XENOPHON'S ANABASIS
SECOND BOOK

C. S. JERRAM
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THE SECOND BOOK

OF

XENOPHON'S ANABASIS

EDITED, WITH NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

In preparing this edition I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to make the Second Book complete in itself, without presupposing on the part of the student a knowledge of the general contents of the Anabasis. No boy indeed should venture upon any distinct portion of Xenophon's work, without at least some previous acquaintance with the outlines of the story, such as may be gained from a Classical Dictionary, or from the earlier chapters of the Xenophon in Mr. Collins' Series of Ancient Classics for English Readers. Still it is convenient to have the required information close at hand; I have therefore given in my Introduction a sketch of the narrative down to the point where the Second Book begins, and added a Table of the most important dates, abridged from the one in the Easy Selections, edited by Mr. Phillpotts and myself. Some of the notes also, in substance if not in words, are repeated from the same work, and the Map showing the Route of the Greeks has been made to serve for both volumes.

The text is that of Dindorf's Second Edition, 1855, printed at the Clarendon Press. In the notes I have availed myself of the best annotated editions, English
and German, and of the results of geographical investigations more or less recent, such as are found in Ainsworth's *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, Colonel Chesney's *Expedition*, and in the 69th and 70th chapters of Grote's *History of Greece*. To the excellent new edition of Xenophon's *Anabasis* I, II, by Mr. R. W. Taylor (1877), I owe special obligations, which I hope I have in all cases duly acknowledged.

CHARLES S. JERRAM.

*Woodcote House, Windlesham,*  
*August, 1878.*
INTRODUCTION.

'How the Greek force was collected for Cyrus, when he began the expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what occurred during his upward march, how the battle took place, how Cyrus was killed, and how the Greeks returned to their camp and rested, believing that they had gained a complete victory and that Cyrus was still alive, has been related in the former part of my narrative.' With this brief summary by way of preface Xenophon resumes the story in the Second Book of his Anabasis, to which an account of the events narrated in the First Book forms an appropriate and necessary introduction.

Darius II, called Nothus, had succeeded to the throne of Persia in 424 B.C. By his wife Parysatis he had two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus, the former of whom was born previously to his own accession, the latter after that event. Hence Cyrus hoped to become king when his father died, just as Xerxes, some seventy years before, had been chosen to succeed Darius I, because he was born during his father's reign. The claims of Cyrus were vigorously supported by Parysatis, who much preferred him to Artaxerxes; but notwithstanding her solicitations Darius could not be prevailed upon to name the younger son as his successor to the throne. In 407 B.C., he invested him with the important satrapy of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, with Sardis for his capital, exclusive of the Ionian cities on the west coast, which still remained under the government of Tissaphernes, the predecessor of Cyrus. Three years later all these towns, except Miletus, revolted to the new satrap; and about the same time Cyrus was summoned to Babylon to attend his father's death-bed. Upon the death of Darius, Artaxerxes was proclaimed king, and Cyrus, being
accused shortly afterwards by Tissaphernes of conspiring against his brother's life, was on the point of losing his own; but though he escaped through the powerful intercession of Parysatis, he was nevertheless sent back to his province in disgrace, and from this time forward devoted all his energies and resources to the one object of dethroning the king.

When Cyrus came down to Asia Minor in 407 B.C., the prolonged struggle between Athens and Sparta was entering upon its last stage. Unlike Tissaphernes, who had adopted the policy of balancing one power against the other with the view of weakening both, he brought with him an intense hatred of Athens, and a fixed resolution to aid the Peloponnesian cause by every possible means. His zealous cooperation with Lysander, the newly appointed Lacedaemonian admiral, must have determined in no small degree the course of events, which culminated in the crushing defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami in September 405. In pursuing this policy Cyrus had an eye to his own interests. He foresaw a time not far distant, when he would need more efficient help for the prosecution of his ambitious designs than he already had at his disposal; nor was he slow to perceive the value of Greek auxiliary forces, and the superiority of their organisation over that of the Persians. Therefore by helping Sparta to obtain the ascendency in Greece he hoped to secure her services in return, when the moment came for availing himself of them.

On his return to Sardis, Cyrus lost no time in beginning his preparations. Under pretext of defending the Ionic towns, which had revolted from Tissaphernes, against the alleged designs of that satrap, he instructed the commanders of the various garrisons in his province to procure as many Peloponnesian soldiers as they could, employing at the same time his numerous Greek friends to raise troops for him in different parts of the country. Among these friends were Clearchus a Lacedaemonian exile, Aristippus a Thessalian, and others, to whom Cyrus granted funds to maintain large bodies of mercenaries for their own immediate requirements, on the understanding that they should be at his call whenever he should
want them. He next desired Proxenus, a Boeotian, to join him at Sardis with as large a force as he could muster, under pretence of making war against the Pisidians, a marauding highland tribe, who were in the habit of molesting his province by their incursions. Proxenus not only complied with this request, but invited his Athenian friend Xenophon to join in the enterprise as a volunteer, promising to introduce him to Cyrus, who he said was 'a better friend to him than his own country' (Anabasis, III. i. 4). After an interview with Socrates and a consultation of the oracle at Delphi, Xenophon resolved to take service under Cyrus, who received him on his arrival at Sardis with undisguised satisfaction, promising to send him home again, as soon as the expedition (still represented as against the Pisidians) should be concluded. All these preparations being completed in the spring of 401 B.C., Cyrus assembled his forces at Sardis, consisting of nearly 8000 Greeks, besides 100,000 native soldiers. Hereupon Tissaphernes, suspecting that something more was intended than a mere invasion of Pisidia, set off to warn Artaxerxes, who had hitherto not thought it worth his while to interfere.

Leaving Sardis, the army marched in a south-easterly direction through Lydia, and crossing the Maeander came to Colossae in Phrygia, where Menon the Thessalian joined with a force of 1500 men. Thence they proceeded by way of Celaenae, Peltae, and Ceramôn-Agora to the plain of Cayster, where they remained for five days. By this time three months' pay was due to the soldiers, and Cyrus having no funds was in distress what to do, when the opportune arrival of Epyaxa, wife of the Cilician king Syenness, with a large sum of money, enabled him to meet the demand. At Tyriaeum, four days' march further on, Cyrus held a review of his army to gratify this Cilician queen, who was still in his company; and the effect of the Greek charge on this occasion is described by Xenophon as extremely terrifying to the Asiatics, including Epyaxa herself, who had never seen anything of the kind before. Arriving by way of Iconium at the confines of Cilicia, Cyrus sent Epyaxa home under the escort of Menon and his division by an unfrequented pass over Mount Taurus, intending
to take the rest of his army across by the regular pass to
the northward, known as the Cilician Gates. This was how-
ever occupied by Syennesis, whose resistance was probably a
feint, in order that he might stand well with Artaxerxes, in
case Cyrus should fail in his enterprise. At any rate Syen-
nesis speedily evacuated his position, allowed Cyrus to reach
Tarsus without further opposition, and finally contracted an
alliance with him, giving him at the same time money for the
support of his troops.

At Tarsus the soldiers, knowing that Pisidia was passed and
suspecting the real object of the expedition (hitherto kept a
secret from every one except Clearchus), refused to advance
any further. Clearchus, endeavouring to force his own divi-
sion to proceed, was met with open resistance and even
personally assaulted. He therefore made an address to his
men, disclaiming all intention of acting without their support,
while he pointed out the difficulties of their present situation,
and the necessity of deciding at once what it was best to do.
It was resolved to ask Cyrus his real intentions, and envoys
were sent for this purpose, who brought back the reply that
Cyrus wished to attack Abrocomas, an enemy of his, who was
now on the Euphrates twelve days' march distant. 'If he
found him there, he would punish him; if not, they must con-
sider how to proceed.' The soldiers were forced to content
themselves with this answer, but desired an increase of pay,
which was granted, and confidence for a time restored. They
marched forward to Issus on the confines of Syria, where
Cyrus was joined by his ships, with 700 hoplites on board
under command of the Spartan Cheirisophus. Besides these,
400 mercenaries deserted to him from Abrocomas, so that the
total number of Greeks in his army was now 14,000 men.
At Myriandrus, a Phoenician seaport one day's march beyond
Issus, two Greek captains deserted in a merchant-vessel with

1 Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, Chap. LXIX) thinks this was
evidently the case; also that the opportune visit of Epyaxa and
the admission of Menon over Mount Taurus were manoeuvres in
collusion with Cyrus.
their property, but Cyrus refused to pursue them or to take any measures for their apprehension. By this generous conduct he secured the good-will of the soldiers, even of such as had previously been most dissatisfied, who accompanied him henceforward with increased confidence and zeal.

Twelve days' march inland brought them to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and here Cyrus formally announced the object of the expedition. The soldiers murmured at first, but being well aware that there was no help for it, consented to go forward upon the promise of a handsome donation as soon as they should reach Babylon, besides their full rate of pay until their return to Ionia. While the debate was in progress, Menon anticipated the result by crossing the river with his own division separately, an act of forwardness which, as its perpetrator intended, was highly appreciated by Cyrus at this juncture. Having crossed the Euphrates, and afterwards one of its tributaries, the Araxes, the Greeks came to the desert of Arabia, where they had good sport with the antelopes, bustards, and other wild animals abounding there. After a march of thirteen days through this desolate region, where they suffered greatly from want of provisions, they arrived at Pylae, the entrance into Babylonia. During their halt there a serious dispute between the soldiers of Clearchus and those of Menon, in which the commanders themselves became involved, was with difficulty allayed by Cyrus, who pointed out the fatal consequences of disunion at such a moment, and the necessity of setting a good example to the natives whom they saw around them. Advancing into Babylonia they found for the first time traces of the enemy, who had been ravaging all the country in front of them and burning up the fodder. Here Orontes, a Persian noble, being detected in an attempt to desert to the king with a body of 1000 horse, which he had persuaded Cyrus to entrust to him, was apprehended, examined, and privately put to death. On the third day following, at midnight, Cyrus held a review of his army on the plain, and found it to consist of nearly 13,000 Greeks and 100,000 natives, while the enemy were reported to be more than a million strong. Hereupon Cyrus addressed the Greek
commanders, assuring them of the worthlessness of the barbarians, as soldiers, in comparison with themselves, and adding liberal promises to stimulate their zeal in his cause. Still the king's army did not appear, and the next day the Greeks came upon a trench dug right across the plain from the wall of Media to within twenty feet of the Euphrates. But this narrow passage was left undefended, and the army marched through it without let or hindrance. Cyrus now began to think that his brother had given up all idea of fighting in the open plain, and relaxed his vigilance accordingly; the army marching in loose order, and Cyrus himself riding in a chariot instead of on horseback. Suddenly, near a village called Gunaxa, about sixty miles from Babylon, the king's army was reported to be approaching in battle array. The Cyreians (who had not yet taken their morning meal) lost no time in arming themselves and forming their line; the Greeks being posted on the right next the river, and the Asiatic troops, commanded by Ariaeus, on the extreme left. Cyrus himself, with a body-guard of 600 horse, occupied the centre. It was not till late in the afternoon that the enemy's forces became clearly visible. Tissaphernes with the Persian cavalry appeared on the left wing, fronting the Greeks; the Persian bowmen stood on his right, and next to them a body of Egyptian infantry with long wooden shields. In the centre was the king himself, surrounded by a chosen band of 6000 horsemen; but so vast was his array, that, though occupying the middle of his own line, he outflanked the extreme left of the Cyreian army. Cyrus now called upon Clearchus to lead the attack upon the enemy's centre, seeing that a blow struck there was likely to be decisive; but Clearchus, afraid of withdrawing his right flank from the protection of the river, determined to remain where he was, and replied that 'he would take care that everything went well.' Upon this Cyrus, having ascertained that the omens from the sacrifices were favourable, returned to his own station in the centre.

The two armies being now within half a mile of each other, the Greeks raised their war-cry and made a vigorous charge against the left wing of the Persians, who all (with the excep-
tion of Tissaphernes and his division) turned and fled. Their opponents lost not a single man in this encounter. Artaxerxes, finding that no attack was directed against his centre, began by a flank movement to surround the Greeks, intending to take them in the rear. Immediately Cyrus with his 600 horse charged the king’s body-guard of 6000, dispersed them, and slew their leader; then infuriated by the sight of his brother, whom he now saw for the first time, he rushed upon him and wounded him slightly in the breast. At this moment he received a violent blow from a javelin, by which he was cast to the ground and slain. His head and right hand were cut off by order of the king.

Ariaeus and his Asiatic troops now fled from the field as far as the halting-place of the previous night, leaving their camp to be plundered by the king and his men. Clearchus with his own division had meanwhile been pursuing the routed left wing of the Persians for a considerable distance, but hearing that the king had fallen upon their camp, they marched back and met the plunderers returning. Artaxerxes drew up his line for an attack, but the Greeks made the first onset, and put the Persians to flight more effectually even than before. They then halted awhile, ignorant of the fate of Cyrus and expecting to hear news of him; soon however they resolved to return to their camp, which they found stripped of all provisions, so that they were compelled to pass the night fasting.

At this point the First Book concludes, terminating the Expedition of Cyrus, or the Anabasis properly so called; the remaining Books are occupied with the adventures of the Greeks in their homeward march under the conduct of Xenophon, commonly known as the Retreat of the Ten Thousand.
PRINCIPAL DATES.

PREVIOUS HISTORY.

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Cambyses, his son, succeeds . . . . . 529
Darius I (Hystaspes) . . . . . 521
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First Persian Invasion of Greece. Marathon . . . . 490
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Second Persian Invasion. Salamis . . . . . 480
Artaxerxes I succeeds . . . . 465
Peloponnesian War begins . . . . 431
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Athenian fleet destroyed at Aegos-potami . . . . . 405
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EXPEDITION OF CYRUS (ANABASIS).

Departure from Sardis about March 6th . . . . . 401
Arrival at Colossae about March 10th . . . . . "
  " Celaenae about March 20th . . . . . "
  " Plain of Cayster about May 1st . . . . . "
Review at Tyriaeum about May 9th . . . . . "
Arrival at Tarsus about June 6th . . . . . "
  " Issus about June 28th . . . . . "
  " Myrindrus about July 6th . . . . . "
  " Thapsacus about July 23rd . . . . . "
Crossing the Araxes about August 6th . . . . . "
Through the Desert about August 9th  .  .  .  .  401
Arrival at Pylae about August 31st  .  .  .  .  
Midnight Review about September 3rd  .  .  .  .  
Battle of Cunaxa about September 7th  .  .  .  .  

BEGINNING OF THE RETREAT.

Message from the King. Reply of Greeks. Treaty with Ariaeus, about September 8th  .  .  .  .  .  .  
The Retreat begun, about September 9th  .  .  .  .  .  
Truce made with the King, about September 10th  .  .  .  .  
Arrival at Sittace, about October 11th  .  .  .  .  .  .  
  Great Zab, about October 26th  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  .  
Murder of the five Generals, about October 29th  .  .  .  .  .
Recapitulation of the First Book. The Greeks, surprised at hearing no news of Cyrus, resolve to go forward to join him.

'Ως μὲν οὖν ἡδρολόσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὃσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράξθη, καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς Κύρος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐκομίθησαν οἴόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κύρου ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμ-5 προσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κύρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμποι σημανοῦντα ὅ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἐδοξεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευασμένοις ἃ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισμένοις προϊέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐως Κύρῳ συμμιξίζειαν.

News of the death of Cyrus and of the flight of Ariwus. The Greeks claim the victory, and offer to make Ariwus king.
Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμώ. οὕτως ἐλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθυηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ είη 15 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων θεον τῇ προτεραιᾳ φρικόντο, καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἥμεραν περιμείνειεν ἃν αὐτοὺς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὀθενπερ ἦλθε. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἐλληνες πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἕφερον. 20 Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε εἶπεν. Ἀλλ' ὀφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζήν ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαῖῳ ὅτι ἡμεῖς νυκῶμεν τε βασιλέα καὶ, ὡς ὅποτε, οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὡμεῖς ἠλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἀν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαῖῳ, ἐὰν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν 25 θρόνου τὸν βασίλειον καθιεῖν αὐτοῦ τῶν γὰρ μάχη νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστί.

The envoys depart with two of the generals to Arieus. Scarcity of provisions.

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν καὶ γὰρ αὐτῶς Μένων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος 30 Αριαῖος. οἱ μὲν ἰχθυντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῖτον ὅπως ἔδυνατο ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτουστε τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὅνουσ· ξύλοις δ' ἐχρωῦτο μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τοῖς τε οὐστοῖς πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὗς ἦμαγκαζοῦν οἱ Ἐλλήνες 35 ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολούντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ἑυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἀμαξαί ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οῖς πάσι χρώμενοι κρέα ἐψωτες ἦσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἥμεραν.
Artaxerxes requires the Greeks to surrender their arms. Clearchus bids the other generals consider their answer.

Καὶ ἦδη τε ἦν περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν, καὶ ἐρχονται ἐπὶ παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κύρικες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροί, ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν Φαλίνος εἰς "Ελλην, ὡς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὡν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμβλή τάξεως τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. οὐτοὶ δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἔλληνων ἀρχοντας λέγουσιν ὃτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἔλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικών τυγχάνει καὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὀπλα λόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἃν τι δύνανται αγαθῶν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κύρικες· οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἠκουσαν, ὡμώς δὲ 50 Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν ὃτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἴη τὰ ὀπλα παραδίδοναι· ἀλλ', ἐφη, ὡμείς μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτους ἀποκρίνασθε ὃ τι κάλλιστον τε καὶ ἀριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἦξε· ἐκάλεσε γὰρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὡπως ὕδα τὰ ἱερά ἐξηρημένα· ἐτυχε γὰρ θυόμενον. 55

The generals confer with Phalinus, the chief envoy, who asserts the superior position of the king.

"Ενθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκὰς προσβύτατος ὃν ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ὃ τὰ ὀπλα παραδόθησαν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Ὀηβαῖος, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ, ἐφη, ὃς Φαλίνε, θαυμάζω πότερα ὡς κρατῶν. βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὀπλα ἃ ὡς διὰ φιλίαν δώρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τι δεὶ αὐτὸν ἄτει καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθότα; εἰ δὲ πεῖσας βουλεῖται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἐσται τοῖς στρατιώταισι, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλίνος εἶπε, βασιλεὺς νικῶν ἤγειται, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε. τὸς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὡμᾶς ἀντιοὐδ εἶναι, 65
Εἴχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ έαυτοῦ χώρα καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ὅσον οὐδ' ἐπιπέρχοι ὑμῖν δύνασθε ἀν ἀποκτεῖναι.

Reply of Theopompos. Phalinus answers him scornfully. Others propose to enlist in the king’s service.

Μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, Ὡ Φαλίνε, τοῦν, ὡς σὺ ὀρᾶς, ἡμῖν οὔδεν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἶλομεθα ἀν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δὲ ἀν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἴου τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν οὐντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐμετέρων 75 ἀγαθῶν μαχούμεθα. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλίνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφοι μὲν ἐοικας, ὡ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχαρίστα; ἵσθι μεντοί ἀνόητοι ὅν, εἰ οἴει τὴν ἐμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἀν τῆς βασιλείας δυνάμεως. ἄλλους δὲ τινας ἐφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακιζομένους, ὡς καὶ 80 Κύρφ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἄν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γενοῦτο, εἰ βουλοῖτο φίλος γενέσθαι καὶ εἰτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι εἰτ' ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαιν ἄν αὐτῷ.

Clearchus bids Phalinus, as a Greek, advise them what to do.

Ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἥρώτησεν εἰ ἡδὴ ἀποκε- 85 κριμένου εἶεν. Φαλίνος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Οὐτοῖ μὲν, ὡ Κλέαρχε, ἀλλοὶ ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπε τί λέγεις. δ' εἰπεν, 'Ἐγώ σε, ὡ Φαλίνε, ἄσμενος ἑώρακα, οἴμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες· σὺ τε γὰρ Ἕλλην εἰ καὶ ἥμείς τοσούτοι οὖντες οὕσοι σὺ θρᾷς· εὖ τοιοῦτοι δὲ οὔτε πράγ- 90 μασι συμπολευνόμεθα σοι τί χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ δῶν λέγεις. σὺ οὖν πρὸς θεῶν συμπολευσον ἡμῖν ὁ τι σοι δοκεῖ καλ-
Phalinus urges the hopelessness of resistance. On the question of 'peace or war', Clearchus returns a guarded answer.

Phalinus ὁ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπεί, Ἡγὼ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἔστι σωθήναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖς, συμβουλεύσω μὴ παραδώναι τὰ ὀπλα· εἰ δὲ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἔστιν ἐλπὶς ἀκοντος βασιλέως, συμβουλεύω σωζέσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπῃ δυνατόν. Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπεί, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἢ σὺ λέγεις· παρ’ ἦμων δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἢμείς οὐκ ὑπὲρ μὲν ἄξιον εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὀπλα· παραδώντες ἀλλὰ, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἀμείνων ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὀπλα· ἀλλὰ παραδώντες. ὁ δὲ Φαλίνως ἐπεί, Ταῦτα μὲν ἢ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν ἐπείν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς ὅτι μένουσι μὲν ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ σπουδαῖοι ἐνήσαν, προϊόυσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἰπάτε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπουδαί εἰσίν· ἤ ὅς πολέμοι ὑπός παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀπαγγέλω. Κλέαρχος δ’ ἐλέειν, Ἀπάγγελλε τοι νυν καὶ περὶ τούτου ὅτι καὶ ἦμιν ταῦτα δοκεῖ ἀπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τι οὖν ταῦτα ἐστίν; ἐφ’ ὁ Φαλίνως. ἀπεκρίνοτο Κλέαρχος, Ἠν μὲν μένωμεν, σπουδαί, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ
CHAPTER II.

Ariæus will not accept the crown. He offers to conduct the Greeks in their retreat. Clearnbus still undecided.

Phællnos μὲν δὴ φάντασι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οὐ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαῖον ἦκον Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος. Μένουν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαῖῳ οὖτοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀρίαιος εἶναι Πέρσας ἐαυτοῦ βελτίουσ, οὐς οὐκ ἂν ἀνα-μελέτησαν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ’ εἶ βούλεσθε συναπτεῖ-
ναι, ἢκεὶν ἢδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτὸς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς πρὸ-
ἀπιέναι φησίν. δὲ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, Ἀλλ’ οὖτω χρῆ
ποιεῖν· ἐὰν μὲν ἢκωμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρά-
ττετε ὅποιον ἂν τι ύμῖν οὕσηθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. δ’ τι δὲ
ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις εἴπε.

Clearnbus addresses the army. ‘Let us join Ariæus at once; we have no other choice.’ They start under his command.

Metὰ ταῦτα ἢδη ἠλλοὶ δύναντος συγκαλέσασι τοὺς στρα-
tηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐλεξεπ τοιάδε. Ἐμοι, δὲ ἄνδρες,
θυμομένῳ λέναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ
eἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὡς γάρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυνθάνομαι,
ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμὸς ἐστὶ ναυ-
síporos, οὐκ οὐκ ἰν δυναίμεθα ἀνευ πλοίων διαβῆλαι
πλοία δὲ ἥμεις οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἴον τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἐχεῖν· ἵνα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάνω καλὰ ἤμιν τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν. ὥδε οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὦ τι τις ἐχεῖ· ἐπειδαὶ δὲ 20 σημήνῃ τῷ κέρατι ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζομαι· ἐπειδαὶ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ύποβύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπεσθε τῷ ἱγουμενῷ, τὰ μὲν ύποβύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἔξω. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρα- στηνὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ 25 λοιπὸν ὦ μὲν ἤρχεται, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὡρῶντες ὅτι μόνος ἐφράνει οὐα ἐδεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀπειροὶ ἦσαν.

Distance computed from Ephesus to Babylon. Desertion of a commander. The Greeks make a covenant with Arius.

Ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἥν ἠλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, παρα-30 σάγην πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐξακοσιόλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο ἐκεῖναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. ἐνενέθεν, ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θαράξ ἐχὼν τοὺς τε ἱππέας τοὺς μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ εἰς τεττάρα-35 κοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θαρακῶν ὡς τριακόσιοις ἑτομοῦλησε πρὸς Βασιλέα. Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἤγείτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἰποντο· καὶ ἀφυκοῦνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρ' Ἀρίαιον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιῶν ἀμφί μέσας νῦκτας· καὶ εἰν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα συνῆλ-40 θον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων παρ' Ἀρίαιον καὶ ὁμοσαν οἱ τε Ἐλλήνες καὶ δ' Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοι τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγῆσεσθαι.
Ariēus proposes to take the Greeks by a different route homewards, in order to secure provisions and avoid the king's troops.

'Επει δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἰπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, Ἀγε δὴ, ὁ Ἄριαῖε, ἐπείπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ἤμιν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἢμιν, εἰπὲ 50 τίνα γυνῆν ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἢπιερ ἠλθομεν ἡ ἄλλην τινὰ ἔννεονθέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω. ὁ δὲ εἰπεν, Ἱν μὲν ἠλθομεν ἄπιντοις παντελῶς ἀν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα. ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἢμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἐπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ 55 δεύρο λόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν ἐίχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἐνθα δὲ εἰτὶ ἦν, ἢμεῖς διαπορεύομεν κατεδαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δὲ ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων οὔκ ἀπορήσαμεν. πορευτέοι δὲ ἢμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἄν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἦνα ὡς πλεῖστον ἀπο- 60 σπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἄπαξ δύο ἡ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὧδὸν ἀπὸσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὡλγῳ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφεπεσθαι· πολὺν δὲ ἐχὼν στόλον οὐ δυνη- σεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἵσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων 65 σπανεῖ. ταύτην, ἑφη, τὴν γυνῆν ἐχὼ ἐγώγε.
They reach the villages at nightfall, and alarm the enemy by shouting, who suddenly disappear.

The Greeks in camp are seized with a panic, which Clearchus allays.
CHAPTER III.

The king proposes a truce. The Greeks refuse to negotiate fasting.

'O dè ὃ ἐγραψα ὃτι βασιλεὺς ἔξεπλάγη τῇ ἑφόδῳ, τῷ ὁδὸν ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἦμέρας πέμπτων τὰ ὀπλα παραδοδόναι ἐκέλευν, τότε δὲ ἄμα ἥλιῳ ἀνατέλλουντι κήρυκας ἐπεμψε περὶ σπουδῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπεῖ ἠλθον πρὸς 5 τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐξῆτον τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνήγγελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχῶν τότε τὰς τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περιμένειν ἄχρι ἄν σχολάσῃ. ἐπεῖ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στρατεύμα ὡστε καλῶς ἑχειν ὀρᾶσθαι πάντη φάλαγγα πυκνήν, 10 τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφαυὴ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἑχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταυτὰ ἐφρασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ἀνηρῶτα τί βούλουσι. οἱ δ' ἐλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπουτικοῦ ἤκοιεν ἄνδρες οὕτως ἴκανοι ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς "Ελλησιω ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τά παρὰ τῶν 'Ελλή-
Guides are promised to show them where they may get provisions. Clearchus consents to a truce on these terms.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπῆλαυνον, καὶ ἦκον ταχὺ· ὃ καὶ δήλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγὺς ποὺ βασιλεῦ ἦν, ἢ ἄλλος τοῖς ὃ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν ἐλεγον δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῦν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἦκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, οἱ αὐτοῦς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξονων ἐνθὲν ἔξονυ τὰ 25 ἐπτίθεια. δὲ δὲ ἡρώτα εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ιοῦσι καὶ ἀπιούσι, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσουτο σπονδαί. οἱ δὲ, Ἀπασιν, ἑφασαν, μέχρι ἄν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενοι αὐτούς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι 30 ταχὺ τε καὶ καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπτίθεια καὶ λαβέιν. δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐπεί, Δοκεὶ μὲν κάμοι ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχὺ γε ἀπαγγελώ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἔστ᾽ ἄν ὁ κυνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξη ἢμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιῆσασθαι· ὁμαί γε μέντοι, ἑφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις 35 τοῦ αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τάπιτθεια.

They cross canals and trenches full of water. Activity of Clearchus, who suspects that the trenches were purposely filled to intimidate the army.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, 40 καὶ αὐτὸς ὀπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφρους
They obtain provisions, and test the resources of the date-palm.

Poroeumboi dei afikounto eis kómas othev apédexein oi ἤγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. εἰνὴν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς 60 καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἔπητον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων οῖας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ἔστων ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἄπολεκτοι, βασιλιὰς τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἡλέκτρων οὐδὲν διέφερεν 65 τὰς δὲ τινὰς ἔρθαινοιτες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότων ἰδοὺ μὲν, κεφαλαγγέλε. δὲ. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοινίκου πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιώται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ θεάμασαν τὸ τε ἔδος καὶ τὴν ἱδιότητα τῆς ἱδονῆς. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τούτῳ κεφαλαγγει. ὁ δὲ 70 φοίνικε, οθέν ἐξαιρεθεὶν ὁ ἐγκέφαλος, ὦλος αὐλινετό. 
Tissaphernes returns from the king. With many professions of friendship, he asks the object of their expedition.

Ἐνταῦθα ἐμευνά τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τρεῖς' καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἰκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς δούλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἰποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήνυησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ, ἐλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης ὡς ἐρμηνεύως τοιάδε' Ἔγω, ὁ ἄνδρες ᾿Ελληνες, γείτων οὐκώ τῇ ᾿Ελλάδι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ ἀμήχανα πεπτωκότας, εὐρῆμα ἐποιησάμην εἰ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλεῶς αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσώσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα. οἴμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἐχεῖν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης ᾿Ελλάδος. ταῦτα δὲ γνών ἦτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῶ Κύρον τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἤγγειλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἁμα τῇ ᾿Αγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ᾿Ελληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἐφυγον, ἀλλὰ δυνάμασα καὶ συνεμιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἑνθά βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπεκτενε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδώξα σὺν τοῖς τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οὔτε αὐτῶ εἰςι πιστώτατοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετο μοι βουλεύσεσθαι ἐρέσθαι ὅτε μὲ ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἐνεκεν ἐπιστρατεύσετε ἐπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ συμβουλεὺς ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ἦ, εάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτῶ διαπράξασθαι.

Reply of Clearchus. 'We have no hostile designs upon the king, now that Cyrus is dead. We wish to return home unmolested, but are prepared to resist any attack.'

Πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ ᾿Ελληνες ᾿Εβουλεύοντο· ῾Εμεῖς οὔτε συνήλ-
θομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσουτες οὔτε ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βα-
σιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κύρος εὐρισκεν, ὡς καὶ
σὺ εὖ οἴσθα, ἦνα ἴμασ τε ἀπαρασκευάστους λάβοι καὶ
100 ἴμασ ἐνθάδε ἄναγάγοι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦδη αὐτὸν ἐφρώμεν
ἐν δεινῷ ὅντα, ἦσχυνθηκεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προ-
δούναι αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἴμασ αὐ-
τοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κύρος τέθυνηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ
ἀντιποιούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ' ἐστιν ὅτον ἐνεκα βουλοῖμεθα
105 ἀν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτει-
ναὶ ἀν ἐθέλομεν, πορευοῖμεθα δ' ἀν οὐκάδε, εἰ τις ἴμασ
μή λυποῖτ' ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς
ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἴμασ καὶ εὐ ποιῶν ὑπάρχῃ, καὶ
tούτον εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὐ ποιοῦντες.

Tissaphernes engages, on certain conditions, to conduct the Greeks in
safety. He then goes back to the king, promising to return again
shortly.

110 'Ο μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐφη,
Ταῦτα ἐγώ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου' μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκω, αἱ σπουδαὶ μενόντων ἀγορὰν δὲ ἴμείς παρέξομεν. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὀυχ ἦκεν', ὡσοι φ' Ἐλληνες ἐφρόντιζον τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων
115 ἐλεγεν ὅτι διαπεπραγμένοι ἴκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι
αὐτῷ σώζεων τοὺς Ἐλληνας, καὶ περ πάνυ πολλῶν ἀντιλε-
γόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἰνα βασιλεῖ ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἔφ' ἐαυτὸν
στρατευναμένους. τέλος δὲ εἴπε, Καὶ νῦν ἐξεστὶν ὑμῖν
πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἴμων, ἢ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξεων ὑμῖν
120 τὴν χώραν καὶ ἄδολως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἀγορὰν
παρέχοντας· ὅποι δ' ἂν μὴ ἦ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ἴμασ
ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐδοσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἴμασ δὲ αὐ ἴμων
deίσει ὁμόσαι ὃ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινως
CHAPTER IV.

The Greeks begin to mistrust Tissaphernes and Arius; they confide their suspicions to Clearchus.

Metà taúta periémenov Tissaphérinhu oí te Ἔλληνες kal Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἑστρατοπεδευμένου ημέρας πλείους ἦ ἐίκοσι. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἄφικνονται πρὸς Ἀριαίον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαίοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινές, παρεθάρρυνον τε καὶ δεξιάς 5 ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἐφεροῦν μὴ μυνισκακῆσειν βασιλέα αυτός τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐνδηλοὶ ᾦςαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαίον ἦττον προσέχοντες τοῖς Ἔλλησι τὸν νυν ὅστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἔλληνων 10 οὐκ ἡρέσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς, Τί μένομεν; ἢ οὕς ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἤμας ἀπολέσατε ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσατο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἔλλησι φόβος εἰη ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν στρατεύειν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἦμας ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ 15
καὶ ἐπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγοντιν, Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δὲ ὅτι εἰ ὑπὲρ

τοῦ διεσπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στρατευμα· ἕπαυ δὲ πάλιν ἀλισθῇ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ, οὐκ ἔστω ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. ἵσως δὲ πῶς η ἀποσκάπτει τι ἡ ἀποτελεῖσθαι, ὡς ἀπορος εἰς ἡ ὁδὸς. οὐ γάρ ποτὲ ἐκών γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἔλθοντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγείλαι, ὡς ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτο ὀντες ἐνικῶμεν βασιλεά ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν.

Advice of Clearchus. 'Let us make a virtue of necessity; we cannot get away unaided, nor have we any positive reason for mistrusting the king.'

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγοντιν, Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι εἰ ὑπὲρ

25 ἀπίμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπείναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορᾶν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν οὐδὲ οἶκεν ἐπισιτισμοὺμεθα' αὖθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἐσται· καὶ ἀμα ταῦτα ποιοῦντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαιος ἀφεστήξει· ωστε φίλοις ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς λελείψηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὀντες πολέμου ἡμῶν ἔσονται. ποταμὸς δ' εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστι διαβατέας οὐκ οἴδα τὸν δ' οὖν Ἑυθράτην ἴσημεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβήναι κωλυόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δ' ἂν μάχεσθαί γε δὲ, ἰππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν σώμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων

35 ἰππεῖς εἰσιν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πλείστον ἄξιοι· ωστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναμεν; ἡττωμένων δὲ οὐδένα οἶνον τε σωθῆναι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ᾧ οὖτω πολλά ἐστι τὰ σώμαχα, ἐπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἴδα δ' τι δὲι αὐτὸν ὁμός καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι 40 καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκήσσαι καὶ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἀπίστα ποιῆσαι ἡ Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις. τοιαύτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.
Return of Tissaphernes. The retreat is begun. Mutual jealousies between the Greeks and Persians.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ὡς εἰς οἴκον ἀπίων, καὶ ὁ Ὀρόντας τῆν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἤγε τοῦ καὶ τῆς θυγατέρα τῆς βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. ἔντευθεν δὲ ᾦδη Τισσαφέρνους ἤγομένου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέχον τὸς ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ὅριαῖοι τὸ Κύρου βαρ-βαρικὸν ἔχων στρατευμα ἄμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὅροντα καὶ συνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὑφορῶντες τούτους αὐτοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἔχορων ἢγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύουντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλη-50 λων παρασάγγυν καὶ μεῖον ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφότεροι ὦσπερ πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρείχευν. ἐνώσε δὲ καὶ ἐυλιξόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτων καὶ ἄλλα τοιαύτα συλλέγοντες πληγῶς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλους· ὥστε καὶ τούτῳ ἐχθραν παρείχε.

They pass within the Wall of Media, cross two canals, and arrive at Sittace on the Tigris.

Διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τείχος, καὶ παρῆλθον εἰσὶν αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ψιλοδομημένον πλίθοις ὅπταις ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις, εὔρος εἰκοσὶ ποδῶν, ὑψὸς δὲ ἐκατόν μήκος οὗ ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἰκοσὶ παρασαγγών· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ὑπὸ πολὺ. ὧν ἔντευθεν τὸ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας ὁκτὼ· καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τῆν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τῆν δὲ ἐξευγμενὴν πλοίοις ἑπτά· (ἂντι δὲ ἔσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τήρητος ποταμοῦ κατετέθησεν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἔπει την χώραν, αἵ μὲν πρῶται μεγάλαι, ἐπείστα δὲ ἐλάττους· τέλος δέ καὶ μικροὶ ὀχτεί, ὦσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἕλλαδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας) καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τήρητα ποταμὸν.
Ariæus sends a warning message, which alarms Clearchus greatly.

Meta dé tó déipnou étvxon ev peripátō óntes prò tòvν 75 òplwv Próçevos kai Ξενοφών kai proselethón anávrwptóς tis hírōtsh; touvs profrúlakas poò ἀν ὴδοi Próçevon ἡ Kléarχou Méwna dé ouk éxhitei, kal taúta par' Ἄριαιου ὄν τοῦ Méwnovn éxenon. épeie dé Próçevos eípben óti autós eimi ón xhiteis, eípben ó anávrwpos tάdē. Ἐπεμψε 80 με' Ἅριαιος καὶ Ἄρταός, πιστοί óntes Kýρῳ kai ἕμιν ἔννοι, kai keleùnousi phuláttetsebai μὴ ἕμιν ἐπιθύμται tῆς νυκτὸς oi bárbaροι' éstti dé stpáteuma polu ἐν tῷ πλησίον παραδείσφ.; kai parà tῆν γέφυραν tοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ἐμψύαι keleùnousi phulakhē, ὡς diανοεῖταi autēn 85 λύσαι Tisσαφέρης tῆς νυκτὸς, ἑαυν δύνηται, ὡς μὴ diαβῆτε, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφήτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ kai tῆs diórrh. axousantos taúta áγουσι autón parà tòν Kléarχου καὶ φράζουσιν ἄ λέγει. ó dé Kléarχos anóusas etaráchth σφόδρα kai ἐφοβείτο.

The report is sifted, and decided to be without foundation.

Neanwskos dé tis tòν παρόντων ἐννοήσας eípεν ὡς ouk άκόλουθα εἴη το ἐπιθύμησεθαί καὶ λύσει τῆν γέφυραν. δῆλον γάρ ὅτι ἐπιθυμεένους ἡ νικάν δεήσει ἡ ἡγτάσθαι: ἐάν μὲν οὖν νικώσῃ, τί δεὶ λύσει αὐτοὺς τῆν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γάρ, ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὅσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὄποι
The Greeks cross the Tigris, the Persians watching their movements closely.

After crossing the Phycus, they march past Opis, displaying their forces to the best advantage.
παρασάγγας είκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμὸν, τὸ εὔρος πλέθρου ἐπὶν δὲ γέφυρα. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁμοίῳ πόλις μεγάλη, ἣ ὄνομα Ὄμησις πρὸς ἥν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἑλληνοῖς ὁ Κύρος καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόδος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ Σοῦσων καὶ Ἑκβασάνων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἀγων ὡς βοηθήσων βασι- λείας καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἐαντὸ στράτευμα παρερχο- μένους τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐθεώρει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἤγείτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος. ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἑπι- 130 στήσει, τοσοῦτον ἤν ἀνάγκη χρόνον δὲ ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύ- ματος γλύγνωσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν ὡστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτῶς τοῖς Ἑλληνιοί δόξαι πάμπολυ εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἐκπεπλήξθαι θεωροῦντα.

They proceed through Media, plunder the villages of Parysatis, and halt opposite Canea.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοῦς ἑρήμους ἔξερασαγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παροσάτιδος κώμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως µητρός. ταύτας Τισσα- φέρης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελὼν διαρκαίη ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς Ἑλληνι- πλῆν ἀνδραπόδων. ἐνῆν δὲ σίτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοῦς ἑρήμους τέταρασ παρασάγγας εἰκοσι τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερὰ ἔχουντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ὁμοίῳ μεγάλῃ καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καινα, ἐξ ἦς οἱ βάρβαροι δύνην ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθε- ρίαις ἄρτους, τυρους, σῖνον.
CHAPTER V.

They arrive at the Great Zab. Increasing mistrust. Clearchus addresses Tissaphernes. 'My object in seeking this interview is to allay these suspicions, which are apparently unfounded.'

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὗρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἤμειναν ἠμέρας τρεῖς. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαις μὲν ἦσαν, φανερὰ δὲ οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ συγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ εἰ πως δύνατο πᾶσαι τὰς ὑποψίας 5 πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι: καὶ ἐπεμψε τινα ἐρωτητά ὑπὸ συγγενεσθαι αὐτῷ χρήσοι. ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἠκείνῳ. ἐπειδή δὲ συνήλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλεάρχος τάδε. Ἔγώ, ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, οἰδὰ μὲν ἡμῖν ὁρκοὺς γεγενημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσειν ἀλλήλους: φυλαττό-10 μενον δὲ σὲ τὸ ὄρο ως πολεμίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρῶντες ταῦτα ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ αἰσθήσασθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγὼ τε σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδὲ ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὖνδὲν, ἔδοξεν μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως, εἰ δυναίμεθα,15 ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν. καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώ-17 πον ύδη, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεσσα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ᾽ αὐτοὺς βουλόμενους τοιοῦτον οὖδέν. τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμο-20 σύνας νομίζουσιν συννοούσιας μάλιστα ἄν παύεσθαι, ἦκω καὶ διδάσκειν σε βουλομαι ὡς συ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς.
'Firstly, our mutual oaths should be a safeguard against hostilities; next, all our hopes of deliverance depend upon you.'

Πρώτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον οἱ θεοὶ ἡμᾶς ὅρκοι κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλους· ὅστις δὲ τούτων 25 σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημελήκως, τούτον ἐγὼ οὐποτ' ἀν εὐδαι- μονίσαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεὸν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποιοῦ ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι οὔτ' εἰς ποιοῦ ἂν σκότος ἀποδραῖν οὕθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐξυρὸν χωρίον ἀπο- σταίη. πάντη γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα καὶ πανταχόθ' 30 πάντων ἵσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὅρκων οὐτω γιγνώσκω, παρ' οὔς ἡμεῖς τὴν φι- λίαν συνθέμενοι κατεδέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν. σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοί πᾶσα μὲν ὅδος εὔπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δια- 35 βατὸς, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἀνεν δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ἡ ὅδος· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δὲ ὅχλος φοβερὸς, φο- βερώτατον δ' ἔρημια· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν' εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτέωναμεν, ἀλλο τι ἂν ἦ 40 τού εὐεργέτην κατακτεῖναιτι πρὸς βασιλεὰ τὸν μέγισ- τον ἐφεδρον ἀγνωσίομεθα;

'In my own case, motives of self-interest are not wanting; you, on your part, will find us valuable allies.'

"Οσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οὖν ἂν ἐλπίδων ἔμαντον στερήσαμι, εἰ σὲ τὶ κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύρου ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομιζὼν τῶν 45 τοτε ἰκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὅν βούλοιτο· σὲ δὲ νῦν ὅρω τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχήν σώζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἦ
Κύρος πολεμία ἐξήτω, σοι ταύτην σύμμαχον ὤςαν. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων τίς ούτω μαίνεται ὡστις οὐ βουλεταί σοι φίλον εἶναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα 50 ἔξ ἐκεῖ ἐλπίδας καὶ σὲ βουλήσθεσθαι φίλον ἡμῶν εἶναι. οἴκα δὲν γὰρ ὡμὲν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὐς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοῦς ὡμὲν παρασχεῖν ὁίκα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰ ἐθυμή πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἴμαι ἂν πάσας ἐνοχλοῦντα ἄει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαι-μονίᾳ. Ἀγνωσίας δὲ, ὅσι μάλιστα ὡμᾶς νῦν γιγαντίως τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποιὰ δυνάμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ ὡσις. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν γε τοῖς πέρικε οἴκοδισι σὺ εἰ μὲν βουλιώτῳ τῷ φίλος εἶναι, ὡς μέγιστος ἂν εἴη, εἰ δὲ τίς σε λυποῖ, ὡς δεσπό-60 τῆς ἀναστρέφου ἐκὼ ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἶ σοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μοῦν ὑπηρετώμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἂς σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σῷ ἂν ἐχομεν δικαίως. ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμομένου ὁυτὶ δοκεῖ θαυμαστόν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῶν ἀπιστείν, ὡστε καὶ ἡδιστ᾽ ἂν ἀκούσαμι τὸ ὑνομα τῆς 65 οὗτως ἐστὶ δεινός λέγειν ὡστε σε πεῖσαι λέγων ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν.

Reply of Tissaphernes. 'You mistrust us wrongly, for we could destroy you if we chose, without any risk to ourselves.'

Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα ἔπεις Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὅτε ἀπημείφθη. 'Αλλ᾽ ἤδομαι μὲν, ὁ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγαντίωςκων εἰ τι ἔμοι κακὸν 70 βουλεύοις, ἀμα ᾗς ἂν δοκεῖς καὶ σαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. ὡς δ᾽ ἂν μάθης ὅτι οὖδ᾽ ἂν ώμεῖς δικάιως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ᾽ ἔμοι ἀπιστοτητε, ἀντάκουσιν. εἰ γὰρ ώμᾶς ἐβουλό- μεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκεῖμεν ἑπτέων πλῆθος ἀπορεῖν ἡ πεζῶν ἡ ὀπλίσεως, εὖ ἡ ώμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν 75
This being so, to deal treacherously with you were an act of wanton impiety. I need your support, and honestly desire to be your friend.

Πως ἄν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσοῦτοι πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μὴ δένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ 90 τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἀν τὸν πρόπον ἐξελοῦμεθα δε μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεων ἀσεβης, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρός; παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἑστι καὶ ἀμιχάνων καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐχομένων, καὶ τούτων ποιηρῶν, οὕτως ἔθελοντι δι' ἐπιορκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πράτ-95 τευ τι. οὔχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὥσιςί αλέγιστοι οὔτε ἡλιθιοί ἔσμεν. ἀλλὰ τί δή, ὡμᾶς ἔξων ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἠλθομεν; εἲ ἦσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τοῦτον αἰτιος τὸ τοῖς Ἑλλησσιν ἔμε πιστῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἀνέβη ξενικῷ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων, τούτῳ ἐμὲ κατα-100βήναι δι' εὐεργεσίαν ἱσχυρῶν. ὦσα δ' ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἴπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα, τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνω
Tissaphernes invites the generals to a conference. Clearchus, with four others, accepts the invitation.

Ταύτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἄληθῆ λέγειν καὶ ἑπεν, Ὠὐκοῦν, ἐφή, οὕτως τοιούτων ἡμῶν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρ-χόντων πειρώνται διαβάλλοντες ποιήσαι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς ἀξιοὶ εἰσὶ τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἐφή ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι οὐ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λο-χαγοὶ ἔλθειν εὖ τῷ ἔμφανει, λέξει τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὡς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. Ἡγὼ δὲ, ἐφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὖ δηλώσω ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἄκοιν. ἐκ τούτων ὃ ὑ ὑ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονοῦμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύνδεσμων ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἔπι τὸ στρατόπεδον δῆλος τ᾽ ἡν πάνω φιλικῶς οἴόμενος διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ ἄ ἐλεγεν ἐκεῖνος ἀπῆγγελλεν, ἐφή τε χρῆναι λέναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνην ὅσ ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οὐ ἄν ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ὡς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοὺς Ἑλληνῶς  ὑπὸ ὑντα τιμωρηθῆναι. ὑπώπτευε δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλ- λοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτούς καὶ συγγεγενημένους Τισσα-φέρνει μετ᾽ Ἀριαίου καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιβου- λεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἄπαν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν λαβῶν φίλος ἕ Τισσαφέρνει. ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἄπαν τοῦ στρατευμα πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐχεῖν τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοὺς πα- ραλυσθοῦσας ἐκποδῶν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλε- γον τινες αὐτῷ μὴ λέναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρα- τηγοὺς μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἴσχυρῶς κατέτευκεν, ἐστε διεπράζατο πέντε μὲν στρατη-
The generals are apprehended. Consternation of the Greeks. The Persians promise an explanation.

'Επει δή ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἰσο, Πρόξενος Βοιώτιος,

135 Μένων Θετταλὸς, Ἁγίας Ἀρκᾶς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σω-

κράτης Ἀχαίος, οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ἔμενον. οὐ

πολλῷ δὲ ύστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἱ τ' ἐυνό

συνελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἐξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα

tῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἅπεν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἑλαύνοντες,

140 ὑπνού ἐνυγχάνοιεν Ἐλλήνην Ἰ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ, πάντας

ἐκτεινοῦν. οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες τὴν τε ἰππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμα-

ζοῦν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρῶντες καὶ ὃ τι ἐποίου ἡμφυγο-

ον, πρὶν Νικαρχος Ἀρκᾶς ἢκε φεύγων τετρωμένοι ἐις

tὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ἐντερα ἐν ταῖς χεράιν ἔχων, καὶ ἐπὶ

145 πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα. ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἐλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ

τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἡξει

αὐτῶς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἠλθοῦν,

Ἀριάιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάοδος καὶ Μιθριδάτης, οἱ ἦσαν Κύρῳ

πιστότατοι δὲ δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἔρμηνεὺς ἐφή καὶ τῶν

150 Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅραν καὶ γεγυνώσκειν

συνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλου Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς

τριακόσιον. οὐτοί ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεὶν ἐκέλευον

eἰ τις εἰπ̄ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς, ἢν 

ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως.

Ariëus tells them that Clearchus has been put to death for breach of the truce, and that the king requires the surrender of their arms. Cleanor and Xenophon reply.

155 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων 

στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένου καὶ Σοφαίνετος
Στυμφάλιος, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ἱενοφῶν' Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθωι τά περὶ Προξένου' Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἐτύγχανεν ἄπων ἐν κόμῃ τυί σὺν ἅλλοις ἐπιστιτίζομενος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τάδε. Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες 160 Ἐλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιορκῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σποουδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέθυηκε, Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὡς κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσών. ἦμας δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαίτειν αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἶναι φησιν, ἐπείπερ Κύρου ἥσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δοῦλου. πρὸς 165 ταύτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἐλληνες, ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὄρχομενιος· Ὁ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων Ἀριαῖε, καὶ οἱ ἅλλοι ὁσοὶ ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὕτε θεοὺς οὕτ' ἀνθρώπους, οὕτως ὁμοσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτούς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομείν, προδότες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει 170 τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τοὺς τε ἀνδρὰς αὐτοὺς, οἰς ὡμυντε, ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους ἦμας προδεδω- κότες σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔρχεσθε; ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος εἶπε, Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὄροντα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς 175 σὺν τούτοις. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἱενοφῶν τάδε εἶπε. Κλέαρχος μὲν τούνων εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὀρκους ἔλυε τὰς σποουδὰς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιορκοῦντας· Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων ἐπείπερ εἰσίν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι δὲ στρατηγοὶ, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· 180 δήλου γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι γε οὕτε ἀμφοτέροις πειράσομαι καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλέοισαι. πρὸς ταύτα οἱ βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἅλλοις ἀπῆλθον οὖν ἀποκρινάμενοι.
CHAPTER VI.

The five generals are taken away for execution. Character of Clearchus. His warlike tastes and love of adventure.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνήχθησαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτυπθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὄμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπέλρως αὐτοῦ ἑχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνήρ καὶ πολεμικὸς 5 καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν. ἔπει δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Ὁρακεῖς ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν ἑφόρων, ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερ-10 ρονῆσοι καὶ Περίλθου Θραξίλ. ἔπει δὲ μεταγνώτες πιὸς οἱ ἑφοροὶ ήδη ἔξω οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἀποστρέφειν αὐτοῦ ἐπειρώντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλὰ ἄφετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἑθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. ήδη δὲ φυγᾶς ὃν ἐρ-15 χεται πρὸς Κύρων, καὶ ὀποιοὶ μὲν λόγοις ἔπευξε Κύρων ἀλλὰ γέγραπται, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρως μυρίους δαρεικούς· ὅ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἔπι βραβυλάν ἐτράπετο, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολέμει τοῖς Ὁραξίλ., καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἐφερε καὶ 20 ὡγε τούτους καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο μέχρι Κύρως ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτοῖς πολεμήσων. ταῦτα ὅπιοι φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἐργα εἶναι, ὡστὶς, ἔξω μὲν εἰρήνην ἁγεῖν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἱρεταὶ πολεμεῖν, ἔξω δὲ ῥάθυμεῖν, βουλεῖται 25 πονεῖν, ὄστε πολεμεῖν, ἔξω δὲ χρήματα ἐχεῖν, ἀκινδύνους
The severity of his discipline secures the obedience, but not the attachment of his soldiers.

Kai ἀρχικὸς ὅ᾽ ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὡς δυνατὸν ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τρόπου οἷον κάκεινος ἔχειν. ἰκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν ἢν ὅπως ἔχοι ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἰκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἥμποισαί 35 τοῖς παρόνιν ὡς πειστέον ἐῃ Κλεάρχῳ. τούτῳ δ᾽ ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι καὶ γὰρ ὅραν στυγνὸς ἢν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς, ἐκόλαξε τε ἄει ἵσχυρῶς, καὶ ὅργῃ ἐνίοτε, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἐσθ᾽ ὅτε. καὶ γνώμῃ δ᾽ ἐκόλαξεν ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὅφελος εἶναι, 40 ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐφασαν ὡς δεόι τὸν στρατιῶτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἡ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν ἡ φίλου ἀφέξεσθαι ἡ ἀπροφασίστως ἴναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἦθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον 45 ἥρωντο οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαινόν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἐφασαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὡστε σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο ὅτε δ᾽ ἐξο τοῦ δεινοῦ γένουστο καὶ ἐξεῖθε πρὸς ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπίεσαί, 50 πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἴχευ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὁμός ὡστε διέκειστο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὡσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. καὶ γὰρ
Character of Proxenus. A lover of justice and honour, but no disciplinarian, and easily imposed upon by unprincipled men.

65 Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος εὐθὺς μὲν μειράκιον ἢν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἰκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐδωκε Γοργία ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίῳ. ἐπεί δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκεῖνο, ἰκανὸς νομίσας ἤδη εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φίλος ἃν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἠπτᾶσθαι τοῦ ἐνεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ὥστε κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὅνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ χρήματα πολλά· τοσοῦτων ὡς ἐπιθυμῶν σφόδρα ἐνδηλοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτο ἐίχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτάσθαι μετὰ ἄδικιας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ 75 καλῷ φῶτο δεῖν τούτων τυχάνειν, ἀνευ δὲ τούτων μὴ. ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· ὅπερ ἡμέτεροι αὐτοὶ τοῖς στρατιῶταις ἐαυτοῦ οὐτε φῶβον ἰκανὸς ἐμποίησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππησενος μᾶλλον τοῖς στρατιῶταις ἡ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ φοβούμενοι μᾶλλον ἦν ἵππες τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιῶταις ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. φῶτο δὲ ἄρκειν πρὸς τὸ
Character of Menon. His love of gain made him thoroughly unscrupulous. Despising truth and sincerity he prided himself on his powers of deception, and made his soldiers the accomplices in his crimes. His fate is delayed for a year.

Μένων δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς δήλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλούτεων ἴσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι. φιλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοὺς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ 90 διδοῖς δίκην. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὅν ἐπιθυμοῖ συντομωτάτην ψεύτο ὀδῶν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἔξαπατᾶν τὸ δ’ ἀπλοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐνόμιζε τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ὅν οὐδένα, ὅτι δὲ φαίνεται φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ εὐδήλοις 95 ἐγένετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὅς καταγελῶν ἀεὶ διελέγετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτῆμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε χαλεπόν γὰρ ὑπὸ ταῦ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ὡς εἶναι 100 ἣν ἄφυλακτα λαμβάνειν. καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς εὖ ὁπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δ’ ὅσιοι καὶ ἀληθείαν ἁσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειράτο χρῆσθαι. ὥσπερ δὲ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιότητι, οὕτω Μένων ἦγαλλετο τοῦ ἔξαπα-105 τῶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῆ, τῷ φίλους διαγελῶν τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοδρογον τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν ἀεὶ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. καὶ παρ’ ὅς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλίᾳ, διαβάλλων
XENOPHON, ANABASIS, II. vi.

τοὺς πρώτους τούτους φέτο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ πει-
θομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν
αὐτοῖς ἐμηχανάτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύσθαι ἥξιον
ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὅτι πλεῖστα δύνατο καὶ θέλειν ἄν ἄδικεῖν.
εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὅποτε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι
χρώμενος αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπόλεσεν αὐτόν. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ
ἀφανῇ ἐξεστὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ψευδεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες
ἰσαι τάδ᾽ ἐστὶ. παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν ἔτι ὀραίοι ἄν
στρατηγεῖν διεπράζατο τῶν ξένων, Ἀριαῖῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ
ὅτι, ὅτι μειρακίως καλὸις ἦδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὀραῖος
ἂν ἐγένετο. ἀποθυσκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατήγων, ὅτι
ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα σὺν Κύρῳ, ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς
ὁμ ἀπέβανε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν
τιμωρηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέβανεν, οὐχ ὃσπερ Κλέαρχος
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὃσπερ
τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἄλλα ζών αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν
ὡς ποιηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτής τυχεῖν.

Notices of the two remaining generals.

Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκᾶς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τούτω
ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὕθ᾽ ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς
κατεγέλα ὡτ᾽ εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἡστην δὲ
ἀμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.
NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. 1. Κύρος, not the agent, 'by Cyrus' (which is usually rendered by ὑπὸ with the genitive), but the dativus commodi, 'for Cyrus;' i. e. 'how Cyrus got his Greek force collected.' Cp. vi; 34, n.

τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, sc. στράτευμα. Cp. τὸ ἱππικὸν, τὸ πελταστικὸν, &c.

1. 5. τὰ πάντα, 'completely.' The Greeks had only routed the Persian left wing and the king's body-guard (i. 8), but the king's troops had been victorious over the Greek left and centre, had put Ariaeus and the Asiatic force to flight, and had plundered their camp. In a second engagement, Clearchus, meeting the plunderers returning, had routed them entirely (i. 10).

1. 7. πέμποι, 'sent,' not 'would send.' The optative is properly used in dependent assertions, after ὅτι or ὦς, when the principal verb is in the past tense.

1. 10. ἔως συμμίξεια, Lat. donec or dum jungerentur. 'Eos, 'until,' with the optative after a verb in the past tense, denotes a future event, almost equivalent to a purpose. After a present tense it takes the subjunctive, usually with ἄν, as μὲνε ἔως (ἂν) ἐλθω, 'stay till I come.'

1. 12. Teuthrania was a district of Mysia, originally given to Damaratus, ancestor of Procles, by Darius I. Damaratus had been driven out of Sparta by the joint-king Cleomenes, and taken refuge at the court of Darius nearly a hundred years previously (B.C. 491).

1. 14. τέθνηκεν, the indicative instead of the regular optative after ὅτι (cp. 1. 7, n.), stating a positive fact. But further on the optatives εἶη and λέγοι are used to show that the statement may or may not be true. (See Farrar, Greek Syntax, § 189. ii).

πεφευγὼς . . . . εἶη, 'had fled to the halting-place, and was (still) there.'
NOTES.

1. 15. ὁμοντο, imperfect, 'began their start.' But it has been proposed to read ὁμοντο, 'had started.'

1. 17. τῇ ἀλλῃ, sc. ἡμέρα, 'on the following day,' = τῇ ὑστεραιᾳ. ἔπι Ἰωνίας, 'towards Ionia.' Ἐπὶ with the genitive of motion = 'towards,' lit. 'on the line of,' i.e. in a certain direction.

1. 18. ἥλθε, 'had come.' When a relative or adverbial clause occurs in the middle of a reported speech (Oratio Obliqua), a Greek writer uses the tense which the original speaker would have used. We, on the contrary, employ the pluperfect. Thus Ariaeus would say, 'I will return to Ionia, whence I came.' [Here however ὦθενπερ ἥλθε may be Xenophon's own statement, and not part of the reported words of Ariaeus].

1. 19. πυθανόμενοι, 'on learning' it from the generals. The imperfect participle marks the gradual transmission of the news among the soldiers.

1. 20. ὄφελε, &c., lit. 'Cyrus ought to have been alive,' i.e. 'would that he were!' Οφέλων often has ὃσ or εἴθε prefixed to it, as ὃσ ὄφελε in Homer, and Eur. Medea, 1, εἴθ᾽ ὄφελ᾽ Ἀργοὺς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος. So the Latin debere, as in Ovid, Heroides, xii. 4 (quoted by Mr. Taylor)—

'Debierant fusos evoluisset suos.'

1. 23. εἰ μὴ ἥλθετε . . . ἐπορευόμεθα ἄν, 'if you had not come (aorist), we should now have been marching' (imperfect).

1. 25. καθείν, the proper Attic future for καθίσειν, the reading of some editions. Verbs in -ικω (stem -ιδ), form the Attic future by dropping the τ and inserting ε, which is then contracted, as κοπίς (stem κομιδ-), future κομίσ-, [κομι-ε-] κομι-ἄ, mid. κομίομαι.

1. 26. νικώντων, possessive genitive, 'is the privilege of the victors.'

1. 32. κόπτοντες, in apposition with the plural notion contained in στράτευμα, the grammatical form of the word being disregarded. This is called a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν, 'according to the sense,' and is very common. Cp. Eur. Hebeuba, 39, where στράτευμ᾽ Ἑλληνικὸν is followed by the participle εὐθύνοντας, instead of εὐθυνον.

1. 33. φάλαγγος, the spot on which they had fought. Φάλαγξ is properly a 'line' or array of battle, Lat. acies; here it is the ground or position occupied by the army during the late combat.

1. 35. ἐκβάλλειν, 'to empty out' from their quivers (Taylor).

1. 36. γέφροις καὶ . . . Ἀνυππτίαις. The γέφρα were 'wicker shields, spiked so as to be fastened in the ground while arrows were shot from behind them' (Grote). These, as well as the 'wooden shields reaching down to the feet,' carried by the Egyptian infantry, were mentioned in I. viii. 9.

1. 37. πέλται, light shields, or 'targets.' As applied to these, ἔρημοι means 'abandoned' by their owners, as applied to ἀμάξαι it means
empty.’ The waggons had been stripped of their contents by the
enemy (I. x. 18).

φέρεσθαι, sc. ὄστε = ut anserri possent.

1. 40. πλήθουσαν ἄγοράν. See Lexicon. The Greeks got through
their marketing and other business in the forenoon, devoting the midday
and afternoon to rest and recreation.

1. 43. εὐτίμως ἐξέχων, ‘held in esteem.’ Ἐξείν with an adverb is
nearly the same as εἶναι with the corresponding adjective, = ‘to be’ in a
certain state. Lat. se habere.

1. 44. τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις, &c., i.e. the general organisation of troops
in the field, and (especially) the training of hoplites. To secure the
services of a Greek for this purpose was obviously important; indeed it
was probably due to Phalines’ training, that in the late battle
Tissaphernes and his cavalry stood their ground and charged the Greek
peltasts, when the other Persians fled at the first onset (I. viii. 19,
x. 7).

1. 46. οὖν κελεύει. Here the present indicative is properly used in
a reported speech, because the principal verb, λέγουσι, is in that tense;
but even after a past tense the present indicative with ὅτι or ὃς is
commonly used, instead of the optative. See ii. 100, n.

1. 48. βασιλέως θύρας. From this Eastern custom of the king
sitting at the ‘gates’ of the palace to hear petitions and administer
justice, αἱ θύραι became a phrase for the royal residence. So the
Turkish court is styled ‘the Porte’ at the present day. (Macmichael,
note on I. ix. 3).

ἐδρίσκεσθαι, present infinitive, ‘to try to obtain,’ lit. ‘find for-
themselves.’ ‘Ἀν = ἐὰν, with δώναντα, since ἄν, the conditional particle,
never goes with the subjunctive, though its compounds, ἐὰν, ὅταν, &c.
always take that mood.

1. 51. τοσοῦτον, ‘so much’ and no more, = ‘merely,’ because he was
called away (l. 54). Cp. τοσοῖδε, iv. 20, and see note there.

ἐἰη, the regular optative with ὅτι after past tense εἶπεν. Cp. l. 7, n.

1. 55. ἱερὰ, here the ‘entrails,’ exta, which were ‘taken out’ and
inspected for the omens.

1. 57. παραδοῖσαι, the best supported reading, instead of the more
usual form παραδοίειν. Cp. παρεῖσαι, vi. 56.

1. 59. ὃς κρατῶν, ‘as the stronger party,’ in opposition to διὰ φιλίαν,
‘in a friendly way,’ and to πείσας, ‘by persuasion,’ in the next
sentence.

1. 61. λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα. So when Xerxes demanded the Spartan arms
at Thermopylae, Leonidas is said to have returned the reply: ‘Come
and take them.’

1. 64. αὐτῷ, grammatically with ἐστὶν, the so-called ‘ethical,’ dative,
NOTES.

'whom has he, &c. (vi. 34, n.);' but in sense also with ἀντιποιεῖται, 'to contend with him for the sovereignty.'

l. 65. ἐαυτοῦ, the possessive genitive, 'in his power.'

l. 66. ἔχων, 'since he has,' ἐν ἔχει. A participle, without the article, must often be rendered by a conjunction, such as 'when,' 'if,' 'because,' &c. (according to the sense), with the indicative of the verb.

l. 68. οὗτε εἰ παρέχει . . . δύνασθε ἂν, 'even if he were to give you the chance, you would not be able,' &c. The four forms of a conditional sentence are (1) εἰ ἔστι, ἔστι, 'if it is, it is;' (2) ἂν ἦν, ἔσται, 'if (ever) it be, it will be;' (3) εἰ εἶναι ἂν εἶναι, 'if it were to be, it would be;' (4) εἰ ἦν, ἂν ἦν, 'if it had been, it would have been.' Above, l. 62, we had the second form τί ἔσται . . . ἂν χαρίσωνται.

l. 69. Θεόπομπος, not elsewhere mentioned. Others refer this speech to Xenophon, but Xenophon was not at this time an officer, only a volunteer (III. i. 4).

l. 71. ἂν belongs to the infinitive χρῆσθαι, it can never go with a present indicative. 'Ἀν, lit. 'in that case,' always implies an 'if,' hence = 'if we keep.' Cp. l. 66, n. So in the next clause ἂν goes with ἀπερεθήναι.

l. 77. λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα, said with a tinge of irony, 'that is a fine sentiment of yours!'

ἵσθι . . . ἂν, 'know that you are.' A participle after verbs of knowing, perceiving, &c., expresses a fact, thus οἴδα ἂν means 'I know that I am,' οἴδα αὐτόν ἂντα, 'I know that he is.' Οἴδα εἶναι would mean 'I know how to be.'

l. 79. ὑπομαλακζμένου, 'losing their courage,' lit. 'growing soft (μαλακός).' 'Ὑπὸ means 'gradually.'

ὡς ἔγένετο, the indicative, not the optative, to emphasise the fact. Cp. διὰ τεθνηκέναι, l. 14, and note there.

l. 82. χρῆσθαι, sc. αὐτοῖς, 'to employ them on any other service.'

Αἰγυπτον. Egypt had revolted from Persia in the time of Darius II, and had set up a king of their own, Psammeticus. Cp. v. 56.

Συγκαταστήσαντο, 'join in putting down' the revolt.

l. 84. ἀποκεκριμένοι ἔλεν, the perfect of the middle voice ἀποκρίνομαι, 'I answer,' not the perfect passive of ἀποκρίνομαι, 'I separate,' though ἀποκεκριμαι has this latter meaning also. The optative is used (as a past subjunctive) in a dependent question after an historical tense, Lat. 'rogavit, si respondisset.' After a primary tense the Greeks used the indicative, as ἐρωτῶ σε τῆς λέγεις (cp. l. 86 below), but in Latin 'rogo te quid dicas.'

l. 85. Οὔτοι . . . λέγει, lit. '(as for) these men, one says one thing, another says another,' instead of τούτων ἄλλος, &c. This construction, by which the whole is put in apposition with the parts, instead of being
in the genitive, is called the 'whole and part figure' (σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος). The verb may be either singular, as here (λέγει) in agreement with one of the parts, or plural as in Plato, Charmides, ἥρωτων ἄλλος ἄλλο. CP. 1. 84 n.

1. 86. eipè tì λέγεις. In Latin this would be 'dic quid sentias.'

1. 88. oi ἄλλοι, the subject of ἐστάξασί, to be supplied from ἔρπακα preceding; oìμαι being parenthetic, 'and so, I think, were the rest of us.'

1. 90. περὶ ὧν = περὶ τούτων ἄ. The antecedent is omitted, and the relative 'attracted' into the case in which the antecedent would have stood, if expressed. This is only done when the relative would otherwise have been in the accusative.

1. 93. τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. Any verb coming between the article and its noun is equivalent to a defining adjective. Hence we have such convenient phrases as oì νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ὁ τότε βασιλεὺς, or simply oì νῦν, &c. Cp. 'thine often infirmities,' 1 Tim. v. 23.

ἀναλεγομένον, 'repeated.' One of the meanings of ἀνά is 'back,' hence 'again,' as in ἀνάκαλεῖν, ἀναλαμβάνει, ἀναστρέφειν, &c.

1. 95. Distinguish συμβουλεύειν (with dat.), 'to advise,' from συμ- 

 σουλεύεσθαι, 'to get advice,' i.e. 'to consult.' Cp. διδάσκειν, 'to teach,' and διδασκεῖν (middle), 'to give anyone taught.'

1. 96. ἐ ἄν, 'whatever.' Ἀν cannot go with the subjunctive (l. 48 n.); therefore in such phrases as these it does not belong to the verb, but adds the indefinite force of 'ever' to the pronoun, adverb, &c., which it follows.

1. 97. ταῦτα ὑπῆγετο, 'made this crafty suggestion,' lit. 'led him on craftily thus.' ταῦτα is the adverbial accus., not the direct object of ὑπῆγετο. With ὑπὸ in this sense cp. our expression 'under- 

hand.'

1. 98. αὐτὸν τὸν ... πρεσβεύοντα, 'the very man who came as an envoy.' Distinguish αὐτὸν τὸν = ipsisum, from τὸν αὐτὸν = eundem.

1. 101. ὑποστρέψας, 'evading' the question, as when a person 'turns sharp round' or 'dodges' his pursuer (Taylor).

παρὰ (with accus.), 'contrary to,' lit. 'passing by,' 'going beside' the mark, 'transgressing;' hence its meaning here.

1. 102. τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων, 'your numberless hopes,' lit. 'the hopes' which you may be entertaining.

1. 103. πολεμοῦντας, 'while you continue,' or 'by continuing in arms.'

CP. 1. 66 n.

1. 104. τοί, emphatic, 'if you really have, &c.' τοί is an old form of the dative τῶ = 'in fact,' and may often be rendered by a stress laid on some word in the sentence.

1. 106. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ, &c., 'well, that is what you say.' ἀλλὰ
makes an abrupt transition to the words of a new speaker. Cp. ll. 20, 58, 76. Δὴ marks the conclusion or summing up of what has just been said by Phalinus, ‘this then, &c.’

1. 108. εἰ δὲιν, ‘if it should be necessary.’ In a direct speech (Oratio Recta) this would be followed by the opt. (ἀξίοι ἄν εἴημεν) which here becomes the infin. (εἴναι) depending on οἰόμεθα, the ἄν retaining its conditional force. See the four individual forms, l. 68 n.

ἀξίοι, in apposition with ἡμεῖς (l. 107). When the subject of the infin. is the same as that of the principal verb, it is put in the nominative, not in the accusative, as in Latin. οἰόμεθα ἄν ἄξιοι εἴναι would mean ‘we think that some others would be more valuable.’

1. 109. ἐχοντες, ‘while,’ or ‘if we retain.’ Cp. l. 66 n. So παραδόντες, and μένοναι, προϊόνταi, &c. l. 113.

1. 111. ταῦτα μὲν δή, ‘this then &c.’ Cp. l. 106 n.

1. 115. μενείτε (fut.), ‘you will remain;’ εἰσίν (pres.), ‘are to continue.’ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος, &c., ‘am I to report your answer as meaning war?’ i.e. ‘take back a message of war.’ ‘Ως, with a participle, draws attention to a fact supposed or implied, not stated directly. Cp. Eur. Medea, 1311, ὡς οὐκέτ ὄντων σῶν τέκνων φρόντις ἤδη, lit. ‘on the supposition that your children are no more, (thus) consider the matter,’ i.e. ‘consider them to be no more.’

1. 123. δεινὴμηνε, ‘he did not intimate distinctly.’ Διὰ = ‘through,’ or ‘thoroughly;’ hence ‘completely;’ ‘precisely,’ &c.

CHAPTER II.

1. 1. οἱ παρὰ Ἀριαιοῦ, a condensed expression, = ‘those who had been sent to Ariaeus returned from him.’ See i. 27.

1. 3. φαίνη, the opt. in a reported speech after ἔλεγον. Cp. i. 7, n.

1. 4. οὐς οὖκ ἄν ἀνασχέσθαι, &c., ‘who would not suffer him to be king,’ lit. ‘put up with (hold up under) him as king.’ Cp. Plato, Apol. Socrates, Ch. 18, ἀνέκεσθαι τῶν οἰκειῶν ἀμελουμένων, ‘to allow my domestic affairs to be neglected.’ The accusative is more usual. Observe the infin. instead of the opt. (οἵ οὖκ ἄν ἀνασχοίντο), ‘who, he said, would not suffer.’ So in Latin, as ‘[dixit] esse civem Romanum, quem a se rectum esse (for ‘qui retractus esset’), Cicero, in Verrem, ii. v. 62; ‘laudare utraque consilia, inter quae se lapsos victoriae possessionem mutasse (for ‘lapsi mutassent’)’ Livy, ix. 12.

1. 5. Note the sudden change to the direct form of speech in θυλεοῦσθε. Cp. St. Mark vi. 8, 9. παρῆγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι μηδὲν αἰρώσεων . . . καὶ μη ἐνδύσησθε δύο χιτώνας.

1. 6. τῆς νυκτὸς, gen. of time, properly denoting a period within which
something takes place. So ‘of’ was used in older English, as in Hamlet, i. 5, ‘My custom always of the afternoon.’ Νυκτός means generally ‘by night,’ τῆς νυκτός, ‘on this particular night.’

αιτος, ‘by himself,’ i. e. ‘alone.’ For the nom. with infin. referring to subject of sentence see i. 108 n.

l. 8. ὡσπερ λέγετε, sc. χρῆ ποιεῖν.

l. 9. ἂν with ὁποῖον, ‘whatever,’ not with οἷςθε. Cp. i. 48 n.

l. 13. ἔναν, either after θυμὸν, denoting the purpose, or after εἰγίνετο (sc. καλὰ), denoting the result of the sacrifice.

l. 14. εἰκότως ἡρα, ‘with good reason, as it appears,’ or ‘as the result has shown,’ in reference to the fact narrated in the next clause. Cp. Cyropaedia, I. iv. 11, ὡς ἡρα ἐφλυαροῦμεν, ‘how we did trifle, as it appears’ (Madvig, Syntax, § 257).

l. 15. ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως, ‘between us and the king,’ lit. ‘in the midst as regards us and the king’ (gen. of respect).

Τιγρής ποταμός. This is supposed to mean a branch known as the Lesser Tigris, which was much larger then than it is now. A glance at the map will show that the Tigris proper cannot be intended.

l. 18. ἔναν. Cp. l. 13 n.

l. 21. σημήνη, sc. ὁ σαλπίγκτης (‘the trumpeter’).

ὡς ἀναπαυέσθαι, ‘as if for retiring to rest.’ The usual signal for resting was to be given, in order to mislead the enemy.

συσκευάζεσθε, ‘pack up,’ lit. ‘collect baggage’ (τὰ σκεύη, which must be supplied after ἀναπαυέσθε); Lat. vasa colligere.

l. 23. τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, perhaps neuter (as Mr. Taylor takes it), ‘the leading division;’ but it may be masculine, ‘the leader.’

πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ‘next,’ or ‘on the side facing the river.’ Πρός with the gen. marks a point as viewed at some distance from an object, as in Herodotus, ii. 121, πρὸς βορέω ἐστεώτα, ‘situated towards,’ i. e. ‘facing the north.’ Lat. versus.

ὀπλα = ὀπλῖται. Cp. VI. ii. 8, ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὀπλα ἐφαίνετο. So arma = armai, as in Livy, xli. 12, ‘nulla apparuerunt arma.’

l. 30. τῆς μάχης, ‘the battle-field;’ i. e. Cunaxa, as Plutarch gives the name. Cp. V. v. 4, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης.

σταθμοῖ τρεῖς καὶ ἑνενύκοντα. This is not in accordance with Xenophon’s previous computation of distance. He reckons in all 84 σταθμοῖ, or days’ marches from Sardis to Cunaxa, and from Ephesus to Sardis was a journey of three days, making 87 in all. There are thus 6 days’ marches unaccounted for. Some think this section to be a later interpolation.

l. 33. ἐλεγοντο στάδιοι, for ἐλέγετο στάδιοι εἶναι, ‘it was said that there were, &c.’ But the personal construction is more usual; cp. I. x. 1, τέταρτες δ’ ἐλεγοντο παρασάγγα: εἶναι τῆς ὀδοῦ. Σταθμοὶ were ‘halt-
ing-places,' or 'stages,' at certain distances along the road, varying in length according to the nature of the ground, but averaging 16 or 17 miles. Hence σταθμὸς may be translated 'a day's march.' The stadium was about an English furlong. The parasang varied in different parts of Asia (like English, Irish, or German miles), but was usually about 3½ miles. Xenophon's parasang seems to be a measure of time rather than of distance, since we find him reckoning the whole march by parasangs, even over the most difficult ground, and where he could have had no means of measuring it. Hence it is supposed that he calculated this part of the journey by the time it had taken to march a certain number of parasangs along a measured road, such as that between Sardis and Cilicia. (Grote, Hist. of Greece, ch. lix. note.)

1. 35. τοὺς ἵππες. These were all they had; afterwards (III. iii. 20) they found it necessary to organise a new cavalry force.

1. 38. τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν, where they had passed the last night but one before the battle (I. x. 1), about 14 miles from the field.

1. 40. νύκτας. The plural marks the separate divisions or hours of the night.

θέμενοι τὰ ὀπλα, 'drawing up the men under arms' (ἐν τάξει), so as to be ready for action, if required. Θέσθαι ὀπλα, lit. 'to place arms,' means (1) 'to take up a position' before a battle; (2) 'to pile,' or 'to ground arms,' when resting or halting; (3) sometimes 'to lay down arms,' in token of surrender. (Macmichael, I. v. 14, note.)

1. 43. μὴ προδώσειν . . . σύμμαχοι τε ἔσεσθαι, lit. 'both not to betray, &c., and to be allies'; i.e. 'not only to refrain from treachery, but also, &c.' So in Latin, an affirmative is joined to a negative clause neque . . . que or et.

1. 45. ταῦρον, &c. The bull, boar, and ram were commonly sacrificed by the Greeks on solemn occasions, especially to ratify oaths. These sacrifices were called τριττία, and correspond to the Roman suovetaurilia at lustrations. The wolf was considered by the Persians as the son and image of 'Ahrimanès, the evil spirit; but as there were no wolves in Babylonia, it is difficult to see how they could have got one for this occasion (Grote, ch. lix. note).

1. 46. εἰς ἀσπίδα, 'over a shield,' i.e. so as to let the blood run into it. Cp. IV. iii. 18, ἐσφαγμένοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν.

1. 50. ἡμετέρ, sc., ὤδον, from next clause. The accusative denotes the measure of space over which the action of the verb extends, here the road along which they went. Cp. ὤδοι ἡ ἡλθον, l. 29; σταθμοὺς πορευέτον, l. 58.

1. 52. ἀπόντες = ἐλ ἀπόιμεν. Cp. II. 66 and 68, n.

1. 53. νπάρχει ἡμῖν, 'we have by us.' Τπάρχειν is lit. 'to be from the beginning,' hence νπάρχει μοι, 'I have something to start with,' i.e. 'have a supply' of anything.
1. 54. σταθμῶν, &c., 'during the last 17 stages.' This gen. of the space, within or over which the movement is made, is closely allied with the gen. of time in such phrases as νυκτὸς (l. 6, n.), δέκα ἡμέρων, 'within ten days,' 1. vii. 18, &c.

1. 56. κατεδαπανήσαμεν, 'we quite consumed it.' Κατὰ, lit. 'down,' (cp. English downright) has the intensive force of 'entirely,' 'utterly,' like the Latin de in devincere, debellare, &c.

1. 57. μακροτέραν μὲν, &c., 'a longer route, but one in which we,' &c.

1. 58. σταθμοὺς. For the accus. cp. l. 50, n.

1. 61. δύο ... ἡμέρων. Δύο is often undeclined. Cp. VI. i. 9, ὡς δύο ἀντιταττομένων.

οὐκέτι μὴ δύναται, 'will certainly be no longer able.' Οὐ μὴ, with the subj., gives an emphatic denial, and is generally explained by supposing an ellipse of some phrase like δέος ἐστί, = 'there is no fear lest, &c.' This δέος is sometimes expressed, but we cannot certainly say that it is 'understood' when not expressed. All we know about the matter is that οὐ denies objectively (as it is called) i. e. denies a fact in itself, μὴ denies subjectively, i. e. the fact as conceived in the mind of the speaker. Hence a combination of the two kinds of denial in a single phrase would give the strongest possible form of negation.

1. 65. σπανεῖ. For this 'Attic' future cp. i. 25, n.

1. 66. ἤν δυνάμενη, 'amounted to,' or 'was equivalent to;' from the arithmetical sense of δύναμις, as denoting equal value. Cp. I. v. 6, ὁ σίγλος δύναται ἐπὶ τὰ ὀβολοῦς, 'the siglos is equal to seven obols.'

1. 67. ἀποδράναι is 'to get away,' so as not to be found, like runaway slaves who keep in hiding; ἀποφυγεῖν, 'to get away,' so as not to be caught, like prisoners of war who escape to their own land. Hence ἀποδράναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν, = 'to escape by stealth or openly.'

1. 68. ἐν δεξίᾳ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον. According to Mr. Grote, this indicates an easterly (possibly a north-easterly) route, referring not 'to the precise point or the precise instant' of the sun's rising, but to 'the general direction of the day's march.' Had the Greeks gone due north they would not have hit upon the enemy, nor reached any Babylonian villages (Hist. of Greece, cp. lxx. note).

1. 70. τοῦτο, 'herein,' acc. of respect.

1. 71. δεῖλην, sc. προίαν. Δεῖλη, 'the afternoon,' was divided into προία, 'early,' and ὁδία, 'late.' Below (l. 81) we have ὀψ ἧν, and afterwards ἡλίῳ δυομένῳ and σκοταίῳ (II. 82, 87).

1. 72. οἷς μὴ ἔτυχον = 'such as happened not to be' (indefinite). Of οὐκ ἔτυχον would imply that some particular soldiers were referred to.

1. 76. εἰσίν, the ind. after ὅτι marks the fact as certain; νέμουντο, the opt., states what might or might not be true. Cp. i. 14, n. Although ὑποζύγια is a neuter plural, the verb νέμουντο is in the plural, contrary to
the usual rule. This brings out more strongly the notion of plurality, i. e.
draws attention to the number of animals grazing.

l. 80. ἀπειρηκότας, ‘worn out with fatigue.’ Ἀπειπεῖν, lit. ‘to say
off,’ i. e. ‘to say no,’ ‘to say that we can do no more;’ hence, ‘to be
tired out.’ For the participle after ἤδει, where the inif. would be used
in Latin, cp. i. 77, n.

l. 81. οὐ μέντοι = neque tamen; μέντοι answers to μέν in l. 79, and is
somewhat stronger than δέ. The οὐδὲ following adds the force of ‘even,’
‘not even (then).’ Observe that a double negative in Greek does not
make an affirmative, as in English, but a stronger negative; thus οὐδὲ
οὐδεὶς is ‘not even a single person.’ Cp. iv. 110, n.

l. 83. ἐγγυτάτω, an adverb, but here equivalent to an epithet of
κώμας. Cp. i. 93, n. Below (l. 89) we have the other form of the super-
lative, ἐγγύτατα.

l. 85. Distinguish αὐτὰ τὰ = ipsa from τὰ αὐτὰ = eadem.

l. 87. σκοταίοι, ‘in the dark,’ (Eng. darkling). So τρυπαῖος, τετα-
se matutinus agebat,’ ‘was stirring early.’ So Wordsworth has ‘the
nightly hunter,’ for ‘the hunter by night.’ (Farrar, Greek Syntax, § 69).

ηὐλίζοντο, ‘proceeded to,’ or perhaps ‘made shift to quarter them-
selves,’ the imperf. denoting, incompletelyd action. In ἐποίουν it marks
continuance, ‘kept up a noise.’

ll. 89, 90. ὠστε . . . ἀκονεῖν ὦστε . . . ἐφυγον ὦ̂στε, with the infinitive, expresses a
result necessarily following from the principal verb,—‘they made so much
noise as to make the enemy hear;’ with the indicative it states the result
merely as a matter of fact,—‘so that,’ or ‘consequently they fled.’ In
Latin the first would be ‘ita ut audiren;’ the second, ‘itaque fugerunt.’
Hence with the infinit ὠστε often denotes a purpose, or expected result.
Cp. ὠστε καλῶς ἐχειν, iii. 9.

πολεμίων, the partitive gen. after οἱ μὲν, not dependent on ἐγγύτατα.

l. 92. οὔτε . . . οὐδὲν . . . οὐδ’αμοι. Cp. l. 81, n.

l. 94. οἰς = τούτοις α. Cp. i. 90, n.

l. 99. τῶν τότε. Cp. i. 93, n.

l. 100. ὶτι is often used to introduce the actual words of the
speaker (Oratio Recta), where in English we omit the ‘that.’ So here,
‘he ordered him to make a proclamation (to this effect)—“The generals
give notice, &c.” ’ This is the usual construction in the New Testa-
ment; e. g. Mark v. 35, λέγουτες, ὦτι ἡ θυγάτηρ σοῦ ἀπεθανε, ‘saying,
“My daughter is dead.’ ”

τὸν ὄνον, &c. This seems to have been a clever device of Clearchus
to reassure the soldiers, by making them think an ass had got into the
camp and caused the disturbance. Mr. Grote supposes it was ‘a stand-
ing military jest, to make the soldiers laugh at their past panic.' τὰ ὀπλα means the place where the arms were piled in camp, hence 'the camp,' or 'quarters.'

1. 105. ἤπερ εἶχον, 'in the order in which they had been.' For ἔχειν, with adverbs, = 'to be' in a certain state or position. See i. 43, n.

CHAPTER III.

1. 3. ἐκέλευ, 'he was ordering,' or 'we saw him ordering.' The imperfect is descriptive, the historian placing himself, as it were, in the midst of the facts he relates.

1. 8. σχολάση, instead of σχολάσει, the opt. in a dependent sentence after past tense ἔπε (cp. i. 7, n). The subj. is the mood which Clearchus himself would have used (μένετε ἄριστ ἔν σχολάσω), and the historian to make his narrative as graphic as possible (see preceding note) keeps the mood, altering only the person of the verb.

1. 9. ὠστε . . . πυκνήν, lit. 'so that it should be well ordered for a close array to be seen on all sides'; i.e. 'so as fairly to present the appearance of a close array.' For καλῶς ἔχειν see i. 43, n.; for ὠστε with infin., marking a purpose, ii. 89, n. The word φάλαγξ (probably akin to our 'pale,' 'pole') of itself means simply 'array,' or 'line' of battle (acies), as contrasted with κέρας, 'column,' or marching order. The addition of πυκνήν shows that the men were placed nearer together than usual on this occasion, so as to make a most imposing show. Our notion of the 'phalanx,' as a compact body of men, comes from the later and more celebrated Macedonian phalanx, which was so arranged,

1. 10. ἄσπα, i.e. wearing no defensive armour, such as the cuirass, greaves, and heavy shield of the ὀπλίται. They were called ῥαλοὶ or γυμνῆται, and the πελταστα, with their light armour and small shields, formed an intermediate class.

1. 13. ταύτα ἔφρασεν, 'told them to do the same.' ἐφαράγων is not exactly the same as λέγειν, but means 'to point out,' Lat. indicare, hence 'to intimate' something to be done, 'give orders.'

1. 14. βούλομαι, the regular opt. (for which the indic. is often used in graphic narration, cp. l. 8, n.), in a dependent question after a principal verb in the past tense, Lat. rogavit quid vellent.

1. 15. ἤκολον, the opt. in Oratione Obliqua, cp. i. 7, n. But the indic. ἐσνται, which follows, is a return to the direct mode of speech for the reason stated above (l. 8, n.).

ὄτινες ἰκανοὶ ἐσνται, 'with full powers.'
NOTES.

1. 19. ο τολμήσων (ἐστί), lit. 'there is not the man who will venture,' i.e. 'no one will venture.' Lat. non erit qui audeat. Cp. iv. 27, ο ἥγγαθ-μενος οὐδεὶς ἐσται.

μὴ πορίσας, 'unless he provide,' = ἵνα μὴ πορίσῃ. Ὄπο πορίσας would mean 'not having (as a matter of fact) provided.' Cp. i 66, n. This bold message is in pursuance of the policy of Clearchus, to impress the king with a sense of the resoluteness and intrepidity of the Greek army, as well as of their good discipline. See above, l. 9.

1. 25. γένωνται . . . ἔξουσιν . . . ἔξουσι. Another instance of a change to the direct mode in a reported speech introduced by ὅτι.

1. 26. αὐτοῖς, 'only,' in apposition to τοῖς ἄλλοις. For αὐτός = μόνος cp. ii. 6, n., and Aristoph. Vespræ, 255, ἀπίμεν οἰκαδ' αὐτοῖ, 'we will go home by ourselves.' Τοῖς ἀνδράσι are probably the Greek messengers: ιοῦσι καὶ ἀπολούσιν, 'while going (to the king), and returning.' Others refer τοῖς ἀνδράσι to the party going to get provisions. The subject of σπένδοιτο is βασιλεύς.

1. 29. μεταστησάμενος, 'bidding them withdraw.' Μετά denotes a change of place, hence departure, as in μεταβαίνειν, μετάγειν, &c. Cp. vi. 10, n.

1. 30. ἐδόκει, &c., 'the opinion was in favour of concluding the truce.' A final resolution would have been expressed by the aorist ἐδοξε. Below (l. 36) ἐδόκει is rather indefinite, 'when it seemed to be about the time' (Macmichael).

1. 34. ἀποδόξη ἡμῖν, 'we should refuse.' Ἀπό, lit. 'away from,' = a negative. Cp. ἀπείπειν, ii. 80, n.

1. 37. σπένδοιτο, lit. 'was making,' i.e. 'consented to make a truce,' not 'would make.' It is merely the opt. in Oratio Obliqua after ἀπηγ-γέλλειν, introduced by ὅτι. Cp. i. 7, n.

1. 39. τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς, &c., i.e. 'though he was about to conclude the truce, still he kept his army in battle array.' Others read ποιησά-μενος, which agrees better with what was related in l. 25, that the settlement of the truce was to be a condition of their obtaining provisions (ἴνα σπονδαὶ γένωνται).

1. 41. ὥπισθοθύφωλάκει. Compound verbs not made with prepositions are formed from names already compounded, and generally end in -έω, as ὥπισθο-φυλακέω, from ὥπισθο-φυλαξ, ναῦ-μαχέω, from ναῦ-μαχος, &c. So in l. 45 below, ἐπιστάται (ἐπιστατέω) is formed from the intermediate noun ἐπιστάτης, not from ἐπιστήμη, which makes ἐφίστημι when compounded with ἔπι. But prepositions usually form compounds with the simple verbs, as προσ-μάχομαι, διά-φυλάττω, &c.

1. 42. τάφροις καὶ αὐλώσιν, 'trenches and ducts.' By means of the latter water was conveyed from the canals (δίωρυχες), dug between the Tigris and Euphrates, into the trenches to be used for irrigating the
land. There were four such canals, ‘very broad and deep’ (I. vii. 14), and crossed by bridges. See iv. 62–66.

ὡς with infin. = ὡστε, marking a necessary consequence, ‘so that they could not.’ Cp. ii. 89, n.

1. 43. ἐπολούντο (imperf.) ‘they set about making’ (Taylor).
1. 44. ἰσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, not quite the same as ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ‘had fallen,’ but = ‘were lying there after having fallen.’ Cp. πεθενύος εἰ, i. 14.

1. 45. ἣν καταμαθεῖν, ‘it was worth while to notice.’ Cp. ἔστιν ἰδεῖν (1. 62) = licet videre.

Κλέαρχον, put as the object of καταμαθεῖν, instead of being the nom. to ἐπεστάτει, as it would be in English. This is the regular construction after verbs of knowing, perceiving, &c. Cp. Luke iv. 34, οἴδα σε τίς εἰ, where our version translates literally ‘I know thee who thou art.’ So Cicero says, ‘nisti Marcellum quam tardus sit,’ ‘you know how dilatory Marcellus is.’ Cp. iv. 37.

1. 46. βακτριαν, ‘a staff,’ such as Spartan officers usually carried (Thuc. viii. 84). So a Roman centurion had a vine wand (vitis). Plutarch tells how the Spartan Eurybiades raised his staff against Themistocles in the heat of debate before the battle of Salamis, whereupon the Athenian exclaimed, ‘Strike, but hear me!’

1. 48. τὸν ἐπιτήδειον, ‘the one who was in fault,’ lit. ‘the proper man;’ Lat. ‘poenae idoneum,’ = ‘poena dignum.’

ἐπαίστε σὺν, ‘would strike him,’ i.e. as often as there was occasion to do so. The indic. shows that such cases actually did occur, the aorist (not being the imperf.) marks the action as completed in a particular moment of time.

1. 49. προσελάμβανεν, sc. τὸν ἔργον, ‘took part in;’ lit. ‘put [his hand] to’ the work, manum operi admovebat.

1. 50. μὴ οὐ συσπονδάζειν. A negative, expressed or implied, in the primary clause must in Greek be balanced by another negative in the dependent clause, as ἄρνοῦμαι μὴ πεποιηκέναι, ‘I deny having done it.’ If then there is already a ‘not’ in the second clause, a double negative μὴ οὐ must be used. Thus ἀλάχιστον εἶναι (‘they were ashamed,’ = ‘they did not like’) is followed by μὴ οὐ συσπονδάζειν, where we should say ‘they were ashamed not to help.’ [Another use of μὴ οὐ is after a double negative in the primary clause, as οὐκ ἄρνοῦμαι τὸ μὴ οὐ πεποιηκέναι, ‘I do not deny having done it.’ Here the μὴ (as before) balances the negation implied in ἄρνοῦμαι, and the οὐ balances the οὐκ before ἄρνοῦμαι. These two uses of μὴ οὐ must be carefully distinguished.]

1. 51. τρίακοντα ἐτη γεγονότες. Cp. Lat. triginta annos natus, the accus. denoting length of time.
l. 55. οἰα, sc. ταυατη, ‘the proper season for watering,’ or ‘to water.’ The Greek infm. corresponds very closely in its uses with the English; in Lat. this would be ‘tempus irrigandi agros,’ or ‘quo irrigandi essent agri.’ The regular time was summer, but this was the beginning of September.

ηδη, ‘at once,’ i. e. ‘at the outset.’ If the suspicions of Clearchus were well founded, it was bad policy on the king’s part to throw difficulties in the way of the retreat; for as long as the Greeks remained in the fertile Babylonian district they would be dangerous. We find however (Chap. iv.) that the Persians used efforts to get them out of Babylon with all speed.

l. 60. δξος ἐψητόν. Herodotus (i. 193) mentions a syrup (μέλι) obtained from the date-palm by boiling. This, after fermentation, would produce what Xenophon calls δξος, ‘vinegar,’ or ‘acid drink.’ ἐψητός is the verbal adj. of ἐψω, as if from a pres. ἐψεω (fut. ἐψησω, &c.). The regular verbal adj. is ἐφδος.

l. 61. αὐταὶ αἱ βάλανοι, ‘as to the dates themselves [such of them] as one may see,’ &c. The whole, αἱ βάλανοι, is put in apposition with its parts [τοιαὶ μὲν] οἶας &c., instead of being in the genitive. This is called the ‘whole and part figure.’ Cp. i. 85, n.

l. 62. ἐστίν ἰδεῖν, cp. l. 45, n.

l. 63. ἡσαν, not to be taken with ἀποκείμενοι, but as the copula, ἀπόλεκτῳ being the complement of the sentence,—‘those which were put aside, &c. were choice ones.’ The proper 3rd plural of the pluperf. is ἀπέκειντο (l. 62). Ἀποκεῖσθαι is used as the passive of ἀποτίθημι.

l. 64. τοῦ κάλλους, &c., gen. of respect, ‘remarkable for their beauty and size.’

l. 66. παρὰ πότον ἤδυ, ‘a pleasant relish with (lit. ‘beside,’ i. e. ‘during the time of’) their drink.’ So παρὰ πόλεμον, ‘in war time,’ παρ’ ἡμέραν, ‘by day,’ &c. The neuter ἤδυ refers not to any preceding word, but to the general sense, ‘this food was, &c.’

l. 67. ἐγκέφαλον, lit. ‘brain,’ here the ‘cabbage’ (as it is called) of the palm, a sort of bud at the top of the tree, ‘composed of the rudiments of the future leaves enveloped in the footstalks of the actual leaves’ (Sir J. Banks). Modern travellers have observed the delicacy of its flavour, as well as the after effects which Xenophon here describes.

l. 68. ιδιότητα, ‘peculiarity,’ from ιδιος, ‘one’s own,’ hence ‘peculiar’ (Lat. proprius), whence we speak of the ‘property’ of a thing.

l. 70. ἐξαιρεθεῖη. The opt. marks indefinite frequency = ‘from whichever tree the top was removed.’ Cp. I. v. 2, ἐπεὶ τις διάκοι, ‘whenever anyone pursued them,’ i. e. any number of times.

l. 72. βασιλέως γυναικός, Statira, afterwards poisoned by Parysatis the king’s mother.
1. 76. γείτων τῇ Ἑλλάδι. The satrapy of Tissaphernes, comprising the South-western part of Asia Minor (Caria), was near the Greek towns on the coast, and over against Greece itself.

1. 78. εὑρίσκειν, 'a piece of good fortune' (Macmichael). Lit. 'something found' unexpectedly. Cp. our 'treasure-trove,' from French trouver (εὑρίσκειν).

ποιεῖσθαι (middle), lit. 'make for oneself,' or 'in one's mind,' i.e. 'consider.'

1. 80. ἄν, with ἔχειν, not with ὀλμαί. Cp. i. 71, n. 'I think that this would be no ungrateful service.' For ἔχειν with adverb = εἰναι cp. i. 43, n.

1. 82, 83. The first ὅτι = 'that,' the indirect statement after λέγων; the second ὅτι = 'because.'

1. 83. πρώτος ἡγγείλα. Cp. I. i. 3. Xenophon represents this information as in the first instance false (διαβάλλει τὸν Κύρον), but says that Cyrus being disgraced (ἀτιμασθεὶς) on account of the charge, began the revolt in consequence.

1. 85. οὐκ ἔφυγον. Cp. I. x. 7, and i. 44, n.

1. 87. ἔπει Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε. In the account of the battle (I. viii. 27) it is not said that Artaxerxes slew Cyrus with his own hand, but according to Plutarch he seems to have taken the credit of having done so (Taylor).

1. 92. συμβουλεύω. Cp. i. 95, n.

1. 96. ἔλεγε, 'was the spokesman.' Cp. v. 166.

1. 97. ὃς, with fut. part., denotes a purpose, 'intending to, &c.'

ἐπερεύμεθα (imperf.), 'nor did we start with the intention of going against the king.' How Cyrus led on the Greeks from one point to another, till it was too late to retrace their steps, is told in Book I. ii–iv.

1. 101. θεοῦς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, 'in the face of gods and men.' Many verbs otherwise intransitive (especially if they express feelings or states of mind) take an accusative of the object towards which the emotion is directed. Thus ἀλαχώνεσθαι θεοῦς means literally 'to be ashamed regarding the gods' as witnesses of one's conduct. So also ὄμνυμι τοὺς θεοὺς, 'I swear by (i.e. with regard to) the gods.'

1. 102. παρέχοντες, &c., sc. αὐτῶ, lit. 'presenting ourselves for him to benefit (us),' i.e. 'when we allowed ourselves to receive benefits from him.' Παρέχειν = Lat. praebere, 'to hold forward,' 'put oneself at anyone's disposal,' hence 'to furnish,' 'supply,' &c., as in 1. 113 below.

1. 104. ἀντιποιοῦμεθα τῆς ἄρχης. Cp. i. 64, n.

ἔστιν ὅτου ἔνεκα, lit. 'is there (anything) on account of which,' i.e. 'is there any reason why.'

1. 106. πορεύομεθα ἄν... εἶ τίς, &c. See the four forms of a conditional sentence, i. 68, n.

1. 107. ἀδικῶντα = ἐὰν τις ἀδίκη. Cp. i. 66, n.
1. 108. ἀμύνασθαι, in middle with accus. 'to avenge ourselves upon,' or 'punish him.' Ἀμύνειν in the active, with dat. of person, is 'to defend' anyone, lit. 'ward off' harm from him.

unteers, here in its literal sense of 'begin;' whence its other meanings are derived. Cp. ii. 53, n. 'If any one first does us good,' or 'sets the example.'

1. 109. τούτου, gen. after ἡττησόμεθα, 'we will not be beaten by him,' or 'be behind him' in doing good in return. Cp. vi. 69.

1. 113. εἰς τὴν ύστεραίαν, &c., as we should say 'up to,' or 'by the next day he had not arrived.' "Ηκω, is 'I have come,' therefore ἤκω = a pluperfect.

1. 114. ὥστε with indic. expresses the result as a matter of fact, not an intended result. Cp. ii. 89, n.

ἐφρόντιζων, 'began to be anxious.'

1. 115. διαπεπραγμένος, 'having accomplished his purpose.' The so-called perf. passive has often a middle (i. e. a transitive), sense, as γέγραμαι, 'I have made a note of it'; ἐπιεῖδειγμα, 'I have displayed'; παρεσκευάσαμαι, 'I have provided myself with' a thing. Here δοθήναι is the object of διαπεπραγμένος.

1. 117. Distinguish ἄφειναι, 2 aor. infin. of ἄφιημι, from ἄπειναι, pres. infin. of ἄπειμι, abs. In.

1. 119. ἢ μὴν, 'verily,' introduces the words of a solemn oath.

φιλίαν, predicative, 'that we will make the district friendly.' This is shown by the position of the article; thus ὁ καλὸς παῖς = the handsome boy;' but καλὸς ὁ παῖς, or ὁ παῖς καλὸς = 'the boy (is) handsome.' So in the accus. καλὸν ὁρῶ τὸν παῖδα = 'I see the boy (to be) handsome;'

1. 121. ὅπου μὴν, 'wherever it is not possible, &c.' Cp. I. v. 6, πρίασθαι οὐκ ἢν.

1. 123. πορεύεσθαι. The pres. infin. instead of the future (cp. παρέξειν, l. 116) may be explained either by supposing that πορεύεσθαι, like ἱναί, contains in itself a future meaning, or (as Mr. Taylor thinks) by reference to the fact that the march begins at once.

διὰ φιλίας, sc. χώρας.

1. 125. ὄνομανονος, 'by purchasing them.' Cp. i. 66, n.

1. 126. δεξιάς, 'pledges,' to give the right hand being the simplest and most natural token of an agreement. Cp. iv. 5.

1. 130. ὡς, as a preposition, is only used with names of persons, and sometimes with the name of a place standing for its inhabitants. As the conjunction ὡς is commonly prefixed to πρὸς, εἰς, &c., with the accusative, it came to be used alone instead of these prepositions. (Clyde, Greek Syntax, § 59, Obs. 1b.)
CHAPTEK IV.

1. 1. περιέμενον Τισαφέρνην, &c. During this interval Artaxerxes celebrated his victory at Babylon, and rewarded Tissaphernes for his services by giving him his daughter to wife (1. 44), and the satrapy which Cyrus had held.

1. 5. δεξίας, 'assurances.' Cp. iii. 126, n. So in Latin dextra ferre, tendere, &c. 'to offer pledges of friendship.'

1. 6. μη μνησικακήσειν, 'that he would bear them no grudge.' For the construction cp. v. 10, δεξίας δεδομένας μη ἄδικησειν.

1. 7. τῆς ἐπιστρατειάς, gen. of respect, 'for their marching against him.'

μηδε... μηδενός. Cp. ii. 81, n.

1. 8. ένδηλον ἡσαν... προσέχοντες, &c. 'evidently began to pay less attention, &c.' Δῆλος (or φανέρος) ἔστι ποιῶν = 'it is evident that he is doing,' or 'he is evidently doing;' the personal construction being preferred in Greek.

1. 11. ἔλεγον. Observe the change of subject from oi περὶ Ἀριαῖν to oi Ἐλλήνες (supplied from 1. 10), with which προσέχοντες is in apposition.

1. 13. ἄν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσατο, 'would esteem it an all-important matter;' i. e. 'would desire above all things.' So περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, Lat. magni facere.

1. 15. ὑπάγεται, 'is craftily inducing us.' Cp. i. 97, n.

1. 16. αὐτῷ, the dativus commodi (or rather in commodi), or 'ethical' dative, 'because he finds his army dispersed.' Cp. i. 1, 64, n.

1. 17. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ, &c., 'he will inevitably attack us,' lit. 'it is not (possible) that he will not, &c.' Lat. fieri non potest quin.

1. 18. ἀποσκάπτει ἢ ἀποτειχίζει, 'is cutting off (ἀπό) our retreat by some trench or wall.'

1. 19. εἶη. Some read γ, the usual mood after a principal verb in a primary tense (ἀποτειχίζει). But the opt. marks the design as existing in the mind of the king rather than in that of the Greeks, and also the improbability of its ever being successful, = 'if so be that our way might be made impassable.'

1. 20. τοσοίδε οίντες, 'so few as we are.' Cp. τοσοῦτον, i. 51, n.
NOTES.

l. 21. ταῖς θύραις. Cp. i. 48, n.

l. 24. ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν, &c., 'though I feel the force of all that you say, ἑννοῶ δὲ,' still I consider.' Θυμός is the seat of the emotions (animus), νοῦς, the thinking faculty (mens).

l. 25. ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, 'on terms of war;' i. e. 'as enemies.' παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς. Cp. i. 101, n.

l. 27. ἑπαναστήμεθα, the 'Attic' future. Cp. i. 25, n.

ὁ ἰγγυσόμενος = qui viam monstrat. See note on ὁ τολμήσων, iii. 19.

l. 29. ἀφεστήκει. This future is formed from ἔστηκα, the perf. of ἵστημι, with present meaning. So ἡθνήω from ἡθνηκα, 'I am dead.' λελείψεται, lit. 'will have been left' (the future perfect), i. e. 'we shall have no friend left,' 'we shall find ourselves without a friend.'

l. 30. ὄντες, sc. φίλω, i. e. Ariaeus and his party (Macmichael).

l. 32. τῶν δ’ οὖν Ἐυφράτην, &c., 'but as to the Euphrates, we know, &c.' ὅπως is probably from ὅπως the Ionic neut. part. of ἔπω, and means literally 'in fact,' whence the inferential sense of 'therefore,' was derived.

For Ἐυφράτην, as the object of ἵσμεν, cp. iii. 45, n.

l. 33. ἀν = ἑαν, before δη. Cp. i. 48, n. For the reason why the Greeks had now no cavalry see ii. 35.

l. 36. νικῶντες, 'if we conquer.' Cp. i. 66, n. So ἄττομένων following.

l. 37. μὲν emphasises ἐγὼ, οὖν = 'in consequence' of these considerations.

βασιλέα, put first for emphasis, and afterwards repeated by αὐτῶν (l. 39). This seemingly awkward repetition, and the rapid sequence of thought in the following clause ( ὅμως καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ θεοῦ ἐπι- ὁρκῆσαι, &c.), indeed the entire structure of the sentence, show the excited, almost desperate, state of Clearchus' mind on this occasion. The sense is—'As to the king . . . . I don't see what he wants by all these oaths and pledges, if he only means to perjure himself after all.' The speech is doubtless recorded by Xenophon much as he heard it delivered.

l. 40. θεοῦς ἐπιορκησαί, 'to swear falsely by,' or 'in presence of the gods.' Cp. iii. 101, n. The ἐπὶ in ἐπιορκεῖν is probably intensive, lit. 'swear in addition,' hence = what we call 'hard swearing;' the idea being that extra protestations imply untruthfulness. Cp. Lat. 'per-jurus,' Germ. 'ver-schwören,' our 'for-swear.'

l. 43. ὅσα ἀπιῶν, 'purporting to go,' ἄπειμι being future in sense. Cp. iii. 97, n. His 'home' would be in Caria, iii. 76, n.

Oroantas was satrap of Armenia. He is supposed to be the Oroetes whom Plutarch mentions as having married Rhodogune, a daughter of Artaxerxes. Xenophon also records this fact (III. iv. § 13) omitting her name; hence 'Ορόντας is probably the subject of ἕγε here. But, according to Diodorus Siculus, Tissaphernes had also married a daughter of the king. See l. 1, n.
l. 44. ἐπὶ γάμῳ, 'as his wedded wife,' lit. 'on terms of marriage.'
Cp. l. 25, n.

l. 49. ὑφοράντες. See ὑφοράμεν in Lexicon, and cp. ll. 9, 10.
ἀυτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, 'by themselves apart' (Taylor). For ἄνθρωπος = μόνος
cp. iii 6, 36, n. 'Εφ' ἑαυτῶν is properly 'depending on themselves.'

l. 51. ἐφυλάττοντο ἄλλοι, 'kept on their guard against each other.' The active, φυλάττειν, is 'to guard,' or 'protect' anyone (Lat. cavere alicui), the middle, φυλάττεσθαι, is 'to guard oneself against' anyone (Lat. cavere alicuem).

l. 53. ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, 'from the same spot.' For ὁ αὐρὸς = idem
cp. i. 98, n.

l. 54. ἐνέτεινον, probably 'threatened,' Lat. intendere. Some understand it of blows actually inflicted.

l. 55. παρεσεῖ. Cp. iii. 102, n.

l. 56. τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, 'the Wall of Media,' so called because it was built to keep the Medes out of the fertile district of Babylonia (just as the 'Picts' Wall' was a defence against the incursions of the Picts). It extended from the Tigris to the Euphrates, but its position is a matter of dispute. The older theory, of Col. Chesney, Mr. Ainsworth and others, placed this wall near to Felujah on the Euphrates, about 100 miles N.W. of Babylon, and identified it with some remains known as Sidd Nimroud. It is supposed that the army had already passed through a gap in this wall at its western end on their way to Cunaxa (I. vii. § 15) and that Tissaphernes now led the Greeks back through this gap three days' journey (τρεῖς σταθμοῖς) in a homeward (or north-westerly) direction (ὡς εἰς ὁποῖον ἄπιστον, l. 43), and then brought them within (εἰσώ), i.e. to the south side of, the wall again; his object being both to perplex them as to their route and to gain time for maturing his own plan of cutting off their retreat. The main objection to this theory is that Xenophon describes the Wall of Media as 'not far from Babylon' (l. 60). This has been met by the supposition that he was not aware of having passed it on the way to Cunaxa, a large portion of it having been demolished at the end next to the Euphrates, and that he imagined it to be much nearer Babylon than it really was. This is a possible but hardly a satisfactory explanation. Mr. Grote, rejecting the above theory, places the wall somewhere to the south of Cunaxa, and believes that the Greeks now saw it for the first time, the mention of it in the First Book being out of order in time. This makes a difficulty about the τρεῖς σταθμοῖς here, the distance being too short for a three days' march; but Mr. Grote would compute these from the time when the Greeks started with Ariaeus (ii. 68), not (as the narrative seems to imply) from the time when Tissaphernes joined them. For details see Grote's Hist. of Greece, ch. lxx, note, and Mr. Taylor's additional note on I. vii. § 15.
NOTES.

1. 62. διώρυξας δύο. These were two out of the four canals mentioned in I. vii. § 15. They must have been near the Wall of Media, and to the south of it, but their exact position cannot be known as long as that of the wall itself is uncertain. For the διώρυξες, τάφροι (l. 64) and ὄχετολ (l. 66), see iii. 42, n.

1. 63. ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος. Other historians represent the canals as flowing the reverse way, from the Euphrates into the Tigris. But 'the difference in the level of the rivers is so slight, that by altering the diagonal direction of a canal the waters could be made to flow either way.' Ainsworth, Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand, p. 89.

1. 69. Σιττάκη. Colonel Chesney, 'taking the distance backward from the known point of the river Zab' (v. i.), places Sittace 'about ten miles north-west of Baghdad, near Sheriat el Beidha,' or the White River.

1. 70. παρ’ αὐτὴν, 'near (lit. 'alongside of') it.' Παρὰ with accus. denotes extension in space as well as motion to an object, as παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν πέμψα, l. 83.

1. 71. δασεῖος δένθρων, 'thickly planted with trees.' Adjectives implying fulness, or its opposite (as πληθῆς, κενὸς, &c.) take the genitive; but δασὺs commonly takes the dative, as δασὸν πίτυσι μεγάλαις (VII. vii. § 6).

1. 72. διαβεβηκότες, 'though they had crossed,' balanced by μέντοι, 'however,' following. Cp. i. 66, n.

1. 74. πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων, 'in front of their quarters.' Cp. ii. 101, n.

1. 77. καὶ ταῦτα, &c., 'and that too,' &c.; i. e. 'notwithstanding that he came from Ariaeus.' Xenophon intimates his suspicion that Menon was privy to the Persian scheme (Macmichael).

1. 79. ὅτι εἰμι. For a direct speech introduced by ὅτι cp. ii. 100, n.

1. 82. τῆς νυκτὸς. Cp. ii. 6, n.

1. 83. πλησίον, adverb, but = an adjective. Cp. i. 93, n.

1. 86. ἐν μέσῳ, &c. Cp. l. 99, and ii. 15, n.

1. 88. φράξωσιν, 'repeat.' Cp. iii. 13, n.

1. 89. ἐπαράχθη (aor.), 'he was agitated' at the moment; ἐφοβεῖτο (imperf.), 'he was alarmed' for some time afterwards.

1. 91. οὐκ ἄκολοουθα, 'inconsistent.' Mr. Taylor compares the French 'inconséquent.' Note the future infinitives, 'the (alleged) designs of attacking, &c.'

1. 92. δέησει, &c., a sudden transition to the direct form of speech from the indirect (ὡς οὐκ εἰς, &c.). Cp. ii. 5, n.

1. 94. ἄν, for ἄν. Cp. i. 48, n.

ἔχουμεν ἄν. A conditional sentence introduced by ἄν is usually followed by the fut. indic., as ἔχονοι (l. 96). Cp. i. 68, n. But the
opt with ἄν is often used as a less decided mode of expressing the future, 'it would be,' instead of 'it will be.'

ὅτοι ὡδώμεν, 'whither we may go for safety.' Ξώζεσθαι, as a verb of motion, means 'to get safely' anywhere.

1. 97. πολλῶν ὄντων, 'though there be many,' i. e. 'however numerous they may be.' Cp. i. 66, n.

1. 100. ὅτι . . . ἐνελει. Cp. ii. 100, n.

1. 102. ὑποπέμψαμεν. 'Ὑπὸ means 'with an underhand object.' Cp.

1. 15, i. 97, n. So ὑποπέμπτος, III. iii. § 4. Lat. submittere.

1. 104. ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. This 'island' was formed by the Tigris and Euphrates at either extremity, and the two canals (l. 62) intersecting.

1. 106. πολλῆς . . . οὐσίς is in apposition with χώρας.

τῶν ἐργασμένων ἐνόντων is the gen. absolute, 'there being men in it to cultivate it.'

1. 110. οὔτε . . . οἰδεῖς οὐδαμόθεν. A good instance of the multiplication of negatives for the sake of emphasis. Cp. ii. 81. In older English this was common, e. g. Chaucer, Prologue to Canterbury Tales, 1. 70.

'He never yet no vilanie ne sayde
In all his life unto no manner wighte.'

1. 115. τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους, 'coming from Tissaphernes,' a condensed expression for 'some of the Greeks who were with Tissaphernes reported from him.' Cp. ii. 2, n.

1. 116. μέλλονεν. The opt. indicates that the statement may be false, as in fact it was. Cp. i. 14, n.

1. 121. The Phycus, if a river, has been identified with the Adhem or Athaim, which flows into the Tigris from the north-east. But Colonel Chesney believes it to be the ancient canal known as the Nahrawan, some way higher up, and places the site of Opis a little above the village of Kaim. It is supposed that Xenophon made a similar mistake with regard to the Daradax (I. iv. § 10) and the Mascas (I. v. § 4), which he calls ποταμοὶ, though they are really channels dug from the Euphrates. Mr. Grote in his map marks the Phycus distinctly as a river.

1. 128. εἰς δύο, 'two deep,' or 'in double file' (Taylor). Εἰς denotes the number of parts according to which the division is made, hence it acquires a sort of distributive force. Cp. εἰς ἄκτω (VII. i. § 23).

1. 129. τὸ ἱγαοῦμενον, 'the leading division,' or 'the van.' Cp. ii. 23, n. It is the object of ἐπιστῆσεις, which (being the 1 aor.) must be transitive. [The transitive tenses of ἰστημι are the pres., imperf., future, and 1st aor.; the perf., pluperf., and 2nd aor. are intransitive.]

1. 131. ὡστε with the infin. (δόγαι) expresses an intended result, 'so as to make the army appear very large.' Cp. ii. 88, n.

1. 135. Παρνασσίδος κώμας. These villages must have been on or
near 'the lesser Zab, which flows into the Tigris, and which Xenophon must have crossed, though he makes no mention of it.' [Grote, ch. lxx.] Parysatis was the widow of Darius II, and mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus (I. i. § 1). As she had been the supporter of Cyrus, Tissaphernes chose this method of insulting his memory (Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελὼν).

1. 138. πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. Krüger takes this as a condensed phrase for πλὴν ἀνδράποδα διαρπᾶσαι οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε, 'except that he did not allow them to carry off (the people) as slaves,' giving διαρπᾶσαι its secondary sense of 'carrying off' booty (with acc. of the thing taken away). It may be simpler to translate 'to plunder these (villages) of everything except slaves,' i.e. 'except the inhabitants, in order to make slaves of them.'

1. 140. ἐρήμους. Mr. Grote speaks of these villages as 'forming a marked exception to the desert character of the remaining march.'

1. 143. Καναί. The locality of Caenae is supposed to be marked by the ruins of Kalah Shirgat, perhaps the ancient Calah (Genesis x. 11), or, according to some, Asshur, the pre-Ninevite capital of Assyria. σχέδιας διφθερίναι, 'rafts supported on skins' inflated with air. This mode of ferrying on rafts, called keleks, is still practised both on the Tigris and Euphrates.

CHAPTER V.

1. 1. Ζαπάταν (or Ζάβατον), the Great Zab, one of the principal eastern tributaries of the Tigris.

1. 6. ἐροῦντα, fut. part. 'to say,' Lat. qui diceret.


1. 14. οὔδε, adverbial, 'not even,' Lat. 'ne in animo quidem habemus.'

1. 18. οἱ φοβηθέντες. The usual construction would be φοβηθέντας after οἰς. Cp. i. 77, n. But 'the relative is used to avoid an accumulation of participles' (φοβηθέντας, ουκομένους, ποιήσαντας). Taylor.

φθάσαι πρὶν παθεῖν, 'to take measures before coming to harm,' lit. 'to anticipate before suffering.' A word denoting priority is commonly expressed in the clause before πρὶν, as προτεροῦν . . . πρὶν, πρῶσθεν . . . πρὶν, &c. Here φθάσαι contains in itself the notion of priority, since ψάνειν = 'to do a thing first,' or 'before anyone else.' Πρὶν, as a conjunction, is used (1) with the infinitive, as πρὶν ἐλθεῖν, 'before coming;' (2) with the indicative, marking strongly the fact, as πρὶν ἦλθε, 'before,' or 'until he came;' (3) after a negative with ἀν and the subjunctive =
‘until,’ of future time, as μη ποιήσῃ πρὶν ἀν ἔλθῃ, ‘do not do it till (or ‘before’) I come.’

1. 19. κακά, the cognate accus. expressing the thing done; τοὺς μέλλοντας, the object, or persons to whom it is done. Verbs which imply the operation of an act upon some person or thing, as well as the action itself, may have a double accusative, as βλάπτω σε μέγαλα, εὔνεγετῶ σε ταῦτα, &c.

οὔτ’ αὐτοῦ βουλομένους, ‘nor even desired.’ Ἀδ is lit. ‘again,’ hence ‘moreover,’ ‘further,’ marking an important addition to what has been said. So here, ‘those who did not intend, and what is more did not wish, &c.’

1. 23. πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον, adverbial, properly accus. of respect, ‘firstly and chiefly.’

οἱ θεῶν οίκοι, ‘our oaths sworn by the gods.’ Here θεῶν is the objective genitive (from the phrase ὃμνύμα θεοὺς); in l. 26 it is subjective. ‘The war which the gods wage,’ i. e. their ‘vengeance’ (Taylor).

1. 25. σύνολεῖν, &c., ‘is conscious of having disregarded them (τοῦτον). For οἶδα with participle cp. i. 77, n. Συνεδέναι is ‘to know with oneself,’ or ‘in one’s own mind,’ i. e. ‘be conscious.’ Cp. Lat. consciēre sibi.

1. 26. θεῶν πόλεμον. See second note on l. 23.

ἀπὸ denotes the means, ‘by’ or ‘with what speed.’ Cp. the adverbial phrases ἀπὸ σπονδῆς, ‘in earnest;’ ἀπὸ στόματος, ‘by word of mouth;’ ἀπὸ γνώμης, ἀπ’ ὀμμάτων, &c.

II. 27, 28. For the difference between ἀποφυγεῖν and ἀποδέξαναι cp. ii. 67, n. Ἀποστήναι followed by εἰς with accus. is ‘to retreat into’ a place of refuge.

1. 30. πάντων, the gen. after κρατοῦσι; ἵσον, adverbial, ‘equally,’ or ‘alike.’

1. 31. οὕτω γιγνώσκω, ‘such is my opinion.’ This verb in the pres. means ‘to get a knowledge’ of anything, hence ‘perceive,’ ‘think,’ ‘judge,’ &c.

παρ’ οὓς, &c., ‘with whom,’ lit. ‘into whose keeping (κατεβέμεθα implying motion) we deposited.’ Καταθέσθαι is the regular word used of ‘depositing’ a sum of money with a banker (Taylor).

1. 34. πᾶσα ὁδὸς, ‘every road;’ πᾶσα ἤ ὁδὸς, ‘all the road,’ i. e. ‘our whole line of march.’

1. 36. διὰ σκότους, ‘in the dark,’ i. e. ‘uncertain.’ Σκότος in Xenophon is commonly neuter, elsewhere it is generally masculine.

NOTES.

1. 39.  εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ, &c., 'but supposing we were mad enough to kill you.' Δὴ = 'really,' assuming the case for the sake of argument, and the καὶ strengthens this assumption (Macmichael).

ἀλλο τι ἦ, a condensed phrase for ἀλλο τι ἄν ποιήσαιμεν ἦ, &c. Hence the expression came to be used for a mere interrogation, 'should we not' &c.

1. 41. ἐφεδρων, properly a third combatant in a gladiatorial contest, who 'sat by,' ready to contend with the victor. If the Greeks slew Tissaphernes, they would still have left a powerful adversary in the king.

1. 44. γὰρ, explanatory = 'for you must know.'

1. 45. τῶν τότε. Cp. i. 93, n.

1. 48. πολεμία ἐχρήτο, 'had opposed to him.' Χρήσθαι, 'to use,' hence 'to have dealings with,' or simply 'to have' in a certain relation to oneself, as φίλω or πολεμίω, &c.

1. 49. ὡστις οὐ βούλεται, 'as not to desire,' ὡστε μὴ βούλεσθαι, Lat. quin velit.

1. 50. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ, &c. 'but indeed [the advantage is not wholly on our side], for I will tell you, &c.' Αλλὰ γὰρ, like the Latin sed enim, requires something to be supplied in translation from the general sense of the passage, such as 'but not so,' or 'but not only so, for, &c.'

1. 52. The Mysians on the north-west, and the Pisidians (l. 54) on the south-east, were a constant source of annoyance to the satraps of the intervening provinces of Lydia and Phrygia. It was against the latter that the expedition of Cyrus had been ostensibly directed, before its real object was disclosed (I. i. § 11). For the Egyptians, who were now in revolt from Persia, see i. 82, n.

1. 54. ἀκούω εἶναι means, 'I hear a report that it is,' ἀκούω ὑπ is, 'I hear it as a fact.'

1. 59. εἰ βούλοιο . . . ἄν εἰς, 'if you were to desire . . . you would be.' See the four conditional forms, i. 68, n.

1. 61. ἀναστρέφοιο, 'you might conduct yourself' (Taylor). Ἀν must be supplied from the former clause. Ἀναστρέφοισθαι is lit. 'to turn round and round,' in a place (Lat. versari), hence 'to dwell,' or simply 'to be' in a permanent relation to anyone.

1. 62. ἃς . . . ἐχομεν. Some editions read ἃν. But in Greek the relative usually agrees in case, as well as in number and gender, with its antecedent, by what is called 'attraction.' To avoid possible confusion, this is only done when the relative would otherwise have been in the accusative.

1. 65. τὸ ὅνομα τίς, &c. a mixture of the two constructions, ἀκούσαμι τίς ἐστι, and ἀκούσαμι τὸ ὅνομα τούτου, ὡστις ἐστι (Krüger).
l. 69. ἀλλὰ, ‘well.’ Cp. i. 106, n. The μὲν is answered by δὲ in l. 72, ὡς δ᾽ ἀν μάθης, &c.

l. 70. ταῦτα γιγνώσκων, ‘thinking as you do.’ Cp. l. 31, n.

l. 71. ἂν, with εἶναι, not with δοκεῖ (i. 71, n.). ‘I think that you would be.’ Without the δοκεῖ it would stand ἂν εἴη, answering to εἰ θεωρεῖοι. See i. 68, n.

l. 72. ὡς ἂν μάθης, &c., gives the sense of ‘hear, and you will understand,’ or ‘so shall you understand;’ Lat. ‘audi, ut discas,’ disces autem si audias (Madvig, Greek Syntax, § 302). Without ἂν, ὡς simply marks a purpose, but gives no hint of its being realised.

l. 73. ἀποστοιχεῖ. The opt. in -οίην of contracted verbs is peculiar to the Attic dialect. It is common in the singular (as λυποίη, l. 60), but not so often used in the 1st and 2nd plural.

l. 76. ἀλλὰ marks a sudden transition to a new part of the subject. ‘But perhaps you think we should be in want of positions suitable for attacking you.’

l. 81. παρέχειν. Cp. iii. 102, n.

ἐφ’ ἂν, ‘on whose banks’ (Taylor). Cp. in Latin ‘situs est super Numicum flumen.’ Livy, i. 2.

l. 82. ταμιεύεσθαι, &c., ‘determine for ourselves the number of your forces, with which we might choose to engage;’ i.e. ‘fight with as many or as few as we chose.’ Ταμιεύεσθαι is lit. ‘to act as a steward;’ hence ‘regulate,’ ‘control,’ ‘determine.’ Xenophon uses it twice in the Cyropaedia in this sense.

l. 84. διαπορεύομεν, ‘put you across.’ Πορεύειν is ‘to provide a passage’ (πόρος), i.e. ‘cause to pass;’ Πορεύεσθαι, ‘to provide oneself with a passage,’ i.e. ‘pass,’ ‘march,’ &c.

ἡπταμέθα, the opt., marks a supposition not likely to be realised, ‘if we should prove inferior.’

l. 86. ἄντιτάξαι, ‘use against you,’ ‘set in array,’ as a hostile force.

l. 88. ἂν merely anticipates the ἂν in l. 90, to show that the sentence is going to be conditional.

l. 89. μηδένα expresses the fact as conceived in the mind of the speaker, ‘none that we could regard as dangerous;’ οὐδένα would mean ‘none that is as a matter of fact dangerous.’ Cp. ii. 61, n.

ἐπειτα, ‘after this;’ i.e. ‘under such circumstances as these.’

l. 91. πρὸς θεῶν, ‘by,’ lit. ‘in presence of the gods.’ Cp. iii. 101, n.

l. 92. ἀπὸρων ἐστι . . . οἰτίνες ἔθελουσι, a confusion between ἀπόρων ἐστιν ἔθελειν and ἀποροί εἰσιν, οἰτίνες ἔθελουσι. Cp. vi. 22, φιλοπολέμου ἀνδρός . . . ὅστις, &c. So Thucydides (iii. 45) has πολλῆς εὐθείας (ἔστιν), ὅστις οἶεται, for εὐθῆς ὅστις, &c.

l. 93. καὶ τοῦτον πονηρῶν, ‘and at the same time worthless.’ Cp. καὶ ταῦτα, iv. 77, n.
1. 96. ἐξόν. The accusative (not the nom.) absolute. As the accus. denotes extension in space or time, certain neuter participles are put in that case to mark a state of things coexisting with something else, as ἐξόν, παρόν, &c. 'while it is in our power;' δόξαν (and even δόξαν ταῦτα), 'when this was resolved,' &c.

οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡλθομεν, 'did we not proceed to the act,' or 'make the attempt?' Cp. III. i. § 18, ἀρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἐλθοι, 'would he not proceed to any extremity?'

1. 98. τὸ γενέσθαι, instead of τοῦ γενέσθαι, the gen. after ἐρως. The thing desired is put in apposition with the word expressing the desire. 'My desire to prove myself faithful is the cause of this.' In the next line ἐμὲ καταβήναι is in the same construction.

II. 99, 100. Note the opposition between μισθοδοσίας, 'mercenary considerations,' and εὐεργεσίαν, 'gratitude for kind services.'

1. 102. τιάραν ὅρθην. The stiff, upright tiara or cap was the distinction of royalty. Hence by the 'erect tiara on the heart,' Tissaphernes means to say that with the help of the Greeks a man may indulge a kingly spirit, and even aspire to the throne of Persia.


1. 109. μοι, not 'to me' after ἐλθεῖν, which would be πρὸς ἐμὲ, but 'for me,' i.e. 'to oblige me,' the 'ethical' dative. Cp. vi. 34, n.

1. 114. φιλοφονούμενος, 'behaving with courtesy.' Cp. Lat. benignē, Sallust, Jugurtha, xi. i.

1. 116. δῆλος ... Τισσαφέρνει, 'evidently considered himself to be on friendly terms with Tissaphernes.' Δῆλος εἰμὶ ποιῶν = δῆλον ἔστιν ἐμὲ ποιεῖν (cp. iv. 8, n.). Διακείσθαι, used as passive of διαιτήσιμος, is 'to be put into a certain state or condition,' hence 'to be disposed,' Lat. disposere = δια-τιθέναι. Cp. vi. 52.

1. 121. τὸν διαβάλλοντα, predicative, 'that Menon was the calumniator.' The character of Menon, as drawn by Xenophon in the sixth Chapter, renders such an imputation highly probable; still there had long been mutual jealousies between him and Clearchus ever since Cyrus had transferred his confidence from the former to the latter. On one occasion there was a serious disturbance between them and their respective divisions, which might have ruined the expedition, had not Cyrus interfered (I. v. §§ 11-17).

1. 123. στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ, 'raising a faction against himself' (Clearchus).

1. 124. πρὸς ἑαυτόν, 'to his own side.'

1. 127. τοὺς παραλυποῦντας, lit. 'those who gave trouble by being near him.' Mr. Watson well translates it 'troublesome rivals.'

ἀντέλεγον μὴ λέναι, 'opposed their going;' or 'urged that they should not go.' But the Greek requires μὴ before λέναι to balance the negative implied in ἀντέλεγον. See iii. 50, n.
ANABASIS, II, v.

1. 131. ὃς εἰς ἀργοπᾶν, i.e. unarmed.

1. 133. ἐν ταῖς θύραις. Cp. i. 48, n.

1. 134. Proxenus was a common guest-friend (ἑβῶν) of Cyrus and Xenophon (I. i. § 11, III. i. § 4). It was he that recommended Xenophon to join the expedition, supposing it to be only against the Pisidian marauders. Cp. l. 52, n.

1. 137. σημεῖον. According to Diodorus, the ‘signal’ was a red flag hoisted from the tent of Tissaphernes.

1. 138. συνελάμβανον, the imperf., marks the beginning of the action, κατεκόπτησαν, the aorist, its sudden completion. Changing from the passive to the active construction we might translate—‘they proceeded to apprehend those within, and immediately cut down those without.’ So ἐκτείνον (l. 141), ‘proceeded to kill.’

1. 142. ἡμιψυχόνου, imperf. of ἄμφιγνοεῖν for ἄμψινοεῖν. The preposition is augmented (as in ἡρίουν from ἡρίῳμι, ἐκαθήκην from κάθηκα, &c.) either because the compound verb has an entirely new meaning, so that it may be treated as a simple verb, or because ἄμφιγνοεῖν is not really compounded of ἄμψι and νοεῖν, but derived from the adj. ἄμψινοος. Cp. ἀντιβολέω, ἄντιβολω (from ἀντιβολη), ἀντιδίκεω, ἀντιδίκουν (from ἀντί-

1. 143. πρὶν with ind., ‘until.’ See note on πρὶν παθεῖν, l. 18.

1. 146. ἐπὶ τὰ δόπλα. Cp. ii. 100, n.

1. 148. ἰσαν, ‘were formerly,’ or ‘had been.’ The simple past tense is often used (especially in a minor clause) to denote a state of things once existing, but now finished, where we use the pluperfect. So also in Oratio Obligua. Cp. i. 18, n.

1. 154. ἀπαγγελώσα. For the subj. instead of the opt. after a principal verb in the past tense cp. iii. 8, n.


1. 158. Χειρίσοφος. Cp. i. 28. As a representative of the leading state of Greece at this time, he would naturally have taken the place of Clearchus (Taylor).

1. 160. εἰς ἑπίκοον, ‘within earshot.’

1. 161. ἐπιορκῶν ἐφάνη, ‘has been proved guilty of perjury.’ Φαίνομαι ὑν = ‘I clearly am;’ φαίνομαι εἶναι, ‘I appear to be.’ See note on ἄκούσει εἶναι, &c., l. 54.

1. 162. τὴν δίκην, ‘his just punishment,’ lit. ‘the punishment’ he deserves. The Greek article = a possessive pronoun when the person referred to is quite clear.

1. 166. ἔλεγε. Cp. iii. 96, n.


1. 169. ἡµῖν τοὺς αὐτούς, perhaps ‘the same with ourselves;’ i.e.
'the same as we do.' But this would rather be τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν. It is better to take ἡμῖν after ὅμοςαντες.

l. 170. νομεῖν. For the 'Attic' future cp. i. 25, n.
l. 174. γὰρ, 'yes, for,' &c. An answer is often thus introduced by γὰρ, the 'yes' or 'no,' or some equivalent clause, having to be supplied. In such cases γὰρ may be rendered by 'well,' or the unemphatic 'why.' Cp. St. Matt. xxvii. 23, τι γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν; 'why what evil hath he done?'
l. 177. εἰ ἐλυε, 'if (as you say) he tried to violate' (imperf.) El with the indic., followed by a verb in the same mood, implies that the fact being granted, the consequence certainly follows. See the first form of a conditional sentence, l. 68, n.

τὴν δίκην. Cp. l. 162, n.

II. 179, 180. Πρὸςενος ἐδε, &c., 'but as for Proxenus and Menon, since they are &c., send them hither.'
l. 181. γε, slightly ironic, 'being, as you say, your friends.'

CHAPTER VI.

1 l. ὁς βασιλέα. Cp. iii. 130, n.

l. 3. ἐκ πάντων, 'by all,' after δόξα, 'being thought.' The usual preposition is ὑπὸ, but as the agent is the person from whom the action proceeds, ἐκ may be used, as ἐφίλησεν ἐκ Δίος, Hom. II. ii. 669. This is rare in Attic prose. So in older English of = by, as 'loved of God,' 'seen of angels,' &c.

l. 4. ἐμπείρως ἔχοντων, nearly = ἐμπείρων ἄντων. For ἔχειν with adv. cp. i. 43, n.

πολεμικός, 'apt for war,' φιλοπόλεμος, 'fond of war.' Adjectives in -ικός denote fitness or capacity, answering to the Latin ending -bilis, and our -ble.

l. 5. δη introduces an instance, confirming the statement as to his warlike propensities, = 'in fact,' or 'for instance,' or 'you must know that,' &c.

l. 6. παρέμενεν combines the meanings of 'continued' in his country's service, and 'continued' loyal to the authorities, in opposition to οὐκέτι πειθέναι (l. 12).

l. 8. ὡς ἔδυνατο, 'as best we could,' implying that he was not over scrupulous as to the means.

l. 10. τοῖς ὑπὲρ X. &c. the Thracians dwelling on the Propontis or Sea of Marmora. Perinthus, afterwards Heraclea (whence its modern name Ereklei), was one of their towns. See Map.
\textit{ANABASIS, II. vi.} 61

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{μεταγνώντες}. For \textit{μετὰ} in compounds cp. iii. 29, n.
\item 1. 11. \textit{ἐξω ὄντος}, i.e. when he had got clear of the Peloponnesus. Others say that Clearchus was dismissed \textit{after} he had been at Byzantium, for his tyranny there. Mr. Grote thinks he may have been governor of the place in B.C. 404, and so have preceded Cleander.
\item 1. 12. \textit{Ἰσθμοῦ}, the isthmus of Corinth. He probably had to touch there to take up some of the allies of Sparta.
\item 1. 13. \textit{ἐκ τοῦτου}, ‘in consequence of this.’ Below (l. 19).
\item \textit{ἀπὸ τοῦτου} is ‘from this time forward.’ \textit{ἐθανατώθη}, ‘he was condemned to death.’ Usually \textit{θανατώω} is ‘I put to death.’ Verbs in -\textit{ώω}, derived from noun-stems, mean to \textit{cause} something, as \textit{δουλώω} ‘I enslave,’ &c.
\item 1. 14. \textit{τελῶν}, ‘the authorities,’ i.e. the Ephors. The common phrase is \textit{οἱ εἰν τέλει}. See \textit{τέλος} in Lexicon.
\item 1. 16. \textit{ἄλλη γέγραπται}. In I. i. § 9, whence this account is repeated, it is merely said that ‘Cyrus had an interview with him and admired him.’ Possibly Xenophon may have forgotten that he had not said more than this.
\item 1. 17. \textit{οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥαθυμίαν}. So in his address to the soldiers (I. iii. § 3) Clearchus takes credit for not having ‘squandered in luxury’ (\textit{οὐδὲ καθη-δυνάθησα} the money Cyrus had given him.
\item 1. 19. \textit{ἐφερε καὶ ἤγγε}, ‘harried and plundered.’ See \textit{φέρω} and \textit{ἄγω} in Lexicon.
\item 1. 23. \textit{ὄστις}, &c. For the construction cp. v. 92, n.
\item \textit{ἐξὸν}. Cp. v. 96, n.
\item 1. 25. \textit{ὡστε πολέμειν}, ‘for the sake of war,’ i.e. ‘with war as an object.’ For \textit{ὡστε} with indic. and infin. cp. ii. 88, n.
\item 1. 28. \textit{φιλοπόλεμος, πολέμικός}. Cp. l. 4, n.
\item 1. 29. \textit{ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτῶς}, genitives of time. Cp. ii. 6, n.
\item 1. 30. \textit{φρόνιμος}. So Sallust records of Jugurtha, ‘et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio,’ \textit{jugurtha}, viii. 5.
\item 1. 32. \textit{ἀρχικός}, ‘able to command.’ Cp. l. 4, n.
\item \textit{ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου}, &c., ‘considering the sort of disposition \textit{he} had.’ ‘Ex, lit. ‘out of,’ implies that the amount of his capacity for command was the \textit{result} of (i.e. was \textit{regulated} by) his peculiar temperament. The \textit{καὶ} in \textit{κακεῖνος} is best rendered by a stress on the pronoun.
\item 1. 34. \textit{ἡ στρατιά αὐτῷ}, ‘his army,’ not however possessive (though there is no other convenient way of translating it), but the so-called \textit{datīvus ethicīs}, which is really a particular instance of the \textit{datīvus commodi}. Cp. I. i. 64, n. It implies that the person takes an \textit{interest} in what is said or done; thus \textit{λαβὲ μοι τοῦτο= ‘take this, I pray,’ or ‘to please}
me.' 'Quid mihi Celsus agit?' = 'my Celsus,' i.e. Celsus in whose doings I am interested.

1. 35. ἐμποτήσαι, 'to instil into the minds of;' lit. 'produce in' them the feeling that, &c.

1. 36. πειθένον, the verbal adj. of πειθομαι, 'I obey,' not of πείθειν, 'I persuade,' which would take the accusative.

1. 37. ὥραν στυγνός, Lat. aspectu tristis. But the Latin poets copy this use of the Greek infinitive, as 'niveus videri,' Hor. Od. IV. ii. 59.


ἐστ' ὤτε (or ἐστίν ὤτε), lit. 'there is (a time) when,' i.e. 'sometimes,' Lat. est quando. This phrase had become so familiar that the tense of ἐστι remained unaltered, even though past or future time were implied. Similarly ἐστίν οἶ for εἰσίν οἶ, or even for ἐσών οἶ; but in Lat. 'sunt qui,' 'erant qui.'

γνώμη, 'with a set purpose,' or 'systematically.'

1. 41. τόν στρατιώτην, 'a soldier.' The Greek article often marks an individual as one of a class, where we commonly use the indefinite article.

1. 43. Distinguish φυλακᾶς (φυλακῆ), 'watch,' i.e. 'act of watching,' vigilias from φυλακὰς (φυλακῆ), 'watchers,' vigiles. The word guard is ambiguous, having both meanings.

ἀφιέσθαι, lit. 'keep his hands off;' i.e. 'avoid injuring.' An undisciplined soldier might by mere awkwardness do mischief to those on his own side.

1. 46. τὸ στυγνὸν . . . φάίνεσθαι, 'that his gloominess then assumed an air of cheerfulness, as compared with (lit. 'among') the countenances (of the others).' Some insert ἄλλοι before προσώποι, which gives the right sense, but has not the best authority.

1. 47. ἐρρωμένον . . . εἶναι, 'seemed to be the expression of firmness and courage against the enemy.'

1. 50. ἄρχομένους. The text is almost certainly corrupt. 'Αρχομένου (passive) must = στρατιώτας, and by its position in the sentence should agree with ἄλλοις. But then the sense requires 'commanders,' not 'men;' hence some have proposed to read ἄρχοντας. If we make ἄρχομένου the subject of ἄπιέναι, it would seem to require the article, and moreover would involve the rare construction of the accus. and infin., instead of the dative, after ἐκεῖῃ. Others omit ἄρχομένου, leaving ἄρχοντας, or a similar word, to be supplied with ἄλλοις. Possibly the right reading is ἄρχομένους, in a passive sense; i.e. 'when they had an opportunity of going off to other (commanders) to be ruled by them.'

1. 51. τὸ ἐπίχαρι, 'the faculty of pleasing.'

1. 52. διέκειντο, &c., 'were in the position of boys,' &c. Cp. v. 116, n.
1. 55. οῦτο τοῦ δεῖσθαι, 'from want' of money or provisions.
1. 56. παρείπησαν αὐτῷ, 'took service under him.' For the form of the opt. 3rd pl. see i. 57, n.
1. 58. μέγαλα, the predicate, i.e. 'strong were the influences that tended to make his men efficient soldiers.'
1. 60. ἑπαρθαλώς ἐκεῖν. Cp. l. 4, i. 43, n.
1. 62. δὴ sums up the description,—'such as I have said.'
ἀρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων, &c. Cp. l. 12, &c. The battle of Cunaxa was lost mainly through Clearchus' refusal to obey the command of Cyrus, when ordered to attack the enemy's centre. I. viii. §§ 12, 13.
1. 63. τὰ πεντήκοντα ἑτη, 'full fifty years old,' lit. 'the fifty' which you get by reckoning them all up.
1. 67. Gorgias of Leontini in Sicily was a celebrated teacher of rhetoric in the fifth century B.C. 'His abundant powers of illustration, his florid ornaments, his artificial structure of sentences...spread a new fashion in the art of speaking, which for the time was very popular.' Grote, Hist. of Greece, ch. lxvii. His fee is said to have been 100 minae, over £400.
1. 69. ἱκανὸς, the nom. in apposition with the subject of the sentence. In Latin it would be 'se idoneum esse resus.' Cp. οἷδα ὁν, &c., i. 77, n.
ὁν= 'if he were.' Cp. i. 66, n.
ἡττᾶσθαι. Cp. iii. 109, n.
1. 74. μετὰ ἀδικίας, 'by unjust means;' σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ, 'consistently with justice,' having justice, as it were, for a companion and ally. Both practically = the adverbs ἀδικώς and δικαίως, but σὺν implies a much closer connexion than μετὰ does.
1. 75. μῆ, sc. the infin. δεῖν. If ἦντο were to be supplied, the μῆ must be οὔ.
1. 76. καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, 'men of honour and probity.' The phrase καλῶς καὶ ἀγαθός (or καλῶς κα-γαθός, l. 84), lit. 'fair and good,' comprised the Greek beau-ideal of excellence, or what we should call a 'perfect gentleman.'
1. 77. οὐ...οὔτε...οὔτε. For the multiplied negatives cp. ii. 81, v. 110, n.
αἰδῶ, 'respect' for his good opinion of them; φόβον, 'fear of punishment.
1. 78. ἐμποιήσατι. Cp. l. 35, n.
ἣμχυνετο, 'stood in awe of,' for fear of becoming unpopular (τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι), as explained in the next clause. Καὶ (l. 79) is therefore explanatory, = 'that is to say.'
1. 82. ἄρχικον. Cp. l. 32, n. Ἐπανείν is the infin. after ἄρχειν, 'he thought it enough to praise.'
1. 86. ἑτῶν, not the gen. of time, like νυκτὸς, &c., but a variety of the descriptive genitive, just as in English, 'a man of years' = 'an aged man.' So we say 'a man of thirty.' Cp. expressions like ποταμὸς πλέθρου, I. iv. § 4, &c.

1. 87. δηλος ἢν ἐπιθυμῶν. Cp. iv. 8, n.

1. 91. διδοῖ δικήν. See δική in Lexicon.


1. 94. τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ, &c., 'the same with' or 'the same as.' Lat. idem quod, or idem ac. Cp. v. 169, n.

1. 96. πολεμίου, &c. 'he never ridiculed an enemy.' Κατὰ with gen. means 'against;' lit. 'down upon,' hence it takes the gen. in compounds which involve that meaning, as κατακρίνειν, κατηγορεῖν, &c. So in the next clause τῶν συνόντων is governed by καταγελῶν,—'he always talked as if he were ridiculing his associates;' i. e. used contemptuous language about them to other people. Some take διελέγετο to mean 'he talked to his companions as if ridiculing them.' The former is preferable.


1. 100. μόνος ἕτε, &c., i. e. 'he thought he was the only person in the world who had discovered how easy it is to,' &c. For εἰδέναι ὅν, cp. i. 77, n.

1. 104. χρῆσθαι here = 'to impose upon,' lit. 'to use' as he liked. Cp. i. 82, n.

1. 107. μῆ is indefinite = 'whoever was not a rascal;' τῶν οὐ πανοφργον would point to some particular man who was not so.

τῶν ἁπαδεύτων, partitive gen., denoting a class, lit. 'among the number of the simpletons.'

1. 108. παρ' οἷς, &c. The antecedent to οἷς is τοῦτος, the object of κτῆσασθαι.

tοὺς πρῶτος = φιλία προτεύοντας, 'those who (hitherto) held the first place in their friendship,' and is the object of διαβάλλειν.

1. 110. παρέχεσθαι (middle), lit. 'to make for his own ends.' Πεθομένους is predicative. For the meanings of παρέχειν see iii. 102, n.

1. 112. ἐπιδεικνύμενος, 'by showing.' Cp. i. 66, n.

δύνατο, the regular opt. in a dependent assertion (I. 7, n.)—'that he had the power;' ἐθέλου ἄν requires an 'if' clause to be supplied,—'that he would injure them, if opportunity should arise.'

1. 113. κατέλεγεν, 'reckoned,' or 'set it down (to his own credit) as' &c. Lat. imputare.

1. 114. χρώμενος αὐτῷ, 'in his dealings with him.' Cp. the Latin 'familiariter uiti,' and see v. 48, n.

1. 117. διεπράξατο, &c., lit. 'he managed with Aristippus so as to get the command of his mercenary force,' i. e. 'succeeded in obtaining
the command, &c.' Cyrus had given Aristippus a force of 4000 mercen-
aries, to enable him to put down a rival faction in Thessaly (l. i. § 10).

l. 120. Distinguish ταύτα, eadem, from ταύτα, ea (i. 98, n.)

l. 121. οὐκ ἀπέθανε. The reason probably was that Menon took
credit at the Persian court for having caused the apprehension of his
colleagues. His ultimate fate was most likely due to the influence of
Parysatis, who did not fail to take revenge upon all concerned in the
death of her favourite son. Grote, Hist. of Greece, ch. lxx.

l. 127. κακῶν. For the gen. after καταγελάν see l. 96, n.

l. 128. εἰς φίλαν, lit, 'with respect to friendship; ' i. e. 'for their
behaviour to their friends.'

l. 129. τὰ πέντε, &c. Cp. l. 63, n.
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