οἱ πολυόιοι,<sup>3</sup> τί δὲ οἱ πολυέλαιοι,  
τί δὲ οἱ πολυπρόβατοι, οἱ δὲ γνώμη καὶ ἀργυρίῳ
- 4 δυνάμενοι χρηματίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴν χειροτέχνη τε  
καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, οἱ δὲ ποιηταί, οἱ δὲ  
τὰ τούτων μεταχειριζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἀξιοθεάτων ἢ  
ἀξιακούστων ἱερῶν ἢ ὁσίων ἐπιθυμοῦντες; ἄλλα  
μὴν καὶ οἱ δεόμενοι πολλὰ ταχὺ ἀποδίδοσθαι ἢ

<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο πράττειεν οἱ πράττειεν MSS : πράττειεν τὰ S. with  
Lenklau.

they receive their maintenance in full than they take under the superintendents of the toich races;<sup>1</sup> and the classes on garrison duty in a fortress, or serving as targeteers, or patrolling the country will show greater alacrity in carrying out all these duties when the maintenance is duly supplied for the work done

V. If it seems clear that the state cannot obtain a full revenue from all sources unless she has peace, is it not worth while to set up a board of guardians of peace? Were such a board constituted, it would help to increase the popularity of the city and to make it more attractive and more densely thronged with visitors from all parts. If any are inclined <sup>2</sup> to think that a lasting peace for our city will involve a loss of her power and glory and fame in Greece, they too, in my opinion, are out in their calculations. For I presume that those states are reckoned the happiest that enjoy the longest period of unbroken peace; and of all states Athens is by nature most suited to flourish in peace. For if <sup>3</sup> the state is tranquil, what class of men will not need her? Shipowners and merchants will head the list. Then there will be those rich in corn and wine and oil and cattle, men possessed of brains and money to invest, craftsmen and professors and <sup>4</sup> philosophers, poets and the people who make use of their works, those to whom anything sacred or secular appeals that is worth seeing or hearing. Besides, where will those who want to buy or sell

<sup>1</sup> The superintendents paid for the upkeep of the competitors training for public competitions. In difficult times they could not supply full rations

<sup>2</sup> ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ Castalio · ἐμῇ δόξει S with the MSS

<sup>3</sup> S retains οὐχ οἱ ἡδύοινοι after πολύοινοι with the MSS

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πρίασθαι ποῦ<sup>1</sup> τούτων μᾶλλον ἂν τύχοιεν ἢ<sup>2</sup> Ἀθήνησιν ;

- 5 Εἰ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀντιλέγει, τὴν δὲ ἡγεμονίαν βουλόμενοί τινες ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν<sup>3</sup> ταύτην διὰ πολέμου μᾶλλον ἢ δι' εἰρήνης ἡγούνται ἂν καταπραχθῆναι, ἐννοησάτωσαν πρῶτον μὲν τὰ Μηδικά, πότερον βιαζόμενοι ἢ εὐεργετοῦντες τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἡγεμονίας τε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ ἑλληνο-
- 6 ταμίας ἐτύχομεν. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ ὠμῶς ἄγαν δόξασα προστατεύειν ἢ πόλις ἐστερήθη τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ καὶ τότε, ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἀπεσχόμεθα, πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἐκόντων προστατάται τοῦ ναυτικοῦ
- 7 ἐγενόμεθα ; οὐκοῦν καὶ Θηβαῖοι εὐεργετούμενοι ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτῶν ἔδωκαν Ἀθηναίοις ; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ βιασθέντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' εὐπάσχοντες ἐπέτρεψαν Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τῆς
- 8 ἡγεμονίας θέσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο. νῦν δέ γε διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταραχὴν παραπεπτωκέαι μοι δοκεῖ τῇ πόλει ὥστε καὶ ἄνευ πόνων καὶ ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἀνακτᾶσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ πειρᾶσθαι διαλλάττειν τὰς πολεμούσας πρὸς ἀλλήλας πόλεις, ἔστι δὲ συναλλάττειν, εἴ τινες ἐν αὐταῖς στασιάζουσιν.
- 9 εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅπως τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν αὐτόνομον ὥσπερ πρόσθεν γένοιτο, φανεροὶ εἴητε ἐπιμελούμενοι, μὴ συμπολεμοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρεσβεύοντες ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν οἶμαι θαυμαστόν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὁμογνώμονάς τε καὶ συνόρκους καὶ συμμάχους λάβετε

<sup>1</sup> ποῦ C. ἢ οὐ S with the other MSS

<sup>2</sup> ἢ C S. omits with the other MSS

WAYS AND MEANS, v. 4-9

many things quickly meet with better success in their efforts than at Athens?

No one, I dare say, contests this; but there are 5 some who wish the state to recover her ascendancy, and they may think that it is more likely to be won by war than by peace. Let such, in the first place, call to mind the Persian Wars. Was it by coercing the Greeks or by rendering services to them that we became leaders of the fleet and treasurers of the league 6 funds? Further, after the state had been stripped of her empire through seeming to exercise her authority with excessive harshness, did not the islanders even then restore to us the presidency of the fleet by their own free will, when we refrained from acts of injustice? And again, did not the Thebans place 7 themselves under the leadership of the Athenians in return for our good offices? Yet once again, it was not the effect of coercion on our part, but of generous treatment, that the Lacedaemonians permitted the Athenians to arrange the leadership as they chose. And now, owing to the confusion 8 prevalent in Greece, an opportunity, I think, has fallen to the state to win back the Greeks without trouble, without danger, and without expense. For she has it in her power to try to reconcile the warring states, she has it in her power to compose the factions contending in their midst. And were 9 it apparent that you are striving to make the Delphic shrine independent, as it used to be, not by joining in war, but by sending embassies up and down Greece, I for my part should not be in the least surprised if you found the Greeks all of one mind, banded together by oath and united in alliance

<sup>8</sup> τὴν πῶλιν Hartman. τῆ πόλει S with the MSS

## XENOPHON

ἐπ' ἐκείνους, οἵτινες ἐκλιπόντων Φωκέων τὸ ἱερὸν  
 10 καταλαμβάνειν πειρῶντο.<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἀνὰ  
 πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν εἰρήνη ἔσται, φανεροὶ  
 εἴητε ἐπιμελόμενοι, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἀν  
 εὔχεσθαι μετὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας Ἀθήνας  
 μάλιστα σώζεσθαι.

11 Εἰ δέ τις αὖ εἰς χρήματα κερδαλεώτερον  
 νομίζει εἶναι τῇ πόλει πόλεμον ἢ εἰρήνην, ἐγὼ  
 μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, πῶς ἀν ἄμεινον ταῦτα κριθεῖη ἢ  
 εἴ τις τὰ προγεγενημένα ἐπανασκοποῖ<sup>2</sup> τῇ πόλει

12 πῶς ἀποβέβηκεν. εὐρήσει γὰρ τό τε παλαιὸν ἐν  
 εἰρήνῃ μὲν πάνυ πολλὰ χρήματα εἰς τὴν πόλιν  
 ἀνερχθέντα, ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα κατα-  
 δαπανηθέντα· γνώσεται δέ, ἣν σκοπῆ, καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 νῦν χρόνῳ διὰ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τῶν προσόδων  
 πολλὰς ἐκλιπούσας καὶ τὰς εἰσελθούσας εἰς  
 παντοδαπὰ<sup>3</sup> καταδαπανηθείσας· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη  
 κατὰ θάλατταν γεγένηται, ἠϋξημένας τε τὰς  
 προσόδους καὶ ταύταις ἐξὸν τοῖς πολίταις  
 χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται.

13 Εἰ δέ τις με ἐπερωτῶη, ἢ καὶ ἀν τις ἀδικῆ  
 τὴν πόλιν, λέγεις, ὡς χρῆ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον  
 εἰρήνην ἄγειν, οὐκ ἀν φαίην· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον  
 λέγω, ὅτι πολὺ θάττον ἀν τιμωροίμεθα αὐτούς,  
 εἰ μηδένα ὑπάρχοιμεν ἀδικούντες·<sup>4</sup> οὐδένα γὰρ  
 ἀν ἔχοιεν σύμμαχον.

VI. Ἄλλ' εἴ γε μὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀδύνατον  
 μὲν μηδὲν ἔστι μηδὲ χαλεπὸν, πραττομένων δὲ

<sup>1</sup> πειρῶντο Madvig· ἐπειρῶντο S with the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπανασκοποῖ Dindorf. ἔτι ἀνασκοποῖ S with the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> παντοδαπὰ Lenklau παντοδαπὰ πολλὰ S with the MSS.

## WAYS AND MEANS, v. 9-VI. 1

against any that attempted to seize the shrine in the event of the Phocians abandoning it. Were you to show also that you are striving for peace in every land and on every sea, I do think that, next to the safety of their own country, all men would put the safety of Athens first in their prayers 10

If, on the other hand, any one supposes that financially war is more profitable to the state than peace, I really do not know how the truth of this can be tested better than by considering once more what has been the experience of our state in the past. He will find that in old days a very great amount of money was paid into the treasury in time of peace, and that the whole of it was spent in time of war; he will conclude on consideration that in our own time the effect of the late war on our revenues was that many of them ceased, while those that came in were exhausted by the multitude of expenses; whereas the cessation of war by sea has been followed by a rise in the revenues, and has allowed the citizens to devote them to any purpose they choose. 12

But some one may ask me, Do you mean to say that, even if she is wronged, the state should remain at peace with the offender? No, certainly not, but I do say that our vengeance would follow far more swiftly on our enemies if we provoked nobody by wrong-doing, for then they would look in vain for an ally. 13

VI Well now, surely, if none of these proposals is impossible or even difficult, if by carrying them into

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<sup>4</sup> ἐπάρχοιμεν ἀδικοῦντες Cobet : παρέχοιμεν ἀδικοῦντα S with the MSS

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ

αὐτῶν προσφιλέστεροι μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλησι γενη-  
σόμεθα, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ οἰκήσομεν, εὐκλεέστεροι  
δὲ ἐσόμεθα καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος τροφῆς εὐπορήσει, οἱ  
δὲ πλούσιοι τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον δαπάνης ἀπαλ-  
λαγήσονται, περιουσίας δὲ πολλῆς γενομένης  
μεγαλοπρεπέστερον μὲν ἔτι ἢ νῦν ἐορτὰς ἄξομεν,  
ἱερὰ δ' ἐπισκευάσομεν, τείχη δὲ καὶ νεώρια  
ἀνορθώσομεν, ἱερεῦσι δὲ καὶ βουλῇ καὶ ἀρχαῖς  
καὶ ἰππεύσι τὰ πάτρια ἀποδώσομεν, πῶς οὐκ  
ἄξιον ὡς τάχιστα τούτοις ἐγχειρεῖν, ἵνα ἔτι ἐφ'  
ἡμῶν ἐπίδωμεν τὴν πόλιν μετ' ἀσφαλείας εὐδαι-  
μονοῦσαν;

- 2 Εἰ γὰρ μὴν ταῦτα δόξειεν ὑμῖν πράττειν,  
συμβουλευσάμ' ἂν ἔγωγε πέμψαντας καὶ εἰς  
Δωδώνην καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερέσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς,  
εἰ λῶον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη ἂν τῇ πόλει οὕτω κατα-  
σκευαζομένη καὶ αὐτίκα καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα
- 3 χρόνον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα συναινοῖεν, τότε ἂν αὖ  
φαίην χρήναι ἐπερωτᾶν, τίνας θεῶν προσποιού-  
μενοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα πράττομεν  
ἂν· οὓς δ' ἀνέλοιεν θεοὺς, τούτοις εἰκὸς καλ-  
λιερήσαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου. σὺν γὰρ θεῶ  
πραττομένων εἰκὸς καὶ τὰς πράξεις προΐεναι ἐπὶ  
τὸ λῶον καὶ ἄμεινον αἰετῇ πόλει.

## WAYS AND MEANS, vi. 1-3

effect we shall be regarded with more affection by the Greeks, shall live in greater security, and be more glorious; if the people will be maintained in comfort and the rich no more burdened with the expenses of war, if with a large surplus in hand we shall celebrate our festivals with even more splendour than at present, shall restore the temples, and repair the walls and docks, and shall give back to priests, councillors, magistrates, knights their ancient privileges; surely, I say, our proper course is to proceed with this scheme forthwith, that already in our generation we may come to see our city secure and prosperous

Furthermore, if you decide to go forward with the 2 plan, I should advise you to send to Dodona and Delphi, and inquire of the gods whether such a design is fraught with weal for the state both now and in days to come. And should they consent to 3 it, then I would say that we ought to ask them further, which of the gods we must propitiate in order that we may prosper in our handiwork. Then, when we have offered an acceptable sacrifice to the gods named in their reply, it behoves us to begin the work. For with heaven to help us in what we do, it is likely that our undertakings will go forward continually to the greater weal of the state.





# THE CAVALRY COMMANDER

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΙΠΠΑΡΧΙΚΟΣ

- I. Πρῶτον μὲν θύοντα χρὴ αἰτεῖσθαι θεοὺς ταῦτα διδόναι καὶ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν, ἀφ' ὧν θεοῖς μὲν κεχαρισμενώτατα ἄρξειας ἄν, σαυτῷ δὲ καὶ φίλοις καὶ τῇ πόλει προσφιλέστατα  
2 καὶ εὐκλεέστατα καὶ πολυωφελέστατα. θεῶν δ' ἴλεων ὄντων ἀναβιβαστέον μὲν σοι ἵππείας, καὶ ὅπως ἀναπληρῶται ὁ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀριθμὸς καὶ ὅπως τὸ ὄν ἵππικὸν μὴ μειῶται. εἰ δὲ μὴ προσαναβήσονται ἵππεῖς, μείονες αἰεὶ ἔσονται· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοὺς μὲν γήρα ἀπαγορεύειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκλείπειν.
- 3 Πληρουμένου γε μὴν τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἐπιμελητέον μὲν, ὅπως τρέφονται οἱ ἵπποι, ὡς ἂν δύνωνται πόνους ὑποφέρειν· οἱ γὰρ ἤττους τῶν πόνων οὔτε αἰρεῖν οὔτε ἀποφεύγειν δύναιτο ἄν. ἐπιμελητέον δέ, ὅπως εὐχρηστοὶ ὦσιν· οἱ γὰρ αὖ ἀπειθεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς φίλοις  
4 συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ οἱ λακκίζοντες δὲ ἀναβεβαμένοι ἵπποι ἐκποδὼν ποιητέοι· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι πολλάκις πλείω κακὰ ἢ οἱ πολέμοι ποιοῦσι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως δύνωνται καὶ ἐν τραχείᾳ χώρᾳ ἵππεύειν, εἰδότα,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι ὅπου ἂν ἀλγῶσιν ἐλαυνόμενοι, ἐνταῦθα οὐ χρήσιμοί εἰσι.

<sup>1</sup> εἰδότα BM: εἰδότας S with other MSS

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER

I. THE first duty is to sacrifice to the gods and pray them to grant you the thoughts, words and deeds likely to render your command most pleasing to the gods and to bring yourself, your friends and your city the fullest measure of affection and glory and advantage. Having gained the goodwill of the 2 gods, you have then to recruit a sufficient number of mounted men that you may bring the number up to the total required by the law,<sup>1</sup> and also may prevent any decrease in the cavalry establishment. Unless additional recruits are enrolled in the force, the number will constantly dwindle, for some men are bound to retire through old age and others to drop off for various reasons.

While the ranks are filling up, you must see that 3 the horses get enough food to stand hard work, since horses unfit for their work can neither overtake nor escape. You must see that they are docile, because disobedient animals assist the enemy more than their own side. And horses that 4 kick when mounted must be got rid of, for such brutes often do more mischief than the enemy. You must also look after their feet, so that they can be ridden on rough ground, for you know that wherever galloping is painful to them, they are useless.

<sup>1</sup> 1,000; but, as we shall see, the number had fallen to something like 650 at the time Xenophon wrote

## XENOPHON

5 Τῶν γε μὴν ἵππων ὑπαρχόντων οἷων δεῖ τοὺς ἵππέας αὐτῶν ἀσκητέον, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναπηδᾶν δύνωνται· πολλοῖς γὰρ ἤδη ἡ σωτηρία παρὰ τοῦτο ἐγένετο· δεύτερον δὲ ὅπως ἐν παντοίοις χωρίοις ἱππάζεσθαι δυνήσονται· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόλεμοι ἄλλοτε ἐν ἀλλοίοις τόποις γίνονται.

6 ὅταν δὲ ἤδη ἔποχοι ᾖσι, δεῖ αὐτοὺς σκοπεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἀκοντιούσι τε ὡς πλείστοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τᾶλλα δυνήσονται ποιεῖν ἃ δεῖ τοὺς ἱππικούς.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ὀπλιστέον καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἵππέας, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἤκιστα τιτρώσκονται ἅν, βλάπτειν

7 δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μάλιστα δύναιτ' ἅν. ἐκ τούτων παρασκευαστέον, ὅπως εὐπειθεῖς οἱ ἄνδρες ᾖσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτου οὐθ' ἵππων ἀγαθῶν οὔτε ἱππέων ἐπόχων οὔτε ὀπλῶν καλῶν ὄφελος οὐδέν.

Προστατεύειν μὲν οὖν τούτων πάντων ὅπως

8 καλῶς γίγνηται τὸν ἵππαρχον εἰκὸς ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις χαλεπὸν ἡγήσαμένη ταῦτα πάντα τὸν ἵππαρχον μόνον ὄντα κατεργάζεσθαι προσαιρεῖται μὲν αὐτῷ συνεργοὺς φυλάρχους, προσέταξε δὲ τῇ βουλῇ συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, ἀγαθὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι τοὺς μὲν φυλάρχους παρασκευάζειν συνεπιθυμεῖν σοι τῶν καλῶν τῷ ἱππικῷ, ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ ἔχειν ῥήτορας ἐπιτηδείους, ὅπως λέγοντες φοβῶσί τε τοὺς ἵππέας,

<sup>1</sup> A difficult feat, since the Greek rider had no stirrups.

<sup>2</sup> When attacking infantry in line the cavalry never charged home, but only approached near enough to throw

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, I. 5-8

Having made sure that the horses are in good 5  
condition, the next business is to train the men.  
First they must learn to mount from the spring,<sup>1</sup>  
since many before now have owed their lives to that.  
Secondly, they must practise riding over all sorts  
of ground, since any kind of country may become  
the area of war. As soon as they have acquired a 6  
firm seat, your next task is to take steps that as  
many as possible shall be able to throw the javelin  
when mounted<sup>2</sup> and shall become efficient in all  
the details of horsemanship.

After that both horses and men must be armed,  
so that, while they are themselves thoroughly pro-  
tected against wounds, they may have the means of  
inflicting the greatest loss on the enemy. Then you 7  
must continue to make the men obedient. otherwise  
neither good horses nor a firm seat nor fine armour  
are of any use.

For ensuring efficiency in all these matters the  
cavalry commander, as a matter of course, is the  
principal authority. But, at the same time, the state 8  
thinks it difficult for the cavalry commander to carry  
out all these duties single-handed; therefore, it also  
elects colonels of regiments to assist him; and it  
has charged the Council with the duty of taking  
a share in the management of the cavalry. I think  
it well, then, that you should encourage the colonels  
to be as eager as yourself for the efficiency of the  
cavalry, and should have suitable spokesmen in the  
Council, that their speeches may alarm the men—  
they will do better under the influence of fear—and

the javelin with effect. Hence the importance attached to  
an accomplishment by no means easy to perform without  
stirrups. See especially the next treatise, c. xii

## XENOPHON

βελτίονες γὰρ ἂν εἶεν φοβούμενοι, καταπραΰνωσί τε τὴν βουλήν, ἣν τι παρὰ καιρὸν χαλεπαίνῃ.

- 9 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπομνήματα ὧν δεῖ σε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ὡς δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τούτων βέλτιστα περαίνοιτο, τοῦτο δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν.

- Τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν ἱππέας δῆλον ὅτι καθιστάναι δεῖ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ χρήμασι καὶ σώμασιν ἢ εἰσάγοντα εἰς δικαστήριον ἢ
- 10 πείθοντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι εἰς μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον τούτους εἰσακτέον εἶναι, οὓς μὴ εἰσάγων ἂν τις διὰ κέρδος δοκοίῃ τοῦτο ποιεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἥττον δυναμένοις εὐθύς ἂν εἶη ἀποστροφή, εἰ μὴ
- 11 τοὺς δυνατωτάτους πρώτους ἀναγκάζοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὓς ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τις νέους μὲν τὰ ἐν ἱππικῇ λαμπρὰ λέγων εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καθιστάναι τοῦ ἱππεύειν, τοὺς δὲ κυρίους αὐτῶν ἥττον ἀντιτείνοντας ἔχειν, τάδε διδάσκων, ὡς ἀναγκασθήσονται μὲν ἵπποτροφεῖν, ἣν μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ, ὑπ'
- 12 ἄλλου, διὰ τὰ χρήματα· ἣν δὲ ἐπὶ σοῦ ἀναβῶσιν, ὡς ἀποστρέψεις μὲν τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τῶν πολυτελῶν τε καὶ μανικῶν ἱππωνειῶν, ἐπιμελήσει δέ, ὡς ἂν ταχὺ ἱππικὸν γίγνοιτο. λέγοντα δὲ οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖν ταῦτα πειρατέον.
- 13 Τοὺς γε μὴν ὄντας ἱππέας ἢ βουλήν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ προειπούσα, ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν δεήσει διπλάσια ἱππάζεσθαι καὶ ὡς τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ἵππον ἀκολουθεῖν ἀποδοκιμάσει, ἐπιτείνειν ἂν τρέφειν τε ἄμεινον καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τῶν ἵππων.

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, I. 8-13

may also appease the wrath of the Council, in case it shows indignation at the wrong time.

Here, then, you have brief notes on the matters 9 that demand your attention. I will now try to explain how these duties may best be carried out in detail.

As for the men, you must obviously raise them as required by the law, from among those who are most highly qualified by wealth and bodily vigour, either by obtaining an order of the court or by the use of persuasion. The cases that should be brought 10 before the court, I think, are those of men who otherwise might be suspected of having bribed you not to apply for a judgment. For the smaller men will at once have a ground for escaping, unless you first compel the most highly qualified to serve. I think, too, that, by dwelling on the 11 brilliancy of horsemanship, you might fire some of the young men with ambition to serve in the cavalry, and that you might overcome the opposition of their guardians by informing them that they will be required to keep horses by someone, if not by you, on account of their wealth; whereas, if their 12 boys join up during your command, you will put an end to their extravagance in buying expensive horses, and see that they soon make good riders. And you must try to suit your actions to your words.

As for the existing cavalry, I think that the 13 Council should give notice that in future double the amount of exercise will be required, and that any horse unable to keep up will be rejected. This warning would put the screw on the men and make them feed their horses better and take more care of



## XENOPHON

- 14 καὶ τοὺς βιαίους δ' ἵππους ἀγαθὸν μοι δοκεῖ  
εἶναι προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκιμασθήσονται.  
αὕτη γὰρ ἢ ἀπειλὴ πωλεύειν<sup>1</sup> ἂν τοὺς τοιοῦτους  
μᾶλλον παρορμήσειε καὶ ἵππωνεῖν σωφρονέ-  
15 στερον. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἵππασίαις  
λακτίζοντας ἵππους προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκι-  
μασθήσονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ συντάττειν τοὺς τοιού-  
τους δυνατὸν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ποι ἐπὶ πολεμίους  
δέη ἐλαύνειν, ὑστάτους αὐτοὺς ἔπεσθαι, ὥστε  
διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἵππου κακουργίαν ἄχρηστος καὶ ὁ  
ἵππεὺς καθίσταται.
- 16 Ὡς δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ πόδες εἶεν τῶν ἵππων κρά-  
τιστοι, εἰ μὲν τις ἔχει ῥάω καὶ εὐτελεστέραν  
ἄσκησιν, ἐκείνη ἔστω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι  
πεῖραν ἔχων χυδὴν καταβαλόντα λίθους τῶν ἐκ  
τῆς ὁδοῦ ὅσον μνααίους καὶ πλείον καὶ μείον ἐν  
τούτοις τὸν ἵππον ψήχειν καὶ ἐνιστάναι, ὅταν  
ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης ἀποβῆ. βαδίζων γὰρ ἐν τοῖς  
λίθοις οὐποτε ὁ ἵππος παύσεται οὔθ' ὅταν ψήχη-  
ται οὔθ' ὅταν μυωπίζηται. ὁ δὲ πειραθεὶς τά  
τε ἄλλα, ἃ λέγω, πιστεύσει καὶ στρογγύλους  
τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων ὄψει.
- 17 Ὅποτε γε μὴν οἱ ἵπποι εἰσὶν οἴους δεῖ, ὡς ἂν αὐτοὶ  
οἱ ἵππεῖς ἄριστοι γίγνουιντο, τοῦτο διηγήσομαι.  
Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοὺς νέους αὐτῶν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐπὶ  
τοὺς ἵππους πείθοιμεν ἂν αὐτοὺς μανθάνειν· τὸν  
διδάξοντα δὲ παρασχῶν ἐπαίνου δικαίως ἂν  
τυγχάνοις. τοὺς γε μὴν πρεσβυτέρους τὸν Περ-  
σικὸν τρόπον ἀναβάλλεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων προσε-  
θίσας καὶ τούτους ὠφελήσαις ἂν.

<sup>1</sup> πωλεύειν Ruhl πωλεῖν S. with the MSS.

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, I 14-17

them I think it would be well, too, if notice were 14  
given that vicious horses would be rejected Under  
the stimulus of this threat men would break in such  
animals more thoroughly and would be more careful  
in buying horses Again, it would be well to give 15  
notice that horses found kicking at exercise will be  
rejected For it is impossible even to keep such  
animals in line, in a charge against an enemy they are  
bound to lag behind, and the consequence is, that  
through the bad behaviour of his horse, the man  
himself becomes useless

For getting horses' feet into the best condition,<sup>1</sup> 16  
if anyone has an easier and cheaper method  
than mine, by all means adopt it If not, I hold—  
and I speak from experience—that the right way  
is to throw down some stones from the road,  
averaging about a pound in weight, and to curry  
the horse on these and to make him stand on them  
whenever he goes out of the stable For the horse  
will constantly use his feet on the stones when he is  
cleaned and when he is worried by flies Try it, and  
you will find your horses' feet sound, and will believe  
in the rest of my rules

Assuming that the horses are in good condition, 17  
I will explain how to make the men themselves  
thoroughly efficient

We would persuade the young recruits to learn  
for themselves how to mount from the spring;  
but if you provide an instructor, you will receive  
well-merited praise. The way to help the older  
men is to accustom them to get a leg-up in the  
Persian fashion

<sup>1</sup> Horse-shoes being unknown; cf the following treatise,  
c iv.

XENOPHON

- 18 "Ὅπως γε μὴν ἐν παντοδαποῖς χωρίοις ἔποχοι οἱ ἵππεῖς δυνήσονται εἶναι, τὸ μὲν πυκνὰ ἐξάγειν μὴ πολέμου ὄντος ἴσως ὀχληρόν· συγκαλέσαντα δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ἵππέας συμβουλευσαὶ αὐτοῖς μελετᾶν, καὶ ὅταν εἰς χώραν ἐλαύνωσι καὶ ὅταν ἄλλοσέ ποι, ἐκβιβάζοντας τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ταχὺ ἐλαύνοντας ἐν τόποις παντοδαποῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ ὠφελεῖ μὲν παραπλησίως τῷ ἐξάγειν, ὄχλου δ' οὐχ ὅμοιον παρέχει. ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ὑπομιμνήσκειν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀνέχεται δαπανῶσα εἰς τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐγγὺς τετταράκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὡς ἦν πόλεμος γίγνηται, μὴ ζητεῖν δέη ἵππικόν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτοίμου ἔχη παρεσκευασμένῳ χρῆσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνθυμουμένους εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς ἵππέας μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἵππικὴν, ὅπως ἦν πόλεμος ἐγείρηται, μὴ ἀμελετήτους ὄντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι δέη περὶ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ εὐκλείας καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προειπεῖν τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν, ὅτι ἐξάξεις καὶ σύ ποτε αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ παντοίων χωρίων ἠγήσει. καὶ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις δὲ τῆς ἀνθιππασίας καλὸν ἐξάγειν ἄλλοτε εἰς ἄλλοῖον τόπον· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις βέλτιον.
- 21 Ἄκουτίξειν γε μὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὧδ' ἂν πλείστοί μοι δοκοῦσι μελετᾶν, εἰ τοῦτ' αὖ προείποις τοῖς φυλάρχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς δεήσει ἠγουμένους τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἀκουτισταῖς ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον. φιλοτιμοῖντο γὰρ ἂν, ἢ εἰκός, ὡς

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, I. 18-21

To ensure that the men have a firm seat, what- 18  
ever the nature of the ground, it is, perhaps, too  
much trouble to have them out frequently when  
there is no war going on, but you should call the men  
together, and recommend them to practise turning  
off the roads and galloping over all sorts of ground  
when they are riding to quarters or any other place.  
For this does as much good as taking them out, and  
it is less tedious. It is useful to remind them that 19  
the state supports an expenditure of nearly forty  
talents<sup>1</sup> a year in order that she may not have to  
look about for cavalry in the event of war, but  
may have it ready for immediate use. For with this  
thought in their minds the men are likely to take  
more pains with their horsemanship, so that when war  
breaks out they may not have to fight untrained for  
the state, for glory and for life. It is well also to 20  
give notice to the men that you intend to take  
them out yourself some day, and lead them over  
country of all kinds. And during the manœuvres  
that precede the sham fight it is proper to take  
them out to a different piece of country at different  
times. This is better for both men and horses.

As for throwing the javelin on horseback,<sup>2</sup> I think 21  
that the greatest number will practise that if you  
add a warning to the colonels that they will be required  
to ride to javelin exercise themselves at the head  
of the marksmen of the regiment. Thus, in all  
probability, everyone of them will be eager to turn

<sup>1</sup> Say £9,500, a large sum in those times. The pay is, of course, alluded to. The expenditure would amount *daily* to nearly 666 *drachmae*. The cavalryman's normal pay was a *drachma* a day. Hence it looks as if the number of the cavalry in 365 B.C. had fallen to about 650.

<sup>2</sup> At a suspended shield.

## XENOPHON

- πλείστους ἕκαστος ἀποδείξαι ἀκουτιστὰς τῇ πόλει
- 22 Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς γε ὀπλισθῆναι τοὺς ἰππέας οἱ φύλαρχοι ἄν μοι δοκοῦσι μέγιστον συλλαμβάνειν, εἰ πεισθείησαν, ὅτι πολὺ ἔστι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως εὐδοξότερον τῇ τῆς φυλῆς λαμπρότητι κεκοσμηθῆσθαι ἢ μόνον τῇ ἑαυτῶν
- 23 στολῇ εἰκὸς δὲ μὴ δυσπείστους εἶναι αὐτοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἳ γε φυλαρχεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι, δυνατοὶ δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὀπλίσαι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ αὐτοὶ δαπανᾶν τῷ μισθῷ ἐπαναγκάζοντες κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὀπλιζεσθαι.
- 24 Εἷς γε μὴν τὸ εὐπειθεῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχομένους μέγα μὲν τὸ<sup>1</sup> λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἐν ἐν τῷ πειθαρχεῖν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργῳ<sup>2</sup> πλεονεκτεῖν μὲν ποιεῖν τοὺς εὐτάκτους, μειονεκτεῖν δὲ ἐν πᾶσι τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας.
- 25 Ἰσχυροτάτη δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι παρόρμησις τῶν φυλάρχων εἰς τὸ φιλοτιμείσθαι αὐτοὺς καλῶς παρεσκευασμένης<sup>3</sup> ἕκαστον τῆς φυλῆς ἡγεῖσθαι, εἰ τοὺς ἀμφὶ σὲ προδρόμους κοσμήσῃς μὲν ὄπλοις ὡς κάλλιστα, ἀκοντίζειν δὲ μελετᾶν ἐξαναγκάσαις ὡς μάλιστα, εἰσηγοῖο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον αὐτὸς εὖ μάλα μεμελετηκῶς.
- 26 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄθλά τις δύναιτο προτιθέναι ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> τὸ Schneider · τὸ καὶ S with the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> S with the MSS adds κατὰ τὸν νόμον, which was removed by Weiske

<sup>3</sup> παρεσκευασμένης Weiske. παρεσκευασμένους S with the MSS

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, I. 21-26

out as many marksmen as possible for the service of the state

Towards the proper aiming of the men, I think 22 that the greatest amount of assistance will be obtained from the colonels, if they are persuaded that from the point of view of the state the brilliance of the regiment is a far more glorious ornament to them than the brightness of their own accoutrements only. It is likely that they will not 23 be hard to persuade in such matters, considering that honour and glory were the attractions that the colonelcy held out to them, and they can aim the men in accordance with the regulations laid down in the law without incurring expense themselves, afterwards compelling the men to spend their pay on their aims, as the law ordains.<sup>1</sup>

To make the men who are under your command 24 obedient, it is important to impress on them by word of mouth the many advantages of obedience to authority, and no less important to see that good discipline brings gain and insubordination loss in every respect.

The best way of inducing every colonel to take pride 25 in commanding a well equipped regiment, I think, is to aim your company of couriers as well as you can, to demand of them constant practice in the use of the javelin, and to instruct them in it after making yourself proficient. And if 26 you could offer prizes to the regiments for skill in

for horse and equipment, due to recruits when they had passed the examination by the Council. There is another allusion to it in c 1x 5. This sum is independent of the pay, and it is probable that on leaving the service the cavalryman had to refund it

φυλαῖς πάντων ὅποσα ἀγαθὰ νομίζουσιν ἀσκεισθαι ἐν ταῖς θέαις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππικου, τοῦτο πάντα οἶμαι Ἀθηναίους γε μάλιστ' ἂν προτρέπειν εἰς φιλοεικίαν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὡς μικρῶν ἄθλων ἕνεκα πολλοὶ μὲν πόνοι, μεγάλα δὲ δαπάναι τελοῦνται. τοὺς μέντοι κριτὰς τοιούτους δεῖ εὐρίσκειν, παρ' οἷς νικῶντες μάλιστ' ἂν ἀγάλλοιτο.

II. Ἦν δὲ δὴ σοι ταῦτα πάντα ἐξησηκημένοι ὦσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς, δεῖ δὴπου καὶ τάξιν τινὰ ἐπίστασθαι αὐτούς, ἐξ ἧς καλλίστας μὲν θεοῖς πομπὰς πέμψουσι, κάλλιστα δὲ ἵππάσονται, ἄριστα δὲ μαχοῦνται, ἣν δέη, ῥᾶστα δὲ καὶ ἀταρακτότατα ὁδοὺς πορεύσονται καὶ διαβάσεις περάσουσιν ἢ τοίνυν χρώμενοι τάξει δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα διαπράττεσθαι, ταύτην νῦν ἤδη πειράσομαι δηλοῦν.

- 2 Οὐκοῦν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχουσι διηρημέναι φυλαὶ δέκα. τούτων δ' ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι πρῶτον μὲν δεκαδάρχους σὺν τῇ τῶν φυλάρχων ἐκάστου γνώμῃ καταστήσαι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτων καλὸν τι ποιεῖν καὶ ἀκούειν· καὶ τούτους μὲν πρωτοστάτας
- 3 δεῖ εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσους χρῆ τούτοις ἀριθμὸν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτων ἐλέσθαι, οἵτινες τελευταῖοι τῶν δεκάδων ἔσονται. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ ἀπεικάσαι, οὕτω καὶ σίδηρος μάλιστα διατέμνει σίδηρον, ὅταν τό τε ἡγούμενον τοῦ τομέως ἐρρωμένον ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐπελαννόμενον ἱκανόν.
- 4 Τούς γε μὴν ἐν μέσφω τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῶν

all the feats that the public expects the cavalry to perform at the spectacles, I think this would appeal strongly to the spirit of emulation in every Athenian. For evidence of this I may refer to the choruses, in which many labours and heavy expenses are the price paid for trifling rewards. Only you must find judges whose suffrage will shed lustre on a victory.

II When your men are well trained in all these points, they must, of course, understand some plan of formation, that in which they will show to greatest advantage in the sacred processions and at manœuvres, fight, if need be, with the greatest courage, and move along roads and cross rivers with perfect ease in unbroken order. So I will now try to explain the formation that I think will give the best results in these various circumstances.

Now the state has divided the cavalry into ten <sup>2</sup> separate regiments. I hold that within these you should, to begin with, appoint file-leaders <sup>1</sup> after consulting each of the colonels, choosing sturdy men, who are bent on winning fame by some brilliant deed. These should form the front rank. Next <sup>3</sup> you should choose an equal number of the oldest and most sensible to form the rear rank. To use an illustration, steel has most power to cut through steel when its edge is keen and its back reliable.

To fill the ranks between the front and rear, <sup>4</sup> the file-leaders should choose the men to form the

<sup>1</sup> "Decadarchs," commanding a file of ten (δεκάς). X. had in mind the organisation of the Spartan infantry; cp. *Constitution of the Lac* vi 5

<sup>2</sup> δέκα added here by Pierleoni, S. omits with the MSS



## XENOPHON

τελευταίων, εἰ οἱ δεκάδαρχοι ἐπιστάτας ἔλουντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐφέλουντο, οὕτως εἰκὸς ἐκάστῳ πιστότατον τὸν ἐπιστάτην εἶναι.

5 Τὸν μέντοι ἀφηγούμενον ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δεῖ ἱκανὸν ἄνδρα καθιστάναι. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν, εἴτε ποτὲ δέοι ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἐλαύνειν, ἐγκελεύων ῥώμην ἂν ἐμβάλλοι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, εἴτ' αὖ καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν καιρὸς συμβαίνοι, φρονίμως ἀφηγούμενος μᾶλλον ἂν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, σώζοι τοὺς φυλέτας

6 Οἱ μέντοι δεκάδαρχοι ἄρτιοι ὄντες πλείω ἴσα μέρη παρέχοιεν ἂν διαιρεῖν ἢ εἰ περιττοὶ εἶεν.

Αὕτη δέ μοι ἡ τάξις ἀρέσκει διὰ τὰδε, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ πρωτοστάται πάντες ἄρχοντες γίνονται, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες, ὅταν ἄρχωσι, μᾶλλον πῶς οἴονται ἑαυτοῖς προσήκειν τι καλὸν ποιεῖν ἢ ὅταν ἰδιῶται ὦσιν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὅταν πρακτέον τι ᾖ, τὸ παραγγέλλειν μὴ ἰδιώταις, ἀλλ' ἄρχουσι πολὺ ἀνυτικώτερον.

7 Τεταγμένων γε μὴν οὕτως χρή, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς φυλάρχοις προαγορεύεται ἡ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππάρχου, ἐν ᾗ ἐκάστῳ ἐλατέον, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις παρηγγέλθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων ὅπη<sup>1</sup> πορευτέον ἐκάστῳ. οὕτω γὰρ προειρημένων πολὺ εὐτακτοτέρως ἔχοι ἢ ἂν εἰ ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου ὡς ἂν τύχωσιν ἀπίοντες λυποῦσιν 8 ἀλλήλους. καὶ μάχεσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσιν οἳ τε πρῶτοι, ἣν τι ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν προσπίπτῃ,

<sup>1</sup> ὅπη Diels. ὅπως S with the MSS

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, II 4--8

second line, and these in turn the men to form the third, and so on throughout. In this way every man will naturally have complete confidence in the man behind him.

You must be very careful to appoint a competent 5 man as leader in the rear<sup>1</sup>. For if he is a good man, his cheers will always hearten the ranks in front of him in case it becomes necessary to charge, or, should the moment come to retreat, his prudent leadership will, in all probability, do much for the safety of his regiment.

An even number of file-leaders has this advantage 6 over an odd, that it is possible to divide the regiment into a larger number of equal parts.

The reasons why I like this formation are these. In the first place, all the men in the front rank are officers, and the obligation to distinguish themselves appeals more strongly to men when they are officers than when they are privates. Secondly, when anything has to be done, the word of command is much more effective if it is passed to officers rather than to privates.

Let us assume that this formation has been 7 adopted. Every file-leader must know his position in the line of march by word passed along by the colonel, just as every colonel is informed by the commander of his proper place in the charge. For when these instructions are given there will be much better order than if the men hamper one another like a crowd leaving the theatre. And in the event of a frontal 8 attack, the men in the van are far more willing to

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the last man of each file (cf. § 3), who in some cases would have to act as leader. In the Spartan infantry he was the man with the longest service in the file.

## XENOPHON

οὐδ' ἂν εἰδῶσιν, ὅτι αὐτῆ ἢ χώρα αὐτῶν· καὶ οἱ τελευταῖοι, ἣν τι ὀπισθεν ἐπιφαίνηται, ἐπιστά-  
 9 μνοι, ὅτι αἰσχρὸν λιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν. ἄτακτοι  
 δ' ὄντες ἀλλήλους μὲν τάραττουσι καὶ ἐν  
 στεναῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐν διαβάσεσι, τοῖς δὲ πολε-  
 μίοις οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν αὐτὸν τάττει μάχεσθαι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντα ὑπάρχειν δεῖ  
 ἐκπεπονημένα πᾶσι τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν, εἰ μέλλουσιν  
 ἀπροφάσιστοι ἔσεσθαι συνεργοὶ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ.

III. Τῶνδὲ γε μὴν αὐτῷ ἤδη μέλειν δεῖ τῷ  
 ἱππάρχῳ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως καλλιερῆσει τοῖς  
 θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, ἔπειτα ὅπως τὰς  
 πομπὰς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀξιοθεάτους ποιήσει,  
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπιδεικνύναι δεῖ τῇ πόλει  
 ὅπως ἢ δυνατὸν κάλλιστα ἐπιδείξει, τὰ τε ἐν  
 Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ τὰ Φαληροὶ  
 καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα ὑπομνήματα· ὡς δὲ  
 τούτων ἕκαστα κάλλιστα ἂν πράττοιτο, νῦν  
 αὐτὰ ταῦτα<sup>1</sup> λέξω.

2 Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἶμαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς  
 θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι,  
 εἰ ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστί,  
 ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ<sup>2</sup>  
 περιελαύνουεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς. καὶ ἐν τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα is omitted by S. with ML

<sup>2</sup> S with the MSS adds *περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ* which was removed by Herwerden

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<sup>1</sup> Nothing in the sequel refers to manœuvres at Phalerum ; accordingly it has been proposed to omit *καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ* as spurious. The Hippodrome was probably in the N W.

fight when they know that this is their station ; so is the rear-rank in the event of a surprise attack in the rear, when the men there understand that it is disgraceful to leave their post. But if no order is kept there is confusion whenever the roads are narrow or rivers are being crossed, and when an action is fought no one voluntarily takes his post in the fighting line.

All these preliminaries must be thoroughly mastered by all the cavalry, if they are to give their leader unflinching support.

III Now we come to duties that the cavalry commander must perform himself. First, he must sacrifice to propitiate the gods on behalf of the cavalry, secondly, he must make the processions during the festivals worth seeing, further, he must conduct all the other obligatory displays before the people with as much splendour as possible, that is to say, the reviews in the Academy, in the Lyceum, at Phalerum, and in the Hippodrome<sup>1</sup>

These again are only brief notes, and I will now explain exactly how the details of these various functions may be carried out with most splendour.

As for the processions, I think they would be most acceptable both to the gods and to the spectators if they included a gala ride in the market place. The starting point would be the Herms<sup>2</sup>; and the cavalry would ride round saluting the gods at their shrines

district of the Pnyx. This treatise gives the only information that we possess about these functions.

<sup>2</sup> The Herms stood in two rows between the "Stoa Basileios" and the "Poicile." The Eleusinium, probably lay at the western foot of the Acropolis. See Frazer, *Pausanias* vol. II, p. 121 and p. 131. Some think the site was at the east foot.

## XENOPHON

Διονυσίοις δὲ οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες.

- Ἐπειδὴν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες, ἐντεῦθεν καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κατὰ φυλὰς εἰς τάχος ἀνιέναι τοὺς ἵππους μέχρι  
 3 τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου. οὐδὲ δόρατα μὴν παραλείψω ὡς ἤκιστα ἂν ἀλλήλοις ἐπαλλάττοιο. δεῖ γὰρ μεταξὺ τοῖν ὄτοιιν τοῦ ἵππου ἕκαστον σχεῖν, εἰ μέλλει φοβερὰ τε καὶ εὐκρινῆ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἅμα πολλὰ φανείσθαι
- 4 Ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῆς εἰς τάχος διελάσεως λήξωσι, τὴν ἄλλην ἤδη καλὸν σχέδην εἰς τὰ ἱερά, ἥπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, διελαύνειν. καὶ οὕτως ὅσα ἔστιν ἤδη ἐν ἵππῳ ἀναβεβαμένῳ, πάντα ἐπιδεδειγμένα ἔσται καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
- 5 Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ταῦτα οὐκ εἰθισμένοι ποιεῖν οἱ ἵππεῖς εἰσιν, οἶδα· γιγνώσκω δέ, ὅτι ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ἡδέα ἔσται. αἰσθάνομαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγωνίσματα τοὺς ἵππέας κεκαινουργηκότας, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἵππαρχοὶ ἱκανοὶ ἐγένοντο πείσαι ἢ ἡβουλήθησαν.
- 6 Ὅταν γε μὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἀκουτισμοῦ διελαύνωσιν ἐν Λυκείῳ, καλὸν ἑκατέρας τὰς πέντε φυλὰς ἐπὶ μετώπου ἐλαύνειν ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ἡγουμένου τοῦ ἵππάρχου καὶ τῶν φυλάρχων ἐν τοιαύτῃ τάξει, ἀφ' ἧς πληρώσεται τοῦ δρόμου τὸ πλάτος.
- 7 ἐπειδὴν δ' ὑπερβάλωσι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου θεάτρου, χρήσιμον ἂν οἶμαι φανῆναι καὶ εἰ καθ' ὁπόσους μέτριον εἰς τὸ κάταντες

<sup>1</sup> The Greek text is unreliable here.

<sup>2</sup> The Theatre of Dionysus, facing them as they come westwards from the Lyceum.

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, III 2-7

and statues. So at the Great Dionysia the dance of the choruses forms part of the homage offered to the Twelve and to other gods

When the circuit is completed and the cavalcade is again near the Herms, the next thing to do, I think, is to gallop at top speed by regiments as far as the Eleusinium. I will add a word on the <sup>3</sup> position in which the lances should be held to prevent crossing. Every man should point his lance between his horse's ears, if the weapons are to look fearsome, stand out distinctly, and at the same time to convey the impression of numbers.

The gallop finished and the goal reached, the right <sup>4</sup> plan is to ride back to the temples by the same route, but at a slow pace. Thus every effect that can be obtained from a horse with a man on his back <sup>1</sup> will be included in the display, to the satisfaction of gods and men alike.

I know that our cavalymen are not accustomed to <sup>5</sup> these movements, but I am sure that they are desirable and beautiful, and will delight the spectators. I am aware, too, that the cavalry have exhibited other novel feats of skill in days when the cavalry commanders had sufficient influence to get their wishes carried out.

During the parade at the Lyceum, before the <sup>6</sup> javelin-throwing, the right way is to ride in two divisions in line of battle, each division consisting of five regiments with its commander at the head and the colonels, and the line should be so extended that the whole breadth of the course will be covered. As soon as they reach the highest point looking <sup>7</sup> down on the Theatre opposite,<sup>2</sup> I think it would clearly be useful if you displayed your men's ability

## XENOPHON

- δυναμένους ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν ἐπιδείξαις τοὺς ἰππέας.  
 8 οὐ μέντοι ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ἦν μὲν πιστεύωσι δυνήσε-  
 σθαι ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν, πάνυ ἂν ἠδέως ἐπιδείξαιτο·  
 ἦν δὲ ἀμελέτητοι ὦσιν, ὁρᾶν χρή, ὅπως μὴ οἱ  
 πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς τοῦτο δρᾶν ἀναγκάσουσιν.
- 9 Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς δοκιμασίαις ἢ μὲν τάξις  
 εἴρηται, μεθ' ἧς ἂν κάλλιστα ἰππάξοιτο. ἦν  
 δ' ὁ ἡγούμενος, ἦνπερ ἔχη δυνατὸν ἵππον, ἐν τῷ  
 ἔξωθεν αἰεὶ στίχῳ περιφέρηται, οὕτως αὐτὸς μὲν  
 αἰεὶ ταχὺ ἐλάει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἔξωθεν γιγνόμενοι  
 πάλιν αὖ ταχὺ ἐλῶσιν· ὥστε ἢ μὲν βουλὴ αἰεὶ  
 τὸ ταχὺ ἐλαυνόμενον θεάσεται, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οὐκ  
 ἀπεροῦσιν ἐν μέρει ἀναπαυόμενοι.
- 10 Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἢ ἐπίδειξις  
 ἦ, καλὸν μὲν οὕτω πρῶτον τάξασθαι, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ  
 μετώπου ἐμπλήσαντες ἵππων τὸν ἵπποδρομον
- 11 ἐξελάσειαν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀνθρώπους. καλὸν  
 δ', ἐπεὶ αἱ φυλαὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνθιππασίᾳ φεύγουσιν τε  
 ἀλλήλας καὶ διώκουσιν ταχέως, ὅταν οἱ ἵππαρχοὶ  
 ἡγῶνται ταῖς πέντε φυλαῖς, ἑκατέρας διελαύνειν  
 τὰς φυλὰς δι' ἀλλήλων. ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θέας  
 τό τε ἀντιμετώπους προσελαύνειν ἀλλήλοις  
 γοργὸν τό τε διελάσαντας τὸν ἵπποδρομον  
 ἀντίους πάλιν στήναι ἀλλήλοις σεμνὸν καὶ  
 τὸ ἀπὸ σάλπιγγος αὖ τὸ δεύτερον θάττου ἐπε-
- 12 λαύνειν καλόν. στάντας δὲ ἤδη τὸ τρίτον αὖ  
 ἀπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος χρή τάχιστα ἀλλήλοις

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is not to the inspection of recruits by the Council, but to the manoeuvres enumerated in c. III 1. The formation is that proposed in c. II

<sup>2</sup> As it is not known precisely what evolutions took place

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, III. 7-12

to gallop downhill in fairly large companies. To be 8  
sure, I know well enough that, if they feel confident  
of their ability to gallop, they will welcome the  
opportunity of showing off their skill. but you  
must see that they are not short of practice, or  
the enemy will compel them to do it against their  
will.

The formation that would add most to the beauty 9  
of the exercises at the inspections<sup>1</sup> has already been  
explained. Provided his horse is strong enough, the  
leader should ride round with the file that is on the  
outside every time. He will be galloping all the  
time himself, and the file whose turn it is to be on  
the outside with him will also be galloping. Thus  
the eyes of the Council will always be on the  
galloping file, and the horses will get a breathing  
space, resting by turns<sup>2</sup>

When the Hippodrome is the scene of the display, 10  
the right plan would be that the men should first be  
drawn up on a front broad enough to fill the  
Hippodrome with horses and drive out the people  
standing there. In the sham fight when the 11  
regiments pursue and fly from one another at the  
gallop in two squadrons of five regiments, each side  
led by its commander, the regiments should ride  
through one another. How formidable they will look  
when they charge front to front; how imposing when,  
after sweeping across the Hippodrome, they stand  
facing one another again, how splendid, when the  
trumpet sounds and they charge once more at a  
quicker pace! After the halt, the trumpet should 12  
sound once more, and they should charge yet a .

at the displays, it is impossible to make out what changes  
Xenophon proposes



## XENOPHON

ἐπελαύνειν καὶ διελάσαντας εἰς κατάλυσιν ἤδη ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἅπαντας καταστάντας, ὥσπερ  
 13 εἴωθατε, πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν προσελαύνειν. ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ πολεμικώτερα τε φαίνεσθαι ἂν καὶ καινότερα τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον μὲν τῶν φυλάρχων ἐλαύνειν, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις ἱππεύειν οὐκ ἄξιον ἱππαρχίας.

14 "Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπικρότῳ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ ἱππεύειν δέῃ, ἔχω τάδε παραινέσαι· εἰς μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀποκρούεσθαι ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἵππων ὑπτίους ἀναπεπτωκότας ἐλαύνειν, εἰς δὲ τὸ μὴ πίπτειν τοὺς ἵππους ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀναστροφαῖς. τὰ μέντοι ὀρθὰ ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν χρή· οὕτω γάρ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ τὸ καλὸν θεάσεται ἡ βουλὴ.

IV "Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς πορείαις αἰεὶ δεῖ τὸν ἱππαρχὸν προνοεῖν, ὅπως ἀναπαύῃ μὲν τῶν ἵππων τὰς ἕδρας, ἀναπαύῃ δὲ τοὺς ἱππέας τῷ<sup>2</sup> βαδίξειν, μέτριον μὲν ὀχοῦντα, μέτριον δὲ πεζοποροῦντα. τοῦ δὲ μετρίου ἐννοῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις· αὐτὸς γὰρ μέτρον ἕκαστος τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν ὑπερπονοῦντας.

2 "Ὅταν μέντοι ἀδήλου ὄντος, εἰ πολεμίοις ἐντεύξει, πορευῆ ποι, κατὰ μέρος χρή τὰς φυλάς ἀναπαύειν. χαλεπὸν γάρ, εἰ πᾶσι καταβεβηκόσι πλησιάζειαν οἱ πολέμιοι.

3 Καὶ ἦν μὲν γε διὰ στενῶν ὁδῶν ἐλαύνῃς, ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως εἰς κέρας ἡγητέον· ἦν δὲ πλατείαις ἐπιτυγχάνῃς ὁδοῖς, ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως αὐτῆς πλατυντέον τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ B· ποτε S with the other MSS

<sup>2</sup> τῷ Hei werden: τοῦ S with the MSS

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, III. 12-IV. 3

third time at top speed; and when they have crossed, they should all range themselves in battle line preparatory to being dismissed, and ride up to the Council, just as you are accustomed to do I 13  
I think that these manœuvres would look more like war and would have the charm of novelty. It is unworthy of his high rank that a cavalry commander should gallop at a slower pace than the colonels, and ride in the same way as they do.

When the ride is to take place in the Academy on 14 the hard ground, I have the following recommendations to make. To avoid being thrown the riders should throw the body back in charging, and collect their horses when wheeling, to keep them from falling. In the straight, however, they should gallop. The Council will thus watch a safe as well as a beautiful performance.

IV. During a march the cavalry commander must always think ahead, in order that he may rest the horses' backs and relieve the men by walking, giving moderate spells of alternate riding and marching. You can't misjudge what is a moderate spell, since every man is himself the measure<sup>1</sup> that will show you when they are getting tired.

But when it is uncertain whether you will en- 2 counter an enemy on your way to any place, you must give the regiments a rest in turn. For it would be a bad job if all the men were dismounted when the enemy is close at hand.

If you are riding along narrow roads, the order 3 must be given to form column, but when you find yourself on broad roads, the order must be given to

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a reference to the theory of Protagoras, "Man is the measure of all things."

## XENOPHON

μέτωπον· ὅταν γε μὴν εἰς πεδίον ἀφικνησθε, ἐπὶ φάλαγγος πάσας τὰς φυλάς ἀκτέον.<sup>1</sup> ἀγαθὸν γὰρ καὶ μελέτης ἕνεκα ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦ<sup>2</sup> ἡδίου διαπερᾶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ποικίλλοντας ἰππικαῖς τάξεσι τὰς πορείας.

4 Ὅταν μέντοι ἔξω τῶν ὁδῶν διὰ δυσχωρίας ἐλαύνητε, μάλα χρήσιμον καὶ ἐν πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἐν φιλίᾳ προελαύνειν τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης τῶν ὑπηρετῶν οὔτινες, ἦν ἀπόροις νύπαις ἐντυγχάνωσι, παριόντες ἐπὶ τὰ εὔπορα δηλώσουσι τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν, ἢ χρῆ τὴν ἔλασιν ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ ὄλαι αἱ τάξεις πλανῶνται.

5 Ἦν δὲ δι' ἐπικινδύνων<sup>3</sup> ἐλαύνητέ που, φρονίμου ἰππάρχου τὸ τῶν προόδων ἄλλους προόδους διερευνημένους προηγείσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ὡς ἐκ πλείστου προαισθάνεσθαι πολεμίων χρήσιμον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ φυλάξασθαι· καὶ τὸ ἀναμένειν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς διαβάσεις, ὡς μὴ κατακόπτωσι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ τελευταῖοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα διώκοντες. ἴσασι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντες, καρτερεῖν δ' ἐπιμελόμενοι οὐ πολλοὶ ἐθέλουσι

6 Προσῆκει δὲ ἰππάρχω ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἐμπείρως ἔξει τῆς τε πολεμίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας χώρας· ἦν δ' ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀπείρως ἔχη, τῶν ἄλλων γε δὴ τοὺς ἐπιστημονεστάτους ἐκάστων τόπων παραλαμβάνειν. πολὺ<sup>4</sup> γὰρ διαφέρει ἡγούμενος ὁ<sup>5</sup> εἰδὼς τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ μὴ εἰδότης, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ πολεμίους ὁ εἰδὼς τοὺς τόπους τοῦ μὴ εἰδότης πολὺ διαφέρει.

<sup>1</sup> ἀκτέον added by Zeune

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Richards: τοῦτο S. with the MSS

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, iv. 3-6

every regiment to extend front. When you reach open ground, all the regiments must be in line of battle. Incidentally these changes of order are good for practice, and help the men to get over the ground more pleasantly by varying the march with cavalry manœuvres.

When riding on difficult ground away from roads, <sup>4</sup> whether in hostile or friendly country, it is very useful to have some of the aides-de-camp in advance of each regiment, that they may find a way round into the open in case they come across pathless woodland, and show the men what line they should follow, so that whole companies may not go astray.

If your route lies in dangerous country, a prudent <sup>5</sup> commander will have a second advanced guard ahead of his scouts for reconnaissance purposes. For it is useful both for attack and defence to discover an enemy as far off as possible. It is useful also to halt at the passage of a river, that the rear guard may not wear out their horses in chasing their leader. These rules, no doubt, are familiar to nearly everybody, but few will take the trouble to observe them.

A cavalry commander should be at pains even in <sup>6</sup> time of peace to acquaint himself with hostile and friendly country alike. In case he is without personal experience, he should at least consult the men in the force who have the best knowledge of various localities. For the leader who knows the roads has a great advantage over one who does not. In making plans against the enemy, too, a knowledge of the district makes a great difference.

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<sup>3</sup> δι' ἐπικινδύνων B ἐπὶ κινδύνων S with the other MSS

<sup>4</sup> πολὺν Dindorf πάνην S with the MSS

<sup>5</sup> ἡγούμενος δ Dindorf. δ ἡγούμενος S with the MSS

## XENOPHON

- 7 Καὶ κατασκόπων δὲ πρὶν πόλεμον εἶναι δεῖ μεμεληκέναι, ὅπως ἔσονται καὶ ἐκ πόλεων ἀμφοτέρους φιλίων καὶ ἐξ ἐμπόρων· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις τοὺς εἰσάγοντάς τι αἰεὶ ὡς εὐμενεῖς δέχονται· καὶ
- 8 ψευδαυτόμολοι δ' ἔστιν ὅτε χρήσιμον. οὐ μέντοι τοῖς γε κατασκόποις δεῖ ποτε πιστεύοντα φυλακῆς ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ οὕτως κατεσκευάσθαι χρή, ὥσπερ ἦν ἤξοντες εἰσηγγελμένοι ὧσιν οἱ πολέμοι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν πάνυ πιστοὶ ὧσιν οἱ κατασκοποὶ, χαλεπὸν ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγέλλειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμπόδια ἐμπίπτει.
- 9 Τὰς γε μὴν ἐξαγωγὰς τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἤττον ἂν οἱ πολέμοι αἰσθάνοιντο, εἰ ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως γίνονται μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ κήρυκος ἢ ἀπὸ προγραφῆς. ἀγαθὸν οἶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ<sup>1</sup> διὰ παραγγέλσεως ἐξάγειν τὸ δεκαδάρχους καθιστάναι καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις πεμπαδάρχους, ἵν' ὡς ἐλαχίστοις ἕκαστος παραγγέλλῃ· καὶ τὸ μέτωπον δὲ οὕτω μηκύνουεν ἂν τῆς τάξεως ἀταράκτως οἱ πεμπαδάρχοι παράγοντες, ὅποτε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη.
- 10 Ὅταν γε μὴν προφυλάττειν δέῃ, ἐγὼ μὲν αἰεὶ ἐπαινώ τὰς κρυπτὰς σκοπὰς τε καὶ φυλακάς· οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα μὲν τῶν φίλων φυλακαὶ γίνονται, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδραι κατασκευάζονται.
- 11 καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δυσεπιβουλευτότεροί εἰσιν ἀφανεῖς ὄντες, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις φοβερώτεροι. τὸ γὰρ εἰδέναι μὲν, ὅτι εἰσὶ που φυλακαί, ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ὅποσαι μὴ εἰδέναι, τοῦτο θαρρεῖν μὲν κωλύει τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑποπτεύειν δὲ ἀναγκάζει πάντα

<sup>1</sup> τὸ B τῶ S with the other MSS

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ added by Schneider: καὶ τοῖς B καὶ τοῖς τε the other MSS . καὶ τοῖς δὲ S

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, IV 7-11

You must also have taken steps to enlist the 7  
services of spies before the outbreak of war. Some  
of these should be citizens of neutral states, and  
some merchants, since all states invariably welcome  
the importer of merchandise. Sham deserters,  
too, have their use on occasions. Still, you must 8  
never neglect to post guards through reliance on  
spies, on the contrary, your precautions must at all  
times be as complete as when you have information  
that the enemy is approaching. For even if the  
spies are entirely reliable, it is difficult to report at  
the critical moment, since many things happen in  
war to hinder them.

The advance of cavalry is less likely to be detected 9  
by the enemy if orders are not given by a herald or  
in writing beforehand, but passed along. Accordingly,  
for this purpose, too, that the order to advance may  
be given by word of mouth, it is well to post file-  
leaders, and half file-leaders<sup>1</sup> behind them, so that  
each may pass the word to as few men as possible.  
Thus, too, the half file-leaders will wheel and extend  
the line without confusion, whenever there is  
occasion to do so.

When it is necessary to keep a look out, I am all 10  
in favour of the plan of having hidden outposts and  
guards. For these serve at once as guards to protect  
your friends and snares to trap the enemy. And the 11  
men, being unseen, are more secure themselves and  
at the same time more formidable to the enemy.  
For the enemy, conscious that there are outposts  
somewhere, but ignorant of their whereabouts and  
their strength, feels nervous and is forced to suspect

<sup>1</sup> These form the sixth rank

## XENOPHON

- τὰ χωρία· αἱ δὲ φανεραὶ φυλακαὶ δῆλα παρέ-  
 12 χουσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ εὐθαρσῆ. ἔτι δὲ  
 τῷ μὲν κρυπτὰς ἔχοντι φυλακὰς ἐξέσται μὲν  
 φανεροῖς ὀλίγοις ἔμπροσθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν φυλάτ-  
 τοντα πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς ἐνέδρας  
 ὑπάγειν. ἀγρευτικὸν δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν  
 ἄλλοις φανεροῖς ἔστιν ὅτε φυλάττειν· καὶ τοῦτο  
 γὰρ ἕξαπατητικὸν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμοίως τῷ  
 πρόσθεν εἰρημένῳ.
- 13 Ἄλλὰ μὴν φρονίμου γε ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸ μήποτε  
 κινδυνεύειν ἐκόντα, πλὴν ὅπου ἂν πρόδηλον ἦ,  
 ὅτι πλέον ἕξει τῶν πολεμίων· τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετεῖν  
 τὰ ἥδιστα τοῖς πολεμίους προδοσίᾳ τῶν συμ-  
 μάχων δικαίως ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρεία κρίνοιτο.
- 14 σῶφρον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκέισε ὀρμᾶν, ὅπου ἂν ἀσθενῆ  
 τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦ, κἂν πρόσω ὄντα τυγχάνη.  
 τὸ γὰρ σφόδρα πονῆσαι ἀκινδυνότερον ἢ πρὸς  
 15 τοὺς κρείττους ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ἦν δέ πη εἰς μέσον  
 φιλίων τειχέων εἰσίσωσιν οἱ πολέμοιοι, κἂν πολὺ  
 κρείττους ὄντες, καλὸν μὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν  
 ὀποτέρωθι ἂν λελήθης παρών, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἅμα  
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὅταν γὰρ οἱ ἕτεροι ἀποχωρῶσιν,  
 οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐλαύνοντες ταραττοῖεν μὲν  
 ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους, σώζοιεν δ' ἂν τοὺς φίλους.
- 16 Καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ κατασκόπων πειρᾶσθαι εἰδέναι  
 τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πάλαι εἴρηται ὡς ἀγαθόν ἐστιν.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζω εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸν  
 πειρᾶσθαι, ἦν ἢ ποθεν ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς, θεώμενον  
 17 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθρεῖν, ἦν τι ἀμαρτάνωσι. καὶ  
 τὸ μὲν κλαπῆναι δυνατὸν πέμπειν χρῆ τοὺς  
 ἐπιτηδείους κλέψοντας, τὸ δ' ἄρπασθῆναι ἐγχω-

<sup>1</sup> παρέχουσι Ruhl: ἔχουσι S with the MSS

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, IV. 11-17

every possible position; whereas visible outposts show them where danger lies and where all is safe. Besides, if you conceal your outposts, you will have the chance of luring the enemy into an ambush by placing a few guards in the open to screen the hidden men. Occasionally, too, a cunning trap may be laid by posting a second body of exposed guards behind the men in hiding, for this plan may prove as deceptive to the enemy as the one just referred to.

A prudent commander will never take risks unnecessarily, except when it is clear beforehand that he will have the advantage of the enemy. To play into the enemy's hand may fairly be considered treachery to one's allies rather than courage. Another sound principle is to go for any position where the enemy is weak, even if it is a long way off, since hard work is less dangerous than a struggle against superior forces. But if the enemy places himself somewhere between yourself and fortresses friendly to you, then it is proper to attack him, even if he is greatly superior, on that side where your presence is unsuspected, or on both flanks at once, for when one part of your force is retreating, a charge on the opposite flank will flurvy the enemy and rescue your friends.

It is an old maxim that, in attempting to discover what the enemy is about, it is well to employ spies. But the best plan of all, in my opinion, is for the commander himself to watch the enemy from some safe coign of vantage, if possible, and take notice of his mistakes. And when anything can be filched by cunning, you should send likely men to steal it; and when anything may be seized you should despatch



## XENOPHON

ροῦν ἐφίεσθαι τοὺς ἀρπάσσοντας. ἦν δὲ πορευομένων ποι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαρτᾶται τι ἀσθενέστερον τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἢ θαρροῦν ἀποσκεδανύηται, οὐδὲ ταῦτα χρή λαυθάνειν· αἰεὶ μέντοι τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ τὸ ἀσθενέστερον θηρᾶν.

- 18 Δυνατὸν δὲ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ταῦτα καταμανθάνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βραχυγγνωμονέστερα ἀνθρώπου θηρία οἳ τε ἵκτινοι δύνανται ὃ ἂν ἀφύλακτον ἢ ἀφαρπάσαντες εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρεῖν πρὶν ληφθῆναι καὶ οἱ λύκοι δὲ τὰ τε ἐρημούμενα φυλακῆς ἀγρεύουσι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς δυσοράτοις
- 19 κλέπτουσι, κἂν μεταθέων γέ τις ἐπιγίγνηται κύων, ἦν μὲν ἤπτων ἦ, τούτῳ ἐπιτίθεται· ἦν δὲ κρείττων, ἀποσπάσας<sup>1</sup> ὃ τι ἂν ἔχη ἀποχωρεῖ. ὅταν δὲ γε φυλακῆς καταφρονήσωσι λύκοι, τάξαντες ἑαυτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀπελαύνειν τὴν φυλακὴν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρπάζειν, οὕτω τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
- 20 πορίζονται. θηρίων γε μὴν δυναμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα φρονίμως ληίζεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀνθρωπῶν γε ὄντα εἰκὸς σοφώτερον τούτων φαίνεσθαι, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ τέχνη ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου ἀλίσκεται,

V. Κακεῖνό γε μὴν εἰδέναι ἵππικοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐκ πόσου ἂν ἵππος πεζὸν ἔλοι καὶ ἐξ ὀπόσου βραδεῖς ἂν ἵπποι ταχεῖς ἀποφύγοιεν. ἵππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ χωρία γιγνώσκειν, ἔνθα πεζοὶ κρείττους ἵππέων

2 καὶ ἔνθα πεζῶν κρείττους ἵππεῖς χρή δὲ μηχανητικὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ὀλίγους ἵππέας, πάλιν δ' ὀλίγους τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρόντα μὲν ἀπειναί, ἀπόντα δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον κλέπτειν ἐπίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἀποσπάσας Courier ἀποσφάξας S with the MSS

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, IV. 17-v. 2

troops to seize it. If the enemy is marching on some objective and a part of his force weaker than your own separates from the main body or straggles carelessly, the chance must not be missed; the hunter, however, must always be stronger than the hunted.

You can see the point of this if you consider 18  
Even wild creatures less intelligent than man, such as hawks, will grab unguarded plunder and get away into a place of safety before they can be caught. Wolves, again, prey on anything left unprotected and steal things lying in holes and corners; and if a dog does pursue and overtake him, 19  
the wolf, if stronger than the dog, attacks him; or if weaker, snatches away the prize and makes off. Moreover, when a pack of wolves feels no fear of a convoy, they arrange themselves so that some shall dive off the convoy, and others seize the plunder; and thus they get their food. Well, if wild beasts 20  
show such sagacity, surely any man may be expected to show more wisdom than creatures that are themselves taken by the skill of man.

V. Every horseman should know at what distance a horse can overtake a man on foot, and how much start a slow horse needs to escape from a fast one. A cavalry commander should also be able to judge of the ground where infantry has an advantage over cavalry and where cavalry has an advantage over infantry. He must also have sufficient ingenuity to 2  
make a small company of horse look large, and conversely, to make a large one look small, to seem to be absent when present, and present when absent, to know how to deceive, not merely how to steal the enemy's possessions, but also how to conceal

## XENOPHON

ἰππέας ἅμα κλέπτοντα ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου τοῖς  
 3 πολεμίους ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ μηχάνημα καὶ  
 τὸ δύνασθαι, ὅταν μὲν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθενῶς ἔχῃ,  
 φόβον παρασκευάζειν τοῖς πολεμίους, ὡς μὴ  
 ἐπίθωνται· ὅταν δ' ἐρρωμένως, θάρρος αὐτοῖς  
 ἐμποιεῖν, ὡς ἐγχειρῶσιν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν  
 ἂν ἤκιστα κακῶς πάσχοις, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους  
 μάλιστ' ἂν ἀμαρτάνοντας λαμβάνοις.

4 "Ὅπως δὲ μὴ προστάττειν δοκῶ ἀδύνατα,  
 γράψω καὶ ὡς ἂν γίγνοιτο τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῶν  
 χαλεπώτατα εἶναι.

Τὸ μὲν τοῖνυν μὴ σφάλλῃσθαι ἐγχειροῦντα  
 διώκειν ἢ ἀποχωρεῖν ἐμπειρία ποιεῖ ἵππων  
 δυνάμεως. πῶς δ' ἂν ἐμπείρως ἔχοις; εἰ προσ-  
 ἔχοις<sup>1</sup> τὸν νοῦν ἐν ταῖς μετὰ φιλίας ἀνθιπ-  
 πασίαις οἶοι<sup>2</sup> ἀποβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῶν διώξεων τε  
 καὶ φυγῶν.

5 "Ὅταν μέντοι βούλῃ τοὺς ἰππέας πολλοὺς  
 φαίνεσθαι, ἐν μὲν πρῶτον ὑπαρχέτω, ἤνπερ  
 ἐγχωρῇ, μὴ ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγχειρεῖν ἐξα-  
 πατᾶν καὶ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ πρόσω καὶ  
 ἀπατητικώτερον ἔπειτα δὲ χρῆ εἰδέναι, ὅτι  
 ἀθρόοι μὲν ἵπποι πολλοὶ φαίνονται διὰ τὸ  
 μέγεθος τοῦ ζώου, διασπειρόμενοι δ' εὐαρίθμητοι  
 6 γίγνονται. ἔτι δ' ἂν πλείον σοι τὸ ἵππικὸν τοῦ  
 ὄντος φαίνοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἵπποκόμους εἰς τοὺς  
 ἰππέας ἐνισταίῃς μάλιστα μὲν δόρατα, εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
 ὅμοια δόρασιν ἔχοντας, ἦν τε ἐστηκὸς ἐπιδεικνύῃς  
 τὸ ἵππικὸν ἦν τε παράγῃς· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν  
 ὄγκον τῆς τάξεως οὕτω μείζω τε καὶ πυκνότερον  
 φαίνεσθαι.

7 \*Ἦν δ' αὖ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀλίγους βούλῃ<sup>3</sup> δοκεῖν

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, v 2-7

his own force and fall on the enemy unexpectedly. Another neat use is to create a scare among the 3 enemy when your own position is precarious, so that he may not attack, and to put him in good heart, when it is strong, so that he may make an attempt. Thus you are least likely to come to harm yourself and most likely to catch the enemy tripping.

That I may not seem to demand impossibilities, I 4 will add a solution of the problems that seem most puzzling

Success in an attempt to pursue or retreat depends on experience of horses and their powers. But how are you to get this experience? By watching the friendly encounters of the sham fights and noticing what condition the horses are in after the pursuits and flights

When your object is to make the number of your 5 cavalry look large, first take it for an axiom, if possible, not to attempt the use when you are near the enemy. For distance gives safety and increases the illusion. Secondly you must know that horses look many when crowded, owing to the animals' size, but are easily counted when scattered. Another way of 6 exaggerating the apparent strength of your force is to arm the grooms with lances or even imitation lances, and put them between the cavalymen, whether you display the cavalry at the halt or wheel it into line. Thus the bulk of the company is bound to look denser and more massive

On the other hand, if your object is to make a 7

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<sup>1</sup> ἔχους and προσέχους Kruger ἔχοι and προσέχοι S with the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> οἶοι Lenklau οἶα S with the Aldine ed. οἶαι MSS

\* βούλη B. S omits with the other MSS

## XENOPHON

εἶναι, ἣν μὲν σοι χωρία ὑπάρχη οἶα συγκρύπτειν, δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἔχων, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὸ ἄδηλον ἀποκρύπτων κλέπτοις ἂν τοὺς ἰππέας· ἣν δὲ πᾶν καταφανὲς ἢ τὸ χωρίον, δεκάδας χρη̄ στοιχοῦσας ποιήσαντα διαλειπούσας παράγειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἰππέας ἐκάστης δεκάδος ὀρθὰ τὰ δόρατα ἔχειν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταπεινὰ καὶ μὴ ὑπερφανῆ.

- 8 Φοβεῖν γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ψευδενέδρας οἶόν τε καὶ ψευδοβοηθείας καὶ ψευδαγγελίας ποιοῦντα. θαρροῦσι δὲ μάλιστα πολέμιοι, ὅταν ὄντα<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράγματα καὶ ἀσχολίας πυνθάνωνται.
- 9 Τούτων δὲ γεγραμμένων μηχανᾶσθαι αὐτὸν χρη̄ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αἰεὶ ἀπατᾶν· ὄντως γὰρ οὐδὲν  
 10 κερδαλεώτερον ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπάτης· ὅποτε γὰρ<sup>2</sup> καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὅταν παίζωσι ποσίνδα, δύνανται ἀπατᾶν προϊσχοντες ὥστε ὀλίγους τ' ἔχοντες πολλοὺς δοκεῖν ἔχειν καὶ πολλοὺς προέχοντες ὀλίγους φαίνεσθαι ἔχειν, πῶς οὐκ ἄνδρες γε τῷ ἔξαπατᾶν προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν δύναιντ' ἂν  
 11 τοιαῖτα μηχανᾶσθαι; καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος δ' ἂν τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πλεονεκτήματα εὔροι ἂν τις τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα σὺν ἀπάτῃ γεγεννημένα. ὧν ἕνεκα ἢ οὐκ ἐγχειρητέον ἄρχειν ἢ τοῦτο σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν αἰτητέον δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ μηχανητέον.
- 12 Οἷς δὲ θάλαττα πρόσεστιν, ἀπατητικὸν καὶ τὸ πλοῖα παρασκευαζόμενον πεζῇ τι πράξαι καὶ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ὄντα added by Madvig

<sup>2</sup> γὰρ Ribitt γε S. with the MSS

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, v. 7-12

large number look small, then, assuming that your ground affords cover, you can obviously conceal your cavalry by having part in the open and part hidden. If, however, the whole of the ground is exposed, you must form the files into rows and wheel, leaving a gap between each row<sup>1</sup>, and the men in each file who are next the enemy must hold their lances upright, while the rest keep theirs low down out of sight.

The means to employ for scaring the enemy are 8  
false ambuscades, false reliefs and false information. An enemy's confidence is greatest when he is told that the other side is in difficulties and is preoccupied.

But given these instructions, a man must himself 9  
invent a ruse to meet every emergency as it occurs. For there is really nothing more profitable in war than deception. Even children are successful deceivers 10  
when they play "Guess the number", they will hold up a counter or two and make believe that they have got a fist-full, and seem to hold up few when they are holding many, so surely men can play similar tricks when they are intent on deceiving in earnest. And on thinking over the successes gained in war 11  
you will find that most of them, and these the greatest, have been won with the aid of deception. For these reasons either you should not essay to command, or you should pray to heaven that your equipment may include this qualification, and you should continue on your own part to possess it.

For those near the sea two effective ruses are, 12  
to strike on land while fitting out ships, and to

<sup>1</sup> The enemy will not know (a) the number of files when posted one behind another, nor (b) the depth of the line when the files have wheeled.

## XENOPHON

πεζῆ προσποιούμενον ἐπιβουλεύειν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιχειρήσαι.

- 13 Ἴππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ διδάσκειν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἀσθενές τὸ πεζῶν ἔρημον ἵππικὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς ἔχον. ἵππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ λαβόντα πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι· ἔστι δὲ πεζοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐντός,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄπισθεν ἱππέων<sup>2</sup> ἀποκρύψασθαι· πολὺ γὰρ μείζων ὁ ἵππεὺς τοῦ πεζοῦ.

- 14 Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐγὼ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις τις μηχανήσεται ἢ βία ἢ τέχνη αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους βουλόμενος σὺν τῷ θεῷ πράττειν συμβουλεύω, ἵνα καὶ ἡ τύχη<sup>3</sup> συνεπαινῆ θεῶν ἴλεων ὄντων.

- 15 Ἔστι δ' ὅτε πάνν ἀπατητικὸν καὶ τὸ λίαν φυλακτικὸν προσποιήσασθαι εἶναι καὶ μηδαμῶς φιλοκίνδυνον· τοῦτο γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλάκις προάγεται ἀφυλακτοῦντας μᾶλλον ἀμαρτάνειν ἢν δ' ἄπαξ δόξῃ τις φιλοκίνδυνος εἶναι, ἔξεστι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντα, προσποιούμενον δὲ πράξειν τι πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίσι παρέχειν.

VI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν τις δύναιτο πλάσαι οἶον βούλεται, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν γε πλάττοιτο παρεσκευασμένα εἶη ὡς πείθεσθαι τῇ τοῦ χειροτέχνου γνώμῃ· οὐδέ γ' ἂν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν, εἰ μὴ σὺν θεῷ οὔτω παρεσκευασμένοι ἔσονται, ὡς φιλικῶς τε ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φρονιμώτερον σφῶν αὐτὸν ἠγεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγώνων.

- 2 Εὐνοικῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχειν καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε εἰκὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ὅταν φιλοφρόνως τε ἔχη πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> ἐντός Herwerden ἐν τούτοις S with the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἱππέων Dindorf. ἵππων S with the MSS.

THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, v 13-VI. 2

attack by sea while ostensibly planning a land attack

Another duty of a cavalry commander is to 13  
demonstrate to the city the weakness of cavalry  
destitute of infantry as compared with cavalry that  
has infantry attached to it. Further, having got  
his infantry, a cavalry commander should make use  
of it. A mounted man being much higher than a  
man on foot, infantry may be hidden away not only  
among the cavalry but in the rear as well.

For the practical application of these devices and 14  
any others you may contrive for the undoing of your  
foes by force or craft, I counsel you to work with  
God, so that, the gods being propitious, fortune too  
may favour you

Another ruse that proves highly effective at times 15  
is to feign excess of caution and reluctance to take  
risks. For this pretence often lures the enemy into  
making a more fatal blunder through want of  
caution. Or once come to be thought venture-  
some, and you can give the enemy trouble by  
merely sitting still and pretending that you are  
on the point of doing something

VI. However, no man can mould anything to his  
mind unless the stuff in which he proposes to work  
lies ready to obey the artist's will. No more can you  
make anything of men, unless, by God's help, they  
are ready to regard their commander with friendly  
feelings and to think him wiser than themselves in  
the conduct of operations against the enemy

Now the feeling of loyalty will naturally be 2  
fostered when the commander is kind to his men,

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<sup>3</sup> ἢ τύχη Couriei . τὴν τύχην S with the MSS



## XENOPHON

- αὐτοὺς καὶ προνοῶν φαίνηται, ὅπως τε σίτου  
 ἔξουσι καὶ ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς μὲν ἀποχωρήσουσι,  
 3 πεφυλαγμένως δὲ ἀναπαύσονται. ἐν δὲ ταῖς  
 φρουραῖς χρῆ καὶ χιλοῦ καὶ σκηνῶν καὶ ὑδάτων  
 καὶ φρυγάνων<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων φανε-  
 ρὸν εἶναι ἐπιμελούμενον καὶ προνοοῦντά τε καὶ  
 ἀγρυπνοῦντα ἕνεκα τῶν ἀρχομένων. καὶ ὅταν  
 γε πλέον ἔχη τι, τὸ μεταδοῦναι κερδαλέον τῷ  
 προεστηκότι.
- 4 Ἦκιστα δ' ἂν καταφρονοῖεν ἄρχοντος, ὡς μὲν  
 συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ ὅποσα ἐκείνοις παραινόη,  
 αὐτὸς ταῦτα βέλτιον ἐκείνων φαίνοιτο ποιῶν.
- 5 ἀρξάμενον οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 ἵππους πάντα τὰ ἐν ἵππικῇ μελετᾶν, ὅπως ὀρώσι  
 τὸν ἄρχοντα δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τά-  
 φρους ἀσφαλῶς περᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπερακρίζειν  
 καὶ ἀπ' ὄχθων καταίρειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἰκανῶς·  
 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα προκόπτει τι εἰς τὸ μὴ κατα-  
 6 φροεῖσθαι. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ τάττειν<sup>2</sup> γνῶσιν ἐπι-  
 σταμενόν τε καὶ δυνάμενον παρασκευάζειν, ὡς  
 ἂν πλέον ἔχοιεν τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις  
 κάκεινο λάβωσιν εἰς τὴν γνώμην, ὡς οὐτ' ἂν  
 εἰκῆ οὐτ' ἄνευ θεῶν οὔτε παρὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἠγήσαιοι  
 ἂν ἐπὶ πολεμίους, πάντα ταῦτα πιθανωτέρους τῷ  
 ἄρχοντι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ποιεῖ.

VII. Παντὶ μὲν οὖν προσήκει ἄρχοντι φρονίμῳ  
 εἶναι πολὺ μέντοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἵππαρχον δια-  
 φέρειν δεῖ καὶ τῷ τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύειν καὶ τῷ  
 πολεμικὸν εἶναι, ᾧ γε ὑπάρχουσι μὲν ὄμοροι  
 ἀντίπαλοι ἵππεις τε παραπλήσιοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ  
 2 ὀπλίται πολλοί. καὶ μὲν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν  
 ἐμβάλλειν ἐπιχειρῆ ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως, πρὸς

and obviously takes care that they have victuals, and that they are safe in retreat and well protected when at rest. In the garrisons he must show an interest in fodder, tents, water, firewood, and all other supplies he must show that he thinks ahead and keeps his eyes open for the sake of his men. And when he is doing well the chief's best policy is to give them a share in his good things

To put it shortly, a commander is least likely to incur the contempt of his men if he shows himself more capable than they of doing whatever he requires of them. He must therefore practise every detail of horsemanship—mounting and the rest,—that they may see their commander able to take a ditch without a spill, clear a wall, leap down from a bank and throw a javelin skilfully. For all these feats are so many stepping stones to their respect. If they know him also to be a master of tactics and able to put them in the way of getting the better of the enemy; and if besides, they are certain that he will never lead them against an enemy recklessly or without the gods' approval or in defiance of the sacrifices, all these conditions increase the men's readiness to obey their commander

VII Every commander, then, should have intelligence. The Athenian cavalry commander, however, should excel greatly both in the observance of his duty to the gods and in the qualities of a warrior, seeing that he has on his borders rivals in the shape of cavalry as numerous as his and large forces of infantry<sup>1</sup>. And if he attempts to invade the enemy's country without

<sup>1</sup> The Thebans are meant

<sup>1</sup> φρουράνων Madvig: φυλακῶν S with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> τάττειν B: πρᾶττειν S with the other MSS

## XENOPHON

- ἀμφοτέρους τούτους μόνοις ἂν τοῖς ἵππευσι διακινδυνεύοι. ἦν δ' οἱ πολέμοι εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων χώραν ἐμβάλλωσι, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔλθοιεν εἰ μὴ σὺν ἄλλοις τε ἵππευσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὀπλίταις ὅποσοις ἂν οἴωνται πάντας Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι
- 3 μάχεσθαι. πρὸς οὖν τοσοῦτους πολεμίους ἦν μὲν ἡ πόλις πᾶσα ἐπεξίη ἀρήξουσα τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐλπίδες καλαί. ἵππεῖς τε γὰρ σὺν θεῷ ἀμείνους, ἦν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῆται ὡς δεῖ, ὀπλίται τε οὐ μείους ἔσονται καὶ τὰ σώματα τοίνυν οὐ χεῖρω ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς φιλοτιμότεροι, ἦν ὀρθῶς ἀσκηθῶσι σὺν θεῷ. καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ γε τοῖς προγόνοις οὐ μείον Ἀθηναῖοι ἢ Βοιωτοὶ φρονοῦσιν.
- 4 ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν πόλις τρέπηται ἐπὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀρκῆ αὐτῇ τὰ τεῖχη διασώζειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὅποτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐνέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ ἵππέας ἀξιῶση<sup>1</sup> τὰ τε ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους διασώζειν καὶ αὐτοὺς μόνοις διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ θεῶν μὲν οἶμαι πρῶτον συμμάχων ἰσχυρῶν δεῖ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον προσήκει ἀποτετελεσμένον ἄνδρα εἶναι καὶ γὰρ φρονήσεως δεῖ πολλῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολὺ πλείους καὶ τόλμης, ὅποτε καιρὸς παραπέσοι.
- 5 Δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ πονεῖν αὐτὸν ἱκανὸν εἶναι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρὸν στράτευμα διακινδυνεύων, ᾧ μηδὲ ὅλη ἡ πόλις θέλοι ἀντικαθί-

<sup>1</sup> ἀξιῶση Dindorf ἀξιῶσειε S with the MSS

<sup>1</sup> In the Peloponnesian War.

<sup>2</sup> I have translated πονεῖν, but it is certainly not what X

THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, VII 2-5

the other armed forces of the state, he will have to take his chance with the cavalry only against both arms. Or if the enemy invades Athenian territory, in the first place, he will certainly not fail to bring with him other cavalry besides his own and infantry in addition, whose numbers he reckons to be more than a match for all the Athenians put together. Now provided that the whole of the city's levies turn out against such a host in defence of their country, the prospects are good. For our cavalrymen, God helping, will be the better, if proper care is taken of them, and our heavy infantry will not be inferior in numbers, and I may add, they will be in as good condition and will show the keener spirit, if only, with God's help, they are trained on the right lines. And, remember, the Athenians are quite as proud of their ancestry as the Boeotians. But if the city falls back on her navy, and is content to keep her walls intact, as in the days when the Lacedaemonians invaded us with all the Greeks to help them,<sup>1</sup> and if she expects her cavalry to protect all that lies outside the walls, and to take its chance unaided against her foes,—why then, I suppose, we need first the strong aid of the gods to aid us, and in the second place it is essential that our cavalry commander should be masterly. For much sagacity is called for in coping with a greatly superior force, and abundance of courage when the call comes.

I take it, he must also be able to stand hard work. For if he should elect to take his chance against the army confronting him—an army that not even the whole state is prepared to stand up to—it is evident

wrote. The sequel demands the sense "he must be a man of sound judgment, αὐτὸν (with B) προνοεῖν."

## XENOPHON

- στασθαι, δῆλον ὅτι πάσχοι ἂν ὅ τι οἱ κρείττους  
6 βούλοιντο, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν ἱκανὸς εἴη εἰ δὲ  
φυλάττοι μὲν τὰ ἔξω τείχους τοσοῦτοις, ὅσοι  
σκοπεύειν τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται καὶ  
ἀναχωρίζειν εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τὰ δεόμενα ὡς ἐκ  
πλείστου· ἱκανοὶ δὲ καὶ προορᾶν οὐδὲν ἤττον οἱ  
ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν καὶ φυλάττειν τοίνυν καὶ  
ἀναχωρίζειν τὰ φίλια οὐκ ἀκαιρότεροι οἱ μήτε  
7 αὐτοῖς μήτε τοῖς ἵπποις πιστεύοντες· ὁ γὰρ  
φόβος δεινὸς δοκεῖ συμφύλαξ εἶναι· τοὺς μὲν  
φύλακας ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις ποιῶν ἴσως ὀρθῶς  
βουλεύοιτο· τοὺς δὲ περιττοὺς τῆς φυλακῆς εἰ  
μὲν τις στρατιὰν ἔχειν ἠγγήσεται, ὀλίγη αὐτῷ  
φανέεται· τοῦ παντός γὰρ ἐνδεήσεται ὥστε ἐκ  
τοῦ ἐμφανούς διακινδυνεύειν. ἦν δὲ ὡς λησταῖς  
αὐτοῖς χρῆται, πάνυ ἂν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἱκανὴν τοῦτο  
8 πράττειν ἔχοι δύναμιν. δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,  
τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους αἰεὶ ἔχοντα ὡς ποιεῖν τι  
μὴ καταφανῆ ὄντα φυλάττειν, ἦν τι ἀμαρτάνη  
9 τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα. φιλοῦσι δὲ πῶς  
στρατιῶται ὅσφ' ἂν πλείους ᾧσι, τοσοῦτῳ πλείω  
ἀμαρτάνειν. ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιμελεία  
σκεδάννυνται ἢ πορευομένων ἀταξία οἱ μὲν προ-  
έρχονται, οἱ δ' ὑπολείπονται πλέον τοῦ καιροῦ.  
10 τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτήματα οὐ χρῆ παριέναι  
ἀκόλαστα· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅλη ἡ χώρα στρατόπεδον  
ἔσται· ἐκείνο καλῶς προνοοῦντα, ἦν ποιήσῃ τι,  
φθάσαι ἀποχωρήσαντα πρὶν τὸ πολὺ βοηθοῦν  
ἐπιγενέσθαι.
- 11 Πολλάκις δὲ πορευόμενον στράτευμα καὶ εἰς  
ὁδοὺς ἔρχεται, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲν πλείον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν  
ὀλίγων δύνανται. καὶ ἐν διαβάσεσιν γε ἔστι τῷ  
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## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, VII 5-11

that he would be entirely at the mercy of the stronger and incapable of doing anything. But should he 6 guard whatever lies outside the walls with a force that will be just sufficient to keep an eye on the enemy and to remove into safety from as great a distance as possible property that needs saving,—and a large force is not necessary for this a small force can keep a look-out as well as a large one, and when it comes to guarding and removing the property of friends, men who have no confidence in themselves or their horses will meet the case, because Fear, it seems, is a 7 formidable member of a guard—well, it may perhaps be a sound plan to draw on these men for his guards. But if he imagines that the number remaining over and above the guard constitutes an army, he will find it too small, for it will be utterly inadequate to risk a conflict in the open. Let him use these men as raiders, and he will probably have a force quite sufficient for this purpose His business, it seems to 8 me, is to watch for any blunder on the enemy's part without showing himself, keeping men constantly on the alert and ready to strike. It happens that, the 9 greater is the number of soldiers, the more they are apt to blunder. Either they scatter deliberately in search of provisions, or they are so careless of order on the march that some get too far ahead, while others lag too far behind So he must not let such 10 blunders go unpunished, or the whole country will be occupied; only he must take good care to retire the moment he has struck, without giving time for the main supports to arrive on the scene.

An army on the march often comes to roads where 11 large numbers have no advantage over small In crossing rivers, again, a man with his wits about

## XENOPHON

- προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἀσφαλῶς ἐφεπομένῳ ταμιεύ-  
 σασθαι, ὥστε ὅπόσοις ἂν βούληται τῶν πολεμίων  
 12 ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καλὸν καὶ στρατοπε-  
 δευομένοις καὶ ἀριστῶσι καὶ δειπνοποιουμένοις  
 ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐκ κοίτης γε ἀνισταμένοις. ἐν  
 πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις ἄοπλοι στρατιῶται γίνονται,  
 μείονα μὲν χρόνον οἱ ὀπλίται, πλείονα δὲ οἱ  
 13 ἵππεῖς. σκοποῖς μέντοι καὶ προφυλακαῖς οὐδέ-  
 ποτε δεῖ παύεσθαι ἐπιβουλεύοντα. οὗτοι γὰρ  
 αὖ ὀλίγοι μὲν ἀεὶ καθίστανται, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ  
 14 ἰσχυροῦ ἐνίστε ἀποστατοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 ἤδη καλῶς φυλάττωνται οἱ πολέμιοι, καλὸν ἔστι  
 σὺν θεῷ λαθόντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν με-  
 μελητηκότα, πόσοι τε ἕκασταχοῦ καὶ ποῦ τῆς  
 χώρας προφυλάττουσιν. οὐδεμία γὰρ οὕτω καλῆ  
 15 λεία ὡς φυλακαί, ἣν κρατηθῶσι. καὶ εὐεξα-  
 πάτητοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ φύλακες· διώκουσι γὰρ ὅ τι  
 ἂν ὀλίγον ἴδωσι, νομίζοντές σφισι τοῦτο προσ-  
 τετάχθαι. τὰς μέντοι ἀποχωρήσεις σκοπεῖν δεῖ  
 ὅπως μὴ ἐναντία τοῖς βοηθοῦσιν ἔσονται.

- VIII. Τοὺς μέντοι μέλλοντας δυνήσεσθαι ἀσφα-  
 λῶς τὸ πολὺ κρεῖττον στράτευμα κακουργεῖν  
 σαφῶς δεῖ τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς μὲν  
 ἀσκητὰς φαίνεσθαι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐν ἵππικῇ  
 2 ἔργων, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδιώτας τοῦτο δ' ἂν  
 εἶη πρῶτον μὲν εἰ οἱ ληίξεσθαι μέλλοντες ἐκπεπο-  
 νημένοι εἶεν τῇ ἐλάσει, ὥστε δύνασθαι στρατιω-  
 τικοὺς πόνους ὑποφέρειν οἱ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα  
 ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄνδρες εἰκότως ἂν  
 3 ὡσπερ γυναῖκες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ  
 γε δεδιδαγμένοι τε καὶ εἰθισμένοι τάφρους δια-  
 πηδᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπεραίρειν καὶ ἐπ' ὄχθους  
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## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, VII. I I—VIII 3

him may dog the enemy's steps without danger and regulate according to his will the number of the enemy that he chooses to attack. Sometimes it is proper to tackle the enemy while his troops are at breakfast or supper or when they are turning out of bed. For at all these moments soldiers are without arms, infantry for a shorter and cavalry for a longer time. Pickets and outposts, however, should be the mark of incessant plots, these being invariably weak in numbers and sometimes remote from their main force. But when the enemy has learned to take due precautions against such attacks, it is proper, with God's help, to enter his country stealthily after ascertaining his strength at various points and the position of his outposts. For no booty that you can capture is so fine as a patrol. Besides, patrols are easily deceived, for they pursue a handful of men at sight, believing that to be their special duty. You must see, however, that your line of retreat does not lead you straight into the enemy's supports.

VIII It is clear, however, that no troops will be able to inflict loss on a much stronger army with impunity, unless they are so superior in the practical application of horsemanship to war that they show like experts contending with amateurs. This superiority can be attained first and foremost if your marauding bands are so thoroughly drilled in riding that they can stand the hard work of a campaign. For both horses and men that are carelessly trained in this respect will naturally be like women struggling with men. On the contrary, those that are taught and accustomed to jump ditches, leap walls,



XENOPHON

ἀνάλλεσθαι καὶ ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν ἀσφαλῶς κατιέναι καὶ τὰ κατάντη ταχὺ ἐλαύνεσθαι, οὗτοι δ' αὖ τοσοῦτον διαφέροιν ἂν τῶν ἀμελετήτων ταῦτα ὅσον περ πτηνοὶ πεζῶν· οἱ δέ γε αὖ τοὺς πόδας ἐκπεπονημένοι τῶν ἀτριβάστων πρὸς τραχέα ὅσον περ ὑγιεῖς χωλῶν· καὶ οἳ γε τῶν τόπων ἔμπειροι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπίρους τοσοῦτον ἐν ταῖς προελάσεσι καὶ ἀποχωρήσεσι διαφέροιν ἂν ὅσον περ οἱ ὄρωντες τῶν τυφλῶν.

4 Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οἱ εὐωχοῦμενοι ἵπποι, ἐκπεπονημένοι δὲ ὥστε μὴ ἀποπνίγεσθαι ἐν τοῖς πόνοις εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶ· χρὴ δέ, ἐπεὶ περ χαλινὸν καὶ ἐφίππια ἐξ ἰμάντων ἤρτημένα ἐστὶ, <sup>1</sup> μήποτε τὸν ἵππαρχον τούτων ἔρημον εἶναι· μικρὰ γὰρ δαπάνη τοὺς ἀποροῦντας χρησίμους ἂν παρέχοιτο.

5 Εἰ δέ τις νομίζει <sup>2</sup> πολλὰ ἔχειν ἂν <sup>3</sup> πράγματα, εἰ οὕτω δεήσει ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἵππικὴν, ἐνθυμηθῆτω, ὅτι οἱ εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀσκοῦντες πολὺ πλείω πράγματα καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἔχουσιν ἢ οἱ

6 τὴν ἵππικὴν τὰ μάλιστα μελετῶντες. καὶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν γυμνικῶν ἀσκημάτων τὰ πολλὰ σὺν ἰδρῶτι ἐκπονοῦνται, τῆς δὲ ἵππικῆς τὰ πλείστα μεθ' ἡδονῆς. ὅπερ γὰρ εὐξαιτ' ἂν τις πτηνὸς γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅ τι μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων

7 ἔργων ἔοικεν αὐτῷ. καὶ μὴν τό γ' ἐν πολέμῳ νικᾶν πολλῶ ἐνδοξότερον <sup>4</sup> ἢ πυγμῆ· μετέχει μὲν γάρ τι καὶ ἡ πόλις ταύτης τῆς δόξης· ὡς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου νίκῃ καὶ εὐδαι-

<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶ Courier ἐστὶ χρήσιμα S with the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> νομίζει BM; νομίζει S with other MSS

<sup>3</sup> ἂν B: S. omits with the other MSS

<sup>4</sup> ἐνδοξότερον B εὐδοξότερον S with the other MSS.

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, VIII. 3-7

spring up banks, leap down from heights without a spill, and gallop down steep places, will be as superior to the men and horses that lack this training as birds to beasts. Moreover, those that have their feet well hardened will differ on rough ground from the tender-footed as widely as the sound from the lame. And those that are familiar with the locality, compared with those to whom it is unfamiliar, will differ in the advance and retreat as much as men with eyes differ from the blind.

It should also be realised that horses, to be well 4  
fettled, must be well fed and thoroughly exercised,  
so as to do their work without suffering from heaves.  
And since bits and saddle-cloths are fastened with  
straps, a cavalry leader must never be short of them,  
for at a trifling expense he will make men in difficulties  
efficient.

In case anyone feels that his troubles will be 5  
endless if his duty requires him to practise horse-  
manship in this way, let him reflect that men in  
training for gymnastic contests face troubles far  
more numerous and exacting than the most strenu-  
ous votaries of horsemanship. For most gymnastic 6  
exercises are carried out with sweat and drudgery,  
but nearly all equestrian exercises are pleasant work.<sup>1</sup>  
For if it is true that any man would like to fly,  
no action of man bears a closer resemblance to flying.  
And, remember, it is far more glorious to win a victory 7  
in war than in a boxing match, because, whereas the  
state as well as the victor has a considerable share in  
this glory,<sup>2</sup> for a victory in war the gods generally

<sup>1</sup> *Cyropaedia* IV iii 15

<sup>2</sup> He does not express himself clearly, but by "this glory" he means "the glory of a victory whether won in war or in the games."

## XENOPHON

- μονία οἱ θεοὶ τὰς πόλεις στεφανοῦσιν. ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε, τί προσήκει ἄλλ' ἅττα μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ πολεμικά. ἐννοεῖν δὲ χρή, ὅτι καὶ οἱ κατὰ θάλατταν λησταὶ διὰ τὸ πονεῖν ἠσκηκένοι δύνανται ζῆν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολὺ κρειττόνων. προσήκει γε μὴν καὶ κατὰ γῆν οὐ τοῖς καρπουμένοις τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στερισκομένοις τῆς τροφῆς ληίζεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ ἐργαστέον ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰργασμένων θρεπτέον· ἄλλως δ' οὐ ῥᾶδιον οὔτε βιοτεύειν οὔτε εἰρήνης τυχεῖν.
- 9 Μεμνησθαι δὲ κακέينو χρή, μήποτε ἐπὶ τοὺς κρείττους ἐλαύνειν ὀπισθεν ἵπποις δύσβατον ποιούμενον· οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον φεύγοντι καὶ διώκοντι σφαλῆναι.
- 10 Ἐπι δὲ βούλομαι ὑπομνησαι καὶ τόδε φυλάττεσθαι. εἰσὶ γάρ τινες, οἱ ὅταν μὲν ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τούτους, ὧν ἂν οἴωνται κρείττους εἶναι, παντάπασιν ἀσθενεῖ δυνάμει ἔρχονται, ὥστε πολλάκις ἔπαθον ἂ ᾧοντο ποιήσειν· ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τούτους, ὧν ἂν σαφῶς ἐπίστωνται ἥττους ὄντες, πᾶσαν ὄσσην ἂν
- 11 ἔχωσι δύναμιν ἄγουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ φημι χρῆναι τάναντία τούτων ποιεῖν· ὅταν μὲν κρατήσειν οἰόμενος ἄγη, μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς δυνάμεως, ὄσσην ἂν ἔχη. τὸ γὰρ πολὺ νικᾶν οὐδενὶ πώποτε μετα-
- 12 μέλειαν παρέσχευ. ὅταν δὲ τοῖς πολὺ κρείττοσιν ἐπιχειρῆ καὶ προγιγνώσκη, ὅτι ποιήσαντα ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται φευκτέον ἐστίν, εἰς τὰ τοιαυτά φημι πολὺ κρείττον εἶναι ὀλίγους ἢ πάντας προσάγειν, τοὺς μέντοι ἀπειλεγμένους καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς κρατίστους. τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ποιῆσαι

<sup>1</sup> *Hellenica* vi v 51

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, VIII. 7-12

crowns states with happiness as well. For my part, therefore, I know not why any art should be more assiduously cultivated than the arts of war. It should be noticed that a long apprenticeship to 8  
toil enables sea-pirates to live at the expense of much stronger folk. On land, too, pillage, though not for those who reap what they have sown, is the natural resource of men who are deprived of food. For either men must work or they must eat the fruits of other men's labour else it is a problem how to live and to obtain peace.

If you charge a superior force, you must remember 9  
never to leave behind you ground difficult for horses. For a fall in retreat and a fall in pursuit are very different things.

I want to add a word of warning against another 10  
error. Some men, when they suppose themselves to be stronger than the enemy whom they are going to attack, take an utterly inadequate force with them.<sup>1</sup> The consequence is that they are apt to incur the loss they expected to inflict. Or, when they know themselves to be weaker than the enemy, they use all their available strength in the attack. The right procedure, in my opinion, is just the 11  
opposite. When the commander expects to win, he should not hesitate to use the whole of his strength: for an overwhelming victory never yet was followed by remorse. But when he tries conclusions 12  
with a much stronger force, knowing beforehand that he is bound to retreat when he has done his best, I hold that it is far better in such a case to throw a small part of his strength into the attack than the whole of it, only horses and men alike should be his very best. For such a force will be

## XENOPHON

- ἄν τι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι ἀσφαλέστερον ἂν δύναιντο.  
 13 ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους πάντας προσαγαγῶν  
 ἀποχωρεῖν βούληται, ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν  
 βραδυτάτων ἵππων ἀλίσκεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ  
 ἀφιππίαν<sup>1</sup> πίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ δυσχωρίας  
 ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πολὺν τόπον χαλεπὸν  
 14 εὐρεῖν οἶον ἂν τις εὔξαιτο. ὑπὸ γε μὴν τοῦ  
 πληθους καὶ συμπίπτοιεν ἂν καὶ ἐμποδίζοντες  
 πολλὰ ἂν ἀλλήλους κακουργοῖεν. οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ  
 ἵπποι καὶ ἵππεῖς δυνατοὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> διαφεύ-  
 γειν, ἄλλως τε ἂν καὶ μηχανᾶται τις τοῖς  
 διώκουσι φόβον ἀπὸ τῶν περιπτῶν ἵππέων.  
 15 σύμφορον δ' εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αἱ ψευδενέδραι· χρή-  
 σιμον δὲ κἀκεῖνο, τὸ εὐρίσκειν πόθεν ἂν οἱ φίλοι  
 ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐπιφαινόμενοι βραδυτέρους τοὺς  
 16 διώκοντας παρέχοιεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τότε δῆλον,  
 ὡς πόνοις καὶ τάχει οἱ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν πολὺ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὀλίγων περιγίγνουιτ' ἂν.  
 καὶ οὐ λέγω, ὡς διὰ τὸ ὀλίγοι εἶναι καὶ πονεῖν  
 μᾶλλον δυνησονται καὶ θάττους ἔσονται, ἀλλ'  
 ὅτι ῥᾶον εὐρεῖν ὀλίγους ἢ πολλοὺς τοὺς καὶ  
 τῶν ἵππων ἐπιμελησομένους ὡς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς  
 φρονίμως μελετήσοντας τὴν ἵππικὴν.  
 17 Ἄν δέ ποτε συμβαίῃ ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς παρα-  
 πλησίους ἵππέας, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι οὐκ ἂν χεῖρον  
 εἶναι, εἴ τις δύο τάξεις ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ποιήσῃ καὶ  
 τῆς μὲν ὁ φύλαρχος ἡγοῖτο, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ὅστις  
 18 ἄριστος δοκοῖε εἶναι, οὗτος δὲ τέως μὲν ἔποιτο  
 κατ' οὐρανὸν τῆς μετὰ τοῦ φυλάρχου τάξεως, ἐπεὶ  
 δ' ἐγγύς ἤδη εἶεν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι, ἀπὸ παραγα-

<sup>1</sup> ἀφιππίαν is a correction in B· ἀφιππέαν S. with the MSS.

able to achieve something and to retreat with less  
 risk. But when he has thrown the whole of his 13  
 strength into an attack on a stronger force, and wants  
 to retire, the men on the slowest mounts are bound  
 to be taken prisoners, others to be thrown through  
 lack of horsemanship, and others to be cut off  
 owing to inequalities in the ground, since it is hard  
 to find a wide expanse of country entirely to your  
 liking. Moreover, owing to their numbers they 14  
 will collide and hinder and hurt one another fre-  
 quently. But good horses and men will contrive  
 to escape, especially if you manage to scare the  
 pursuers by using your reserves. Sham ambushes, 15  
 too, are helpful for this purpose. It is also useful to  
 discover on what quarter your friends may suddenly  
 reveal themselves in a safe position and make  
 the pursuit slower. Then again it is obvious that in 16  
 point of endurance and speed the advantage is much  
 more likely to rest with a small than with a large force.  
 I do not mean that mere paucity of numbers will  
 increase the men's powers of endurance and add  
 to their speed, but it is easier to find few men than  
 many who will take proper care of their horses and  
 will practise the art of horsemanship intelligently on  
 their own account.

Should it happen at any time that the cavalry 17  
 forces engaged are about equal, I think it would be  
 a good plan to split each regiment into two divisions,  
 putting one under the command of the colonel, and  
 the other under the best man available. The latter 18  
 would follow in the rear of the colonel's division for  
 a time, but presently, when the adversary is near,

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<sup>2</sup> ἀντὼν Dindorf ἀντῶν S. with the MSS.

## XENOPHON

- γέλσεως παρελαύνοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὕτω γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ ἐκπληκτικωτέροισι τοῖς ἐχθροῖσι ἂν εἶναι καὶ δυσμαχωτέροισι. εἰ δὲ πεζοὺς ἔχοιεν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ οὗτοι ἀποκεκρυμμένοι ὄπισθεν τῶν ἰππέων, ἕξαπίνης δὲ παραφαινόμενοι καὶ ὁμόσε ἰόντες δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι τὴν νίκην πολὺ μᾶλλον κατεργάζεσθαι. ὁρῶ γὰρ τὰ παράδοξα ἣν μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἦν, μᾶλλον εὐφραίνοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
- 20 ἣν δὲ δεινὰ, μᾶλλον ἐκπλήττοντα. ταῦτα δὲ γνοίῃ ἂν τις μάλιστα ἐνθυμούμενος, ὡς οἳ τε ἐνέδραις ἐμπίπτουτες ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ ἂν πολὺ πλείους ᾧσι· καὶ ὅταν πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἀντικάθωνται, ὡς πολὺ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέραις φοβερῶτατα ἔχουσιν.
- 21 Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν διατάξαι ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπὸν· τὸ δ' εὐρεῖν τοὺς φρονίμους καὶ πιστῶς καὶ προθύμως καὶ εὐψύχως παρελόντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
- 22 τοῦτο ἤδη ἀγαθοῦ ἰππάρχου. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἰκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ποιεῖν τοιαῦτα, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι γινώσκονται ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τό τε πείθεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἔπεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὁμόσε ἐλαύνειν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσι τοῦ καλόν τι ἀκούειν καὶ δυνήσονται ἢ ἂν γινώσιν ἐγκαρτερεῖν.
- 23 Ἐὰν δέ ποτε αὐτῷ ἢ φαλάγγων ἀντιτεταγμένων ἢ χωρίων ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἀναστροφαί τε καὶ διώξεις καὶ ἀποχωρήσεις γίνωνται, εἰώθασι μὲν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ὀρμῶν μὲν<sup>1</sup> βραδέως ἀμφότεροι,
- 24 τὸ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τάχιστα ἐλαύνειν. ἣν δὲ τις οὕτω προδείξας ἔπειτα<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν ταχέως

<sup>1</sup> S reads ὀρμῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν with the MSS · ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν is rightly removed by Ruhl

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, VIII. 18-24

he would wheel on receiving the order and charge  
This plan, I think, would make the blow delivered  
by the regiment more stunning and more difficult to  
parry. Both divisions should have an infantry con- 19  
tingent, and if the infantry, hidden away behind the  
cavalry, came out suddenly and went for the enemy,  
I think they would prove an important factor in  
making the victory more decisive, for I have noticed  
that a surprise cheers men up if it is pleasant,  
but stuns them if it is alarming. Anyone will 20  
recognise the truth of this who reflects that, however  
great their advantage in numbers, men are dazed  
when they fall into an ambush, and that two  
hostile armies confronting each other are scared out  
of their wits for the first few days.

There is no difficulty in adopting these tactics, 21  
but only a good cavalry commander can find men  
who will show intelligence, reliability and courage in  
wheeling to charge the enemy. For the commander 22  
must be capable both by his words and action of  
making the men under him realize that it is good to  
obey, to back up their leader, and to charge home,  
of firing them with a desire to win commendation,  
and of enabling them to carry out their intentions  
with persistence.

Suppose now that the cavalry are busy in the 23  
no-man's-land that separates two battle lines drawn  
up face to face or two strategic positions, wheeling,  
pursuing and retreating. After such manœuvres  
both sides usually start off at a slow pace, but gallop  
at full speed in the unoccupied ground. But if a 24  
commander first feints in this manner, and then after

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<sup>2</sup> ἔπειτα Haitman. ἔπειτα δ' S with the MSS.



τε διώκη καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωρῆ, βλάπτειν τ' ἂν  
 μάλιστα τοὺς πολεμίους δύναίτο καὶ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς  
 ἀσφαλέστατ' ἂν διάγοι, ταχὺ μὲν διώκων ἐν ᾧ  
 25 ἂν ἐγγὺς ἦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, ταχὺ δὲ ἀπο-  
 χωρῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς πολεμίους ἰσχυρῶν. εἰ δὲ  
 καὶ λαθεῖν δύναίτο ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐκάστης  
 καταλιπῶν ἢ τέτταρας ἢ πέντε τῶν κρατίστων  
 ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πολὺ ἂν προέχοιεν εἰς τὸ  
 ἐπαναστρεφομένοις τοῖς πολεμίους ἐπίπτειν.

IX. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκειν μὲν καὶ ὀλιγάκις  
 ἀρκεῖ, ἐννοεῖν<sup>1</sup> δὲ τὸ παρατυγχάνον αὐτῷ ἀεὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παριστάμενον σκοποῦντα τὸ  
 συμφέρον ἐκπονεῖν. γράψαι δὲ πάντα, ὅποσα  
 δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἢ τὰ μέλ-  
 2 λοντα πάντα εἰδέναι. πάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπομνη-  
 μάτων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι τὸ ὅσα ἂν  
 γνῶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν πραχθῆ.  
 ὀρθῶς δὲ γιγνωσκόμενα οὐ φέρει καρπὸν οὔτε ἐν  
 γεωργίᾳ οὔτ' ἐν ναυκληρίᾳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἣν μή  
 τις ἐπιμελῆται ὡς ἂν ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐκπεραίνηται.<sup>4</sup>

3 Φημὶ δ' ἐγὼ<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἵππικὸν ὧδ' ἂν  
 πολὺ θάπτον ἐκπληρωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς χιλίους ἵπ-  
 πείας καὶ πολὺ ῥᾶον τοῖς πολίταις, εἰ διακοσίους  
 ἵππεῖς ξένους καταστήσαιτο· δοκοῦσι γὰρ ἂν

<sup>1</sup> ἐννοεῖν Madvig ποιεῖν S with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ ἀεὶ BM: ἀεὶ αὐτῷ S with other MSS

<sup>3</sup> The MSS have no σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς here, but have ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς in the next sentence—see next note but one S follows the text of the MSS the correction is by Madvig

<sup>4</sup> ἐκπεραίνηται B περαίνηται S with the other MSS

<sup>5</sup> ἐγὼ ταῦτα S with the MSS ταῦτα was removed by Lenklau

wheeling, pursues and retreats at the gallop he will be able to inflict the greatest loss on the enemy, and will probably come through with the least harm, by pursuing at the gallop so long as he is near his own defence, and retreating at the gallop from the enemy's defences. If, moreover, he can secretly 25 leave behind him four or five of the best horses and men in each division, they will be at a great advantage in falling on the enemy as he is turning to renew the charge.

IX To read these suggestions a few times is enough, but it is always necessary for the commander to hit on the right thing at the right moment, to think of the present situation and to carry out what is expedient in view of it. To write out all that he ought to do is no more possible than to know everything that is going to happen. The 2 most important of all my hints, I think, is this: Whatever you decide to be best, see that it gets done. Whether you are a farmer,<sup>1</sup> a skipper or a commander, sound decisions bear no fruit unless you see to it that, with heaven's help,<sup>2</sup> they are duly carried out.

Further, I am of opinion that the full complement 3 of a thousand cavalry would be raised much more quickly and in a manner much less burdensome to the citizens if they established a force of two hundred foreign cavalry.<sup>3</sup> For I believe that the

<sup>1</sup> *Oeconomicus* xi. 8

<sup>2</sup> This expression undoubtedly comes here, compare especially the maxim "Act with god" (§ 8), and the end of the *Ways and Means*.

<sup>3</sup> The 200 mercenaries would be included in the total of 1000

## XENOPHON

μοι οὔτοι προσγενόμενοι καὶ εὐπειστότερον ἂν  
 πᾶν τὸ ἵππικὸν ποιῆσαι καὶ φιλοτιμότερον πρὸς  
 4 ἀλλήλους περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας. οἶδα δ' ἔγωγε καὶ  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἵππικὸν ἀρξάμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν,  
 ἐπεὶ ξένους ἵππείας προσέλαβον. καὶ ἐν ταῖς  
 ἄλλαις δὲ πόλεσι πανταχοῦ τὰ ξενικὰ ὀρῶ  
 εὐδοκιμοῦντα· ἢ γὰρ χρεῖα μεγάλην προθυμίαν  
 5 συμβάλλεται. εἰς δὲ τιμὴν τῶν ἵππων νομίζω  
 ἂν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὑπάρξαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν  
 σφόδρα ἀπεχομένων μὴ ἵππεύειν, ὅτι καὶ οἷς  
 καθίστησι τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐθέλουσι τελεῖν ἀργύριον  
 ὡς μὴ ἵππεύειν, καὶ παρὰ πλουσίων μὲν,<sup>1</sup> ἀδυ-  
 νάτων δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν· οἶομαι δὲ καὶ παρ'  
 6 ὀρφανῶν τῶν δυνατοῦς οἴκους ἐχόντων. νομίζω  
 δὲ καὶ μετοίκων φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἂν τινὰς εἰς  
 ἵππικὸν<sup>2</sup> καθισταμένους· ὀρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ὀπόσων ἂν καλῶν ὄντων μεταδιδῶσιν  
 αὐτοῖς οἱ πολῖται, φιλοτίμως ἐνίους ἐθέλοντας τὸ  
 7 προσταχθὲν διαπράττεσθαι. δοκεῖ δ' ἂν μοι καὶ  
 πεζὸν σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐνεργότατον εἶναι, εἰ  
 συσταθεῖη ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις

Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα θεῶν συνεθελόντων γένοιτ' ἂν.  
 8 εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο θαυμάζει, ὅτι πολλάκις γέγραπται  
 τὸ σὺν θεῷ πράττειν, εὖ ἴστω, ὅτι ἦν πολλάκις  
 κινδυνεύη, ἣττον τοῦτο θαυμάσεται καὶ ἦν γε  
 κατανοῆ, ὅτι ὅταν πόλεμος ᾗ, ἐπιβουλεύουσι μὲν

<sup>1</sup> μὲν Dindorf γε S. with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> ἵππικὸν Bake: ἵππικὴν S with the MSS,

presence of these men would improve the discipline of the whole force and would foster rivalry in the display of efficiency. I know that the fame of the 4 Lacedaemonian horse dates from the introduction of foreign cavalry and in the other states everywhere I notice that the foreign contingents enjoy a high reputation; for need helps to produce great eagerness. To defray the cost of their horses,<sup>1</sup> I 5 believe that money would be forthcoming from those who strongly object to serve in the cavalry—since even men actually enrolled<sup>2</sup> are willing to pay in order to get out of the service—from rich men who are physically unfit, and also, I think, from orphans<sup>3</sup> possessed of large estates. I believe also that some 6 of the resident aliens would be proud to be enrolled in the cavalry. For I notice that, whenever the citizens give them a share in any other honourable duty, some are willing enough to take pride in doing the part assigned to them. I fancy, too, that infantry 7 attached to the cavalry will be most effective if it consists of persons who are very bitter against the enemy.

All these things are feasible provided the gods give their consent. If anyone is surprised at my frequent 8 repetition of the exhortation to work with God, I can assure him that his surprise will diminish, if he is often in peril, and if he considers that in time

<sup>1</sup> The mercenaries would not receive "establishment" money

<sup>2</sup> οἷς καθίστησι is not right, but the translation gives the approximate sense of what Xenophon must have written

<sup>3</sup> Orphans were exempt from state burdens until a year after attaining their majority. The meaning seems to be that during this period of exemption they might fairly be asked to contribute to such a fund.

## ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐναντίοι, ὀλιγάκις δὲ ἴσασι, πῶς ἔχει  
9 τὰ ἐπιβουλευόμενα. τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα οὐδ' ὅτῳ  
συμβουλευσάιτ' ἂν τις οἶόν τε εὔρειν πλὴν θεῶν·  
οὔτοι δὲ πάντα ἴσασι καὶ προσημαίνουσιν ὧ ἂν  
ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν  
φήμαις καὶ ἐν ὀνειράσιν. εἰκὸς δὲ μᾶλλον  
ἐθέλειν αὐτοὺς συμβουλεύειν τούτοις, οἷ ἂν μὴ  
μόνον ὅταν δέωνται ἐπερωτῶσι, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις θεραπεύουσιν ὅ τι ἂν  
δύνωνται τοὺς θεούς.

## THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, ix. 8-9

of war foemen plot and counterplot, but seldom know what will come of their plots. Therefore 9 there is none other that can give counsel in such a case but the gods. They know all things, and wain whomsoever they will in sacrifices, in omens, in voices, and in dreams.<sup>1</sup> And we may suppose that they are more ready to counsel those who not only ask what they ought to do in the hour of need, but also serve the gods in the days of their prosperity with all their might.

<sup>1</sup> *Memorabilia* i. 1. 3



ON THE ART  
OF HORSEMANSHIP

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## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΙΠΠΙΚΗΣ

Ι. Ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸ συμβῆναι ἡμῖν πολλὸν χρόνον ἵππεύειν οἰόμεθα ἔμπειροι ἵππικῆς γεγενῆσθαι, βουλόμεθα καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις τῶν φίλων δηλῶσαι, ἢ ἂν νομίζομεν αὐτοὺς ὀρθότατα ἵπποις προσφέρεσθαι. συνέγραψε μὲν οὖν καὶ Σίμων περὶ ἵππικῆς, ὃς καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν Ἐλευσίνιον ἵππον χαλκοῦν ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐν τῷ βάρῳ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα ἐξετύπωσεν· ἡμεῖς γε μέντοι ὅσοις συνετύχομεν ταῦτὰ γνόντες ἐκείνῳ, οὐκ ἐξαλείφομεν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἥδιον παραδώσομεν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις, νομίζοντες ἀξιοπιστότεροι εἶναι, ὅτι κακείνος κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἡμῖν ἔγνω ἵππικὸς ὢν· καὶ ὅσα δὴ παρέλιπεν, ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα δηλῶσαι.

Πρῶτον δὲ γράψομεν, ὡς ἂν τις ἤκιστα ἐξαπατῶτο ἐν ἵππωνείᾳ.

Τοῦ μὲν τοίνυν ἔτι ἀδαμάστου πάλου δῆλον ὅτι τὸ σῶμα δεῖ δοκιμάζειν· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐ πάνυ σαφῆ τεκμήρια παρέχεται ὁ μήπω ἀναβαινόμενος.

2 Τοῦ γε μὴν σώματος πρῶτόν φαμεν χρῆναι τοὺς πόδας σκοπεῖν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐδὲν

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<sup>1</sup> A considerable fragment of this work survives in a MS in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The most recent editions are those of Oder and Ruhl. The "cavalry commander"

## ON THE ART OF HORSEMANSHIP

I. INASMUCH as we have had a long experience of cavalry, and consequently claim familiarity with the art of horsemanship, we wish to explain to our younger friends what we believe to be the correct method of dealing with horses. True there is already a treatise on horsemanship by Simon,<sup>1</sup> who also dedicated the bronze horse in the Eleusinium at Athens and recorded his own feats in relief on the pedestal. Nevertheless, we shall not erase from our work the conclusions that happen to coincide with his, but shall offer them to our friends with far greater pleasure, in the belief that they are more worthy of acceptance because so expert a horseman held the same opinions as we ourselves: moreover, we shall try to explain all the points that he has omitted.

First we will give directions how best to avoid being cheated in buying a horse.

For judging an unbroken colt, the only criterion, obviously, is the body, for no clear signs of temper are to be detected in an animal that has not yet had a man on his back.

In examining his body, we say you must first look at his feet. For, just as a house is bound to be worth-  
named Simon referred to in Aristophanes' *Knights* 242, is just a member of the chorus, but the name probably recalls the author.

ὄφελος ἂν εἴη, εἰ τὰ ἄνω πάνυ καλὰ ἔχοι μὴ ὑποκειμένων οἴων δεῖ θεμελίων, οὕτω καὶ ἵππου πολεμιστηρίου οὐδὲν ἂν ὄφελος εἴη, οὐδ' εἰ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἔχοι, κακότερους δ' εἴη· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἂν δύναίτο τῶν ἀγαθῶν χρῆσθαι.

- 3 Πόδας δ' ἂν τις δοκιμάζοι πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ὄνυχας σκοπῶν· οἱ γὰρ παχεῖς πολὺ τῶν λεπτῶν διαφέρουσιν εἰς εὐποδίαν· ἔπειτα οὐδὲ τοῦτο δεῖ λαυθάνειν, πότερον αἱ ὀπλαί εἰσιν ὑψηλαὶ ἢ ταπειναὶ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν ἢ χαμηλαί. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ δαπέδου ἔχουσι τὴν χελιδόνα καλουμένην, αἱ δὲ ταπειναὶ ὁμοίως βαίνουσι τῷ τε ἰσχυροτάτῳ καὶ τῷ μαλακωτάτῳ τοῦ ποδός, ὥσπερ οἱ βλαισοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ δὲ φησι Σίμων δήλους εἶναι τοὺς εὐποδας, καλῶς λέγων· ὥσπερ γὰρ κύμβαλον ψοφεῖ πρὸς τῷ δαπέδῳ ἢ κοίλῃ ὀπλή.
- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠρξάμεθα ἐντεῦθεν, ταύτη καὶ ἀναβησόμεθα πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα.

Δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω μὲν τῶν ὀπλῶν κατωτέρω δὲ τῶν κυνηπόδων ὅστ' αὐτὰ μήτε ἄγαν ὀρθὰ εἶναι ὥσπερ αἰγός· ἀντιτυπώτερα γὰρ ὄντα κόπτει τε τὸν ἀναβάτην καὶ παραπίμπραται μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα σκέλη· οὐδὲ μὴν ἄγαν ταπεινὰ τὰ ὅστ' αὐτὰ δεῖ εἶναι· ψιλοῖντο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐλκοῖντο οἱ κυνήποδες εἴτ' ἐν βῶλοισι εἴτ' ἐν λίθοις ἐλαύνοιτο ὁ ἵππος.

- 5 Τῶν γε μὴν κνημῶν τὰ ὅστ' αὐτὰ παῖα χρῆ εἶναι· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ στήριγγες τοῦ ὠματος· οὐ

<sup>1</sup> “M. Bourgelat, in his preface to the second volume of *Les Elements Hippocratiques* reprehends this remark as trifling and false; and if our author is to be understood literally, the

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, I. 2-5

less if the foundations are unsound, however well the upper parts may look, so a war-horse will be quite useless, even though all his other points are good, if he has bad feet, for in that case he will be unable to use any of his good points.

When testing the feet first look to the hoofs. For 3 it makes a great difference in the quality of the feet if they are thick rather than thin. Next you must not fail to notice whether the hoofs are high both in front and behind, or low. For high hoofs have the frog, as it is called, well off the ground; but flat hoofs tread with the strongest and weakest part of the foot simultaneously, like a bow-legged man. Moreover, Simon says that the ring, too, is a clear test of good feet and he is right; for a hollow hoof rings like a cymbal in striking the ground.<sup>1</sup>

Having begun here, we will proceed upwards by 4 successive steps to the rest of the body.

The bones (of the pastern) above the hoofs and below the fetlocks should not be too upright, like a goat's. such legs give too hard a tread, jar the rider, and are more liable to inflammation. Nor yet should the bones be too low,<sup>2</sup> else the fetlocks are likely to become bare and sore when the horse is ridden over clods or stones.

The bones of the shanks should be thick,<sup>3</sup> since 5 these are the pillars of the body; but not thick with

criticism is certainly just.—Berenger 1, 221. Yet it is unlikely that Simon and X were both mistaken.

<sup>2</sup> "The pasterns (of the hackney) should neither be too oblique, which bespeaks weakness, nor too straight, which wears the horse out and is unpleasant to the rider"—Blair in Loudon's *Agriculture*.

<sup>3</sup> "Wide" would be a more suitable word.

## XENOPHON

μέντοι φλεψί γε οὐδὲ σαρξί παχέα· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅταν ἐν σκληροῖς ἐλαύνηται, ἀνάγκη αἵματος ταῦτα πληροῦσθαι καὶ κρισσοὺς γίγνεσθαι καὶ παχύνεσθαι μὲν τὰ σκέλη, ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τὸ δέρμα. χαλῶντος δὲ τούτου πολλάκις καὶ ἡ περόνη ἀποστᾶσα χωλὸν ἀπέδειξε τὸν ἵππον.

6 Τά γε μὴν γόνατα ἢ βαδίζων ὁ πῶλος ὑγρῶς κάμπτη, εἰκάξοις ἂν καὶ ἵππεύοντα ὑγρά ἔξειν τὰ σκέλη· πάντες γὰρ προιόντος τοῦ χρόνου ὑγροτέρως κάμπτουσιν ἐν τοῖς γόνασι. τὰ δὲ ὑγρά δικαίως εὐδοκίμει ἀπταιστότερον γὰρ καὶ ἀκοπώτερον τὸν ἵππον τῶν σκληρῶν σκελῶν παρέχει.

7 Μηροί γε μέντοι οἱ ὑπὸ ταῖς ὠμοπλάταις ἢ παχεῖς ὦσιν, ἰσχυρότεροί τε καὶ εὐπρεπέστεροι ὥσπερ ἀνδρὸς φαίνονται.

Καὶ μὴν στέρνα πλατύτερα ὄντα καὶ πρὸς κάλλος καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπαλλάξ ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλοῦ τὰ σκέλη φέρειν εὐφρέστερα

8 Ἀπό γε μὴν τοῦ στέρνου ὁ μὲν αὐχὴν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὥσπερ κάπρου προπετῆς πεφύκοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀλεκτρούονος ὀρθὸς πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν ἦκοι, λαγαρὸς δὲ εἴη τὰ κατὰ τὴν συγκαμπήν, ἢ δὲ κεφαλὴ ὀστώδης οὔσα μικρὰν σιαγόνα ἔχοι. οὕτως ὁ μὲν τράχηλος πρὸ τοῦ ἀναβάτου ἂν εἴη, τὸ δὲ ὄμμα τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὀρθῆ. καὶ βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἦκιστ' ἂν δύναιτο ὁ τοιοῦτον σχῆμα ἔχων καὶ εἰ πάνυ θυμοειδῆς εἴη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγκάμπτοντες, ἀλλ' ἐκτείνοντες τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν βιάζεσθαι οἱ ἵπποι ἐπιχειροῦσι.

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<sup>1</sup> The Greek word means the fibula in man, but the fibula, of course, is no part of the shank in the horse. Morgan

veins not with flesh, else when the horse is ridden over hard ground, these parts are bound to become charged with blood and varicose, the legs will swell, and the skin will fall away, and when this gets loose the pin,<sup>1</sup> too, is apt to give way and lame the horse

If the colt's knees are supple when bending as he walks, you may guess that his legs will be supple when he is ridden too, for all horses acquire greater suppleness at the knee as time goes on. Supple knees are rightly approved, since they render the horse less likely to stumble and tire than stiff legs.

The arms below the shoulders,<sup>2</sup> as in man, are stronger and better looking if they are thick.

A chest of some width is better formed both for appearance and for strength, and for carrying the legs well apart without crossing.

His neck should not hang downwards from the chest like a boar's, but stand straight up to the crest, like a cock's,<sup>3</sup> but it should be flexible at the bend, and the head should be bony, with a small cheek. Thus the neck will protect the rider, and the eye see what lies before the feet<sup>4</sup>. Besides, a horse of such a mould will have least power of running away, be he never so high-spirited, for horses do not arch the neck and head, but stretch them out when they try to run away

rightly says that X writes throughout of the horse as he appears outwardly, and not of the skeleton (with which he was unacquainted), and that the allusion is to the back sinew of the shin.

<sup>2</sup> The forearm, not the true arm, which X includes in the chest

<sup>3</sup> The horse should not be "cock throttled"

<sup>4</sup> He will not be a "star-gazer"

9 Σκοπεῖν δὲ χρή καὶ εἰ ἀμφότεροι μαλακαὶ αἰ γνάθοι ἢ σκληραὶ ἢ ἢ ἑτέρα. ἑτερόγναθοι γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ μὴ ὁμοίας τὰς γνάθους ἔχοντες γίγνονται.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ ἐξόφθαλμον εἶναι ἐγρηγορὸς μᾶλλον φαίνεται τοῦ κοιλοφθάλμου, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον δ' ἂν  
10 ὁ τοιοῦτος ὀρώη. καὶ μυκτῆρές γε οἱ ἀναπεπταμένοι τῶν συμπεπτωκότων εὐπνοώτεροί τε ἅμα εἰσὶ καὶ γοργότερον τὸν ἵππον ἀποδεικνύουσι. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ὀργίζηται ἵππος ἵππῳ ἢ ἐν ἵππασίᾳ θυμῶται, εὐρύνει μᾶλλον τοὺς μυκτῆρας.

11 Καὶ μὴν κορυφὴ μὲν μείζων, ὧτα δὲ μικρότερα ἵππωδεστέρα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποφαίνει.

Ἡ δ' αὖ ὑψηλὴ ἀκρωμία τῷ τε ἀναβάτῃ ἀσφαλεστέρα τὴν ἔδραν καὶ τοῖς ὄμοις<sup>1</sup> ἰσχυρότερα τὴν πρόσφυσιν παρέχεται

Ῥάχισ γε μὴν ἢ διπλῆ τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ ἐγκαθῆσθαι μαλακώτερα καὶ ἰδεῖν ἠδίων.

12 Καὶ πλευρὰ δὲ ἢ βαθυτέρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα ὀγκωδεστέρα ἅμα εὐεδρότερόν τε καὶ ἰσχυρότερον καὶ εὐχιλότερον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

Ὅσφῦς γε μὴν ὄσφ' ἂν πλατυτέρα καὶ βραχυτέρα ἢ, τοσοῦτ' ῥᾶον μὲν ὁ ἵππος τὰ πρόσθεν αἴρεται, ῥᾶον δὲ τὰ ὀπισθεν προσάγεται· καὶ ὁ κενεὸν δὲ οὕτω μικρότατος φαίνεται, ὅσπερ μέγας ὢν μέρος μὲν τι καὶ αἰσχύνει, μέρος δέ τι καὶ ἀσθενέστερον καὶ δυσφορότερον αὐτὸν τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

13 Τὰ γε μὴν ἰσχύια πλατέα μὲν εἶναι χρή καὶ εὐσαρκα, ἵνα ἀκόλουθα ἢ ταῖς πλευραῖς καὶ τοῖς στέρνοις· ἢν δὲ πάντα στερεὰ ἢ, κουφότερα ἂν τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ὄμοις Schneider: ὄμοις καὶ τῷ σώματι S. with the MSS.

You should notice, too, whether both jaws are soft 9 or hard, or only one; for horses with unequal jaws are generally unequally sensitive in the mouth

A prominent eye looks more alert than one that is hollow, and, apart from that, it gives the horse a greater range of vision. And wide open nostrils 10 afford room for freer breathing than close ones, and at the same time make the horse look fiercer, for whenever a horse is angry with another or gets excited under his rider, he dilates his nostrils

A fairly large crest and fairly small ears give the 11 more characteristic shape to a horse's head

High withers offer the rider a safer seat and a stronger grip on the shoulders

The double back <sup>1</sup> is both softer to sit on than the single and more pleasing to the eye.

The deeper the flanks and the more swelling 12 toward the belly, the firmer is the seat and the stronger, and as a rule, the better feeder is the horse

The broader and shorter the loins, the more easily the horse lifts his fore quarters and the more easily he bungs up his hind quarters. And, apart from that, the belly looks smallest so, and if it is big it disfigures the horse to some extent, and also makes him to some extent both weaker and clumsier.

The haunches must be broad and fleshy, that 13 they may be in right proportion to the flanks and chest, and if they are firm all over, they will

<sup>1</sup> "That was before the days of saddles, and horsemen had a tender interest in the double back—the characteristic back of dappled horses"—Pocock, *Horses*, p. 118 "Duplex agitur per lumbos spina," says Virgil (*Georg.* iii 87)



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πρὸς τὸν δρόμον εἶη καὶ ὀξύτερον μᾶλλον ἂν<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἵππον παρέχοιτο.

- 14 Μηρούς γε μὴν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ οὐρᾷ ἦν ἅμα πλατεία τῇ γραμμῇ διωρισμένους ἔχη, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ὀπισθεν σκέλη διὰ πολλοῦ ὑποθήσει· τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶν ἅμα γοργοτέρα τε καὶ ἰσχυροτέρα ἐξεῖ τὴν ὑπόβασίν τε καὶ ἵππασίαν καὶ ἅπαντα βελτίων ἔσται ἑαυτοῦ.<sup>2</sup> τεκμήριο δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων. ὅταν γάρ τι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἄρασθαι βούλωνται, διαβαίνοντες πάντες μᾶλλον ἢ συμβεβηκότες ἐπιχειροῦσιν αἶρεσθαι.
- 15 Τοὺς γε μὴν ὄρχεις δεῖ μὴ μεγάλους τὸν ἵππον ἔχειν, ὃ οὐκ ἔστι πῶλου κατιδεῖν.

Περὶ γε μὴν τῶν κάτωθεν ἀστραγάλων ἢ κνημῶν καὶ κνημηπῶδων καὶ ὀπλῶν τὰ αὐτὰ λέγομεν ἄπερ περὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν.

- 16 Γράψαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἂν περὶ μεγέθους ἤκιστα ἀποτυγχάνοι τις. ὅτου γὰρ ἂν ὦσιν αἱ κνήμαι εὐθὺς γιγνομένου ὑψηλόταται, οὗτος μέγιστος γίγνεται. προιόντος γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων αἱ μὲν κνήμαι εἰς μέγεθος οὐ μάλα αὖξονται, πρὸς δὲ ταύτας ὡς ἂν συμμέτρως ἔχη συναύξεται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα.
- 17 Εἶδος μὲν δὴ πῶλου οὕτω δοκιμάζοντες μάλιστα ἂν ἡμῖν δοκοῦσι τυγχάνειν εὐποδος καὶ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ εὐσάρκου καὶ εὐσχήμενος καὶ εὐμεγέθους. εἰ δέ τινες αὖξανόμενοι μεταβάλλουσιν, ὁμως οὕτω

<sup>1</sup> ἂν Dindorf αὐτὸν τὸν A αὐτὸν B αἶ S with M

<sup>2</sup> βελτίων ἔσται ἑαυτοῦ A. βελτίω ἔσται ἑαυτῶν S with the other MSS

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<sup>1</sup> He must not be "cat-hammed" (Berenger), which means that the hocks will be turned inwards. Such horses are

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be lighter for running and will make the horse speedier.

If the gap that separates the hams under the tail is broad,<sup>1</sup> he will also extend his hind legs well apart under his belly; and by doing that he will be more fiery and stronger when he throws himself on his haunches and when he is ridden, and will make the best of himself in all ways. One can infer this from the action of a man for when he wants to lift anything from the ground, a man invariably tries to lift it with his legs apart rather than close together.

A horse's stones should not be big. but it is impossible to observe this in a colt.

As for the parts below, the hocks, shin bones, fetlocks and hoofs, what we have said about the corresponding parts in the forelegs applies to these also.

I want also to explain how one is least likely to be disappointed in the matter of size. The colt that is longest in the shanks at the time he is foaled makes the biggest horse.<sup>2</sup> For in all quadrupeds the shanks increase but little in size as time goes on, whereas the rest of the body grows to them, so as to be in the right proportion.

He who applies these tests to a colt's shape is sure, in my opinion, to get a beast with good feet, strong, muscular, of the right look and the right size. If some change as they grow, still we may

often good trotters (Blane), but the Greek cavalry rider did not require that

<sup>2</sup> "For his stature this is an infallible rule that the shinne bone . . . never increaseth, no not from the first foaling . . . insomuch that if those bones be long and large, we are ever assured that the Foale will prove a tall and large Horse" G. Markham, *Cavalence*, 1617

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θαρρούντες δοκιμάζομεν ἄν.<sup>1</sup> πολλῶ γὰρ πλείονες εὐχρηστοί<sup>2</sup> ἔξ αἰσχροῶν ἢ ἓκ τοιούτων αἰσχροὶ γίνονται.

Π. Ὅπως γε μὴν δεῖ πωλεύειν, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν μὴ γραπτέον εἶναι. τάττονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἱππεύειν οἱ τοῖς χρήμασί τε ἱκανώτατοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μετέχοντες· πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον τοῦ πωλοδάμνην εἶναι τῷ μὲν νέῳ εὐεξίας τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἱππικῆν<sup>3</sup> ἐπισταμένῳ ἤδη ἱππάζεσθαι μελετᾶν· τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ τοῦ τε οἴκου καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμφὶ

2 πῶλευσιν διατρίβειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ γινώσκων περὶ πωλείας δῆλον ὅτι ἐκδώσει τὸν πῶλον χρῆ μέντοι ὥσπερ τὸν παῖδα ὅταν ἐπὶ τέχνην ἐκδῶ, συγγραφάμενον ἂ δεήσει ἐπιστάμενον ἀποδοῦναι οὕτως ἐκδιδῶναι. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπομνήματα<sup>4</sup> ἔσται τῷ πωλοδάμνη ὧν δεῖ ἐπιμεληθῆναι, εἰ μέλλει τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι.

3 Ὅπως μέντοι πρᾶός τε καὶ χειροῆθης καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὁ πῶλος ἐκδιδῶται τῷ πωλοδάμνη, ἐπιμελητέον. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον οἴκοι τε τὰ πλείστα καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἀποτελεῖται, ἣν ἐπίστηται τὸ μὲν πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν καὶ μυωπίζεσθαι παρασκευάζειν μετ' ἐρημίας γίνεσθαι τῷ πῶλῳ, τὸ δὲ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ τῶν λυπούντων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι δι' ἀνθρώπων τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον φιλεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεῖσθαι

4 ὑπὸ πῶλων ἀνθρώπους. καὶ ἄπτεσθαι δὲ χρῆ

<sup>1</sup> ἄν, added by Dindorf, is wanting in S.

<sup>2</sup> εὐχρηστοί Schneider· εὐχρόαστοι S with the MSS

<sup>3</sup> ἱππικῆν ἐν (sic) A· ἱππικῆς ἢ S. with the other MSS.

confidently rely on these tests, for it is far commoner for an ugly colt to make a useful horse than for a colt like this to turn out ugly

II. We do not think it necessary to give directions<sup>1</sup> for breaking a colt. For in our states the cavalry are recruited from those who have ample means and take a considerable part in the government. And it is far better for a young man to get himself into condition and when he understands the art of horsemanship to practise riding than to be a horse-breaker, and an older man had far better devote himself to his estate and his friends and affairs of state and of war than spend his time in horse-breaking. So he who shares my opinion<sup>2</sup> about horse-breaking will, of course, send his colt out. Still he should put in writing what the horse is to know when he is returned, just as when he apprentices his son to a profession. For these articles will serve as notes to remind the horse-breaker of what he must attend to if he is to get his money.

Still, care must be taken that the colt is gentle,<sup>3</sup> tractable, and fond of man when he is sent to the horse-breaker. That sort of business is generally done at home through the groom, if he knows how to contrive that hunger and thirst and horseflies are associated by the colt with solitude, while eating and drinking and delivery from irritation come through man's agency. For in these circumstances a foal is bound not only to like men, but to hanker after them.<sup>4</sup> One should also handle those parts in

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ, perhaps, "to give many directions." Something is lost in the MSS, in which the *μη* (added by Courier) does not appear.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπομνήματα AB ὑποδείγματα S with M

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ὧν ψηλαφωμένων ὁ ἵππος μάλιστα ἤδεται ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ τε λασιώτατα καὶ οἷς αὐτὸς ἤκιστα δύναται ὁ ἵππος, ἣν τι λυπῆ αὐτόν, 5 ἐπικουρεῖν. προστετάχθω δὲ τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ καὶ τὸ δι' ὄχλου διάγειν καὶ παντοδαπαῖς μὲν ὄψεσι παντοδαποῖς δὲ ψόφοις πλησιάζειν. τούτων δὲ ὅποσα ἂν ὁ πῶλος φοβῆται, οὐ χαλεπαίνοντα δεῖ, ἀλλὰ πραύνοντα διδάσκειν, ὅτι οὐ δεινὰ ἐστὶ.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν πωλείας ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα πράττειν.

III. "Ὅταν γε μὴν ἵππαζόμενον ὠνῆταί τις, ὑπομνήματα γράφωμεν, ἃ δεῖ καταμανθάνειν τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ ἔξαπατᾶσθαι ἐν ἵππωνείᾳ

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν μὴ λαθέτω αὐτόν, τίς ἡ ἡλικία· ὁ γὰρ μηκέτι ἔχων γνώμονας οὐτ' ἐλπίσιν εὐφραίνει οὔτε ὁμοίως εὐαπάλλακτος γίγνεται.

2 "Ὅποτε δὲ ἡ νεότης σαφῆς, δεῖ αὐτὸν μὴ λαθεῖν, πῶς μὲν εἰς τὸ στόμα δέχεται τὸν χαλινόν, πῶς δὲ περὶ τὰ ὦτα τὴν κορυφαίαν. ταῦτα δ' ἤκιστ' ἂν λανθάνοι, εἰ ὀρώντος μὲν τοῦ ὠνούμενου ἐμβάλλοιο το ὀ χαλινός, ὀρώντος δ' ἐξαιροῖτο.

3 "Ἐπειτα δὲ προσέχειν δεῖ τὸν νοῦν, πῶς ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτον δέχεται τὸν ἀναβάτην. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἵπποι χαλεπῶς προσίενται ἃ πρόδηλα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὅτι προσέμενοι πονεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται.

4 Σκεπτέον δὲ καὶ τόδε, εἰ ἀναβαθεὶς ἐθέλει ἀφ' ἵππων ἀποχωρεῖν ἢ εἰ παρ' ἐστηκότας ἵππεύων μὴ ἐκφέρει πρὸς τούτους. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ διὰ

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<sup>1</sup> The knowledge of the teeth as a criterion of age is rudimentary

which the horse likes most to be cherished, that is to say the hauiest parts and those where the horse has least power of helping himself, if anything worries him. Let the groom be under orders also to lead 5 him through crowds, and accustom him to all sorts of sights and all sorts of noises. If the colt shies at any of them, he must teach him, by quieting him and without impatience, that there is nothing to be afraid of.

I think that the directions I have given on the subject of horse-breaking are sufficient for the private person.

III. In case the intention is to buy a horse already ridden, we will write out some notes that the buyer must thoroughly master if he is not to be cheated over his purchase.

First, then, he must not fail to ascertain the age. A horse that has shed all his milk teeth does not afford much ground for pleasing expectations, and is not so easily got rid of.<sup>1</sup>

If he is clearly a youngster, one must notice 2 further how he receives the bit in his mouth and the headstall about his ears. This may best be noticed if the buyer sees the bridle put on and taken off again.

Next, attention must be paid to his behaviour 3 when he receives the rider on his back. For many horses will not readily accept a thing if they know beforehand that, if they accept it, they will be forced to work.

Another thing to be observed is whether when 4 mounted he is willing to leave his companions, or whether in passing standing horses he does not bolt towards them. Some too, in consequence of bad

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κακὴν ἀγωγὴν πρὸς τὰς οἴκαδε ἀφόδους φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἵππασιῶν.

- 5 Τούς γε μὴν ἑτερογενάθους μηνύει μὲν καὶ ἡ πέδη καλουμένη ἵππασία, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἵππασίαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγχειροῦσιν ἐκφέρειν, ἦν μὴ ἅμα συμβῆ ἢ τε ἄδικος γνάθος καὶ ἡ πρὸς οἶκον ἐκφορά. δεῖ γε μὴν εἰδέναι καὶ εἰ ἀφθεῖς εἰς τάχος ἀναλαμβάνεται ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ εἰ ἀποστρέφεσθαι ἐθέλει.
- 6 ἀγαθὸν δὲ μὴ ἄπειρον εἶναι, εἰ καὶ πληγῇ ἐγερθεῖς ἐθέλει ὁμοίως πείθεσθαι. ἄχρηστον μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ οἰκέτης καὶ στρατεύμα ἀπειθές· ἵππος δὲ ἀπειθῆς οὐ μόνον ἄχρηστος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καὶ ὄσαπερ προδότης διαπράττεται.
- 7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολεμιστήριον ἵππον ὑπεθέμεθα ὠνεῖσθαι, ληπτέον πείραν ἀπάντων, ὅσωνπερ καὶ ὁ πόλεμος πείραν λαμβάνει. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα, τάφρους διαπηδᾶν, τειχία ὑπερβαινεῖν, ἐπ' ὄχθους ἀνορούειν, ἀπ' ὄχθων καθάλλεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες δὲ καὶ κατὰ πρανοῦς καὶ πλάγια ἐλαύνοντα πείραν λαμβάνειν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα εἰ ὑγιὲς βασανίζει.
- 8 Οὐ μέντοι τὸν μὴ καλῶς πάνυ ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἀποδοκιμαστέον. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἄπειροι εἶναι τούτων ἐλλείπονται. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐθισθέντες καὶ μελετήσαντες καλῶς ἂν ταῦτα πάντα ποιοῖεν, εἰ

training run away from the riding ground to the paths that lead home

A horse with jaws unequally sensitive is detected 5  
by the exercise called the "ring,"<sup>1</sup> but much more  
by changing the exercise<sup>2</sup> For many do not  
attempt to bolt unless they have a bad mouth, and  
the road along which they can bolt home gives them  
their chance<sup>3</sup> It is likewise necessary to know  
whether, when going at full speed he can be pulled 6  
up sharp, and whether he turns readily. And it is  
well to make sure whether he is equally willing  
to obey when roused by a blow For a disobedient  
servant and a disobedient army are of course use-  
less, and a disobedient horse is not only useless,  
but often behaves just like a traitor

As we have assumed that the horse to be bought 7  
is designed for war, he must be tested in all the  
particulars in which he is tested by war. These  
include springing across ditches, leaping over walls,  
rushing up banks, jumping down from banks One  
must also try him by riding up and down hill and  
on a slope All these experiments prove whether  
his spirit is strong and his body sound

Nevertheless, it is not necessary to reject a horse 8  
that is not perfect in these trials For many break  
down in these not from want of ability, but from  
lack of experience With teaching, use and dis-  
cipline they will perform all these exercises well,

<sup>1</sup> *ve* the "volte", see note at c vii § 13

<sup>2</sup> *ve* by riding on the other hand The allusion, as  
Hermann saw, is not to the inverted volte

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is, that if, for example, the road on the  
right leads home, the horse with a more sensitive right jaw  
will try to bolt down it



## XENOPHON

- 9 γ' ἄλλως ὑγιεῖς καὶ μὴ κακοὶ εἶεν. τοὺς γε μέντοι ὑπόπτως φύσει φυλακτέον. οἱ γὰρ ὑπέρφθοβοι βλάπτειν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἐῷσι, τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔσφηλάν τε πολλάκις καὶ εἰς τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐνέβαλον.
- 10 Δεῖ δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα χαλεπότητα ἔχοι ὁ ἵππος, καταμανθάνειν, εἴτε πρὸς ἵππους εἴτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ εἰ δυσγάργαλις γε εἴη· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα χαλεπὰ τοῖς κεκτημένοις γίγνεται.
- 11 Τὰς δὲ γε τῶν χαλινώσεων καὶ ἀναβάσεων ἀποκωλύσεις καὶ τᾶλλα δὴ<sup>1</sup> νεύματα πολὺ ἂν ἔτι μᾶλλον καταμάθοι τις, εἰ πεπονηκότες ἤδη τοῦ ἵππου πάλιν πειρῶτο ποιεῖν ταῦτ' ὅσα περ πρὶν ἄρξασθαι ἱππεύειν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν πεπονηκότες ἐθέλωσι πάλιν πόνους ὑποδύεσθαι, ἱκανὰ τεκμήρια παρέχονται ταῦτα ψυχῆς καρτερᾶς.
- 12 Ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἶπειν, ὅστις εὐπους μὲν εἴη, πρᾶος δέ, ἀρκούντως δὲ ποδώκης, ἐθέλοι δὲ καὶ δύναιτο πόνους ὑποφέρειν, πείθοιτο δὲ μάλιστα, οὗτος ἂν εἰκότως ἀλυπτότατός τ' εἴη καὶ σωτηριώτατος τῷ ἀμβάτῃ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἢ διὰ βλακειᾶν ἐλάσεως πολλῆς δεόμενοι ἢ διὰ τὸ ὑπέρθυμοι εἶναι πολλῆς θωπείας τε καὶ πραγματείας ἀσχολίαν μὲν ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ ἀναβάτου παρέχουσιν, ἀθυμίαν δ' ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις.

IV. Ὄταν γε μὴν ἀγασθεῖς ἵππον πρίηται τις καὶ οἴκαδε ἀγάγηται, καλὸν μὲν ἐν τοιοῦτῳ τῆς οἰκίας τὸν σταθμὸν εἶναι, ὅπου πλειστάκις ὁ δεσπότης ὄψεται τὸν ἵππον· ἀγαθὸν δ' οὕτω κατεσκευάσθαι τὸν ἱππῶνα, ὥστε μηδὲν μᾶλλον οἶόν τ' εἶναι τὸν τοῦ ἵππου σίτον κλαπῆναι ἐκ

provided they are otherwise sound and not faulty. But one should beware of horses that are naturally shy. For timid horses give one no chance of using them to harm the enemy, and often throw their rider and put him in a very awkward situation. 9

It is necessary also to find out whether the horse has any vice towards horses or towards men, and whether he will not stand tickling. for all these things prove troublesome to the owner 10

As regards objection to being bridled or mounted, and the other reactions, there is a much better way still of detecting these, namely, by trying to do over again, after the horse has finished his work, just what one did before starting on the ride. All horses that are willing after their work to do another spell thereby give sufficient proofs of a patient temper. 11

To sum up: the horse that is sound in his feet, gentle and fairly speedy, has the will and the strength to stand work, and, above all, is obedient, is the horse that will, as a matter of course, give least trouble and the greatest measure of safety to his rider in warfare. But those that want a lot of driving on account of their laziness, or a lot of coaxing and attention on account of their high spirit, make constant demands on the rider's hands and rob him of confidence in moments of danger. 12

IV. When a man has found a horse to his mind, bought him and taken him home, it is well to have the stable so situated with respect to the house that his master can see him very often, and it is a good plan to have the stall so contrived that it will be as difficult to steal the horse's fodder out of the manger

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<sup>1</sup> For δὴ νεύματα S reads δινεύματα, a conjecture of Stephanus (δεινεύματα some inferior MSS)

## XENOPHON

- τῆς φάτνης ἢ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου. ὁ δὲ τούτου ἀμελῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖ ἀμελεῖν· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα τῷ ἵππῳ ὁ δεσπότης παρακατατίθεται.
- 2 ἔστι δὲ οὐ μόνον τοῦ μὴ κλέπτεσθαι ἕνεκα τὸν σίτου ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἐχυρὸς ἵππῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὅταν πη ἐκκομίζῃ τὸν σίτον ὁ ἵππος, φανερὸν γίγνεται. τούτου δ' ἂν τις αἰσθόμενος γινώσκῃ, ὅτι ἢ τὸ σῶμα ὑπεραιμοῦν δεῖται θεραπείας ἢ κόπου ἐνόητος δεῖται ἀναπαύσεως ἢ κριθίασις ἢ ἄλλη τις ἀρρωστία ὑποδύεται. ἔστι δ' ὡσπερ ἀνθρώπῳ οὕτω καὶ ἵππῳ ἀρχόμενα πάντα εὐιατότερα ἢ ἐπειδὴ ἐνσκιρρωθῆ τε καὶ ἐξαμαρτηθῆ τὰ νοσήματα
- 3 "Ὡσπερ δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ σίτου τε καὶ γυμνασίων ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἰσχύῃ, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀσκητέον. τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑγρά τε καὶ λεία τῶν σταθμῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ταῖς εὐφύεσιν ὀπλαῖς. δεῖ δέ, ὡς μὲν μὴ ἦ ὑγρά, εἶναι ἀπόρρυτα, ὡς δὲ μὴ λεία, λίθους ἔχοντα κατορωρυγμένους προσαλλήλους παραπλησίους ὀπλαῖς τὸ μέγεθος. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σταθμὰ καὶ ἐφεστηκότων ἅμα στερεοῖ τοὺς πόδας.
- 4 "Ἐπειτὰ γε μὴν τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ ἐξακτέον μὲν τὸν ἵππον ὅπου ψήξει, μεταδετέον δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης, ἵν' ἡδίων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἴῃ. ὧδε δ' ἂν αὖ ὁ ἕξω σταθμὸς βέλτιστος εἴη καὶ τοὺς πόδας κρατύνοι, εἰ λίθων στρογγύλων ἀμφιδόχμων ὅσον μνααίων ἀμάξας τέτταρας καὶ

as the master's victuals from the laider He who neglects this seems to me to neglect himself, for it is plain that in danger the master entrusts his life to his horse But a well-secured stall is not only good for preventing theft of the fodder but also because one can see when the horse spills his food. And on noticing this one may be sure that either his body is overfull of blood and needs treatment or that the horse is over-worked and wants rest, or that colic or some other ailment is coming on It is the same with horses as with men. all distempers in the early stage are more easily cured than when they have become chronic and have been wrongly treated 2

Just as the food and exercise of the horse must be attended to in order that he may keep sound, so his feet must be cared for Now damp and slippery floors ruin even well-formed hoofs In order that they may not be damp,<sup>1</sup> the floors should have a slope to carry off the wet, and, that they may not be slippery, they should be paved all over with stones, each one about the size of the hoof Such floors, indeed, have another advantage because they harden the feet of the horses standing on them. 3

To take the next point the groom must lead out the horse to clean him, and must loose him from the stall after the morning feed, that he may return to his evening feed with more appetite Now the stable-yard will be of the best form and will strengthen the feet if he throws down and spreads over it four or five loads of round stones, the size of a fist, about a pound 4

<sup>1</sup> The text of this sentence is conjectural; and it is thought that some words are lost before τὰ γὰρ and after σταθμὰ in the next.

## XENOPHON

πέντε χύδην καταβάλλοι, περιχειλώσας σιδήρω, ὡς ἂν μὴ σκεδαννύωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτων ἔσθηκώς ὥσπερ ἐν ὄδῳ λιθώδει ἀεὶ ἂν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας πορευοίτο. ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ ψηχόμενον καὶ μυωπιζόμενον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ὀπλαῖς καθάπερ ὅταν βαδίξῃ. καὶ τὰς χελιδόνας δὲ τῶν ποδῶν οἱ οὕτω κεχυμένοι λίθοι στερεοῦσιν.

Ὡς δὲ περὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὅπως καρτεραὶ ἔσονται, οὕτως καὶ περὶ τῶν στομάτων ὅπως μαλακὰ ἔσται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἀνθρώπου τε σάρκα καὶ ἵππου στόμα ἀπαλύνει.

V. Ἴππικὸν δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἡμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἵπποκόμον πεπαιδεύσθαι ἃ δεῖ περὶ τὸν ἵππον πράττειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ἐπιφατυνιδίας φορβειᾶς ἐπίστασθαι αὐτὸν δεῖ μήποτε τὸ ἄμμα ποιεῖσθαι ἔνθαπερ ἢ κορυφαία περιτίθεται. πολλάκις γὰρ κνῶν ὁ ἵππος ἐπὶ τῇ φάτνῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἰ μὴ ἀσυνῆς ἢ φορβειὰ περὶ τὰ ὦτα ἔσται, πολλάκις ἂν ἔλκη ποιοίῃ. ἐλκουμένων γε μὴν τούτων ἀνάγκη τὸν ἵππον καὶ περὶ τὸ χαλινουῖσθαι καὶ περὶ τὸ ψήχεσθαι δυσκολώτερον εἶναι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τετάχθαι τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ καθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κόπρον καὶ τὰ ὑποστρώματα τοῦ ἵππου ἐκφέρειν εἰς ἓν χωρίον. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν αὐτὸς τ' ἂν ῥᾶστα ἀπαλλάττοι καὶ ἄμα τὸν ἵππον ὠφελοίῃ. εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ τὸν κημὸν περιτιθέναι τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ ψῆξι καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ καλίστραν ἐξάγῃ. καὶ ἀεὶ δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἀχαλίνωτον ἄγῃ κημοῦν δεῖ. ὁ γὰρ κημὸς ἀναπνεῖν μὲν οὐ κωλύει, δάκνειν δὲ οὐκ ἔῳ· καὶ τὸ ἐπι-

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, iv. 4-v. 3

in weight, and surrounds them with a border of iron so that they may not be scattered. Standing on these will have the same effect as if the horse walked on a stone road for some time every day. When he is being rubbed down and teased with flies he is bound to use his hoofs in the same way as when he walks. The frogs also are hardened by stones scattered in this way. 5

The same care must be taken to make his mouth tender as to harden his hoofs. This is done by the same methods as are employed to soften human flesh.

V. It is a mark of a good horseman, in our opinion, to see that his groom, like himself, is instructed in the way in which he should treat the horse.

First then the man ought to know that he should never make the knot in the halter at the point where the headstall is put on. For if the halter is not easy about the ears, the horse will often rub his head against the manger and may often get sores in consequence. Now if there are sore places thereabouts the horse is bound to be restive both when he is bridled and when he is rubbed down. It is well also for the groom to have orders to remove the dung and litter daily to one and the same place. For by doing this he will get rid of it most easily and at the same time relieve the horse. The groom must also know about putting the muzzle on the horse when he takes him out to be groomed or to the rolling-place. In fact he must always put the muzzle on when he leads him anywhere without a bridle<sup>1</sup>. For the muzzle prevents him from biting without hampering his breathing, and moreover, when it is put on, it 2 3

<sup>1</sup> The muzzle appears on several Greek vases. The Greek horse was given to biting.

## XENOPHON

- βουλεύειν δὲ περικείμενος μάλλον ἐξαιρεῖ τῶν ἵππων.
- 4 Καὶ μὴν δεσμεύειν τὸν ἵππον ἄνωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς δεῖ. πάντα γὰρ ὅποσα ἂν δύσκολ' ᾗ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ ἵππος ἐκνεύειν πέφυκεν ἄνω ἐκνεύων γε μὴν οὕτω δεδεμένος χαλαρὰ μάλλον ἢ διασπᾶ τὰ δεσμά.
- 5 Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ψήχη, ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς χαιτίης· μὴ γὰρ \*καθαρῶν τῶν ἄνω ὄντων μάταιον τὰ κάτω καθαίρειν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς καθάρσεως ὀργάνοις ἀνιστάντα δεῖ τὴν τρίχα σοβεῖν τὴν κόνιν κατὰ<sup>1</sup> φύσιν τῆς τριχός· τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ῥάχει τριχῶν ἄλλω μὲν ὀργάνῳ οὐδενὶ δεῖ ἄπτεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τρίβειν καὶ ἀπαλύνειν ἥπερ φύσει κέκλινται· ἥκιστα
- 6 γὰρ ἂν βλάβηται τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ ἵππου. ὕδατι δὲ καταπλύνειν τὴν κεφαλὴν χρή. ὀστώδης γὰρ οὔσα εἰ σιδήρῳ ἢ ξύλῳ καθαίροιτο, λυποίη ἂν τὸν ἵππον. καὶ τὸ προκόμιον δὲ χρή βρέχειν καὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ εὐμήκεις οὔσαι αἱ τρίχες ὄραν μὲν οὐ κωλύουσι τὸν ἵππον, ἀποσοβοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ λυποῦντα. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ οἶεσθαι χρή δεδωκέναι ταύτας τὰς τρίχας ἵππων ἀντὶ τῶν μεγάλων ὤτων, ἃ ὄνοις τε καὶ ἡμίονοις
- 7 ἔδοσαν ἀλεξητήρια πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων. καὶ οὐρὰν δὲ καὶ χαιτίην πλύνειν χρή, ἐπεὶ περ αὖξιν δεῖ τὰς τρίχας, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ οὐρᾷ, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξικνούμενος ἀποσοβῆται ὁ ἵππος τὰ λυποῦντα, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ, ὅπως τῷ ἀμβάτη
- 8 ὡς ἀφθονωτάτη ἀντίληψις ᾗ. δέδοται δὲ παρὰ

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ MSS οὐ κατὰ S with Gesnei.

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, v 3-8

goes far towards preventing any propensity to mischief

He should tie up the horse at a place above the head, because when anything irritates his face, the horse instinctively tries to get rid of it by tossing his head upwards, and if he is tied thus he loosens the halter instead of breaking it by tossing up his head

In rubbing the horse down, the man should start at the head and mane, for if the upper parts are not clean, it is idle to clean his lower parts. Next, going over the rest of his body, he should make the hair stand up with all the dressing instruments,<sup>1</sup> and get the dust out by rubbing him the way the hair lies. But he should not touch the hair on the backbone with any instrument, he should rub and smooth it down with the hands the way it naturally grows; for so he will be least likely to injure the rider's seat. He must wash the head well with water, for, as it is bony, to clean it with iron or wood would hurt the horse. He must also wet the forelock, for this tuft of hair, even if pretty long, does not obstruct his sight, but drives from his eyes anything that worries them, and we must presume that the gods have given the horse this hair in lieu of the long ears that they have given to asses and mules as a protection to their eyes. He should also wash the tail and mane, for growth of the tail is to be encouraged in order that the horse may be able to reach as far as possible and drive away anything that worries him, and growth of the mane in order to give the rider as good a hold as possible. Besides, the mane, forelock and tail have been

<sup>1</sup> The instructions are rather vague



## XENOPHON

θεῶν καὶ ἀγλαίας ἕνεκα ἵππῳ χαίτη καὶ προ-  
κόμιόν τε καὶ οὐρά. τεκμήριον δέ· αἱ γὰρ ἀγε-  
λαῖαι τῶν ἵππων οὐχ ὁμοίως ὑπομένουσι τοὺς  
ὄνους ἐπὶ τῇ ὀχείᾳ, ἕως ἂν κομῶσιν· οὐ ἕνεκα  
καὶ ἀποκέρουσι πρὸς τὴν ὀχείαν τὰς ἵππους  
ἅπαντες οἱ ὀνοβατοῦντες

- 9 Τὴν γε μὴν τῶν σκελῶν κατάπλυσιν ἀφαιροῦ-  
μεν· ὠφελεῖ μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν, βλάπτει δὲ τὰς  
ὀπλὰς ἢ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν βρέξεις. καὶ τὴν  
ὑπὸ γαστέρα δὲ ἄγαν κάθαρσιν μειοῦν χρή· αὕτη  
γὰρ λυπεῖ μὲν μάλιστα τὸν ἵππον, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν  
καθαρώτερα ταῦτα γένηται, τοσοῦτῳ πλείονα τὰ  
10 λυποῦντα ἀθροίζει ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα· ἦν δὲ καὶ  
πάνυ διαπονήσῃται τις ταῦτα, οὐ φθάνει τε  
ἐξαγόμενος ὁ ἵππος καὶ εὐθύς ὁμοίός ἐστι τοῖς  
ἀκαθάρτοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔαν χρή· ἀρκεῖ δὲ  
καὶ ἡ τῶν σκελῶν ψήξις αὐταῖς ταῖς χερσὶ  
γιγνομένη.

- VI. Δηλώσομεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ἂν ἀβλα-  
βέστατα μὲν τις ἑαυτῷ, τῷ δ' ἵππῳ ὠφελιμώτατα  
ψήχοι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ βλέπων τῷ ἵππῳ  
καθαίρη, κίνδυνος καὶ τῷ γόνατι καὶ τῇ ὀπλῇ  
2 εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον πληγῆναι· ἦν δὲ ἀντία τῷ ἵππῳ  
ὀρῶν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ σκέλους, ὅταν καθαίρη, κατὰ  
τὴν ὠμοπλάτην καθίζων ἀποτρίβῃ, οὕτω πάθοι  
μὲν ἂν οὐδέν, δύναίτο δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν χελιδόνα τοῦ  
ἵππου θεραπεύειν ἀναπτύσσων τὴν ὀπλήν. ὡς  
δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ὀπισθεν σκέλη καθαίρετω.

<sup>1</sup> Several allusions to this erroneous belief of the Greeks are collected by the commentators.

<sup>2</sup> The text shows that the parts washed were not

given to the horse by the gods as an ornament. A proof of this is that brood mares heiding together, so long as they have fine manes,<sup>1</sup> are reluctant to be covered by asses; for which reason all breeders of mules cut off the manes of the mares for covering.

Washing down of the legs we disapprove of, it 9  
 does no good, and the hoofs are injured by being wetted every day. Excessive cleaning under the belly also should be diminished, for this worries the horse very much, and the cleaner these parts are, the more they collect under the belly things offensive to it,<sup>2</sup> and notwithstanding all the pains that 10  
 may be taken with these parts, the horse is no sooner led out than he looks much the same as an unwashed animal. So these operations should be omitted; and as for the rubbing of the legs, it is enough to do it with the bare hands.

VI. We will now show how one may rub down a horse with least danger to oneself and most advantage to the horse. If in cleaning him<sup>3</sup> the man faces in the same direction as the horse, he runs the risk of getting a blow in the face from his knee and his hoof. But if he faces in the opposite direction 2  
 to the horse and sits by the shoulder out of reach of his leg when he cleans him, and rubs him down so, then he will come to no harm, and can also attend to the horse's frog by lifting up the hoof<sup>4</sup>. Let him do exactly the same in cleaning the hind-legs.

thoroughly dried: indeed, efficient drying cloths were not used. See Pollux i 185.

<sup>3</sup> What follows refers to cleaning the fore-legs, to which a reference has doubtless dropped out of the text.

<sup>4</sup> On the vase referred to in the Introduction (p xxxiv) the groom examining his frog is crouching under the horse and facing the same way.

## XENOPHON

- 3 εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ τὸν περὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, ὅσα πράττειν δεῖ, ὡς ἤκιστα χρὴ κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπόν τε καὶ οὐρὰν ποιήσονται προσιέναι· ἦν γὰρ ἐπιχειρῆ ἀδικεῖν, κατ' ἀμφοτέρωτα ταῦτα κρείττων ὁ ἵππος ἀνθρώπου. ἐκ πλαγίου δ' ἂν τις προσίων ἀβλαβέστατα μὲν ἑαυτῷ, κάλλιστα<sup>1</sup> δ' ἂν ἵππῳ δύναίτο χρῆσθαι.
- 4 Ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ἄγειν δέη τὸν ἵππον, τὴν μὲν ὀπισθεν ἀγωγὴν διὰ τάδε οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἄγοντι οὕτως ἤκιστα ἔστι φυλάξασθαι, τῷ δὲ ἵππῳ οὕτως μάλιστα ἔξεστι ποιῆσαι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται. τὸ δ' αὖ ἔμπροσθεν μακρῷ τῷ ἀγωγῆι προιόντα διδάσκειν ὑψηγεῖσθαι τὸν ἵππον διὰ τάδε αὖ ψέγομεν. ἔξεστι μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καθ' ὅποτερ' ἂν βούληται τῶν πλαγίων κακουργεῖν, ἔξεστι δὲ ἀναστρεφόμενον ἀντίον γίγνεσθαι τῷ ἄγοντι. ἀθροοὶ δὲ δὴ ἵπποι πῶς ἂν ποτε ἀλλήλων δύναίντο ἀπέχεσθαι οὕτως ἀγόμενοι; ἐκ πλαγίου δὲ ἵππος ἐθισθεὶς παράγεσθαι ἤκιστα μὲν ἂν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἀνθρώπους δύναίτ' ἂν κακουργεῖν, κάλλιστα δ' ἂν παρεσκευασμένος τῷ ἀναβάτῃ εἶη καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐν τάχει ἀναβῆναι δεήσειεν.
- 7 Ἴνα δὲ ὁ ἵπποκόμος καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ὀρθῶς ἐμβάλλῃ, πρῶτον μὲν προσίτω κατὰ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ ἵππου· ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν ἡνίας περιβαλὼν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταθέτω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρωμίᾳ, τὴν δὲ κορυφαίαν τῇ δεξιᾷ αἰρέτω, τὸ δὲ στόμιον τῇ ἀριστερᾷ προσφερέτω. κὰν μὲν δέχεται, δῆλον ὅτι περιτιθέναι δεῖ τὸν κεκρύφαλον· εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑποχάσκη, ἔχοντα δεῖ πρὸς τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τὸν χαλινὸν τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς

<sup>1</sup> κάλλιστα Herwerden πλείστα S. with the MSS

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, VI. 3-8

The man employed about the horse is to know that in 3  
these operations and in all that he has to do he must  
be very chary of approaching from the head or tail  
to do his work. For if the horse attempts to show  
mischief he has the man in his power in both these  
directions, but if he approaches from the side he can  
manage the horse with least danger to himself and  
in the best manner

When it is necessary to lead the horse, we do not 4  
approve of leading him behind one for this reason,  
that the man leading him is then least able to take  
care of himself while the horse has the utmost  
freedom to do whatever he chooses. On the other 5  
hand we also disapprove of training the horse to go  
in front on a long lead for the following reasons.  
The horse has the power of misbehaving on either  
side as he chooses, and has also the power of turn-  
ing round and facing his driver. And if several 6  
horses together are driven in this fashion, how can  
they possibly be kept from interfering with one  
another? But a horse that is accustomed to being  
led from the side will have least power of doing  
harm either to horses or to men, and will be in the  
handiest position for the rider should he want to  
mount quickly

In order to put the bit in properly, first let the 7  
groom approach on the near side of the horse.  
Then let him throw the reins over the head and  
drop them on the withers, and next lift the headstall  
with the right hand and offer the bit with the left  
If he takes the bit, of course the bridle should be put 8  
on. But if he refuses to open his mouth, the man  
must hold the bit to his teeth and put the thumb of

## XENOPHON

- εἶσω τῆς γνάθου τῷ ἵππῳ ποιῆσαι. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τούτου γιγνομένου χαλῶσι τὸ στόμα ἢν δὲ μηδ' οὕτω δέχεται, πιεσάτω τὸ χεῖλος περὶ τῷ κυνόδοντι καὶ πάνυ τινὲς ὀλίγοι οὐ δέχονται
- 9 τοῦτο πάσχοντες. δεδιδάχθω δὲ καὶ τάδε ὁ ἵπποκόμος, πρῶτον μὲν μήποτε ἄγειν τῆς ἡνίας τὸν ἵππον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἑτερογνάθους ποιεῖ· ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσον δεῖ ἀπέχειν τὸν χαλινὸν τῶν γνάθων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄγαν πρὸς αὐταῖς τυλοῖ τὸ στόμα, ὥστε μὴ εὐαίσθητον εἶναι, ὁ δὲ ἄγαν εἰς ἄκρον τὸ στόμα καθιέμενος ἐξουσίαν παρέχει συνδάκνουσι
- 10 τὸ στόμιον μὴ πείθεσθαι. χρῆ δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ τὰ τοιάδε παρατηρεῖν, εἰ μὴ ῥαδίως τὸν χαλινὸν ὁ ἵππος δέχεται, αἰσθανόμενος ὅτι<sup>1</sup> δεῖ πονεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐθέλειν τὸν ἵππον τὸν χαλινόν, ὡς ὁ μὴ δεχόμενος
- 11 παντάπασιν ἄχρηστος. ἦν δὲ μὴ μόνον ὅταν πονεῖν μέλλη χαλινῶται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸν σίτον καὶ ὅταν ἐξ ἵππασίας εἰς οἶκον ἀπάγῃται, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶη θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἀρπάξοι<sup>2</sup> τὸν χαλινὸν αὐτόματος προτεινόμενον.
- 12 Ἄγαθόν δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ ἀναβάλλειν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον, ὅπως αὐτός τε ὁ δεσπότης, ἦν ποτε ἀρρωστήσῃ ἢ πρεσβύτερος γένηται, ἔχη τὸν εὐπετῶς ἀναβιβάζοντα καὶ ἄλλω ἦν τινι βούληται τὸν ἀναβαλοῦντα ἐπιχαρίσῃται.
- 13 Τὸ δὲ μήποτε σὺν ὀργῇ τῷ ἵππῳ προσφέρεσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ δίδαγμα καὶ ἔθισμα πρὸς ἵππον ἄριστον. ἀπρονόητον γὰρ ἢ ὀργή, ὥστε πολ-

<sup>1</sup> ἵπποκόμον . ὅτι A the other MSS have παραξύνθαι for the παρατηρεῖν of AB, all but A omit μη αἰσθάνομενος, and have τι for ὅτι: S adds ἵππον μὴ κατὰ τοιάδε παρωξύνθαι, εἴ τι between τὸν and δεῖ.

the left hand in the horse's jaw. Most horses open the mouth when this is done. If he still resists, the man should squeeze his hip against the tusk, and very few resist when they are treated in this way. The groom should also be instructed in the following 9 points. first, never to lead the horse on the rein—that gives the horse a hard mouth on one side—and secondly, what is the correct distance from the bit to the jaws. For if it is too high up, it hardens the mouth so that it loses its sensitiveness, and if it lies too low in the mouth, it gives the horse power to take it between his teeth and refuse to obey. The 10 groom must also pay some attention to such points as the following: whether the horse will not easily take the bit when he knows that he has work to do. Willingness to receive the bit is, in fact, so important that a horse that refuses it is quite useless. But if he 11 is bridled not only when he is going to be ridden, but also when he is taken to his food and when he is led home from exercise, it would not be at all surprising if he seized the bit of his own accord when offered to him.

It is well for the groom to know how to give a leg- 12 up in the Persian fashion,<sup>1</sup> so that his master himself, in case he is indisposed or is getting old may have someone to put him up conveniently, and may, if he wishes, oblige his friend with a man to give him a lift-up.

The one best rule and practice in dealing with a 13 horse is never to approach him in anger, for anger is a reckless thing, so that it often makes a man do what

<sup>1</sup> See *Cavalry Commander*, 1 17

<sup>2</sup> ἀπράζοι A ἀπράζει S with the other MSS

## XENOPHON

- 14 *λάκις ἐξεργάζεται ὦν μεταμέλειν ἀνάγκη. καὶ ὅταν δὲ ὑποπτεύσας τι ὁ ἵππος μὴ θέλῃ πρὸς τοῦτο προσιέναι, διδάσκειν δεῖ, ὅτι οὐ δεινὰ ἔστι, μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἵππῳ εὐκαρδίῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπτόμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ δεινοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι καὶ τὸν*
- 15 *ἵππον πρῶως προσάγοντα. οἱ δὲ πληγαῖς ἀναγκάζοντες ἔτι πλείω φόβον παρέχουσιν· οἴονται γὰρ οἱ ἵπποι, ὅταν τι χαλεπὸν πάσχωσιν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ τούτου τὰ ὑποπτευόμενα αἷτια εἶναι.*
- 16 *Ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ὁ ἵπποκόμος τὸν ἵππον παραδιδῶ τῷ ἀναβάτῃ, τὸ μὲν ἐπίστασθαι ὑποβιβάζεσθαι τὸν ἵππον, ὥστε εὐπετὲς εἶναι ἀναβῆναι, οὐ μεμφόμεθα· τὸν γε μέντοι ἵππέα νομίζομεν χρῆναι μελετᾶν καὶ μὴ παρέχοντος ἵππου δύνασθαι ἀναβαίνειν. ἄλλοτε μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοιὸς ἵππος παραπίπτει, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄλλως ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπηρετεῖ.*

VII. *Ὅταν γε μὴν παραδέξηται τὸν ἵππον ὡς ἀναβησόμενος, νῦν αὖ γράψομεν, ὅσα ποιῶν ὁ ἵππεὺς καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ ὠφελιμώτατος ἂν ἐν τῇ ἵππικῇ εἴη.*

*Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν τὸν ῥυταγωγέα χρῆ ἐκ τῆς ὑποχαλινιδίας ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ψαλίου ἠρτημένον εὐτρεπῆ εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα λαβεῖν καὶ οὕτω χαλαρόν, ὡς μήτ' ἂν<sup>1</sup> τῶν τριχῶν παρὰ τὰ ὦτα λαβόμενος μέλλῃ ἀναβῆσεσθαι μήτε ἂν ἀπὸ δόρατος ἀναπηδᾷ, σπᾶν τὸν ἵππον. τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ τὰς ἡνίας παρὰ τὴν ἀκρωμίαν λαμβανέτω ὁμοῦ τῇ χαίτῃ, ὅπως μὴδὲ καθ' ἓνα τρόπον ἀναβαίνων*

<sup>1</sup> ἂν τῶν Courier ἂν ἀνιῶν τῶν MSS ἂν ἀνιμῶν τῶν S with Stephanus

he must regret <sup>1</sup> Moreover, when the horse is shy of 14 anything and will not come near it, you should teach him that there is nothing to be afraid of, either with the help of a plucky horse—which is the surest way—or else by touching the object that looks alarming yourself, and gently leading the horse up to it To 15 force him with blows only increases his terror; for when horses feel pain in such a predicament, they think that this too is caused by the thing at which they shy.

When the groom presents the horse to his rider, 16 we take no exception to his understanding how to cause the horse to crouch, for convenience in mounting We think, however, that the rider should get used to mounting even without his horse's help For a rider gets a different sort of horse at different times, and the same one does not always serve him in the same way

VII. We will now describe what the rider should do when he has received his horse and is going to mount, if he is to make the best of himself and his horse in riding.

First, then, he must hold the leading-rein fastened to the chin-strap or the nose-band ready in the left hand, and so loose as not to jerk the horse whether he means to mount by holding on to the mane near the ears or to spring up with the help of the spear With his right hand let him take hold of the reins by the withers along with the mane, so that he may

<sup>1</sup> *Hellenica*, v iii 7.



## XENOPHON

- 2 σπάσῃ τῷ χαλινῷ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἵππου. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀνακουφίσῃ ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ ἀνιμάτω τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν ἐντείωνων συνεπαιρέτω ἑαυτόν· οὕτω γὰρ ἀναβαίνων οὐδὲ ὄπισθεν αἰσχροὺς θέαν παρέξει συγκεκαμμένῳ<sup>1</sup> τῷ σκέλει· καὶ μηδὲ τὸ γόνυ ἐπὶ τὴν ῥάχιν τοῦ ἵππου τιθέτω, ἀλλ' ὑπερβησάτω ἐπὶ τὰς δεξιὰς πλευρὰς τὴν κνήμην. ὅταν δὲ περιενέγκῃ τὸν πόδα, τότε καὶ τὸ γλουτῶ καθέτω ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον.
- 3 \*Ἦν δὲ τύχη ὁ ἵππεὺς τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ ἄγων τὸν ἵππον, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἡμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν μελετήσαι ἀναπηδᾶν. μαθεῖν δ' οὐδὲν δεῖ ἄλλο ἢ ἂ μὲν τότε τοῖς δεξιοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐποίει, τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς ποιεῖν, ἂ δὲ τότε τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς, τοῖς
- 4 δεξιοῖς. τούτου δ' ἔνεκα καὶ ταύτην ἐπαινοῦμεν τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ὅτι ἅμα τε ἀναβεβηκῶς ἂν εἴη καὶ κατεσκευασμένος πάντα, εἴ τι δέοι ἐξαίφνης πρὸς πολεμίους ἀγωνίζεσθαι.
- 5 Ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν καθίζηται ἕαν τε ἐπὶ ψιλοῦ ἕαν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐφιππίου, οὐ τὴν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου ἔδραν ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥσπερ ὀρθὸς ἂν διαβεβηκῶς εἴη τοῖν σκελοῖν τοῖν τε γὰρ μηροῖν οὕτως ἂν ἔχοιτο μᾶλλον τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ ὀρθὸς ὦν ἐρρωμενεστέρως ἂν δύναιτο καὶ ἀκουτίσαι καὶ πατάξαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, εἰ δέοι.

<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῷ with a colon after παρέξει and comma after σκέλει  
S The δὲ is not in AB

<sup>1</sup> In the jockey mode "I think that those critics are in error who understand that X. meant that the rider

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, VII. 1-5

not jerk the horse's mouth with the bit in any way as he mounts. When he has made his spring in order 2 to mount, he should raise his body with his left hand, while at the same time he helps himself up by stretching out his right, for by mounting in this way he will not present an awkward appearance even from behind by bending his leg. Neither must he touch the horse's back with his knee, but throw the leg right over the off side. Having brought the foot over, he must then let his buttocks down on the horse's back.

In case the horseman happens to be leading the 3 horse with the left hand and holding his spear in the right, it is well, we think, to practise mounting on the off side also. For this purpose all that he needs to learn is to do with the left parts of the body what in the other case he did with the right, and *vice versa*. The reason why we recom- 4 mend this method of mounting also is, that no sooner is the rider mounted than he is quite ready to fight with the enemy on a sudden, if occasion requires.

When he is seated, whether on the bare back or 5 on the cloth, we would not have him sit as if he were on his chan,<sup>1</sup> but as though he were standing upright with his legs astide. For thus he will get a better grip of his horse with his thighs, and the erect position will enable him, if need be, to throw his spear and deliver a blow on horseback with more force.

should take the extreme 'fork' seat, for not only would such a position be very insecure upon the simple saddles of the Greeks, but it is inconsistent with the graceful and firm positions exhibited by the maibles." E. L. Anderson in *Riding* (Badminton series)

## XENOPHON

- 6 Χρῆ δὲ καὶ χαλαρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ γόνατος ἀφεῖσθαι τὴν κνήμην σὺν τῷ ποδί. σκληρὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔχων τὸ σκέλος εἰ προσκόψειέ τῳ, προσκεκλασμένος ἂν εἴη· ὑγρά δὲ οὔσα ἢ κνήμη, εἴ τι καὶ προσπίπτει αὐτῇ, ὑπέικοι ἂν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν οὐδὲν
- 7 μετακινούη. δεῖ δὲ τὸν ἵππεά καὶ τὸ ἄνωθεν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχύων σῶμα ὡς ὑγρότατον ἐθίζειν εἶναι. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πονεῖν<sup>1</sup> τέ τι μᾶλλον δύναιτο καὶ εἰ ἔλκοι τις αὐτὸν ἢ ὠθοίη, ἦττον ἂν σφάλλοιο.
- 8 Ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν καθίζηται, πρῶτον μὲν ἡρεμεῖν δεῖ διδάσκειν τὸν ἵππον, ἕως ἂν καὶ ὑποσπάσῃται, ἣν τι δέηται, καὶ ἡνίας ἰσώσῃται καὶ δόρυ λάβῃ, ὡς ἂν εὐφορώτατον εἴη. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐχέτω τὸν ἀριστερὸν βραχίονα πρὸς ταῖς πλευραῖς· οὕτω γὰρ εὐσταλέστατός τε ὁ ἵππεὺς ἔσται καὶ ἡ χεὶρ
- 9 ἐγκρατεστάτη. ἡνίας γε μὴν ἐπαινοῦμεν ὅποιαί ἴσαι τέ εἰσι καὶ μὴ ἀσθενεῖς μηδὲ ὀλισθηραὶ μηδὲ παχεῖαι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δόρυ, ὅταν δέη, δέχεσθαι ἢ χεὶρ δύνηται.
- 10 Ὅταν δὲ προχωρεῖν σημήνῃ τῷ ἵππῳ, βάδην μὲν ἀρχέσθω· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀταρακτότατον. ἡνιοχείτω δέ, ἣν μὲν κυφαγωγότερος ἢ ὁ ἵππος, ἀνωτέρω ταῖς χερσίν, ἣν δὲ μᾶλλον ἀνακεκυφώς, κατωτέρω· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα κοσμοίη τὸ
- 11 σχῆμα μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν αὐτοφυῆ διατροχάζων διαχαλῶη τ' ἂν ἀλυπτότατα τὸ σῶμα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπιρραβδοφορεῖν ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀφικνοῖτο. ἐπεὶ περ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀρχεσθαι εὐδοκιμώτερον, ὧδ' ἂν μάλιστα ἀπὸ τούτων ἀρχοίτο, εἰ διατροχάζοντος μὲν, ὅποτε ἐμβαίνοι

<sup>1</sup> πονεῖν A ποιεῖν S with the other MSS.

The lower leg including the foot must hang lax 6 and easy from the knee down. For if he keeps his leg stiff and should strike it against anything, he may break it, whereas a loose leg will recoil, whatever it encounters, without disturbing the position of the thigh at all. The rider must also accustom 7 himself to keeping his body above the hips as loose as possible, for thus he will be able to stand more fatigue and will be less liable to come off when he is pulled or pushed.

As soon as he is seated, he must teach his horse 8 to stand quiet at first, until he has shifted anything that wants arranging underneath him, gathered the reins even in his hand and grasped his spear in the most convenient manner. Then let him keep his left arm close to his side, for thus the horseman's figure will look best, and his hand will have most power. As for reins, we recommend that they be 9 of equal strength, not weak nor slippery nor thick, in order that the spear may be held in the same hand when necessary.

When he directs his horse to go forward, let him 10 begin at a walk, for this prevents any flurry. If the horse carries his head too low, let the rider hold the hands higher, if too high, lower, for in this way he will give him the most graceful carriage. After 11 this, if he breaks into his natural trot, he will relax his body in the easiest fashion and come to the gallop most readily. Since, too, the more approved method is to begin with the left,<sup>1</sup> one will best begin on this side, by giving the horse the signal

<sup>1</sup> The left lead comes natural to the horse. The Parthenon figures show the right lead, but the Greeks approved of many things in art that they did not practise.

## XENOPHON

- τῷ δεξιῷ, τότε σημαῖνοι τῷ ἵππῳ τὸ ἐπιρρα-  
 12 βδοφορεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἀριστερὸν μέλλον αἶρειν ἐκ  
 τούτου ἂν ἄρχοιτο, καὶ ὁπότε ἐπὶ τὰ εὐώνυμα  
 ἀναστρέφοι, τότε καὶ τῆς ἐπισκελίσεως ἄρχοιτο.  
 καὶ γὰρ πέφυκεν ὁ ἵππος εἰς μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ  
 στρεφόμενος τοῖς δεξιοῖς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, εἰς εὐώνυμα  
 δὲ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς.
- 13 Ἴππασίαν δ' ἐπαινοῦμεν τὴν πέδην καλουμένην  
 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας γὰρ τὰς γνάθους στρέφεσθαι  
 ἐθίζει. καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἵππασίαν  
 ἀγαθόν, ἵνα ἀμφοτέραι αἱ γνάθοι καθ' ἑκάτερον  
 14 τῆς ἵππασίας ἰσάζωνται. ἐπαινοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 ἑτερομήκη πέδην μᾶλλον τῆς κυκλοτεροῦς. ἥδιον  
 μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἂν στρέφοιτο ὁ ἵππος ἤδη πλήρης  
 ὢν τοῦ εὐθέος καὶ τό τε ὀρθοδρομεῖν καὶ τὸ  
 15 ἀποκάμπτειν ἅμα μελετῶη ἂν δεῖ δὲ καὶ  
 ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς· οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον  
 τῷ ἵππῳ οὐδ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ τάχει ὄντα κάμπτειν  
 ἐν μικρῷ, ἄλλως τε κὰν ἀπόκροτον ἢ ὀλισθηρὸν  
 16 ἢ τὸ χωρίον. ὅταν γε μὴν ὑπολαμβάνῃ, ὡς  
 ἤκιστα μὲν χρὴ τὸν ἵππον πλαγιοῦν τῷ χαλινῷ,  
 ὡς ἤκιστα δ' αὐτὸν πλαγιοῦσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, εὖ  
 χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι μικρὰ πρόφασις ἀρκέσει κεῖσθαι  
 17 καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππον. ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ἐκ  
 τῆς στροφῆς εἰς τὸ εὐθύς βλέπη ὁ ἵππος, ἐν  
 τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ θᾶπτον αὐτὸν ὀρμάτω. δῆλον

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<sup>1</sup> A remarkable proof of X's power of observation. When the trotting horse treads with the right fore-leg, the hind-legs are in the position that the horse assumes when galloping on the left lead, and the horse will strike off with the left fore-leg.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "fetter." The old English term is "ring."

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, VII. 11-17

to gallop while trotting, at the instant when he is treading with the right (fore) foot. As he is then on the point of raising the left, he will begin with it, and, as soon as the rider turns him to the left, will immediately begin the stride. For it is natural for the horse to lead with the right when turned to the right, and with the left when turned to the left<sup>1</sup>

The exercise that we recommend is the one called the ring,<sup>2</sup> since it accustoms the horse to turn on both jaws. It is also well to change the exercise,<sup>3</sup> in order that both jaws may be equally practised on each side of the exercise.<sup>4</sup> We recommend the manage<sup>5</sup> rather than the complete ring, for thus the horse will turn more willingly when he has gone some distance in a straight course, and one can practise the career and the turn at the same time. It is necessary to collect him at the turns, for it is neither easy for the horse nor safe to turn short when going fast, especially if the ground is uneven or slippery. In collecting him the rider must slant the horse as little as possible with the bit, and slant his own body as little as possible; else he may be sure that a trifling cause will be enough to bring him and his horse down. As soon as the horse faces the straight after turning, push him along at

now volte. Of course the horse was exercised first in one direction, then in the other.

<sup>3</sup> *i e* ride on the other hand; this is not part of the volte.

<sup>4</sup> *i e* may have both jaws equally sensitive on whichever hand he is ridden.

<sup>5</sup> I have ventured to use this term since X means precisely what Gervase Markham calls the "manage" in the strict sense, *i e* two straight treads with a semicircle at either end.

## XENOPHON

- γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ στροφαὶ εἰσιν ἢ τοῦ διώκειν ἢ τοῦ ἀποχωρεῖν ἕνεκα. ἀγαθὸν οὖν τὸ στραφέντα ταχύνειν μελετᾶν. ὅταν δὲ ἱκανῶς ἤδη δοκῇ τὸ γυμνάσιον τῷ ἵππῳ ἔχειν, ἀγαθὸν καὶ διαπαύσαντα ὀρμηθεῖν ἐξαίφνης εἰς τὸ τάχιστον καὶ ἀφ' ἵππων μέντοι, μὴ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἵππους· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ταχέος αὐτὸς ὡς ἐγγυτάτῳ ἡρεμίζειν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐστάναι δὲ στρέψαντα πάλιν<sup>2</sup> ὀρμᾶν. πρόδηλον γὰρ ὅτι ἔσται ποτὲ ὅτε ἑκατέρου τούτων δεήσει.
- 19 Ὅταν γε μὴν καταβαίνειν ἤδη καιρὸς ᾖ, μήτε ἐν ἵπποις ποτὲ καταβαίνειν μήτε παρὰ σύστασιν ἀνθρώπων μήτε ἔξω τῆς ἵππασίας, ἀλλ' ὅπου περ καὶ πονεῖν ἀναγκάζεται ὁ ἵππος, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς ῥαστώνης τυγχανέτω.
- VIII. Ἐπειδή περ ἔστιν ὅπου τρέχειν δεήσει τὸν ἵππον καὶ πρηνῆ καὶ ὄρθια καὶ πλάγια, ἔστι δ' ὅπου διαπηδᾶν, ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ ἐκπηδᾶν, ἔνθα δὲ καὶ καθάλλεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα διδάσκειν τε δεῖ καὶ μελετᾶν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν σωτήριοί τε εἶεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ καθόλου<sup>3</sup> χρησιμώτεροι ἂν δοκοῖεν εἶναι.
- 2 Εἰ δέ τις διλογεῖν ἡμᾶς οὔεται, ὅτι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγομεν νῦν τε καὶ πρόσθεν, οὐ διλογία ταῦτά ἐστιν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἐωνεῖτο, πειρᾶσθαι ἐκελεύομεν, εἰ δύναιτο ὁ ἵππος ταῦτα ποιεῖν· νῦν δὲ διδάσκειν φημὲν χρῆναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ γράψομεν, ὡς δεῖ διδάσκειν.

<sup>1</sup> μὴ MSS καὶ S. with Camerarius

<sup>2</sup> πάλιν Lenklau δεῖ πάλιν S with the MSS

<sup>3</sup> καθόλου placed here by Pollack · in the MSS it comes after αὐτὸν in the previous sentence · S omits with Dindorf.

once For of course, in war too, turns are made with a view to pursuit or retreat It is well, therefore, to practise increasing the pace after turning So 18 soon as the horse appears to have been exercised enough, it is well to let him rest a certain time, and then suddenly to put him to his top speed again, of course away from, not towards, other horses, and to pull him up again in the midst of his career as short as possible, and then to turn and start him again from the stand For it is obvious that a time will come when it will be necessary to do one or the other

When the time has come to dismount, the rider 19 must never dismount among other horses or near a group of people or outside the riding-ground; but let the place where the horse is forced to work be the place where he also receives his reward of ease.

VIII As the horse will frequently have to gallop down hill and up hill and along a slope, and as he will have to leap over, and to leap out, and to jump down at various times, the rider must teach and practise both himself and his horse in all these things For thus they will be able to help each other, and will be thought altogether more efficient

If anyone thinks that we are repeating ourselves, 2 because we are referring to matters already dealt with, this is not repetition For we recommended the purchaser to try whether the horse could do these things at the time of buying but now we say that a man should teach his own horse, and we will show how to teach him



## XENOPHON

- 3 Τὸν μὲν γὰρ παντάπασιν ἄπειρον τοῦ διαπηδᾶν λαβόντα δεῖ τοῦ ἀγωγέως καταβεβλημένου προ-  
 4 δεῖ τῷ ἀγωγεῖ, ὡς διάλληται. ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλη, ἔχων τις μᾶστιγα ἢ ῥάβδον ἐμβαλέτω ὡς ἰσχυ-  
 ρότατα· καὶ οὕτως ὑπεραλείται οὐ τὸ μέτρον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλεῖον τοῦ καιροῦ· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν δεήσει παίειν, ἀλλ' ἦν μόνον ἴδη ὀπισθεν  
 5 τινα ἐπελθόντα, ἀλείται. ἐπειδὴν δὲ οὕτω διαπηδᾶν ἐθισθῆ, καὶ ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐπαγέτω τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μικρὰς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μείζους. ὅταν δὲ μέλλῃ πηδᾶν, παισάτω αὐτὸν τῷ μύωπι. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀναπηδᾶν καὶ τὸ καταπηδᾶν διδάσκων παισάτω τῷ μύωπι. ἀθρόω γὰρ τῷ σώματι ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὁ ἵππος καὶ τῷ ἀναβάτῃ ἀσφαλέστερον ποιήσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἂν ἐλλείπη τὰ ὀπισθεν ἢ διαπηδῶν ἢ ἀνορούων ἢ καθαλλόμενος
- 6 Εἰς γε μὴν τὸ κάταντες πρῶτον χρῆ ἐν μαλακῷ χωρίῳ διδάσκειν. καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπειδὴν τοῦτο ἐθισθῆ, πολὺ ἥδιον τὸ πρανὲς τοῦ ὀρθίου δραμεῖται. ἃ δὲ φοβοῦνται τινες μὴ ἀπορρηγνύονται τοὺς ὤμους κατὰ τὰ πρανή ἐλαυνόμενοι, θαρροῦντων μαθόντες, ὅτι Πέρσαι καὶ Ὀδρῦσαι ἅπαντες τὰ κατάντη ἀμιλλώμενοι οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑγιεῖς τοὺς ἵππους ἔχουσι.
- 7 Παρήσομεν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅπως τὸν ἀναβάτην ὑψηρετεῖν δεῖ πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων. χρῆ γὰρ ὀρμώντος μὲν ἐξαίφνης ἵππου προνεύειν· ἦττον γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑποδύοι ὁ ἵππος καὶ ἀναβάλοι τὸν ἀναβάτην· ἐν μικρῷ δὲ ἀναλαμβανομένου ἀναπίπτειν. ἦττον  
 8 γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸς κόπτοιτο. τάφρον δὲ διαλλομένον

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, VIII 3-8

When a man has a raw horse quite ignorant of 3  
leaping, he must get over the ditch himself first,  
holding him loosely by the leading-rein, and then give  
him a pull with the rein to make him leap over.  
If he refuses, let someone strike him as hard as he 4  
can with a whip or a stick whereupon he will leap,  
and not only the necessary distance, but much  
further than was required In future there will be  
no need to beat him, for if he merely sees a man  
approaching behind him, he will leap As soon as he 5  
has grown accustomed to leap in this way, let him  
be mounted and tried first at narrow, and then  
at wider ditches Just as he is on the point of  
springing touch him with the spur Similarly  
he should be taught to leap up and to leap down  
by a touch of the spur For if he does all these  
things with his body compactly gathered, it will be  
safer for the horse as well as the rider than if his  
hind-quarters lag in taking a leap over, or in  
springing upwards or jumping downwards

Going down hill should first be taught on soft 6  
ground, and in the end, when the horse gets used  
to this, he will canter down more readily than  
up hill If some fear that horses may put out  
their shoulders by being ridden down hill, they may  
take comfort when they understand that the Persians  
and Odrysians all ride races down hill, and yet keep  
their horses just as sound as the Greeks

Now will we omit to state how the rider is to 7  
assist in all these movements If the horse springs  
suddenly, he should lean forward, for so the  
horse is less likely to slip away and throw the rider off  
But in pulling him up short he should lean back;  
for so he himself will be less jolted When jumping 8

## XENOPHON

καὶ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰεμένου καλὸν<sup>1</sup> χαίτης ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, ὡς μὴ ὁ ἵππος τῷ τε χωρίῳ ἅμα καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ βαρύνηται. εἰς γε μὴν τὸ πρᾶνές καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπτιαστέον καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἀντιληπτέον τῷ χαλινῷ, ὡς μὴ προπετῶς εἰς τὸ κάταντες μῆτε αὐτὸς μῆτε ὁ ἵππος φέρεται.

- 9 Ὅρθῶς δὲ ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἄλλοτε μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις, ἄλλοτε δὲ μακρὰς ἄλλοτε δὲ βραχείας τὰς ἵππασίας ποιεῖσθαι. ἀμισέστερα γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις καὶ ὁμοίως τὰς ἵππασίας ποιεῖσθαι.
- 10 Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ ἐν παντοίοις τε χωρίοις τὸν ἵππον ἀνὰ κράτος<sup>2</sup> ἐλαύνοντα ἔποχον εἶναι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τοῖς ὄπλοις καλῶς δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ὅπου μὲν ἐστὶ χωρία ἐπιτήδεια καὶ θηρία, ἄμεμπτος ἢ ἐν θήραις μελέτη τῆς ἵππικῆς· ὅπου δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ὑπάρχει, ἀγαθὴ ἀσκησις καὶ ἦν δύο ἵππότα συνθεμένῳ ὁ μὲν φεύγη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παντοῖα χωρία καὶ τὸ δόρυ εἰς τοῦπισθεν μεταβαλόμενος ὑποχωρῆ, ὁ δὲ διώκῃ ἐσφαιρωμένα τε ἔχων ἀκόντια καὶ δόρυ ὡσαύτως πεπραγματευμένον καὶ ὅπου μὲν ἂν εἰς ἀκόντιον ἀφικνῆται, ἀκοντίξῃ τὸν φεύγοντα τοῖς σφαιρωτοῖς· ὅπου δ' ἂν εἰς
- 11 δόρατος πληγῆν, παίη τὸν ἀλισκόμενον. ἀγαθὸν δὲ κἂν ποτε συμπέσωσιν, ἐλκύσαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν πολέμιον ἐξαίφνης ἀπῶσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ καταβλητικόν. ὄρθῶς δὲ ἔχει καὶ τῷ ἐλκομένῳ ἐπε-

<sup>1</sup> καλὸν AB κακὸν M οὐ κακὸν S with L.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνὰ κράτος MSS S. reads ἀγ.κράτος from Suidas

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, VIII. 8-11

a ditch or riding up hill it is well <sup>1</sup> to take hold of the mane, that the horse may not be burdened by his bridle and the difficulty of the ground at the same time. When going down a steep incline, he should throw his body back and support the horse with the bridle, that neither rider nor horse may be tossed headlong down hill.

It is correct also to exercise the horse sometimes 9 in one place, sometimes in another, and to make the exercises sometimes long and sometimes short, for this is less irksome to the horse than being exercised always in the same place and for the same length of time.

Since it is necessary that the rider should have a 10 firm seat when riding at top speed over all sorts of country, and should be able to use his weapons properly on horseback, the practice of horsemanship by hunting is to be recommended where the country is suitable and big game is to be found. Where these conditions are lacking, it is a good method of training for two riders to work together thus: one flies on his horse over all kinds of ground and retreats, reversing his spear so that it points backwards, while the other pursues, having buttons on his javelins and holding his spear in the same position, and when he gets within javelin shot, tries to hit the fugitive with the blunted weapons, and if he gets near enough to use his spear, strikes his captive with it. It is also a good plan, 11 in case of a collision between them, for one to pull his adversary towards him and suddenly push him back again, since that is the way to dismount him. The right thing for the man who is being pulled is to

<sup>1</sup> Of course no modern rider would approve of this

## XENOPHON

- λαύνειν τὸν ἵππον· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ὁ ἐλκόμενος καταβάλοι ἂν μᾶλλον τὸν ἔλκοντα ἢ καταπέσοι.
- 12 Ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ στρατοπέδου ἀντικαθημένου ἀνθιππεύωσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ διώκωσι μὲν μέχρι τῆς πολεμίας φάλαγγος τοὺς ἀντίους, φεύγωσι δὲ μέχρι τῆς φιλίας, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπίστασθαι, ὅτι ἕως μὲν ἂν παρὰ τοὺς φίλους τις ᾗ, καλὸν καὶ ἀσφαλές τὸ ἐν πρώτοις ἐπιστρέψαντα ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπικεῖσθαι, ὅταν δ' ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐναντίων γίγνηται, ὑποχείριον τὸν ἵππον ἔχειν οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς μάλιστα δύναιτο βλάπτων τοὺς ἐναντίους μὴ βλάπτεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν.
- 13 Ἀνθρώποις μὲν οὖν ἀνθρωπον θεοὶ ἔδοσαν λόγῳ διδάσκειν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἵππον δὲ δῆλον ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν διδάξαις· ἦν δὲ ὅταν μὲν ποιήσῃ ὡς ἂν βούλῃ, ἀντιχαρῖση αὐτῷ, ὅταν δὲ ἀπειθῇ, κολάζῃς, οὕτω μάλιστα μάθοι ἂν τὸ δέον ὑπηρετεῖν· καὶ ἔστι μὲν τοῦτο ἐν βραχεῖ εἰπεῖν, δι' ὅλης δὲ τῆς ἵππικῆς παρακολουθεῖ. καὶ γὰρ χαλινὸν μᾶλλον ἂν λαμβάνοι, εἰ ὁπότε δέξαιτο ἀγαθόν τι αὐτῷ ἀποβαίνοι· καὶ διαπηδῶν δ' ἂν καὶ ἐξάλλοιτο καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ὑπηρετοῖν ἂν, εἰ προσδοκῶν ὁπότε τὰ σημαινόμενα πράξειε ῥαστώνην τινά.

IX. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ εἰρημένα ταῦτά ἐστιν, ὡς ἂν ἦκιστα μὲν ἐξαπατῶτο καὶ πῶλον καὶ ἵππον ὠνούμενος, ἦκιστα δ' ἂν διαφθείραι χρώμενος, μάλιστα δ' ἂν ἵππον ἀποδεικνύειν δέοι ἔχοντα ὦν ἵππεὺς δεῖται εἰς πόλεμον. καιρὸς δ' ἴσως γράψαι καὶ εἴ ποτε συμβαίῃ θυμοειδεστέρω ἵππῳ τοῦ καιροῦ χρῆσθαι ἢ βλακωδεστέρω, ὡς ἂν ὀρθότατα ἑκατέρῳ χρῶτο.

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, VIII. I I-IX. I

urge his horse forward; by doing this the pulled is more likely to unhoise the puller than to be unhoised himself.

If at any time when an enemy's camp lies in front 12 there is a cavalry skirmish, and one side presses the pursuit right up to the enemy's line of battle, but then retreats hastily to its own main body, it is well to know in that case that so long as you are by your friends, it is proper and safe to be among the first to wheel and make for the enemy at full speed, but when you come near the enemy to keep your horse well in hand. For in this way you have the best chance of injuring the enemy without coming to harm yourself

Now, whereas the gods have given to men the power 13 of instructing one another in their duty by word of mouth, it is obvious that you can teach a horse nothing by word of mouth. If, however, you reward him when he behaves as you wish, and punish him when he is disobedient, he will best learn to do his duty. This rule can be stated in few words, but it applies 14 to the whole art of horsemanship. He will receive the bit, for example, more willingly if something good happens to him as soon as he takes it. He will also leap over and jump out of anything, and perform all his actions duly if he can expect a rest as soon as he has done what is required of him.

IX. So far we have described how to avoid being cheated in buying a colt or a horse, how to avoid spoiling him in usage and how to impart to a horse all the qualities required by a cavalryman for war. It is time perhaps to give directions, in case one has to deal with a horse that is too spirited or too sluggish, for the correct way of managing either.

## XENOPHON

2 Πρῶτον τοίνυν χρὴ τοῦτο γινῶναι, ὅτι ἐστὶ  
 θυμὸς ἵππῳ ὅπερ ὀργῇ ἀνθρώπῳ ὥσπερ οὖν  
 καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἥκιστ' ἀν' ὀργίζοι τις μήτε λέγων  
 χαλεπὸν μηδὲν μήτε ποιῶν, οὕτω καὶ ἵππου  
 3 θυμοειδῆ ὁ μὴ ἀνιῶν ἥκιστ' ἀν' ἐξοργίζοι. εὐθὺς  
 μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὡς  
 ἀν' ἥκιστ' ἀναβαίνων λυποίη· ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀναβῆ,  
 ἡρεμήσαντα πλείω χρόνον ἢ τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα  
 οὕτω προκινεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς πραοτάτοις σημείοις.  
 ἔπειτα δ' ἐκ τοῦ βραδυτάτου ἀρχόμενον οὕτως  
 αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ θᾶπτον προάγειν, ὡς ἀν' μάλιστα  
 λαυθάνοι αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππος εἰς τὸ ταχὺ ἀφικνού-  
 4 μενος. ὅ τι δ' ἀν' ἐξαίφνης σημήνη, θυμοειδῆ  
 ἵππον ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου ταραττει τὰ ἐξαπίναια  
 καὶ ὀράματα καὶ ἀκούσματα καὶ παθήματα.  
 εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἵππῳ τὰ ἐξαπίναια  
 5 τάραχον ἐξεργάζεται<sup>1</sup> ἢν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ θᾶπτον  
 ὀρμώμενον τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν βούλη τὸν  
 θυμοειδῆ, οὐ δεῖ ἐξαπιναίως σπᾶν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμαίως  
 προσάγεσθαι τῷ χαλινῷ πραύνοντα, οὐ βιαζό-  
 6 μενον ἡρεμεῖν. καὶ αἴ τε μακρὰ ἐλάσεις μᾶλλον  
 ἢ αἰ πυκναὶ ἀποστροφαὶ πραύνουσι τοὺς ἵππους  
 καὶ αἰ ἡσυχαῖαι μὲν,<sup>2</sup> πολυχρόνιοι δὲ<sup>3</sup> καθέψουσι  
 καὶ πραύνουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεγείρουσι τὸν θυμοειδῆ.  
 7 εἰ δὲ τις οἴεται, ἦν ταχὺ καὶ πολλὰ ἐλαύνηται,  
 ἀπειπεῖν ποιήσας τὸν ἵππον πραυνεῖν, τὰναντία  
 γιγνώσκει τοῦ γιγνομένου ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις  
 ὁ θυμοειδὴς καὶ ἄγειν βίᾳ μάλιστα ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ  
 σὺν τῇ ὀργῇ ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπος ὀργίλος πολλάκις  
 καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀναβάτην πολλὰ ἀνήκεστα

<sup>1</sup> S with Cobet would omit this sentence. The καὶ before ἐν is in A only, and is therefore not in S.

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, ix 2-7

First, then, it must be realised that spirit in a 2 horse is precisely what anger is in a man. Therefore, just as you are least likely to make a man angry if you neither say nor do anything disagreeable to him, so he who abstains from annoying a spirited horse is least likely to rouse his anger. Accordingly, 3 at the moment of mounting, the rider should take care to worry him as little as possible, and when he is mounted, he should let him stand still longer than is otherwise usual, and then direct him to go by the most gentle aids. Then let him begin at a very slow pace and increase the speed with the same gentle help, so that the horse will not be aware of the transition to a quicker motion. Any sudden sign disturbs 4 a spirited horse, just as sudden sights and sounds and sensations disturb a man. It is important to realise that a horse too is flurried by anything sudden. If 5 you want to correct a spirited horse when he is going too fast, do not pull him suddenly, but quietly check him with the bit, soothing him, not forcing him, to a quiet pace. Long rides rather than frequent turn- 6 ings, calm horses, and quiet ones lasting long soothe and calm a spirited horse and do not excite him. But 7 if anyone supposes that he will calm a horse by frequent riding at a quick pace so as to tire him, his opinion is the opposite of the truth. For in such cases a spirited horse does his utmost to get the upper hand by force, and in his excitement, like an angry man, he often causes many irreparable injuries both

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<sup>2</sup> μέν is omitted by S

<sup>3</sup> πολυχρόνιοι δὲ Madvig, πολὺν δὲ χρόνον A πολὺν χρόνον S with the other MSS



## XENOPHON

- 8 ἐποίησεν. ἐπιλαμβάνειν δὲ χρή ἵππον θυμοειδῆ καὶ τοῦ εἰς τὸ τάχιστον ὀρμᾶν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ παραβάλλειν ἵππῳ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπέχεσθαι· σχεδὸν γὰρ καὶ φιλονικότατοι οἱ θυμοειδέστατοι τῶν ἵππων γίγνονται
- 9 Καὶ χαλινοὶ δὲ οἱ λείοι ἐπιτηδειότεροι τῶν τραχέων. εἴαν δὲ καὶ τραχὺς ἐμβληθῆ, τῇ χαλαρότητι λείῳ δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀφομοιοῦν. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἐθίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἡρεμεῖν, μάλιστα ἐπὶ θυμοειδοῦς ἵππου, καὶ τὸ ὡς ἤκιστα ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἄπτεσθαι ἢ οἷς τοῦ καθῆσθαι ἀσφαλῶς ἕνεκα ἀπτόμεθα.
- 10 Εἰδέναι δε χρή, ὅτι δίδαγμα ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ποππυσμῷ μὲν πραινέσθαι, κλωγμῷ δὲ ἐγείρεσθαι. καὶ εἴ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ μὲν κλωγμῷ τὰ πραέα, ἐπὶ δὲ ποππυσμῷ τὰ χαλεπὰ προσφέρει, μάθει ἂν ὁ ἵππος ποππυσμῷ μὲν ἐγείρεσθαι, κλωγμῷ
- 11 δὲ πραινέσθαι. οὕτως οὖν δεῖ καὶ παρὰ κραυγὴν καὶ παρὰ σάλπιγγα μῆτ' αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι τεθορυβημένον τῷ ἵππῳ μῆτε μὴν ἐκείνῳ θορυβῶδες μηδὲν προσφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἀναπαύειν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ ἄριστα καὶ δεῖπνα, εἰ
- 12 συγχωροίη, προσφέρειν. κάλλιστον δὲ συμβούλευμα τὸ ἄγαν θυμοειδῆ ἵππον μὴ κτᾶσθαι εἰς πολέμους.

Βλακί γε μὴν ἵππῳ ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ γράφαι πάντα τὰναντία ποιεῖν ὅσα τῷ θυμοειδεῖ χρῆσθαι συμβουλεύομεν.

X. \*Ἦν δὲ τίς ποτε βουλευθῆ χρῆσθαι τῷ

to himself and to his rider. One must prevent<sup>1</sup> a high-spirited horse from going at his top speed, and of course, entirely avoid letting him race with another horse, for as a rule the most highly spirited horses are also most eager for victory

As for bits, the smooth are more suitable than the rough, but if a rough one is used, it should be made to resemble a smooth one by lightness of hand. It is also well to accustom oneself to sit still, especially on a spirited horse, and to touch him as little as possible with anything other than the parts that give us a safe seat by contact

It should also be known that a horse can be taught to be calm by a chirp with the lips and to be roused by a cluck with the tongue. And if from the first you use with the cluck aids to calm him, and with the chirp aids to rouse him, the horse will learn to rouse himself at the chirp and to calm down at the cluck. Accordingly, if a shout is heard or a trumpet sounds, you must not allow the horse to notice any sign of alarm in you, and must on no account do anything to him to cause him alarm, but as far as possible let him rest in such circumstances, and, if you have the opportunity, bring him his morning or evening meal. But the best advice is not to get an over-spirited horse for war

As for a sluggish beast, I may be content with the remark that in everything you must do the opposite of what we advise for the treatment of a high-spirited one

X. If a man wants to make a useful war-horse

<sup>1</sup> Or, reading *τότε τοῦ* for *τοῦ* with Pollack "one must try to stop a spirited horse even then from going at his full speed." A has *τότε* for *τοῦ*.

## XENOPHON

- χρησίμῳ εἰς πόλεμον ἵπῳ μεγαλοπρεπεστέρῳ  
 τε καὶ περιβλεπτοτέρῳ ἱππάζεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν  
 ἔλκειν τε τὸ στόμα τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ μνωπίζειν  
 τε καὶ μαστιγοῦν τὸν ἵππον, ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ ποι-  
 οῦντες λαμπρύνειν οἴονται, ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ πάντα  
 γὰρ τὰναντία οὗτοί γε ποιούσιν ὧν βούλονται.
- 2 τὰ τε γὰρ στόματα ἔλκοντες ἄνω ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 προορᾶν ἐκτυφλοῦσι τοὺς ἵππους καὶ μνωπίζοντες  
 καὶ παίοντες ἐκπλήττουσιν, ὥστε τεταράχθαι καὶ  
 κινδυνεύειν. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἵππων ἔργα τῶν  
 μάλιστα ἀχθομένων ἵππασία καὶ αἰσχρὰ καὶ
- 3 οὐ καλὰ ποιούντων. εἴαν δέ τις διδάξῃ τὸν ἵππον  
 ἐν χαλαρῷ μὲν τῷ χαλινῷ ἱππεύειν, ἄνω δὲ τὸν  
 αὐχένα διαίρειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κυρτοῦσθαι,  
 οὕτως ἂν ἀπεργάζοιτο ποιεῖν τὸν ἵππον οἴοισπερ
- 4 καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδεται τε καὶ ἀγάλλεται. τεκμήριον  
 δὲ ὅτι τούτοις ἤδεται. ὅταν γὰρ σχηματοποι-  
 εῖσθαι θέλῃ<sup>1</sup> παρ' ἵππους, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν  
 παρὰ θηλείας, τότε αἶρει τε τὸν αὐχένα ἀνωτάτω  
 καὶ κυρτοῖ μάλιστα τὴν κεφαλὴν γοργοῦμενος
- 5 ἄνω ἀνατείνει. ὅταν οὖν τις αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα  
 προάγῃ, ἅπερ αὐτὸς σχηματοποιεῖται, ὅταν  
 μάλιστα καλλωπίζεται, οὕτως ἠδόμενόν τε τῇ  
 ἵππασίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ καὶ γοργὸν καὶ περι-  
 βλεπτόν ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἵππον. ὡς οὖν ἠγούμεθα  
 ταῦτ' ἂν ἀπεργασθῆναι, νῦν αὖ πειρασόμεθα  
 διηγείσθαι.
- 6 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν χρὴ οὐ μείον δυοῖν χαλινοῖν  
 κεκτῆσθαι. τούτων δὲ ἕστω ὁ μὲν λεῖος, τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> σχηματοποιεῖσθαι θέλη A the rest have θέλη only S. reads λυθελς θέη with Jacobs

look more stately and showy when ridden, he must avoid pulling his mouth with the bit, and using the spur and whip, means by which most people imagine that they show off a horse. In point of fact the results they produce are the very opposite of what they intend. For by dragging the mouth up they blind their horses instead of letting them see ahead, and by spurring and whipping, flurried them so that they are startled and get into danger<sup>1</sup>. That is the behaviour of horses that strongly object to being ridden and that behave in an ugly and unseemly fashion. But if you teach the horse to go with a slack bridle, to hold his neck up and to arch it towards the head, you will cause the horse to do the very things in which he himself delights and takes the greatest pleasure. A proof that he delights in them is that whenever he himself chooses to show off before horses, and especially before mares, he raises his neck highest and arches his head most, looking fierce, he lifts his legs freely off the ground and tosses his tail up. Whenever, therefore, you induce him to carry himself in the attitudes he naturally assumes when he is most anxious to display his beauty, you make him look as though he took pleasure in being ridden, and give him a noble, fierce, and attractive appearance. How we think that these effects may be produced we will now try to explain.

To begin with, you should possess two bits at least<sup>2</sup>. One of these should be smooth and have the

<sup>1</sup> Or, reading *δινεύειν*, which occurred to Pollack and the translator independently, "twist about," "indulge in reactions." This is much more probable.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction

## XENOPHON

- τροχούς εὐμεγέθεις ἔχων, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τοὺς μὲν τροχούς καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ ταπεινούς, τοὺς δ' ἐχίνοὺς ὀξεῖς, ἵνα ὀπόταν μὲν τοῦτον λάβῃ, ἀσχάλλων τῇ τραχύτητι διὰ τοῦτο ἀφίῃ, ὅταν δὲ τὸν λείον μεταλάβῃ, τῇ μὲν λειότητι αὐτοῦ ἡσθῆ, ἃ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραχέος παιδευθῆ, ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ
- 7 λείῳ ποιῆ ἣν δ' αὖ καταφρονήσας τῆς λειότητος θαμινὰ ἀπερείδηται ἐν αὐτῷ, τούτου ἕνεκα τοὺς τροχούς μεγάλους τῷ λείῳ προστίθεμεν ἵνα χάσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίῃ τὸ στόμιον. οἶόν τε δὲ καὶ τὸν τραχὺν παντοδαπὸν ποιεῖν καὶ κατειλόντα καὶ κατατείνοντα.
- 8 ὁποῖοι δ' ἂν ὦσι χαλινοί, πάντες ὑγροὶ ἔστωσαν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ σκληρόν, ὅπῃ ἂν ὁ ἵππος λάβῃ, ὅλον ἔχει πρὸς ταῖς γνάθοις· ὥσπερ καὶ ὀβελίσκον,
- 9 ὁπόθεν ἂν τις λάβῃ, ὅλον αἶρει. ὁ δ' ἕτερος ὥσπερ ἡ ἄλυσις ποιεῖ· ὁ γὰρ ἂν ἔχῃ τις αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο μόνον ἄκαμπτον μένει, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀπήρηται. τὸ δὲ φεύγον ἐν τῷ στόματι αἰεὶ θηρεύων ἀφίησιw ἀπὸ τῶν γνάθων τὸ στόμιον· τούτου ἕνεκα καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέσον ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων δακτύλιοι κρεμάννυνται, ὅπως τούτους διώκων τῇ τε γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀμελῆ τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνειν πρὸς τὰς γνάθους τὸν χαλινόν.
- 10 Εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, τί τὸ ὑγρὸν τοῦ χαλινοῦ καὶ τί τὸ σκληρόν, γράψομεν καὶ τοῦτο. ὑγρὸν μὲν γάρ ἐστιw, ὅταν οἱ ἄξονες εὐρείας καὶ λείας ἔχωσι τὰς συμβολάς, ὥστε ῥαδίως κάμπτεσθαι, καὶ

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<sup>1</sup> So as to mitigate the roughness of the teeth This was sometimes done by covering the teeth with wax (Pollux 1 207).

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, x 6-10

discs of a good size ; the other should have the discs heavy and low, and the teeth sharp, so that when the horse seizes it he may drop it because he objects to its roughness, and when he is bitted with the smooth one instead, may welcome its smoothness and may do on the smooth bit what he has been trained to do with the aid of the rough one In 7 case, however, he takes no account of it because of its smoothness, and keeps bearing against it, we put large discs on the smooth bit to stop this, so that they may force him to open his mouth and drop the bit It is possible also to make the rough bit adaptable by wrapping<sup>1</sup> it up and tightening the reins<sup>2</sup> But whatever be the pattern of the 8 bits, they must all be flexible. For wherever a horse seizes a stiff one, he holds the whole of it against his jaws, just as you lift the whole of a spit wherever you take hold of it But the other kind of 9 bit acts like a chain : for only the part that you hold remains unbent, while the rest of it hangs loose As the horse continually tries to seize the part that eludes him in his mouth, he lets the bit drop from his jaws This is why little rings<sup>3</sup> are hung in the middle on the axles, in order that the horse may feel after them with his tongue and teeth and not think of taking the bit up against the jaws

In case the meaning of the terms flexible and 10 stiff as applied to a bit is not known, we will explain this too. "Flexible" means that the axles have broad and smooth links so that they bend easily ;

<sup>1</sup> See c. ix, § 9

<sup>2</sup> Two sets, one hanging to each of the two links that form the centre joint of the two axles of which the "flexible" bit consisted They are found in both the Berhn bits

## XENOPHON

- πάντα δὲ ὅποσα περιτίθεται περὶ τοὺς ἄξονας, ἢν εὐρύστομα ἢ καὶ μὴ σύμπυκνα, ὑγρότερα
- 11 ἔστιν. ἢν δὲ χαλεπῶς ἕκαστα τοῦ χαλινοῦ διατρέχη καὶ συνθήῃ, τοῦτ' ἔστι σκληρὸν εἶναι.
- Ἐποῖος δ' ἂν τις ἢ, τούτῳ τάδε γε πάντα ταῦτα ποιητέον, ἢν περ γε βούληται ἀποδείξασθαι
- 12 τὸν ἵππον οἷον περ εἴρηται ἀνακρουστέον μὲν τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἄγαν χαλεπῶς ὥστε ἐκνεύειν, οὔτε ἄγαν ἡσυχῶς ὡς μὴ αἰσθάνεσθαι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνακρουόμενος αἴρῃ τὸν αὐχένα, δοτέον εὐθύς τὸν χαλινόν. καὶ τὰλλα δὲ δεῖ, ὥσπερ οὐ παυόμεθα λέγοντες, ἐν ᾧ ἂν καλῶς ὑπηρετῇ,
- 13 χαρίζεσθαι τῷ ἵππῳ. καὶ ὅταν δ' αἰσθηταὶ ἠδόμενον τὸν ἵππον τῇ τε ὑψηλαυχενείᾳ καὶ τῇ χαλαρότητι, ἐν τούτῳ οὐδὲν δεῖ χαλεπὸν προσφέρειν ὡς πονεῖν ἀναγκάζοντα, ἀλλὰ θωπεύειν ὡς παύσασθαι βουλόμενον· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα
- 14 θαρρῶν πρόεισιν εἰς τὴν ταχείαν ἵππασίαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῷ ταχὺ θεῖν ἵππος ἠδέεται, τεκμήριον ἐκφυγῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς βάδην πορεύεται, ἀλλὰ θεῖ τούτῳ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἠδεσθαι, ἢν μὴ τις πλείω τοῦ καιροῦ θεῖν ἀναγκάζῃ· ὑπερβάλλον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἠδὲ οὔτε ἵππῳ οὔτε ἀνθρώπῳ
- 15 Ὅταν γε μὴν εἰς τὸ ἱππάζεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ κυδρουῦ ἀφιγμένος ἢ, εἰθισμέιος μὲν δήπου ἡμῖν ἢν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἵππασίᾳ ἐκ τῶν στροφῶν εἰς τὸ θάπτον ὀρμαῖσθαι. ἢν δὲ τις τοῦτο μεμαθηκότος

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning (1) the toothed cylinders, (2) the pendants to which the reins were attached, (3) the curved or S-shaped branches with eyes to which the bridle was fastened. It is

## ART OF HORSEMANSHIP, x. 10-15

and if everything that goes round the axles<sup>1</sup> has large openings, and does not fit tight, it is more flexible. "Stiff," on the other hand, means that the 11 pieces of the bit do not run over the axles and work in combination easily

Whatever the pattern may be, the same method of using it must be carried out in all the points that follow, assuming that you want your horse to have just the appearance I have described. The mouth 12 must neither be pulled so hard that he holds his nose in the air, nor so gently that he takes no notice. As soon as he raises his neck when you pull, give him the bit at once. Invariably, in fact, as we cannot too often repeat, you must humour your horse whenever he responds to your wishes. And when 13 you notice that high carriage of his neck and lightness of hand give him pleasure, you should not deal hardly with him as though you were forcing him to work, but coax him as when you want to stop<sup>2</sup>, for thus he will break into a fast pace with most confidence. There is plain proof that a horse 14 takes pleasure in going fast: for when he breaks loose a horse never goes at a walking pace, but always runs. He instinctively takes pleasure in this, provided he is not compelled to run too far for his strength. Nothing in excess is ever pleasing either to horse or man.

When your horse has progressed so far as to bear 15 himself proudly when ridden, he has, of course, already been accustomed in the early exercises to break into a quicker pace after turning.<sup>3</sup> Now if after

curious that we do not know the Greek terms for (2) and (3)

"Let all the parts be loose" is what X means

<sup>2</sup> A has *ἰππέσασθαι* "to ride," for *παύσασθαι*      <sup>3</sup> vii 17



## XENOPHON

- αὐτοῦ ἅμα ἀντιλαμβάνηται τε τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ σημήνῃ τῶν ὀρμητηρίων τι, οὕτως ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ χαλινοῦ πιεσθεῖς, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὀρμᾶν σημανθῆναι ἐγερθεῖς<sup>1</sup> προβάλλεται μὲν τὰ στέρνα, αἶρει δὲ ἄνω<sup>2</sup> τὰ σκέλη ὀρμιζόμενος, οὐ μέντοι ὑγρά γε· οὐ γὰρ μάλα, ὅταν λυπῶνται, ὑγροῖς τοῖς σκέ-
- 16 λεσιν ἵπποι χρῶνται. ἦν δέ τις οὕτως ἀνεξω-  
 πυρημένῳ αὐτῷ δῶ τὸν χαλινόν, ἐνταῦθα ὑφ'  
 ἡδονῆς τῷ διὰ τὴν χαλαρότητα τοῦ στομίου  
 λελύσθαι νομίζειν, κυδρῷ μὲν τῷ σχήματι,  
 ὑγροῖν δὲ τοῖν σκελοῖν γαυριώμενος φέρεται,  
 παντάπασι ἐκμιμούμενος τὸν πρὸς ἵππους καλ-
- 17 λωπισμόν. καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι τὸν ἵππον τοιοῦτον  
 ἐπικαλοῦσιν<sup>3</sup> ἐλευθέριον τε καὶ ἐθελουργόν καὶ  
 ἵππαστὴν καὶ θυμοειδῆ καὶ σοβαρὸν καὶ ἅμα  
 ἡδύν τε καὶ<sup>4</sup> γοργὸν ἰδεῖν.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ, ἦν τούτων τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ, μέχρι τούτων ἡμῖν γεγράθω.

- XI. Ἦν δέ τις ἄρα βουληθῆ καὶ πομπικῶ καὶ μετεώρῳ καὶ λαμπρῷ ἵππῳ χρῆσασθαι, οὐ μάλα μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκ παντὸς ἵππου γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μεγαλόφρονα
- 2 καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὐρωστον. οὐ μέντοι ὅ γε οἴονται τινες, τὸν τὰ σκέλη ὑγρά ἔχοντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα αἶρειν δυνήσεσθαι, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὃς ἂν τὴν ὄσφυν ὑγρὰν τε καὶ βραχεῖαν καὶ ἰσχυρὰν ἔχῃ, καὶ οὐ τὴν κατ' οὐρὰν λέγομεν, ἀλλ' ἢ πέφυκε μεταξὺ τῶν τε πλευρῶν καὶ τῶν ἰσχυῶν κατὰ τὸν κενεῶνα, οὗτος δυνήσεται πόρρω ὑποτιθέναι τὰ ὀπίσθια σκέλη ὑπὸ τὰ ἐμπρόσθια.

<sup>1</sup> ἐγερθεῖς Weiske: ἐγείρεται καὶ S with the MSS.

he has learnt this you pull him up with the bit and at the same time give him one of the signs to go forward, then being held back by the bit and yet roused by the signal to go forward, he throws his chest out and lifts his legs from the ground impatiently, but not with a supple motion; for when horses feel uncomfortable, the action of their legs is not at all supple. But if, when he is thus 16 excited, you give him the bit, then, mistaking the looseness of the bit for a deliverance from restraint, he bounds forward for very joy with a proud bearing and supple legs, exultant, imitating exactly in every way the graces that he displays before horses. And 17 those who watch the horse when he is like that call him well-bred, a willing worker, worth riding, mettlesome, magnificent, and declare his appearance to be at once pleasing and fiery.

And here we conclude these explanations addressed to those who want this sort of thing.

XI But in case anyone wants to own a horse suitable for parade, with a high and showy action, such qualities are by no means to be found in every horse but it is essential that he should have plenty of spirit and a strong body. Many suppose that an 2 animal that has supple legs will also be capable of rearing his body. That, however, is not the case. rather it is the horse with supple, short, strong loins that will be able to extend his hind-legs well under the forelegs. By "loins" we do not mean the parts about the tail, but those between the flanks and

<sup>2</sup> ἀνω AB. ἀνωτέρω S with the rest

<sup>3</sup> ἐπικαλοῦσιν Herwerden: ἀποκαλοῦσιν S with the MSS

<sup>4</sup> καὶ A καὶ ἅμα S with the rest.

## XENOPHON

- 3 ἦν οὖν τις ὑποτιθέντος αὐτοῦ ἀνακρούῃ τῷ χαλινῷ, ὀκλάζει μὲν τὰ ὀπίσθια ἐν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις, αἶρει δὲ τὸ πρόσθεν σῶμα, ὥστε τοῖς ἐξ ἐναντίας φαίνεσθαι τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅταν ταῦτα ποιῇ, διδόναι αὐτῷ τὸν χαλινόν, ὅπως τὰ κάλλιστα ἵππου ἐκόντα
- 4 ποιῆσαι<sup>1</sup> δοκῇ τοῖς ὀρώσιν. εἰσὶ μέντοι οὐ καὶ ταῦτα διδάσκουσιν οἱ μὲν ῥάβδῳ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἀστραγάλους κρούοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ βακτηρίᾳ παρατρέχοντά τινα κελεύοντες ὑπὸ τὰς μηριαίας παίειν.
- 5 ἡμεῖς γε μέντοι τὸ κράτιστον τῶν διδασκαλιῶν νομίζομεν, ὥσπερ ἀεὶ λέγομεν, ἦν ἐν παντὶ παρῆται τὸ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ποιήσῃ τῷ ἀναβάτῃ κατὰ
- 6 γνώμην τυγχάνειν ῥαστώνης παρ' αὐτοῦ ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἵππος ἀναγκαζόμενος ποιεῖ, ὥσπερ καὶ Σίμων λέγει, οὐτ' ἐπίσταται οὔτε καλὰ ἔστιν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ὀρχηστὴν μαστιγοῖη καὶ κεντρίξοι· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν πλείω ἀσχημονοίη ἢ καλὰ ποιοίη ὁ τοιαῦτα πάσχων καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἀπὸ σημείων ἐκόντα πάντα τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ λαμπρότατα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.
- 7 ἦν δὲ καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἱππάζηται, μέχρι πολλοῦ ἰδρώτος ἐλαύνηται, ὅταν δὲ καλῶς μετεωρίζῃ ἑαυτὸν, ταχύ τε καταβαίνηται καὶ ἀποχαλινῶται, εὐχρῆ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐκὼν εἶσιν εἰς τὸ μετεωρίζειν ἑαυτὸν
- 8 Ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων δὲ ἤδη ἱππαζόμενοι ἵππων καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες γράφονται, καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ καλῶς χρώμενοι αὐτοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς φαίνονται.
- 9 οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μετεωρίζων ἑαυτὸν ἵππος σφόδρα ἀγαστόν,<sup>2</sup> ὡς πάντων τῶν ὀρώντων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκόντα ποιῆσαι Courier : ἐκὼν τε ποιῇ καὶ S with the MSS.

haunches about the belly. Now, if when he is 3  
 planting his hind-legs under him you pull him up  
 with the bit, he bends the hind-legs on the hocks and  
 raises the fore-part of his body, so that anyone facing  
 him can see the belly and the sheath. When he  
 does that you must give him the bit that he may  
 appear to the onlookers to be doing willingly the  
 finest things that a horse can do. Some, however, 4  
 teach these accomplishments by striking him under  
 the hocks with a rod, others by telling a man to  
 run alongside and hit him with a stick under the gas-  
 kins. We, however, consider that the lesson is most 5  
 satisfactory if, as we have repeatedly said, the rider  
 invariably allows him relaxation when he has done  
 something according to his wishes. For what a horse 6  
 does under constraint, as Simon says, he does without  
 understanding, and with no more grace than a dancer  
 would show if he was whipped and goaded. Under  
 such treatment horse and man alike will do much  
 more that is ugly than graceful. No, a horse must  
 make the most graceful and brilliant appearance in  
 all respects of his own will with the help of aids.  
 Further, if you gallop him during a ride until he 7  
 sweats freely, and as soon as he prances in fine  
 style, quickly dismount and unbridle him, you may  
 be sure that he will come willingly to the prance.

This is the attitude in which artists represent the 8  
 horses on which gods and heroes ride, and men who  
 manage such horses gracefully have a magnificent  
 appearance. Indeed a prancing horse is a thing so 9  
 graceful, terrible and astonishing that it rivets the

<sup>2</sup> ἀγαστόν Cobet ἢ καλὸν ἢ δεινὸν ἢ ἀγαστὸν ἢ θαυμαστὸν  
 AB: ἢ καλὸν ἢ θαυμαστὸν ἢ ἀγαστόν S. with the other  
 MSS.

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νέων καὶ γεραιτέρων τὰ ὄμματα κατέχει. οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὔτε ἀπολείπει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀπαγορεύει θεώμενος, ἔστ' ἂν περ ἐπιδεικνύηται τὴν λαμπρότητα.

- 10 Ἦν γε μὴν ποτε συμβῆ τινι τῶν τοιοῦτον ἵππον κεκτημένων ἢ φυλαρχῆσαι ἢ ἵππαρχῆσαι, οὐ δεῖ αὐτὸν τοῦτο σπουδάζειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς μόνος λαμπρὸς ἔσται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ὅπως ὄλου
- 11 τὸ ἐπόμενον ἀξιοθέατον φανεῖται. ἦν μὲν οὖν ἠγῆται, ὡς μάλιστα ἐπαινοῦσι τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἵππους, ὃς ἂν ἀνωτάτω αἰρόμενος καὶ πυκνότατα τὸ σῶμα βραχύτατον προβαίνει, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ βάδην ἔπαινετ' ἂν οἱ ἄλλοι ἵπποι αὐτῷ. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ὄψεως τί ἂν καὶ λαμπρὸν γένοιτ' ἂν ;
- 12 ἦν δὲ ἐξεγείρας τὸν ἵππον ἠγῆ μῆτε τῷ ἄγαν τάχει μῆτε τῷ ἄγαν βράδει, ὡς δ' εὐθυμότατοι ἵπποι καὶ γοργότατοι καὶ<sup>1</sup> εὐσχημονέστατοι γίνονται, εἰάν ἠγῆ αὐτοῖς οὕτως, ἀθρόος μὲν ἂν<sup>2</sup> ὁ τύπος, ἀθρόον δὲ τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸ φύσημα τῶν ἵππων συμπαρέποιτο<sup>3</sup> ὥστε οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ<sup>4</sup> συμπαρεπόμενοι ἀξιοθέατοι ἂν φαίνοντο.
- 13 Ἦν γε μὴν<sup>5</sup> τις καλῶς ἵππωνήσῃ, τρέφῃ δὲ ὡς πόνους δύνασθαι ὑποφέρειν, ὀρθῶς δὲ χρῆται καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς πόλεμον μελετήμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἵππασίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγωνίσμασι, τί ἔτι ἐμποδῶν τούτῳ μὴ οὐχὶ πλείονός τε ἀξίους ἵππους ποιεῖν ἢ οἴους<sup>6</sup> ἂν παραλαμβάνῃ, καὶ εὐδοκίμους μὲν ἵππους ἔχειν,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Weiske . καὶ ποιεῖν S with the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἂν, added by Courier, is omitted by S with the MSS

<sup>3</sup> συμπαρέποιτο AB . συμπαρέσειτο the other MSS · S omits

gaze of all beholders, young and old alike. At all events no one leaves him or is tired of gazing at him so long as he shows off his brilliance.

Should the owner of such a horse happen to 10  
be a colonel or a general, he must not make it his  
object to be the one brilliant figure,<sup>1</sup> but must attach  
much more importance to making the whole troop  
behind him worth looking at. Now if a horse is 11  
leading in the manner which wins most praise for  
such horses, prancing high and with his body  
closely gathered, so that he moves forward with  
very short steps, the rest of the horses must  
obviously follow also at a walking pace. Now what  
can there be really brilliant in such a sight? But 12  
if you rouse your horse and lead neither too fast nor  
too slow, but at the pace at which the most spirited  
horses look most fiery and stately—if you lead your  
men in that way, there will be such a continual  
stamping, such a continual neighing and snorting of  
the horses going on behind you, that not only you  
yourself but all the troop behind you will be worth  
watching.

If a man buys his horses well, trains them so that 13  
they can stand work, and uses them properly in the  
training for war, in the exhibition rides and on the  
battle-fields, what is there then to hinder him from  
making horses more valuable than they are when he  
takes them over, and why should he not be the  
owner of famous horses, and also become famous

<sup>1</sup> *Cavalry Commander*, 1 22

<sup>4</sup> οἱ A : ὄσοι S with the other MSS

<sup>5</sup> μὴν A μὲν B. μέντοι S with the rest

<sup>6</sup> ἢ οἴους A. ἢ οὖς the other MSS · οὖς S.

εὐδοκιμεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἵππικῇ, ἣν μὴ τι δαιμόνιον κωλύη;

XII. Γράψαι δὲ βουλόμεθα καὶ ὡς δεῖ ὀπλί-  
σθαι τὸν μέλλοντα ἐφ' ἵππου κινδυνεύειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν φαμὲν χρῆναι τὸν θώρακα  
πρὸς τὸ σῶμα πεποιῆσθαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ<sup>1</sup> καλῶς  
ἀρμόζοντα ὅλον φέρει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν δὲ ἄγαν  
χαλαρὸν οἱ ὦμοι μόνοι φέρουσιν, ὃ γε μὴν λίαν  
2 στενὸς δεσμός, οὐχ ὄπλον ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ  
αὐχὴν ἐστὶ τῶν καιρίων, φαμὲν χρῆναι καὶ τούτῳ  
ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θώρακος ὁμοίον τῷ αὐχένι στέ-  
γασμα πεποιῆσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἅμα κόσμον τε  
παρέξει καὶ ἦν οἶον δεῖ εἰργασμένον ἦ, δέξεται  
ὅταν βούληται τῷ ἀναβάτῃ τὸ πρόσωπον μέχρι  
3 τῆς ῥινός. κράνος γε μὴν κράτιστον εἶναι νομί-  
ζομεν τὸ βοιωτιουργές· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸ στεγάζει  
μάλιστα πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ θώρακος,  
ὁρᾶν δὲ οὐ κωλύει. ὁ δ' αὖθώραξ οὕτως εἰρ-  
γασθῶ, ὡς μὴ κωλύῃ μήτε καθίζειν μήτ' ἐπικύ-  
4 πτειν. περὶ δὲ τὸ ἦτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ  
κύκλω αἰπτέρυγες τοιαῦται καὶ τοσαῦται ἔστω-  
5 σαν, ὥστε στέγειν τὰ βέλη.<sup>2</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ  
ἀριστερὰ χεὶρ ἦν τι πάθη, καταλύει τὸν ἵππεα,  
καὶ ταύτῃ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸ εὐρημένον ὄπλον τὴν  
χεῖρα καλουμένην. τὸν τε γὰρ ὦμον σκεπάζει  
καὶ τὸν βραχίονα καὶ τὸν πῆχυν καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον  
τῶν ἡνιῶν, καὶ ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ συγκάμπτεται·  
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ διαλείπον τοῦ θώρακος  
6 ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ καλύπτει· τὴν γε μὴν δεξιὰν  
ἐπαίρειν δεῖ, ἣν τε ἀκοντίσαι ἦν τε πατάξαι

<sup>1</sup> τὸν μὲν γὰρ A : τὸν μὲν the other MSS : ὅτι τὸν μὲν S

<sup>2</sup> βέλη AB : μέλη S with the rest.

himself for his horsemanship, provided no divine power prevents?

XII. We want to explain also how a man who is to face danger on horseback should be armed.

We say, then, that in the first place his breastplate must be made to fit his body. For the well-fitting breastplate is supported by the whole body, whereas one that is too loose is supported by the shoulders only, and one that is too tight is rather an encumbrance than a defence. And, since the neck is one of the vital parts, we hold that a covering should be available for it also, standing up from the breastplate itself and shaped to the neck. For this will serve as an ornament, and at the same time, if properly made, will cover the rider's face, when he pleases, as high as the nose. For the helmet we consider the Boeotian pattern the most satisfactory for this, again, affords the best protection to all the parts that project above the breastplate without obstructing the sight. As for the pattern of the breastplate, it should be so shaped as not to prevent the wearer from sitting down or stooping. About the abdomen and middle and round that region let the flaps be of such material and such a size that they will keep out missiles. And as a wound in the left hand disables the rider, we also recommend the piece of armour invented for it called the "hand"<sup>1</sup>. For it protects the shoulder, the arm, the elbow, and the fingers that hold the reins, it will also extend and fold up, and in addition it covers the gap left by the breastplate under the armpit. But the right hand must be raised when the man intends to fling

<sup>1</sup> i. e. a gauntlet



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βουληθῆ. τοῦ μὲν οὖν θώρακος τὸ κωλύον ταύτη ἀφαιρετέον· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου πτέρυγας ἐν τοῖς γιγγλυμοῖς προσθετέον, ὅπως ὅταν<sup>1</sup> μὲν διαίρηται, ὁμοίως ἀναπτύσσονται, ὅταν δὲ 7 καταίρηται, ἐπικλείωνται. τῷ γε μὴν βραχίονι τὸ ὡσπερ κνημὶς παρατιθέμενον βέλτιον<sup>2</sup> ἢ μῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ συνδεθὲν ὄπλῳ. τό γε μὴν ψιλοῦμενον αἰρομένης τῆς δεξιᾶς στεγαστέον ἐγγύς τοῦ θώρακος ἢ μοσχείῳ ἢ χαλκείῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐν τῷ ἐπικαιροτάτῳ ἀφύλακτον ἔσται.

8 Ἐπεὶπερ δὲ ἦν τι πάσχη ὁ ἵππος, ἐν παντὶ κινδύνῳ καὶ ὁ ἀναβάτης γίγνεται, ὀπλίξειν δεῖ καὶ τὸν ἵππον προμετωπιδίῳ καὶ προστερνιδίῳ καὶ παραμηριδίῳ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅμα καὶ τῷ ἀμβάτῃ παραμηρίδια γίγνεται. πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τοῦ ἵππου τὸν κενεῶνα δεῖ σκεπάζειν· καιριώτατον γὰρ ὃν καὶ ἀφαιρούτατον ἔστι· δυνατὸν δὲ 9 σὺν<sup>3</sup> τῷ ἐφιππίῳ καὶ<sup>4</sup> αὐτὸν σκεπάσαι· χρῆ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔποχον τοιοῦτον ἐρράφθαι, ὡς ἀσφαλέςτερον τε τὸν ἵππεα καθῆσθαι καὶ τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ ἵππου μὴ σίνεσθαι.

10 Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἵππος καὶ ὁ ἵππεὺς ὀπλισμένοι ἂν εἶεν· κνήμαι δὲ καὶ πόδες ὑπερέχοιεν μὲν ἂν εἰκότως τῶν παραμηριδίων, ὀπλισθείη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, εἰ ἐμβάδες<sup>5</sup> γένοιοντο σκύτους, ἐξ οὐπερ<sup>6</sup> αἱ κρηπίδες ποιοῦνται· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἅμα ὄπλον τε κνήμαις καὶ ποσὶν ὑποδήματ' ἂν εἶη.

<sup>1</sup> πτέρυγας . προσθετέον ὅπως ὅταν A πτέρυγες προσθεταί, ὅταν S with the rest He also reads ἀναπτύσσονται and ἐπικλείονται against the MSS

<sup>2</sup> βέλτιον A· ἀρκείν βέλτιον S with the rest

<sup>3</sup> All MSS have σὺν, which S omits

his javelin or strike a blow. Consequently that portion of the breastplate that hinders him in doing that should be removed, and in place of it there should be detachable flaps at the joints, in order that, when the arm is elevated, they may open correspondingly, and may close when it is lowered. For the fore arm it seems to us that the piece put 7 over it separately like a greave is better than one that is bound up together with a piece of armour.<sup>1</sup> The part that is left exposed when the right arm is raised should be covered near the breastplate with calf-skin or metal, otherwise the most vital part will be unprotected.

Since the rider is seriously imperilled in the event 8 of his horse being wounded, the horse also should be armed, having head, chest, and thigh pieces. The last also serve to cover the rider's thighs. But above all the horse's belly must be protected, for this, which is the most vital part, is also the weakest. It is possible to make the cloth serve partly as a protection to it. The quilting of the 9 cloth should be such as to give the rider a safer seat and not to gall the horse's back.

Thus horse and man alike will be armed in most parts. But the rider's shins and feet will of course 10 be outside the thigh-pieces. These too can be guarded if boots made of shoe-leather are worn. There will thus be armour for the shins and covering for the feet at the same time.

<sup>1</sup> *ι ε* with the breastplate. Schneider thought that τφ should be inserted before δπλφ.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ AB S omits

<sup>5</sup> ἐμβάδες A: ἐμβάται S with the other MSS

<sup>6</sup> οὔπερ AB οἴουπερ S with M

- 11 Ὡς μὲν δὴ μὴ βλάπτεσθαι θεῶν ἴλεων ὄντων ταῦτα ὄπλα. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους βλάπτειν, μάχαιραν μὲν μάλλον ἢ ξίφος ἐπαινοῦμεν· ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ γὰρ ὄντι τῷ ἵππεϊ κοπίδος μάλλον ἢ
- 12 πληγῇ ἢ ξίφους ἀρκέσει. ἀντί γε μὴν δόρατος καμακίνου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ δύσφορόν ἐστι, τὰ κρανείνα δύο παλτὰ μάλλον ἐπαινοῦμεν. καὶ γὰρ ἐξαφεῖναι τὸ ἕτερον δυνατὸν τῷ ἐπισταμένῳ καὶ τῷ λειπομένῳ οἷόν τε χρῆσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀντίον καὶ εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τοῦπισθεν<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἅμα ἰσχυρότερα τε τοῦ δόρατος καὶ εὐφορώτερα ἐστίν.
- 13 Ἀκόντισμά γε μὴν τὸ μακρότατον ἐπαινοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀποστρέψαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν παλτὸν οὕτω μάλλον ὁ χρόνος ἐγχωρεῖ. γράψομεν δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ ὡς ἂν τις κράτιστα ἀκοντίζοι ἢ γὰρ προβαλλόμενος μὲν τὰ ἀριστερά, ἐπανάγων δὲ τὰ δεξιὰ, ἐξανιστάμενος δ' ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν, μικρὸν ἐπανακύπτουσαν τὴν λόγχην ἀφῆ, οὕτω σφοδρότατόν τε καὶ μακρότατον οἴσεται τὸ ἀκόντιον, εὐστοχώτατον μέντοι, ἂν κατὰ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀφιεμένη αἰεὶ ὄρα ἢ λόγχη.
- 14 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτη καὶ ὑπομνήματα καὶ μαθήματα καὶ μελετήματα γεγράψθω ἡμῖν. ἡ δὲ ἵππάρχω προσῆκεν εἰδέναι τε καὶ πράττειν, ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

<sup>1</sup> τοῦπισθεν A τοῦμπροσθεν S with the other MSS

These are the defensive arms which with the 11  
gracious assistance of heaven will afford protection  
from harm. For harming the enemy we recom-  
mend the sabre<sup>1</sup> rather than the sword, because,  
owing to his lofty position, the rider will find the cut  
with the Persian sabre more efficacious than the  
thrust with the sword. And, in place of the spear 12  
with a long shaft, seeing that it is both weak and  
awkward to manage, we recommend rather the  
two Persian javelins of cornel wood. For the skilful  
man may throw the one and can use the other in  
front or on either side or behind. They are also  
stronger than the spear and easier to manage<sup>2</sup>

We recommend throwing the javelin at the longest 13  
range possible. For this gives a man more time to  
turn his horse and to grasp the other javelin. We  
will also state in a few words the most effective way  
of throwing the javelin. If a man, in the act of  
advancing his left side, drawing back his right, and  
rising from his thighs, discharges the javelin with its  
point a little upwards, he will give his weapon the  
strongest impetus and the furthest carrying power;  
it will be most likely to hit the mark, however, if at  
the moment of discharge the point is always set on  
it

These notes, instructions and exercises which we 14  
have here set down are intended only for the private  
person. What it belongs to a cavalry leader to know  
and to do has been set forth in another book

<sup>1</sup> The sabre (*μάχαιρα*) was used in the Lacedaemonian and  
the Persian army. *κονίς* is the special term for the Persian  
weapon

<sup>2</sup> The two Persian javelins were shorter than the Greek  
spear.



# ON HUNTING

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΝΗΓΕΤΙΚΟΣ

- I. Τὸ μὲν εὖρημα θεῶν, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ἄγραι καὶ κύνες· ἔδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἐτίμησαν  
2 τούτῳ Χείρωνα διὰ δικαιοσύνην. ὁ δὲ λαβῶν ἐχάρη τῷ δώρῳ καὶ ἐχρήτη· καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ μαθηταὶ κυνηγεσίῳ τε καὶ ἐτέρων καλῶν Κέφαλος, Ἀσκληπιός, Μειλανίων, Νέστωρ, Ἀμφιάραος, Πηλεύς, Τελαμών, Μελέαγρος, Θησεύς, Ἴππόλυτος, Παλαμήδης, Ὀδυσσεύς, Μενεσθεύς, Διομήδης, Κάστωρ, Πολυδεύκης, Μαχάων, Ποδαλείριος, Ἀντίλοχος, Αἰνείας, Ἀχιλλεύς· ὧν κατὰ  
3 χρόνον ἕκαστος ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐτιμήθη. θαυμάζετω δὲ μηδεὶς, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀρέσκοντες θεοῖς ὅμως ἐτελεύτησαν τούτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις· ἀλλ' οἱ ἔπαινοι αὐτῶν μεγάλοι ἐγένοντο· μηδὲ ὅτι οὐ καὶ αἱ αὐταὶ ἡλικίαι πᾶσι τούτοις.<sup>1</sup> ὁ γὰρ Χείρωνος βίος πᾶσιν ἐξήρκει. Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Χείρων ἀδελφοὶ πατὴρ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, μητὴρ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ῥέας, ὁ δὲ Ναΐδος νύμφης· ὥστε ἐγεγόνει μὲν πρότερος τούτων, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ὕστερος ἐπεὶ<sup>2</sup> Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐπαίδευσεν.  
5 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς<sup>3</sup> τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας πολὺ διευεγκόντες κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐθαυμάσθησαν.

<sup>1</sup> πᾶσι τούτοις A. S. omits with the rest

<sup>2</sup> ὕστερος ἐπεὶ A: ὕστερον ἢ ὡς S. with M.

## ON HUNTING

I GAME and hounds are the invention of gods, of Apollo and Artemis. They bestowed it on Cheiron and honoured him therewith for his righteousness. And he, receiving it, rejoiced in the gift, and used it. And he had for pupils in venery and in other noble 2 pursuits—Cephalus, Asclepius, Meilanion, Nestor, Amphimachus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theseus, Hippolytus, Palamedes, Odysseus, Menestheus, Diomedes, Castor, Polydeuces, Machaon, Podaleirius, Antilochus, Aeneas, Achilles, of whom each in his time was honoured by gods. Let no man marvel that 3 the more part of these, even though they pleased gods, died none the less; for that was nature's work, but the praise of them grew mightily,—nor yet that not all of these flourished at one time. For Cheiron's lifetime sufficed for all. For Zeus and Cheiron were 4 brethren, sons of one sire, but the mother of the one was Rhea, of the other the nymph Nais: and so, though he was born before these, he died after them, for he taught Achilles.

Though the heed they paid to hounds and 5 hunting and the rest of their scholarship they excelled greatly and were admired for their virtue

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<sup>3</sup> τῆς Schneider τῆς ἐκ S with the MSS



## XENOPHON

- 6 Κέφαλος μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ θεᾶς ἠρπάσθη, Ἀσκληπιὸς δὲ μειζόνων ἔτυχεν, ἀνιστάναι μὲν τεθνεώτας, νοσοῦντας δὲ ἰᾶσθαι· διὰ δὲ ταῦτα θεὸς ὡς παρ'
- 7 ἀνθρώποις ἀείμνηστον κλέος ἔχει. Μειλανίων δὲ τοσοῦτον ὑπέρεσχε φιλοπονία, ὥστε ὦν αὐτῷ ἀντερασταὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ τότε<sup>1</sup> ἄριστοι τῶν τότε μεγίστων γάμων μόνος ἔτυχεν Ἀταλάντης. Νέστορος δὲ προδιελήλυθεν ἡ ἀρετὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
- 8 τὰς ἀκοάς, ὥστε εἰδόσιν ἂν λέγοιμι. Ἀμφιάραος δὲ ὄτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐστράτευσε, πλείστον κτησάμενος ἔπαινον ἔτυχε παρὰ θεῶν ἀείζως<sup>2</sup> τιμᾶσθαι. Πηλεὺς δ' ἐπιθυμίαν παρέσχε καὶ θεοῖς δοῦναί τε Θέτιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν γάμον παρὰ Χείρωνι ὑμνήσαι.
- 9 Τελαμῶν δὲ τοσοῦτος ἐγένετο, ὥστε ἐκ μὲν πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης ἦν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο γῆμαι Περίβοιαν τὴν Ἀλκάθου· ὅτε δὲ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐδίδου τὰ ἀριστεῖα Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Διός, ἐλὼν
- 10 Τροίαν, Ἡσιόνην αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν. Μελέαγρος δὲ τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἅς ἔλαβε φανεραί· πατὴρ δ' ἐν γῆρᾳ ἐπιλανθανομένου τῆς θεοῦ οὐχ αὐτοῦ αἰτίαις ἐδυστύχησε. Θησεὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχθροὺς πάσης μόνος ἀπώλεσε· τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ πατρίδα πολλῶ μείζω ποιήσας ἔτι καὶ νῦν
- 11 θαυμάζεται. Ἴππόλυτος δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ ἐν λόγοις ἦν, σωφροσύνη δὲ καὶ ὀσιότητι μακαρισθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε. Παλαμῆδης δὲ ἕως μὲν ἦν, πολὺ τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὑπέρεσχε σοφία, ἀποθανὼν δὲ ἀδίκως τοσαύτης ἔτυχε τιμωρίας ὑπὸ θεῶν, ὅσης οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>1</sup> This τότε is omitted by S

<sup>2</sup> ἀείζως Dindorf: ἀεὶ ζῶν S. with the MSS.

## ON HUNTING, I. 6-II

Cephalus was carried away by a goddess<sup>1</sup> Asclepius 6  
 won yet<sup>2</sup> greater preferment—to raise the dead, to  
 heal the sick, and for these things he has everlasting  
 fame as a god among men Meilanion was so peerless 7  
 in love of toil that, though the princest of that age  
 were his rival suitors for the greatest Lady of the  
 time, only he won Atalanta Nestor's virtue is an old  
 familiar tale to Greek ears, so there is no need  
 for me to tell of it Amphiarus when he fought 8  
 against Thebes, gained great praise and won from the  
 gods the honour of immortality Peleus stirred  
 a desire even in the gods to give him Thetis and to  
 hymn their marriage in Cheiron's home Telamon 9  
 waxed so mighty that he wedded from the greatest  
 city the maiden of his choice, Periboea, daughter  
 of Alcathus and when the first of the Greeks,  
 Heracles son of Zeus, distributed the prizes of valour  
 after taking Troy, to him he gave Hesione. As for 10  
 Meleager, the honours that he won are manifest,  
 and it was not by his own fault that he came to sorrow  
 when his father in old age forgot the goddess<sup>3</sup>  
 Theseus single-handed slew the enemies of all  
 Greece, and because he enlarged greatly the borders  
 of his county he is admired to this day Hippolytus 11  
 was honoured by Artemis and held converse with  
 her, and for his prudence and holiness he was  
 counted happy when he died Palamedes far out-  
 stripped the men of his generation in wisdom while  
 he lived; and being unjustly slain he won from the  
 gods such vengeance as fell to the lot of no other

<sup>1</sup> Aurora.

<sup>2</sup> The *καὶ* before *ὑπὲρ* in the text should probably be placed before *μεϊζόνων*.

<sup>3</sup> *ι ε* when his father Oeneus forgot Artemis,—a lapse which led ultimately to the death of Meleager

## XENOPHON

- ἔτελεύτησε δὲ οὐχ ὑφ' ὧν οἴονται τινες· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦν ὁ μὲν σχεδόν τι ἄριστος, ὁ δὲ ὅμοιος ἀγαθοῖς·
- 12 κακοὶ δὲ ἔπραξαν τὸ ἔργον. Μενεσθεὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς<sup>1</sup> τῶν κυνηγεσίῳν τοσοῦτον ὑπερέβαλε φιλοποιία, ὥστε ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτους ὑστέρους εἶναι τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνου πλὴν Νέστορος· καὶ οὗτος οὐ
- 13 προέχειν λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἐρίζει. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ καὶ Διομήδης λαμπροὶ μὲν καὶ καθ' ἐν ἑκάστων, τὸ δὲ ὄλον αἴτιοι Τροίαν ἀλῶναι. Κῆστωρ δὲ καὶ Πολυδεύκης ὅσα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τῶν παρὰ Χείρωνος διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ ἐκ τούτων
- 14 ἀθάνατοὶ εἰσι. Μαχάων δὲ καὶ Ποδαλείριος παιδευθέντες τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα ἐγένοντο καὶ τέχνας καὶ λόγους καὶ πολέμους ἀγαθοί. Ἀντίλοχος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεραποθανῶν τοσαύτης ἔτυχεν εὐκλείας, ὥστε μόνος φιλοπάτωρ παρὰ τοῖς
- 15 Ἑλλησιν ἀναγαρευθῆναι. Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρώους καὶ μητρῷους θεούς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγκατο, ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ὧν ἐκράτησαν
- 16 ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι. Ἀχιλλεὺς δ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ παιδείᾳ τραφεὶς οὕτω καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα μνημεῖα παρέδωκεν, ὥστε οὔτε λέγων οὔτε ἀκούων περὶ ἐκείνου οὐδεὶς ἀπαγορεύει
- 17 Οὗτοι τοιοῦτοι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς

<sup>1</sup> τῆς Schneider: τῆς ἐκ S with the MSS

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<sup>1</sup> Odysseus and Diomedes, who, according to one account, drowned Palamedes when he was fishing. The reference here may be to this version. In *Memorabilia* IV ii 4 X follows the commoner version that Odysseus got P put to

## ON HUNTING, I. 11-17

mortal But his end was not compassed by those<sup>1</sup>  
 whom some imagine, else could not the one of them  
 have been well-nigh the best, and the other the peer  
 of the good, but bad men did the deed Menestheus 12  
 through the heed he paid to hunting, so far surpassed  
 others in love of toil that the first of the Greeks con-  
 fessed themselves his inferiors in feats of war, all save  
 Nestor, and he, it is said,<sup>2</sup> outdid not, but rivalled  
 him Odysseus and Diomedes were brilliant in 13  
 every single deed, and in short, to them was due the  
 capture of Troy Castor and Polydeuces, through  
 the renown that they won by displaying in Greece  
 the arts they learned of Chiron, are immortal.  
 Machaon and Podaleirius, schooled in all the self- 14  
 same arts, proved in crafts and reasonings and wars  
 good men. Antilochus, by giving his life for his  
 father,<sup>3</sup> won such glory that he alone was proclaimed  
 among the Greeks as "the Devoted Son" Aeneas 15  
 saved the gods of his father's and his mother's family,  
 and withal his father himself; wherefore he bore  
 away fame for his piety, so that to him alone among  
 all the vanquishers at Troy even the enemy granted  
 not to be despoiled Achilles, nursed in this school- 16  
 ing, bequeathed to posterity memorials so great and  
 glorious that no man wearies of telling and hearing  
 of him.

These, whom the good love even to this day and 17

death by a false charge of treachery, and in the *Odysseus*  
 attributed to the rhetorician Alcidas, Diomedes and  
 Sthenelus are associated with Odysseus in bringing this  
 charge In revenge for his death his father Nauplius caused  
 the shipwreck of the Greek fleet off the south of Euboea.

<sup>2</sup> In *Iliad* ii 555

<sup>3</sup> How Antilochus, son of Nestor, saved his father's life is  
 told by Pindar in the sixth *Pythian*.

## XENOPHON

παρὰ Χείρωνος, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐρώσιν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ φθονοῦσιν, ὥστ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἑλλάδι εἴ τῳ συμφορὰ ἐγίγνοντο ἢ πόλει ἢ βασιλεῖ, ἐλύοντο δι' <sup>1</sup> αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πάντας πάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι νεῖκος ἢ πόλεμος, διὰ τούτους οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκράτουν, ὥστε ἀνίκητον τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν.

- 18 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις μὴ καταφρονεῖν κυνηγεσίων μηδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ γίνονται τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαθοὶ εἷς τε τὰ ἄλλα, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καλῶς νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν.

II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων τὸν ἤδη ἐκ παιδὸς ἀλλάττοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα παιδεύματα, τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα σκεψάμενον τὴν οὐσίαν· ᾧ μὲν ἔστιν ἱκανή, ἀξίως τῆς αὐτοῦ ὠφελείας, ᾧ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὖν τὴν γε προθυμίαν παρεχέσθω μηδὲν ἐλλείπων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως.

- 2 "Ὅσα δὲ καὶ οἷα δεῖ παρεσκευασμένον ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτό, φράσω καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκάστου, ἵνα προειδῶς ἐγχερῆ τῷ ἔργῳ. καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὰ φαῦλα νομισάτω εἶναι ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ τούτων οὐκ ἂν εἴη πράξις.
- 3 Χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀρκυωρὸν εἶναι ἐπιθυμοῦντα τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν φωνὴν Ἕλληνα, τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν περὶ ἔτη εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἐλαφρόν, ἰσχυρόν, ψυχὴν δὲ ἱκανόν, ἵνα τῶν πόνων τούτοις κρατῶν
- 4 χαίρη τῷ ἔργῳ. τὰς δὲ ἄρκυς Φασιανοῦ ἢ Καρ-

<sup>1</sup> S omits δι' with the better MSS.

the evil envy, were made so perfect through the care they learned of Cheiron that, when troubles fell upon any state or any king in Greece, they were composed through their influence; or if all Greece was at strife or at war with all the Barbarian powers, these brought victory to the Greeks, so that they made Greece invincible.

Therefore I charge the young not to despise 18 hunting or any other schooling. For these are the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed.

II The first pursuit, therefore, that a young man just out of his boyhood should take up is hunting, and afterwards he should go on to the other branches of education, provided he has means. He must look to his means, and, if they are sufficient, spend as much as the benefit to himself is worth; or, if they are insufficient, at least let him supply enthusiasm, in no way coming short of his power.<sup>1</sup>

I will give a list and a description of the intending 2 hunter's outfit, and the explanation of each item, in order that he may understand the business before he puts his hand to it. And let no one regard these details as trivial, inasmuch as nothing can be done without them.

The net-keeper should be a man with a keen 3 interest in the business, one who speaks Greek, about twenty years old, agile and strong, and resolute, that, being well qualified to overcome his tasks, he may take pleasure in the business. The purse-nets should 4

<sup>1</sup> The text of this paragraph is open to suspicion. The words from εἶτα to ἐχοντα may be an afterthought.

χηδονίου λεπτοῦ λίνου καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ τὰ δίκτυα.

Ἔστωσαν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἄρκυς ἐννεάλινοι ἐκ τριῶν τόνων, ἕκαστος δὲ τόνος ἐκ τριῶν λίνων, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος πεντεσπίθαμοι, διπαλαιστοὶ δὲ τοὺς βρόχους, περικεῖσθωσαν<sup>1</sup> δὲ τοὺς περιδρόμους ἀναμμάτους,<sup>2</sup> ἵνα εὐτροχοὶ ᾦσι, τὰ δ' ἐνόδια δωδεκάλινα, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα ἑκκαϊδεκάλινα, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τὰ μὲν ἐνόδια διώρυγα, τετρώρυγα, πέντώρυγα, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα δεκώρυγα, εἰκοσώρυγα, τριακοντώρυγα· εἰ δὲ ἢ μείζω, δυσμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἀμφοτέρα δὲ τριακονθάμματα, καὶ τῶν βρόχων τὸ διάστημα ἴσον ταῖς ἄρκυσιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀκρωλενίοις τὰ μὲν ἐνόδια ἔχέτω μαστούς, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα δακτυλίους, τοὺς δὲ περιδρόμους ἀπὸ στροφείων. αἱ δὲ σχαλίδες τῶν μὲν ἀρκύων τὸ μῆκος δέκα παλαιστών, ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ ἐλάττους· αἱ μὲν ἄνισοι αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑτεροκλινέσι τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' ἴσα τὰ ὕψη ἐξαίρωσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀμαλέσιν αἱ ἴσαι αὐταὶ δ' εὐπερίσπαστοι τὰ ἄκρα καὶ αὐταὶ λεῖαι· τῶν δὲ ἐνοδίων διπλά-

<sup>1</sup> περικεῖσθωσαν A ὑφέισθωσαν S, a conjecture based on the other MSS

<sup>2</sup> οἱ περιδρόμοι ἀναμμάτοι S against the MSS

<sup>1</sup> i e Colchian Much flax and linen was exported from Colchis.

<sup>2</sup> The cords meant here are those that ran round the mouth of the purse, and served as a running noose to close it when the hare got in

<sup>3</sup> i e ten meshes, so that the extreme height, if the net was fully stretched, would be five feet Poachers now use slip-knots or nets about four feet deep with a mesh of two-and-a-half inches.

## ON HUNTING, II 4-7

be made of fine Phasian<sup>1</sup> or Carthaginian flax, and the road-nets and hayes of the same material.

Let the purse-nets be of nine threads woven in three strands, each strand consisting of three threads. The proper length for these nets is forty-five inches, the proper width of the meshes six inches. The cords that run round<sup>2</sup> them must be without knots, so that they may run easily. The road-nets should<sup>5</sup> be of twelve threads, and the hayes of sixteen. The length of the road-nets may be twelve, twenty-four or thirty-feet; that of the hayes sixty, a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and eighty feet. If they are longer, they will be unwieldy. Both kinds should be thirty knots<sup>3</sup> high, and should have meshes of the same width as those of the purse-nets. At the elbows<sup>6</sup> at either end let the road-nets have slip-knots of string and the hayes metal rings,<sup>4</sup> and let the cords<sup>5</sup> be attached by loops. The stakes for the<sup>7</sup> purse-nets should be thirty inches long, but some should be shorter. Those of unequal length are for use on sloping ground, to make the height of the nets equal, while those of the same length are used on the level. These stakes must be so shaped at the top that the nets will pull off readily and they must be smooth.<sup>6</sup> The stakes for the road-nets

<sup>4</sup> The rings running down the two sides were used for joining two nets together.

<sup>5</sup> *i. e.* the cords running along the top and bottom of the nets.

<sup>6</sup> The author means, I think, to imply a contrast between the stakes of the purse-nets and those of the other nets. The second *αὐται* in the text can scarcely be right possibly *καὶ αὐται λείαι* should be omitted, or *αὐταί*, "they themselves," read with Dindorf.



## XENOPHON

σιαί, αἱ δὲ τῶν δικτύων τὸ μὲν μέγεθος πεντεσπί-  
 θαμοί, δικρᾶ ἔχουσαι μικρά, τὰ ἐντμήματα μὴ  
 βαθέα· εὐπαγεῖς δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ μὴ ἀσύμμετροι τὰ  
 8 πᾶχη πρὸς τὰ μήκη. τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν σχαλίδων  
 οἷον τέ ἐστι χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ δίκτυα πολλῶ καὶ  
 ὀλίγῳ· ἐλάττουι μὲν, ἂν σφόδρα τείνηται ἐν τῇ  
 9 στάσει· πλέουι δ', ἂν ἡσυχῇ. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἐν  
 ὄτῳ ἔσονται αἱ ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ δίκτυα<sup>1</sup>  
 κυνοῦχος μόςχειος καὶ τὰ δρέπανα, ἵνα ἢ τῆς  
 ὕλης τέμνοντα φράττειν τὰ δεόμενα.

III. Τὰ δὲ γένη τῶν κυνῶν ἐστὶ διττά, αἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ καστόριαί, αἱ δὲ ἄλωπεκίδες. ἔχουσι δ' αἱ  
 μὲν καστόριαί τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὅτι Κάστωρ  
 ἦσθεις τῷ ἔργῳ μάλιστα αὐτὰς διεφύλαξεν· αἱ δ'  
 ἄλωπεκίδες, διότι ἐκ κυνῶν τε καὶ ἄλωπέκων  
 ἐγένοντο· ἐν πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ συγκέκραται αὐτῶν  
 2 ἡ φύσις. χείρους δὲ καὶ πλείους αἱ τοιαίδε,  
 μικραί, γρυπαί, χαροποί, μυωποί, ἄμορφοι,<sup>2</sup>  
 σκληραί, ἀσθενεῖς, ψιλαί, ὑψηλαί, ἀσύμμετροι,  
 3 ἄψυχοι, ἄρρινες, οὐκ εὐποδες. αἱ μὲν οὖν μικραὶ  
 πολλάκις<sup>3</sup> ἀποστεροῦνται τῆς ἐργασίας διὰ τὸ  
 μικρόν· αἱ δὲ γρυπαὶ ἄστομοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ  
 κατέχουσι τὸν λαγῶ· χαροποί<sup>4</sup> δὲ καὶ μυωποὶ  
 χεῖρῳ τὰ ὄμματα ἔχουσιν, ἄμορφοι δὲ καὶ αἰσχυραὶ  
 οἰσθῆσαι· αἱ δὲ σκληραὶ τὰ εἶδη χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ  
 τῶν κυνηγεσίων ἀπαλλάττουσι· πονεῖν δὲ ἀδύ-  
 νατοὶ αἱ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ αἱ ψιλαί· καὶ αἱ ὑψηλαὶ  
 μὲν καὶ ἀσύμμετροι ἀσύντακτα ἔχουσαι τὰ

<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ δίκτυα A τὰ δίκτυα ἐν ἑκατέροις S. with the rest

<sup>2</sup> ἄμορφοι Ruhl. αἰσχυραὶ MSS : S omits.

<sup>3</sup> S adds ἐκ τῶν κυνηγεσίων omitted in AB,

<sup>4</sup> μυωποὶ δὲ καὶ χαροποὶ S, with BM.

## ON HUNTING, II. 7-III. 3

should be twice the length of these, and those for the hayes forty-five inches long. The latter<sup>1</sup> should have little forks with shallow grooves, and all should be stout, of a thickness proportioned to the length. The number of stakes used for the 8 hayes may be large or small, fewer are required if the nets are strained tight when set up, more if they are slack. A calf-skin bag will be wanted for carry- 9 ing the purse-nets and road-nets and hayes and the bill-hooks for cutting wood and stopping gaps where necessary.

III The hounds used are of two kinds, the Castorian and the Vulpine<sup>2</sup>. The Castorian is so called because Castor paid special attention to the breed, making a hobby of the business. The Vulpine is a hybrid between the dog and the fox: hence the name. In the course of time the nature of the parents has become fused. Inferior specimens (that 2 is to say, the majority) show one or more of the following defects. They are small, hook-nosed, grey-eyed, blinking, ungainly, stiff, weak, thin-coated, lanky, ill-proportioned, cowardly, dull-scented, unsound in the feet. Now small dogs often drop out 3 of the running through their want of size, hook-nosed dogs have no mouth and can't hold the hare, grey-eyed dogs and blinkers have bad sight, ungainly dogs look ugly, stiff ones are in a bad way at the end of the hunt; no work can be got out of the weak and the thin-coated ones, those that are lanky and ill-proportioned are heavy movers and carry them-

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps he means *both* sets

<sup>2</sup> Both are Laconian varieties, the Castorian being much the larger. The Vulpine resembled a fox, hence the erroneous idea that it was a hybrid between dog and fox. O Keller, *die antike Tierwelt*, 1 (121).

## XENOPHON

σώματα βαρέως διαφοιτώσιν· αἱ ἄψυχοι δὲ λείπουσιν τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἀφίστανται τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τὰς σκιὰς καὶ κατακλίνονται· αἱ δὲ ἄρρινοι μόλις καὶ ὀλιγάκις αἰσθάνονται τοῦ λαγῶ· αἱ δὲ ἄποδες οὐδ' ἐὰν ὦσιν εὐψυχοι, τοὺς πόνοους δύνανται ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύουσι διὰ τὸ ἄλγος τῶν ποδῶν.

- 4 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἰχνεύσεως πολλοὶ τρόποι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν κυνῶν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειδὴν λάβωσι τὰ ἴχνη, πορεύονται ἀσῆμως, ὥστε μὴ γινώσκεισθαι ὅτι ἰχνεύουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὄτα μόνον διακινουσί, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἡσυχῇ ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὄτα μὲν ἀκίνητα ἔχουσιν, ἄκρα δὲ τῇ οὐρᾷ σείουσιν.
- 5 ἄλλαι δὲ συνάγουσι τὰ ὄτα καὶ ἐπισκυθρωπάσασαι διὰ τοῦ ἴχνους σχάσασαι τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ φράξασαι διατρέχουσι· πολλαὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ποιούσι, μανικῶς δὲ περιφερόμεναι ὑλακτοῦσι περὶ τὰ ἴχνη, ὅτε δὲ<sup>1</sup> εἰσπίπτουσιν εἰς αὐτά, ἀφρόνως καταπατοῦσαι τὰς αἰσθήσεις.
- 6 εἰσὶ δ' αἱ κύκλοις πολλοῖς χρώμεναι καὶ πλάνοις ὑπολαμβάνουσαι ἐκ τοῦ πρόσω<sup>2</sup> τὰ ἴχνη παραλείπουσι τὸν λαγῶ, ὅσάκις δ' ἐπιτρέχουσι τὰ ἴχνη, εἰκάζουσι, προορώμεναι δὲ τὸν λαγῶ τρέμουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐπέρχονται, πρὶν ἴδωσιν ὑποκινουῦντα. ὅσαι δὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων κυνῶν εὐρήματα ἐν ταῖς ἰχνεῖαις καὶ μεταδρομαῖς προθέουσι θαμινὰ σκοποῦσαι, ἐαυταῖς ἀπίστως ἔχουσι· θρασεῖαι δ' αἱ οὐκ ἐῶσι τῶν συνεργῶν τὰς σοφὰς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προίεναι, ἀλλ' ἀνείργουσι θορυβοῦσαι· αἱ δὲ ἀσπαζόμεναι τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ ὑπερλαμπρυνόμεναι ἐφ' ὅτφ ἂν τύχωσι προάγουσι συνειδυῖαι

<sup>1</sup> δὲ is omitted by S. with M.

## ON HUNTING, III. 3-7

selves anyhow, cowards leave their work and give up and slink away from the sun into shady places and lie down, dogs with no nose seldom scent the hare and only with difficulty, and those with bad feet, even if they are plucky, can't stand the hard work, and tire because they are foot-sore

Moreover, hounds of the same breed vary much 4  
in behaviour when tracking. Some go ahead as soon as they find the line without giving a sign, and there is nothing to show that they are on it. Some move the ears only, but keep the tail still; others keep the ears still and wag the tip of the tail. Others pick up the ears<sup>1</sup> and run frowning along 5  
the track, dropping their tails and putting them between their legs. Many do none of these things, but rush about madly round the track, and when they happen upon it, stupidly trample out the traces, barking all the time. Others again, continually circling 6  
and straying, get ahead of the line when clean off it and pass the hare, and every time they run against the line, begin guessing, and if they catch sight of the hare, tremble and never go for her until they see her stir. Hounds that run forward and frequently 7  
examine the discoveries of the others when they are casting about and pursuing have no confidence in themselves, while those that will not let their cleverer mates go forward, but fuss and keep them back, are confident to a fault. Others will drive ahead, eagerly following false lines and getting wildly excited over anything that turns up, well know-

<sup>1</sup> The Greek hound had short ears (cf c iv 1) like a fox-terrier

<sup>2</sup> *πρόσθεν* S with M

## XENOPHON

- ἑαυταῖς ὅτι ἕξαπατῶσιν· αἱ δ' οὐκ εἰδυῖαι τὸ αὐτὸ  
 ποιούσι ταύταις· φαῦλαι δὲ αἱ οὐκ ἀπαλλατ-  
 τόμεναι ἐκ τῶν τριμῶν τὰ ὀρθὰ οὐ γινώσκουσι.  
 8 ὅσαι δὲ τῶν κυνῶν τὰ ἴχνη τὰ μὲν εὐναῖα  
 ἀγροῦσι, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα ταχὺ διατρέχουσιν, οὐκ  
 εἰσὶ γνήσιαι· διώκουσι δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχόμεναι  
 σφόδρα, διὰ δὲ μαλακίαν ἀνιᾶσιν, αἱ δὲ ὑπο-  
 θέουσιν, εἶτα ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἕτεραι δὲ ἀνοήτως  
 ἐμπίπτουσαι εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀμαρτάνουσι τὸ  
 9 ἀνήκουστον πολὺ ἔχουσαι. πολλαὶ δὲ τὰ διώγ-  
 ματα ἀφιεῖσαι ἐπανερχονται διὰ τὸ μισόθηρον,  
 πολλαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλόανθρωπον· αἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν  
 ἴχνων κεκλαγγυῖαι ἕξαπατᾶν πειρῶνται ἀληθῆ  
 10 τὰ ψευδῆ ποιούμεναι. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ  
 ποιούσι, μεταξὺ δὲ θέουσαι ἂν ποθεν ἀκούσωσι  
 κραυγῆς, καταλείπουσαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἔργα ἀπρο-  
 νοήτως ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρονται· μεταθέουσι γὰρ αἱ  
 μὲν ἀσαφῶς, αἱ δὲ πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι,  
 δοξάζουσαι δὲ ἐτέρως.<sup>1</sup> αἱ δὲ πεπλασμένως,  
 φθονερῶς δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκκυνοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἴχνος διὰ  
 τέλος συμπεριφερόμεναι.  
 11 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείστα τούτων φύσει ἔχουσι,<sup>2</sup> τὰ  
 δὲ ἡγμέται ἀνεπιστημόνως δύσχρηστοὶ εἰσιν· αἱ  
 τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν κύνες ἀποτρέψειαν ἂν τοὺς  
 ἐπιθυμοῦντας κυνηγεσίων. οἷας δὲ δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ γένους τὰ τε εἶδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, φράσω.

IV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρή εἶναι μεγάλας, εἶτα  
 ἐχούσας τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐλαφράς, σιμάς, ἀρθρώδεις,  
 ἰνώδη τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν μετώπων, ὄμματα μετέωρα,  
 μέλανα, λαμπρά, μέτωπα μεγάλα καὶ πλατέα,

<sup>1</sup> ἐτέρως A. ἕτερα S. with BM.

<sup>2</sup> ἔχουσαι S. with M.

ing that they are playing the fool; others will do the same thing in ignorance. Those that stick to game paths and don't recognise the true line are poor tools. A hound that ignores the trail<sup>1</sup> and races over the track of the hare on the run is ill-bred. Some, again, will pursue hotly at first, and then slack off from want of pluck, others will cut in ahead and then get astray, while others foolishly dash into roads and go astray, deaf to all recall. Many abandon the pursuit and go back through their hatred of game, and many through their love of man. Others try to mislead by baying on the track, representing false lines as true ones. Some, though free from this fault, leave their own work when they hear a shout from another quarter while they are running, and make for it recklessly. When pursuing some are dubious, others are full of assumptions but their notions are wrong. Then there are the skirterers, some of whom merely pretend to hunt, while others out of jealousy perpetually scamper about together beside the line.

Now most of these faults are natural defects, but some by which hounds are spoilt are due to unintelligent training. Anyhow such hounds may well put a keen hunter off the spot. What hounds of the same breed<sup>2</sup> ought to look like and what they should be in other respects I will now explain.

IV. First, then, they should be big. Next, the head should be light, flat<sup>3</sup> and muscular; the lower parts of the forehead sinewy, the eyes prominent, black and sparkling, the forehead broad, with a

<sup>1</sup> "The trail of the hare is the path she takes in going to her seat"—Beckford

<sup>2</sup> The author's ideal harrier is clearly the Castorian.

<sup>3</sup> In profile

## XENOPHON

- τὰς διακρίσεις βαθείας, ὅτα μικρά,<sup>1</sup> λεπτά, ψιλὰ ὀπισθεν, τραχήλους μακρούς, ὑγρούς, περιφερεῖς, στήθη πλατέα, μὴ ἄσαρκα, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων τὰς ὠμοπλάτας διεστώσας μικρόν, σκέλη τὰ πρόσθια μικρά, ὀρθά, στρογγύλα, στιφρά, τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ὀρθούς, πλευράς μὴ ἐπὶ γῆν<sup>2</sup> βαθείας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πλάγιον παρηκούσας, ὀσφύς σαρκώδεις, τὰ μεγέθη μεταξὺ μακρῶν καὶ βραχέων, μητε ὑγρὰς λίαν μῆτε σκληράς, λαγόνας μεταξὺ μεγάλων καὶ μικρῶν, ἰσχία στρογγύλα, ὀπισθεν σαρκώδη, ἄνωθεν δὲ μὴ συνδεδεμένα, ἔνδοθεν δὲ προσεσταλμένα, τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν κενεῶνων λαγαρά καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κενεῶνας, οὐράς μακράς, ὀρθάς, λιγυράς, μηριαίας σκληράς, ὑποκώλια μακρά, περιφερῆ, εὐπαγῆ, σκέλη πολὺ μείζω τὰ ὀπισθεν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐπίρρικνα,
- 2 πόδας περιφερεῖς. καὶ ἂν ὥσι τοιαῦται αἱ κύνες, ἔσονται ἰσχυραὶ τὰ εἶδη, ἐλαφραὶ, σύμμετροι, ποδώκεῖς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προσώπων φαιδραὶ καὶ εὐστομοὶ.
- 3 Ἴχθυενέτωσαν δ' ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν ταχὺ ἀπαλλαστόμεναι, τιθεῖσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ γῆν λεχρίας, ἔμμειδιώσαι μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἴχνη, ἐπικαταβάλλουσαι δὲ τὰ ὄτα, καὶ<sup>3</sup> τὰ μὲν ὄμματα πυκνὰ διακινουῖσαι, ταῖς δὲ οὐραῖς διασαίνουσαι, κύκλους πολλοὺς πρὸς τὰς εὐνάς προϊέτωσαν ὁμοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἴχθους
- 4 ἀπασαί. ὅταν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ὥσι τὸν λαγῶ,

<sup>1</sup> μακρά S, a wrong conjecture

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ γῆν AB: ἐπίπαν S with M

<sup>3</sup> καὶ A: S omits with the rest

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<sup>1</sup> i. e. not bent inwards or outwards.

## ON HUNTING, IV. 1-4

deep dividing line; the ears small and thin with little hair behind; the neck long, loose and round; the chest broad and fairly fleshy; the shoulder-blades slightly outstanding from the shoulders, the fore-legs short, straight, round and firm, the elbows straight<sup>1</sup>, the ribs not low down on the ground,<sup>2</sup> but sloping in an oblique line; the loins fleshy, of medium length, and neither too loose nor too hard; the flanks of medium size, the hips round and fleshy at the back, not close at the top, and smooth on the inside<sup>3</sup>, the under part of the belly and the belly itself slim, the tail long, straight and thin; the thighs hard; the shanks<sup>4</sup> long, round and solid, the hind-legs much longer than the fore-legs and slightly bent; the feet round. Hounds like these will be strong in appearance, agile, well-proportioned, and speedy; and they will have a jaunty expression and a good mouth

When tracking they should get out of the game paths quickly, hold their heads well down and aslant, smiling when they find the scent and lowering their ears; then they should all go forward together along the trail towards the form crouching frequently,<sup>5</sup> with eyes continually on the move and tails wagging. As soon as they are close on the hare,

<sup>2</sup> So Pollux read, for he says *μη̄ προς την γην βαθυνομένης*. The sense is then that the ribs are not to be low on the ground when the hound is couchant, but well tucked up behind. *ἐπίπαν βαθείας*, "deep throughout," would apply to the depth from wall to wall, and the meaning would be that the ribs are to contract towards the flanks

<sup>3</sup> *ι ε* without folds in the coat towards the loins

<sup>4</sup> From the elbows to the feet

<sup>5</sup> A participle to govern *κύκλους πολλούς* has dropped out of the text



## XENOPHON

δῆλον ποιείτωσαν τῷ κυνηγέτῃ θάπτον φοιτῶσαι, μάλλον γνωρίζουσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἀπὸ τῆς μεταλλάξεως τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναβλεμμάτων καὶ ἐμβλεμμάτων εἰς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ἀναστρεμμάτων<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς καθέδρας τοῦ λαγῶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον διαρριμμάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθῶς ἤδη αἰωρεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερφαίρειν, ὅτι τοῦ λαγῶ ἐγγύς εἰσι.

- 5 Διωκέτωσαν δὲ ἔρρωμένως καὶ μὴ ἐπανιεῖσαι σὺν πολλῇ κλαγγῇ καὶ ὑλαγμῷ, συνεκπερώσαι μετὰ τοῦ λαγῶ πάντη· μεταθείτωσαν δὲ ταχὺ καὶ λαμπρῶς, πυκνὰ μεταφερόμεναι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι δικαίως· πρὸς δὲ τὸν κυνηγέτην μὴ ἐπανίτωσαν λιποῦσαι τὰ ἴχνη.
- 6 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ εἶδους καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου εὐψυχοὶ ἔστωσαν καὶ εὐρινες καὶ εὐποδες<sup>2</sup> καὶ εὐτριχες. εὐψυχοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔσονται, εἴαν μὴ λίπωσι τὰ κυνηγέσια, ὅταν ἦ πνίγη· εὐρινες δέ, εἴαν τοῦ λαγῶ ὀσφραίνωνται ἐν τόποις ψιλοῖς, ξηροῖς, προσηλίοις τοῦ ἄστρου ἐπιόντος· εὐποδες δέ, εἴαν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ μὴ καταρρηγνύωνται αὐτῶν οἱ πόδες τὰ ὄρη θεουσῶν· εὐτριχες δέ, εἴαν ἔχουσι λεπτήν
- 7 καὶ πυκνὴν καὶ μαλακὴν τὴν τρίχα. τὰ δὲ χρώματα οὐ χρὴ εἶναι τῶν κυνῶν οὔτε πυρρὰ οὔτε μέλανα οὔτε λευκὰ παντελῶς· ἔστι γὰρ οὐ γενναῖον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ<sup>3</sup> ἀπλοῦν καὶ θηριῶδες.
- 8 αἱ μὲν οὖν πυρραὶ ἔχουσαι ἔστωσαν λευκὴν τρίχα ἐπανθοῦσαν περὶ τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ αἱ μέλαινα, αἱ

<sup>1</sup> εἰς . ἀναστρεμμάτων is omitted by S

they should let the huntsman know, quickening the pace and showing more emphatic signs by their excitement, movements of the head and eyes, changes of attitude, by looking up and looking into the covert and returning again and again to the hare's form, by leaps forward, backward and to the side, displays of unaffected agitation and overpowering delight at being near the hare

They should pursue with unremitting vigour, 5 giving tongue and barking freely, dogging the hare's steps wherever she goes. They should be fast and brilliant in the chase, frequently casting about and giving tongue in the right fashion, and they should not leave the track and go back to the huntsman

Along with this appearance and behaviour they 6 should have pluck, keen noses, sound feet and good coats. They will be plucky if they don't leave the hunting-ground when the heat is oppressive, keen-nosed if they smell the hare on bare, parched and sunny ground in the dog days<sup>1</sup>, sound in the feet if at the same season their feet are not torn to bits during a run in the mountains, they will have a good coat if the hair is fine, thick and soft. The colour of the hounds should not be entirely 7 tawny, black or white, for this is not a sign of good breeding. On the contrary, unbroken colour indicates a wild strain. So the tawny and the black 8 hounds should show a patch of white about the

<sup>1</sup> The older commentators are probably right in understanding the allusion to be to the Dog-star, not to the Sun

<sup>2</sup> εὔρινες καὶ εὐποδες A: εὐποδες καὶ εὔρινες S. with the rest

<sup>3</sup> ἀλλὰ τὸ Radermacher · ἀλλ' S with the MSS

## XENOPHON

δὲ λευκαὶ πυρράν· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς μηριαίαις ἄκραις τρίχας ὀρθάς, βαθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀσφύσι καὶ ταῖς οὐραῖς κάτω, ἄνωθεν δὲ μετρίας.

- 9 Ἄγειν δὲ ἄμεινον τὰς κύνας εἰς τὰ ὄρη πολ-  
λάκις, τὰ δὲ ἔργα ἤττον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὄρη οἷόν τ'  
ἔστι καὶ ἰχνεύειν καὶ μεταθεῖν καθαρῶς, τὰ δὲ  
10 ἔργα οὐδέτερα διὰ τοὺς τριμμούς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
ἄνευ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν τὸν λαγῶ ἀγαθὸν ἄγειν τὰς  
κύνας εἰς τὰ τραχέα· καὶ γὰρ εὐποδὲς γίνονται  
καὶ τὰ σώματα διαπονοῦσαι ἐν τόποις τοιούτοις  
11 ὠφελούνται. ἀγέσθωσαν δὲ θέρους μὲν μέχρι  
μεσημβρίας, χειμῶνος δὲ δι' ἡμέρας, μετοπώρου  
δ' ἔξω μεσημβρίας, ἐντὸς δ' ἑσπέρας τὸ ἔαρ. ταῦτα  
γὰρ μέτρια.

- V. Τὰ δὲ ἰχνη τοῦ λαγῶ τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος μακρὰ  
ἔστι διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῶν νυκτῶν, τοῦ δὲ θέρους  
βραχέα διὰ τὸ ἐναντίον. χειμῶνος μὲν οὖν πρῶτ'  
οὐκ ὄξει αὐτῶν, ὅταν πάχνη ἢ ἢ παγετός· ἢ μὲν  
γὰρ πάχνη τῇ αὐτῆς ἰσχύϊ ἀντισπάσασα τὸ θερ-  
2 μὸν ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ, ὁ δὲ παγετὸς ἐπιπήξας καὶ αἱ  
κύνες μαλκιῶσαι τὰς ρίνας οὐ δύνανται αἰσθά-  
νεσθαι, ὅταν ἢ τοιαῦτα, πρὶν ἂν ὁ ἥλιος διαλύσῃ  
αὐτὰ ἢ προιοῦσα ἢ ἡμέρα· τότε δὲ καὶ αἱ  
κύνες ὀσφραίνονται καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπαναφερόμενα ὄξει.  
3 ἀφανίζει δὲ καὶ ἢ πολλὴ δρόσος καταφέρουσα  
αὐτά, καὶ οἱ ὄμβροι οἱ γιγνώμενοι διὰ χρόνον  
ὀσμὰς ἄγοντες τῆς γῆς ποιούσι δύσοσμον, ἕως  
ἂν ψυχθῇ· χεῖρω δὲ καὶ τὰ νότια ποιεῖ· ὑγραί-  
νοντα γὰρ διαχεῖ· τὰ δὲ βόρεια, εἰάν ἢ ἄλυτα,

<sup>1</sup> ἄγειν τῆς γῆς has no parallel in Greek prose perhaps ἐκ has fallen out or τῆν γῆν should be read.

## ON HUNTING, IV. 8-v. 3

face, and the white hounds a tawny patch At the top of the thighs the han should be straight and thick, and on the loins and at the lower end of the tail, but it should be moderately thick higher up.

It is advisable to take the hounds to the mountains 9 often, but less frequently to cultivated land. For in the mountains it is possible to track and follow a hare without hindrance, whereas it is impossible to do either in cultivated land owing to the game paths It is also well to take the hounds out into rough 10 ground, whether they find a hare or not; for they get sound in the feet, and hard work in such country is good for their bodies. In summer they should be 11 out till midday, in winter at any hour of the day, in autumn at any time except midday, and before evening during the spring; for at these times the temperature is mild

V. The scent of the hare lies long in winter owing to the length of the nights, and for a short time in summer for the opposite reason. In the winter, however, there is no scent in the early morning whenever there is a white frost or the earth is frozen hard For both white and black frost hold heat, since the one draws it out by its own strength, and the other congeals it. The hounds' noses, too, 2 are numbed by the cold, and they cannot smell when the tracks are in such a state until the tracks thaw in the sun or as day advances Then the dogs can smell and the scent revives A heavy dew, 3 again, obliterates scent by carrying it downwards, and storms, occurring after a long interval, draw smells from the ground<sup>1</sup> and make the earth bad for scent until it dries South winds spoil scent, because the moisture scatters it, but north winds concentrate

## XENOPHON

- 4 συνίστησι καὶ σώζει. οἱ δὲ ὑετοὶ κατακλύζουσι  
 καὶ αἱ ψακάδες, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἄμαυροὶ τῷ θερμῷ,  
 μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν ἦ πανσέληνος· καὶ μανότατα  
 τότε· χαίροντες γὰρ τῷ φέγγει ἐπαναρριπτοῦντες  
 μακρὰ διαίρουσιν<sup>1</sup> ἀντιπαίζοντες· ταραχώδη δέ,  
 5 ὅταν ἀλώπεκες προδιεξέλθωσι, γίγνεται. τὸ δὲ  
 ἔαρ κεκραμένον τῇ ὥρᾳ καλῶς παρέχει τὰ ἴχνη  
 λαμπρά, πλὴν εἴ τι ἡ γῆ ἐξανθούσα βλάβπει τὰς  
 κύνας, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συμμιγνύουσα τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰς  
 ὀσμάς. λεπτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσαφῆ τοῦ θέρους· διά-  
 πυρος γὰρ οὖσα ἡ γῆ ἀφανίζει τὸ θερμόν, ὃ  
 ἔχουσιν· ἔστι γὰρ λεπτόν· καὶ αἱ κύνες ἦττον  
 ὀσφραίνονται τότε διὰ τὸ ἐκκλεύσθαι τὰ σώματα.  
 τοῦ δὲ μετοπώρου καθαρὰ· ὅσα γὰρ ἡ γῆ φέρει,  
 τὰ μὲν ἡμερα συγκεκριόμεναι, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια γῆρα  
 διαλέλνται· ὥστε οὐ παραλυποῦσι τῶν καρπῶν  
 6 αἱ ὀσμαι εἰς ταῦτὰ φερόμεναι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ χει-  
 μῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ μετοπώρου τὰ ἴχνη  
 ὀρθὰ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, τοῦ δ' ἦρος συμπεπλεγμένα·  
 τὸ γὰρ θηρίον συνδυάζεται μὲν αἰεὶ, μάλιστα δὲ  
 ταύτην τὴν ὥραν· ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνάγκης μετ'  
 ἀλλήλων πλανώμενοι τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν.
- 7 Ὅξει δὲ τῶν ἴχων ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τῶν  
 εὐναίων ἢ τῶν δρομαίων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐναῖα ὁ  
 λαγὼς πορεύεται ἐφιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα  
 ταχύ· ἡ γῆ οὖν τῶν μὲν πυκνοῦται, τῶν δὲ οὐ  
 πίμπλαται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑλώδεσι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν  
 τοῖς ψιλοῖς ὄξει· διατρέχων γὰρ καὶ ἀνακαθίζων  
 ἄπτεται πολλῶν.

<sup>1</sup> διαίρουσιν Radermacher. διαιροῦσιν S with the MSS

<sup>1</sup> Or "deadens the heat" if we read τὸ θερμόν with Gesner  
 But the Greeks did attribute heat to the moon.

## ON HUNTING, v. 3-7

and preserve it, if it has not been previously dissolved. Heavy showers drown it, and so does light rain, and 4 the moon deadens it by its warmth,<sup>1</sup> especially when at the full. Scent is most irregular at that time, for the hares, enjoying the light, fling themselves high in the air and jump a long way, frolicking with one another; and it becomes confused when foxes have crossed it. Spring with its genial temperature yields 5 a clear scent, except where the ground is studded with flowers and hampers the hounds by mingling the odours of the flowers with it. In summer it is thin and faint, for the ground, being baked, obliterates what warmth it possesses, which is thin, and the hounds' noses are not so good at that season, because their bodies are relaxed. In the autumn it is unimpeded, for the cultivated crops have been harvested and the weeds have withered, so that the odours of the herbage do not cause trouble by mingling with it. In winter and summer and autumn the 6 scent lies straight in the main. In spring it is complicated; for though the animal couples at all times, it does so especially at this season,<sup>2</sup> so instinct prompts them to roam about together, and this is the result they produce.

The scent left by the hare in going to her form 7 lasts longer than the scent of a running hare. For on the way to the form the hare keeps stopping, whereas when on the run she goes fast; consequently the ground is packed with it in the one case, but in the other is not filled with it. In coverts it is stronger than in open ground, because she touches many objects while running about and sitting up.

<sup>2</sup> The "March hare"

## XENOPHON

- 8 Κατακλίνονται δ' εἰς ἃ ἡ γῆ φύει ἢ ἔχει ἐφ' αὐτῆς ὑπὸ παντί, ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἐν αὐτοῖς, παρ' αὐτά, ἄποθεν πολύ, μικρόν, μεταξὺ τούτων· ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ διαρριπτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἐν ὕδατι, εἴαν τι ἢ ὑπερέχον ἢ ἐμπεφυκὸς ἐν
- 9 τούτῳ. ὁ μὲν οὖν<sup>1</sup> εὐναῖος ποιούμενος εὐνήν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὅταν μὲν ἢ ψύχῃ, ἐν εὐδιεινοῖς, ὅταν δὲ καύματα, ἐν παλισκίοις, τὸ δὲ ἔαρ καὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἐν προσηλίοις· οἱ δὲ δρομαῖοι οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ἔκπληκτοι<sup>2</sup> γίνεσθαι.
- 10 κατακλίνεται δὲ ὑποθεῖς τὰ ὑποκόλια ὑπὸ τὰς λαγόνας, τὰ δὲ πρόσθεν σκέλη τὰ πλεῖστα συνθεῖς καὶ ἐκτείνας, ἐπ' ἄκρους δὲ τοὺς πόδας τὴν γένυ καταθείς, τὰ δὲ ὦτα ἐπιπετάσας ἐπὶ τὰς ὠμοπλάτας, εἶτα δὲ ὑποστέγει τὰ ὑγρά· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίχα στεγανήν· πυκνὴ γὰρ καὶ
- 11 μαλακὴ. καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἐγρηγόρη, καταμύει τὰ βλέφαρα, ὅταν δὲ καθεύδῃ, τὰ μὲν βλέφαρα ἀναπέπτата ἀκίνητα, οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀτρέμας ἔχουσι· τοὺς δὲ μυκτῆρας, ὅταν μὲν εὔδῃ, κινεῖ
- 12 πυκνά, ὅταν δὲ μῆ, ἤττον. ὅταν δὲ ἡ γῆ βρῦν, μᾶλλον τὰ ἔργα ἢ τὰ ὄρη ἔχουσιν. ὑπομένει δὲ πανταχοῦ ἰχνεύμενος, εἴαν μήτι περίφοβος τῆς νυκτὸς γένηται· παθῶν δὲ τοῦτο ὑποκινεῖ.
- 13 Πολύγονον δ' ἐστὶν οὕτως, ὥστε τὰ μὲν τέτοκε,

<sup>1</sup> οὖν should probably be omitted.

<sup>2</sup> ἔκπληκτοι S, after Schneider

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<sup>1</sup> See "The Hare," *Fur and Feather Series*, p 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> The fluctuation between plural and singular is in the Greek

## ON HUNTING, v. 8-13

They find a resting-place where there is anything 8  
growing or lying on the ground, underneath any-  
thing, on the top of the objects, inside, alongside,  
well away or quite near or fairly near: occasionally  
even in the sea<sup>1</sup> by springing on to anything she<sup>2</sup> can  
reach, or in fresh water, if there is anything sticking  
out or growing in it, the hare,<sup>3</sup> when going to her 9  
form generally choosing a sheltered place for it in cold  
weather and a cool one in hot, but in spring and  
autumn a place exposed to the sun; but hares on the run  
do not do that, because they are scared by the hounds.  
When she sits, she puts the hind-legs under the 10  
flanks, and most commonly keeps the fore-legs close  
together and extended, resting the chin on the ends  
of the feet, and spreading the ears over the shoulder-  
blades, so that<sup>4</sup> she covers the soft parts. The hair too,  
being thick and soft, serves as a protection. When 11  
awake she blinks her eyelids; but when she is  
asleep the eyelids are wide open and motionless, and  
the eyes still. She moves her nostrils continually  
when sleeping, but less frequently when awake.  
When the ground is bursting with vegetation they 12  
frequent the fields rather than the mountains.  
Wherever she may be she remains there when  
tracked, except when she is suddenly alarmed at  
night, in which case she moves off.

The animal is so prolific that at the same time she is 13

<sup>1</sup> The distinction is not, as often supposed, between hares with different *habits* ("squatters," εὐναῖοι, and "roamers," δρομαῖοι—a non-existent distinction), but merely between the behaviour of all hares in different circumstances. The unusual, but not unexampled, position of the article—δ and οἱ—has misled interpreters. Blane saw the true meaning.

<sup>2</sup> I do not think that εἴτα δὲ can mean this, and suspect that εἴτα is wrong.



## XENOPHON

- τὰ δὲ τίκτει, τὰ δὲ κρεῖ. τῶν δὲ μικρῶν λαγίων ὄζει μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν μεγάλων· ἔτι γὰρ ὑγρομελῆ
- 14 ὄντα ἐπισύρεται ὄλα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. τὰ μὲν οὖν λίαν νεογνὰ οἱ φιλοκυνηγέται ἀφίᾳσι τῇ θεῷ· οἱ δὲ ἤδη ἔτειοι τάχιστα θεοῦσι τὸν πρῶτον δρόμον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐκ ἔτι· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐλαφροί, ἀδύνατοι δέ.
- 15 Λαμβάνειν δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ τὰ ἴχνη· ὑπάγοντα τὰς κύνας ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἄνωθεν· ὅσοι δὲ μὴ ἔρχονται αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ἐργάσιμα, τοὺς λειμώνας, τὰς νάπας, τὰ ρεῖθρα, τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὑλώδη· καὶ ἐὰν ὑποκινή, μὴ ἀναβοᾶν, ἵνα μὴ αἱ κύνες ἔκφονες γιγνόμεναι χαλεπῶς τὰ ἴχνη γνωρίζωσιν.
- 16 εὐρισκόμενοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ διωκόμενοι ἔστιν ὅτε διαβαίνουσι τὰ ρεύματα, καὶ ὑποκάμπτουσι καὶ καταδύονται εἰς φάραγγας καὶ εἰς εἰλυούς· πεφόβηται γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς κύνας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀετούς· ὑπερβάλλοντες γὰρ τὰ σιμὰ καὶ τὰ ψιλὰ ἀναρπάζονται, ἕως ἂν ὧσιν ἔτειοι· τοὺς δὲ μείζους ἐπιτρέχουσαι αἱ κύνες ἀναιροῦνται.<sup>1</sup>
- 17 Ποδωκέστατοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ὄρειοι, οἱ πεδινοὶ δὲ ἤττον, βραδύτατοι δὲ οἱ ἔλειοι· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς τόπους πλανῆται χαλεποὶ πρὸς τοὺς δρόμους· τὰ γὰρ σύντομα ἴσασι θεοῦσι γὰρ μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ἀνάντη ἢ τὰ ὀμαλά, τὰ δὲ ἀνώμαλα<sup>2</sup> ἀνομοίως, τὰ δὲ κατάντη ἤκιστα.
- 18 διωκόμενοι δὲ εἰσι κατὰδηλοι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἀναιροῦνται Richards: ἀφαιροῦνται S with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> ἀνώμαλα A ἀνόμοια S with the rest

## ON HUNTING, v 13-18

rearing one litter, she produces another and she is pregnant. The scent of the little leverets is stronger than that of the big ones; for while their limbs are still soft they drag the whole body on the ground. Sports- 14 men, however, leave the very young ones to the goddess<sup>1</sup> Yearlings go very fast in the first run, but then flag, being agile, but weak.

Find the hare's track by beginning with the 15 hounds in the cultivated lands and gradually working downwards<sup>2</sup> To track those that do not come into cultivated land, search<sup>3</sup> the meadows, valleys, streams, stones and woody places. If she moves off, don't shout, or the hounds may get wild with excitement and fail to recognise the tracks. Hares when 16 found by hounds and pursued sometimes cross brooks and double back and slip into gullies or holes. The fact is they are terrified not only of the hounds, but of eagles as well, for they are apt to be snatched up while crossing hillocks and bare ground until<sup>4</sup> they are yearlings, and the bigger ones are run down and caught by the hounds.

The swiftest are those that frequent mountains; 17 those of the plain are not so speedy, and those of the marshes are the slowest. Those that roam over any sort of country are difficult to chase, since they know the short cuts. They run mostly uphill<sup>5</sup> or on the level, less frequently in uneven ground, and very seldom downhill. When being pursued they are 18

<sup>2</sup> The cultivated land is on the lower slopes of the mountains.

<sup>3</sup> There is evidently a gap in the Greek before τοὺς λειμῶνας, which has nothing to govern it.

<sup>4</sup> Not "so long as"; cf § 14

<sup>5</sup> i.e. when pursued

## XENOPHON

- γῆς κεκινημένης, ἐὰν ἔχωσιν ἔνιον ἐρύθημα, καὶ διὰ καλάμης διὰ τὴν ἀνταύγειαν· κατάδηλοι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τριμμοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐὰν ὦσιν ἰσόπεδοι· τὸ γὰρ φανὸν τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνὸν ἀντιλάμπει· ἄδηλοι δέ, ὅταν τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὄρη, τὰ φέλλια, τὰ δασέα ἀποχωρῶσι, διὰ τὴν ὁμόχροιαν.
- 19 προλαμβάνοντες δὲ τὰς κύνας ἐφίστανται καὶ ἀνακαθίζοντες ἐπαίρουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔπακούουσιν, εἴ που πλησίον κλαγγὴ ἢ ψόφος τῶν κυνῶν·
- 20 καὶ ὅθεν ἂν ἀκούσωσιν, ἀποτρέπονται. ὅτε δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσαντες, ἀλλὰ δόξαντες ἢ πεισθέντες ὑφ' αὐτῶν παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπαλλάττοντες ἄλματα, ἐμποιοῦντες ἴχνεσιν ἴχνη,
- 21 ἀποχωροῦσι. καὶ εἰσι μακροδρομώτατοι μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ψιλῶν εὐρισκόμενοι διὰ τὸ καταφανές, βραχυδρομώτατοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν δασέων· ἐμποδῶν γὰρ τὸ σκοτεινόν.
- 22 Δύο δὲ καὶ τὰ γένη ἐστὶν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μεγάλοι τὸ χρῶμα <sup>1</sup> ἐπίπερκνοι καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ μέγα ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐλάττους
- 23 ἐπίξανθοι, μικρὸν τὸ λευκὸν ἔχοντες τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν οἱ μὲν κύκλω περιποίκιλον, οἱ δὲ παράσειρον, καὶ τὰ ὄμματα οἱ μὲν ὑποχάροποι, οἱ δ' ὑπόγλαυκοι· καὶ τὰ μέλανα τὰ περὶ τὰ ὦτα
- 24 ἄκρα <sup>2</sup> οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ μικρόν. ἔχουσι δὲ αὐτῶν αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν νήσων τοὺς ἐλάττους, αἵ τ' ἔρημοι καὶ οἰκούμεναι· τὸ δὲ πλήθος πλείους

<sup>1</sup> τὸ χρῶμα AB and Pollux : S omits with M

<sup>2</sup> ἄκρα ὄματα S.

## ON HUNTING, v. 18-24

most conspicuous across ground that has been broken up, if they have some red in their coats, or across stubble, owing to the shadow they cast. They are also conspicuous in game paths and on roads if these are level, since the bright colour of their coats shows up in the light. But when their line of retreat is amongst stones, in the mountains, over rocky or thickly wooded ground they cannot be seen owing to the similarity of colouring. When they are well 19 ahead of the hounds, they will stop, and sitting up will raise themselves and listen for the baying or the footfall of the hounds anywhere near, and should they hear the sound of them from any quarter, they make off. Occasionally, even when they hear 20 no sound, some fancy or conviction prompts them to jump hither and thither past and through the same objects, mixing the tracks as they retreat. The longest runners are those that are found on 21 bare land, because they are exposed to view; the shortest, those found in thick covers, since the darkness hinders their flight.

There are two species of hare <sup>1</sup>. The large are dark 22 brown, and the white patch on the forehead is large, the smaller are chestnut, with a small white patch. The larger have spots round the scut, the smaller at 23 the side of it. The eyes in the large species are blue, in the small grey. The black at the tip of the ear is broad in the one species, narrow in the other. The smaller are found in most of the islands, both 24 desert and inhabited. They are more plentiful.

<sup>1</sup> The common hare and a smaller variety of the same, which is said to be "more brindled in colour" than the larger kind. See "The Hare" in *Fur and Feather Series*, p. 5.

## XENOPHON

- ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἠπείροις· οὐ γὰρ εἰσιν οὔτ' ἀλώπεκες ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς αὐτῶν, αἵτινες καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐπιούσαι ἀναιροῦνται, οὔτε ἀετοί· τὰ μεγάλα γὰρ ὄρη ἔχουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ μικρά· ἐλάττω δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὰ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις.
- 25 κυνηγέται δὲ εἰς μὲν τὰς ἐρήμους ὀλιγάκις ἀφικνοῦνται, ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκουμέναις ὀλίγοι εἰσὶ<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὐ φιλόθηροι οἱ πολλοί· εἰς δὲ τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν νήσων οὐδὲ διαβιβάζειν οἶόν τε κύνας. ὅταν οὖν τῶν τε ὑπαρχόντων ὀλίγους ἐκθηρῶνται καὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων, ἀνάγκη ἀφθόρους εἶναι.
- 26 Βλέπει δὲ οὐκ ὀξὺ διὰ πολλά· τά τε γὰρ ὄμματα ἔχει ἔξω καὶ τὰ βλέφαρα ἐλλείποντα καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα προβολὴν ταῖς αὐγαῖς· ἢ ὄψις οὖν
- 27 διὰ ταῦτα ἀμαυρά, ἐσκεδασμένη. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐν ὑπνῷ ὄν τὰ πολλὰ τὸ θηρίον οὐκ ὠφελεῖται πρὸς τὸ ὄραν. καὶ ἡ ποδώκεια πρὸς τὸ ἀμβλυωπεῖν αὐτῷ πολὺ συμβάλλεται· ταχὺ γὰρ ἐκάστου παραφέρει τὴν ὄψιν, πρὶν νοῆσαι
- 28 ὅ τι ἐστί. καὶ οἱ φόβοι τῶν κυνῶν, ὅταν διώκωνται, ἐπόμενοι μετὰ τούτων συνεξαιροῦνται τὸ προνοεῖσθαι. ὥστε διὰ ταῦτα προσπίπτων λαυθάνει πρὸς πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμπίπτων.
- 29 εἰ δ' ἔφευγεν ὀρθόν, ὀλιγάκις ἂν ἔπασχε τὸ τοιοῦτον· νῦν δὲ περιβάλλων καὶ ἀγαπῶν τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτράφη, ἀλίσκεται. κατὰ πόδας δὲ οὐ πολλακίς ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν διὰ τὸ τάχος κρατεῖται· ὅσοι δὲ ἀλίσκονται, παρὰ φύσιν τοῦ σώματος, τύχῃ δὲ χρώμενοι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἰσομέγεθες τούτῳ ὁμοῖον ἐστί

<sup>1</sup> εἰσι Dindorf ὅπως S. with the MSS

## ON HUNTING, v 24-29

in the islands than on the mainland, for in the majority of these there are no foxes to attack and carry off the hares and their young; nor eagles, for they haunt big mountains rather than small, and the mountains in the islands, generally speaking, are rather small. Hunters seldom visit the desert 25 islands, and there are few people in the inhabited ones, and most of them are not sportsmen; and if an island is consecrated, one may not even take dogs into it. Since, then, but few of the old hares and the leverets that they produce are exterminated by hunting, they are bound to be abundant

The sight of the hare is not keen for several 26 reasons. The eyes are prominent; the lids are too small and do not give protection to the pupils; consequently the vision is weak and blurred. Added 27 to this, though the animal spends much time asleep, it gets no benefit from that, so far as seeing goes. Its speed, too, accounts in no small degree for its dim sight. For it glances at an object and is past it in a flash, before realising its nature. And those terrois, 28 the hounds, close behind them when they are pursued combine with these causes to rob them of their wits. The consequence is that the hare bumps against many obstacles unawares and plunges into the net. If she ran straight, she would seldom 29 meet with this mishap. But instead of that she comes round and hugs the place where she was born and bred, and so is caught. In a fair run she is seldom beaten by the hounds owing to her speed. Those that are caught are beaten in spite of their natural characteristics through meeting with an accident. Indeed, there is nothing in the world of equal size to match the hare as a piece of mechanism

## XENOPHON

πρὸς ἁρμόν<sup>1</sup> σύγκειται γὰρ ἐκ τοιούτων τὸ σῶμα.

- 30 Ἐχει γὰρ κεφαλὴν κούφην, μικράν, καταφερῆ, στενήν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν, ὦτα ὑψηλά, τράχηλον λεπτόν, περιφερῆ, οὐ σκληρόν, μῆκος ἰκανόν, ὠμοπλάτας ὀρθάς, ἀσυνδέτους ἄνωθεν, σκέλη τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐλαφρά, σύγκωλα, στῆθος οὐ βαρύτονου, πλευρὰς ἐλαφράς, συμμέτρους, ὀσφῦν περιφερῆ, κωλῆν σαρκώδη, λαγόνας ὑγράς, λαπαράς ἰκανῶς, ἰσχία στρογγύλα, πλήρη κύκλω, ἄνωθεν δὲ ὡς χρῆ διεστῶτα, μηροὺς μικροὺς,<sup>2</sup> εὐπαγεῖς, ἔξωθεν μῦς<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτεταμένους, ἔνδοθεν δὲ οὐκ ὀγκώδεις, ὑποκώλια μακρά, στιφρά, πόδας τοὺς πρόσθεν ἄκρως ὑγροὺς, στενοὺς, ὀρθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθεν στερεοὺς, πλατεῖς, πάντας δὲ οὐδενὸς τραχέος φροντίζοντας, σκέλη τὰ ὀπισθεν μείζω πολὺ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐγκεκλιμένα
- 31 μικρὸν ἔξω, τρίχωμα βραχύ, κούφον. ἔστιν οὖν ἀδύνατον μὴ οὐκ εἶναι ἐκ τοιούτων συνηρμοσμένοι ἰσχυρόν, ὑγρόν, ὑπερέλαφρον.

Τεκμήριον δὲ ὡς ἐλαφρόν ἐστιν· ὅταν ἀτρέμα διαπορεύηται, πηδᾶ, βαδίζοντα δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐώρακεν οὐδ' ὄψεται, τιθεὶς εἰς τὸ ἐπέκεινα τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ποδῶν τοὺς ὀπισθεν καὶ ἔξω, καὶ<sup>4</sup> θεῖ οὕτως.

- 32 δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐν χιόνι. οὐρὰν δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτηδείαν ἔχει πρὸς δρόμον· ἐπευθύνειν γὰρ οὐχ ἰκανὴ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα· ἀλλὰ τῷ ὧτι ἑκατέρω τοῦτο ποιεῖ, καὶ ὅταν ἀνιστῆται<sup>5</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν,

<sup>1</sup> ἁρμόν ABM: δρόμον S. with inferior MSS.

<sup>2</sup> μικροὺς Pierleoni. μακροὺς S

<sup>3</sup> μῦς MSS: μὲν S.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ MSS: S omits with Schneider.

## ON HUNTING, v. 29-32

For the various parts that make up her body are formed as follows.

The head is light, small, drooping, narrow at the 30 front; the ears are upright,<sup>1</sup> the neck is thin, round, not stiff, and fairly long; the shoulder-blades are straight and free at the top; the fore-legs are agile and close together, the chest is not broad; the ribs are light and symmetrical, the loins are circular, the rump is fleshy; the flanks are soft and fairly spongy, the hips are round, well filled out, and the right distance apart at the top; the thighs are small and firm, muscular on the outside and not puffy on the inside, the shanks are long and firm; the fore-feet are extremely pliant and narrow and straight and the hind-feet hard and broad; and all four are indifferent to rough ground, the hind-legs are much longer than the fore-legs, and slightly bent outwards, the coat is short and light. With such a 31 frame she cannot fail to be strong, pliant and very agile

Here is a proof of her agility. When going quietly, she springs—no one ever saw or ever will see a hare walking—bringing the hind-feet forward in advance of the fore-feet and outside them; and that is how she runs. This is obvious when snow is on the 32 ground. The scut is of no assistance in running, for it is not able to steer the body owing to its shortness. The hare does this by means of one of her ears; and when she is roused by the hounds she

<sup>1</sup> "The ears are upright" is not in the MSS, and is inserted from Pollux. As our author is enumerating those characteristics of the hare that make for speed, it is not quite certain that the words are his, but see § 33

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<sup>5</sup> ἀνιστῆται Pierleoni ἀλίσκηται S with the MSS



## XENOPHON

- καταβάλλων καὶ<sup>1</sup> παραβάλλων τὸ ἕτερον οὖς πλάγιον, ὅποτέρᾳ ἂν λυπηῖται, ἀπεριεδόμενος δὴ εἰς τοῦτο ὑποστρέφεται ταχύ, ἐν μικρῷ πολὺν  
 33 καταλιπὼν τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον. οὕτω δὲ ἐπίχαρὶ ἐστὶ τὸ θέαμα,<sup>2</sup> ὥστε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν ἰχνεύμενον, εὕρισκόμενον, μεταθεόμενον, ἀλίσκόμενον ἐπιλάθοιτ' ἂν εἴ του ἐρῶη.
- 34 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις κυνηγετοῦντα ἀπέχεσθαι ὧν ὠραι φέρουσι καὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα ἔαν. τὸ γὰρ ἄπτεσθαι τούτων αἰσχρὸν καὶ κακόν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ τῷ νόμῳ ἐναντίοι ὦσιν οἱ ἰδόντες. καὶ ὅταν ἀναγρία ἐμπίπτη, ἀναλύειν χρὴ τὰ περὶ κυνηγέσιον πάντα.

VI. Κυνῶν δὲ κόσμος δέραια, ἰμάντες, στελμονίαι· ἔστω δὲ τὰ μὲν δέραια μαλακά, πλατέα, ἵνα μὴ θραυῖ τὰς τρίχας τῶν κυνῶν, οἱ δὲ ἰμάντες ἔχοντες ἀγκύλας τῇ χειρὶ, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· οὐ γὰρ καλῶς τηροῦσι τὰς κύνας οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰργασμένοι τὰ δέραια· αἱ δὲ στελμονίαι πλατεῖς τοὺς ἰμάντας, ἵνα μὴ τρίβωσι τὰς λαγόνας αὐτῶν· ἐγκατερραμμένοι δὲ ἐγκευτρίδες, ἵνα τὰ γένη φυλάττωσιν.

- 2 Ἐξάγειν δὲ αὐτὰς οὐ χρὴ ἐπὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια, ὅταν μὴ τὰ προσφερόμενα δέχωνται ἠδέως· τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔρρωνται· μηδὲ ὅταν ἄνεμος πνέῃ μέγας. διαρπάζει γὰρ τὰ ἴχνη καὶ οὐ δύνανται ὁσφραίνεσθαι οὐδὲ αἱ ἄρκυς ἐστάναι  
 3 οὐδὲ τὰ δίκτυα ὅταν δὲ τούτων μηδέτερον κωλύῃ, ἄγειν διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρας. τὰς δὲ ἀλώ-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Dindorf: γὰρ καὶ S with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> θέαμα Arrian, Hermogenes: θηρίον S with the MSS

drops one ear on the side on which she is being pressed and throws it aslant, and then bearing on this she wheels round sharply and in a moment leaves the assailant far behind. So charming is the sight that to see a hare tracked, found, pursued and caught is enough to make any man forget his heart's desire 33

When hunting on cultivated land avoid growing crops and let pools and streams alone. It is unseemly and wrong to interfere with them, and there is a risk of encouraging those who see to set themselves against the law.<sup>1</sup> On days on which there is no hunting,<sup>2</sup> all hunting tackle should be removed 34

VI The trappings of hounds are collars, leashes, and surcingles. The collars should be soft and broad, so as not to chafe the hounds' coat. The leashes should have a noose for the hand, and nothing else, for if the collar is made in one piece with the leash, perfect control of the hounds is impossible. The straps of the surcingles should be broad, so as not to rub the flanks, and they should have little spurs sewed on to them, to keep the breed pure.

Hounds should not be taken out hunting when off their feed, since this is a proof that they are ailing; nor when a strong wind is blowing, since it scatters the scent and they cannot smell, and the purse-nets will not stand in position, nor the hayes. But when neither of these hindrances prevents, have the hounds out every other day. Do not let them 3

<sup>1</sup> Both text and meaning are doubtful here. By "the law" is probably meant the law (or custom?) that allowed hunters to hunt over growing crops. See c XII 5

<sup>2</sup> *i e* during festivals

## XENOPHON

- πεκας μὴ ἐθίζειν τὰς κύνας διώκειν· διαφθορὰ  
 γὰρ μεγίστη καὶ ἐν τῷ δέοντι οὐποτε πάρεισιν.  
 4 εἰς δὲ τὰ κυνηγέσια μεταβάλλοντα ἄγειν, ἵνα  
 ὧσιν ἔμπειροι τῶν κυνηγεσίων, αὐτὸς<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῆς  
 χώρας. ἐξιέναι δὲ πρῶι, ἵνα τῆς ἰχνεύσεως μὴ  
 ἀποστερῶνται, ὡς οἱ ὀψιζόμενοι ἀφαιροῦνται τὰς  
 μὲν κύνας τοῦ εὐρεῖν τὸν λαγῶ, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῆς  
 ὠφελείας· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμένει τοῦ ἵχνους ἢ φύσις  
 λεπτὴ οὔσα πᾶσαν ὥραν.
- 5 Τὴν δὲ στολὴν ὁ ἄρκυωρὸς ἐξίτω ἔχων ἐπὶ  
 θήραν μὴ ἔχουσαν βάρος. τὰς δὲ ἄρκυς ἰστάτω  
 εἰς ὁδοὺς ἀμφιδρόμους,<sup>2</sup> τραχείας, σιμάς, λαγαράς,  
 σκοτεινάς, ροῦς, χαράδρας, χειμάρρους ἀενάους·  
 εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα φεύγει· εἰς ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα  
 6 ἄπειρον εἰπεῖν· τούτων δὲ παρόδους, διόδους,  
 καταφανεῖς, λεπτάς,<sup>3</sup> εἰς ὄρθρον καὶ μὴ πρῶι,  
 ἵνα ἐὰν ἦ πλησίον τὸ ἄρκυστάσιον τῶν ζητησίμων,  
 μὴ φοβῆται ἀκούων ὁμοῦ τὸν ψόφον (ἐὰν δὲ ἦ  
 ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πολὺ, ἦττον κωλύει πρῶι) καθαρὰς  
 ποιούμενος<sup>4</sup> τὰς ἀρκυστασίας, ἵνα αὐτῶν μηδὲν  
 7 ἀντέχηται. πηγνύειν δὲ τὰς σχαλίδας ὑπτίας,  
 ὅπως ἂν ἐπαγόμεναι ἔχωσι τὸ σύντονον· ἐπὶ δὲ  
 ἄκρας ἴσους τοὺς βρόχους ἐπιβαλλέτω καὶ ὁμοίως

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς Weiske. αὐτοί S with the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> A has εἰς ἀμφιδρόμους, the rest ἀμφιδρόμους only: S reads ἀμφὶ δρόμους, ὁδοὺς τραχείας. Probably some substantive has dropped out of the MSS., but ὁδοὺς is unlikely. Perhaps εἰς ἀμφιδρομάς should be read, ὁδοὺς is not in the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> A word to govern these accusatives must have been lost.

<sup>4</sup> ποιουμένων S

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<sup>1</sup> This portentous sentence is a literal presentation of the Greek text, which, however, is rather uncertain. If the

## ON HUNTING, VI. 3-7

take to pursuing foxes; for it is utter ruin, and they are never at hand when wanted. Vary the 4 hunting-ground frequently, so that the hounds may be familiar with the hunting-grounds and the master with the country. Start early, and so give the hounds a fair chance of following the scent. A late start robs the hounds of the find and the hunters of the prize, for the scent is by its nature too thin to last all day.

Let the net-keeper wear light clothing when he 5 goes hunting. Let him set up the purse-nets in winding, rough, steep, narrow, shady paths, brooks, ravines, running watercourses (these are the places in which the hare is most apt to take refuge: a list of all the others would be endless), leaving un- 6 obstructed and narrow passages to and through these places, just about daybreak, and not too early, so that in case the line of nets be near the growth to be searched, the hare may not be frightened by hearing the noise close by (if the distance is considerable, it matters less if the work is done early), seeing that the nets stand clear so that nothing may cling to them.<sup>1</sup> He must fix the stakes aslant,<sup>2</sup> so that when 7 pulled they may stand the strain. On the tops of them let him put an equal number of meshes,<sup>3</sup> and nets are fixed near the covert before daybreak, the hare is likely to stir at the noise. After daybreak she will not stir.

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* sloping towards the side from which the hare will come. The nets, of course, hang on the other side of the stakes.

<sup>2</sup> If *ισοὺς* means "equal in number," more than one mesh is to be put in the groove of each stake, so that the top of the row of nets will be puckered. Perhaps, however, "level in height" is the sense.

## XENOPHON

ἀντεριδέτω, ἐπαίρων εἰς μέσον τὸν κεκρύφαλον.  
 8 εἰς δὲ τὸν περιδρομον ἐναπτέτω λίθον μακρὸν  
 καὶ μέγαν, ἵνα ἢ ἄρκυς, ὅταν ἔχη τὸν λαγῶ, μὴ  
 ἀντιτεύη· στοιχιζέτω δὲ μακρά, ὑψηλά, ὅπως ἂν  
 μὴ ὑπερπηδᾷ.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰχνυαῖαις μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· ἔστι  
 γὰρ θηρατικὸν μὲν οὐ,<sup>1</sup> φιλόπονον δὲ τὸ ἐκ παντὸς  
 τρόπου ἐλεῖν ταχύ.

9 Τὰ δὲ δίκτυα τεινέτω ἐν ἀπέδοις, ἐμβαλλέτω  
 δὲ τὰ ἐνόδια εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν  
 εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα, καθάπτων τοὺς περιδρόμους  
 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, τὰ ἀκρωλένια συνάγων, πηγνύων  
 τὰς σχαλίδας μεταξὺ τῶν σαρδόνων, ἐπὶ ἄκρας  
 ἐπιβάλλον τοὺς ἐπιδρόμους καὶ τὰ<sup>2</sup> παράδρομα  
 10 συμφράττων. φυλαττέτω δὲ ἐκπεριμῶν· εἰάν δὲ  
 ἐκκλίνη τὸν στοῖχον ἢ<sup>3</sup> ἄρκυς, ἀνιστάτω. διωκο-  
 μένου δὲ τοῦ<sup>4</sup> λαγῶ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν  
 προίεσθω καὶ ἐπιθέων μὲν ἐκβοάτω· ἐμπεπτω-  
 κότος δὲ τὴν ὄργην τῶν κυνῶν παυέτω, μὴ ἀπτό-  
 μενος ἀλλὰ παραμυθούμενος· καὶ δηλούτω τῷ  
 κυνηγέτῃ, ὅτι ἐάλωκεν ἀναβοήσας ἢ ὅτι παρα-  
 δεδράμηκε παρὰ τάδε ἢ τάδε ἢ ὅτι οὐχ ἐώρακεν  
 ἢ οὐ κατεῖδε.

<sup>1</sup> οὐ A: S omits with the rest

<sup>2</sup> S omits τὰ with BM

<sup>3</sup> A has τὸν στοῖχον ἢ BM στοῖχος ἢ. S reads στοῖχος ἢ

<sup>4</sup> διωκόμενον δὲ τὸν S with BM

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<sup>1</sup> Small sticks were used for propping up the purse on the inside, and the purse was propped higher towards the middle, it ended in a point, so that it resembled the net on a woman's head

<sup>2</sup> See c 11 § 4 The stone serves as an anchor when the net falls off the stakes

## ON HUNTING, VI. 7-10

set the props<sup>1</sup> uniformly, raising the purse towards the centre To the cord<sup>2</sup> let him attach a long, big stone, so that the net may not pull away when the hare is inside. Let him make his line long and high,<sup>3</sup> so that the hare may not jump over.

When it comes to tracking the hare, he must not be too zealous To do everything possible to effect a quick capture shows perseverance, but is not hunting<sup>4</sup>

Let him stretch the hayes on level ground and put the road-nets<sup>5</sup> in roads and from game tracks into the adjacent ground, fastening down the (lower) cords to the ground, joining the elbows, fixing the stakes between the selvages,<sup>6</sup> putting the ends on the top of the stakes and stopping the by-ways Let him mount guard, going round the nets. 10 If a purse-net is pulling its stake out of line, let him put it up. When the hare is being chased into the purse-nets he must run forward and shout as he runs after her When she is in, he must calm the excitement of the hounds, soothing without touching them He must also shout to the huntsman and let him know that the hare is caught, or that she has run past on this or that side, or that he has not seen her, or where he caught sight of her

<sup>3</sup> The stakes must not be too deep in the ground, or the nets will not be high enough

<sup>4</sup> These remarks read like an afterthought

<sup>5</sup> The hayes and purse-nets seem to be connected in the same series, but the road-nets seem to be independent screens

<sup>6</sup> We are to think of a series of nets joined together These stakes will be inserted in the top and bottom line of meshes. The selvedge runs along the top and bottom of the net

## XENOPHON

- 11 Τὸν δὲ κυνηγέτην ἔχοντα ἐξιέναι ἡμελημένην ἐλαφρὰν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον καὶ ὑπόδεσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ ῥόπαλον, τὸν δὲ ἄρκυωρὸν ἔπεσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τὸ κυνηγέσιον σιγῇ προσιέναι, ἵνα μὴ ὁ λαγῶς, εἴαν που ἦ πλησίον, ὑποκινή ἰκούων τῆς
- 12 φωνῆς. δῆσαντα δ' ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τὰς κύνας ἐκάστην χωρὶς, ὅπως ἂν εὐλυτοὶ ὦσιν, ἰστάναι τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα, ὡς εἴρηται. ἔμετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν ἄρκυωρὸν εἶναι ἐν φυλακῇ· αὐτὸν δὲ τὰς κύνας λαβόντα ἵεναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν
- 13 τοῦ κυνηγεσίου. καὶ εὐξάμενον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ μεταδοῦναι τῆς θήρας λῦσαι μίαν κύνα, ἣτις ἂν ἦ σοφωτάτη ἰχνεύειν, εἴαν μὲν ἦ χειμῶν, ἅμ' ἡλίῳ ἀνέχοντι, εἴαν δὲ θέρος, πρὸ ἡμέρας, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ὥρας
- 14 μεταξὺ τούτων. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ κύων λάβῃ τὸ ἴχνος ὀρθὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐπηλλαγμένων, παραλῦσαι καὶ ἑτέραν· περαινομένου δὲ τοῦ ἴχνους διαλιπόντα μὴ πολὺ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀφιέναι κατὰ μίαν καὶ ἔπεσθαι μὴ ἐγκείμενον, ὀνομαστὶ ἐκάστην προσ-αγορεύοντα, μὴ πολλά, ἵνα μὴ παροξύνωνται
- 15 πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ μένους προΐασιν ἐξίλλουσαι τὰ ἴχνη, ὡς πέφυκε, διπλᾶ, τριπλᾶ, προφορούμεναι παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπηλλαγμένα, περιφερῆ, ὀρθά, καμπύλα, πυκνά, μανά, γνώριμα, ἄγνωστα, ἑαυτὰς παραθέουσαι, ταχὺ ταῖς οὐραῖς διασειούσαι καὶ ἐπικλί-νουςαι τὰ ὄτα καὶ ἀστράπτουσαι τοῖς ὄμμασιν.
- 16 ἐπειδὴν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγῶ ὦσι, δῆλον ποιήσουσι

## ON HUNTING, VI. 11-16

Let the huntsman go out to the hunting ground 11  
in a simple light dress and shoes, carrying a cudgel  
in his hand, and let the net-keeper follow. Let  
them keep silence while approaching the ground,  
so that, in case the hare is near, she may not move  
off on hearing voices. Having tied the hounds 12  
separately to the trees so that they can easily be  
slipped, let him set up the purse-nets and hayes<sup>1</sup>  
in the manner described. After this let the net-  
keeper keep guard, and let the huntsman take  
the hounds and go to the place in the hunting  
ground where the hare may be lurking, and after 13  
registering a vow to Apollo and Artemis the Huntress  
to give them a share of the spoil, let him loose one  
hound, the cleverest at following a track, at sun-  
rise in winter, before dawn in summer, and some  
time between at other seasons. As soon as the 14  
hound picks up a line from the network of tracks  
that leads straight ahead, let him slip another. If  
the track goes on, let him set the others going one by  
one at short intervals, and follow without pressing  
them, accosting each by name, but not often, that  
they may not get excited too soon. They will go 15  
forward full of joy and ardour, disentangling the  
various tracks, double or triple—springing forward  
now beside, now across the same ones—tracks inter-  
laced or circular, straight or crooked, close or scattered,  
clear or obscure, running past one another with tails  
wagging, ears dropped and eyes flashing. As soon 16  
as they are near the hare they will let the huntsman

<sup>1</sup> Neither here nor in § 26 is there any reference to the road-nets. It is impossible to suggest a reason for this, and perhaps the necessary words have dropped out in both places, as might easily happen.



## XENOPHON

- τῷ κυνηγέτῃ σὺν ταῖς οὐραῖς τὰ σώματα ὅλα  
 συνεπικραδαίνουσαι, πολεμικῶς ἐπιφερόμεναι,  
 φιλονίκως παραθέουσαι, συντρέχουσαι φιλο-  
 πόνως, συνιστάμεναι ταχύ, διστάμεναι, πάλιν  
 ἐπιφερόμεναι· τελευτῶσαι δὲ ἀφίξονται πρὸς  
 τὴν εὐνὴν τοῦ λαγῶ καὶ ἐπιδραμοῦνται ἐπ' αὐτόν.
- 17 ὁ δ' ἐξαίφνης ἀνάξας ἐφ' αὐτόν ὑλαγμὸν ποιήσει  
 τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κλαγγὴν φεύγων. ἐμβοάτῳ<sup>1</sup> δὲ  
 αὐτῷ διωκομένῳ, ἰὼ κύνες, ἰὼ καλῶς,<sup>2</sup> σοφῶς<sup>3</sup>  
 γε ὦ κύνες, καλῶς γε ὦ κύνες. καὶ κυνοδρομεῖν  
 περιελίξαντα ὃ ἀμπέχεται περὶ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ  
 τὸ ῥόπαλον ἀναλαβόντα κατὰ τὸν λαγῶ καὶ μὴ
- 18 ὑπαντᾶν· ἄπορον γάρ. ὁ δὲ ὑποχωρῶν ταχὺ  
 ἐλείπων τὴν ὄψιν πάλιν περιβάλλει ὅθεν εὐρί-  
 σκεται ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. ἀναβοᾶν δ' ἐκείνον μὲν  
 αὐτῷ, παισάτῳ παιῖς.<sup>4</sup> παιεε δὴ, παιεε δὴ.<sup>5</sup> ὁ δέ,  
 εἴαν τε ἐαλωκῶς ἢ εἴαν τε μὴ, δηλούτω.

- Καὶ εἴαν μὲν ἐαλωκῶς ἢ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ δρόμῳ,  
 ἀνακαλεσάμενον τὰς κύνας ζητεῖν ἄλλον· εἴαν δὲ  
 μὴ, κυνοδρομεῖν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι,<sup>6</sup> ἀλλ'
- 19 ἐκπερᾶν φιλοπόνως καὶ εἴαν πάλιν ἀπαντῶσι  
 διώκουσαι αὐτόν, ἀναβοᾶν, εὐ γε εὐ γε ὦ κύνες,  
 ἔπεσθε ὦ κύνες· εἴαν δὲ πολὺ προειληφυῖαι ὧσι  
 καὶ μὴ οἷός τ' ἢ κυνοδρομῶν ἐπιγίγνεσθαι αὐταῖς,  
 ἀλλὰ διημαρτηκῶς ἢ τῶν δρόμων ἢ καὶ πλησίον

<sup>1</sup> ἐμβοάτῳ A ἐμβοώντων S with BM

<sup>2</sup> ἰὼ καλῶς Falbe · ἰὼ κακῶς BM, whence ἰὼ κακῶς S. · A omits

<sup>3</sup> σοφῶς, Gesner σαφῶς S with the MSS

<sup>4</sup> S gives ἐκείνον μὲν, αὐτῷ παιῖς, αὐτῷ παιῖς The text follows A

<sup>5</sup> If παιῖ δὴ, παιῖ δὴ (BM) is right, παιῖ is an imperative of παιῖω, not vocative of παιῖς

ON HUNTING, VI. 16-19

know by the quivering of the whole body as well as the tail, by making fierce rushes, by racing past one another, by scampering along together persistently, massing quickly, breaking up and again rushing forward. At length they will reach the hare's form and will go for her. She will start up suddenly, 17 and will leave the hounds barking and baying behind her as she makes off. Let the huntsman shout at her as she runs, "Now, hounds, now! Well done! Bravo, hounds! Well done, hounds!" Wrapping his cloak round his arm and seizing his cudgel he must follow up behind the hare and not try to head her off, since that is useless. The hare, making off, 18 though out of sight, generally doubles back to the place where she is found. Let him call out<sup>1</sup> to the man, "Hit her, boy, hit her, hit her!" and the man must let him know whether she is caught or not.

If she is caught in the first run, let him call in the hounds and look for another. But if not, he must follow up at top speed and not let her go, but stick to it persistently. If the hounds come on 19 her again in the pursuit, let him cry, "Good, good, hounds, after her, hounds!" If they have got so far ahead of him that he cannot overtake them by following up and is quite out of the running, or if he

<sup>1</sup> *ι ε* at the moment when the hare, making for the place where she was found, comes near the nets. Something is amiss with the text here. The "man" is, of course, the net-keeper. He, too, has a cudgel, but the author has not said so.

<sup>6</sup> ἀνιέναι A. ἀφιέναι S, with BM.

## XENOPHON

- που φοιτώσας<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἐχομένας τῶν ἰχνῶν μὴ δύνηται ἰδεῖν, πυνθάνεσθαι παραθέοντα ἅμα ὄτῳ ἂν προσπελάξῃ ἀναβοῶντα, ἢ κατείδες ὡς τὰς κύνας ;
- 20 ἐπειδὰν δὲ πύθηται ἤδη, ἔαν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἴχνει ὦσι, προσστάντα ἐγκελεύειν, τοῦνομα μεταβάλλοντα ἐκάστης τῆς κυνός, ὅποσαχῆ οἴον τ' ἂν ἦ τοὺς τόνους τῆς φωνῆς ποιούμενον, ὄξύ, βαρύ, μικρόν, μέγα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις κελεύμασιν, ἔαν ὦσιν ἐν ὄρει αἰ μεταδρομαί, ἐπικελεύειν τόδε, εὔα<sup>2</sup> κύνες, εὔα ὦ κύνες. ἔαν δὲ μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὦσι τοῖς ἴχνεσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλωσι, καλεῖν
- 21 αὐτάς, οὐ πάλιν οὐ πάλιν ὦ κύνες ; ἐπειδὰν δὲ προσστῶσι τοῖς ἴχνεσι, περιάγειν αὐτάς κύκλους πολλοὺς<sup>3</sup> ποιούμενον· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἦ αὐταῖς ἀμαυρὸν τὸ ἴχνος, σημείον θέσθαι στοίχον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου συνείρειν, μέχρι ἂν σαφῶς γνωρίσωσιν,
- 22 ἐγκελεύοντα καὶ θωπεύοντα. αἰ δ' ἐπειδὰν λαμπρὰ ἦ τὰ ἴχνη, ἐπιρριπτοῦσαι, παραπηδῶσαι, κοινωνοῦσαι, ὑπολαμβάνουσαι, ἐνσημαινόμεναι, ὄρους τιθέμεναι ἑαυταῖς γνωρίμους ταχὺ μεταθεύσονται· ὅταν δὲ οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ἴχνους πυκνῶς διάπτωσι, μὴ κατέχοντα κυνοδρομεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ὑπερβάλλωσι τὰ ἴχνη.
- 23 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγῶ ὦσι καὶ τούτο ἐπιδεικνύωνται σαφῶς τῷ κυνηγέτῃ, προσέχειν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὑποκινῆ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν πεφοβημένος τὰς κύνας, αἰ δὲ διαρριπτοῦσαι τὰς οὐρὰς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> I have omitted ἢ ἐπιβοώσας here with Schneider.

<sup>2</sup> εὔα twice Gesner εὔ twice S with the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> πολλοὺς A πολλοὺς πυκνοὺς BM . πολλοὺς καὶ πυκνοὺς S, with Stephanus.

## ON HUNTING, VI. 19-23

cannot see them though they are moving about somewhere near or sticking to the tracks, let him find out by shouting as he runs past to anyone near, "Hullo! have you seen the hounds?" As soon 20 as he has found out, let him stand near if they are on the track, and cheer them on, running through the hounds' names, using all the variations of tone he can produce, pitching his voice high and low, soft and loud. Amongst other calls, if the chase is in the mountains, let him sing out, "Oho, hounds, oho!"<sup>1</sup> If they are not clinging to the track, but are over-running, let him call them in with, "Back, hounds, back with you!" As soon 21 as they are close on the tracks, let him cast them round,<sup>2</sup> making many circles, and wherever they find the track dim, let him stick a pole in the ground as a mark, and beginning from this mark keep them together until they clearly recognise the track, encouraging and coaxing them. As soon as the track 22 is clear they will be off in hot pursuit, hurling themselves on it, jumping beside it, working together, guessing, signalling to one another and setting bounds for one another that they can recognise. When they are thus scurrying in a bunch along the track, let him follow up without pressing them, or they may over-run the line through excess of zeal.

As soon as they are near the hare and give the 23 huntsman clear evidence of the fact, let him take care, or in her terror of the hounds she will slip away and be off. The hounds, wagging their tails, colliding and

<sup>1</sup> Imitating the call of the Bacchic revellers, "the Hounds of Madness," on Mount Cithaeron

<sup>2</sup> Nowadays hounds are left to make their own cast and are only assisted when they fail to recover the line.

## XENOPHON

- ἑαυταῖς ἐμπίπτουσαι καὶ πολλὰ ὑπερπηδῶσαι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι, ἐπαναίρουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς, εἰσβλέπουσαι εἰς τὸν κυνηγέτην, ἐπιγνωρίζουσαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἤδη ταῦτα, ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀναστήσουσι*
- 24 *τὸν λαγῶ καὶ ἐπίασι κεκλαγγυῖαι. εἰάν δὲ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμπίπτῃ ἢ ἔξω ἢ ἐντὸς παρενεχθῆ, καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον τούτων ὁ ἄρκυωρὸς γεγωνεῖτω. καὶ εἰάν μὲν ἢ ἑαλωκῶς, ἕτερον ἐπιζητεῖν. εἰάν δὲ μὴ, μεταθεῖν χρώμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκελεύμασιν.*
- 25 *Ἐπειδὴν δὲ μεταθέουσαι αἱ κύνας ἤδη ὑπόκοποι ὦσι καὶ ἢ ὄψε ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας, τότε δεῖ τὸν κυνηγέτην τὸν λαγῶ ἀπειρηκότα ζητεῖν, μὴ παραλείποντα μηδὲν ὧν ἢ γῆ ἀνίησιν ἢ ἔχει ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς ποιούμενον πυκνάς, ὅπως ἂν μὴ παραλειφθῆ. κατακλίνεται γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ τὸ θηρίον καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὑπὸ κόπου καὶ φόβου· τὰς κύνας ἐπαγόμενον, ἐγκελεύοντα, παραμυθούμενον τὴν φιλάνθρωπον πολλά, τὴν αὐθάδη ὀλίγα, τὴν μέσην μέτρια, ἕως ἂν ἢ ἀποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν κατὰ πόδας ἢ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμβάλῃ.*
- 26 *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελόντα τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα ἀνατρίψαντα τὰς κύνας ἀπιέναι ἐκ τοῦ κυνηγεσίου, ἐπιμείναντα, εἰάν ἢ θερινὴ μεσημβρία, ὅπως ἂν τῶν κυνῶν οἱ πόδες μὴ καίωνται ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ.*
- VII *Σκυλακεύειν δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπανιέντα τῶν πόνων τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἵνα ἔχουσαι τὴν ἡσυχίαν πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἐπάγωνται τὴν φύσιν γεμμαίαν· ἢ γὰρ ὥρα πρὸς τὰς αὐξήσεις τῶν κυνῶν κρατίστη αὕτη· εἰσὶ δὲ τετταρεςκαίδεκα ἡμέραι, ἐν αἷς ἢ*
- 2 *ἀνάγκη αὕτη ἔχει. ἄγειν δὲ καταπαυομένας, ἵνα*

frequently jumping over one another, and baying loudly, with heads uplifted and glances at the huntsman, showing him plainly that they have the real thing now, will rouse the hare for themselves and go for her, giving tongue. If she plunges into the purse-nets 24 or bolts past them on the inside or outside, the net-keeper must in each event make it known by shouting. If she is caught, look for another. If not, continue the pursuit, using the same methods of encouragement.

As soon as the hounds are getting tired of pursuing 25 and the day is far advanced, it is time for the huntsman to search for the hare, worn out as she is, passing over nothing growing or lying on the ground, retracing his steps continually for fear of an oversight—since the animal rests in a small space and is too tired and frightened to get up,—bringing the hounds along, encouraging and exhorting the gentle frequently, the wilful sparingly, the average sort in moderation, until he kills her in a fair run or drives her into the purse-nets.

After this take up the purse-nets and<sup>1</sup> hayes, rub 26 down the hounds and leave the hunting-ground, after waiting, if it be an afternoon in summer, in order that the hounds' feet may not be overheated on the road.

VII For breeding purposes, relieve the bitches of work in the winter, that the rest may help them to produce a fine litter towards spring, which is the best growing season for hounds. They are in heat for fourteen days. Mate them with good dogs near 2 the end of the period, that they may the sooner

<sup>1</sup> Where are the road-nets?

## XENOPHON

- θᾶπτον ἐγκύμονες γίνωνται, πρὸς κύνας ἀγαθούς· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὦσιν ἐπίφοροι, μὴ ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον ἐνδελεχῶς, ἀλλὰ διαλείπειν, ἵνα μὴ φιλο-
- 3 **πονία** διαφθείρωσι. κυοῦσι δ' <sup>1</sup> ἐξήκονθ' ἡμέρας. ἐπειδὴν δὲ γένηται τὰ σκυλάκια, ὑπὸ τῇ τεκούσῃ ἔαν καὶ μὴ ὑποβάλλειν ὑφ' ἑτέραν κύνα· αἱ γὰρ θεραπεῖαι αἱ ἀλλότριαι οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐξιμοί· τὸ δὲ τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα
- 4 καὶ αἱ περιβολαὶ φίλαι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἤδη πλαναῖται τὰ σκυλάκια, διδόναι γάλα μέχρι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ οἷς μέλλει τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον βιώσεσθαι, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· αἱ γὰρ βαρεῖαι πλησμοναὶ τῶν σκυλακίων διαστρέφουσι τὰ <sup>2</sup> σκέλη, τοῖς <sup>3</sup> σώμασι νόσους ἐμποιοῦσι, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἄδικα γίγνεται.
- 5 Τὰ δ' ὀνόματα αὐταῖς τίθεσθαι βραχέα, ἵνα εὐανάκλητα ἦ. εἶναι δὲ χρὴ τοιαύδε, Ψυχῆ, Θυμός, Πόρπαξ, Στύραξ, Λόγχη, Λόχος, Φρουρά, Φύλαξ, Τάξις, Ξίφων, Φόναξ, Φλέγων, Ἀλκή, Τεύχων, Ὑλεύς, Μήδας, Πόρθων, Σπέρχων, Ὀργή, Βρέμων, Ὑβρις, Θάλλων, Ῥώμη, Ἀνθεύς, Ἡβα, Γηθεύς, Χαρά, Λεύσσων, Αὐγώ, Πολύς, Βία, Στίχων, Σπουδῆ, Βρύας, Οἰνάς, Στερρός, Κραύγη, Καίνων, Τύρβας, Σθένων, Αἰθήρ, Ἀκτίς, Αἰχμή, Νόης, Γνώμη, Σπίβων, Ὀρμή
- 6 Ἄγειν δὲ τὰς σκύλακας ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον τὰς μὲν θηλείας ὀκταμήνους, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας δεκαμήνους· πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἵχνη τὰ εὐναῖα μὴ λύειν,

<sup>1</sup> κυοῦσι δ' AB. κυοῦσιν S with M.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ A S omits with BM

<sup>3</sup> τοῖς added from Arrian : S. omits.

## ON HUNTING, VII 2-6

become pregnant When they are near their time do not take them out hunting continually, but only now and then, or love of work may result in a miscarriage. The period of gestation is sixty days After the birth of the puppies leave them with the 3 mother and do not place them under another bitch; for nursing by a foster mother does not promote growth, whereas the mother's milk and breath do them good, and they like her caresses As soon as the 4 puppies can get about, give them milk for a year, and the food that will form their regular diet, and nothing else. For heavy feeding warps the puppies' legs and sows the seeds of disease in the system, and their insides go wrong

Give the hounds short names, so as to be able 5 to call to them easily The following are the right sort Psyche, Thymus, Porpax, Styrax, Lonché, Lochus, Phiura, Phylax, Taxis, Xiphon, Phonax, Phlegon, Alcé, Teuchon, Hyleus, Medas, Porthon, Sperchon, Orgé, Biemon, Hybis, Thallon, Rhomé, Antheus, Hebe, Getheus, Chara, Leusson, Augo, Polys, Bia, Stichon, Spudé, Biyas, Oenas, Sterrus, Craugé, Caenon, Tyibas, Sthenon, Aethei, Actis, Aechmé, Noes, Gnomé, Stibon, Hormé <sup>1</sup>

Take the bitches to the hunting ground at eight 6 months, the dogs at ten Do not slip them on the

<sup>1</sup> The names are significant of the colour, strength, spirit, sagacity or behaviour of the hounds Hebe and Psyche are still in the list of bitches' names, and modern equivalents of several of the other names are in use, *eg* Lance (Lonché), Sentinel (Phylax), Ecstasy (Chara), Blueskin (Oenas), Crafty (Medas), Hasty (Sperchon), Vigorous (Thallon), Impetus (Hormé), Counsellor (Noes), Bustler (*dog*) or Hasty (*bitch*), cf Sperchon. For Πολύς we should probably read Πολεύς, "Rover"



## XENOPHON

- ἀλλ' ἔχοντα ὑψημμένας μακροῖς ἰμάσιν ἀκο-  
 λουθεῖν ταῖς κυσὶν ἰχνευούσαις, ἔωντα αὐτὰς  
 7 διατρέχειν τὰ ἴχνη. καὶ ἐπειδὴν ὁ λαγῶς  
 εὐρίσκηται, εἴαν μὲν καλαὶ ὄσι πρὸς τὸν δρόμον  
 τὰ εἶδη, μὴ ἀνιέναι εὐθύς· ἐπειδὴν δὲ προλάβῃ  
 ὁ λαγῶς τῷ δρόμῳ, ὥστε μὴ ἐφορᾶν ἔτι αὐτόν,  
 8 τὰς σκύλακας ἰέναι. εἴαν γὰρ ὁμόθεν καλὰς τὰ  
 εἶδη οὔσας καὶ εὐψύχους πρὸς τὸν δρόμον ἐπιλύη,  
 ὀρώσαι τὸν λαγῶ ἐντεινόμεναι ῥήγνυνται, οὐπω  
 ἔχουσαι συνεστῶτα τὰ σώματα· διαφυλάττειν  
 9 οὖν δεῖ τοῦτο τὸν κυνηγέτην. εἴαν δὲ αἰσχίους  
 ὄσι πρὸς τὸν δρόμον, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἰέναι· εὐθύς  
 γὰρ δὴ ἀνέλπιστοι οὔσαι τοῦ ἐλείν οὐ πείσονται  
 τοῦτο. τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα τῶν ἰχνῶν, ἕως ἂν ἔλωσι,  
 μεταθεῖν εἴαν· ἀλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ διδόναι  
 10 αὐταῖς ἀναρρηγνύναι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ μηκέτι θέλωσι  
 προσμένειν [ταῖς ἄρκυσι],<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' ἀποσκεδαν-  
 νύωνται, ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἕως ἂν ἐθισθῶσι εὐρί-  
 σκειν προσθέουσαι τὸν λαγῶ, μὴ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ  
 ἀεὶ τοῦτον ζητοῦσαι τελευτῶσαι γίγνονται  
 ἔκκυνοι, πονηρὸν μάθημα.  
 11 Πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἄρκυσι διδόναι τὰ σιτία αὐταῖς,  
 ἕως ἂν νέαι ὄσιν, ὅταν ἀναιρῶνται, ἵν' εἴαν πλα-  
 νηθῶσι ἐν τῷ κυνηγεσίῳ δι' ἀπειρίαν, πρὸς τοῦτο  
 ἐπανιοῦσαι σώζονται. ἀφεθῆσονται δὲ τούτου,  
 ὅταν ἤδη τῷ θηρίῳ ἔχωσι πολεμίως, ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> The MSS add τῷ ἴχνει after ἔλωσι above, but it is rightly omitted by S after Dindorf. here too ταῖς ἄρκυσι must be omitted, or changed, with Richards, to τοῖς ἴχνεσι

<sup>1</sup> But how is the hunter to know whether the hounds are ~~the~~ the trail leading to the form or on the track of a running

trail that leads to the form, but keep them in long leashes and follow the tracking hounds, letting the youngsters run to and fro in the tracks <sup>1</sup> As soon as 7 the hare is found, if they shape well for the run don't let them go at once; but as soon as the hare has got so far ahead in the run that they can't see her, send them along For if the huntsman slips good looking, 8 plucky runners close to the hare, the sight of her will cause them to strain themselves and crack, since their bodies are not yet firm So he should be very careful about this. But if they are 9 poor runners there is no reason why he should not let them go, for as they have no hope of catching the hare from the first, they will not meet with this accident. On the other hand, let the youngsters follow the track of the hare on the run until they catch her, and when she is caught, give her to them to break up <sup>2</sup> As soon as they 10 show reluctance to stick to it and begin scattering, call them in, until they grow accustomed to keep on till they find the hare, lest if they get into the way of misbehaving when they seek her, they end by becoming skirteis—a vile habit.

Give them then food near the puise-nets so 11 long as they are young, while the nets are being taken up, so that if they have gone astray in the hunting ground, through inexperience, they may come back safe for their meal This will be discontinued when they come to regard the game as an enemy,

<sup>2</sup> Not to eat Some hunters object more or less strongly to this injunction; but Beckford (*Thoughts on Hunting*), quoted by Blane, goes so far as to say, "I think it but reasonable to give the hounds a hare sometimes I always gave mine the last they killed, if I thought they deserved her."

## XENOPHON

- ποιήσονται τούτου μάλλον ἢ ἐκείνου φροντίζειν.  
 12 χρῆ δὲ καὶ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δεομέναις<sup>1</sup> διδόναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ταῖς κυσίν αὐτόν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ μὴ<sup>2</sup> ἐνδεεῖς ᾧσι, τούτου τὸν αἴτιον οὐκ ἴσασι, ὅταν δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσαι λάβωσι, τὸν διδόντα στέργουσιν.

VIII Ἰχνεύεσθαι δὲ τοὺς λαγῶς, ὅταν νύφη ὁ θεός, ὥστε ἠφανίσθαι τὴν γῆν· εἰ δ' ἐνέσται μελάγχιμα, δυσζήτητος ἔσται. ἔστι δέ, ὅταν μὲν ἐπινεφεῆ<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἡ βόρειον, τὰ ἴχνη ἔξω πολὺν χρόνον δῆλα· οὐ γὰρ ταχὺ συντήκεται· εἰ δὲ νότιόν τε ἡ καὶ ἥλιος ἐπιλάμπη, ὀλίγον χρόνον· ταχὺ γὰρ διαχεῖται.

- “Ὅταν δ' ἐπινύφη συνεχῶς, οὐδὲν δεῖ ἐπικαλύπτει γάρ· οὐδ' εἰ πνεῦμα ἡ μέγα· συμφοροῦν  
 2 γὰρ τὴν χιόνα ἀφανίζει. κύνας μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν δεῖ ἔχοντα ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ταύτην· ἡ γὰρ χιὼν καίει τῶν κυνῶν τὰς ῥίνας, τοὺς πόδας, τὴν ὄσμην τοῦ λαγῶ ἀφανίζει διὰ τὸ ὑπέρπαγες· λαβόντα δὲ τὰ δίκτυα μετ' ἄλλου ἐλθόντα πρὸς τὰ ὄρη παριέναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἐπειδὴν  
 3 λάβῃ τὰ ἴχνη, πορεύεσθαι κατὰ ταῦτα· εἰ δ' ἐπηλλαγμένα ἡ, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἤκοντα κύκλους ποιούμενον ἐκπεριμέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ζητοῦντα ὅποι ἔξεισι· πολλὰ δὲ πλανᾶται ὁ λαγῶς ἀπορούμενος ὅπου κατακλιθῆ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ εἴθισται τεχνάζειν τῇ βαδίσει διὰ  
 4 τὸ διώκεσθαι αἰεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων· ἐπειδὴν δὲ φανῆ τὸ ἴχνη, προιέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν· ἄξει δὲ ἡ πρὸς σύσκιον τόπον ἢ πρὸς ἀπόκρημνον· τὰ γὰρ πνεύματα ὑπερφορεῖ τὴν χιόνα ὑπὲρ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> δεομέναις A S omits with BM.

<sup>2</sup> μὴ added by Gesner. S omits.

ON HUNTING, VII. 11-VIII. 4

they will be too intent on that to worry about their food. As a rule when they are hungry the master 12 should feed the hounds himself; for when they are not hungry they do not know to whom that is due, but when they want food and get it, they love the giver.

VIII Track the hare when it snows so hard that the ground is covered, but if there are black spaces, she will be hard to find. When it is cloudy and the wind is in the north, the tracks lie plain on the surface for a long time, because they melt slowly, but only for a short time if the wind is south and the sun shines, since they soon melt away.

But when it snows without stopping, don't attempt it, since the tracks are covered; nor when there is a high wind, since they are buried in the snowdrifts it causes. On no account have the hounds 2 out with you for this kind of sport, for the snow freezes their noses and feet, and destroys the scent of the hare owing to the hard frost. But take the hares, and go with a companion to the mountains, passing over the cultivated land, and as soon as the tracks are found, follow them. If they are 3 complicated, go back from the same ones to the same place and work round in circles and examine them, trying to find where they lead. The hare roams about uncertain where to rest, and, moreover, it is her habit to be tricky in her movements, because she is constantly being pursued in this manner. As soon as the track is clear, push straight 4 ahead. It will lead either to a thickly wooded spot or to a steep declivity. For the gusts of wind

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\* ἐπινεφῆ van Leeuwen ἐπιπίφη S. with the MSS

## XENOPHON

τοιούτων. παραλείπεται οὖν εὐνάσιμα πολλά.  
 5 ζητεῖ δὲ τοῦτο. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὰ ἵχνη πρὸς τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα φέρη, μὴ προσιέναι ἐγγύς, ἵνα μὴ  
 ὑποκινή, ἀλλὰ κύκλω ἐκπεριμέναι· ἐλπίς γὰρ  
 αὐτοῦ εἶναι. δῆλον δ' ἔσται· τὰ γὰρ ἵχνη ἀπὸ  
 6 τῶν τοιούτων οὐδαμοῦ περάσει. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἦ  
 σαφές ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ἔαν· μενεῖ γάρ· ἕτερον  
 δὲ ζητεῖν, πρὶν τὰ ἵχνη ἀδηλα γενέσθαι, τῆς  
 ὄρας ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἐτέρους εὐρίσκη,  
 7 ἔσται ἢ λειπομένη ἱκανὴ περιστήσασθαι. ἦκοντος  
 δὲ τούτου περιτείνειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ τὰ δίκτυα  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἐν τοῖς μελαγχίμοις,  
 περιλαμβάνοντα ἐντὸς πρὸς ὄτῳ ἂν ἦ, καὶ  
 8 ἐπειδὴν ἐστηκότα ἦ, προσελθόντα κινεῖν. ἔαν  
 δὲ ἐκκυλισθῇ ἐκ τῶν δικτύων, μεταθεῖν κατὰ τὰ  
 ἵχνη· ὁ δὲ ἀφίξεται πρὸς ἕτερα τοιαῦτα χωρία,  
 ἔαν μὴ ἄρα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χιόνι πιέσῃ ἑαυτόν.  
 σκεψάμενον οὖν δεῖ ὅπου ἂν ἦ περιστάσθαι.  
 ἔαν δὲ μὴ ὑπομένη, μεταθεῖν· ἀλώσεται γὰρ καὶ  
 ἄνευ τῶν δικτύων· ταχὺ γὰρ ἀπαγορεύει διὰ  
 τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος καὶ διὰ τὸ κάτωθεν τῶν  
 ποδῶν λασίων ὄντων προσέχεσθαι αὐτῷ ὄγκον  
 πολύν.

IX. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς νεβροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐλάφους  
 κύνας εἶναι Ἰνδικάς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἰσχυραί, μεγάλαι,  
 ποδώκεις, οὐκ ἄψυχοι· ἔχουσαι δὲ ταῦτα ἱκαναὶ  
 γίγνονται πονεῖν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν νεογνοὺς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> The object is to make sure whether the track really does  
 end there or not. If it does, he is to go on to seek another  
 hare. "My father used to relate that in his student days  
 an old forester on his brother-in-law's estate, when he wanted  
 to make sure of supplying a hare for his master's visitors,

## ON HUNTING, VIII 4-IX. 1

carry the snow over such places, consequently many resting-places are left, and she looks for one of these. As soon as the tracks lead to such a place, don't go 5 near, or she will move off, but go round and explore<sup>1</sup>. For she is probably there, and there will be no doubt about the matter, since the tracks will nowhere run out from such places. As soon as it is evident that she is there, 6 leave her—for she will not stir—and look for another before the tracks become obscure, and take care, in case you find others, that you will have enough daylight left to surround them with nets. When the time has come, stretch the hayes round 7 each of them in the same way as in places where no snow lies, enclosing anything she may be near, and as soon as they are up, approach and start her. If she wriggles out of the hayes, run after her along 8 the tracks. She will make for other places of the same sort, unless indeed she squeezes herself into the snow itself. Wherever she may be, mark the place and surround it; or, if she doesn't wait, continue the pursuit. For she will be caught even without the hayes, for she soon tines owing to the depth of the snow, and because large lumps of it cling to the bottom of her hairy feet.

IX. For hunting fawns and deer<sup>2</sup> use Indian<sup>3</sup> hounds; for they are strong, big, speedy and plucky, and these qualities render them capable of hard

would surround the hare's form in the early morning, and the hare would not leave her form for hours." A Koite (*Hermes*, 1918, p. 317)

<sup>2</sup> The red deer is meant. Hunting the calves immediately after their birth seems a poor game, but no doubt they were good eating.

<sup>3</sup> Thibet dogs, called by Grattius (159) Seres

## XENOPHON

- νεβρῶν τοῦ ἥρος θηρᾶν· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ὥραν  
 2 γίγνονται. κατασκέψασθαι δὲ πρότερον προ-  
 ελθόντα εἰς τὰς ὀργάδας, οὗ εἰσιν ἔλαφοι πλεῖ-  
 σται· ὅπου δ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἔχοντα τὸν κυναγωγὸν  
 τὰς κύνας καὶ ἀκόντια πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐλθόντα εἰς  
 τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τὰς μὲν κύνας δῆσαι ἀποθεῖν  
 ἐκ τῆς ὕλης, ὅπως μὴ, ἂν ἴδωσι τὰς ἐλάφους,  
 3 ὑλακτῶσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ σκοπιωρεῖσθαι. ἅμα δὲ  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὄψεται ἀγούσας τοὺς νεβρούς πρὸς τὸν  
 τόπον, οὗ ἂν μέλλῃ ἐκάστη τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐνάσειν.  
 κατακλίνασαι δὲ καὶ γάλα δοῦσαι καὶ διασκε-  
 ψάμεναι, μὴ ὀρώνται ὑπὸ τινος, φυλάττει τὸν  
 ἑαυτῆς ἐκάστη ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ ἀντιπέρας.  
 4 ἰδόντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰς μὲν κύνας λῦσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ  
 λαβόντα ἀκόντια προιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν νεβρὸν τὸν  
 πρῶτον, ὅπου εἶδεν εὐνασθέντα, τῶν τόπων  
 ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως μὴ διαμαρτήσεται· πολὺ γὰρ  
 ἀλλοιοῦνται τῇ ὄψει ἐγγύς προσιόντι ἢ οἶοι  
 5 πόρρωθεν ἔδοξαν εἶναι ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἴδῃ αὐτόν,  
 προσιέναι ἐγγύς. ὁ δ' ἔξει ἀτρέμα πῖσας ὡς  
 ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ ἐάσει ἀνελέσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐφυσμένος  
 ᾖ, βοῶν μέγα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οὐ μενεῖ·  
 ταχὺ γὰρ τὸ ὑγρόν, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 ψυχροῦ συνιστάμενον ποιεῖ ἀποχωρεῖν αὐτόν.  
 6 ἀλώσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν σὺν πόνῳ διωκό-  
 μενος· λαβόντα δὲ δοῦναι τῷ ἀρκυωρῷ· ὁ δὲ  
 βοήσεται· ἢ δ' ἔλαφος τὰ μὲν ἰδοῦσα, τὰ δ'  
 ἀκούσασα ἐπιδραμεῖται τῷ ἔχοντι αὐτὸν ζητοῦσα  
 7 ἀφελέσθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐγκελεύειν ταῖς  
 κυσὶ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀκοντίοις. κρατήσαντα  
 δὲ τούτου πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ  
 τῷ αὐτῷ εἶδει πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῆς θήρας.

## ON HUNTING, IX 1-7

work. Hunt the calves in spring, since they are born at that season. First go to the meadows and reconnoitre, to discover where hinds are most plentiful. Wherever they are, let the keeper of the hounds<sup>1</sup> go with the hounds and javelins to this place before daybreak and tie up the dogs to trees some distance off, so that they may not catch sight of the hinds and bark, and let him watch from a coign of vantage. At daybreak he will see every dam leading her fawn to the place where she means to lay it. When they have put them down, suckled them, and looked about to make sure that they are not seen, they move away into the offing and watch their calves. On seeing this, let him loose the dogs, and taking the javelins approach the spot where he saw the nearest fawn laid, carefully observing the positions so as not to make a mistake, since they look quite different when approached from what they seemed to be at a distance. As soon as he sees the fawn, let him go close up to it. It will keep still, squeezing its body tight against the ground, and will let itself be lifted, bleating loudly, unless it is wet through, in which case it will not stay, since the rapid condensation of the moisture in its body by the cold causes it to make off. But it will be caught by the hounds if hotly pursued. Having taken it, let him give it to the net-keeper. It will cry out, and the sight and the sound between them will bring the hind running up to the holder, in her anxiety to rescue it. That is the moment to set the hounds on her, and ply the javelins. Having settled this one, let him proceed to tackle the rest, hunting them in the same manner.

<sup>1</sup> The "Keeper of hounds" has not been mentioned in connection with hare hunting. Apparently he is the person to whom all these instructions are addressed.



## XENOPHON

- 8 Καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι τῶν νεβρῶν οὕτως ἀλίσκονται· οἱ δὲ ἤδη μεγάλοι χαλεπῶς· νέμονται γὰρ μετὰ τῶν μητέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐλάφων· καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν, ὅταν διώκωνται, ἐν μέσαις, ὅτε
- 9 δὲ πρόσθεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθεν ὀλιγάκις. αἱ δ' ἐλάφοι τὰς κύνας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμεναι καταπατοῦσιν· ὥστ' οὐκ εὐάλωτοί εἰσιν, ἐὰν μὴ προσμείξας τις εὐθύς διασκεδάσῃ αὐτὰς ἀπ'
- 10 ἀλλήλων, ὥστε μονωθῆναι τινα αὐτῶν. βίασθεισαὶ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν πρῶτον δρόμον αἱ κύνες ἀπολείπονται· ἢ τε γὰρ ἀπουσία τῶν ἐλάφων ποιεῖ αὐτὸν περίφοβον τό τε τάχος οὐδενὶ εἰκόδες ἐστὶ τῶν τηλικούτων νεβρῶν· δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ τρίτῳ δρόμῳ ταχὺ ἀλίσκονται· τὰ γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ἔτι νεαρὰ εἶναι τῷ πόνῳ οὐ δύνανται ἀντέχειν.
- 11 Ἰστανται δὲ καὶ ποδοστράβαι ταῖς ἐλάφοις ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, περὶ τοὺς λειμῶνας καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα καὶ τὰς νάπας ἐν ταῖς διόδοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις,
- 12 πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν προσίῃ. χρὴ δὲ εἶναι τὰς ποδοστράβας σμίλακος πεπλεγμένας, μὴ περιφλοῖους, ἵνα μὴ σήπωνται, τὰς δὲ στεφάνας εὐκύκλους ἐχούσας, καὶ τοὺς ἡλους ἐναλλάξ σιδηροῦς τε καὶ ξυλίνοους ἐγκαταπεπλεγμένους ἐν τῷ πλοκάνῳ· μείζους δὲ τοὺς σιδηροῦς, ὅπως ἂν οἱ μὲν
- 13 ξύλινοι ὑπέκωσι τῷ ποδί, οἱ δὲ πιέξωσι. τὸν δὲ βρόχον τῆς σειρίδος τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν στεφάνην ἐπιτεθησόμενον πεπλεγμένον σπάρτου καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν σειρίδα· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀσηπτότατον τοῦτο. ὁ δὲ βρόχος αὐτὸς ἔστω στιφρὸς καὶ ἡ σειρίς· τὸ δὲ ξύλον τὸ ἐξαπτόμενον ἔστω μὲν δρυὸς ἢ πρίνου,

## ON HUNTING, ix. 8-13

Young fawns are caught by this method ; but big 8  
ones are difficult to catch For they graze with their  
dams and other deer ; and when pursued they make  
off in the midst of them, or sometimes in front, but  
rarely in the rear. The hinds trample on the hounds 9  
in their efforts to defend their fawns , consequently it  
is not easy to catch them, unless a man gets amongst  
them at once <sup>1</sup> and scatters them, so that one of the  
fawns is isolated. The result of this strain on the 10  
hounds is that they are left behind in the first run ;  
for the absence of the hinds fills the creature with  
terror, and the speed of fawns at that age is without  
parallel But they are soon caught in the second or  
third run, since their bodies are still too young to  
stand the work

Caltrops are set for deer in the mountains, about 11  
meadows and streams and glades, in alleys and culti-  
vated lands that they frequent The caltrops should 12  
be made of plaited yew, stripped of the bark, so as not  
to rot They should have circular crowns, and the  
nails should be of iron and wood alternately, plaited  
into the rim,<sup>2</sup> the iron nails being the longer, so that  
the wooden ones will yield to the foot and the others  
hurt it. The noose of the cord to be laid on the 13  
crown and the cord itself should be of woven *sparto*,<sup>3</sup>  
since this is rot-proof The noose itself and the  
cord must be strong, and the clog attached must be  
of common or evergreen oak, twenty-seven inches

<sup>1</sup> The author has omitted to explain how this is to be done

<sup>2</sup> The "rim" (an unsatisfactory rendering) is the same thing as the "crown"

<sup>3</sup> Yates (*Textorum Antiquorum*) considers that *sparto* is the Spanish broom (*genista*) and not the grass (*stipa tenuissima*) now called *esparto*.

## XENOPHON

μέγεθος τρισπίθαμον, περίφλοιον, πάχος παλαιστής.

- 14 Ἰσάται δὲ τὰς ποδοστράβας διελόντα τῆς γῆς βάθος πεντεπάλαιστον, περιφερὲς δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἄνωθεν ἴσον ταῖς στεφάναις τῶν ποδοστραβῶν, εἰς δὲ τὸ κάτω ἀμειβόμενον στενότητι· διελεῖν δὲ καὶ τῇ σειρίδι καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς γῆς ὅσον ἴζεσθαι
- 15 ἀμφοῖν. ποιήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ βάθος τὴν ποδοστράβην ἐπιθεῖναι κατωτέρω ἰσόπεδον, περὶ δὲ τὴν στέγην<sup>1</sup> τὸν βρόχον τῆς σειρίδος, καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ ξύλον καθέντα εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐκατέρου, τῇ στέγῃ ἐπιθεῖναι δοκίδας ἀτρακτυλίδος μὴ ὑπερτεινούσας εἰς τὸ ἔξω, ἐπὶ δὲ
- 16 τούτων πέταλα λεπτά, ὧν ἂν ἡ ὥρα ᾖ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὰ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐπιπολῆς ἐξαιρεθεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν ὀρυγμάτων, ἄνωθεν δὲ γῆς στερεᾶς τῆς ἀποθεν, ἵνα ᾖ τῇ ἐλάφῳ ὅτι μάλιστα ἄδηλος ἢ στάσις τὴν δὲ περιούσαν τῆς γῆς ἀποφέρειν πόρρω ἀπὸ τῆς ποδοστράβης· εἰ γὰρ ὀσφραίνηται νεωστὶ κεινημένης. δυσωπεῖται ταχὺ δὲ ποιεῖ τοῦτο.
- 17 ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ ἔχοντα τὰς κύνας τὰς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐστῶσας, μάλιστα μὲν ἔωθεν, χρῆ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἡμέρας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις πρωί. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὄρεσιν οὐ μόνον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλίσκονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς νυκτὸς διὰ τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν πεφοβῆσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
- 18 Ἐπειδὴν δὲ εὖρη ἀνεστραμμένην τὴν ποδοστράβην, μεταθεῖν ἐπιλύσαντα τὰς κύνας καὶ ἐπικελεύσαντα κατὰ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ξύλου, σκοπούμενον ὅπου ἂν φέρηται. ἔσται δὲ οὐκ ἄδηλον

## ON HUNTING, IX. 13-18

long, not stripped of the bark, and three inches thick.

To set the caltrops make a round hole in the 14 ground fifteen inches deep, of the same size at the top as the crowns of the traps, but tapering towards the bottom. Make shallow dills in the ground for the cord and the clog to lie in. Having done this lay 15 the caltrop on the hole a little below the surface, and level, and put the noose of the cord round the top. Having laid the cord and the clog in their places, lay spindle-wood twigs on the top, not letting them stick out beyond the circle, and on these any light leaves in season. Next throw some earth on them, 16 beginning with the surface soil taken from the holes, and on top of this some unbroken soil from a distance, in order that the position may be completely concealed from the deer. Remove any earth remaining over to a place some distance from the caltrop; for if the deer smells earth recently disturbed, it shies, and it is not slow to smell it. Accompanied 17 by the hounds, inspect the traps set in the mountains, preferably at daybreak (but it should be done also at other times during the day), in the cultivated lands early. For in the mountains deer may be caught in the daytime as well as at night owing to the solitude, but on cultivated land only at night, because they are afraid of human beings in the daytime.

On coming across a caltrop upset, slip the hounds, 18 give them a hawk-forward, and follow along the track of the clog, noticing which way it runs. That

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<sup>1</sup> *στέγγη* and (presently) *στέγη* A *στεφάνη* and *στεφάνη* S with M.

## XENOPHON

ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ· οἷ τε γὰρ λίθοι ἔσονται κεκινημένοι  
τά τ' ἐπισύρματα τοῦ ξύλου καταφανῆ ἐν τοῖς  
ἔργοις· ἐὰν δὲ τραχεῖς τόπους διαπερᾶ, αἱ πέτραι  
ἔξουσι τὸν φλοιὸν τοῦ ξύλου ἀφηρησμένον καὶ  
κατὰ τοῦτο ῥᾶους αἱ μεταδρομαὶ ἔσονται.

- 19 Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τοῦ προσθίου ποδὸς ἀλφ, ταχὺ  
ληφθήσεται· ἐν γὰρ τῷ δρόμῳ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα  
τύπτει καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθεν,  
ἐφέλκόμενον τὸ ξύλον ἐμποδὼν ὄλφ ἔστι τῷ  
σώματι· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ εἰς δικρόας τῆς ὕλης  
ἐμπίπτει φερόμενον, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἀπορρήξῃ τὴν  
20 σειρίδα, καταλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ. χρῆ δ' ἐὰν  
οὕτως ἔλῃ ἢ περιγεγόμενος πόνῳ, μὴ προσιέναι  
ἐγγύς· τοῖς γὰρ κέρασι παίει ἐὰν μὲν ἦ ἄρρηγ,<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ τοῖν ποδοῖν· ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια τοῖν ποδοῖν.  
ἄποθεν οὖν ἀκουτίζειν.

Ἄλισκονται δὲ καὶ ἄνευ ποδοστράβης διωκό-  
μεναι, ὅταν ἦ ἡ ὥρα θερινή· ἀπαγορεύουσι γὰρ  
σφόδρα, ὥστε ἐστῶσαι ἀκουτίζονται· ῥιπτοῦσι  
δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ἐὰν κατέχωνται, καὶ εἰς  
τὰ ὕδατα ἀπορούμεναι ὅτε δὲ διὰ δύσπνοϊαν  
πίπτουσι.

- X. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἕν τὸν ἄγριον κεκτῆσθαι κύνας  
Ἰνδικάς, Κρητικάς, Λοκρίδας, Λακαίνας, ἄρκυς,  
ἀκόντια, προβόλια, ποδοστράβας. πρῶτον μὲν  
οὖν χρῆ εἶναι τὰς κύνας ἐκάστου<sup>2</sup> γένους μὴ τὰς  
ἐπιτυχοῦσας, ἵνα ἔτοιμαι ὦσι πολεμεῖν τῷ θηρίῳ.  
2 αἱ δὲ ἄρκυς λίνων μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν ὡνπερ αἱ τῶν  
λαγῶν, ἔστωσαν δὲ πεντεκαίτετταρακοντάλινοι

<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν μὲν ἦ ἄρρηγ follows πόνῳ in S and the MSS · Diels saw that it belongs here M has τοῖς ποσίη and omits ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια τοῖν ποδοῖν by oversight, and so S.

will be clear enough for the most part : for the stones will be displaced and the trail of the clog will be obvious in the cultivated ground, and if the deer crosses rough places, there will be fragments of bark torn from the clog on the rocks, and the pursuit will be all the easier

If the deer is caught by the fore-foot it will soon 19 be taken, as it hits every part of its body and its face with the clog during the run; or if by the hind-leg, the dragging of the clog hampers the whole body; and sometimes it dashes into forked branches of trees, and unless it breaks the cord, is caught on the spot. But, whether you catch it in this way or by 20 wearing it out, don't go near it, for it will butt, if it's a stag, and kick, and if it's a hind, it will kick. So throw javelins at it from a distance.

In the summer months they are also caught by pursuit without the aid of a caltiop; for they get dead beat, so that they are hit standing. When hard pressed, they will even plunge into the sea and into pools in their bewilderment, and occasionally they drop from want of breath.

X For hunting the wild boar provide yourself with Indian, Cretan, Locrian and Laconian<sup>1</sup> hounds, boar nets, javelins, spears and caltiops. In the first place the hounds of each breed must be of high quality, that they may be qualified to fight the beast. The 2 nets must be made of the same flax as those used for hares, of forty-five threads woven in three strands,

<sup>1</sup> *ι.e.* Laconian hounds of the Castorian variety, see c. III § 5.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐκάστου* from the text as quoted by Aristides *ἐκ τούτου τοῦ* S. with the MSS

## XENOPHON

ἐκ τριῶν τόνων, ἕκαστος δὲ τόνος ἐκ πεντεκαίδεκα λίνων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κορυφαίου τὸ μέγεθος δεχάμματοι, τὸ δὲ βάθος τῶν βρόχων πυγόνος· οἱ δὲ περὶδρομοὶ ἡμιόλιοι τοῦ τῶν ἀρκύων πάχους· ἐπ' ἄκροις δὲ δακτυλίους ἐχέτωσαν, ὑφείσθωσαν δ' ὑπὸ τοὺς βρόχους, τὸ δὲ ἄκρον αὐτῶν ἐκπεράτω ἔξω διὰ τῶν δακτυλίων· ἱκαναὶ<sup>1</sup> δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα.

3 Τὰ δὲ ἀκόντια ἔστω παντοδαπά, ἔχοντα τὰς λόγχας εὐπλατεῖς καὶ ξυρήκεις, ῥάβδους δὲ στιφράς. τὰ δὲ προβόλα πρῶτον μὲν λόγχας ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν μέγεθος πεντεπαλαιστούς, κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸν αὐτὸν κνώδοντας ἀποκεχαλκευμένους, στιφρούς, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους κρανεΐας δορατοπαχεῖς· αἱ δὲ ποδοστράβαι ὅμοιαι ταῖς τῶν ἐλάφων· συκκυνηγέται δ' ἔστωσαν· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον μόλις καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀλίσκεται ὅπως δὲ δεῖ τούτων ἐκάστῳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς θήραν, διδάξω.

4 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθόντας οὐ ἂν οἴωνται<sup>2</sup> ὑπάγειν τὸ κυνηγέσιον, λύσαντας μίαν τῶν κυνῶν τῶν Λακαινῶν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἔχοντας δεδεμένας συμπεριμέναι τῇ κυνί. ἐπειδὴν δὲ λάβῃ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἴχνη, ἔπεσθαι ἐξῆς τῇ ἰχνεύσει ἡγουμένη ἀκολουθοῦντας σαφῶς.<sup>3</sup> ἔσται δὲ καὶ τοῖς κυνηγέταις πολλὰ δῆλα αὐτοῦ, ἐν μὲν τοῖς μαλα-

<sup>1</sup> ἱκανοὶ S with A

<sup>2</sup> εἶναι which S and the MSS. add after οἴωνται was removed by Pierleoni

<sup>3</sup> ἀκολουθοῦντας σαφῶς A. ἀκολουθεῖς S. with B. ἀκολουθίαν M.

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<sup>1</sup> This means, I believe, ten meshes, so that the net would be about 150 inches high. Otto Manns (*Ueber die Jagd bei den*

## ON HUNTING, x. 2-5

each strand containing fifteen threads. The height should be ten knots, counted from the top,<sup>1</sup> and the depths of the meshes fifteen inches. The ropes at top and bottom must be half as thick again as the nets. There must be metal rings at the elbows, and the ropes must be inserted under the meshes, and their ends must pass out through the rings.<sup>2</sup> Fifteen nets are sufficient.<sup>3</sup>

The javelins must be of every variety, the blades 3 broad and keen, and the shafts strong. The spears must have blades fifteen inches long, and stout teeth at the middle of the socket, forged in one piece but standing out; and their shafts must be of cornel wood, as thick as a military spear. The caltrops must be similar to those used in hunting deer. There must be several huntsmen, for the task of capturing the beast is no light one even for a large number of men. I will now explain how to use each portion of the outfit in hunting.

First then, when the company reach the place 4 where they suppose the game to lurk, let them slip one of the Laconian hounds, and taking the others in leash, go round the place with the hound. As 5 soon as she has found his tracks, let the field follow, one behind another, keeping exactly to the line of the track. The huntsmen also will find many evi-

*Grieschen*), however, thinks that the net was five feet high only, i.e. four meshes (cf c iv § 5), but (1) it is hard to see how "four meshes" can be got out of "ten knots," and (2) the "bosom" (see § 7) requires a considerably greater height than five feet.

<sup>2</sup> The ends of the upper ropes appear to have been used for fastening the nets together.

<sup>3</sup> It is strange that the author does not state the length of the nets.



## XENOPHON

κοῖς τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἴχνη, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λασίοις τῆς ὕλης κλάσματα· ὅπου δ' ἂν δένδρα ἦ, πληγαὶ  
 6 τῶν ὀδόντων. ἡ δὲ κύων ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀφίξεται τόπον ὑλώδη ἰχνεύουσα. κατακλίνεται γὰρ τὸ θηρίον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ εἰς τοιαῦτα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνός ἐστιν ἀλεεινά, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ψυχεινά.  
 7 ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀφίκεται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνήν, ὑλακτεῖ· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὡς τὰ πολλὰ. λαβόντα οὖν τὴν κύνα καὶ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δῆσαι ἄποθεν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐνῆς πολὺ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὄρμους ἐμβάλλεσθαι τὰς ἄρκυς, ἐπιβάλλοντα τοὺς βρόχους ἐπὶ ἀποσχαλιδώματα τῆς ὕλης δικρᾶ· τῆς δὲ ἄρκυος αὐτῆς μακρὸν προήκοντα κόλπον ποιεῖν, ἀντηρίδας ἐνδοθεν ἐκατέρωθεν ὑφιστάντα κλῶνας, ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὸν κόλπον διὰ τῶν βρόχων αἱ αὐγαὶ τοῦ φέγγους ὡς μάλιστα ἐνέχωσιν, ἵνα προσθέοντι ὡς φανότατον ἢ τὸ ἔσω· καὶ τὸν περιδρομον ἐξάπτειν ἀπὸ δένδρου ἰσχυροῦ καὶ μὴ ἐκ ῥάχου· συνέχονται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς αἱ ῥάχοι. ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκάστης ἐμφράττειν τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τὰ δύσορμα, ἵνα εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ποιῆται τὸν δρόμον μὴ ἐξαλλάττων.

8 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ στῶσιν, ἐλθόντας πρὸς τὰς κύνας λῦσαι ἀπάσας καὶ λαβόντας τὰ ἀκόντια καὶ τὰ προβόλια προιέναι. ἐγκελεύειν δὲ ταῖς κυσὶν ἕνα τὸν ἐμπειρότατον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἔπεσθαι κοσμίως ἀπολείποντας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πολὺ, ὅπως ἂν ἢ αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ διαδρομὴ· εἰ γὰρ ὑποχωρῶν ἐμπέσῃ εἰς πυκνοὺς, κίνδυνος πληγῆναι· ᾧ γὰρ ἂν προσπέσῃ, εἰς τοῦτον τὴν ὄργην κατέθετο.

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<sup>1</sup> The text is doubtful I now think *συνκλῶνται* probable for *συνέχονται*.

## ON HUNTING, v. 5-8

dences of the quarry, the tracks in soft ground, broken branches where the bushes are thick, and marks of his tusks wherever there are trees. The hound following the track will, as a rule, arrive at a well-wooded spot. For the beast usually lies in such places, since they are warm in winter and cool in summer. As soon as the hound reaches the lair, she will bark. But in most cases the boar will not get up. So take the hound and tie her up with the others at a good distance from the lair, and have the nets put up in the convenient anchorages, hanging the meshes on forked branches of trees. Out of the net itself make a long projecting bosom, putting sticks inside to prop it up on both sides, so that the light of day may penetrate as much as possible into the bosom through the meshes, in order that the interior may be as light as possible when the boar rushes at it. Fasten the (lower) rope to a strong tree, not to a bush, since the bushes give way at the bare stem<sup>1</sup>. Wherever there is a gap between a net and the ground,<sup>2</sup> fill in the places that afford no anchorage with wood, in order that the boar may rush into the net, and not slip out.

As soon as they are in position, let the party go to the hounds and loose them all, and take the javelins and the spears and advance. Let one man, the most experienced, urge on the hounds, while the others follow in regular order, keeping well behind one another, so that the boar may have a free passage between them; for should he beat a retreat and dash into a crowd, there is a risk of being gored, since he spends his rage on anyone he encounters.

<sup>2</sup> The text is again uncertain, but the sense is clear. I incline to ὑπὸ δ' ἐκάστην.

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- 9 Ἐπειδὴν δὲ αἱ κύνες ἐγγὺς ὦσι τῆς εὐνῆς, ἐπεισίσιασι θορυβούμενος δ' ἕξαναστήσεται, καὶ ἥτις ἂν τῶν κυνῶν προσφέρηται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπον, ἀναρρίψει· θέων δ' ἐμπεσεῖται· ἔαν δὲ μὴ, μεταθεῖν ἀνάγκη· καὶ ἔαν μὲν ἦ τὸ χωρίον καταφερές, ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἔχη αὐτὸν ἢ ἄρκυς, ταχὺ ἕξαναστήσεται· ἔαν δὲ ἄπεδον, εὐθύς
- 10 ἐστήξει περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ αἱ μὲν κύνες προσκείσονται· αὐτοὺς δὲ χρῆ φυλαττομένους αὐτὸν ἀκουτίζειν καὶ λίθοις βάλλειν, περισταμένους ὀπισθεν καὶ πολὺ ἄποθεν, ἕως ἂν κατατείνῃ προωθῶν αὐτὸν τῆς ἄρκυος τὸν περίδρομον· εἶτα ὅστις ἂν ἦ τῶν παρόντων ἐμπειρότατος καὶ ἐγκρατέστατος, προσελθόντα
- 11 ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν τῷ προβολίῳ παίειν· ἔαν δὲ μὴ βούληται ἀκουτιζόμενος καὶ βαλλόμενος κατατεῖναι τὸν περίδρομον, ἀλλ' ἐπανιεὶς ἔχη πρὸς τὸν προσιόντα περιδρομὴν ποιούμενος, ἀνάγκη, ὅταν οὕτως ἔχη, λαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσιέναι, ἔχεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ μὲν χειρὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ πρόσθεν, τῇ δ' ἑτέρα ὀπισθεν· κατορθοῖ γὰρ ἢ μὲν ἀριστερὰ αὐτό, ἢ δὲ δεξιὰ ἐπεμβάλλει· ἐμπροσθεν δὲ ὁ πους ὁ μὲν ἀριστερὸς ἐπέσθω τῇ
- 12 χειρὶ τῇ ὁμωνύμῳ, ὁ δὲ δεξιὸς τῇ ἑτέρᾳ· προσιόντα δὲ προβάλλεσθαι τὸ προβόλιον μὴ πολλῶ μείζω διαβάντα ἢ ἐν πάλῃ, ἐπιστρέφοντα τὰς πλευρὰς τὰς εὐωνύμους ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν εὐώνυμον, εἶτα εἰσβλέποντα εἰς τὸ ὄμμα τοῦ θηρίου, ἐνθυμούμενον τὴν κίνησιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς ἐκείνου· προσφέρειν δὲ τὸ προβόλιον φυλαττόμενον, μὴ ἐκκρούσῃ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐκνεύσας· τῇ γὰρ ῥύμῃ τῆς ἐκκρούσεως ἔπεται.

## ON HUNTING, x. 9-12

As soon as the hounds are near the lair, they will go for him. The noise will cause him to get up, and he will toss any hound that attacks him in front. He will run and plunge into the nets; or if not, you must pursue him. If the ground where he is caught in the net is sloping, he will quickly get up, if it is level, he will immediately stand still, intent on himself. At this moment the hounds will press their attack, and the huntsmen must fling their javelins at him warily, and pelt him with stones, gathering round behind and a good way off, till he shoves hard enough to pull the rope of the net tight. Then let the most experienced and most powerful man in the field approach him in front and thrust his spear into him. If, in spite of javelins and stones, he refuses to pull the rope tight, but draws back, wheels round and marks his assailant, in that case the man must approach him spear in hand, and grasp it with the left in front and the right behind, since the left steadies while the right dives it. The left foot must follow the left hand forward, and the right foot the other hand. As he advances let him hold the spear before him, with his legs not much further apart than in wrestling, turning the left side towards the left hand, and then watching the beast's eye and noting the movement of the fellow's head. Let him present the spear, taking care that the boar doesn't knock it out of his hand with a jerk of his head, since he follows up the impetus of the

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- 13 παθόντα δὲ τοῦτο πίπτειν δεῖ ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὕλης κάτωθεν· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον ἔαν μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντι προσπέσῃ, διὰ τὴν σιμότητα τῶν ὀδόντων τὸ σῶμα οὐ δύναται ὑπολαβεῖν· ἔαν δὲ μετεώρῳ, ἀνάγκη πληγῆναι. πειράται μὲν οὖν μετεωρίζειν. ἔαν δὲ μὴ δύνηται, ἀμφιβᾶς
- 14 πατεῖ ἀπαλλαγὴ δὲ τούτων μία ἐστὶ μόνη, ὅταν ἐν τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτῃ ἔχηται, προαελθόντα ἐγγὺς τῶν συγκυνηγετῶν ἕνα ἔχοντα προβόλιον ἐρεθίζειν ὡς ἀφήσοντα· ἀφιέναι δὲ οὐ χρή, μὴ
- 15 τύχῃ τοῦ πεπτωκότας. ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃ τοῦτο, καταλιπὼν ὃν ἂν ἔχη ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρεθίζοντα ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ ἐπιστρέψει. τὸν δὲ ταχὺ ἀναπηδᾶν, τὸ δὲ προβόλιον μεμνηῆσθαι ἔχοντα ἀνίστασθαι· οὐ γὰρ καλὴ ἢ σωτηρία ἄλλως ἢ
- 16 κρατήσαντι προσφέρειν δὲ πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ προτεῖναι ἐντὸς τῆς ὠμοπλάτης, ἢ ἢ σφαγῆ, καὶ ἀντερείσαντα ἔχειν ἐρρωμένως· ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μένους πρόεισι, καὶ εἰ μὴ κωλύοιεν οἱ κυνῶδοντες τῆς λόγχης, ἀφίκοιτ' ἂν διὰ τῆς ῥάβδου προωθῶν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν τὸ προβόλιον ἔχοντα.
- 17 Οὕτω δὲ πολλὴ ἢ δύναμις ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε καὶ ἂ οὐκ ἂν οἴοιτό τις πρόσεστιν αὐτῷ· θενεῶτος γὰρ εὐθύς ἔάν τις ἐπὶ τὸν ὀδόντα ἐπιθῆ τρίχας, συντρέχουσιν· οὕτως εἰσὶ θερμοὶ ζῶντι δὲ διάπυροι, ὅταν ἐρεθίζεται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τῶν κυνῶν ἀμαρτάνων τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ σώματος ἄκρα τὰ τριχώματα περιεπίμπρα.
- 18 Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄρρην τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω

## ON HUNTING, x. 12-18

sudden knock In case this accident should happen, 13  
the man must fall on his face and clutch the  
undergrowth beneath him, for, if the beast attacks  
him in this position, he is unable to lift the man's  
body owing to the upward curve of his tusks, but if  
his body is off the ground, the man is certain to be  
gored. Consequently the boar tries to lift him up,  
and, if he cannot, he stands over and tamples on  
him. For a man in this critical situation there is 14  
only one escape from these disasters. One of his  
fellow huntsmen must approach with a spear and  
provoke the boar by making as though he would  
hurl it; but he must not hurl it, or he may hit the  
man on the ground. On seeing this the boar will 15  
leave the man under him and turn savagely and  
furiously on his tormentor. The other must jump up  
instantly, remembering to keep his spear in his hand as  
he uses, for safety without victory is not honourable.  
He must again present the spear in the same way as 16  
before, and thrust it inside the shoulder-blade where  
the throat is, and push with all his might. The  
enraged beast will come on, and but for the teeth of  
the blade, would shove himself forward along the  
shaft far enough to reach the man holding the  
spear.

His strength is so great that he has some peculiar 17  
properties which one would never imagine him to  
possess. Thus, if you lay hands on his tusks im-  
mediately after he is dead, they shrivel up, such is  
the heat of the tusks. While he is alive they become  
intensely hot whenever he is provoked, or the  
surface of the hounds' coats would not be singed  
when he tries to gore them and misses.

All this trouble, and even more, the male animal 18

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πράγματα παρασχών ἀλίσκεται. ἔαν δὲ θήλεια ἦ ἢ ἔμπεσοῦσα, ἐπιθέοντα παίειν φυλαττόμενον μὴ ὡσθὲς πέση· παθόντα δὲ τοῦτο πατεῖσθαι ἀνάγκη καὶ δάκνεσθαι. ἐκόντα οὖν οὐ χρῆ ὑποπίπτειν· ἔαν δὲ ἄκων ἔλθῃ εἰς τοῦτο, διαναστάσεις γίνονται αἱ αὐταὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρρενος· ἐξαναστάντα δὲ δεῖ παίειν τῷ προβολίῳ, ἕως ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ.

- 19 Ἀλίσκονται δὲ καὶ ὧδε. ἴστανται μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ ἄρκυς ἐπὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ναπῶν εἰς τοὺς δρυμούς, τὰ ἄγκη, τὰ τραχέα, ἢ εἰσβολαὶ εἰσιν εἰς τὰς ὀργάδας καὶ τὰ ἔλη καὶ τὰ ὕδατα. ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἔχων τὸ προβόλιον φυλάττει τὰς ἄρκυς. οἱ δὲ τὰς κύνας ἐπάγουσι τοὺς τόπους ζητοῦντες τοὺς καλλίστους· ἐπειδὰν δὲ εὔρεθῇ,
- 20 διώκεται. ἔαν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἄρκυν ἐμπίπτῃ, τὸν ἄρκυωρὸν ἀναλαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσιέναι καὶ χρῆσθαι ὡς εἴρηκα· ἔαν δὲ μὴ ἐμπέσῃ, μεταθεῖν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἦ πνίγη, διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον καίπερ ὑπερβάλλον δυνάμει ἀπαγορεύει ὑπέρασθμον γιγνόμενον.
- 21 ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ κύνες πολλαὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ θήρᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ κυνηγέται κινδυνεύουσιν, ὅταν γε<sup>1</sup> ἐν ταῖς μεταδρομαῖς ἀπειρηκότε ἀναγκάζωνται προσιέναι τὰ προβόλια ἢ ἐν ὕδατι ὄντι ἢ ἐφεστῶτι<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ἀποκρήμῳ ἢ ἐκ δασέος μὴ θέλουσι ἐξιέναι· οὐ γὰρ κωλύει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄρκυς οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν φέρεσθαι ὁμόσε τῷ πλησιάζοντι· ὅμως μέντοι προσιτέον, ὅταν ἔχη οὕτως, καὶ ἐπιδεικτέον τὴν εὐψυχίαν, δι' ἣν
- 22 εἴλουτο ἐκπονεῖν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην. χρηστέον δὲ τῷ προβολίῳ καὶ ταῖς προβολαῖς τοῦ

causes before he is caught. If the creature in the toils is a sow, run up and stick her, taking care not to be knocked down. Such an accident is bound to result in your being trampled and bitten. So don't fall under her, if you can help it. If you get into that position unintentionally, the same aids to use that are used to assist a man under a boar are employed. When on your feet again, you must ply the spear until you kill her.

Another way of capturing them is as follows. 19 The nets are set up for them at the passages from glens into oak coppices, dells and rough places, on the outskirts of meadows, fens and sheets of water. The keeper, spear in hand, watches the nets. The huntsmen take the hounds and search for the likeliest places. As soon as the boar is found, he is pursued. If he falls into the net, the net-keeper must take 20 his spear, approach the boar, and use it as I have explained. The boar is also captured, in hot weather, when pursued by the hounds, for in spite of his prodigious strength, the animal tires with hard breathing. Many hounds are killed in this kind of sport, 21 and the huntsmen themselves run risks, whenever in the course of the pursuit they are forced to approach a boar with their spears in their hands, when he is tired or standing in water or has posted himself by a steep declivity or is unwilling to come out of a thicket, for neither net nor anything else stops him from rushing at anyone coming near him. Nevertheless approach they must in these circumstances, and show the pluck that led them to take up this hobby. They must use the spear and the forward 22

<sup>1</sup> γε Πιρλεονι δὲ S with the MSS

<sup>2</sup> ἐφροσῶτι A ἀφροσῶτι S with BM.



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σώματος ὡς εἴρηται· εἰ γάρ τι καὶ πάσχοι, οὐκ ἂν διὰ γε τὸ μὴ<sup>1</sup> ὀρθῶς ποιεῖν πάσχοι.

Ἰστανται δὲ αἱ ποδοστράβαι αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ταῖς<sup>2</sup> ἐλάφοις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, καὶ ἐπισκέψεις αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ μεταδρομαὶ καὶ αἱ πρόσοδοι καὶ αἱ χρεῖαι τοῦ προβολίου.

- 23 Τὰ δὲ νεογενῆ αὐτῶν ὅταν ἀλίσκῃται, χαλεπῶς τοῦτο πάσχει· οὔτε γὰρ μονοῦται, ἕως ἂν μικρὰ ᾖ, ὅταν τε αἱ κύνες εὐρωσιν ἢ προῖδῃ τί, ταχὺ εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀφανίζεται· ἔπονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὧν ἂν ὦσιν ἄμφω, χαλεποὶ ὄντες τότε καὶ μᾶλλον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

ΧΙ. Λέοντες δέ, παρδάλεις, λύγκες, πάνθηρες, ἄρκτοι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα θηρία ἀλίσκεται ἐν ξέναις χώραις περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ τὸν Κιττὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Μυσίῳ καὶ ἐν Πίνδῳ, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς Συρίας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρεσιν, ὅσα οἶά τ' ἐστὶ τρέφειν  
2 τοιαῦτα. ἀλίσκεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι φαρμάκῳ διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀκουιτικῶ. παραβάλλουσι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ θηρώμενοι συμμιγνύντες εἰς τὸ αὐτό, ὅτῳ ἂν ἕκαστον χαίρῃ, περὶ τὰ ὕδατα  
3 καὶ πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν ἄλλο προσίῃ. τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καταβαίνοντα εἰς τὸ πεδίου τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποκλεισθέντα μετὰ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων ἀλίσκεται, εἰς  
4 κίνδυνον καθιστάντα τοὺς αἰρούντας. ἐστὶ δὲ οἷς αὐτῶν καὶ ὀρύγματα ποιοῦσι περιφερῆ, μεγάλα, βαθέα, ἐν μέσῳ λείποντες κίονα τῆς γῆς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτον εἰς νύκτα ἐπέθεσαν δῆσαντες αἶγα καὶ ἔφραξαν κύκλῳ τὸ ὄρυγμα ὕλη, ὥστε μὴ προορᾶν,

<sup>1</sup> μὴ omitted by S.

position of the body as explained ; then, if a man does come to grief, it will not be through doing things the wrong way.

Caltrops are also set for them as for the deer and in the same places. The routine of inspection and pursuit, the methods of approach and the use of the spear are the same.

The young pigs are not to be caught without <sup>23</sup> difficulty. For they are not left alone so long as they are little, and when the hounds find them or they see something coming, they quickly vanish into the wood ; and they are generally accompanied by both parents, who are fierce at such times and more ready to fight for their young than for themselves.

XI. Lions, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears and all similar wild beasts are captured in foreign countries, about Mt. Pangaeus and Cittus beyond Macedonia, on Mysian Olympus and Pindus, on Nysa beyond Syria, and in other mountain ranges capable of supporting such animals. On the <sup>2</sup> mountains they are sometimes poisoned, owing to the difficulty of the ground, with aconite. Hunters put it down mixed with the animals' favourite food round pools and in other places that they frequent. Sometimes, while they are going down to the plain <sup>3</sup> at night, they are cut off by parties of armed and mounted men. This is a dangerous method of capturing them. Sometimes the hunters dig large, round, <sup>4</sup> deep holes, leaving a pillar of earth in the middle. They tie up a goat and put it on the pillar in the evening, and pile wood round the hole without leaving an entrance, so that the animals cannot see

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<sup>2</sup> τὰς Α. τοῖς S with BM.

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εἴσοδον οὐ λείποντες. τὰ δὲ ἀκούοντα τῆς φωνῆς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κύκλω τὸν φραγμὸν περιθέουσι καὶ ἐπειδὰν μὴ εὐρίσκη δίοδον, ὑπερπηδᾷ καὶ ἀλίσκεται.

XII. Περὶ μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις εἴρηται. ὠφελήσονται δ' οἱ ἐπιθυμήσαντες τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πολλά· ὑγίειάν τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασι παρασκευάζει καὶ ὄραν καὶ ἀκούειν μᾶλλον, γηράσκειν δὲ ἦττον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς  
 2 τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα παιδεύει. πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὄπλα ὅταν ἔχοντες πορεύωνται ὁδοὺς χαλεπὰς, οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν· ἀνέξονται γὰρ τοὺς πόνους διὰ τὸ εἰθίσθαι μετὰ τούτων αἰρεῖν τὰ θηρία. ἔπειτα εὐνάζεσθαί τε σκληρῶς δυνατοὶ ἔσονται καὶ  
 3 φύλακες εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ τοῦ ἐπιταττομένου ἐν δὲ ταῖς προσόδοις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἅμα οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐπιέναι καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ποιεῖν διὰ τὸ οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰρεῖν τὰς ἄγρας. τεταγμένοι δ' ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν οὐ λείψουσι τὰς  
 4 τάξεις διὰ τὸ καρτερεῖν δύνασθαι. ἐν φυγῇ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διώξονται τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν παντὶ χωρίῳ διὰ συνήθειαν δυστυχήσαντος δὲ οἰκείου στρατοπέδου ἐν χωρίοις ὑλώδεσι καὶ ἀποκρήμνοις ἢ ἄλλως<sup>1</sup> χαλεποῖς οἰοί τ' ἔσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ σώζεσθαι μὴ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἑτέρους σώζειν· ἢ γὰρ συνήθεια τοῦ ἔργου παρέ-  
 5 ξει αὐτοῖς πλέον τι εἰδέναι. καὶ ἤδη τινὲς τῶν τοιούτων, πολλοῦ ὄχλου συμμάχων τρεφθέντος, τῇ αὐτῶν εὐεξία καὶ θράσει διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀμαρτόντας τοὺς πολεμίους νενικηκότας ἀναμα-

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλως Stobaeus. ἄλλοις S. with the MSS.

what lies in front. On hearing the bleating in the night, the beasts run round the barrier, and finding no opening, jump over and are caught

XII. With the practical side of hunting I have finished. But the advantages that those who have been attracted by this pursuit will gain are many. For it makes the body healthy, improves the sight and hearing, and keeps men from growing old; and it affords the best training for war. In the first place, 2 when marching over rough roads under arms, they will not tire. accustomed to carry arms for capturing wild beasts, they will bear up under their tasks. Again, they will be capable of sleeping on a hard bed and of guarding well the place assigned to them. In an attack<sup>1</sup> on the enemy they will be able to go 3 for him and at the same time to carry out the orders that are passed along, because they are used to do the same things on their own account when capturing the game. If their post is in the van they will not desert it, because they can endure. In the rout 4 of the enemy they will make straight for the foe without a slip over any kind of ground, through habit. If part of their own army has met with disaster in ground rendered difficult by woods and defiles or what not, they will manage to save themselves without loss of honour and to save others. For their familiarity with the business will give them knowledge that others lack. Indeed, it has happened 5 before now, when a great host of allies has been put to flight, that a little band of such men, through their fitness and confidence, has renewed the battle and routed the victorious enemy when he has

<sup>1</sup> The word *πρόσοδο* in this sense is a hunters' term

## XENOPHON

- χόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς τὰ σώματα  
 καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὖ ἔχουσιν ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ εὐτυ-  
 6 χῆσαι. εἰδότες δὲ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, ὅτι  
 ἐντεῦθεν εὐτύχουν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπιμέλειαν  
 τῶν νέων ἐποιήσαντο· σπανίζοντες γὰρ καρπῶν  
 τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνόμισαν ὅμως τοὺς κυνηγέτας μὴ  
 κωλύειν διὰ μηδενὸς<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ φυομένων  
 7 ἀγρεύειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ μὴ νυκτερεύειν ἐντὸς  
 πολλῶν σταδίων, ἵνα μὴ ἀφαιροῖντο τὰς θήρας  
 αὐτῶν οἱ ἔχοντες ταύτην τὴν τέχνην. ἑώρων γάρ,  
 ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ἢ ἡδονὴ μόνη αὕτη πλείστα  
 ἀγαθὰ παρασκευάζει. σὺφρονάς τε γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ  
 8 δικαίους διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παιδεύεσθαι· τὰ  
 τε ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὰ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τούτων<sup>3</sup>  
 εὐτυχοῦντες ἠσθάνοντο· καὶ<sup>4</sup> τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι  
 βούλονται ἐπιτηδεύειν καλῶν οὐδενὸς ἀποστειρῆ  
 ὡσπερ ἕτεραι κακαὶ ἡδοναί, ἃς οὐ χρὴ μαυθάνειν.  
 ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων οὖν στρατιωταί τε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ  
 9 στρατηγοὶ γίγνονται. ὧν γὰρ οἱ πόνοι τὰ μὲν  
 αἰσχροὰ καὶ ὑβριστικὰ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ  
 σώματος ἀφαιροῦνται, ἐπιθυμίαν δ' ἀρετῆς ἐν-  
 ἠύξισαν, οὗτοι δ' ἄριστοι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν περιίδοιεν  
 οὔτε τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀδικουμένην οὔτε τὴν  
 χώραν πάσχουσαν κακῶς.  
 10 Λέγουσι δὲ τινες, ὡς οὐ χρὴ ἐρᾶν κυνηγεσίων,  
 ἵνα μὴ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελῶσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οἱ  
 τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντες πάντες

<sup>1</sup> διὰ μηδενὸς A διὰ τὸ μηδὲν B M · τὸ μηδὲν S.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ τε ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὸ AB · τὰ τε M. S. omits τὰ τε.  
 ἠσθάνοντο with Schneider

<sup>3</sup> τούτων AB: τῶν τοιούτων S with M

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τῶν AB: τῶν τε S with M.

blundered owing to difficulties in the ground. For men who are sound in body and mind may always stand on the threshold of success. It was 6 because they knew that they owed their successes against the enemy to such qualities that our ancestors looked after the young men. For in spite of the scarcity of corn it was their custom from the earliest times not to prevent hunters from hunting over any growing crops; and, in addition, not to permit hunting at 7 night within a radius of many furlongs from the city, so that the masters of that art might not rob the young men of their game. In fact they saw that this is the only one among the pleasures of the younger men that produces a rich crop of blessings. For it makes sober and upright men of them, because they are trained in the school of truth<sup>1</sup> (and they perceived 8 that to these men they owed their success in war, as in other matters); and it does not keep them from any other honourable occupation they wish to follow, like other and evil pleasures that they ought not to learn. Of such men, therefore, are good soldiers and good generals made. For they 9 whose toils root out whatever is base and froward from mind and body and make desire for virtue to flourish in their place—they are the best, since they will not brook injustice to their own city nor injury to its soil.

Some say that it is not right to love hunting, 10 because it may lead to neglect of one's domestic affairs. They are not aware that all who benefit their cities and their friends are more attentive

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* a training that really builds up the character. There is an implied contrast with the imposture of the education given by sophists.

## XENOPHON

- 11 τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμελέστεροί εἰσιν. εἰ οὖν οἱ φιλο-  
 κυνηγέται παρασκευάζουσιν αὐτοὺς τῇ πατρίδι  
 χρήσιμους εἶναι εἰς τὰ μέγιστα, οὐδ' ἂν τὰ ἴδια  
 πρόοιντο· σὺν γὰρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σώζεται καὶ  
 ἀπόλλυται τὰ οἰκεία ἐκάστου· ὥστε πρὸς τοῖς  
 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδιωτῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι
- 12 σώζουσι. πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἀλόγιστοι τῶν  
 ταῦτα λεγόντων αἰροῦνται διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν κακίαν  
 ἀπολέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐτέρων ἀρετῇ σώζεσθαι· αἱ  
 γὰρ ἡδοναὶ αἱ πολλαὶ κακαί· ὧν ἠττώμενοι ἢ
- 13 λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἐπαίρονται τὰ χεῖρω. εἶτα ἐκ  
 μὲν τῶν ματαίων λόγων ἔχθρας ἀναιροῦνται, ἐκ  
 δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἔργων νόσους καὶ ζημίας καὶ θανά-  
 τους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ φίλων, ἀναι-  
 σθήτως μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἔχοντες, τῶν δὲ ἡδονῶν  
 πλέον τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθανόμενοι, οἷς τίς ἂν
- 14 χρήσαιτο εἰς πόλεως σωτηρίαν; τούτων μέντοι  
 τῶν κακῶν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἀφέξεται ἐρασθεὶς  
 ὧν ἐγὼ παραινῶ· παίδευσις γὰρ καλὴ διδάσκει  
 χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ λέγειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ
- 15 ἀκούειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρασχόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ  
 αἰεὶ τι μοχθεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς μὲν  
 μαθήσεις καὶ μελέτας ἐπιπόνους ἔχουσι, σωτηρίαν  
 δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πόλεσιν· οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλοντες διὰ  
 τὸ ἐπίπονον διδάσκεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἡδοναῖς ἀκαί-
- 16 ροις διάγειν, φύσει οὗτοι κάκιστοι. οὔτε γὰρ  
 νόμοις οὔτε λόγοις ἀγαθοῖς πείθονται· οὐ γὰρ  
 εὐρίσκουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πονεῖν, οἷον χρῆ τὸν ἀγαθὸν  
 εἶναι· ὥστε οὔτε θεοσεβεῖς δύνανται εἶναι οὔτε  
 σοφοί· τῷ δὲ ἀπαιδεύτῳ χρώμενοι πολλὰ ἐπι-
- 17 τιμῶσι τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις διὰ μὲν οὖν τούτων

## ON HUNTING, XII. 10-17

to their domestic affairs than other men. Therefore, if keen sportsmen fit themselves to be useful to their country in matters of vital moment, neither will they be remiss in their private affairs for the state is necessarily concerned both in the safety and in the ruin of the individual's domestic fortunes. Consequently such men as these save the fortunes of every other individual as well as their own. But many of those who talk in this way, blinded by jealousy, choose to be ruined through their own evil rather than be saved by other men's virtue. For most pleasures are evil, and by yielding to these they are encouraged either to say or to do what is wrong. Then by their frivolous words they make enemies, and by their evil deeds bring diseases and losses and death on themselves, then children and their friends, being without perception of the evils, but more perceptive than others of the pleasures. Who would employ these to save a state? From these evils, however, everyone who loves that which I recommend will hold aloof, since a good education teaches a man to observe laws, to talk of righteousness and hear of it. Those, then, who have given themselves up to continual toil and learning hold fast for their own portion laborious lessons and exercises, but they hold safety for their cities. But if any decline to receive instruction because of the labour and prefer to live among untimely pleasures, they are by nature utterly evil. For they obey neither laws nor good words, for because they toil not, they do not discover what a good man ought to be, so that they cannot be pious or wise men, and being without education they constantly find fault with the educated. In



## XENOPHON

οὐδὲν ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι· διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων  
 ἅπασαι αἰ ὠφέλειαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὕρηται·  
 18 ἀμείνους οὖν οἱ θέλοντες πονεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπι-  
 δέδεικται μεγάλῳ παραδείγματι· τῶν γὰρ παλαιο-  
 τέρων οἱ παρὰ Χείρωνι ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην νέοι ὄντες  
 ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ  
 ἔμαθον· ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς μεγάλη ἀρετή, δι'  
 ἣν καὶ νῦν θαυμάζονται· ἥς ὅτι μὲν ἐρώσι πάντες,  
 εὐδηλον, ὅτι δὲ διὰ πόνων ἔστι τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, οἱ  
 19 πολλοὶ ἀφίστανται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατεργάσασθαι  
 αὐτὴν ἄδηλον, οἱ δὲ πόνοι οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνόντες  
 φανεροί.

Ἴσως μὲν οὖν εἰ ἦν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς δῆλον,  
 ἦττον ἂν ἠμέλουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀρετῆς εἰδότες  
 ὅτι ὡσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνη ἐμφανῆς ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ  
 20 αὐτοὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνης ὀρώνται. ὅταν μὲν γάρ τις ὀράται  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρωμένου, ἅπας ἑαυτοῦ ἐστὶ βελτίων καὶ  
 οὔτε λέγει οὔτε ποιεῖ αἰσχρὰ οὐδὲ κακά, ἵνα μὴ  
 21 ὑφθῆ ὑπ' ἐκείνου. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐκ οἴομενοι  
 ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἐναντίον  
 ποιούσιν, ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐκείνοι οὐχ ὀρώσιν· ἢ δὲ  
 πανταχοῦ πάρεστι διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀθάνατος καὶ  
 τιμᾷ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγαθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς  
 22 ἀτιμάζει· εἰ οὖν εἶδεῖεν τοῦτο, ὅτι θεᾶται αὐτούς,  
 ἴεντο ἂν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους καὶ τὰς παιδεύσεις, αἷς  
 ἀλίσκεται μόλις, καὶ κατεργάζοιντο ἂν αὐτήν.

XIII. Θαυμάζω<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν καλουμένων

<sup>1</sup> S regards the whole of this chapter as a spurious addition.

<sup>1</sup> The argument, such as it is, would be better with "the toilers," for "the better sort," and the next words would

these men's hands, therefore, nothing can prosper. All discoveries that have benefited mankind are due to the better sort<sup>1</sup> Now the better sort are those who are willing to toil. And this has been proved by a great example For among the ancients the 18 companions of Cheiron to whom I referred learnt many noble lessons in their youth, beginning with hunting; from these lessons they sprang in their great virtue, for which they are admired even today. That all desire Virtue is obvious, but because they must toil if they are to gain her, the many fall away. For the achievement of her is hidden in 19 obscurity, whereas the toils inseparable from her<sup>2</sup> are manifest

It may be that, if her body were visible, men would be less careless of virtue, knowing that she sees them as clearly as they see her. For 20 when he is seen by his beloved every man rises above himself and shrinks from what is ugly and evil in word or deed, for fear of being seen by him. But in the presence of Virtue men do many evil and 21 ugly things, supposing that they are not regarded by her because they do not see her. Yet she is present everywhere because she is immortal, and she honours those who are good to her, but casts off the bad. Therefore, if men knew that she is watching 22 them, they would be impatient to undergo the toils and the discipline by which she is hardly to be captured, and would achieve her

XIII I am surprised at the sophists, as they

them be "those who are willing to toil, therefore, are the better men"

<sup>2</sup> ἀντὶ, "it," i.e. the achievement, would be an improvement.

## XENOPHON

ὅτι φασὶ μὲν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγειν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς  
 νέους, ἄγουσι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦναντίον· οὔτε γὰρ ἄνδρα  
 που ἐωράκαμεν, ὄντιν' οἱ νῦν σοφισταὶ ἀγαθὸν  
 ἐποίησαν, οὔτε γράμματα παρέχονται, ἐξ ὧν χρῆ  
 ἀγαθοὺς γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ματαίων  
 2 πολλὰ αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, ἀφ' ὧν τοῖς νέοις αἱ  
 μὲν ἡδοναὶ κεναί, ἀρετὴ δ' οὐκ ἔνι. διατριβὴν δ'  
 ἄλλως παρέχει τοῖς ἐλπίσασί τι ἐξ αὐτῶν μαθή-  
 σεσθαι μάτην καὶ ἐτέρων κωλύει χρησίμων καὶ  
 3 διδάσκει κακά. μέμφομαι οὖν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν  
 μεγάλα μειζρόνως· περὶ δὲ ὧν γράφουσιν ὅτι τὰ  
 μὲν ῥήματα αὐτοῖς ἐζήτηται, γινώμαι δὲ ὀρθῶς  
 ἔχουσαι, αἷς ἂν παιδεύοιντο οἱ νεώτεροι ἐπ'  
 4 ἀρετὴν, οὐδαμοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἰδιώτης μὲν εἰμι, οἶδα  
 δέ, ὅτι κράτιστον μὲν ἐστὶ παρὰ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως  
 τὸ ἀγαθὸν διδάσκεσθαι, δεύτερον δὲ παρὰ τῶν  
 ἀληθῶς ἀγαθόν τι ἐπισταμένων μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ  
 5 τῶν ἐξαπατᾶν τέχνην ἐχόντων. ἴσως οὖν τοῖς  
 μὲν ὀνόμασιν οὐ σεσοφισμένως λέγω· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 ζητῶ τοῦτο· ὧν δὲ δέονται εἰς ἀρετὴν οἱ καλῶς  
 πεπαιδευμένοι, ὀρθῶς ἐγνωσμένα ζητῶ λέγειν·  
 ὀνόματα μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν παιδεύσειαν, γινώμαι δέ,  
 6 εἰ καλῶς ἔχοιεν. ψέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ  
 τοὺς νῦν σοφιστὰς καὶ οὐ τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ὅτι ἐν  
 τοῖς ὀνόμασι σοφίζονται καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς νοή-  
 μασιν.

Οὐ λανθάνει δέ με, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ ἐξῆς γεγραμ-  
 μένα φήσει τις ἴσως τῶν τοιούτων οὐ καλῶς οὐδ'  
 45°

## ON HUNTING, XIII. 1-6

are called, because, though most of them profess to lead the young to virtue they lead them to the very opposite. We have never seen anywhere the man whose goodness was due to the sophists of our generation. Neither do their contributions to literature tend to make men good. but they have written many books on frivolous subjects, books that offer the young empty pleasures, but put no virtue into them. To read them in the hope of learning something from them is mere waste of time, and they keep one from useful occupations and teach what is bad. Therefore their grave faults incur my graver censure. As for the style of their writings, I complain that the language is far-fetched, and there is no trace in them of wholesome maxims by which the young might be trained to virtue. I am no professor, but I know that the best thing is to be taught what is good by one's own nature, and the next best thing is to get it from those who really know something good instead of being taught by masters of the art of deception. I daresay that I do not express myself in the language of a sophist; in fact, that is not my object: my object is rather to give utterance to wholesome thoughts that will meet the needs of readers well educated in virtue. For words will not educate, but maxims, if well found. Many others besides myself blame the sophists of our generation—philosophers I will not call them—because the wisdom they profess consists of words and not of thoughts.

I am well aware that someone, perhaps one of this set,<sup>1</sup> will say that what is well and methodically

<sup>1</sup> *i e* a sophist. But the text of what follows is open to suspicion.

## XENOPHON

- ἐξῆς<sup>1</sup> γεγράφθαι· ῥᾶδιον γὰρ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ταχὺ  
 7 μὴ ὀρθῶς μέμψασθαι· καίτοι γέγραπται γε οὕτως,  
 ἵνα ὀρθῶς ἔχη καὶ μὴ σοφιστικούς ποιῆ, ἀλλὰ  
 σοφούς καὶ ἀγαθούς· οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν αὐτὰ βού-  
 λομαι μᾶλλον ἢ εἶναι χρήσιμα, ἵνα ἀνεξέλεγκτα  
 8 ἦ εἰς αἰεὶ. οἱ σοφισταὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν  
 λέγουσι καὶ γράφουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν κέρδει καὶ  
 οὐδένα οὐδὲν ὠφελούσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφὸς αὐτῶν  
 ἐγένετο οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἐκάστῳ  
 σοφιστὴν κληθῆναι, ὃ ἔστιν ὄνειδος παρά γε εὖ  
 9 φρονοῦσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν σοφιστῶν παραγγέλ-  
 ματα παραινῶ φυλάττεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων  
 ἐνθυμήματα μὴ ἀτιμάζειν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοφισταὶ  
 πλουσίους καὶ νέους θηρῶνται, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι  
 πᾶσι κοινοὶ καὶ φίλοι· τύχας δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὔτε  
 τιμῶσιν οὔτε ἀτιμάζουσι.  
 10 Μὴ ζηλοῦν δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας  
 εἰκῆ ἰόντας, μήτ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας μήτ' ἐπὶ τὰς  
 δημοσίας, ἐνθυμηθέντα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄριστοι αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup>  
 γιγνώσκονται μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω ἐπίφθονοι<sup>3</sup> δ'<sup>4</sup>  
 εἰσίν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ πάσχουσί τε κακῶς καὶ γιγνώ-  
 11 σκονται ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω. τὰς τε γὰρ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν  
 οὐσίας ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰς  
 κοινὰς σωτηρίας ἀνωφελέστεροί εἰσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν,  
 τὰ τε σώματα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κάκιστα καὶ  
 αἰσχίστα ἔχουσι πονεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι. οἱ δὲ κυνη-  
 γέται εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τὰ σώματα  
 12 καὶ τὰ κτήματα καλῶς ἔχοντα παρέχουσιν. ἔρχον-  
 ται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους

<sup>1</sup> γεγραμμένα . ἐξῆς is omitted by S with M

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν MSS : ἀνδρῶν S.

<sup>3</sup> I have substituted ἐπίφθονοι for ἐπίπονοι.

ON HUNTING, XIII. 6-12

written<sup>1</sup> is not well and methodically written—for  
hasty and false censure will come easily to them.  
But my aim in writing has been to produce sound 7  
work that will make men not wiseacres, but wise  
and good. For I wish my work not to seem useful,  
but to be so, that it may stand for all time unrefuted.  
The sophists talk to deceive and write for their 8  
own gain, and do no good to anyone. For there is  
not, and there never was, a wise man among them;  
everyone of them is content to be called a sophist,  
which is a term of reproach among sensible men.  
So my advice is. Avoid the behests of the sophists, 9  
and despise not the conclusions of the philosophers,  
for the sophists hunt the rich and young, but the  
philosophers are friends to all alike: but as for men's  
fortunes, they neither honour nor despise them.

Envy not those either who recklessly seek their 10  
own advantage whether in private or in public life<sup>2</sup>  
—bear in mind that the best of them, though they  
are favourably judged, are envied, and the bad both  
fare badly and are unfavourably judged. For 11  
engaged in robbing private persons of their property,  
or plundering the state, they render less service  
than private persons when plans for securing the  
common safety are afoot,<sup>3</sup> and in body they are dis-  
gracefully unfit for war because they are incapable  
of toil. But huntsmen offer their lives and their  
property in sound condition for the service of the  
citizens. These attack the wild beasts, those others 12

<sup>1</sup> ἐγγνωσμένα, "thought," would be a great improvement on  
γεγραμμένα, "written"

<sup>2</sup> Professional politicians

<sup>3</sup> i.e. they contrive to "save their pockets"

## XENOPHON

- καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους ἴοντες δύσκειλιαν ἔχουσι παρὰ πᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ κυνηγέται ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία ἴοντες εὐκλειαν· ἐλόντες μὲν γὰρ πολέμια νικῶσι, μὴ ἐλόντες δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἔπαινον ἔσχον, ἔπειτα ὅτι οὐτ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς βλάβη οὔτε φιλοκερδεία ἔρχονται.
- 13 ἔπειτα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιχειρήματος βελτίους γίνονται πρὸς πολλὰ καὶ σοφώτεροι δι' οὗ διδάξομεν. ἂν γὰρ μὴ πόνοις καὶ ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ ἐπιμελείαις πολλαῖς ὑπερβάλλωνται, οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιεν ἄγρας.
- 14 τὰ γὰρ ἀντίπαλα αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιζόμενα καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν οἰκῆσει ἐν ἰσχύι πολλῇ ἔστιν· ὥστε τῷ κυνηγέτῃ μάτην οἱ πόνοι γίνονται, ἂν μὴ μείζονι φιλοποιίᾳ καὶ πολλῇ συνέσει κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν.
- 15 Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ πόλιν βουλόμενοι πλεονεκτεῖν μελετῶσι νικᾶν φίλους, οἱ δὲ κυνηγέται κοινούς ἐχθρούς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἢ μελέτη αὐτῇ ποιεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμίους ἀμείνους, τοὺς δὲ πολὺ χεῖρους· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἢ ἄγρα μετὰ σωφροσύνης,
- 16 τοῖς δὲ μετὰ αἰσχροῦ θράσους. κακοηθείας δὲ καὶ αἰσχροκερδείας οἱ μὲν δύνανται καταφρονεῖν, οἱ δ' οὐ δύνανται· φωνὴν δὲ οἱ μὲν εὐεπῆ ἰᾶσιν, οἱ δ' αἰσχράν· πρὸς δὲ τὰ θεία τοῖς μὲν οὐδὲν
- 17 ἔμποδὼν ἀσεβεῖν, οἱ δ' εὐσεβέστατοι. λόγοι γὰρ παλαιοὶ κατέχουσιν, ὡς καὶ θεοὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ χαίρουσι καὶ πράττοντες καὶ ὀρῶντες· ὥστε ὑπάρχειν ἐνθυμουμένους τούτων θεοφιλεῖς τ' εἶναι

their friends. And whereas those who attack their friends earn infamy by general consent, huntsmen by attacking the wild beasts gain a good report. For if they make a capture, they win victory over enemy forces; and if they fail, they are commended, in the first place, because they assail powers hostile to the whole community; and, secondly, because they go out neither to harm a man nor for sordid gain. Moreover, the very attempt makes 13 them better in many ways and wiser; and we will give the reason. Unless they abound in labours and inventions and precautions, they cannot capture game. For the forces contending with them, fighting 14 for their life and in their own home, are in great strength; so that the huntsman's labours are in vain, unless by greater perseverance and by much intelligence he can overcome them.

In fine, the politician whose objects are selfish 15 practises for victory over friends, the huntsman for victory over common foes. This practice makes the one a better, the other a far worse fighter against all other enemies. The one takes prudence with him for companion in the chase, the other base rashness. The one can despise malice and avarice, the other 16 cannot. The language of the one is gracious,<sup>1</sup> of the other ugly. As for religion, nothing checks impiety in the one, the other is conspicuous for his piety. In fact, an ancient story has it that the 17 gods delight in this business, both as followers and spectators of the chase. Therefore, reflecting on these things, the young who do what I exhort them to do will put themselves in the way of being dear

<sup>1</sup> i. e. kindly and pleasant, not reckless and shameless like that of the politicians



## XENOPHON

καὶ εὐσεβεῖς τοὺς νέους τοὺς ποιοῦντας ἃ ἐγὼ  
παραίνω, οἰομένους ὑπὸ θεῶν του ὄρασθαι ταῦτα.  
οὗτοι δ' ἂν εἶεν καὶ τοκεῦσιν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ  
ἑαυτῶν πόλει καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστω τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ  
18 φίλων. οὐ μόνον δὲ ὅσοι ἄνδρες κυνηγεσίῳ  
ἠράσθησαν ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες,  
αἷς ἔδωκεν ἡ θεὸς ταῦτα,<sup>1</sup> Ἀταλάντη καὶ Πρόκρις  
καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλῃ,

<sup>1</sup> Ἄρτεμις, which follows ταῦτα in the MSS, was removed  
by Weiske

ON HUNTING, XIII 17-18

to the gods and pious men, conscious that one or other of the gods is watching their deeds. These will be good to parents, good to the whole city, to every one of their friends and fellow-citizens. For all men who have loved hunting have been 18 good: and not men only, but those women also to whom the goddess<sup>1</sup> has given this blessing, Atalanta and Prociis and others like them

<sup>1</sup> Artemis



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