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THE ANABASIS OF
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THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON,

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

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WITH NOTES, FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

A NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION

IN TWO VOLUMES

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NOTES ON THE ANABASIS.
NOTES.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ] The title ἀνάβασις is, in reality, applicable to the first book only of the work, denoting as it does the journey up country from the sea-coast to the interior. The remaining books are occupied with the account of the κατάβασις or descent from the interior to the coast of Pontus, with the campaigns incidental to it.

§§ 1, 2. An examination of the causes which led to the undertaking of the expedition, commencing with the death of Darius, and the intrigues of his wife Parysatis in favour of her younger son, Cyrus.

Δαρείου καὶ Παρσατίδος] Darius II. is meant, whose reign extended from B.C. 424 to 404. He was the illegitimate son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and married Parysatis, his father's sister. He is known in history by the titles of Ochus or Notus, and is probably identical with Darius the Persian (Nehemiah xii. 22).

γιγνονται] This is commonly regarded as an instance of the historic present, by which additional reality is given to the narration of a past event. Kühner however rejects this theory, and explains the tense by the fact that the action of the verb is represented as continuing down to the present time.

παιδες δυο] Of the thirteen children that were born to Darius and Parysatis all died early with the exception of four. Plutarch gives Ostanes and Oxathres as the names of two other sons, while of the daughters only Amestris and Atossa are known to history.

Ἀρταξέρξης] Artaxerxes II., surnamed Mnemon owing to his retentive memory. He was originally called Arsaces, but changed his name when he ascended the throne. He was born before the date of his father's accession, which furnished his mother Parysatis with her strongest argument in favour of the claims of Cyrus. Cyrus himself comes forward in the year 407 B.C., when at the age of seventeen he was made Satrap of Lydia with full authority over the sea-coast of that province and all its Grecian cities. The appointment procured for him the bitter enmity of Tissaphernes, who found himself superseded in command of the forces in Asia, and his policy of indifference exchanged for an active cooperation with the cause of Sparta. It is at this point that the Anabasis takes up the thread of the narrative.
EXPEDITIO CYRI. [I. I.

τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου]. In this and similar expressions we usually find
the article omitted with the former of the two substantives, no doubt
because they represent a combined idea. After ἐξουσία the pronoun
of is introduced by Zeune and some of the editors. It is clear however
that Aristides, from whom they adopted it, was not precise or con-
sistent in his references to the passage.

§ 2. παῖδων ἐνγέμνει] Stronger than the simple verb παρῆν, 'was
with him at the time.' The words σαράπην and στρατηγὸν are
contrasted, the former denoting the civil and the latter the military
authority. Occasionally, as in the present instance, both functions were
discharged by the same individual, while at other times the military
command was held by a separate officer with the title of κάρανος or
στρατηγὸς, which Mr Taylor illustrates by the following passage: κατα-
πέμπω Κύρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Κάστωλον ἀθροιζομένων (Hell. 1. 4. 3).
The ἀρχη with which Cyrus was invested comprised Lydia, Phrygia
the Greater and Cappadocia.

ἐποίησε] Students should notice this use of the aorist where the
pluperfect would have implied too precise and exact a reference for
the requirements of the narrative.

καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ] 'and he appointed him commander too.' This
combination of καὶ and δὲ is especially frequent in Xenophon. The
usual explanation is to understand καὶ in the sense of 'even,' and to
regard δὲ as the simple conjunction; but the best grammars adopt a
different theory, by which δὲ is treated as an equivalent for δὴ in the
sense of adō, while καὶ serves to connect the clauses.

Καστωλοῦ πεδίον] It was the custom with the Persian kings to
select in each of their provinces a level space suitable for the annual
review of their troops. One of these was in the neighbourhood of
Castolus, a town of Lydia. In the sentence which follows observe the
juxtaposition of the historic present ἀναβάλει with the aorist ἀνέβη,
the emphatic tense being discarded when it has been used to introduce
the fact.

ὡς φίλον] 'in the belief that he was a friend.' I can see no reason
for supposing that Cyrus was at this period distrustful of Tissaphernes,
though some of the editors, who take the contrary view, prefer to
render ὡς φίλον 'in the character of a friend,' which leaves the question
an open one.

Παρράσιον] Parrhasia was a district and town in the south-west
of Arcadia, a neighbourhood which is mentioned in vi. 2. 10 as
having supplied a large proportion of the mercenary troops who
accompanied the expedition.

§§ 3—5. On the accession of Artaxerxes, Tissaphernes accuses
Cyrus of treason. Through the influence of his mother the latter is
allowed to return to his satrapy, where he at once proceeds to scheme
for the dethronement of his brother.

ἐπιστομία) The optative is used in consideration of the historic
present διαβάλλει, which is virtually equivalent to διέβαλλε, though it
represents the fact in a clearer light. Cf. v. 6. 36 λέγονσιν δτι μετα-
μέλοιαυτῶι.

ὡς ἀποκτενῶν] 'with the intention of putting him to death.' The
combination of ὡς with the participle denotes the intention or pretext with which an action is done. Whether it is a real or only a pretended purpose must be decided in each case by a reference to the context. In § 2 we have noticed a similar ambiguity in connexion with the phrase ὡς φίλων.

ἀποστέμπει[ ] The middle voice would have been less forcible than the active, as the use of the latter implies that the decision and control of the matter rested virtually with Parysatis.

§ 4. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ 'at the mercy of his brother,' while ὑπὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, which is found in one MS, and is preferred by Schneider, would signify 'in subjection to his brother.' Krüger sufficiently defends the reading of the text by suggesting that μηκετί rather than μὴποτε would have been required with ὑπὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

In regard to the constructions of ὡς we must carefully distinguish whether it is the method or the purpose of the action that is contemplated. The former, as in the passage before us, is expressed by the future indicative: the latter, (e.g. δοκεῖ σκέπτετο εἰναι ὡς ἔλαχιστα τραύματα λάβωμεν, Alab. IV. 6. 10), by the subjunctive or optative as the case may require.

ὑπάρχει] 'now Cyrus, as you see, was assured of his mother's help.' Lit. 'his mother was on his side from the first.' Cf. v. 6. 23, and Dem. Ol. III. § 12 μέγα τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις υπάρχει ἡ παρ’ ἐκάστου βούλησι.

§ 5. ἀφυκνοῖτο] The frequentative optative, as in II. 5. 32 ὅτως ἐντυχόντως ... πάντας ἐκτενῶν, and Thuc. VII. 29 πάντας ἔξης, ὅτε ἐντύχονεν, κτείνοντες. On the other hand the frequentative imperfect (ἀφυκνῖτο), which is still retained in some of the editions, is out of place in the relative clause of the sentence. The phrase τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῶν is a pregnant form of expression, of which Xenophon in particular appears to have been especially fond. Cf. III. 6. 11 κλέπτεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας, v. 2. 3 οἷς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐφευγον, and many other instances. In full, the sentence would stand thus: ὅστις τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἀφυκνοῖτο παρὰ βασιλεῶς, while the genitive rather than the dative is retained in the condensed expression to suit the force of the verb ἀφυκνεῖσθαι.

φίλους εἶναι] We might reasonably have expected ἧσαν, as it is the result rather than the intention which appears to be contemplated. However, the latter idea is very strongly present in the participle διατιθέης, to which the concluding portion of the sentence is accommodated rather than to the main verb, ἀπεστέμπετο.

βαρβάρων ἐπεμέλειτο, ὡς...ἐλθον] Equivalent to καὶ ἐπεμέλειτο δὲ ὡς οἱ βαρβάροι, the genitive being simply an anticipation of the subject of the following clause. This is a simpler explanation than the ordinary one, which regards it as a form of attraction by which the subject is accommodated to the verb of the preceding proposition.

§§ 6—8. In order to mislead Artaxerxes, it is announced by Cyrus that the Greek troops which he is collecting are intended for service against Tissaphernes. With the same object he besieges Miletus, the only one of the Ionian cities which had refused to transfer its allegiance from Tissaphernes to himself.
EXPEDITIO CYRI.

τὴν δὲ Ἐλληνικὴν δύναμιν] 'his Greek troops,' the article denoting that his employment of them was a well-known fact. ὅ τι ἀπαρα-
σευτὰταν 'as unprepared as possible.' In this and similar con-
structions it must be noticed that ὅ τι, or ὅτι (as it is less cor-
correctly written), is strictly speaking a pronoun.

ὅποσα εἰξε φιλικὰς] i.e. φιλικῶν, ὅποσα εἰξε ἐν ταῖς πόλεις, παρῆγγειλε τοῖς φρουραρχοῖς. This idiom, by which the relative
attracts its antecedent into the same case and clause with itself, is
of common occurrence in Greek. In all such instances the antecedent
follows the relative; e.g. ἦς ἄρχοι χώρας (1. 9. 19) is equivalent to
χώραν, ἦς ἄρχοι. The word πόλεις refers to the Greek cities on the
coast, which were held by garrisons composed for the most part of
mercenary troops.

ἐκάστους] No one of the editors, so far as I can gather, has com-
mented upon this irregular use of ἐκάστους. According to the recognised
rule, the plural is employed only when reference is made to a company
of individuals; which would necessitate the conclusion that each of
the garrisons in question was under the command of several φρουραρχοί.
The supposition is an improbable one, and the fault lies apparently
in the use of the plural. For this reason the construction has been
condemned by the late Mr Shilleto and others as a departure from
the strictly classical usage. I have reserved this and similar cases
for consideration in a future appendix.

Πελαποννήσιον] Because, as Kühner points out, these were the
bravest soldiers. Cf. VI. 2. 10, where the Arcadians and Achaeans
are singled out for special praise.

ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντος] The employment of ὡς with the participle de-
notes an opinion or assertion in regard to the probability of an action;
'on the ground that Tissaphernes was plotting against these cities,'
καὶ γάρ confirms the statement and gives the reason: 'for in fact the
cities in Ionia were originally in the hands of Tissaphernes.' Kühner
tirely rejects the theory which explains this imperfect as equivalent
in force to a pluperfect. Cf. III. 4. 7 ὡς καὶ ἀντίγνωσι τὸ πολέμου Μῆδος,
where, as in the present case, the imperfect recalls us to the course
of events which were in progress at the time suggested.

ἐκ βασιλέως] It is difficult to determine whether the participle
δεδομέναι refers to the original appointment of Tissaphernes, or to
a period coincident with the return of Cyrus to his satrapy. The
latter view is accepted by Macmichael, who considers that the re-
appointment of Cyrus was attended by a curtailment of his authority;
but the words τὸ ἄρχαῖον are in my opinion decisive against this
theory. As regards the construction, the preposition ἐκ is often
employed for ὑπὸ, more especially by Herodotus and the poets, when
it is required to denote the source or quarter from which the present
comes rather than the hand by which it is given. τότε, 'at the
present time.' For a single example of this very common use, cf.
IV. 1. 17 ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χειρισοφός ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυήστο ὑπέμενε,
τότε δὲ ὅποι ὑπέμενεν.

πλὴν Μιλήσιον] The most celebrated of the Ionian cities, situated on
the north-west coast of Caria in the bay which receives the river Latmus.
NOTES.

§ 7. Σουλευνομένους] There is no occasion to supply τωδάς, as the subject of the verb has been sufficiently suggested in the mention of Miletus. Compare the use of ἐλθόντας in i. 3. 14, and διαβεβηκότας in i. 4. 16, the subjects of which are in both cases implied but not expressed.

υπολαβὼν] 'having sheltered the exiles.' The distinction between φυγεῖν ('to be sent into exile') and φέγγειν ('to be living in exile') becomes a matter of considerable importance in determining the reading of a well-known passage in v. 3. 7, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐφυγεν δ Σενοφῶν. In the case of υπολαβῶν and συλλέξας, Kühner explains the absence of the connecting particle by the fact that the participle are of an entirely different character both as regards sense and importance. Thus υπολαβῶν represents the primary cause, the results of which are signified by συλλέξας and ἐποδιόρκει.

κατάγειν] Cf. Aristoph. Ran. 1165 for this use of κατά in reference to a return from exile, and compare with it the force of de in Latin, e.g. in deducere and similar verbs.

§ 8. ἀδελφός ὑπ αὐτοῦ] The clause is in strict apposition with the subject of ἥξιον, i.e. he grounded his request on the fact that he was his brother. The construction has been otherwise explained as equivalent to ὀδύραι οἱ ἀδελφῷ ὑπὶ αὐτοῦ by a species of attraction, which distinctly weakens the force of the passage.

ὡστε...οὐκ ἡσθάνετο] See note on ὥσθε ἐαυτῷ φίλους εἶναι in § 5. Here it is the simple result that is contemplated, and therefore the indicative is used.

cαλ γάρ] 'for in fact Cyrus continued to send in the regular tribute.' Either γιγνομένους or προσίντας is usual in this connexion. Cf. Aristoph. Nesp. 657,

tὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων συλλήβδην τὸν προσίντα.

The word δασιάδος denotes the royal tribute, the payment of which was the chief object of Darius when he divided his kingdom into the twenty satrapies mentioned in Herod. III. 89.

§§ 9—end. Additional forces are collected by Clearchus in the Thracian Chersonese, by Aristippus in Thessaly, and also by Proxenus, Sophanetus and Socrates.

Κλέαρχος] The son of Ramphias. The details of his history are given at some length in II. 6 §§ 1—5, where he is described as a man of the greatest energy in the conduct of military affairs. Having persuaded the Ephors to appoint him Harmost of the Byzantines with permission to help them in their war against Thrace, he established a despotic power, and, having refused obedience to the authorities at Sparta, was sentenced to death and became an exile at the court of Cyrus.

tοῦτῳ συγγενὸμενος] Observe the absence of the connecting particle, which is frequently omitted by Xenophon when a statement is prefaced by a demonstrative pronoun. As a general rule, it is before passages which are explanatory of a previous statement that we find the particle omitted whether in prose or verse. The word δαρεικόν is strictly an adjective with which στατήρας is to be supplied. From 1. 7. 18, it is clear that Xenophon estimates it as equivalent in value to twenty
Attic drachmae (about 16\textsuperscript{1}{\textfrac{1}{2}} shillings), though the specimens in the British Museum are said to contain about \frac{1}{10}th more of pure gold than the English sovereign. The name of the coin, if not derived immediately from the inventor (Darius), is clearly connected with the word dardā, the patronymic of the Persian kings.

από τούτων τῶν χρημάτων] ‘on the strength of this supply.’ It will be remembered that the allusions throughout this passage are to the Thracian Chersonese: as the Tauric Chersonese, now known as the Crimea, does not enter into the history of this book.

άφηλε τούς Ἑλλήνας] more especially the inhabitants of Byzantium and Perinthus (11. 6. 1), the latter of which, called afterwards Heraclea, was a Thracian town on the coast of the Propontis.

αὐτῷ] i.e. Κύρω. The verb τρέφειν is frequently used, as in this case, to express the formation or levying of a force, no less than its maintenance: ‘by this means a second army was being secretly collected for his service.’

§ 10. Ἀριστιππός] He was an inhabitant of Larissa, and belonged to the well-known family of the Aleuadai. From the introduction to the Μένο of Plato (§ 325) it appears that he was a pupil of Gorgias.

ἐνοσ ὤν] In the present instance the word is used in its ordinary sense to denote a ‘guest-friend,’ one who is on terms of hospitality with another, whether in consequence of some religious obligation or from hereditary claims. It is strange however to find it repeated in the same sentence with another and different meaning, as in the phrase εἰς διάχιλιος ἕνοσ the sense can only be that of a ‘refugee’ or ‘mercenary.’

eis διαχιλίουs] ‘to the number of two thousand.’ In Latin we find a similar use of the preposition ad, e.g. in Cic. ad Quint. ii. 2, frequentes suimus ad ducentos.

ὡς οὕτω περιγενέμενος ἄν] The force is that of a contingent future, while an event that will certainly take place would require the future participle. The construction is fully explained in Jelf, § 429. 3, the ἄν merely implying the hypothesis εἰ τοῦτο γίνεται or some equivalent. See note on ὡς ἄλωτος ἄν τοῦ χρυσίου (v. 2. 8).

καταλύσαι] ‘not to come to terms.’ The construction is usually explained by understanding τὸν πόλεμον, a suggestion which is to a certain extent confirmed by the following passage in v. 7. 27, οὐκ ἔσται κύριοι οὕτε ἀνέλθαι πόλεμον, ὧν ἀν βούλησθε, οὕτε καταλύσαι. If so, the accusative to be supplied in each case must vary with the sense of the context, and I therefore much prefer the alternative theory, which explains it as an intransitive or reflexive use of the verb in the sense of καταλύεσθαι.

συμβολεύονται] For the constructions of πρὶν, see note on εἰ πέλειος συνελέγησεν (iv. 1. 11). Macmichael in his comments on the passage suggests that the optative rather than the subjunctive mood would have been in keeping with the oblique narration. But instances of this transition are of common occurrence (e.g. in 1. 3. 14), while in the present case the use of the historic presents διδόσων and δεῖται is an additional reason for the employment of the subjunctive.

§ 11. ὡς ἐς Πισίδας βουλόμενος] The Pisidians were a warlike
tribe of mountaineers, whose raids upon the plains beneath them are noticed in III. 2. 23. The district which they inhabited was bounded by Pamphylia, Caria, Phrygia, and Lycaonia. In the sentence before us the distinction between ὤς with the ordinary participle and ὤς with the genitive absolute is very clearly marked: the former denoting the purpose or pretext of the person who is the subject of the clause, the latter his opinions or impressions on some independent point.

τὸν Στυμφάλιον] Stymphalus was a town of Arcadia, situated in the neighbourhood of Tegea. In ii. 6 (16—20) our author describes the character of Proxenus, the Boeotian, of whose integrity and rectitude he speaks in the very highest terms, at the same time commenting on his want of authority in the camp. ‘Truest friend and noblest foe’ is the character given of Sophaecetus in ii. 6. 30. He is probably identical with the person of that name who wrote an account of this same expedition.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—3. Under pretence of making an attack on the Pisidians, Cyrus assembles his forces at Sardis. Their character and numbers.

ἀνω] See note on i. i. i.

τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν] The particle μὲν is often employed without a corresponding ὡς in cases where it is required to emphasise a proposition. A latent antithesis is often suggested by the context, which in the present instance may be supplied as follows: τὸ ἄληθὲς ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλεᾶ ἤν ὁ στόλος. By degrees however this usage, more especially in poetry, became independent of any antithesis whether expressed or implied, and we find the particle employed solely for the sake of emphasis.

ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς] See note on ὡς ἐς Πισίδας (i. i. 11).

ἐνταῦθα] ‘the Greek troops which were already in that quarter.’ For ἐνταῦθα in this sense, compare the frequent use of αὐτὸλε in Thucydides (e.g. in vi. 21). When we consider the position occupied by ἐνταὐθα in the sentence, it is surprising that so many of the editors should connect it with ἀδροίζει in the sense of ἐνταύθα. Thus Zeune, who is followed by Macmichael, would render it ‘towards that point,’ i.e. Pisidia. Mr Taylor, adopting Krüger’s explanation, translates ‘at Sardis.’ The article, which Dindorf has introduced before ἐνταῦθα, is rejected by Kühner as needless.

λαβώντα] By attraction for λαβώντα, though a few lines below our author adopts the more usual accusative: Ξενιά... ἥειν παραγγέλλει λαβώντα. It will be noticed that in each case where the dative is used the participle follows closely on the substantive to which it is attracted. Where these are separated by any interval, the construction would naturally pass into the accusative and infinitive.

ὑπαλλαγόντα] Cf. i. i. 10. By a comparison with § 5 we find that Aristippus did not appear in person, but that Meno was sent in his place.

ἰκανὸν ἡσαύ] Kühner follows the five leading MSS in reading
§ 2. τοὺς Μιλησίους πολιορκοῦντας. Cf. 1. 1. 7. The reading παυ-
σασθαι would in Madvig's opinion necessitate the introduction of ἀν, as
the aorist in this connexion usually denotes a past rather than a future
event. As an alternative, he suggests that παύσασθαι is perhaps the
true reading. Kühner on the other hand defends the text on the ground
that verbs of hoping and expecting are constructed indifferently with the
present, future or aorist of the infinitive, while he instances two passages
in which the verb we are considering is followed by the aorist infinitive
with the unanimous agreement of the mss. Cf. 2. 3. 20, ἔπεσχετο μοι
βουλεύσασθαι, and Oct. vii. 8, ὑποψηφιωμένη...γενέσθαι, οίαν δει.
κατάγαν] So Kühner with the three chief mss in place of the
ordinary reading καταγάνοι. In the phrase παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις, which
is a condensed expression for ἔδουτες εἰς Σάρδεις παρῆσαν, we have an
idiom analogous to that which occurs in the following line, τούς ἐκ τῶν
πόλεων. The latter has already been noticed in connexion with τῶν
παρὸι βασιλέως (1. 1. 5).
Σάρδεις] The ancient capital of Lydia. On the site stands the
modern town of Sard.
§ 3. γυμνῆται] As a general rule, the word is used as an equiva-
lent for ψιλότο to denote the various classes of light-armed troops. In
particular cases however (e.g. v. 2. 12), it is used in contradistinction
with τοξότας and ἄκουστας, both of which terms it would commonly
include.

εἰς τριάκ., μέν ὁπλ., τριάκ. δὲ πελτ. ἐξων] Kühner and Dindorf have
both adopted this reading, which is supported by the authority of all
the best mss. The majority of the editors read εἰς ἐπτακοσίους ἐξων
ἄνδρας after the inferior mss, which Kühner regards as an evident
attempt to make the number of the troops coincide with the totals given
in § 9 of the present chapter. A calculation of the contingents supplied
by the individual generals gives 10,000 as the total number of the heavy-
armed troops, while the light-armed forces amount in all to 2300. On
the other hand in § 9 the hoplites are described as numbering 11,000
men (μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι), and the peltasts 2000, so that by the proposed
alteration in the text the totals in each case would be made exactly to
coincide. But the very fact of this precision is in itself suspicious,
more especially as Xenophon throughout the Aneabasis always uses round
numbers in speaking of his troops; in addition to which, Kühner notices
the employment of the word ἄνδρας in place of the more usual ὁπλίτας
as a further argument against the proposed emendation.

τῶν ἁρφι Μιλησίου] A partitive genitive: 'among the number of
those who were engaged in the investment of Miletus.' In the
following sentence ἀνῷ is an ethic dative, which is used to denote
that the person or persons in question have a certain interest and partic-
ipation in the matter in hand: 'these troops came at his bidding to
Sardis.'

§ 4. The preparations which Cyrus is making are reported to the
King by Tissaphernes.
2—6

NOTES.

κατανόησα] The preposition (as in κατάδουν, iv. 3. 11) denotes an accidental or casual impression. Occasionally it implies that the discovery is made to the injury or detriment of another party, e.g. Thuc. II. 2, κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν Θηβαίων ὄντας, i.e. ‘discovered to their cost that they were few in number.’ Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos have stated on the authority of Ephorus that the first intimation of these schemes was given by Alcibiades to Pharnabazus.

§§ 5—9. The counter-preparations of the King. Cyrus begins his march through Lydia and Phrygia, arriving at Celaenae, where he holds a review of his troops. The situation and history of the place.

σταθμοὺς...παρασάγγας] The word σταθμὸς or ‘stage’ was originally applied to the stations or halting-places where the Persian king rested in his travels, and soon came by metonymy to denote the march which had preceded the halt rather than the actual halting-place. For the length of the parasang, cf. Herod. ii. 6, δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήμετρα στάδια, which is regarded by the best authorities as equivalent to 5469 yards or 27½ geographical miles. It must however be carefully remembered that the parasang is no fixed unit of measurement, but one which varies in proportion with the character of the ground. Accordingly, as Mr Taylor notices, the mean value of the parasang is about 2’704 geographical miles, if we take into consideration the entire length of the march from Sardis to Cunaxa; while on the best portions of the road, aided by the favourable season of the year (April or May), it amounts to as much as 2’608 miles, and on the worst it falls to 1’98 or considerably less. It is in fact a measurement of time rather than of distance, a fact which is receiving curious illustration at the present day in our war news from the East. Take, for example, the following telegram from the Times for July 20, 1877:—Erzeroum, Sunday. ‘The Russians have retired to a distance of six hours beyond Kars. Mukhtar Pacha is entrenching himself at Veren Kalé, two hours west of the city.’

τὸν Μαλανδρὸν] Leaving Sardis about the 6th of March in the year 401 B.C. according to the usual calculation, Cyrus followed the course of the river Cogamus (now Kagam) till he reached the Meander, which in the opinion of the best authorities he crossed at a short distance above its junction with the Lycus. Rising near Celaenae, the Meander forms the boundary between Lydia and Caria. It is now known as the Minder.

δὸν πλέορα] i.e. 202 English feet. Observe the force of the preposition in the compound ἐπεζευγμένη, which in all probability directly governs the dative πλοῖος, ‘a bridge constructed upon seven boats.’ The explanation which treats πλοῖος as a dative of the instrument takes no account of the preposition, and is suggestive rather of ἐφευγμένη, a reading which appears in the interior MSS.

§ 6. εἰς Κολοσσᾶς] This city is noticed in Herod. vii. 30 as one of considerable importance. It was situated in Phrygia on the banks of the Lycus. It is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth year of Nero’s reign, but was afterwards rebuilt. In the middle ages its place was taken by Chonae (now Khoнос), north of which, at a distance of three miles, has been discovered the true site of Colossae.

Μένων] Cf. i. i. 10, and also ii. 6. 28 for the circumstances under
which he received the command from Aristippus. The Dolopes inhabited a district in the south of Epirus. The Aenianes came from the neighbourhood of Mount Oeta and the river Sperchius in Southern Thessaly.

§ 7. els Κελαναὶς] Herodotus, who describes Celaenae in connexion with the march of Xerxes to Sardis (VII. 26), mentions a second stream which rises in the Agora of Celaenae called the Catarrhaectes. This is no doubt identical with the Marsyas. The sources of the Meander are described in similar terms by Livy, xxxviii. 13, and it is now accepted as a certainty that the Marsyas and Meander, though rising in the same neighbourhood, were entirely separate streams. Apamea, which was built out of the ruins of Celaenae, occupied the site of the modern Dinair.

παράδεισος] 'a park.' The phrase ἀπὸ ἵππου, 'on horseback,' is a condensed form of expression like those I have already cited in a note on § 2. Compare a similar use of the preposition in Latin, e.g. ex quo pugnare, ex cathedra loqui and similar phrases. The optative βούλεσθο is frequentative, a force closely connected with that of the indefinite optative, inasmuch as it does not limit the reference to any particular occasion.

§ 8. πετὴ σοφίας] 'in musical skill.' Cf. Eustath. ad Πλ. ο. p. 1023, ὁ γὰρ παλαιὸς σοφὸς ἐκάλου ἢπαντα τοὺς τεχνίτας. The circumstances and context must in each case determine the particular reference. Thus in Pindar σοφία generally denotes the art of the poet, but is also used of the athlete, the surgeon and the musician. The story of Marsyas is told at length in Herod. vii. 26 and Liv. xxxviii. 13, and is usually explained as typifying the triumph of the Dorian music over the Phrygian.

ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ] Hamilton in all probability saw the very cave in question, though the surrounding cliff had fallen in and blocked the source of the stream.

§ 9. τῷ μάχῃ] The battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.

καὶ Σωσίς] καὶ Σωσίας al., but Kühner, Dindorf and the best editors have adopted the reading of the text on the conjecture of Burmann, who mentions the name Σωσίς as of frequent occurrence in Sicilian inscriptions.

Σοφαλνετος ὁ Ἀρκάς] He has however been mentioned already in § 3. Krüger thinks that the name Κλεάνωρ should be substituted, but Macmichael with greater probability suggests in place of it Ἀγίας ὁ Ἀρκάς, tracing the corruption into Ἀρκάς ὁ Ἀρκάς, a reading which an overbusy copyist would soon improve upon by the introduction of some Arcadian name.

μύρκος καὶ χίλιοι] Consult note on § 3.

§§ 10—12. Cyprus continues his march by way of Peltas to Cemororum Agora and thence to Caystrum Campus. At the last-named place he is met by Epyaxa, the Cilician queen, who supplies him with the money required for the payment of his troops.

els Πέλατος] i.e. the Peltanus Campus, with which compare Καυστρον πεταίου and the German Rheinfelden. Although he was making for the East, it is clear that he did not take a direct course, as the plain in question lies considerably to the north-west of Celaenae. Colonel
Chesney (II. 206) suggests that his object in making this retrograde movement was to avoid a difficult portion of the Taurus.

τὰ Λύκαια ἔθνη] In all probability the allusion is to the worship of Lycaean Zeus, referred to by Pausanias (VIII. 2. 1), and resembling in the details of its celebration the Roman Lupercalia. Festivals of the same name were held throughout Areadia in honour of the god Pan. The epithet Λύκειος, denoting one of the attributes of Apollo and connected in all probability with Λύκη (lux), must be carefully distinguished from the above.

στριγίλες χρυσοῖ] 'golden flesh-scrappers,' like the Roman strigiles, are probably meant. Schneider however and Boeckh think that a particular species of head-band is referred to, used chiefly by women and by the envoys or representatives of a State.

Κεραμών ἄγραφ] Afterwards called Trajanopolis. Allowing for variation in the value of the parasang, we may identify the site with that of the modern Ushak. Hamilton describes it as a place of considerable importance at the present day, many of the high roads of Asia Minor passing through it. To a person travelling from Apaneia (Celae-

αν) into Mysia it would be the last town on the road, a mountainous and uninhabited district separating it from Mysia.

§ 11. τρεάκουτα] These forced marches are noticed as a difficulty by Rennell and by Mr Taylor, for we must remember that Cyrus was travelling in his own satrapy. It is possible that a period of three days, which is required to make the items of the journey consistent with the total, may be supplied at this point, or, on the other hand, the very facility of the roads may have tempted him to hasten his progress where it was possible.

eis Καυστρον πεδίον] Hamilton and Ainsworth are agreed in fixing the Caystrì Campus in the basin of the river now called the Eber Ghiel: but Hamilton places the exact site at or near the village of Chai Kieni, and Ainsworth further west in a high and arid upland called Sarmenëh. It is to a certain extent in favour of Sarmenëh that a large amount of antiquarian treasures have been discovered there and none apparently at Chai Kieni, while on the other hand an upland like Sarmenëh would appear to have been insufficiently watered for the purposes of a large army.

πλέον ἦ] An adverbial accusative, like the Latin plusquam. Cf. II. 6. 9, µωράδας πλέον ἦ δῶδεικα, and VI. 4. 24, ἰνδρὸν οὐ µεῖον πεντακοσίον.

ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας] i.e. ad praetorium Cyri. Mr Taylor aptly compares the 'Sublime Porte.'

ὁν γη] 'put them off with promises.' So Schneider, who supplies αυτόν instead of χρύνον, which is the alternative explanation.

πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου] 'it was not characteristic of Cyrus.' The theory which represents the name Syennesis as the regular patronymic of the Cilician kings is rejected by Kühner.

§ 12. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιά] This reading, which is found in all the chief MSS, is distinctly preferable to τῇ οὖν στρατιά which is given in the majority, and even to τῇ γοῦν στρατιά which is adopted by Poppo on the suggestion of Schneider. The particles have their usual resumptive force: 'anyhow,' 'be that as it may.'
'Ασπεινίους] Aspendus was situated on the rocky banks of the Euryneodon in Pamphylia.

§§ 13—18. Continuing his march Cyrus passes through Thymbrium to Tyriaeum, where, at the request of Epyaxa, he holds a review of his troops. The display causes a panic amongst the barbarians.

εἰς Θυμβρίῳ] Ainsworth places the site at the modern Ishekli; Col. Chesney, with whom Hamilton is virtually agreed, in the immediate neighbourhood of the present town of Ak Shehr. The objection to the latter theory is that it necessitates a reduction in the estimate of the parasang along a portion of the march where the road can have presented few difficulties.

παρὰ τὴν ὄδον] This irregular use of the accusative without the accompanying idea of motion or extension is objected to by Schneider and others, who would read περὶ for παρὰ in all cases where the context admits of the change. To justify it, we must either translate 'flowing along the road side,' or regard it as employed in reference to the marching-past of the troops. We have however a still more irregular instance in v. 3. 13, στήλη ἐστηκε παρὰ τῶν ναον, where no explanation of the kind seems available, and we can only notice the usage as a peculiarity in the author's style. The story of Silenus is told in Ov. Metam. xi. 90 ff. According to Ainsworth, the spring in question is now called Ulu Bunar.

§ 14. εἰς Τυραῖον] Probably identical with Ilghum, as Arkut Khan, at which Ainsworth is inclined to place it, presents by his own account a surface of irregular limestone, little suitable for the purposes of a review. Again, Strabo's narrative is in favour of this theory, as he places Tyriaeum between Philomelium and Laodicea, near the borders of Lycaonia. Mr Taylor in a general review of this doubtful portion of the route sums up our present knowledge in the fact that 'the road itself must have passed between the two ranges of mountains, the Emir Dagh on the north-east, and the Sultan Dagh on the south-west.'

§ 15. εἰς μάχην] sub. ταχθών, which is the general idea suggested in the clause which follows. εἰπε τεταρτῶν is 'four deep.' Cf. iv. 8. 11 ‘ἐὰν ἔτρ’ ὀλίγων τεταγμένον ἰώμεν.

οἱ εἰς ἐκεῖνο] Dindorf would omit the preposition, though it appears in all the five leading mss with the exception of one. The phrase is no mere equivalent for οἱ ἐκεῖνο, but denotes connexion with or dependence on a person or thing. Whether the dependence is a local or a moral one is not clear. Kühner apparently suggests the latter in his comment 'qui ejus imperio subjecti erant,' but, comparing other similar phrases and the Latin stare a parte, I am inclined to think that the primary idea is that of locality: i.e. 'the division that takes its departure from him.'

§ 16. κατ’ Ἑλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις] 'by troops and companies,' the former referring to the cavalry force, the latter to the infantry. An Ἑλη was composed of 64 men, while the full complement of a τάξις was apparently 128, though in Cyrop. ii. 1. 25 it does not amount to more than 100. The word ἄρμαμαξα denotes a four-wheeled carriage, used exclusively by women and children. Its equivalent in Latin is carpentum.
NOTES.

χιτώνας φοινίκες] This form of the adjective is retained by Kühner after the four chief mss in place of φοινίκυς. According to Xen. Rep. Lac. xi. 3, the 'scarlet tunic' was adopted from the uniform of the Spartan army.

ἐκκεκαλαμμένας] This reading is preferred by Kühner, Poppe and the best editors to ἐκκεκαλαρμένας. It also appears in all the best mss. The reference is no doubt to the 'cases' or 'covers' known as σάγματα, ἔντρα and θήκαι, while Caesar (B. G. II. 21) speaks of them as scutum-rum tegimenta. Cf. Aristoph. Achar. 574 τίς Γοργών ἐξηγείρεν ἐκ τοῦ σάγματος; Weiske suggests τὰς κυνημίδας ἐκκεκαλαρμένας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλαμμένας, but the word κυνημίδα is sufficient without the participle and denotes in itself that the troops were completely equipped.

§ 17. στῆσας...πέμψας] See note on ὑπολαβῶν in I. 1. 7.

προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα] 'to present arms,' a somewhat uncommon use of the phrase, which is generally employed in reference to the shield alone, e.g. in IV. 2. 21, where the participle προβέβλημένος is used absolutely, 'covering them both with his shield.'

ἐσάλπιγξε] subst. σαλπιγκτής, as with ἐσάλπην in III. 4. 4. The omission is common in the case of certain officials (e.g. κύρια, γραμματεῖς, etc.), whose duties were so well recognised as to be suggested in each case by the mere use of the verb.

προϊόντων] 'as they advanced faster and faster.' The pronoun is often omitted, where the context leaves no doubt as to the subject of the participle. The recurrence of the phrase ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς in the following section shows that in both cases the reference is to the camp of the Greeks.

§ 18. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων κ.τ.λ.] The regular construction would have been as follows: φοῖ βος δὲ πολὺς ἢν καὶ ἄλλος τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῇ Κιλισσῷ, the change being made to give greater prominence and emphasis to the latter clauses of the sentence.

ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμαμάζης] ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάζης, Zeune, who is followed by Kühner and others. But the conjecture, so far as I can gather, is unsupported by any manuscript authority, while the reading of the text, though somewhat less vigorous in sense, is open to no possible objection.

την τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος] We might have expected the addition of the article, i.e. τὴν τάξιν την τοῦ στρατεύματος. But in this and similar phrases the two substantives represent one combined idea, and are in fact equivalent to a compound word. Cf. ἀκμῆ τοῦ βίου, 'life's prime' (VII. 2. 20), ἀπαλλαγῆ τοῦ βίου, 'life's end' (Cyrop. V. 1. 13), ὑπερβολὴ τῶν ὄριων 'a mountain-pass' (1. 2. 25).

τῶν ἐκ τῶν 'Ἑλ. εἰς τοὺς βαρ.] 'the panic infused by the Greeks into the barbarians.' The phrase presents no difficulties, but is cumbrous and inelegant in form, and exhibits moreover a somewhat irregular use of the preposition εἰς.

§§ 19—23. Cyrus continues his march to Iconium, and thence through Lycaonia and Cappadocia to Dana with the object of crossing the Taurus range into Cilicia. As a preliminary, he sends Epicyaxa home, escorted by Mena and a body of troops, who, under the name of a guard of honour, succeed in checking Syennaesis by turning the pass of the Cilician Gates.
eis Ἱκνίων] The last city in Phrygia, the site of the modern König. At a later period it was incorporated with Lycaonia (Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 25) of which it became the capital.

§ 20. ἀποτελέσματι] The place of parting was either Kara Binar (the ‘Black Spring’), or, supposing Cyrus to have taken a southerly route, at a point called Tchirula, in the neighbourhood of which are the ruins of Lystra and Derbe. The queen herself crossed by one of the western spurs of the Taurus to Solt or Pompeiopolis, and thence to Tarsus. It is probable, as Colonel Chesney suggests, that the real object of Epyaxa in her mission to Cyrus was to divert him from entering her husband’s territory who feared the enmity of Artaxerxes.

πρὸς Δάναυ] The same as Tyana, of which indeed the text may be a corruption. A peculiar lake of troubled water has enabled Hamilton to identify the site with that of the modern Kiz Hisar. The city was of special importance as commanding the approach to the Cilician Gates. According to Strabo, it was also known as Enesebia ad Taurum.

φωυκιστὴν βασιλείαν] ‘a wearer of the royal purple.’ The κάνδως, which is the subject of the allusion, was worn only by the highest officials and was received from the king’s own hand. Those of the next order were styled παραλυργεῖς, as only facings of purple were allowed on their robes.

τῶν ὑπάρχων] The deputies of a satrap, for which Kühner compares 1. 8. 5, where the name in question is given to Ariaceus as the representative of Cyrus.

§ 21. ἥ δὲ εἰσβολή] The pass of the Cilician Gates, mentioned by Curt. III. 4 as Ciliciae portae, and by Cis. ad Att. v. 20. 1 as Tauri pyle, is now called Kulak Bughaz. It is said by Col. Chesney to be one of the longest and most difficult passes in the world, to whose interesting work (i. 350 ff.) I must refer the student for a full description of the scenery. ‘The actual pass,’ to quote the words of Mr Ainsworth, ‘is just broad enough, as Xenophon describes it, for a chariot to pass, if disencumbered of fallen rocks... High, precipitous cliffs tower up on both sides; on the summit of one of which are the remains of a castle with round towers, and a tablet, which once bore an inscription, is still to be seen on the face of a large mass of detached rock that lies in the rivulet.’

ἐμεῖνε] The allusion to Syennesis being only parenthetical, the narrative now returns to Cyrus who is the main subject of the sentence.

tὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα] In the majority of the editions these words are made to precede δι᾽ as an anticipatory accusative, for which compare in Latin Ter. Enn. v. 9. 5 Scin’ me, in quibus sim gaudis, and in Greek Soph. Trach. 736 ὁ μήτερ, ὡς ἄν ἐκ τριῶν σ’ ἐν εἰλόμην, Ἡ μηκέτ’ εἶναι ἐκόλαὶ ἦ σεσωμένη Ἀλλος κεκλήθη αὐτῷ μητέρ’, ἦ κ.τ.λ. But, as Kühner points out, this alteration in the natural order of the sentence has been made in the present case against the authority of all the leading MSS.

δι᾽ τριήμερος ἤκονε] If the text of this involved passage be accepted as genuine, and it is quoted as such by Dem. Phal. in his treatise περι
NOTES.

Ἐρμηνείας § 198 p. 80, it can only be explained as a remarkable instance of trajectory. The regular order of the words would have been as follows: ὅτι ἢκουε Ταμών ἐχοντα τριήρεις τὰς Δακεβασιμοῦνων καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀράον περιπλεοῦσα ἀπ’ Ἡλιῶν εἰς Κυλικιαν. The alternative explanation, according to which the words Ταμών ἐχοντα are parenthetical, depending in common with τριήρεις on the verb ἢκουε, presents still greater difficulties. Weiske and Schneider, notwithstanding the evidence of the mss, regard the concluding portion of the sentence, commencing with the word Ταμών, as a mere interpolation. The construction is rendered additionally awkward by the presence of the word ὅτι in both clauses but with a different sense: ‘when he found that Meno’s troops were already in Cilicia, and because he was informed’ etc.

Ταμών] A native of Memphis in Egypt, who had held a command under Tissaphernes in Ionia (cf. Thuc. viii. 31. 87). He was afterwards put to death by Psammitichus. The presence of the Spartan fleet on this occasion under the command of Samius is explained in Hell. iii. 1. 2.

§ 22. ὅ’ οὖν] See note on 1. 2. 12. For the epithet ἐπιβύντορ, cf. Curt. iii. 4. 6, planitiem eius crebris distinguenteris rivos. The rivers in question are the Psaros, Cydnus and Pyramus. This district, which is now called the Plain of Adana, still presents according to Ainsworth the same characteristics, ‘growing sesame, panic, millet, wheat and barley as in the olden time.’

ἐκ θαλασσῆς εἰς θάλασσαν] Cf. Curt. iii. 4. 6. The plain is in fact enclosed by Taurus to the west and north, Amanus to the east, and Rhosus to the south.

§§ 23—25. The Greeks arrive at Tarsus, and plunder the city in retaliation for the losses sustained by Meno in the pass.

ὁποτ θὰ...βασιλεία] The construction is a favourite one with Xenophon, and is employed when reference is made to a total which is composed of several distinct parts. Thus in 1. 4. 10 it is used again of a palace, in 1. 5. 1 of a collection of various kinds of plants, and in 1. 7. 17 of a multitude of different footprints. In certain other passages (e.g. IV. 1. 13, IV. 2. 25, and Thuc. iv. 88) the plural would seem to be used out of regard to the meaning rather than the gender of the substantive.

εὖρος] The accusative of nearer definition, like ὄνομα which precedes it. In the sentence which follows, ἐξελιπτον...εἰς χωρίον is a condensed expression for ἐκλαμπτοντες ἐφυγον εἰς χωρίον. Observe that the idea of motion is still continued in the words ἐπι τὰ δρη; else the genitive or dative would have been the case employed. The fastness to which the inhabitants fled has been identified, but not with any certainty, as the Castle of Nimrud on the adjacent hills.

§ 24. οἱ παρὰ τὴν θαλάσσαν] The accusative of extension, for which see note on IV. 3. 1. Soli, the modern Missolí, was a Greek colony, the inhabitants of which would consequently be safe. It was situated near the mouth of the river Lamas. The city of Issi or Issus is described in 1. 4. 1. It was situate on the sea-coast at the other extremity of Cilicia.

§ 25. πέντε ἡμέραις] The dative is the usual case in this con-
nexion, though on two occasions (Anab. i. 7. 12 and Thuc. i. 105) we find the accusative. For τῶν εἰς τὸ πέδιον, 'that reach downward to the plain,' Reiske suggests τῇ εἰς τὸ πέδιον, a needless alteration, as the mention of the mountains implies by consequence the pass.

ἐκατὼν ὑπλίται] i. e., in all probability, one half the complement of the two λόγοι, a loss amply sufficient to justify the use of the phrase λόγοι ἀπώλοντο. In the former portion of the sentence we have an example of καὶ oū followed by ὀνθέ. According to Kühner, the former is used after a positive statement, the latter after a negative; e. g. in 1. 4. 7 καὶ oū is the formula employed: ἀπώλοντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, καὶ oū πρὸς βασιλέα.

§§ 26—end. Cyrus has an interview with Syennesis which results in the exchange of friendly gifts and promises.

τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς] Ταρσοῦς, τὴν πόλιν would be the natural order of the words, but the change is made because a digression has intervened since the last mention of the city: ‘they plundered the town, Tarsus I mean.’

eἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν] ‘to have an interview with,’ a most unusual sense of the words, which are generally employed, as in IV. 7. 15, to denote a hand to hand fight, with which compare the corresponding phrase ἐκ χειρὸς (Soph. Ai. 27, and Anab. v. 4. 25).

πλατείς ἐλαβε] We must supply Συνέννεσις, who, notwithstanding the introduction of γνωρίζει, is the main nominative of the sentence.

§ 27. προσελήφθαι] The infinitive depends on ἔδωκε, and takes the place of an additional substantive. It is of course a strict passive, even supposing the order of the words to be as follows: ‘that the king should not be plundered in the matter of his territory.’ Comparing Cyrop. viii. 2. 8, Macmichael observes in connexion with these presents that Cyrus had already begun to exercise the prerogatives of a king.

ἐντυγχάνωσι] ἐνδ. οἱ Κιλίκες.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1, 2. The troops suspect the object of their mission, and in consequence refuse to advance. Clearchus, in the endeavour to compel them, is roughly handled.

tοῦ πρώτου] ‘refused to go a step further.’ The genitive is a partitive one, ‘any portion of the road that lay beyond.’

ἐδίπλοτο] Observe the tense: ‘was for using compulsion.’ Mr Taylor notices the fact as characteristic of the disposition of Clearchus.

§ 2. τὸ μὴ καταπετρωθώραι] One of the best MSS gives τοῦ μὴ καταπετρωθώραι, which is rejected by Kühner and Krüger on the ground that the best classical authorities do not combine ἐκφυγεῖν with the genitive. We may further suggest that, if the construction were possible, the presence of the negative would in that case be incapable of defence. Beginners should notice the introduction of the negative in this and similar phrases, which is either (1) redundant, and added
merely for the sake of additional emphasis, or (2) and more probably, exegetical, 'escaped, so that he did not die.'

'ὅτι οὖν δυνήσται' would be the regular construction, but the sentence passes into the direct narration, with the object probably of adding reality to the conception.

ἐκκλησίαν] The reference of all important questions to an assembly of the soldiers, by whom they were discussed and voted upon with all the formalities of the national ἐκκλησία, is one of the most remarkable features in the history of the Expedition, denoting as it does the strong devotion of this citizen-army to their civil and political traditions. At the same time it was clearly an important instrument in the hands of the officers for the maintenance of their authority, who (to judge from the character of the speeches and the arguments employed) entertained no very high opinion of the intelligence of their audience.

§§ 3—6. The speech of Clearchus.

τοῖς παροσί πραγμασί] This use of the dative after χαλεπῶς φέρειν, with which the accusative is the ordinary construction, is apparently confined to Xenophon. In Hell. III. 4. 9 we have another example, βαρέως φέρειν τῇ ἁθύμα. It may be traced in all probability to the omission of the preposition, as χαλεπῶς φέρειν επὶ τινὶ is a construction recognised by Demosthenes and the best authorities.

καθηδύπαθησα] 'nay I did not even indulge myself in idle luxury.' Καθηδύπαθεω, like so many verbs which are found in the Ἀναβάσις (e.g. καταβλακεδεω, καταδειλαῖ), would seem to have been suggested by the poetic compounds which are a marked feature in the language of Plato. It is intransitive in form, and apparently also in sense, for I can see no grounds for the supposition that its force is altered by the addition of κατά. On the contrary, the preposition occurs repeatedly in similar compounds when the reference is to an evil or injurious action. Observe the continued process which is suggested by the change from καθηδύπαθησα to the imperfect ἐδαπάνων, and the equally strong contrast between ἐπολέμησα and ἐτιμωροῦμην at the commencement of the following section.

§ 4. ἐτιμωροῦμην] Kühner calls attention to the omission of the object. In the present case however it is rather transposed than omitted, as the natural order of the sentence would have been as follows: ἐτιμωροῦμην μεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῦς ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου ἑλείσων.

§ 5. ἀνάγκη δὲ] Only one of the five leading mss has preserved the true reading, the others give ἀνάγκη δὲ, which is clearly indefensible, as the apodosis in that case could only commence with the words εἰ μὲν δὴ κ. τ. Λ. where it would be altogether out of place.

§ 6. καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους] An evident reminiscence of Homer. Cf. Π. vi. 429,

"Εκτερο, ἀτάρ σὺ μοι ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ ᾳΗδὲ κασίγυντος,

which Bornemann further illustrates from Eur. Hec. 284,

ἡδ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐστὶ μοι παραψυχή, πόλει, τιθήμη, βάκτρον, ἡγεμὼν ὄδου.

ἵν οἷμαι εἶναι] The conditions which are implied by the presence of
āν are suggested in the first clause by ὅπως ὑμῖν (‘provided I am supported by you’), and in the second by ἔρημος ὁ ἄν (‘if I am deserted by you’). As regards the repetition of ἄν in the same sentence, it may be noticed that it will generally be placed early to stamp the character of the sentence which is to follow, and it will appear again in all probability with the emphatic word (e.g. with the negatives in the present instance), and again perhaps with the main verb towards the close of the sentence. For a similar collocation cf. Oed. Tyr. 1227,

οἱμαί γὰρ οὕτ’ ἄν Ἱστρον οὕτε Φάσων ἄν
νῆσαί καθαρωτά τήρε τήν στέγην.

ἄλεξάσασθαι] ἄλεξασθαι, the majority of the editors including Vollbrecht. Mr Taylor prints ἄλεξασθαι in his text, which, to judge from the note on the passage, is a printer’s error for ἄλεξάσασθαι. The latter reading is accepted by Kühner and Bornemann on the authority of all the chief MSS as a Homeric form of the aorist. In other passages of the Anabasis we have the corresponding forms of the present, e.g. ἄλεξομεθα (VII. 7. 3), ἄλεξασθε (VII. 3. 44) and ἄλεξόμενος (I. 9. 11).

ὡς ἐμοῦ ὅπως ἑνός] ‘in full persuasion that I shall follow you.’ Consult note on ὅς ἐς Πίσιδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι in I. 1. 11.

§§ 7, 8. The soldiers express their approval in ignorance of the fact that Clearchus is acting in the interests of Cyrus.

παρὰ βασιλέα] ‘to the king.’ The vague and indefinite preposition is purposely employed in place of ἐπί which would have implied direct hostility.

§ 8. καταστησαμένων] ‘in the assurance that things would right themselves.’

§§ 9—12. The second address of Clearchus.

τά μὲν ὅῃ Κύρον κ.τ.λ.] The rhetorical prelude with which the speech opens is a clever device for suggesting incidentally a fact which the speaker shrinks from stating in clearer terms: οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ ἡμῖν μακροδότης.

§ 10. τὸ μὲν μέγιστον] ‘chiefly from a sense of shame.’ The phrase τὸ μέγιστον, which is equivalent in these cases to ὅ μέγιστόν ἦστι, is in apposition with the sentence which follows.

§ 11. ἐκ τοῦτων] ‘under the circumstances.’ In the following sentence the subjunctive μενωμεν, which is supported by the authority of all the MSS, has been arbitrarily displaced by Buttmann in favour of μενομεν with the object of making the construction of the clauses uniform. In a former note (I. 1. 4) I have pointed out the distinction between the indicative and the subjunctive when used in this connexion, nor is there the slightest objection to their combination in the present instance. Compare a similar passage in II. 2. 10, ἐπιμελομένην... ὃπος ὑγιαινης τε καὶ ὁπος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μυθοῦσ ἐνδειξης ἐσῃ, and another in II. 4. 2, where however there is some slight doubt as to the genuine reading: τοῦς πολλούς οὔτε ὃπος κτήσαται φροντίζωτα, οὔτε ὃπος οἱ ὄντες ἐανοίς σώτηραται.

§ 12. ἐχθρὸς...πολέμοις] An excellent example of the distinction which marks the use of these two adjectives, and which Krüger further illustrates by the following passage of Curtius (VII. 10. 8): illi nun-
 quam se inimicos ei, sed bello lacesitos hostesuisse respondent. The
verb γιγνώσκειν in the concluding sentence of the section, though often
equivalent, as Mr Taylor points out, to γνῶμην ἀποφαινεσθαι, is not so
in the present passage, to judge from the words which follow: λέξοντες
ἀ ἐγγυνωσκόν.

§§ 13—15. Amongst other propositions, the suggestion is made by an
agent of Clearchus that they should choose fresh officers, and appeal to
Cyprus for help to enable them to return to Greece. Clearchus de-
clines to take the command, but promises his assistance in a subordinate
capacity.

καὶ μὲν εὖν καὶ ἀπιέναι] These infinitives are explanatory of ἀπορία:
‘how impossible it was for them either to go or stay without the con-
sent of Cyprus.’

§ 14. ἐις δὲ δὴ εἰπε] ‘nay one of them actually proposed.’ The
de is equivalent to adeo and has an intensifying force. Cf. II. 6. 20, ἐι
δὲ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀρετὴν ἄκοιντες στασίάζωσι, and Thuc. III. 40. ἐι δὲ δὴ καὶ οὐ
προσήκον ὅμως ἄξιοντες τοῦτο δράν. In the words ἐι μη βοηλεται which
take the place of ἐι μη βοηλειτα, the sentence passes from the indirect
to the direct narration, an idiom which is repeated again a few lines
below where ἐαν δὲ μη διδώς stands for ἐι δὲ μη διδοθ, and still more
prominently in the close of the speech where the indirect construction
is altogether abandoned: ἀν τολλονου...ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες. In such
cases, as I have previously noticed, it is the more prominent and em-
phatic points of the speech that are presented in the oratio recta.

συσκευάζονται] The Latin convasari, vasa colligere. There is no
need to supply τινάς with ἔλθοντας, as the subject is sufficiently sug-
gested in the previous clauses. Consult the note on βουλευομένους in
I. 1. 7. With προκαταληψομένως which follows the case is different,
as a fresh subject has to be supplied.

φιλίας] The adjective is not only a predicate but also proleptic:
‘to lead them through the country (and make it) a friendly one.’

ἀπάξει] ἀποσει Bornemann after all the chief mss, while Kühner,
Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors retain the reading of the
text on the ground that ἀποφέρεων is only used of cattle or in-
animal things. Macmichael reads ἀποσει in his text, and ἀπάξει in
his note.

ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες] Cf. τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἰχον ἀνακεκομισμένα (IV. 7.
1). The combination of ἔχω with a participle, usually the aorist but
sometimes the perfect as in the instances before us, denotes at once the
original action and the continuance of its effects. Compare a similar
use of habere in Latin, e. g. in Cic. ad Att. I. 18. 5.

§ 15. Another speech from Clearchus.

ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσοντα] ‘let no man speak of me as intending to
unite this command.’ The accusative ἐμε is directly dependent on
the verb λεγέτω, a construction altogether different from those which
we noticed in connexion with § 6. Στρατηγιλαυ is of course the accusa-
tive of the cognate substantive. With the second clause of the sen-
tence (ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ...πείσομαι) the construction is varied, partly to
increase the emphasis and partly in consequence of the previous
parenthesis.
kal ἠρχεσθαι ἐπισταμαι] Cf. Soph. Antig. 668,
kal τοῦτον ἀν τὸν ἄνδρα θαρσοῦν ἐγὼ
καλῶς μὲν ἠρχεσθ' ἐν τούτῳ, ἐν δ' ἀν ἠρχεσθαι θέλειν.

μάλιστα] sub. ἐπισταταί. In this and similar phrases kal is added
for the sake of emphasis: cf. Plat. Apol. § 28 ἐκ ποτε τοῦτο καλὸν ἔλλοτε.

§§ 16 to end. Another speaker suggests the difficulty of asking help
from Cyrus when they are opposing his schemes, and proposes that a deputa-
tion be sent to demand from him a clear expression of his intentions.
Acting on this advice, they send Clearchus and others of their number to
Cyrus, who promises them an increase of pay but still conceals the object of
the expedition.

μὴ ποιομένου] So Kühner, Bornemann and the majority of theeditors, while Vollbrecht follows Krüger in omitting the negative.
Accepting the reading of the text, we must render the passage thus, ‘as
though Cyrus would not presently be making the voyage home again,’
for it is impossible that τάλων can denote ‘hereafter’ as some of the
commentators suggest. Ποιομένου is no future participle, nor is ποιη-
σομένου necessary in its place. On the contrary, the present is the
more emphatic tense, and denotes the certainty and confidence of the
expectation. Even supposing that Krüger be right in omitting the
negative, I am still not prepared to accept his translation, which is as
follows: ‘quasi Cyrus rediturus (ideoque non ipse navibus opus habiturus)
esset.’ It is assuredly far simpler to refer the words to the idea which
is present in the speaker’s mind: ‘(arguing thus) in the assurance that
Cyrus would soon be making the voyage home again,’ and conse-
quently would require the vessels.

ὁ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν] Another bold transition to the direct
narration.

τι κωλύει κ.τ.λ.] It is surprising to see the difficulty which has
been created by this apparently simple sentence. Thus Macmichael
and others would give it an ironical sense: ‘why should we not ask
Cyrus to secure for us the heights as well?’ On the other hand
Kühner renders it as follows: ‘what is to prevent Cyrus from ordering
that the heights be occupied against our approach?’ A third alterna-
tive is clearly possible, and one which I have no hesitation in preferring:
‘what is to prevent him from instructing Cyrus how to occupy the
heights against our approach?’

§ 17. ἀ η μὴν δοθῇ] In the case of the optative δοθῇ, the mood by a
species of attraction is adapted to that of the main verb.

ταυτάς ταῖς τρυθρεσι] ‘galleys and all’ is the usual interpreta-
tion, with which compare the familiar phrase αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας. It is
possible indeed that the article in the present instance may be a mere
interpolation, which originated in the termination of the previous word.
But there is an evident contrast intended between τρυθρεσι and πλοῖοι,
which suggests that τρυθρεσι is a dative of the instrument, and that
αὐτάς rather than the article is the interpolated word. Mr Taylor’s
rendering, ‘with his ships of war,’ is therefore, I think, the correct one,
on the understanding that we omit the word αὐτάς which appears in
his text.
kata
dus
g 

which is proposed by Poppo in place of kata
dus, would unquestionably be the usual sequence. But in the parallel clause of the sentence the three chief mss are all in favour of the reading ἄγγυ: add to which, the subjunctive is more forcible and suggests the confidence of the expectation. We find a similar confusion of moods in the opening verses of the Trachiniae of Sophocles:


where apparently ἄν ἐκμάθως is equivalent in sense to the future indicative, ἐκμαθεῖ.

Φ [ἄν] δοιή] Kühner reasonably objects to the introduction of ἄν in this connexion. Cf. ἂ ἡμῶν δοιή in the corresponding clause of the sentence, and a similar passage in III. 2. 36. οὐκ ἄν, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἢθοεν, Βουλευότατε ἡμᾶς δοει. It is possible, as he suggests, that ἄν δοιη was the original reading, of which Φ ἄν δοιή would be a natural and easy corruption.

§ 18. ταῦτα μὲν φιλαράς] The demonstrative pronoun forms the subject of the proposition, and, in order to give it additional emphasis, it is not attracted as usual into agreement with φιλαρᾶς, but itself takes the place of the substantive.

ἐπιτη
dειοι] 'suitable for the purpose.'

οἰ
tα
er] By attraction for οἰ
ta
er, which would be the accusative of respect or relation, like τι in the phrase τι βοιλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι. Kühner admirably compares Thuc. II. 15, τῇ κρῆνῃ...τὰ πλεῖστον ἄξια ἐχρωντο. For the subject of the allusion see I. 1. 2.

§ 19. πρὸς φιλιων] = φιλικῶς, like πρὸς ἀνάγκην, πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν and similar phrases.

ἐπό
μενοι ἄν] For the position of ἄν in the sentence, see note on § 6. The conditional clauses in each case are represented by the participles ἐπόμενοι and ἐπόμενες.

ἀναγγελαῖαι] We must return to the words ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας in § 18 for the subject of the verb.

πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευότατε] 'to take counsel in reference thereto.'

§ 20. ἡ
ρῶ
tov] The verb takes a double accusative: 'questioned Cyrus concerning the resolutions that had been passed in the camp.'

ἀ
kovo
i] ἀ
kove Vollbrecht, while Kühner and the majority of the editors retain the optative. The internal evidence is perhaps in favour of the indicative, as the concluding chapters of this book are marked by frequent transitions to the direct narration, e. g. καὶ μὲν ἢ ἔκει for κεῖ μὲν ἔλη, ἡμεῖς ἔκει πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευόρθεα, and in § 21 ἄγει πρὸς βασιλεά for ἄγοι πρὸς βασιλέα.

Ἀβροκόμων] Abrocomas, or Acrocomas, for the name appears in both forms, was a satrap of Artaxerxes. In the next chapter (§ 5) he is described as commanding a 'large army' amounting to 300,000 men. He was distant at this time about nineteen σταθμοῖ from the Greek camp, which Cyrus purposely estimates at less in order to encourage his troops to proceed.
§ 21. \(\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\omicron\omega\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\) ‘they ask for extra pay.’ White strangely enough translates \(\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\omicron\omega\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\) as a participle. Observe the comparative force in \(\eta\mu\delta\lambda\iota\omicron\) and similar words, in consequence of which they are often followed by a genitive. The employment of the active \(\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\omicron\) in the sense of the middle \(\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\) is more common in poetry. Cf. Soph. Oed. Col. 5,

\[\sigma\mu\kappa\rho\delta\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\nu\ \varepsilon\zeta\alpha\iota\omicron\omega\nu\tau\alpha,\ \tau\omicron\ \sigma\mu\kappa\rho\delta\ \delta\ \epsilon\tau\ \mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\ \phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \kappa\iota\omicron\eta\lambda.\]

In his note on these chapters Mr Taylor quotes at length a passage from Grote (ch. 69), which may be described as a eulogy upon the reasoning powers exhibited by the Greek troops on this and similar occasions. My own estimate of their intelligence is, I confess, a very different and less complimentary one. To me they seem singularly devoid of the power he claims for them—unreasoning creatures, swayed to and fro by every specious argument with which the circumstances may furnish their leaders. They may debate and argue, it is true, with every show of independence, but they always end by following the lead that is given them.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—5. Cyrus continues his march across the Psaros and the Pyramus to the town of Issus, where he is joined by the fleet under Tamos and by deserters from Abrocomas. Leaving this, he makes for the Cilician Gates, of which the author gives a description.

\(\tau\omicron\ \Psi\alpha\rho\omicron...\tau\omicron\ \Pi\omicron\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\omicron\) These rivers are now called respectively the Seihun and the Zeihun, the latter being an Arabic corruption of the Hebrew Gihon. The Psaros was crossed in all probability near Adaua (Col. Chesn. II. 210), and the Pyramus near the present town of Mallus or Mistis. After leaving the latter river, Cyrus enters a more difficult territory, obstructed by hills, (e. g. by the Jibal an Nur and a pass called the ‘Iron Gate’), and also by marshes near the ruins of Epiphanea. Accordingly the value of the parasang, which on the other side of the Pyramus had been nearly three geographical miles, now drops in proportion, and only fifteen are traversed in a two days’ march.

\(\epsilon\iota\ \Iota\sigma\omicron\omicron\omicron\) Concerning its position, Ainsworth writes as follows: ‘All the circumstancs of the case point tolerably satisfactorily to a great extent of ruins scattered over the plain, north of the Pinarus (now the Dalichai).’ The celebrated Altars of Alexander were in all probability not on the banks of the Pinarus, where Curtius places them, but between the mountain ranges of Amanus and Rhosus in the situation described by Pliny.

§ 2. \(\Pi\nu\theta\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\omicron\) In Hell. III. I. 2, the name of the admiral is given as Samius. It is possible that he received the title of ‘the Samian’ either in playful allusion to his more celebrated namesake, or else to mark his nationality as an alien in the Spartan service.
 NOTES. 

IV. 1—6] From these words it is clear that Tamos was the admiral of the combined fleets, while Pythagoras held a subordinate command over the thirty-five Spartan ships. In his note on the passage Mr Taylor translates from the reading ἤγειτο δ' αὐτῶν, for which apparently there is no authority on the part of the MSS. Tamos has been mentioned previously in i. 2. 21.

οτε...φιλη ἤν] The MSS, with the exception of the four best, read οτι in place of οτε. Kühner prefers the latter on the ground that the very point of the allusion lies in the time which was chosen for the attack.

§ 3. παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν] An accusative of extension. In place of παρά, which appears in the five leading MSS and in the editions of Kühner and Vollbrecht, Macmichael and others edit κατὰ in the sense of 'over against.'

§ 4. ἡσαν δὲ ταῦτα] 'now these consisted of two fortified walls.' The plural ἡσαν is used in all probability because the word πώλαι is implied in ταυτα. Kühner, however, in his note on the phrase ἡσαν τὰ βασιλεία (i. 2. 23) prefers the more recondite explanation: 'quia duae res commemorantur non coniunctae inter se.' The demonstrative pronoun is placed in agreement with the predicate to shew that the main emphasis is on the latter. Consult the note on ταυτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι in i. 3. 18. The conjecture of Weiske (ἡσαν δ' ενταύθα) is mentioned with approval by Kühner, who retains notwithstanding the reading of the text on the ground that πώλαι may be used with perfect correctness to denote the entire pass including the fortifications.

Κάρασος δνομ] The inferior MSS give Κέρασ. It is now called the Markaz zu, and corresponds apparently to the Crocodile Fl. of Pliny. The Gates stood at the point where the Amanus range makes its nearest approach to the shore, the one fortress being in Cilician, and the other in Syrian territory. According to Ainsworth, the wall can still be traced from the mountains down to the seashore where it terminates in a round tower.

ἀπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον...ἡσαν] The construction may be explained as a species of attraction, like τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡσαν στεγγίδες in i. 2. 10, or, on the other hand, the words ἀπαν τὸ μέσον may be regarded as the accusative of occupation or extension. Cf. Thuc. iii. 21, τὸ ὄνω μεταξὺ τούτῳ... τοῖς φυλάξεων οἰκήματα διανεμημένα ωκενόμητο.

πέτραι ηλιβαστοι] 'precipitous rocks.' Eustathius, with whom Buttmann agrees, derives the word from ἄλτειν 'to stumble,' while Hesychius refers it to an old form ἄλυς = πέτρα. Like the phrase ἄλοχος ἀμαξίας (iv. 2. 3), διάδεσι (v. S. 24), and many others in the Anabasis, it is borrowed directly from the language of Homer.

§ 5. ὀπότοι...φυλάττοιεν] A remarkable sentence owing to the sudden transitions in the subject, ἀποβιβάσειν referring to Κέρασ, βιασάμενοι to οἱ ὀπλίται, and φυλάττοιεν to οἱ πολέμοι.

§§ 6—8. The march is continued to Myrianthus where Xenias and Pasion desert. Notwithstanding a rumour to the contrary, Cyrus declines to follow them, or to retaliate upon their families and property.

Μυριανθον] The form Μυριανδρον is found in the inferior MSS, while the reading of the text is suggested in four of the more important ones,
and occurs moreover in Herod. iv. 38. The site of the place has not been identified, though Ainsworth suggests that 'it may yet be found in the wooded country that lies between Alexandria and Rhosus, at or near the coast, about opposite the entrance of the pass of Beilan.'

§ 7. φιλοτιμηθέντες] 'from a feeling of jealousy.' The use of the verb in this sense as an equivalent for φιλονεικέω is almost entirely confined to Xenophon. The circumstances of the case are mentioned in l. 3. 7.

εἰ ἄλφασοντο] 'thought they were to be pitied, if they should be caught.' As Mr Taylor observes, the clause is virtually in the oblique narration as denoting the thoughts and impressions of a party in the camp.

§ 8. διὰ εὖ γε µέντοι ἐπ.] For a similar collocation of particles cf. Soph. Trach. 1108, διὰ εὖ γε µὲν τάδ' ἲσθι, κἂν τὸ µηδὲν ᾧ, and Ai. 1371. Kühner notices the distinction between ἄποδεδράκασιν i. e. clam avfígere, 'ut nescias quo quis fugerit,' and ἀποπεφεύγασιν i. e. effígere, 'ut quis deprehendi non possit.'

αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ] The plural pronoun is often employed after ἀλλοσ and τις when they are used in a collective or indefinite sense. See note on παλοῦτο (v. 8. 16), which is read for παλοῦτο in two of the chief mss.

ἐνώσαι] This form of the imperative occurs again in Xen. de Ven. iv. 3, while the form λόντων does not appear in our author except in a doubtful passage of the Cyrop. (II. 3. 21).

καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας] Kühner explains the omission of the article by the fact that the hostages in question are regarded collectively under separate heads. Cf. Soph. Trach. 257, σὺν παιδὶ καὶ γυναικί δουλώσειν ἐπὶ, 'that he would yet live to enslave him with wife and child.'

§§ 9—13. The march is continued to Thapsacus, two rivers being crossed on the way called respectively the Chalus and Dardas. At Thapsacus the real object of the expedition is disclosed to the soldiers, the majority of whom are appraised of promises of extra pay.

παρασάγγας εἰκόσιν] 'A long journey of from 50 to 60 miles, in which several objects of interest are passed over without an observation,' e. g. the pass between Amanus and Rhosus, which is the true Syrian Gates, and the large and marshy plain of Antioch. (Ainsworth.) The same authority suggests that the reason for this silence may perhaps be ascribed either to a temporary illness or to the despondency caused by the defection of Xenias and Pasion.

ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλαν] According to Ainsworth, the Chalib or Kūwait is meant, the river of Aleppo. Although the direct distance is perhaps not sufficient, yet, besides encountering the difficulties above mentioned, the army would have been obliged to turn northwards to avoid the rocky deserts of Shāikh Barakat. Col. Chesney suggests a different route, which would have taken Cyrus in a north-easterly direction as far as the Balib, a small tributary of the Sajur, from which he would have turned almost back again in the direction of the south-west until he met the Chalib.

θεός εὐχωτός] A remnant of the Assyrian and Syro-Arabian worship of fish-gods. Derceo, the mother of Semiramis, was supposed to
have been turned into a fish, and Semiramis herself into a pigeon. Selden (de diis Syriis, p. 265) makes Derceto identical with Dagon. Dr Russell discovered seventeen kinds of fish in the Chalib, and also found a fountain called Hailan in the neighbourhood, the fish in which were regarded as sacred. (Russ. Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, II. 207.)


§ 10. τοῦ Δάρδατος ποταμοῦ] The best manuscript authority is in favour of Δάρδατος, which is accepted by Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors. Dindorf reads Δάρδητος on the authority of one good MS and others of inferior weight. The river itself is difficult to identify. Kühner follows Ainsworth, who considers that it was a canal of the river Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of which are the ruins of a town called Balis. On the other hand Prof. Koch and Col. Chesney identify it with what is at present a very small stream called al Bab, and by Rennell, the Fountain of Fay. Mr Taylor accepts the latter view as more in accordance with the distance traversed, and with the mention of the Euphrates in § 11 which implies that the river was not reached till that period.

τοῦ Συρίας ἄρχαντος] ‘former satrap of Syria.’ Kühner understands the aorist as implying that he was in power up to the time of Cyrus’ coming. If so, ἄρχαντος would surely have been the tense employed. The use of the aorist leaves the date of his authority uncertain, but most assuredly denotes that it had ended before Cyrus came.

§ 11. ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν] In his view of this passage Ainsworth is supported by Col. Chesney, who describes these (II. 213) as ‘pressing marches, following and constantly touching the Euphrates on the way from Balis.’ Supposing them to lie right, the use of the preposition ἐπὶ is, as Mr Taylor points out, a very lax one, while a long-continued march beside the river-banks would seem to have been decidedly impolitic for troops who had to force a crossing.

Θαψακοῖς, The ancient Tiphsah, which, like Thapsacus, signifies a ‘ford.’ It is now known as the ford of the Anazah or Badawin, and the town itself is called Suriyah.

§ 12. τοῖς προτέροις] Schneider suggests τοῖς πρότεροι, but against the authority of the MSS. Kühner explains προτέροις as an adverbial use of the adjective; but I am myself inclined to understand τοῖς προτέροις as a substantive in the following sense: ‘as in the case of the former party when they marched up the country with Cyrus.’ The allusion is to the hoplites of Xenias, who are mentioned in I. 1. 2.

οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἐννοεῖν] ‘though they were not going to fight.’ For this use of the genitive absolute in places where we might have expected a participle in agreement with the subject, see note on οἷκωσθεντος in v. 3. 7. The idiom is employed when it is required to give additional prominence or emphasis to a statement.

§§ 14, 15. The address of Meno to his troops.

πλέον] is usually connected with προτεμήσεσθε, in which case either
It is true that Kühner suggests a different explanation by which πλέον is to be taken in close connexion with the participles κυνδυνούσαντες...πουνήσαντες. But the rhythm of the entire sentence, and the impossibility of separating τῶν ἄλλων from στρατιωτῶν are strong arguments in favour of the former view. Compare moreover the use of μαλάστα in I. 6, 5.

δεῖται Κύρος ἐπέσθαι] ‘wants the Greeks to follow him,’ while δεῖται τῶν Ἐλλήνων would denote that the request was actually addressed to the Greeks, ‘begs of the Greeks to follow him.’

§ 15. ὤς προθυμοτάτοις οὕσω] ‘in the belief that you are his most zealous friends.’ For the addition of καὶ in the phrase ei tis καὶ ἄλλος, see note on I. 3. 15. The expression πιστοτάτως χρήσεται is found in a similar sense in IV. 6. 3.

ὡς φίλοι τεῦχεσθε] This reading, which is adopted by Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors on the authority of three leading mss., is displaced by Kühner in favour of ὤς φίλοι τεῦχεσθε, who thereby introduces a fresh element of difficulty into an already complicated sentence. There can be little doubt that the genitive ἄλλος is placed by attraction for ἄλλο, as the employment of a double genitive after τυγχάνειν is a questionable construction: ‘and whatever else you may require I am sure you will obtain from Cyrus in the character of his friends.’

§§ 16—end. Acting on his advice, they are the first to cross the river. The march is then continued to the Araxes.

Γλών] He was the son of Tamos the Egyptian, and at a later period deserted to Artaxerxes (Diod. xiv. 32).

ἤδη] ‘for the time being I confine myself to thanks.’ Schneider would omit ἤδη as superfluous, but it appears in two precisely similar passages (Cyn. Π. iv. 1, 2, iv. 1. 4), and forms a forcible contrast with the suggestion which follows.

ἐπαινέσθε] Kühner adopts this reading in preference to ἐπανέσθη on the authority of the three chief mss. It is also more expressive, as the future indicative denotes not only the object but the measures taken to secure it.

§ 17. τῶν διαβαίνοντων] Both Vollbrecht and Kühner retain the article: Krüger would omit it as implying that only a portion of the troops made the passage. But the combination is a favourite one with our author (cf. oi ἐκπιτουτοί v. 2. 17, and τοὺς πιστούτας iv. 5. 7), and in the present instance oi διαβαίνοντες is a collective substantive, representing in fact τῶν στρατευμάτων.

§ 18. διαβαστός γένοιτο] ‘never till that day had the river been fordable on foot, but only by using boats.’ Zeune compares Plut. Luc. 24, where Lucullus is flattered by the same suggestion. Mr Taylor’s rendering is somewhat different: ‘people did not cross the river on foot, when the bridge—or the ferry-boats—were there.’ In confirmation of the theory that the passage took place in autumn, Ainsworth notices
the fact that the ford in question is navigable for steamers in the spring of the year, but not between October and February.

διαβήγγλη] This use of the subjunctive in place of the more indefinite optative comes under the same category as the transitions on which we commented towards the close of Cap. III.

υποχωρήσω] 'had clearly made way for Cyrus in the capacity of its future king.'

§ 19. τὸν Ἀράχεν ποσαμών] The Khabur is meant, identical with the Chebar, upon the banks of which Nebuchadnezzar planted a colony of Jews, among whom was the prophet Ezekiel. Both Layard and Chesney speak of extensive ruins which have been discovered in the district bordering upon the site of the Greek encampment. The army was now in Mesopotamia, but the country which lies between Thapsacus and the nomad Arabs is called Syria by both Pliny and Strabo.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—3. The troops continue their march, keeping the Euphrates on their right, through a level country stocked with every description of game.

διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας] 'i.e. the Mesopotamian desert and the basin of the Euphrates...rather than the vast southern peninsula.' (Rawlinson.)

ἀπαντα ἡσαν] For the plural verb, see note on 1. 2. 23. Compare the use of αὐτοὺς after τίς in 1. 4. 8.

§ 2. δορκάδες] Ainsworth notices the word as a generic name among the Greeks for the various species of the gazelle or antelope tribe. The ὀρλας or bustard no doubt derived its name from the fringe-like appendages which protect the ear. The optative διόκεω in the following sentence is, of course, frequentative.

προδραμοῦντες [ἂν] εστασαν] I believe that Vollbrecht and Dindorf are altogether right in omitting the particle ἄν, the manuscript authority for which is of the weakest possible kind. Indeed its combination with either εστασαν or εστικέσαν in the sense of a frequentative imperfect, like αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἄν ἀεὶ διελέγετο (Mem. 1. 1. 16), would be extremely unusual, though perhaps defensible owing to the peculiar character of the verb in question. Nor is it required by the sense of the passage, since its addition would merely present the statement in a less positive form. Kühner however not only admits it into his text, but makes it follow ἔστασαν, an impossible position whether we regard the rhythm or construction of the sentence.

διαστάντες οἱ ἵππεις] The description irresistibly suggests the arrangements for the Lampadephoria. Tr. 'unless the riders were posted at intervals and took up the chase successively with their horses.' διαδεχο-μενοι is virtually equivalent to ἐκ διαδοχῆς. Cf. Soph. Trach. 30, καὶ νῦς ἀπωθεὶ διαδεδεγμένη πόνον.

τῶν ἀλισκομένων] We have a similar combination in τοὺς πίπτοντας (IV. 5. 7), and one to which the same exception may be taken, on the
ground that it combines in a collective form a series of events, which it is the object of the context and of the present participle to represent as separate and independent actions.

§ 3. ἀπιστον] So Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors, while Macmichael and others read ἀπεπτασο. The best MSS give ἀπεπτα, which is supposed to be an Attic form of ἀπέπτη. The use of ἀποσπάω as an intransitive in the sense of ‘to draw off’ is apparently open to question, and accordingly Kühner proposes to supply τοῦς διωκοντας in the present instance. No doubt as a general rule the passive is employed, but in VII. 2. 11 we have an example of ἀποσπάσασ used apparently in this sense.

ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν]. The full construction would be as follows: ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν, αἴρονσα (ταῖς πτέρυγας) k.t.l. ‘and also with its wings, which it raised and used like a sail.’ ἀδίσταναι is to ‘start’ or ‘put up’ game, while ἁπαγορεύειν, in sense if not in form, is a poetical equivalent for ἀποκάμνειν.

§§ 4—6. Continuing their march, the troops arrive at Corsote, situated on the river Mascas, and afterwards at Pylae. The difficulties of the route described.

τοῦ Μάσκαυ ποταμοῦ] Ainsworth describes this as a canal from the Euphrates ‘by which a considerable tract of alluvium is cut off from the main land.’ The verb περιερρήτω may be descriptive of this, or, more probably, of the great bend which occurs in the main river close to this point. The place is now known as Irzah or Izbah. The phrase πόλις ἐρήμη might mean no more than a ‘city in the desert,’ or possibly that its inhabitants had deserted it at the approach of Cyrus, but the natural explanation is the best, as the district was apparently inhabited only by nomadic tribes.

§ 5. ἐπὶ Ἑλλάς] Ainsworth and Rennell are of opinion that the name implies no more than ‘the termination of the hilly country in the level alluvial plain of Babylonia.’ Col. Chesney fixes the site with greater precision at twenty-seven miles below Hit, or nearly opposite to the village of Jarrah, i.e. about twenty-four miles short of the Median Wall. Macmichael considers that the reference is to the actual pass through the Median Wall, as the latter, when entire, must have extended to the Euphrates.

ἐνο αλέτας] ‘mill-stones.’ In strict correctness, the word ἐνο would be used only of the upper stone. The idea of motion or extension sufficiently justifies the accusative in the phrase παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ορύττωντες καὶ ποιοῦντες, ‘quarrying and shaping them.’

§ 6. ἐν τῇ Ἀυδᾶ ἄγορᾳ] Kühner notices this fact as in keeping with the character of the Lydians, who had been deprived of their arms at the time of their subjugation by Cyrus the Great. The sale of wheat and barley at one and the same price illustrates, he adds, the severity of the famine. The καπηλη contained about three and a half pints: while the σίγλος would nearly represent our shilling.

κρέα ὐδὲ ἐσθίους] Mr Taylor compares by way of illustration Caes. Bell. Civ. 1. 48, where flesh-meat is called ‘secundum inopiae subsidium.’

§§ 7—9. An incident is described as affording a good illustration of
the energy of the troops. The reasons which induced Cyrus to hasten his
march.

[ἐν ὃι ῥοτρῳ...οῖς] This construction must be carefully distinguished
from the well-known schema Pindaricum, of which a remarkable instance
occurs in Eur. Ion, 1146,

\[\text{ἐν ὃι ῥοτρῳ γράμμασιν τοιαὸν ῥοτρῳ.}\]

In the case before us the verb and relative cohere closely and are declined
as one word. But the construction, which is common enough with the
present indicative, is extremely rare with the imperfect, and, so far as I
can gather, without a parallel except in Xenophon.

διατελέσατι] Kühner regards the use as intransitive, though in IV. 5.
i the accusative ὁδὸν is added. Χέλων is in all probability ‘green
toddler,’ though in IV. 5. 25 it is used of ‘hay,’ in one case with the
addition of the adjective ξηρός, and in the other without it.

καλ δὴ ποτὲ] ‘indeed on one occasion,’ a phrase stamped by the late
Mr Shilleto as a ‘barbarous collocation of particles.’

λαβόντας τὸν βαρ. στρ.] A partitive genitive: ‘to take some of
the Persian troops and join in extricating the waggons.’

§ 8. ὡσπερ ἄρτος] ‘apparently in a passion.’ The best editors are
agreed in connecting these words with ἐκέλευσε rather than with σχολάως
ποιν. It greatly improves the rhythm of the sentence, and there was
moreover no cause for irritation on the part of Glus and Pigres.

συνεπιστεύοντας] Macmichael still edits συνεπιστεύονται after the five
leading mss., though it has been abandoned by Vollbrecht, Kühner,
Poppo and the majority of the editors as less suitable both as regards the
construction and the sense. The aorist indicates more strongly the im-
mEDIATE and pressing necessity for the work. Kühner regards συνεπι-
στεύοντας as a condensed expression for συνεπιστεῦονται ἐκβιβάζειν. I
question the necessity of this explanation, as instances are not wanting
of verbs of this class being followed by a direct accusative, more especially
in authors who, like Xenophon, lean to the language of poetry. Tr. ‘to
aid in urging forward the waggons.’

μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας] A strange expression, which would have no
place in Thucydides or Demosthenes, who use the word only in its more
natural sense to signify the subdivision of some whole, e.g. of an army,
a fleet or the like.

κάνδως] The κάνδως or caftan was a garment worn over the χιτὼν
and corresponding to the chlamys.

μάλα κατὰ πρανὸς] In this and similar expressions Kühner consi-
ders that the adverb is displaced solely for the sake of rhythm or em-
phasis. But, as I have suggested in a note on πολύ σῶν φορόμενατ μελ-
τον (III. 1. 22), the passage gains in force if we take μάλα independently,
like idque and similar combinations in Latin: ‘and that too down a steep
incline.’

ἀναξυρίδας] A tight-fitting trowser, like the braccae worn by the
Gauls. Cf. Prop. (iv. 10. 43),

\[\text{illi virgatis taculantis ab agmine braccis,}\]

where the epithet virgatis exactly corresponds to ποικίλασ in the text.
The looser garments were called θυλακοι (Aristoph. Vesp. 1087).
EXPEDITIO CYRI. [I. v. 9—16

This passage, like one in the next sentence, is noteworthy, as in both cases we have an example of the redundant ἡς which is one of the author's most favourite idioms.

meletwvous] 'lifted and carried out the wagons.' An alternative rendering is admissible, by which the adjective is made proleptic, 'carried out on to higher ground.'

§ 9. ὅπως μὲν ἔνν ἄττου ἐθνοι] Dindorf is the only editor of importance who omits the ἄν, which is found in all the best MSS without exception. For its insertion, see note on δοθη in I. 3. 17, and compare III. 2. 12, IV. 1. 2. The optative is accommodated to the oratio obliqua, and the particle, which is a remnant of the direct narration, is allowed to retain its place even after the sentence has changed its form.

μακειοβαι...συναγειρεσβαι] Observe the change to the present in the latter verb: 'is all the while assembling.' συνιδεῖν in the following sentence is 'to take a collected view.' For καὶ...δὲ, see note on I. 1. 2.

§ 10. The troops arrive at Charmande. Their device for obtaining provisions.

Χαρμάνδη] The site has not been identified. Ainsworth places it at Hit: Col. Chesney, in the neighbourhood of ruins found on the right bank of the Euphrates, opposite to the island of Jibbah or Jubbah.

στεγάσματα] Vollbrecht, Kühner, σκεπάσματα Dindorf and Schneider, the latter reading being found in the corresponding passage of Suidas (II. p. 248). Kühner is strongly in favour of the reading of the text, but he prefaces his argument, which is mainly based on a passage of Arrian (III. 29), with a somewhat arbitrary distinction as to the use of the substantives. Granting that tent-skins are meant, there is nothing in the form or usage of σκέπας and σκεπάσμα to preclude their employment in this sense, more especially in an author who draws largely from the language of poetry. It is a curious fact that inflated skins are still used in India for the same purpose.

τῆς βαλάνου...τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος] 'the kernel of the date-palm.'

Cf. Herod. i. 193.

For the use of τοῦτο in reference to the feminine μελίνη, cf. IV. 6. 3, τοῦτο γε δὴ...η τοῦ ἰγεύμονος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια.

§§ 11—end. A dispute between Clearchus and Meno, which is taken up on both sides by their respective friends. Proclus attempts to interfere, but without success, and the soldiers are only appeased by an address from Cyrus.

ἀμφιλεξάντων δὲ τι] For the accusative, see note on τοιοπραγμο

υείν τι (V. 1. 15).

αλεγκ] Observe the tense, 'made a statement of the matter.'

§ 12. ἐπι τῷ ἄξινη] 'let fly at him with his axe.' A variation of the ordinary phrase ἐπι τὴν ἄξινη, with which compare the use of βάλλειν with a dative.

§ 13. παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ δοπλα] παραγγέλλει ἐναι εἰς τὰ δοπλα would be the complete phrase, but the shortened form of it serves to indicate the haste and excitement of the moment.

πρὸς τὰ γύνατα δέντας] Kühner admirably illustrates this order by the following passage from Corn. Nep. Chaibr. 1. 2, reliquam phalan-
VI. 1, 2] NOTES.

γεμ λόχον ϑετοὶ τε υπερτεὶ, οἱ νομικοὶ γεμισταὶ, ἔχοντας ἐπεκτεὶν ἡμεῖς ἡσυχαστέραν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐστάσαν] This must refer to the neutral portion of the troops, who had no interest in the dispute between the rival officers.

§ 14. οὕτω] is resumptive after the previous parenthesis. For the various meanings of the phrase θέσθην τά δύολα, see note on ἐν τῷ ὀμαλῷ (iv. 2. 10), and the well-known comments of Grote in connexion with Thuc. 2. 2. Two out of the three usages are illustrated in the present passage and in the final sentence of the chapter.

§ 15. τὰ πολεμάδα] 'his two darts.' These are mentioned again in I. 8. 3, and in Cyrop. I. 2. 9, where their use is explained as follows: ὁστε τὸ μὲν ὄρφειναι, τῷ δ', ἀν δῆ, ἐκ χειρὸς χρησθαί. In τῶν πιστῶν the allusion is probably to those of his followers who in VIII. 25 are called οἱ ὄμοστράπεζοι.

§ 16. κατακεκόψθησαί] Observe the force of the future perfect. The omission of the article with βάρδαροι is easily explained by regarding the substantive as virtually equivalent to a proper name. Cf. Κο-νωρίται δὲ οὕτω (v. 5. 10), and a note on the passage.

§ 17. For the phrase ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο ‘came to himself,’ cf. Soph. Phil. 950, and Aristoph. Vesp. 642.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—5. The Greeks come upon the track of the enemy. Oronoko forms the project of deserting to Artaxerxes with a large body of cavalry. His detection and trial.

προοντων] For the omission of the article, see note on the same participle in I. 2. 17.

οὕτω] The ordinary explanation, according to which ἵππεις is to be supplied from the genitive ἵππων, is unnecessary, as ἵππος is in itself equivalent to ἵππεις, e.g. in the following passage (vii. 3. 39), αὐτὸς δ' ἐφέσωμαι τελευταίος τοὺς ἵππους ἐχων.

τὰ πολέμια] τὰ πολεμικὰ Schneider, a needless alteration, since the two adjectives, as Kühner points out, are on occasion interchangeable. Poppo proposes to join ἐν τοῖς ἁρυστοῖς τὰ πολέμια on the analogy of the phrase ἡ πολέμια ἁρυστος, but the position of the article is decisive against this combination; add to which, τὰ πολεμία λεγόμενοι (εἰναι) ἐν τοῖς ἁρυστοῖς is only a variation of the phrase τὰ πολέμια ἁρυστος νομίζο-μενος.

§ 2. κατακάνων ἄν] κατακαλοῦν ἄν is found in the majority of the MSS, but Kühner, Vollbrecht, and all the leading editors have adopted the aorist as necessitated by the tenses with which it is combined. The presence of ἄν in this and similar constructions has been already explained in a note on ἄν ἔλθων in I. 5. 9. It represents in the oblique narrative what in the direct would stand as follows: ἐλ ὑμὶ δολὴς ἵππεις χίλιοι, κατακάνωμι ἄν. If the reading be right, we must supply the particle again with ἔλθων, καλύφειες, καὶ ποιήσειν. I am inclined however to think that, owing to the similarity of termination, it has dropped.

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out of the MSS after the word αὐτῶν. With the subsequent verbs its presence is less required, as the contingencies which they suggest are more remote and uncertain.

κωλύσει τοῦ καλεῖν] The genitive is unusual after κωλύσει, and, as Mr Taylor suggests, emphasises the fact that they were already engaged in the work of destruction.

Observe the force of the preposition in διαγγέλλαι, 'to carry home an account of it to the Persian king.'

§ 3. ἔτολμοις εἶναι] 'were at his disposal.' In the sentence which follows, ἄλλα, which is explained by some of the commentators as equivalent to proinde or igitur, is more nearly represented by the Latin sed: 'only he requested the king to give instructions to his cavalry to welcome him in the character of a friend.' In place of φίλον Poppo prefers φίλον, a reading which is suggested in two good MSS. It is however less forcible than φίλον in connexion with the context, the reference being rather to his feelings as a friend than to his position as such.

§ 4. ἐπτά] because it was a sacred number with the Persians. So Ormuzd was supposed to rule the heavens by the aid of seven ministers, the counterparts of whom on earth were the seven satraps of the Persian king.

§ 5. αὐτῷ sc. Κλεάρχῳ. The genitive τῶν Ελλήνων is dependent on the preposition in προτεινοθήμαι, while μάλιστα, like πλην in the similar passage of I. 4. 14, is virtually redundant.

ἀρχεῖν τοῦ λόγου] 'opens the conference,' while the middle ἀρχεῖσθαι would signify 'begins his speech.' Cf. III. 2. 7, and with it contrast the use of the active in I. 4. 15 (ἀρχαίνες τοῦ διαβαλέων), and again in III. 2. 17 (ἀρχῶ τής φυγῆς).

§§ 6—8. The address of Cyrus, and his interrogation of the accused. καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἄρθροπων] 'in the sight of gods and men.' See note on πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων (IV. 3. 26). In these cases πρὸς is literally 'on the side of,' 'from the quarter of,' the genitive denoting the point from which the action, or the contemplation of the action, is supposed to commence. The preposition παρὰ is more usual and also more definite in cases like the present where the idea of motion is practically lost.

αὐτῶν προσπολεμῶν] 'and I, in the course of my operations against him, brought him to this pass that he decided to abandon the campaign against me.' The accusative is governed directly by ἐποίησα: otherwise we should have required the dative. The sentence is loosely constructed and very characteristic of the author, especially as regards the use of αὐτῶν and τούτω in reference to the same individual, a combination which would have been studiously avoided by a more careful writer.


§ 7. οὐκοῦν] Poppo, Krüger and Macmichael edit οὐκεῖν, which is rejected by Kühner as a violation of the well-known rule which limits the use of οὐκοῦ in questions to cases in which it is required to lay a strong stress on the negative.
Our author is notoriously lax in his use of the preposition εἰς. See notes on IV. 5. 18, and v. 4. 5. In the present instance however we may render it as follows: ‘you left me (and started) for Mysia.’

αὐτῷ ἔγνως Schneider, while Kühner defends the text, comparing Theog. 419, ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης τιγῶ, γυνώσκων ἡμετέρην δύναμιν, where δύναμιν, as in the case before us, means ‘the character (i.e. the weakness) of your forces.’ A more valid argument against the reading of the text might be raised on the score of euphony.

τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος We may infer from the addition of the article that the allusion is to the famous temple at Ephesus. The form ἔφησσα is common in Homer, from whom in all probability our author borrowed it.

§ 8. περὶ ἔμε] ‘in your relations with me,’ less definite than πρὸς ἔμε. In the clause which follows observe the use of γὰρ in cases where an ellipse must be understood to complete the construction. Cf. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς...πάντες ἄποθανονύμεθα (v. 8. 11).

§§ 9—end. Clearchus and the generals deliver their verdict, after which Oronites is led away and secretly despatched.

ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι] ποιεῖσθαι is no doubt a strict middle: the use of the passive voice being extremely rare in connexion with ἐκποδῶν and similar words.

τὸ κατὰ τούτον εἶναι] ‘at any rate as regards this man.’ See note on τὸ νῦν εἶναι (III. 2. 37). Three explanations have been suggested of this construction: (i) that εἶναι is redundant (cf. Matth. 282), (ii) that τὸ εἶναι is equivalent to a verbal substantive in the accusative, and (iii) that the addition of the infinitive tends to limit or qualify the meaning of the phrase. The last of the above explanations is now generally accepted as the true one.

τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς φίλους τούτους ] This refers apparently to the officers who had assembled to hear the decision, though they had not taken part in the actual trial.

§ 10. ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης Diodorus Siculus (XVII. p. 510) mentions this as the usual custom among the Persians when a criminal had been condemned to death. The active form ἔλαβον, which is read or suggested in four of the leading mss, is adopted by Vollbrecht, Kühner and Dindorf, while the majority of the editors prefer to read ἐλάβοντο with the inferior mss. Considering the genitive which follows, we might naturally have expected the latter form: it would, however, have been altogether out of place with the accusative ὀφρυτήν, instead of which, as Kühner points out, the genitive ὀφρυτοῦ would have been indispensable to the construction.

ἐπὶ θανάτῳ] ‘for death,’ i.e. as a sign he was to die. The phrase is exchanged for ἐπὶ θάνατον towards the close of the section both in consideration of the verb ἀγων, and because the latter phrase suggests more directly the object of his removal.

§ 11. σκυπτοῦχων] ‘mace-bearers.’ The office was originally instituted by Cyrus the Elder, and the persons selected for it formed the body-guard of the king.

ὁπος ἄπεθανεν] Comparing Herod. VII. 114, Περσικῶν δὲ τὸ ζώνυ-
CHAPTER VII.

§ 3. The march is resumed. At the third station Cyrus reviews his troops, after which he holds a council of war. His address to the officers.

παρασάγγας δώδεκα] The comparative shortness of the stages is due, in Mr Taylor’s opinion, to the necessity for extra caution owing to the proximity of the enemy.

νύκτας] ‘the night-watches.’ Cf. III. 1. 33. The plural is used in reference to the parts into which the whole is divisible. For the phrase εἰς τὴν ἐκδόσαν ‘against the morrow,’ compare εἰς τὴν ὑπέρτην (IV. 1. 15), and εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν (V. 3. 10), unless in the latter case the preposition means simply ‘to meet the requirements of the feast.’

§ 2. Πίσω] In place of ὅπως. Compare the use of τι for ὅ τι in I. 3. 18, ἐρωτάν ἐκείνον, τά βούλευεν ἡμῖν χρήσθαι.

§ 3. ὅπως οὖν ἐσεῆκε] We must supply, as usual, ὅπως or ὅποτε or σκοπεῖτε before ὅπως. There is apparently no valid ground for the objections which have been raised against ὑπέρ as an interpolation, although the more ordinary construction is εὐδαιμονίζειν τινά τινος.

τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἄν] The statement is particularly forcible as coming from Cyrus, for among the Persians no man was regarded as free-born with the single exception of the King himself. Cf. I. 9. 29, παρὰ μὲν Κύρων, δούλου ὄντως.

§ 4. αἰσχύνεται μωὶ δοκῶ] because the Persians were his fellow-countrymen. ‘In regard to all other points, methinks I am actually ashamed (when I consider) what sort of people, when we come to deal with them, you will find the inhabitants to be.’ The position of ἡμῖν in the sentence is a conclusive reason for combining it with the verb rather than with τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας, though the latter rendering is preferred by the majority of the editors.

ἀνθρώπους] A distinct contrast is intended between ἀνθρώπους in this sentence and ἀνδρῶν in the next, which Macmichael illustrates from Herod. VII. 210, where the reference is likewise to the Persians: δῆλον ἐπολευν βασιλεῖ ὁ τι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρωποῖ ἐλευ, ὅλιγον δὲ ἄνδρες.

*ὑμῶν*] I am strongly inclined to agree with Schneider, who would omit this word from the text on the authority of one good MS. The repetition of ὑμῶν in the second clause is extremely awkward and unnatural, and, as it seems to me, perfectly unnecessary when we consider the emphatic position of the word at the commencement of the sentence: ‘But, as regards you, if you prove yourselves good men and true.’ For the arguments on the other side I must refer my readers to Kühner’s edition, though he omits to mention one of the most effective,

gas kataporesew, Kühner suggests the possibility that this form of death may have been reserved for Orontes. The concluding portion of the narrative is conceived in our author’s best style: the language, which is simplicity itself, rising at times to the dignity of tragedy.
that inelegancies of this kind are frequent in the *Anabasis*, and indeed characteristic of Xenophon's style.

§§ 5—8. *Cyrus renew his promises of favour, and points to the extent of the Persian empire as a pledge for their fulfilment.*

Ταύλίτης] He is possibly identical with a person of that name who is mentioned in Thuc. viii. 85, as having served under Tissaphernes. The words φυγάς Σάμιος are not inconsistent with the fact that Thucydides in the passage in question describes him as a Carian.

καὶ μὴν] 'and yet.' In all the inferior MSS the article is introduced before προσιδότος, but Kühner omits it, and no doubt advisedly, as the words τοῦ κυνόνου προσιδότος read better as a genitive absolute than in immediate connexion with τοιοῦτο: 'because you are in this crisis, now that the danger is drawing nigh.'

μέμνοιο] This rare optative, which is found in all the MSS, is defended by Kühner on the analogy of the form κάθου. Vollbrecht however adopts μεμνημένο, a form which occurs in Plat. *Rep.* vii. 518 α, while the majority of the editors prefer μεμνημένο.

§ 6. πάντα σατραπεῖουσι] σατραπείειν is usually followed by a genitive, but general words, like pronouns, numerals and adjectives, can, in the accusative case, be constructed with verbs of every kind.

§ 8. εἰς ἅγεσαν] Observe the force of the tense: 'had each an interview in turn.' Schneider would omit the words οἷς τὲ στρατηγοῖοι as an interpolation, on the ground that the officers in question had formed a portion of the original audience. We must remember however that the speech so far had been a general one: *nω* each officer obtains permission to urge his personal claims.

ἐμπιπλάστην γνώμην] 'he fulfilled their expectations.' The phrase occurs again in Dem. *Meid.* p. 543, τὴν ἀναίδη γνώμην ἐνέπλησεν αὐτοῦ.

§ 9. *Clurechus dissuades Cyrus from taking an active part in the coming engagement.*

οἷς γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι] Kühner understands these words as implying a personal encounter between the brothers, an explanation which I cannot think probable in itself, or borne out by the use of μαχεῖσθαι in § 18, οὐκ ἄρα ἐπι μαχεῖται, εἰ μὴ ἐν ταύταις μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις. This latter view of the passage is adopted by Mr Taylor, who thinks that the word ἀμαχί would not have been used in reference to a personal conflict.


ἀπτείς] This collective substantive occurs again in *Herod.* v. 30, ὅκτακισχίλιην ἀσπίδα, and compare with it the use of ὀπλα for ὀπλῖται. There is a considerable discrepancy between the totals given in this passage and in i. 2. 9. Taking into account the reinforcements which had joined them, and deducting 100 men for the loss sustained by Meno's troops, we should have expected the total to stand at 12,000 hoplites.

Zeune suggests that the words καὶ χιλία may have formed part of the original text, the replacement of which would bring the totals into tolerable agreement, more especially as the increase in the number of the peltasts (2500 as compared with 2000) may have been made at the expense of the heavy-armed troops. Another theory is to the effect that
the totals are given exclusive of the hoplites who had been left in charge of the baggage. Had the deficiency been occasioned solely by losses, whether from disease or otherwise, it is scarcely possible that they would have passed without mention in the previous narrative.

δραμαδα δραπανηφρα] For an account of these, cf. I. 8. 10, and Cyrop. VI. 1. 29.

§ 12. (καὶ σπατηγαὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες]) With the exception of Kühner and Vollbrecht, nearly all the editors concur in omitting these words as an interpolation. Kühner defends their introduction on the ground that ἄρχοντες represents a general idea, the technical divisions of which are the σπατηγαὶ or senior officers, and the ἡγεμόνες of inferior rank. But, as each of these officers was in command of the same number of troops, there is every reason for inferring that their authority was equal: at any rate it is extremely improbable that in so vast an army any but the very highest in command can be represented by the small total of four. On the other hand, if the substantives are simply explanatory of the fact that the four ἄρχοντες were ex officio σπατηγαὶ and ἡγεμόνες, the sense of the passage is intelligible but weak.

ὑστέρας τὴς μάχης] His negligence in the defence of the Syrian gates (I. 4. 5) suggests the probability that his tardy arrival on the present occasion was intentional on his part. It is at any rate clear that he started in advance of Cyrus and his army (I. 4. 5, I. 4. 18).

§§ 14—end. Artaxerxes declines the engagement, abandoning the defence of the trench which he had constructed against the invaders. A soothsayer who had prophesied this result is rewarded by Cyrus.

τάφρος...ἄρκτα] The phrase occurs in Hom. II. viii. 179. The object of this trench was to exclude Cyrus from the rich corn-districts in the enclosed plain. Forming an angle with the Euphrates, it apparently took a north-easterly direction until it joined the Median Wall. The preposition in the verb παρετέτατο, as Mr Taylor points out, denotes simple extension.

§ 15. τοῦ Μηδέλας τέλεσ] An examination of the theories which have been raised in regard to the identification of this wall would far exceed the compass of a note. I am therefore compelled to reserve it for consideration in a future Appendix. It is at any rate clear from the statement contained in II. 4. 12 (ἀφίκουτο πρὸς τὸ Μηδέλας καλουμένου τέλεσ καὶ παρῆλθον αὐτοῦ εἶσι) that it was situated ἑδοὺ Cunaxa, and that the Greek troops did not reach it till after they had left the battlefield and were marching across to the Tigris. The impression to the contrary may have arisen from the belief that the true site of the Wall had been discovered in Sidd Nimrud, an old embankment commencing in the neighbourhood of Pylæ and extending from the Euphrates to the Tigris in a direction roughly parallel with that taken in all probability by the true Wall. Mr Taylor, who has bestowed great care on the investigation of the subject, inclines to the belief that the Median Wall took an easterly direction for a short distance after its junction with the Euphrates, and then turned sharply to the north till it reached the ancient bed of the Tigris. [For a modification of the above theory, see App. II.]

αἱ διώρυξες] Whatever may have been the direction of these canals, it is at any rate clear that, like the Median Wall, they lay beyond the
battle-field of Cunaxa: otherwise they would have formed in themselves a sufficient defence against the advancing army, and the artificial trench mentioned in the last section would have been a needless task. Accordingly, as the Greeks had not yet reached them in the course of their march, the word ἐνθα must be used by the author in the vaguest possible sense, or else must refer directly, as Mr Grote suggests, to the concluding portion of the last sentence: μέχρι τοῦ Μηδείας τεῖχους. Indeed he proposes to substitute a comma in place of the full stop after τεῖχους, which would definitely fix the meaning of the passage. According to this theory, the word ἐνθα will denote, with more or less exactitude, the point where the canals met the Tigris at their northern extremity, and where, in the opinion of some authorities, we are to place the termination of the Median Wall.

ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιγρητοῦ...ρέουσαι] In his statement that these canals flow from the Tigris, and not from the Euphrates, Xenophon is at variance with all other authorities, ancient and modern, who have written on the subject. But, according to Ainsworth, 'this difficulty loses its force, when we consider that the alluvial plain between the two rivers is so level that it merely requires to alter the diagonal direction of a canal to determine which way its water shall flow, and thus the marsh of al Hur is flooded at one season by the Tigris, at another by the Euphrates through the Isa canal.' The same authority suggests that the canals mentioned by Xenophon may not be identical with those referred to by other writers but ones of minor importance, 'drawn from the marsh of Accad and the Tigris, above the canals of Babylon itself.'

dιαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστῃ] A bold example of the construction known as 'partitive apposition.' The addition of the singular ἐκάστῃ to the plural verb suggests the idea of a number of things taken seriatim.

παρὰ τοῦ Ἐὔφρατην] For the accusative see note on IV. 3. 1.

§ 17. ὑποχωροῦσιν] It is possible to explain this participle as in direct agreement with ἔτευκνων καὶ ἀνθρωπων. But, considering its position in the sentence, I much prefer to understand αὐτῶν, (i.e. the king and his troops), which may be readily supplied from βασιλεὺς in the previous clause. For the combination of the neuter plural ἑυρή with a plural verb, see note on I. 2. 23.

§ 18. θυμένοι] For the distinction in sense between the active and middle voice of the verb, see note on θύσαντες in IV. 6. 27. With the phrase δεκα ἡμερῶν compare νυκτός, 'in the night.' It is no doubt to be explained as a partitive use, denoting in the former case a definite period in the course of which something takes place, and in the latter a recognised but indefinite period, or a period often recurring.

ei ἐν ταῦταις οὖν μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις] el μὴ ἐν ταῦταις μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις, Kühner. The external evidence is almost equally divided between the above readings, as the four leading mss exhibit the double negative, while another of great authority omits the μὴ. But it can scarcely be questioned that the reading of the text, which is accepted by Vollbrecht, is the more forcible in connexion with the context, the negative being taken in close combination with μαχεῖται, and forming in fact a negative verb.

§ 19. ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι] 'had abandoned all idea of
fighting.' The verb ἀπέγνωκα in this connexion is borrowed from the poets, and is usually constructed with the accusative (as in Heil. VII. 5. 7) rather than the genitive.

§ 20. αὐτῷ] An ethic dative: 'while the main portion of his troops were marching in disorder.'

τῶν ὀπλῶν...πολλὰ...ήγοντο] The recurrence of this construction after so short an interval is noteworthy, as forming a strong contrast with its rare and infrequent use by Thucydides, Demosthenes and the best writers of antiquity.

CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1—11. The approach of the enemy. A description of the appearance and relative positions of the contending armies.

ἀμφὶ ἀγορᾶν πλήθουσαν] i.e. between 10 and 12 o'clock. Dissen gives πρωί, πληθοῦσης ἀγορᾶς, μεσημβρία and δείλη as the four divisions of the Greek day. The last-named was on occasion further divided into πρωία and ὀψα.

καταλαῦν] 'to halt.' The accusative, which no doubt formed part of the original construction, would probably have been ἐπιπόνσι or ἐνόισι rather than πορέλων.

τῶν ἀμφὶ Κύρων πιστῶν] Mr Taylor illustrates the title from the opening chorus of the Persae of Aeschylus:

τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων 'Ελλάδ' ἐστιν Πιστὰ καλείται.

Compare too a later passage in the play (v. 677),

ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἥλικες θ᾽ ὑβρις ἐμῆς.

§ 2. καὶ πάντες δὲ] This use of δὲ for δὴ has been explained in a note on I. 1. 2. Kühner quotes by way of illustration the following passage from Cyrop. I. 1. 2, καὶ οἱ βουκόλοι τῶν βοῶν, καὶ οἱ ἒποφερζοί τῶν ἵππων, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ καλοῦμενοι νομεῖς. The cases, however, are not quite parallel, as the nominative which follows καὶ πάντες δὲ in the above quotation softens the abruptness of the phrase both in sound and sense.

§ 4. τὰ δεξία τοῦ κέρατος] 'the right-hand extremity of the wing,' the wing or column in question being formed by the Greek troops who were marshalled in three divisions, commanded respectively by Clearchus, Proxenus and Meno.

ἐχθρίου] sc. τοῦ Κλεάρχου.

καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα] 'and his forces.' We should certainly have expected the addition of the pronoun to qualify so general a word as στρατεύμα. Kühner however instances a somewhat similar omission in I. 10. 5, βασιλέως σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι.

§ 6. ἐπιείκεις* τούτων] Kühner, οἱ ἐπιείκεσ τούτων Vollbrecht. In the latter case the reference will be to some special band of attendants. It is strange that none of the commentators should have objected to the
omission of the article before τοῦτον, where its presence is far more necessary than with ἵππεις. Indeed I cannot persuade myself that the text in its present form is at all satisfactory. After supplying ἔστησαν from the previous passage, the sense is still fragmentary and incomplete, and I am inclined to think that the word which governs τοῦτον (ἐξήμε- νοι in all probability) has fallen out of the text. The addition of this participle would make the passage complete both in sense and sound, and would remove the difficulty which is caused by the omission of the article with τοῦτον.

ταραμμηρίδεοι· 'cuisses.' In the phrase θώραξι μὲν αὐτῷ, the natural order would have been αὐτῷ μὲν θώραξι in contrast with οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες which follows. But examples of this displacement are common enough, and in the present instance it may have been done with a purpose, because there is a further contrast suggested between the two kinds of armour.

§ 8. δείλη] i. e. δείλη πρωίαλα, as may be inferred from a statement in 1. 10. 19. Before σιχυφύ Dindorf and some few of the editors would introduce the negative οὐ. But there is no manuscript authority for the addition, and, as Kühner suggests, the process described by the author would not be a speedy one.

§ 9. ἐν πλαίσιον πληρεί ἀνθρώπων] 'in a solid square.' The addition of έκαστον with a partitive or distributive force has been explained in a note on διαλείπουσιν ἐκάστῃ (I. 7. 15). In the case before us the verb agrees with the nearer noun.

§ 10. *ἐλώντων καὶ διακοφώτων*] ἐλώντα καὶ διακόψατα, Kühner, Vollbrecht and Dindorf by conjecture from ἐλθόντα καὶ διακόψατα which appears in the four chief mss. In support of this reading Kühner quotes from the corresponding passage in Plutarch (Artax. 7): ἐν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἠτάξε τῶν δραγανθρώπων τὰ ῥωμαλαίωτα πρὸ τῆς ἐντού φάλαγγος, ὡς, πρὶν ἐν χειρὶ γενέσθαι, διακόψατα τὰς τάξεις βία τῆς εἰσελάσεως. But this illustration, though decisive on the question of the verb (ἐλάινειν instead of ἐρχεσθαι), lends no countenance to the construction, the difficulties of which are not found in the passage from which he quotes. On the other hand, in the case before us, the absolute use of the accusative participle in connexion with the clause ἡ γνώμη ἦν would be an instance of the σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαίνομενον for which, I believe, no precedent could be found. Either the genitive, or perhaps the dative, of the participle would seem to be essential to the construction, and the former, which is preferred by the majority of the editors, is also more likely to have been displaced by the accusative in order to avoid a succession of similar terminations.

§ 11. 8 μεντοὶ Κύρος ἐλπεν] 'as regards however the statement of Cyrus.' Cf. 1. 7. 4.

The phrase ὡς ἀνυστὶν occurs again in Xenophon (de Rep. Lac. i. 3), who perhaps adopted it as more poetical than the ordinary expression ὡς ὑσυστὶν. It is used also by Plutarch, who no doubt borrowed it from our author.

ἐν ἰσχυρῷ] 'in even line,' or, it may be, 'keeping step.' The sentence is somewhat carelessly composed, as is clear from the entangled order of the words.
§§ 12—16. Cyrus and Clearchus entertain different views as to the best arrangement of the Greek troops. The watchword.

§ 13. ὃρων δὲ...ἄλλα ὀμως] ‘though he saw the dense mass in the centre...still in spite of this did not choose to draw off his right wing from the river.’ Plutarch’s comment on this excess of caution is as follows: αὐτῷ μέλειν εἰπὼν ὄπως ἔξει κάλλιστα, τὸ πᾶν διέφθειρεν (Plut. Artax. 5).

§ 14. οὐκετάτετο] ‘was forming its line from the troops that were successively arriving on the field.’ In connexion with the phrase οὖ πᾶν the student will remember that it may be either a mild or a strong negative (‘quite not’ or ‘not quite’), according to the requirements of the context. In the present instance the majority of the editors combine it with the words which follow, in the sense of ‘not very close to his own troops.’ But we shall be more in accordance with the usage of Plato and the best authorities if we connect it in preference with the participle: ‘riding a short distance along the line, (and halting) in the neighbourhood of his own troops.’

§ 15. ὑπελάθασε] ‘having ridden up to him.’ In compound verbs the preposition ἐπὶ often denotes secrecy (cf. ἑπελαθόντος v. 2. 30), sometimes abruptness (e. g. in the phrase ἐπωθαλῶν ἐφη), and sometimes, as in the present instance, the goal or object for which one is making. With the participle ἐπιστῆσας supply τὸν ἑπιπον.

ἱπτά...σφάγα] The former is usually the more general term (as in VI. 5. 21), denoting all that appertains to the sacrifice, and all the oaths and tokens which are not directly derived from an examination of the victims (σφάγα). Elsewhere (as in IV. 3. 19) ἱπτά is the more technical word for the reasons stated in the note.

§ 16. δεύτερον] Because the watchword, after it had travelled along the ranks, was then passed back again to ensure its future recognition. For θαυμάζειν in the sense of ‘to express surprise,’ ‘to ask in wonder,’ compare II. 1. 10, and a somewhat similar use of the compound ἐπιθαυμάζειν. In the change from παραγγέλλει to εἶη we have another remarkable transition from the direct to the indirect narration.

§§ 17—25. At an early stage in the battle the left wing of the Persian army is routed by the Greeks. Artaxerxes endeavours to outflank the forces of Cyrus, who anticipates him by a successful charge on the troops which formed his guard.

ἄλλα δέχομαι] ‘well, I accept both watchword and omen.’ For δέχομαι in this sense, cf. Aesch. Agam. 1653, δέχομενοι λέγεις θανεῖν σε, and Herod. IX. 91. Sometimes the accusative τὸν δρῶν or τὸν οἰώνον is added: but either would be out of place in the present passage, where the reference in the first instance is to the watchword.

ἔστω] i. e. τὸ σώθημα, rather than σωτηρία καὶ νίκη, as Kühlner suggests.

(ἔναι)] The interpolation of this infinitive was no doubt the work of some copyist who referred προήρχοτο to προάρχεσθαι instead of προ- ἐρχεσθαι. Vollbrecht however retains it in his text on the authority of the four best ms, though, by reading προήρχον in place of προήρχοτο, they suggest the source of the corruption.

§ 18. ἐξεκόμαιν] ‘began to undulate outwards.’ Observe the
force of the preposition ἕκ, i.e., out of line. Mr Forbes in describing the recent battle of Plevna (July, 1877) draws a striking metaphor from the same source. The Russian line, he says, on receiving the fire of the batteries ‘broke into a scattered spray of humanity.’

ἐκλείψωσι] Cf. v. 2. 14 ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπαινῶν...ἀμα τε τῷ Ἐνναλῷ ἡλάζαν καὶ ἔθουν δρόμω οἷ ὀπλαῖται, from which it is clear that the verbs ἡλάζειν and ἐκλείσεων denote the simple war-cry, while the paean was a formal prayer or else a thanksgiving for victory. Compare the comments of the scholiast on Thuc. i. 50.

§ 19. πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖθαι] ‘but before an arrow reaches them,’ i.e. before they come within range. Cf. IV. 3. 29, ἐπειδὰν σφενδάθη ἐξικνήται.

§ 20. ἐπεὶ προίδουεν] Frequentative. Δισταντο, ‘parted to let them pass,’ ‘made way for them.’

καὶ οὐδὲν μὲντοι] ‘and yet even he, they said, was uninjured.’ The position of μέντοι is unusual, and also the combination οὐδ’ ἄλλος ἔδε, of which the positive form (e.g. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ) is common enough. Krüger however quotes an instance of the negative use from Ἰσακ. iii. 50, οίμαι οὐδ’ ἄν τὴν ἄρχην ἐκείνου, οὐδ’ ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα οὕτως εὐθείᾳ γενέσθαι.

§ 21. τὸ καθ’ αὐτοῦς] See note on τοὺς καθ’ αὐτοὺς in v. 2. 21. The preposition is often used as in the present instance to denote what happens at (lit. over against) a person or thing.

ἡδε αὐτῶν, ὥστε...ἐχοι] This form of attraction has been noticed in connexion with i. 1. 5.

§ 23. καὶ βασιλείς δὴ] ‘so too the Persian king.’ The words καὶ...δὴ introduce a further illustration of the previous statement.

§ 25. οἶοὶ συντράπεζοι] In i. 9. 31, they are called συντράπεζοι. Compare also Cyrop. viii. 1. 30.

§§ 26—end. The encounter between the brothers, and the death of Cyrus.

καθορᾶ] The compound, as I have already noticed in connexion with iv. 3. 11, often denotes a chance or casual observation.

Κτησίας ὁ λατρός] Ctesias of Cnidus, though a Greek by birth, was for seventeen years a physician in the pay of Artaxerxes. He was the author of several works on medicine and geography, and, on his return home three years after the battle, wrote a history of Persia in twenty-three books. Plutarch, though he utilises the materials, speaks in disparaging terms of the author, who, to judge from his account of the present battle, was not careful to confine himself to facts.

§ 27. μαχάμενοι] Kühner objects to treating this participle as a nominative absolute, and prefers to connect it with ἀπέλυνσαν, explaining the clauses which intervene as a species of partitive apposition, like those noticed in i. 7. 15, i. 8. 3, and elsewhere.

§ 29. ἐπισφάζασθαι] ‘that he slew himself with his own hand upon the corpse.’ The acinaces was a straight short sword, worn on the right side of the person in contrast with the Greek and Roman custom. It is mentioned in the Cyrop. viii. 2. 8, that permission to wear such decorations could be granted only by a king.
CHAPTER IX.

The character of Cyrus.

§ 1. *παρὰ πάντων*] 'on the part of all,' the preposition *παρὰ* denoting a less definite connexion than *ὑπὸ*, which is used in all the corresponding passages of the *Anabasis*. Compare Soph. *Trach.* 1160, where, if we accept the reading in its present form, the general and the definite preposition are combined in the same clause:

*πρὸς τῶν πνεύμων μηδενὸς θανείν ὑπὸ.*

§ 3. *ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις*] Cf. I. 2. 11.

§ 4. *εὐθὺς παιδε ὤντες*] 'from their very boyhood.' In the sentence which follows, the legitimate order of the words (*πρῶτον μὲν αἰδή-μονεστάτος*) is reversed for the purpose of emphasising the more important adjective.

§ 5. *μᾶλλον πελεσθαί*] 'more obedient to his seniors even than those who were his inferiors in rank.'

§ 6. *μέντοι*] 'and that too in the chase of wild animals.' Here again, as in § 20 of the last chapter, our author's use of these particles is not quite in agreement with that of the best authorities.

*ἐτρεσεν*] A poetical word, and used by our author only in the present passage.

*κατέκτανε*] Kühner, *κατέκαυ* Vollbrecht and Dindorf. The form *κατέκτανε*, which is supported by the authority of all the chief MSS, is likely to have been preferred by Xenophon as the more poetical form.

*τῶν πρῶτον μὲντοι β.*] 'yet notwithstanding.' With the phrase *πολλῶς μακαριστῶν* cf. I. 7. 4, *τῶν μὲν οἴκαδε βουλώμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἰκοί ἡλιό-τον ποιήσω· ἀπελθεῖν.*

§ 8. *καὶ γαρ ὅρον*] A combination which is not very different in sense to that of *καὶ δῆν* in I. 8. 23, since either may be used to introduce an example or illustration: 'and accordingly.'

*ἐπιτρεσύμεναι*] A strict middle: 'placing themselves under his protection.'

§ 10. *ἐτέλ...ἐγένετο*] The optative would have been the more regular mood, but cf. III. 1. 26, *φλωρεῖν ὅστις λέγει.* In the clause which follows, *μὲν* and *δὲ* are introduced to give greater emphasis to the two statements.

§ 11. *ἐξέφερον*] 'divulged,' 'reported,' as in V. 6. 17, 29, and again in Soph. *Trach.* 741,

οἶμοι, τίν ἐξήνεγκας, ὡ τέκνον, λόγον;

*ἀλεξόμενος*] 'in requital.' Although, in strict correctness, the participle refers only to the second of the two alternatives (*τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦμεν-τας*) it may easily be understood to include the former by the figure called *Zeugma*.

§ 12. *ἐν γε ἀνδρὶ*] 'above all men.' The phrase is especially common in poetry, e. g. in Soph. *Oid.* Tyr. 1380,

*καλλιστ' ἀνήρ εἰς ἐν γε ταῖς Θῆβαις τραφεῖσ,
and again in *Trach.* 460,

\[\text{πλείστας ἀνὴρ ἐκ 'Ἡρακλῆς ἔγγυς ὅ.}'\]

In Latin we find *unus* employed in a similar sense: e.g. in Cic. *Tusc.* *disp.* III. 16. 34; *quae cogitatio una maxima molestias omnes extenuat.*

Some of the editors understand the particle *γε* in the present instance as limiting the comparison to *individuals* as distinguished from *communities:* but the same phrase occurs again in § 22, where the context suggests that it is simply a strengthened form of the poetic idiom.

§ 13. *οὗ μὲν δὴ*] The force of *μὲν* in these combinations is, as Kühner points out, almost equivalent to *μήν:* ‘not, however, that any one could say this of him.’

ο*τερομένους*] These forms of punishment are mentioned by Diod. Sic. (XVII. 69), Curtius (v. 5. 6) and many other historians.

†ἐφ’ † ὅ τι προχωρεῖν] The frequentative optative: ‘on whatever business bound.’ The MSS give ἔχουσιν ὅ τι προχωρεῖν, which, by the duplication of ὅ τι, might easily have arisen from the reading suggested in the text. I have ventured with diffidence to make this alteration in the firm conviction that no intelligible meaning can be extracted from the passage as it ordinarily stands. The renderings which have been suggested as possible are as follows:

(i) by Kühner, ‘if he was furnished with what was necessary for the journey;’

(ii) by Schneider, ‘if he had a good reason for proceeding on the journey;’

(iii) by Mr Taylor, ‘with whatever it suited him to carry.’

§ 14. *ὡμολόγητο*] Macmichael calls attention to the tense: ‘before he commenced to punish vice, it had been acknowledged that he could appreciate and reward merit.’

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν] Kühner suggests that the subordinate clause ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλῃ is in fact the apodosis of this sentence, the protasis of which might be embodied in the following paraphrase: πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. But it is also possible that the author was intending to give some account of the campaigns of Cyrus, but, after mentioning one of them, fell back upon his favourite topic.

§ 15. *εἰναι*] The infinitive, it will be noticed, refers to *εὐδαιμονεστάτους* no less than to *δουλους."

§ 16. *εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην*] It is suggested by Macmichael, and I think with reason, that a certain contrast is intended between τοὺς εἰς τολεμον ἀγαθοὺς (§ 14) and τοὺς δικαίους: ‘still (though he honoured the brave) yet when it came to the question of justice,’ etc.

§ 17. *στρατευματὶ ἀληθινῷ*] ‘A genuine army,’ i.e. an army in the true sense of the word, one which followed him from feelings of love and respect, and not from mercenary motives. Compare the expression καθάρος στρατός in Herod. I. 211.

§ 18. *εἶσαι*] The aorist is frequentative to suit the force of the optative ὑπηρετήσεως. The combination however is an unusual one: the aorist with ἄν, which occurs in the next section *(ἀν ἄφελετο)*, being the more common sequence. *κράτιστοι δῆ, 'the very best.'

§ 19. *κατασκευάζοντα*] The legitimate use of the verb as distin-
guished from the compound παρασκευάζειν, the latter implying only temporary furniture or stock. The combination of ἄν with a past tense of the indicative in a frequentative sense has been noticed in connexion with I. 5. 2. In Soph. Phil. (289—295) we have one of the best examples in poetry:

πρὸς δὲ τοῦθ', ὃ μοι βάλει

νευροστάδης ἀτρακτός, αὐτὸς ἄν τάλας

eἰλινύμην δύστητον ἐξέλκων πόλα

πρὸς τοῦτ' ἄν, κ.τ.λ.

ἐπέτατο] A Doric and poetical form, of which our author makes frequent use (e.g. in III. 3. 18, VI. 1. 12, VII. 6. 41). In place of αὖ some of the editors propose to read ἄν. If the reading be correct, a contrast is intended between the acquisition and the possession of wealth.

τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων] ‘who would fain secrete their wealth.’

§ 21. αὐτὸ τοῦτο] ‘ob id ipsum’ is Kühner’s rendering, while other editors would understand ἐπολεί out of the latter portion of the sentence. More probably it is an anticipatory accusative, in apposition with the sentences which follow and which serve to explain it. Tr. ‘indeed, in respect to this very point,’ etc. Thucydides, Plato and others make a similar use of the relative ὅ, e.g. in Thuc. II. 40, ὅ τοις ἄλλοις ἀμαλία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ δὴν φέρει.

§ 22. πάντων ὅθε μάλαστα] It is open to question whether πάντων is a masculine or neuter genitive in the phrase before us. In the latter case, the meaning will be ‘in preference to any other use of them’: in the former, and I think the more probable one, it will be almost equivalent to εἰς γε ἄν ἄνηρ above: ‘he more than any other man was in the habit of distributing them to his friends.’

ὄτου] We must supply σκοτῶν (πρὸς ἐκεῖνο) ὥτου κ.τ.λ.

§ 23. ἧ ός εἰς πόλεμον] The frequent recurrence of ὥς in phrases where it is almost, if not entirely, redundant has been previously noticed as a characteristic of Xenophon’s style (cf. I. 5. 8). In the case before us it suggests the thought or intention in the mind of the giver: without it, the phrases εἰς πόλεμον...εἰς καλλωπισμὸν would denote the ordinary and recognised purposes of the gift.

κοσμηθῆναι] The passive is read by Kühner and Vollbrecht, while Schneider and other editors of note have adopted κοσμήσαι on the authority of a leading ms. The reading of the text is easily defensible, as the phrase τὸ μὲν ἐαυτὸν σῶμα is a mere amplification of the leading nominative. It is moreover far more probable that κοσμηθῆναι should have been displaced by κοσμῆσαι than vice versa.

Poppo takes exception to the introduction of ἄν with δύνατο, but, as Kühner points out, the condition which it suggests is very easily supplied: ‘if he were so disposed,’ ‘if he made the attempt,’ or some similar idea.

§ 24. τὰ μεγάλα νυκάν] ‘the fact that in favours of importance he surpassed his friends in kindly deeds.’

§ 25. σοι ἐπέμψε] Observe (1) the sudden transition to the direct narrative, and (2) the use of the aorist, which is equivalent in force to the epistolary tense in Latin. Tr. ‘he sends (or ‘has sent’) to you.’

§ 27. ἐν...δύνατο] The optative is frequentative and indefinite,
while the indicative points to a definite fact, independent of repetition or change.

§ 29. δοῦλον ἐντοσ] The phrase has been noticed in connexion with I. 7. 3.

πλην 'Ορθνας ἐπεξελησσε] This use of πλην in direct connexion with the verb is not infrequent, more especially in poetry. Cf. Aristoph. Ran. 1466,

εῦ, πλην γ' ὁ δικαστὴς αὐτὰ κατακλίνει μόνος,

and Soph. Trach. 41,

πλην ἐμὸν πικρᾶς ὀδίνας αὐτοῦ προσβαλὼν ἀπολύειται.

δον κατο) The reference is to the messenger mentioned in I. 6. 3,

ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διδώσαι ('Ορθνας) πιστῷ ἄνδρι, ὡς κατο).

φιλατερον] Kühner and Vollbrecht with the majority of the mss, while Bornemann follows one of the best in reading φιλωτερον. According to Kühner, the form φιλαίτατος occurs once in Xenophon (Hell. VII. 3. 8), φιλωτέρα also once (Memor. III. 11. 18), but nevèr φιλωτερος, though the corresponding superlative form is common.

§ 31. ἐι παρὰ αὐτοῦ] The accusative with παρὰ in this and similar phrases would seem to denote a vague or indefinite relation like that of ἐκτελεῖ and περὶ in similar connexions; indeed in several passages, including the present, Schneider would read the latter preposition in its place. It is important to remember that the usage is practically confined to Xenophon.

CHAPTER X.

§§ 1—3. The Persians attack and defeat the troops of Ariaeus, after which they plunder the camp. In another quarter they are themselves routed by the soldiers left in charge of the baggage.

ἀποτέμνεται] It is clear from the account of Ctesias (§ 59,) that the mutilation was perpetrated in accordance with the king’s instructions, though not apparently by his own hand.

ἑσπιπτει] The singular verb is strange, but easily explicable on the supposition that it is accommodated to suit the more important of two substantives, i.e. the King as the representative of his followers. Cf. Thuc. IV. 73, τῷ μὲν Βρασίδᾳ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄρχονσιν... ὡς ἐπικρατή-

σαντι.

ὁμπρυντο] I have followed Vollbrecht in editing ὁμπρυντο, as more in keeping with the sense of the context. Kühner however prefers the imperfect, which unquestionably rests on better manuscript authority and may perhaps be defended as a reference to the time of their departure: ‘from which (at the time in question) they set forth.’

§ 2. τὴν Φωκαιδα] Her name, which was originally Milto, was changed by Cyrus to Aspasia.

§ 3. ἡ νεωτέρα] ‘the younger of the two.’ The article would appear to be perfectly grammatical in this connexion, though Kühner, I
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see, objects to it, and mentions with approval the suggestion of Bornemann: Μιλησία, ἥ νεωτέρα ἦν, ληφθέεσα. The epithet γυμνός means simply 'without the mantle (ιμάτιον),' like nudus in Verg. Georg. i. 299. Krüger quotes in illustration Dem. Meid. 59. § 583, γυμνόν ἐν τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ γενέσθαι.

πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων] i.e. ἐκφευγείς πρὸς (τούτος) τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἔτυχον κ.τ.λ., the combined phrase οἱ ἔτυχον...διὰ ἔχουσες taking the place of an accusative substantive. The above is Kühner's interpretation, who notwithstanding characterises the construction as 'durum.' It may be preferable to supply χώραν, if we are to accept the text as it stands, and if πρὸς with the genitive cannot be wrested from its legitimate sense as denoting the quarter from which the motion commences. It is true that in two passages of the Anabasis (ii. 2. 4, and iv. 3. 26) it is scarcely possible to render πρὸς with the genitive otherwise than by 'towards,' 'in the quarter of,' but in both of these the direction suggested is a comparatively vague and indefinite one.

διὰ ἔχουσες] Equivalent to the Latin excubias agentes, 'on guard.'

§§ 4—9. A second engagement is expected, but declined by the Persians. The meeting of Tissaphernes and the King. The two armies dispose themselves for a fresh encounter.

τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς] See note on i. 8. 21.

ὡς πάντας νικῶντες...ὡς Ἰονία πάντες νικῶντες] The meaning of the passage is clear, but the construction is a careless one, as the verbal parallelism suggests an antithesis which is not complete in sense.

§ 5. νικῶν...καλά...οὗχονται] The abruptness of this transition to the direct from the indirect is without parallel even in the present author. In iv. 5. 10, and again in v. 5. 24, we have almost similar passages, but in both these cases the introduction of ἀλλά modifies the change.

§ 6. παρῆλθεν] 'he had come up.' The verb παρέρχεσθαι is often used in this sense, e. g. in Dem. Bost. peri ὑμον. § 999, παρῆλθον εἰς Ταμύνας οἱ ἄλλοι, 'the army went to the front to Tamynae.'

τοὺς...κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας αὐτοῦ.] These deserters are mentioned again in ii. 1. 6.

In this and the succeeding sentence we have two remarkable uses of the preposition κατὰ. Kühner suggests that 'ad' is the nearest Latin equivalent, comparing Cyrop. vii. 1. 15, ὡς δὲ παρῶν κατὰ Ἀβραάδαταν ἐγένετο. I venture however to think that σφυρωθήκει more nearly represents its meaning both in the passage before us and in the one to which he refers, which I propose to render as follows:

(i) τοὺς ἐν τῷ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας αὐτομολήσαντας, 'those who had deserted during the battle in the quarters where they faced the Greek troops;' i. e. avoiding the Persian troops of Cyrus, the men deserted only when they were in the proximity of the Greek lines.

(ii) δὲ...κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας πελτασσότας, 'rode through (their ranks) in the quarter where the peltasts were stationed;'

(iii) ὡς δὲ παρῶν κατὰ Ἀβραάδαταν ἐγένετο, 'as in riding past he came to a spot just over against Abradatas.'

§ 7. φρόνιμος γενέσθαι] His discretion was shown in avoiding an actual encounter without abandoning his assaults on the foe.

§ 9. κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας] This, which was originally the left
wing of the Greek troops, had now become their right. Observe the employment of the poetic verbs περιπτόδται and ἀναπτύχσειν. Ποιήσαι διπλή, 'to place in their rear.'

§§ 10—end. The second victory of the Greeks. At sunset they return to their camp to find it plundered.

καὶ δῆ] These words introduce the apodosis of the sentence, the order of which is as follows: κατέστησεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα...ὡσεπρ τὸ πρῶτον μαχούμενος συνῆεν. The participle παραμειψάμενος illustrates the position of the Persians in I, 8, I3, τοῦ εὐωνύμου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ έξω δυτα.

§ 11. ἐκ πλεόνος] 'at a longer distance,' i. e. with a greater start.

μέχρι κόμης τινός] Possibly Cinapxa itself, the actual position of which has not been identified. According to Plutarch it was situated about 500 stadia from Babylon, and recent explorations have tended to fix it at a place now called Kūnasakh, which accords well with the distances mentioned by Xenophon and with the physical characteristics which he ascribes to the locality. The plains of Babylon are destitute of natural hills, and, accordingly, γῆλοφος in the following sentence is understood by Ainsworth to signify an artificial mound.

§ 12. ὡστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γευνύσκειν] 'so that the Greeks could not discover what was in progress (behind the hill).'

(ἐπὶ ξῦλου)] All the best ms without exception contain these words, which, if genuine, can only be interpreted as follows: 'a golden eagle upon a shield, (resting) with outstretched wings upon a staff.' Kühner rejects them in their present form, on the assumption that they were added to explain πέλη, which, according to Suidas and Hesychius, is an equivalent for δορον or ἀκώντιον. Cf. Cypor. vii. 1. 4, where the royal standard of Persia is described as ἀετὸς χρυσός ἐπὶ δοράτοις μακροῦ ἀνατηρμένος. At the same time he mentions with approval the conjecture of Hutchinson: ἐπὶ πέλης ἐπὶ ξυστοῦ, which is to a certain extent confirmed by the authority of Suidas, who remarks that the word ξυστῶν is used in this particular connexion by Arrian and other writers. Vollbrecht edits ἐπὶ πέλης ἐπὶ ξῦλου.
NOTES.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Recapitulation of preceding narrative.

Κύρων] An ethic dative, for which see note on οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σωρδεύς αὐτῷ ἀφικοντο (i. 2. 4). The substantive ἰνάδῳ is a poetic equivalent for the more usual ἀναφάσσει.

§§ 2, 3. The generals meet at daybreak, and, in their ignorance of the death of Cyrus, pass a resolution to join him. As they are on the point of starting, Glus and Procles arrive at the camp with the news of Cyrus' death and the flight of Ariasus.

οὐ χρῆ ποιεῖν] For this transition from the indirect narration (οὐ χρῆ ποιεῖν) to the direct, see note on εἰ μὴ βούλεται (i. 3. 14), and the passages quoted in illustration. The verb συνκενάζεσθαι (vasa colligere) occurs in the same section (i. 3. 14).

ἐν...ςυμμισθείν] The optative, which is accommodated to the oblique narration, denotes the purpose.

§ 3. ἐν ὀρμήν] Lit. 'on the start'. For the omission of the pronoun with ὄρμων, compare πρωίντων (i. 2. 17), where, as in the present instance, the context leaves no doubt as to the subject of the participle.

Τευθραία] This was the name of a town and district in Mysia, situated on the banks of the river Caicus, and distant about seventy stades from Alarneus and Pergamus. For the circumstances under which Teuthrana and Halisarna were bestowed on Demaratus by Darius Hystaspis, to whose court he retired after a quarrel with his colleague Cleomenes in BC 491, cf. Herod. vi. 67 sqq., and Paus. iii. 7. 7.

γεγονός ἀπὸ] 'a descendant of Demaratus'. The connecting particle is frequently omitted with the demonstrative pronoun (cf. τούτῳ σὺγγεγενέμενος, i. 1. 9), when the passage, which the pronoun introduces, is explanatory of a previous statement.

τεθνηκεν...εἶ] Observe the change of mood from the indicative, which marks the death of Cyrus as an independent fact, to the optative, which implies that the subsequent statements are dependent on the impressions of the narrator.

πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶ] = πεφευγὼς (εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν) ἐν τῷ σταθ-
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II. 1.

μῷ ἐν, a pregnant form of expression which has been noticed and illustrated in connexion with the following phrases: τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως (I. 1. 5), κλέπτεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας (III. 6. 11), and οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἐβευγόν (v. 2. 3).

ἀρμάντο] In place of ἀρμάντο Vollbrecht and Schneider edit ἀρμαντο. The same question is raised in connexion with the concluding sentence of 1. 10. 1, where I have given my reasons for retaining the imperfect in both cases on the authority of Kühner and the leading MSS. τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ‘on the following day’, with which compare III. 4. 1, μελαντες δὲ ταύτην τῇ ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο.

§§ 4—6. At the instigation of Clearchus a deputation is sent to Ariaeis with offers to place him on the throne. The Greek troops are hard pressed by the want of provisions and firewood.

ἀκούσαντες...πινθανόμενοι] The inferior MSS give ἀκούσαντες in place of the aorist participle and omit πινθανόμενοι, the course of the corruption being clearly as follows:—ἀκούσαντες having been replaced by ἀκούσαντες in the attempt to make the participles coincide, it was quickly discovered that ἀκούσαντες and πινθανόμενοι were virtually tautologous. The reading of the text, as Kühner suggests, marks the difference between the direct information received by the generals, and its gradual dissemination through the ranks of the army.

ἄλλῳ ὕφελε...ζήν] Mr Taylor compares from Ovid ‘deuerant fusos evolnisse suos’. The same use of ἄλλα appears elsewhere, e.g. in 1. 7. 6 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεεν ὁ Κύρος’. ἄλλοι ἐστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἢ ἀρχὴ ἢ πατρία κ.τ.λ., where the adversative force of ἄλλα is directed against a feeling not openly expressed but existing in the mind of the speaker.

ἡλέθετε...ἐπορευομέθα ἀν] ‘had you not come, we should by this time have been on our way’. This variation in the usual sequence of tenses (for which see note on πλείους ανεβλήγας, iv. 1. 11) is quite in accordance with the sense of the passage. Sometimes the change is still more marked, and we find the Prætasis of one form combined with the Ἀποδοσία of another, e.g. in the following sentence: πορευόμεθα δ’ οὐκάδε εἰ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυπηθ (II. 3. 23).

καθίσεων] καθιεῖν Vollbrecht and Schneider, but the manuscript authority is in favour of the rarer form, which is preferred by Bornemann, Kühner and others as quite in accordance with Xenophon’s usage, who adopts it in the case of other verbs of the same class, e.g. νομίσεις, ἀποκομίσει etc.

§ 6. οἱ μὲν ὁχόντο] Murcatus objects with reason to the structure of this sentence owing to the absence of the connecting particle. No doubt, as Kühner suggests, the article takes the place of the demonstrative, so far as the sense of the passage is concerned, but in so emphatic a position it can scarcely represent it in sound and rhythm without the addition of a particle. I should therefore prefer to read as follows: καὶ οἱ μὲν ὁχόντο.

τὸ δὲ στράτευμα...κόπτοντες] With this example of the construction κατὰ σύνεσιν we may compare amongst others iv. 8. 18, τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὁπλιτικὸν, ἃν ἥρξε Κλεάνωρ. In like manner a noun of multitude is often combined with an adjective in the plural.
NOTES.

ἐκ τῶν ὑπογυγίων κόπτοντες] i.e. λαβόντες ἐκ τῶν ὑπογυγίων, which is preferable to connecting the words ἐκ τῶν ὑπογυγίων with ἐπορίζετο which precedes. Note the wide application of the substantive σῖτος.

ξύλοις] A predicate, 'they used for firewood', while the substantive φάλαγγος is apparently equivalent to ἀείς 'the field of battle', i.e. the place where the main body of the troops were posted.

Ἁγγαζων] The tense throws back the action of the verb to the time described in 1. 10. 6. We have already noticed this use of the imperfect in connexion with a disputed reading (ὡριμωντο or ὡ.μυντο) in § 3. ἐκβάλλεω, which Spellman strangely renders 'to pull out of the ground', is of course 'to empty out of their quivers'.

γέρροι] The γέρροι was an oblong shield of wicker-work, protected by a covering of oxhide. It was largely used by the Persian soldiers, although Xenophon (in the Cyrop. vii. 1. 33) describes the long Egyptian shields (ποδήρεις ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν, 1. 8. 9) as far more serviceable whether for clearing a path or for the protection of the person.

πέλται καὶ ἀμαξαί] The combination is a strange one, and has led to the suggestion that πέλτη in this passage is equivalent to ἐστόν (cf. 1. 10. 12), i.e. a projecting part of the chariot to which the standard was attached. But, as Mr Taylor notices, it is little likely that Xenophon would have used an ordinary word in so unusual a sense without adding some explanation.

ἐρμος] 'ownerless', 'abandoned'. The adjective refers to πέλτai no less than to ἀμαξαί, and, as it appears to me, in the same sense. Kühner, however, regards the construction as a species of ἔχωμα, by which the shields are described as 'ownerless', and the wagons as 'empty', 'deprived of their contents'.

φέρονται] Epexegetic. It is a poetical construction, more especially common in Homer, and equivalent in force to the Latin supine in u. Cf. Soph. Antig. 637, where however the exact force of the verb is open to doubt:—

ἐμοι ὡρ ὀνεῖς ἄξιοι ἕσται (al. ἄξισθεται) γάμοι μειζων φέρονται κ.τ.λ.

The word κρέα is emphatic for the reason noticed in connexion with 1. 5. 6.

§§ 7—9. Envoys from the Persian king arrive at the camp, and demand from the Greeks the surrender of their arms. Clearchus answers with a refusal, and then leaves his colleagues to continue the negotiations while he retires to conduct a sacrifice.

περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγοράν] i.e. between 10 and 12 o'clock. Cf. 1. 8. 1. 01 μὲν ἄλλοι, ἤν δὲ αὐτῶν] This slight divergence from the regular construction may have been adopted intentionally with the object of emphasizing the latter clause in the sentence. Compare a somewhat similar device in the concluding passage of 1. 9. 5. On the strength of this statement Plutarch rejects the account of the physician Ctesias, who says that he was himself present at the interview. But the word ἔλε is not unfrequently employed by Xenophon as a simple equivalent for τίς, with which compare a later use of the Latin unus (Catul. xxii. 10);
or again it is possible, as Mr Taylor suggests, that the present passage deals only with those who actually took part in the debate.

[σπλομαχλαν] From Συγτορ. vii. 1. 33 and other passages it is clear that the skill of the Persian troops lay chiefly in the use of missiles.

§ 8. εὐρίσκεσθαι ἃν τι δύνωνται ἁγαθῶν] The phrase occurs again in vii. 1. 31, ἣν μὲν δἰνώμεθα παρ' ὑμῶν ἁγαθὸν τι εὐρίσκεσθαι, a fact which scarcely bears out Mr Taylor’s suggestion that the invitation is an ironical one in the present instance.

§ 9. [ἐχετε] = seitis, with which compare the use of tenere in Latin. In the clause which follows, observe the special force of the verb ἤκεν, ‘I will be here (i.e. I will be back again) anon’.

[ἐγγρήμενα] ‘to inspect the entrails when they had been taken out of the victim’. The employment of the word ἐρά in this connexion favours the supposition that σφάγια is the general and less technical term. For the force of the middle θῦμονεν, see notes on i. 7. 18, and iv. 6. 27.

§§ 10—14. The debate is continued by Phalinus on the part of the Persians, and by Cleanor, Proxenus and Theopompos on the part of the Greeks.

[παραδοθησαν] This rare form of the optative is retained by Vollbrecht, Kühner and Dindorf on the authority of the four leading mss. Macmichael edits παραδόειν.

[θαυμάζω] ‘I ask in wonder whether it is in the character of conqueror that the king demands from us our arms, or rather as presents on the score of friendship’.

cαι οὖν λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα] So Vollbrecht, Kühner and Macmichael after three of the chief mss in place of ἀλλ' οὖν λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα which also rests on good authority. The adversative force in ἀλλά would be justified by the interrogation in the previous clause, and by a precisely similar passage which Kühner quotes from Συγτορ. ii. 2. 19, καὶ τι δει... ἐμβαλεῖν λόγον περὶ τούτου, ἀλλ' οὖρι προειπεῖν δει οὐτω ποιήσεις;

§ 11. [αὐτῷ] Kühner, Krüger, Macmichael and others would take αὐτῷ in close connexion with ἀντιποιεῖται, while Mr Taylor refers it primarily, if not solely, to the earlier portion of the sentence: ‘for whom has he left to contest his claim to the sovereignty?’ The rhythm of the sentence appears to me decisive in favour of the latter view.

[παρέχοειν] Of the four leading mss one only gives παρέχοι ύμίν, the remainder exhibit the reading of the text, which is preferred by Kühner, Bornemann, Macmichael and the majority of the editors. The intransitive use of παρέχειν in the sense of to permit, ‘give the chance’ is not unfrequent. Cf. Menon. i. 2. 54, καὶ τοὺς ἱστρός παρέχουσι μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ ἀληθῶν καὶ ἀποτέμενα καὶ ἀκομαίν, and a well-known passage in Soph. Al. 1145,

ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐμματος κρυφεῖς
πατεῖν παρέχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτίλων.

§ 12. [Θεσπομπος] He is not mentioned elsewhere in the Anabasis, and the inferior mss give Ζευκοφόν in place of Θεσπομπος in the present passage. But Kühner, Schneider, Poppo and Dindorf are agreed in following the four leading mss; add to which the reading of the text is ably supported by Weiske, who argues that the position held by
Xenophon in the camp (cf. III. 1. 4) was not such as to have entitled him to speak at a council of the generals. On the other hand Krüger conjectures that the original passage may have stood thus: Θεόπομπος δὲ Πρὸξενον τούτο εἶπεν φήσι, arguing from the fact that the words in question are attributed to Proxenus by Diodorus (xiv. 25). Mr Taylor notices that the speech is quoted as Xenophon's by Lord Bacon (Adv. of Learning, i. 7. 30).

ολόμεθα ἃν] For this position of ἃν in the sentence after verbs like οἴομαι, δοκεῖ etc., cf. v. 6. 1, and i. 3. 6. Its juxtaposition with παραδότες is accounted for by the fact that the participle represents a condition. See note on ταῦτα προσποιομένοι (iv. 6. 13).

παραδότες] sub. ἡμᾶς, which is naturally suggested by ἡμῖν. It is strange that none of the editors should have called attention to the irregular use of the preposition in the phrase σὺν τούτοις (i.e. τοῖς ὄπλοις), by which the neuter ὄπλα is, as it were, personified, 'by the favour of these', 'with these on our side'. Cf. σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς and similar phrases.

§ 13. νεανίσκει] The term is apparently confined to persons who are between the ages of twenty-three and forty-one, and its employment here would have assisted us in determining the age of Xenophon at the present time, if the occurrence of his name in the previous section could have been placed beyond doubt.

λέγεις οὔν ἀχάριστα] 'you talk pleasantly enough'. The same quiet irony appears constantly in Plato's use of the adjective.

§ 14. ὑπομαλακιζομένους] 'with symptoms of fear'. Cf. ὑπέφαινε (π. 4. 7).

ἄλλο τι...χρήσθαι] For this accusative with χρήσθαι, see note on ἑρωτῶν ἐκείνον, τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρήσθαι (i. 3. 18).

ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον] The Egyptians had revolted from the Persian sway towards the close of the reign of Darius, and were establishing themselves as an independent nation with Psammetichus for their king (Diod. Sic. xiv. 35). Kühner unquestionably offers the right explanation of this construction, viz. that the words συγκαταστρέφαμεν ἃν, which in their primary sense are accommodated to the clause ἑκά τι Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, are also to be referred by ἔγγυμα to the earlier portion of the sentence (ἄλλο τι...χρήσθαι). Trans. 'should he wish to use their services for a campaign against Egypt or for any other purpose, they would aid him in his schemes of conquest'. I prefer however to print a colon in place of the comma which in his text follows γενέσθαι. A noticeable feature in the construction of this sentence is the subordinate position of the words ἑκά Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, notwithstanding they represent the leading idea of the sentence. In cases where this order is adopted, either for the sake of rhythm or otherwise, it is usual to find the more important of the two clauses emphasized by the introduction of σὺν or some corresponding equivalent: e.g. εὐτί κατο τι θέλω χρήσθαι, εἰτ’ σὺν ἑκά Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν.

§§ 15—18. Clearchus re-appears, and appeals to Phalinus as a Greek to advise his countrymen for the best.

ὑπολαβῶν] For the various significations of this participle, see note on i. 1. 7.

οὕτωι...ἄλλοι ἄλλα] A species of partitive apposition, for a bolder
form of which cf. 1. 7. 15, ἐσβάλλονι δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἐνφράτην, διαλειποντι
δ’ ἐκέστη παρασάγγην. Compare also 1. 8. 9 and 1. 8. 27. A similar
construction is found in Latin, e.g. in Tac. Ann. III. 40, component. Florus
Belgas, Sacrovir propores Gallos, concire.

§ 16. ὁμιᾳ δὲ] The verb is used parenthetically in place of
the more ordinary phrase δοκεῖ μοι or some equivalent. A
precisely similar construction occurs in V. 8. 22 (ὁμια γὰρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπέων, τοὺς αὐτοὺς
εὑρίσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑδρατοτάτους), but another passage
in the same book (δοκοῦντι δὲ μοι ἀπῆλθον, V. 8. 13), which Kühner
quotes as analogous, appears to me to stand on a different footing for
the reasons mentioned in the note.

συμβουλεύωμεθα] ‘we ask your advice’. Two theories have been
suggested to account for the primary sense of the middle voice, one of
which assumes that the literal force of συμβουλεύωμαι, διδάσκομαι and
similar verbs is ‘I get advice, instruction given’, while according to
the other the true scope of the middle is to express the interest of the
agent in the action of the verb; e.g. συμβουλεύωμαι will mean ‘I consult
with you for myself’, i.e. for my own interests. Of late, scholars have
agreed to describe the above and other uses of the middle as so many
varieties of reflexive action.

§ 17. ἀναλεγόμενον] ‘when you reflect upon it’, ‘when you review
it in thought’, the accusative taking the place of the more grammatical
dative, by a construction of which we have had repeated examples, e.g.
θωρασκισθέντα (III. 4. 35) and a passage in § 19 of the present chapter:
εἰ μὲν ἐπὶδωμα μα τις τῶν ἔστι σωθήσαται πολεμώτας βασιλέα. The majority
of the editors, including Mr Taylor, regard ἀναλεγόμενον as a passive
participle in apposition with the relative δ, but this use of the verb is
rare and apparently unclassical. Consequently I much prefer to under-
stand it as a middle, a form in which it not unfrequently appears as an
equivalent for ἀναλογιζόμενον, i.e. ‘which will be creditable to you when
you reflect on it hereafter’. Kühner apparently suspects the correctness
of the text, and mentions with approval the following emendation, which
has further received the sanction of Dindorf: εἰς τὸν ἑπειτα χρόνον
πάντα λέγομεν. Less probable suggestions are (i) ἀναγεγελλόμενον,
(ii) ἄνελ γεγομένον, which is ingenious, and (iii) ἀνὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα λέγομεν.

§ 18. ὑπῆγετο] An equivalent for ὑπετίθετο, ‘made these suggestions
with a purpose’. The verb occurs with the same force a little later on
in the present book (4. 3), καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπῆγεται (βασιλεὺς) μένειν.
Compare the use of the similar verb ὑφηγεῖσθαι in the sense of ‘practise
verbs’. Another, but less simple, explanation is proposed by some of
the editors, who, retaining the primary sense of the verb, would under-
stand ταύτα as the indirect accusative, in which case the phrase ταύτα
ὑπῆγετο would be equivalent to ταύτα λέγων ὑπῆγετο, ‘was for giving him
his clue in this way’.

ὑποστρέψας] ‘doubling’, ‘rounding upon him’ is the literal rendering,
and so, by consequence, ‘having evaded the attack’. The participle
is similarly used in Eur. Iph. in Aul. 362,

καθ’ ὑποστρέψας λέγησαι μεταβαλὼν ἄλλας γραφάς.

§ 19. Phalinus counsels submission.
II. 1, 2] NOTES.

τῶν μυρίων] The article is employed because μυρίων is the recognised numeral in such cases.

§§ 20—end. After some further expressions of opinion Phalinus returns to the King without having obtained from Clearchus a direct declaration of his purpose.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν] ‘well, here in fine we have your opinion’. This force of ἀλλά, with the antagonism which it implies in the mind of the speaker, has been noticed in connexion with § 5.

§ 21. μενεῖτε...εἰσιν. The tense is purposely changed to give additional force to the second verb: ‘will ye stay and is there to be peace?’ In the succeeding clause, παρ’ ὑμῶν is intentionally placed where it may do duty both with what precedes (ὡς πολέμου δύνας) and with what follows (ἀπαγγέλω). For the combination of ὡς with the participle, ‘on the understanding that it is to be war’, see notes on ὡς ἀποκρίνεσθαι (I. 1. 3), and ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος (I. 1. 6).

§ 22. ἀπεκρίθη] An unclassical form, used by the author of Alcid. II. 149 A, and by Polybius, Diodorus and other late writers. In the present instance it appears in the four leading mss: the inferior ones give ἀπεκρίνατο. The occurrence of the more usual tense in the following section is (as Kühner suggests) an argument for reading ἀπεκρίθη in the present case, as Χεροφον was notoriously fond of varying his forms of expression.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—2, Phalinus and his party having departed, messengers arrive from Ariaeus, announcing that he declines the offer of the Persian throne, and asking Clearchus and his followers to join him in his retreat. Their answer is again ambiguous.

ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριάου] See note on τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως (I. 1. 5). The departure of the original delegation is mentioned above in II. 1. 5.

οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι] ‘would not tolerate him for their king’. As regards the construction, the infinitive takes the place of the optative when the relative clause stands in the oblique narration. Compare an exactly similar passage in V. 7. 18, ἔπει μέντοι σφείς λέγειν, ἐφασάν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πράγμα, ἰδεῖσθαι τε αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ. After the verb ἀνασχέσθαι we might have expected an accusative rather than a genitive, though both constructions are admissible. The genitive may be due, as Mr Taylor suggests, to the primary meaning of the verb (‘would not hold off from him’), though more probably αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος is to be taken independently as a genitive absolute.

ἐκ βουλευθεῖ] Cf. ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται, ὅτι οὐ δυνήσετο in I. 3. 2. The change to the direct narrative emphasizes the message by reporting it in the original words.

αὐτός] ‘by himself’, ‘alone’.

§ 2. ἐὰν μὲν ἦκωμεν] By printing a comma instead of a colon after the infinitive ποιέων all the difficulties of the passage are removed without the necessity of understanding an apodosis. Tr. ‘well, we must act as you propose, on the supposition that we come: if not, you must consult
your own interests'. Kühner (who is followed by the other editors) retains the colon after ποιεῖν, but without any comment on the ἀποσιωφίσεις which this involves, and which may be either ἐὰν 'well and good', or else χρὴ ποιεῖν, or again a verb like συνάπτεσθαι to be supplied from συναπτέναι above. But any such explanation of the sentence is rendered extremely awkward by the introduction of the words ὑπὲρ λέγετε, for which reason I much prefer the simpler punctuation of the text.

§§ 3—5. Clearchus, who is recognised by tacit consent as the leader of the moment, advises the troops to fall back and effect a junction with the friends of Cyrus.

ἐναι There is considerable doubt whether the infinitive follows δυνάμενοι or ἐγκήνειο, Buttmann adopting the former view which is certainly recommended by the rhythm of the sentence, while the latter has the sanction of Kühner and the majority of the editors. Out of the five instances quoted by Kühner in support of his theory only one is at all conclusive (vi. 6. 36, ἐμοὶ μὲν ὁυκ ἔθελε γενέσθαι τά τινα ἐξέγειν), the adjective καλὰ being either expressed or implied in all the other passages to which he refers (e.g. by the use of the verb καλλιερεῖν in Herod. vi. 76, ix. 38). Indeed the introduction of καλὰ in the final clause of the section is to a certain extent in favour of the counter theory. However, as both constructions are apparently admissible, I incline to the belief that the words ἐναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα are intentionally placed (like παρ’ ὑμῶν in Π. 1. 21) where they may do double duty. Tr. 'when I was sacrificing for permission to march against the king the sacred tokens that I might do so were not forthcoming'. For the popular explanation (viz. that we are to understand καλὰ with ἐγκήνειο) there is not the smallest fragment of evidence.

ναυσίτωρος] The position of the adjective, which should mark it as a predicate, has not been noticed by the commentators. Here it stands for ναυσίτωρος ὡς, and its emphatic position is accounted for by the explanatory clause which follows.

§ 4. συμήρη] For the omission of the subject, see note on ἐσαλπιγξε (1. 2. 17). The phrase ὡς ἀναπάθεσθαι must be carefully distinguished from others in which the word ὡς is partially, if not altogether, redundant (cf. ἦ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον, 1. 9. 23). In the present case it is added to show that the verb ἀναπάθεσθαι does not represent the true meaning of the signal.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ] ἐπὶ with the dative denotes a quicker and more direct sequence than μετὰ with the accusative and other combinations. The same succession of signals appears in Polybius (vi. 40. 2) in reference to the same manœuvres.

tοῦ ἡγουμένου is probably a neuter in the sense of the 'van-guard'. Cf. τοῦ ὑπερβάλλου (iv. 1. 8). The phrase πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, 'on the side near the river', occurs in iv. 3. 26 and elsewhere. According to Kühner, we are to supply the words τοῦ ποταμοῦ after ἐξω. But surely 'on the outer side' (i.e. beyond them) is the true rendering, as the object of the manœuvre was to utilize the river for their protection on the one side, while the other was guarded by the hoplites.

§ 6. A summary of their marches up to the present time.

σταθμοῦ...σταθμοῦ] The whole of this section is rejected by Krüger
as out of keeping with the summary given in 1. 2. 5, which estimates the number of stadia at 15,510 against the 16,050 mentioned in the passage before us. The majority of the editors prefer to retain it, offering various suggestions to account for the discrepancy; e.g. that the distance from Ephesus to Sardes was four days' journey instead of the three at which it is placed by Herodotus (Koch), that a period of three days is not accounted for in the march between Keramon Agora and Caystri Campus (Rennell), that the time spent on the passage of the Cilician Gates or on the road between Dana and Tarsus was understated in the narrative (Mr Taylor).

τῆς μάχης] 'the battle-field'. Plutarch however estimates the distance between Cunaxa and Sardes at about 500 stadia (Artax. 8).

§ 7. The defection of Miltocthes. εἰς τεταράκοντα] In other words, their entire force of cavalry.

§§ 8, 9. The remainder of the troops effect a junction with Arius and his friends. A league is formed between them for their mutual protection.

κατά τὰ παραγεγεμένα] 'following out the directions he had given', (cf. § 4). The phrase ἀμφι μέσας νύκτας has been noticed in connexion with 1. 7. 1.

θέμενοι τὰ ὀπλα] For the various meanings of the phrase, see note on iv. 2. 16. Its employment in the present instance denotes that the Greeks were as yet undecided whether they should treat Arius and his followers as friends or foes. As regards the construction, Kühner suggests that we should understand it as a species of partitive apposition, for which see note on οὕτω...ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει (11. 1. 15), but I cannot regard this explanation as pertinent to the present case, as the conditions are here entirely altered by the omission of the main subject. More probably, the participle is a nominative absolute, agreeing with ὁ στρατιώται or οἱ Ἑλληνες, either of which may readily be supplied κατὰ σφέσιν from the opening words of the section (Κλέαρχος οἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἴναειτο...οἱ οἴ εἶποντο). An alternative explanation is possible by which the nominatives στρατηγοὶ and λοχαγοὶ are made to do double duty, i.e. in a general sense with θέμενα as an equivalent for οἱ στρατιώται, and afterwards with ἔγετον in their restricted application. If the phrase ὀπλα θέσατο were less entirely idiomatic, we need look no further for an explanation of the construction than the one proposed by Macmichael: 'the generals and captains, having drawn up their men under arms, went in together'.

§ 9. σφαξαντες...εἰς ἀσπίδα] For this pregnant construction, cf. ἐσφαγμάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν (iv. 3. 18). According to Plutarch, the sacrifice of a wolf was an essential feature in the Persian rite, apparently because it was the creature and emblem of the Power of Darkness. Cf. τὸν 'Ἀδην ἀνακαλοῦται καὶ τῶν σκότων' εἰτα μίξαντες (ποῖν των) αἰματι λύκων σφαγέντο...ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ἰπτυοῦσι. (Plut. Is. et Osir. ii. 369.) In the Greek and Roman ceremonial only the other animals were offered. When we consider the constant change that is in progress among the Fauna of particular districts, we need scarcely concern ourselves with a difficulty raised by Koch on the ground that the wolf is not found in Babylonia.
EXPEDITIO CYRI.

βάπτοντες ξίφος] Cf. Herod. IV. 70, where it is mentioned as a Scythian custom.

§§ 10—12. The advice of Ariaeus.

§ 11. ἀπειδοντες] The participle represents the condition: 'should we return'. See note on ἐρημος ὦν (I. 3. 6).

σταθμῶν] 'in the course of the last seventeen stages'. A partitive use of the genitive, with which compare νυκτός 'at a given period in the night'. In the former phrase however the reference is to a definite period, in the latter to an indefinite or recurring one.

ἐνθα δ' ελ τι ἦν] ἐνθα δὲ τι ἦν, Schneider, 'in places where there was anything', a reading which loses the force of the contrast, and is injurious to the rhythm of the sentence by the emphasis which it throws on the unimportant word τι.

κατεσπανήσαμεν] 'we used it all up'. For the force of the preposition in this and similar compounds, see note on κοθηδοπαθεῖν (I. 3. 3). Occasionally it acts as a simple intensive: more frequently it implies that the mode or purpose of the action is a bad one; e.g. in καταχρηθαί, καταφθείρα, καταπροδούναι, etc.

μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ'...οὐκ ἀπορθούμεν] ἀπορθοσμένη is suggested by Weiske in place of ἀπορθομένη, and, if the phrase ὁδὸς ἀπορθοσμένη were an admissible one, which it isn't, the alteration would restore the balance of the clauses. But the irregularity in the apodosis is not unusual, and may have been intentional in the present instance so as to render the latter clause the more emphatic of the two.

§ 12. ἀποσταθῶμεν] Poetical: 'that we may draw away from'. Macmichael aptly compares the use of ἀπειδελμύνῃ in Verg. Aen. II. 434.

The verb occurs in a similar sense in VII 3. 41, ἀποσπασθήμαι σὺν τοῖς ἐπίποις ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν, while in I. 5. 3 (πολδ γὰρ ἀπέταπα φεύγουσα), and again in VII. 2. 11 (Νέων μὲν ἀποστᾶσας), we have the active voice used apparently with an intransitive force.

δῶ] This form, which is not unfrequent in Xenophon (being found in at least five passages of the Anabasis and Cyropaedia), is extremely rare in classical Greek. In the present instance it is supported by the authority of three leading MSS; the remainder give the ordinary form δοῦν.

οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται] 'the king will no longer be able'. The constructions of οὗ μὴ are given at length in a note on οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μέλη (IV. 8. 13).

§§ 13—15. Having commenced their march in company, they find themselves unexpectedly in the immediate neighbourhood of the King's camp.

ἡ...δυνάμενη] More emphatic than ἐδύνατο, as Kühner suggests. The distinction drawn by the same authority between ἀποδόναι 'clam auffugere' and ἀποφυγεῖν 'effugere' is explained in a note on I. 4. 8. Tr. 'now this conduct of the Retreat amounted to nothing else than eluding or out-running the foe; Fortune, however, dictated a less cowardly policy'.

ἐν δεξιά ἔχοντες] i.e. northward. Koch, however, whose opinion is in accordance with that of Mr Grote and other leading authorities, considers that their course was an easterly one, with a slight inclination
towards the north. In any case it can scarcely have taken a 'south-easterly direction, as Thirlwall apparently suggests.

εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας] Col. Chesney infers that these villages were in the neighbourhood of the ruins and tumuli of Kush or Sindiyah. But the precise locality cannot be determined with any certainty, owing to the doubt which attaches to the situation of Cunaxa (see note on 1. 10. 11). Accepting Xenophon’s account of the distances (i.e. that the battle-field was only 360 stades from Babylon), Colonel Chesney places Cunaxa at or near the Mounds of Muhammad, about 34 miles along the river from the Median Wall. On the other hand, according to Plutarch, it was situated not less than 50 miles northward of Babylon, an account which is to a certain extent discredited by the fact that Cyrus clearly supposed himself to be in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and had given up any thoughts of resistance on the part of Artaxerxes.

§ 14. ἀμφί δεληρία i.e. δεληρὶ πρωΐα or early afternoon in contrast with ὀψὲ which follows in § 16. See note on 1. 8. 1.

§ 15. νέμουντο] ‘but some baggage-cattle that were grazing’. Observe the change from the indicative (εἰσὶν) to the optative (νέμουντο), for which see note on τεθύηκεν...εἴη (II. 1. 3). In the course of the First Book we have noticed repeated examples of a plural verb in combination with a neuter nominative (plural). Cf. I. 2. 23, I. 4-4, I. 5. 1, etc. In the present instance the five leading MSS are all in favour of νέμουντο as opposed to νέμοιτο, though Macmichael, I find, edits the latter. Mr Taylor adopts the reading of the text, but somewhat strangely regards ὑπολύγια as the accusative after νέμουντο, ‘men in charge of baggage-cattle’, a use which is apparently confined to the active voice.

§§ 16—18. Clearchus, not daring to force an attack with his weakened troops, continues his march, and at nightfall encamps in the adjacent villages. The Persians retreat in alarm.

οὐ μὲντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλυμεν] This clause forms, as Mr Taylor points out, an irregular apodosis to the words ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πολέμιους οὐκ ἤγεν. From the employment of the verb ἀπέκλυμεν I infer that the Persians were directly in front of them, rather than off the line of their route, as the same authority suggests. Any divergence from his path would have betrayed fear: consequently Clearchus continues his course, but without hurrying to overtake the enemy.

εὐθύωρον] The reading εὐθυμτερον has the better manuscript authority; but the more poetical word εὐθύωρον is expressly mentioned by the grammarians as occurring in Xenophon and Antiphon with the sense of κατ’ εὐθείαν. Add to which, it is entirely in accordance with our author’s custom to substitute rare and fanciful words in place of their ordinary equivalents (e.g. ἁνωτὸν for δυνατὸν in I. 8. 11).

τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων ξύλα] See note on 1. 1. 5, ad fin. In Kühner’s opinion, an analogous construction occurs in the previous clause of the sentence (εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτως κώμας...κατεσκήφωσεν), which he regards as equivalent to εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτως κώμας (ἐλθὼν) κατεσκήφωσεν. There is, however, no reason why we should reject the simpler explanation which takes εἰς in connexion with the participle ἁγων.
§ 17. ἔμως] i.e. notwithstanding the dismantled state of the villages. In the phrase which follows, ἔκαστοι is used in its legitimate sense to signify ‘parties of individuals’. Contrast with this an irregular use of ἔκαστος, on which I have commented in 1. 1. 6. Observe the change of tense from the aorist ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο to the frequentative imperfect ἀνάλιγοντο.

"ώστε...ἀκούειν 'ώστε...έφυγον] For the change of construction see note on ἦστε φίλους εἶναι (1. 1. 5) and ὄστε οὐκ ἠθάνετο (1. 1. 8), the former combination denoting that an event can take place, the latter that it has taken place. The repetition of ἦστε in two following clauses is indicative of a loose and careless style.

τῶν πολεμιῶν] A partitive genitive, dependent on the combined phrase which precedes it.

§§ 19—end. In the course of the night the Greeks are seized with a panic, which is allayed by the device of Clearchus.

οἶνον ἐκδο...γλυκεῖσθαι] The circumstances are precisely the same as those to which Thucydides alludes (vii. 80), φάει καὶ πάσι στρατοπέδοις, μᾶλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγαίστοις, φόβοι καὶ δείματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ τε, καὶ διὰ πολεμιᾶς, καὶ ἀπὸ πολεμιῶν οὐ πολὺ ἄπειχόντων, ἦσθον.

§ 20. Τολμῆσθαι Ἡλεῖον] An anticipatory accusative, or (as Mattheis prefers to call it) an accusative absolute, which, on account of the parenthesis that intervenes between itself and the governing verb, is taken up and emphasized by the demonstrative τοῦτον. The comma, which I have preferred to introduce after ἐστώ, is omitted by Kühner, but the words κήρυκα ἢρετον τῶν ἡστε read better as a separate clause.

τὸν ἄφεντα τῶν δὸν] 'the person who had let the donkey loose upon the camp'. The same story is told of Iphicrates, and was no doubt a recognised joke, as Mr Taylor suggests. λήψεται for λήψως is an instance of sudden transition from the indirect to the direct narration, other examples of which will be found in the note to ἄκουε (1. 3. 20). The employment of οὗτος in two successive clauses (οὗτος προσαγηθέντων...οὗτος λήψεται), though strictly grammatical, is unpleasing to the ear, and would have been avoided by a writer who studied the form of his sentences.

§ 21. ἤπερ εἴχον] 'precisely as they were stationed at the time of the engagement'. Two only of the best mss give ἤπερ in place of ἦπερ, though Kühner is probably right in preferring the former reading, as any change would no doubt have been made in favour of the accusative.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. As a proof of the King's terror the author points to his negotiations for a truce.

ἐκέλευε] 'we saw him advising them'. The tense, which gives additional reality to the event described, has been explained in connexion with ἀρμῆντο (1. 10. 1), ἄρμηντο (Π. 1. 3), and ἥκον (Π. 4. 7).


III. [1—7]  

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tóte dé] ‘whereas nòw’. tóte means simply the ‘time we have in view’, the ‘time we are considering’, whether the reference is to a past occasion as in Thuc. III. 69, al dè tèssarákonta nèvès tòn Pèlòpponèsiów al Lèsviów bòndoi èlòdoi òw tóte feúvçousai dià tòv pèlagous ... πròs tòn Pèlòpponèsiów kàtrapèçhêsan, or to a recent one as in i. 1. 6, kai gáρ ësas al Ιànnikè Pèlèis Tisànèfènov tò áρxâïov...tóte dè áphéstìkêsan.

§§ 2, 3. Clexarchus arranges for a display of his forces.

τυχών ... ἐπικοπῶν] The combination of the two participles is objectionable for the reasons mentioned in the note to § 20 of the last chapter, while a still more awkward construction occurs in the following sentence, viz. ὦτε καλῶς ἔχειν ὄρασθαι, ‘so that it was in a favourable position to be inspected on all sides as a close phalanx’. It is by no means clear whether καλῶς ἔχειν is to be taken thus in reference to τὸ στράτευμα, or whether we are to understand it more generally in the following sense: ‘so that circumstances were favourable for its inspection’. The former is perhaps the simpler explanation in consequence of the double infinitive. The manœuvre of ‘closing the phalanx’ was effected by reducing by one half the space of four cubits which was allotted to each soldier when in open order.

§ 3. αὐτός τε προσῇκθηκε...καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις...ἐφέρασεν] We have in these the two main clauses of the sentence, the parenthesis which intervenes (τοῖς τε εὐπλοστάτους...τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν) being likewise complete in itself.

§§ 4—9. On the arrival of the envoys Clexarchus declines to treat with them until his troops have been supplied with provisions. After some hesitation he consents to a truce on condition that guides are furnished to lead the army into quarters.

πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους] ‘in the presence of the envoys’. Cf. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1169,

οἶμαι, πρὸς αὐτῷ γ’ εἰμι τῷ δεινῷ λέγειν.

ἀνδραῖος] This word, which is added for the sake of emphasis, is employed for the same purpose in Thuc. IV. 60, πόλεμου γὰρ αἰρομένων ἴμων καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοῦς, ἀνδραῖος, δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἐπικαλομένους αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέψουσαί.

§ 5. οὖν ὁ τολμήσων] sub. ἔστων, ‘nor is there the man who will dare to mention the word “truce” to the Greeks’. For this use of the participle in the sense of the Latin ‘neque erit qui audeat’, cf. Thuc. III. 83, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ διαλύσων αὐτοῦς οὕτε ὄρκος ἔχυρὸς οὕτε ἀνθρώπων φόβος.

§ 6. ἥκοι] ‘were back again’.

dοκοιέων...ηκοιέν] It is possible that the reference is to the envoys in both cases, as some of the commentators suggest. I have little doubt however that there is a change of subject, the former verb referring to the Greeks, the latter to the envoys.

§ 7. αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι] ‘only for the foraging party’. This, which is Macmichael’s interpretation of the passage, appears to me to be the only reasonable one. It can scarcely be doubted that the words τοῖς ἄλλοις refer to the main body of the Greek troops, as Clexarchus would scarcely concern himself about the interests of the Persian army. In this case the implied antithesis will be lost or weakened, if we
understand αὑτῶς τοῖς ἀνδραῖς of the Persian envoys (with Krüger), or of a mixed deputation of Greeks and Persians, which is the remaining alternative.

碘να καὶ ἀπωλειν] Predicative: ‘on their way there and back’. In one good ms the article is inserted before ἰόνυς, and Krüger has accordingly admitted it into his text. But the phrase is definite enough in its present form, and would lose in neatness by the proposed addition.

§ 8. μεταστησάμενος αὐτοῦς] ‘having caused the envoys to withdraw’, a well-known force of the middle which occurs again in vii. 2, 30, and Thuc. i. 79.

ταχὺ τε] Observe the slight misplacement of the word τε, which in strict sequence would be directly connected with the phrase τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι.

§ 9. ἀποθέξῃ ἕμων] ‘lest we should decide against concluding the truce’. Compare the force of ἀπογενυόσκειν, ἀποψήφιζοσθαι and similar verbs.

τὸν αὐτὸν φόβου] Clearchus apparently implies that his device will be so complete as to mislead and irritate even his own followers. If so, there is but little point in the statement, and I am not surprised at Krüger’s suggestion that the paragraph has been lost which introduced or explained it. In addition to the exhaustion of the troops and the presence of the enemy, the course they were following would make it necessary for them to cross the Nahr Malka: a combination of difficulties which sufficiently accounts for the disquietude of the Greeks.

§§ 10—12. The troops continue their march through a country intersected by canals. The vigour shown by Clearchus in the exercise of his command.

τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς...τὸ δὲ στρατεύμα ἐχων] The antithesis implies that he was still suspicious of the Persians and their promises: ‘with his army in fighting order notwithstanding he had made the truce’.

αἰλῶσιν] ‘channels’, ‘water-courses’, rather than ‘valleys’ as Hutchinson suggests. The word is used in poetry of the Euripus, and also in a well-known passage of Soph. Trach. (v. 100) to describe the channel of the Hellespont:

ἡ ποντιάς αἰλῶνας ἡ δισσαιαν ἀπελροις κλίθεις.

In the present passage the substantive τάφροι will probably denote the larger canals (called διώρυγες in i. 7. 15), intersecting the district between the Tigris and Euphrates, the principal of which are now known as the Isā and Nahr Malka or Nahr Malik canals. The word αἰλῶσιν on the other hand will refer to the smaller watercourses leading out of the above, which in ii. 4. 13 are spoken of under the name of ἵχετοι.

ὑδατός πληρεσσιν] i.e. flooded, for the express purpose of barring the progress of the Greeks as we gather from § 13.

διαβὰδεσις] ‘means for crossing them’, i.e. temporary bridges, but the word is used in a purely general sense as in iii. 4. 20, and again in iii. 5. 9.

ἡσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες] ‘which lay ready on the ground’. The com-
bination is stronger than the simple verb. Cf. ἤν δυναμένη (II. 2. 13), εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι (IV. 7. 1). The ἀρόδοσις of the sentence is irregular in form, with the effect of emphasizing the words τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. Cf. Συγγ. IV. 5. 49, ὀράτε, ἵππου ὁδοὶ ἥμιν πάρεισιν, οἱ δὲ προσάγονται.

§ 11. βακτηρίδαν] A Lacedaemonian custom, which Krüger illustrates from Thuc. VIII. 84. 3.

τῶν πρὸς τούτῳ τεταγμένων] What this duty was is suggested by the words διαβάσεις ἐποιώντο in the former section.

τοῦ ἐπίτηδεον] sc. παίσθαι. Cf. v. 2. 12, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτήδειουν (ἐπι-μεληθήναι) ἐπιμείφε τούτων ἐπιμεληθήναι, a passage which in the omission of the infinitive more nearly illustrates the present text than the one usually quoted from Thuc. VIII. 70, καὶ ἀνδρας τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς, οἱ ἔδοκοιν ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι ὑπεξαρεθήναι.

ἐπαύειν ἅν] Cf. I. 9. 19, εἶ δὲ τινα όρφη...οὐδένα ἅν πώτερε ἀφείλετο, a sentence which in form exactly resembles the one before us. Illustrations of this frequentative use will be found in the note to the passage in question, and also in connexion with I. 5. 2, where however the presence of ἅν in the text is open to question.

προσελάμβανεν] 'he would himself lend a helping hand'.

μὴ οὐ συσπανάζειν] The construction is explained at length in a note on τὶ ἐμποδῶν μὴ οὐχι...ἀποθέντευ (III. 1. 13).

§ 13. The reasons which induced Clearchus to hasten his march.

αἰεί] This Ionic form appears in other passages of Xenophon, and in the case before us is supported by the united authority of the mss. Even with the information supplied to us in the present section, the reason for these forced marches is not altogether clear. It may have been (as Kühner suggests) to exhibit to the barbarians the determination of the Greeks in the face of difficulties: more probably, I think, to make good their footing while the resources of the enemy were as yet undeveloped.

οἴα...αἴδευ] This construction is best known as the formula by which Theophrastus introduces his various Sketches of Character. For the dependence of the country on artificial irrigation, cf. Arr. VII. 7. 9, οὐ γάρ ἔται τὸ πολὺ ἡ γῆ αἰτή εἰς οὐρανόν. According to Weiske, the irrigation in preparation for the autumnal sowing took place in summer: hence the surprise of the Greeks at finding the country still under water at the commencement of autumn.

ἡῇ] 'at starting', 'at the outset'.

§§ 14—16. The Greeks arrive at certain villages, where they remain three days. The products of the country described.

ὁινός φοινικών] To judge from Herod. I. 193, and Anab. I. 5. 10, the fruit of the date-palm was first subjected to pressure, and the juice thus extracted formed the better class of wine known as ὁινός φοινικῶν. What remained of the fruit was then boiled down, and yielded a poor sour liquor (δέστ), which may have been used as vinegar or as a cheap and inferior wine.

§ 15. αὖται δὲ αἱ βάλανοι] The mss give αὖται δὲ αἱ βάλανοι, but the reading of the text is preferred by all the leading editors. At this time only the inferior kind of dates (called δάκτυλοι) were known in

XEN.
Greece, but at a later period the finer class mentioned by Xenophon were also imported under the name of καρυντοι or καρυώτιδες. In the time of Martial these were in great demand with the Romans who decorated them and used them as New Year and Easter gifts. Cf. Mart. VIII. 33: II.

αι...ἀποκελευμα] A departure from the ordinary sequence, which would have been as follows: άι δέ τοίς δεσπόταις ἀπέκειντο, ἦσαν ἀτολεκτοι. The change may have been introduced for the reason suggested in connexion with the words τούς δέ καὶ ἔξεκοπτον in § 10.

ηλεκτρον] It is not clear whether the reference is to amber, to gold, or to a well-known metal which was a compound of gold and silver. Kühner follows Weiske in thinking that amber is meant: but the fact that the date in question is mentioned by Galen as the 'gold-date' (δ χρυσοΰδαλανος) is in favour of the second rendering. In a passage of Soph. Ant. 1037, with which Xenophon was presumably acquainted, the reference is clearly to the gold of the Pactolus:

κερδαινετ', ἐμπολατε ταπό Σάρδεων
ηλεκτρον, εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ τὸν 'Ινδικόν
χρυσόν κ.τ.λ.

tάς δὲ τινας [Cf. οι δὲ τινας (v. 7, 16). From the plural τραγήματα ('sweetmeats') the majority of the editors supply τράγημα as the nominative to τίνα which follows. Kühner understands τοίτα, which is preferable because less definite. Moreover in the next section it is the word actually used in reference to ἔγκεφαλος.

§ 16. τον ἐγκέφαλον] i.e. 'the large terminal bud on the top of the palm tree, by which it exclusively grows' (Rennell). It is now known as the 'crown' of the palm. Cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. XIII. 4, duileis medulla earum (palmarum) in eacumine, quod cerebrum appellat.

τῆν ἱδώτητα τῆς ἱδώνης] 'its peculiarly sweet taste'. ἕξαρθεν in the final clause of the section is of course frequentative. See note on ἀφικνυτο in 1. 1. 5.

§§ 17—20. Tissaphernes arrives with other ambassadors to treat with the Greeks on the part of the king. After many professions of friendship he requires to be informed of their objects in undertaking the campaign.

τῆς βασιλέως γυναικός] Her name was Statira, though the mention of her brother in the present passage does not accord with the account of Ctesias, who says that all the rest of her family had been put to death by Parysatis in the time of Darius.

§ 18. γελτων] In his character of satrap of Caria.

πεπτωκότας] which is found in all the MSS, has been displaced by nearly all the editors with the exception of Kühner in favour of ἐμπεπτωκότας, a reading which depends for its authority on a quotation of Suidas. Observe the emphatic position of ἀμήχανα, which marks it as no mere adjunct to the adjective πολλά.

ἐυρημα ἐποιησάμην = λινεο ἀπροσι, 'I reckoned it a piece of good fortune'. ἐυρημα is a 'wind-fall', an 'unexpected prize', like ἐρμαιον in Soph. Antig: 397,

ἄλλ' ἑστ' ἐμοὶ θοῦρμαιον, οὐκ ἄλλοι, τόδε.
I cannot accept the suggestion of Kühner, who proposes the following rendering: 'rationem aliquam excogitavi', without giving any reason for rejecting the simpler and more natural interpretation.

ἀν...ἐξειν] 'for methinks I shall find it no thankless task'. This combination of ἀν with the future (though the mss are in this case unanimous in its favour) is extremely rare in Attic Greek, and the student cannot be warned too strongly against imitating it. The objections to it are obvious, for while the future implies a certain assurance that an event will happen, the particle ἀν will always suggest a measure of doubt. We must therefore treat the particle as only indirectly connected with ἐξειν, inasmuch as it indicates a suppressed clause signifying 'it may be', 'perchance', i.e. if my plan succeeds. Cf. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 523,

διὰ ἥλθε μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τούπεδος τάχ' ἐν ὁργῇ βιασθὲν μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη φρενών'

and again Oed. Col. 965,

θεοὶς γὰρ ἦν οὐτῳ φίλον, τάχ' ἀν τι μηνίουσιν εἰς γένος πάλαι.

§ 19. αἰτῶ] Emphatic by position: 'in concern for his interests'. For the force of the preposition κατὰ in the phrase τὰν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τεταγμένων, see notes on I. 8, 21, and v. 2, 21.

δήθασσα] The occurrence is mentioned in I. 10, 7.

ἐνθα] Adverbs of this class are not frequently found in combination with verbs of rest. An equally strong example occurs in the phrase ἐνθα...ἐσπεύδομεν (IV. 8, 14). Kühner instances other cases (e.g. VII. 3, 3, VII. 6, 14), which are scarcely so forcible, as the verb of motion has to be supplied with each.

ἀπέκτεινε] This may be simply a realistic use of the verb, like μαχεῖσθαι in the phrase οἰεὶ γὰρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὃ Κύρη, τὸν ἄδελφον; in I. 7, 9. Otherwise, if taken literally, it will (as Mr Taylor suggests) bear out the statement of Plutarch (Artax. 14) that the king claimed to have slain Cyrus with his own hand.

§ 20. βουλέψασθαι] βουλεύσεσθαι Hutch. and others, an alteration sanctioned by Madvig, who, in the corresponding passage of I. 2, 2, proposes to read παύσεσθαι in place of παύσασθαι. But the unanimous authority of the mss in favour of the aorist both in the present passage and in one from the Economics (vii. 8) forms a strong argument in support of Kühner's theory, that verbs of hoping and expecting are constructed indifferently with the present, future or aorist of the infinitive.

§§ 21—23. Clearchus replies in the name of the Greeks: 'we joined in the expedition of Cyrus from no personal animosity to the King but from motives of self-interest. Afterwards it became a point of honour with us not to desert him in his time of need. For the future, as the King deals with us so will we deal with him'.

μεταστάντες] 'having retired'. The employment of μεταστάντες in place of μεταστράφησι (§ 8) suggests the superior rank and authority of the ambassadors who on this occasion represent the king. The alterna-
tion of tenses throughout this section is a study in itself: ‘The Greeks took counsel for a while, and then replied, Clearchus acting as their spokesman. We did not, said he, make common cause...nor were we on our way...but Cyrus was for ever inventing pretexts’, etc.

§ 22. ἡ συχνόθημεν ‘we were ashamed in the sight of Gods and men to betray Cyrus’, the phrase προδοῦναι αὐτῷ being substituted in place of the ordinary cognate αἰτέχοις with a view to its closer definition. Kühner suggests a different, and, as I think, less natural explanation of the construction: ‘per breviloquentiam dictum est pro: αἰτεχνόθενοι καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἡ συχνόθημεν προδοῦναι αὐτῶν.’

ἐν τοῖς εἰ ‘when in the first instance we had offered ourselves as the recipients of his favours’. For this use of the infinitive in combinations where the gerundive would be employed in Latin, see note on εἰ παρέχομεν in II. I. 11.

§ 23. οὖθ’ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναι] In place of the leading negative, which usually precedes οὖθε, we have in the present instance two subordinate negative clauses (οὔτε βασιλεία ἀντιπολούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ’ ἔστων ὤτον ἐνεκα βουλομέθεν’ ἂν) which are treated as equivalent to it.

πορευόμεθα] πορευόμεθα δ’ αὖ Kühner, but the reading of the text is far more forcible, and is supported moreover by the authority of the four leading mss. Bornemann suggests πορευόμεθα δὲ as a less violent alteration, with which we should have to supply ἂν from the previous clauses. I cannot myself see the slightest objection to the manuscript reading: for, as we have frequently had occasion to notice, our author allows important modifications in the form of the conditional proposition. Compare too the use of the present for the future in § 27.

οὖν τοῖς θεοῖς] Cf. III. I. 23. The phrase οὖν τούτοις (i.e. τοῖς δοπλοῖς), to which I have taken exception in a note on II. I. 12, is widely separated from the present use owing to the employment of the neuter. For ὑπάρχειν, see note on I. I. 4. In the present instance, and again in V. 5. 9 (οὖθε γὰρ ἣμείς ὡμᾶς οὖθεν πώποθ’ ὑπήρξαμεν κακῶς ποιούμεν) the compound is an emphatic substitute for the simple verb ἄρχειν.

οὖχ ἡττησόμεθα εἰ ποιοῦμε] The sentiment is a favourite one with Xenophon. Cf. I. 9, 11, ἔστο νεκρόν καὶ τοὺς εἰ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦμεν ἀλέξομενos.

§§ 24—end. Tissaphernes returns to consult the King, and three days later a treaty is concluded by which the Persians agree to facilitate the progress of the Greeks through their territory, and the latter engage on their part to purchase all the provisions they require, unless the inhabitants of any particular district should decline to afford them a market.

§ 25. εἰς...τὴν ὑποσταλαί] See note on I. 7. 1.

dιαπεπραγμένοι) ‘having obtained his request from the king in a permission that he might save the Greeks’.

ἀξίων] Equivalent to πρέπον. In Latin the adjective dignus, when it is employed in this sense, takes the same construction, e.g. in Plaut. Poes. I. 2. 45, dignum diem Veneri.

26. ἄδολος ἀπάξειν] If once the Greeks had decided to settle in Babylonia, it would have been impossible, Mr Taylor thinks, for the Persians to have dislodged them owing to the weakness of their infantry,
and the network of canals by which the country was intersected. Hence the eagerness of the king and his advisers to offer any terms by which they might expedite the retreat: all measures of hostility being deferred until they had placed the enemy on the further side of the Tigris.

§ 27. πορευόμεθα] 'go your way', 'continue your march'. In the endeavour to make the tenses coincide, Schneider and Dindorf have edited πορευόμεθα in defiance of all the MSS. But KüHnE's defence of the reading πορευόμεθα is entirely satisfactory, as the present is more forcible than the future tense in cases of strong affirmation (cf. IV. 5. 15, v. 2. 31), and suggests moreover that there must be no delay in the commencement of the march.

ἀόνυκ] A poetic word, of frequent occurrence in Homer and Aeschylus, and found once in Plato (Legg. 670, d). Otherwise its use is chiefly confined to Herodotus.

ὡνομένου] Emphatic: 'that you will pay for all the provisions you may take'.


CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. A delay of more than twenty days, during which attempts are made on the part of the King to withdraw Ariaeus from his allegiance to the Greeks.

πλείους ἵ ἐκουσ] The entire period consumed in these negotiations is estimated by Col. Chesney at about twenty-three days. During this interval the king had returned to Babylon to celebrate the victory of Cunaxa. To Tissaphernes, in recognition of his services, he gave his daughter in marriage, appointing him to the command of the provinces which had been held by Cyrus. In return for these favours Tissaphernes (so Diodorus tells us) engaged to secure the destruction of the Greeks (Diod. xiv. 26).

ἀναγκαίοι] i.e. relatives by blood as distinguished from connexions by marriage.

δεξία...έφερον] The word δεξία is used thus in Cyrop. iv. 2. 7 to denote the pledge or promise of which it was the symbol. The infinitive clause which follows (μὴ μνησικακῆσιν βασιλέα κ.τ.λ.) is explanatory of the implied promise, as in II. 5. 3, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὅρκους γεγενημένους καὶ δεξίας δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσεις ἀλλήλους.

§§ 2—4. The suspicions of the Greeks being aroused by these negotiations, a protest is laid before Clearchus against unnecessary delay.

οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον] One good MS gives οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὅδον (I. 2. 13).

οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες] For this sudden change of subject (ἤρεσκον referring to οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον and προσιόντες to οἱ πολλοὶ) KüHnE compares a sentence in I. 4. 5, where the transitions are still more remarkable, ἀποβιβάσειν referring to Κύρος, βιασάμενοι to οἱ ὁπλῖται, and φιλάττοιες to οἱ πολέμωι.

έλεγον] Observe in translating the force of the imperfect: 'detailed their fears', 'made formal protest'.
§ 3. στρατεύειν] One of the best MSS gives ὑ π στρατεύειν, and the negative is retained by Macmichael, who compares Eur. Iph. in Taur. 1391, φῶς δ' ἶν ὥστε μὴ τέγξαι πόδα, which is not however an exact parallel. Either construction is admissible, but the latter is unquestionably the more usual and also the more elegant idiom. See note on τοῦ στρατεύσαι (al. τοῦ μὴ στρατεύσαι) in III. 1. 18.

ιπάγαται] We have already noticed the force of this middle in connexion with II. 1. 18.

ἐπὶ �铌] The MSS are almost unanimous in favour of the form ἐπὶ ἱν (in place of ἐπὶ ἱν) both here and again in Cyrop. III. 2. 1. It is however condemned by Elmsley as unclassical in his note to Soph. Ocd. Col. 1226.

ἀλισθῇ] Like the adjective ἀσώς in II. 3. 27, the present verb is found chiefly in Herodotus and the poets.

§ 4. ἀποσκάπτει...ἀποστείχει[τε] The preposition literally denotes a barrier of exclusion; but, while the English idiom is to wall an army in i.e. by themselves, the Greek and Latin is to wall them off i.e. apart from others, and thus ἀποστείχει[τε], ἀποστείχισμα, excitere and the like are often used of a barrier which impedes or even incloses.

ἡ] The four leading MSS give ἡ, which is retained by Macmichael and others as expressing the remoteness of the contingency. On the contrary, the probability of the event forms the very gist of the argument; add to which, the optative would be distinctly ungrammatical in this connexion. See note on ἡ (al. ἡ) in III. 2. 36. Kühner is therefore, I think, to be followed in regarding ἡ as 'corruptelman sine dubio ex concursu vocabulorum ἡ et ἡ ortam.'

τοσοῖδε δυνεῖς] 'only so many', i.e. so few. The same ambiguity attends the use of tautus in Latin (e.g. in Cic. ad Fam. 1. 7. 8), and other words of the same family in Greek. Cf. Soph. Antig. 726,

οί τῇλικοίδε καὶ διδαξάμεθα δῆ φρονεῖν ὑπ' ἄνδρος τῇλικοίδε τῆν φῶν;

'Are we at our age to learn what common sense means from one so young in years?'

ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπαίς αὐτοῦ] An Eastern hyperbole.

§§ 5—7. Clearchus counsels moderation on account of the difficulties which beset their path.

καὶ ταῦτα πάντα] 'all this and more', the καὶ being added for the purpose of suggesting that the points on which they lay such stress represent but a small portion of his own anxieties.

ἐν πολέμῳ] 'on a war-footing', 'in the character of open enemies'. The MSS (with the exception of four, among which are three of pre-eminent weight) give ἐπὶ for ἐν, which is accepted by Macmichael, Mr Taylor and some of the other editors. I question, however, whether, in spite of any manuscript authority, ἐπὶ with the dative could express the circumstances under which an action takes place. In the phrases with which Macmichael compares it (e.g. ἐπὶ γάμῳ in § 8, ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ in v. 8. 18) the preposition clearly denotes the immediate object, a sense which is entirely out of keeping with the present context.

ὀθεν] We must supply χώραν or some general word.
tauta poiouniow] taunt' av poiouniow Mr Taylor and others, after the suggestion of Kühner, who does not however give the particle a place in his own text. If it is to be admitted at all, I should be inclined, both on the score of grammar and rhythm, to introduce it before the word 'Ariaes' rather than before poiouniow, on the supposition that it has been merged in the initial letters of the proper name. ἀφεστήξει, which is the correction adopted by the majority of the editors, is denounced by Kühner as an evident attempt to make the mood and tense correspond with those of the surrounding verbs. The employment of the optative without ἄν to express a remote contingency is extremely rare in the prose writers generally, nor is there any established instance of its occurrence in Xenophon.

αλλα} ησται] Observe the tense: 'we shall find that we have no friend left'. With οἱ πρώτες ὄντες we must supply φίλοι out of φίλος in the previous clause. The reference is of course to Ariasus and the party who would be likely to follow him.

§ 6. ποσαμόν] Emphatic by position, like βασιλέα in the following section. Compare by way of illustration a passage in I. 9. 20, φίλους γε μὴν ὄσον ποιήσαιται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι βεβηεν. δ' οὖν] Cf. I. 2. 12 and note. All the chief MSS give ὀδημεν for ὁσμεν in the present passage, and there is the same agreement in favour of the rarer form ὀδας in IV. 6. 6.

οἱ πελεστοι καὶ πελεστων δείον] 'whereas, on the part of the enemy, cavalry form the largest and most serviceable portion of their troops'. In a declamatory speech like the present the question which follows (ὡστε νικώντες μὲν τίνα ἄν ἀποκτείναμεν;) forms an effective substitute for οὐδένα ἄν ἀποκτείναμεν.

§ 7. τὰ σύμμαχα] The neuter is used, as Mr Taylor points out, to include the natural obstacles to their retreat. For the distinction between εἴπερ and εἴγε, see note on the former word in IV. 6. 16.

§§ 8—11. On the return of Tissaphernes the Retreat is commenced, the Greeks and Persians retaining their separate camps. Ariasus associates himself with Tissaphernes. A mutual mistrust and animosity arises between the Greeks and their allies.

Ὀρώτας] He is apparently identical with the satrap of Armenia referred to in III. 5. 17, and IV. 3. 4. According to Plutarch, the daughter of Artaxerxes, who is mentioned as the wife of Orontas both here and again in III. 4. 13, was called Rhodogune.

ἐπὶ γάμῳ] 'ut regis filiam in matrimonio haberet' (Kühner), the marriage having been previously celebrated at Babylon. I have quoted the rendering of Kühner, as it exactly illustrates the force of the proposition to which I have called attention in § 5. The use of the singular (γάμος) in place of the plural sufficiently shews that the reference is not to the actual marriage of Orontas and Rhodogune but to their subsequent relations as man and wife.

§ 10. ύφορώντες] 'viewing them suspiciously', 'keeping a watchful eye upon them.' The verb ὑφοράω is the equivalent in figurative language of ὑποβλέπειν which is only employed in the primary sense.

αὐτοὶ ἑφ' ἑαυτῶν] 'alone by themselves'.
§ 11. ξυλίζεθαι The verb ξυλίζεθαι corresponds to the Latin lignari.

χῶρον 'grass', 'green fodder'. In cases where hay is meant, Xenoph. on usually adds a distinguishing epithet (e.g. κοῦφος in l. 5. 10, and γης in v. 2. 6).

§ 12. They arrive at the so-called wall of Media. Its form and structure described.

τρεῖς σταθμοῖς] Reckoning, in all probability, from the commencement of the Retreat with Tissaphernes.

τὸ Μηδείας καλούμενον τεῖχος] See note on l. 7. 15. The wall was actually in Babylon: hence the addition of the participle καλούμενον. It is suggested that the name may have been derived from Medea, the wife of the last of the Median kings, or else from the fact that it was intended to act as a barrier against the invasions of the Medes. The latter is in all probability the correct hypothesis, and the wall itself is thought to have been constructed in the period of Queen Nitocris (about B.C. 560).

παρηκθον ἐλεον αὐτῶν] 'they advanced along the inner side of it', i.e. on the side nearest to Babylon. For further details consult the Appendix.

ἐν ἀσφαλτῳ κειμέναι] 'laid in bitumen'. The famous wall of Babylon was built of the same materials (Herod. 1. 179), a fact which has induced Sir H. Rawlinson to argue somewhat inconclusively that the Median wall may itself have been only a part of the same enclosure. According to Herodotus, bitumen was collected either from wells (vi. 119), or from the surface of certain rivers, notably the Is, in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon.

ἀπεχεὶ δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὗ πολύ] Suggestions as to the cause of this misconception will be found in the Appendix.

§§ 13, 14. Two canals from the Tigris are crossed, after which the expedition arrives at Sittake, a large and populous town not far from the river. The Greeks and the Barbarians encamp on opposite sides of the stream.

διώρυγας δότο] It is reported among the Arabs that traces of two canals, which are possibly identical with those mentioned in the text, are still to be found in the neighbourhood. One of these leaves the Tigris at Istabalat, near where the Little Tigris quits the main river: the other was apparently only a branch of the Little Tigris.

ἐξευγμένην] In the corresponding passage of i. 2. 5, the compound ἐπεξευγμένη is the true, and (for the reasons given in the note) the more intelligible, reading. Here, by a bolder figure, the simple verb is used in direct reference to the canal: a construction to which the Latin tuncem inunge scarcely affords a parallel.

ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας] 'over the fields of panic': an accusative of extension. Cf. παρ’ αὐτην ἐκήρυξαν in the following section.

ἡ βιομα Συτάκης] Ainsworth identifies Sittake with the modern Aqbara, a favourite residence of the Khalifs, situated on the Shat Aidha, one of the canals which were drawn from the Tigris to flow back into the same river. Col. Chesney arrives at a different conclusion. Adopting the theory that the old bed of the river Tigris—now known as Shat
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Aidha—represents the Tigris of Xenophon, ‘I should place Sittake (he says) about ten miles north-west of Baghdad near Sheriat el Beidha’. The latter view, which is accepted by the majority of the commentators, fixes the position of Opis at a point a little above Kaim and close to the head of the Nahr al Risas, a tributary of the Nahrawan, which by the same calculation corresponds to the Phrygus of Xenophon. The alternative theory advanced by Ainsworth identifies the river Phrygus with the modern Athaim, and places Opis near the point where it meets the main stream.

§ 14. δασεὸς παντολον δένδρων] The genitive is remarkable after δασεός, in place of the dative with which the adjective is usually constructed. Probably, as Kühner suggests, the genitive is accommodated to the secondary sense of the adjective, which is akin to that of μεσθος, etc. At any rate we can scarcely take δένδρων as an independent genitive of quality, which is the alternative adopted by Krüger.

δαβεζηκότες] We must supply ἐσκήνησαν: ‘crossed the stream (before doing so).

§§ 15—23. The Persians make an unsuccessful attempt to alarm the Greeks by intimating that they intend to destroy the bridge.

πρὸ τῶν ὑπλων] Cf. εἰς τὰ ὑπλα (II. 2. 20), and the note on ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπλα (III. 1. 3).

κἀὶ ταῦτα] Equivalent to idque in Latin. If the object of the mission had been an honest one, Menon, as the guest-friend of Ariaeus, would in all probability have received the first intimation of the danger. It is surely more natural to understand the passage thus than to find in it a suggestion that Menon was suspected of being an accomplice in the scheme.

§ 16. ἐπεμψε] For the singular verb, which is accommodated to Ariaeus as the more important personage, see note on I. 10. 1, βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κυρεῖον στρατόπεδον. Another but less decided example occurs in v. 9. 10, ἀπῆγγελε δὲ, ὅτι ἐπανοικ αὐτῶς κἀνασίζοι καὶ ἀναφέρεσαι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.

§ 17. παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν] The inferior mss give ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, but the reading of the text is retained by Kühner and Vollbrecht, the former of whom adds that he knows of no other instance in Attic prose in which παρὰ is used in the same connexion. It may however be treated as an accusative of extension (‘to line the bridge’): otherwise it is probably, as Macmichael suggests, a survival of the Homeric usage (ἰτὴν παρὰ υφας Ἀχαιῶν).


διοῦ—σωβῆμεν] Macmichael is one of the few editors who adopt διοῦ for ὅποι on the strength of two mss, a reading which it would be easy to defend if the manuscript authority had been more decidedly in its favour. There is more difficulty in determining whether σωβῆμεν (which appears in two leading mss) or σωβῆμεν is the true reading, though the former has been preferred by the majority of the editors, and is easily explicable if we regard ἄν ἐχοῦμεν as equivalent in sense to a future indicative. See note on καταπύγι (I. 3. 17), in which I have commented on a very similar construction which occurs in the opening lines of the Trachiniae of Sophocles.
§ 20. ἐπὶ φύγωσιν] Here all the mss are in favour of ἐπὶ, though its retention presents far greater difficulties than in the previous passage (ἐπὶ φύγωσες ἡμεῖς σῳδώμεν), where the addition of σῳδώμεν brings it into less direct combination with the verb of motion. Accordingly Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors give the preference to ἐπὶ. All the mss, with the exception of the two best, are agreed in reading ἀν before the deliberative subjunctive φύγωσιν, a combination which Kühner regards as defensible in cases where there is a clear hypothesis, expressed or implied (e.g. in Plat. Protag. 319 A).

§ 21. ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τιγρήτου καὶ τῆς διαφραγμο Theodore Greeks were at present on an island formed by the Tigris and two of its canals, one of which they had recently crossed.

§ 22. ὑποτέθηκα] Cf. ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη, 'that he was insidiously sent' (III. 3. 4).

*διέλθωντες*] is the admirable conjecture of Holtzmann in place of the manuscript reading διελθώντες. The latter verb is out of keeping with the context, and could not be used properly in connexion with γέφυραν.

τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνότων] I cannot at all agree with Kühner, who regards both this and the preceding participial clause as directly dependent on the preposition ἐκ. Both the one and the other are added by way of explanation, although a fresh subject is introduced with the second participle, nor would the construction be materially affected by the insertion of a comma after the genitive χώρας, 'for the district was a large and fertile one, and there were men in it to cultivate it'.

ἀποστροφῇ] Poetical: 'a place of refuge' or 'sanctuary'.

§ 23. ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν...πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν] The change of preposition is noteworthy. Far from being accidental, it marks the distinct character of the two operations.

§§ 24—26. At daybreak the Greeks cross the Tigris without interference on the part of the enemy, and, proceeding up the left bank, arrive at Opis and the river Physis. Although the Persians are strengthened by reinforcements, they are overawed by the appearance of the Greek troops. ἔως] One of the leading mss gives the Ionic form ἔως. An extract from Photius, which is quoted by Kühner in an interesting note, makes it probable that the latter form was deliberately preferred by Xenophon, and that ἔως, wherever it occurs, is the correction of a copyist.


τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρων 'Ελλήνων] The construction has been explained in connexion with the phrase τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως (1. 1. 5). For the omission of the subject to διαβαίνοντων, see note on προύοντων (1. 2. 17).

διαβαίνοντων μέντοι...αὐτοῖς] We might have expected a participle in agreement with the subject, but the genitive absolute is employed often in place of it when it is required to give additional prominence or emphasis to a statement. Cf. ὁμισθέντος (V. 3. 7), and ὁπεὶ ἐπὶ μάχην ἱόντων (I. 4. 12).

εἴδεν] Sub. διαβαίνεικότας.

§ 25. τῶν Φύσκων πασαύν] The relative positions of Opis and the river Physis have been considered in connexion with that of Sittake, See note on § 13.
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The rise of Opis dates from the decline of the Assyrian cities on the Tigris, while in its turn it fell into decay as Apamaea, Seleucia and other towns rose into importance.

Susa, the winter residence of the Persian kings, was situated on the east side of the river Choaspes. Its site is occupied by the modern town of Sus. The Shushan of Daniel (viii. 2), with which till lately it was supposed to correspond, is now identified with Susan on the banks of the Evnalaus, the Ulai of Scripture. The Ecbatana of Media answers to the modern Hamadan, but Assyria, Babylonia and the other provinces of the East had each of them a treasure-city called by this name.

§ 26. eis δύο] 'two abreast', i.e. in double file. This arrangement was adopted in order to give an exaggerated idea of their numbers.

αλλοτε καὶ αλλοτε] 'halting from time to time'. The phrase occurs again in v. 2. 29, where I am strongly inclined to read αλλη καὶ αλλη for the reasons given in the note.

δον δ' [αν] χρηνον...επιστήσει [The optative is found in all the leading MSS: the inferior ones give the subjunctive επιστή]. Viewed on its own merits, the latter reading unquestionably presents the fewer difficulties, as it is quite conceivable that the imperfect ἤν should hold its place in connexion with a clause which (to ensure greater reality) had been placed by the writer in a historic form. A strong argument, however, against the reading επιστή is to be found in the fact that, in the precisely similar passage of II. 6. 5 (δος μὲν [αν] αἰσθάνομεν επιστήκου καὶ αἴδικους ός εἰ ὑπλαξίμους ἐφοβεῖτο), no trace of the subjunctive appears in any of the MSS, which fluctuate between αν αἰσθάνομοι, αἰσθάνομεν and ἤθανεν. Kühner, whose opinion is followed by the majority of the editors, retains the optative with αν in both cases, though neither passage lends itself readily to his theory that the particle represents a suppressed hypothesis. Vollbrecht's omission of αν is possibly the best, as it is certainly the simplest, of the proposed remedies. By this means the optative takes its natural place as an ordinary frequentative.

tο ἄγομενον] 'the van' of the army. Cf. το υπερβάλλων τοῦ στρατεύματος (iv. 1. 7).

ἐστε...δεξαί] We should have expected the indicative in order to emphasize the fact that the anticipated result did occur: whereas the infinitive only implies that it was likely to occur. Compare however the precisely similar passage in i. 5. 13 (ἔλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος ὡστε εἰκείνους ἐκπελῆχθαι), and consult the note on ὡστε φίλους εἶναι (i. 1. 5).

§§ 27—end. On their way through Media the Greeks come to certain villages appropriated to Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus. After plundering these, they continue their march along the Tigris until they arrive at Caenea, a populous town situated on the opposite bank of the river.

ἐρήμους] 'uninhabited', which is probably the meaning of the adjectival in the more difficult phrase ἐρήμη πόλις (i. 5. 4). Rennell calls attention to the fact that, strictly speaking, the Greeks were in Assyria throughout this portion of the march. We do not however know with any certainty the precise extent of the satrapy of Media.
EXPEDITIO CYRI. [II. iv. 28.

tas Παρουσάτιος κώμας] Col. Chesney (11. 222) places these villages about three miles beyond the Lesser Zab, which must have been crossed by the Greeks without mention by Xenophon.

Κύρω ἐπεγγελών] This, as Thirlwall suggests, was in all probability only the nominal reason; the real object of Tissaphernes being to excite the anger of the queen-mother against the Greek troops. The point of the insult lay in the fact that the plunderers were men who had taken service under her favourite son.

πλην ἄνδραπόδων] i.e. no violence was to be done to the slaves of the inhabitants. Others follow Krüger, who regards the phrase πλην ἄνδραπόδων as equivalent to πλην ἄνδραποδίζεσθαι τοῦ ἄνθρώπου οὐκ ἔπετρεψε, 'except the right of making the inhabitants slaves'. The passages, however, to which he refers by way of illustration (e.g. Thuc. iv. 54. Herod. v. 71) are by no means instances in point.

§ 28. Kaiwai] According to the calculations of Lynch and Rennell the city of Caenae is represented by certain ruins at Seun, not far from the embouchure of the Greater Zab on the opposite side of the Tigris; but Rawlinson, Chesney and others have fixed the site with greater probability either at Kalah Shirgat, or at the ruins of Ur of the Persians which is three or four miles below it. Kalah Shirgat, in the neighbourhood of which Layard discovered a cylinder containing the records of Tiglath-Pileser the First, is believed to occupy the site of Assur, the ancient capital of Assyria.

ἐπὶ σχέδιας διήθησαν] Equivalent to the σχέδια δεσμύτων ἐξ ἀσκῶν which are mentioned by Arrian (Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 157, ed. Blancard). Rafts of the same kind are in constant use on the Tigris and Euphrates, and it was the sight of one of them that in all probability suggested the scheme for a pontoon-bridge, the description of which is given in iii. 5. §§ 9, 10.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. The Greeks arrive at the river Zabatus, where a halt is made for the three following days.

τοῦ Ζαπάταν ποταμῶν] The name of the river appears in this form in two leading mss, while a third gives Ζάπαντα which is to all appearance a corruption of the reading in the text. The majority of the editors (with the exception however of Dindorf, Kühner and Vollbrecht) have followed the inferior mss, all of which are in favour of the form Ζάδαρος. The river is easily identified as the Lyces of the older geographers, with the exception of Pliny who calls it the Zerbis. The greater Zab is one of the main confluents of the Tigris which it joins immediately below Nimroud, bringing down at certain seasons of the year a larger body of water than the main stream. It is now known as Zab Alia.

ἡμέρας τρεῖς] The passage of the river was deferred for a time owing to the misfortunes and opposition which from this point beset the path of the Greeks. Apparently they followed the course of the
stream for some twenty-five miles from its confluence with the Tigris, and then crossed it (III. 3. 6) at what is still (by Layard’s account) the principal ford in this part of the river. On the other hand, Col. Chesney maintains that the crossing was effected (‘probably in boats’, II. 222) at a point close to the junction of the two streams. For further particulars, see note on the word χαράδρα φαν (III. 4. 1). In the opinion of the best authorities the spot where the murder of the generals took place was in the immediate neighbourhood of the mound called Abu-Shitha, one of the many ruins on the south side of the Zab, near its confluence with the Tigris, in the plain of Shumanaik.

§§ 2—23. In the hope of allaying the jealousy and distrust which had prevailed between the Greeks and Asians, Clearchus obtains an interview with Tissaphernes. The latter meets his promises of friendship with a frankness which disarms his suspicions.

πρὶν...γενέσθαι] For the constructions of πρὶν, see note on IV. 1. 4. The imperfect εἴκλενεν (for which the inferior MSS give the aorist) may be explained on the analogy of ὁμώνυ (I. 10. 1).

§ 4. οὗτε...έγιν τε] Kühner calls attention to a slight irregularity in the order of the sentence, the sequence of which would naturally have been as follows: ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπὸν οὗτε σε δόναμαι οὐδὲν αἰσθήσθαι... εἴση τε σαφῶς σίδα κ.τ.λ. In the majority of these cases we shall find, as I have suggested in an earlier note, that the change is made in order to give special prominence to certain portions of the sentence.

οὐδὲ ἐπισωθύμεν] ‘never even dream of anything of the kind’.

§ 5. τοὺς μέν...τοὺς δὲ] For this partitive apposition, see note on διαλειποντι δ’ ἐκάστη (I. 7. 15). The relative clause (οἷ φηνθέντες ἀλῆσσως...ἐπολεμαν) was no doubt adopted, as Kühner points out, in order to relieve the sentence of a cumbersome succession of participles: φηνθέντας—βουλούμενος—ποιήσαντας.

οὗτε μέλλοντας] Bornemann proposes to understand ποιεῖν: but the combination of μέλλεν with a direct accusative is not uncommon in Plato and the tragedians.

§ 6. ἀγνωσομοῦνα] ‘misunderstandings’: a somewhat unusual force of the word, which occurs more frequently in the secondary senses of ‘stubbornness’, ‘heartlessness’, e.g. in the following passages of the Trachiniae of Sophocles:—

θυμὴν φρουοῦσαν θυμὰ τοῦ ἄγνωσμα. (v. 473),

and

μεγάλην μὲν ἐμοὶ
τούτων θεμενοι συγγνωμοσύνην,
μεγάλην δὲ θεών ἄγνωμοσύνην. (v.v. 1264—1266).

§ 7. οἷ θεῶν...ὡρκοι] ‘our oaths to the gods’: the objective genitive, for which compare τῶν θεῶν πόλεμον which follows in the same section, and a note on δ’ αἰσχύνην Κύρου (III. 1. 10). It is true that in the phrase τῶν θεῶν πόλεμον the genitive may be understood in a subjective sense, i.e. the ‘hostility of the gods’: but passages like the following are in favour of the former explanation:—

κοῦτων νόσου γ’ ἐπακτὸν ἐξαρομήθη
θεοὺς δυσμαχοῦντες. (Soph. Trach. 490.)
These words, which appear (with slight variations) in the four leading MSS., are omitted by Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors on the ground that they interfere with the regularity of the sentence, and contain in a weaker form the substance of the clauses which follow: δὴ εἰς ποιὸν σκότος ἀποδραῖ κ.τ.λ.

Kühner, on the other hand, retains them in deference to the manuscript authority, and in the belief that an addition so suggestive of carelessness on the part of the writer is little likely to have been made by a later hand. An additional argument in favour of the genuineness of the text might surely be found in the extraordinary character of the phrase ἀπὸ ποιοῦ ἄν τάχους...ἀποφύγοι, a combination which would be intolerable, if it were not relieved by the presence of some intermediate clause.

ὅπως ἄν εἰς ἔκφρων χωρὶς ἀποσταῖ[ Weiske and Krüger strangely enough propose to take these words in the following order: εἰς ὁπως ἔκφρων χωρὶς ἄν ἀποσταῖ, a needless perversion of the natural sequence. With ἀποσταῖ we may supply τῶν πόλεων or some equivalent word, comparing for the construction a passage in Xen. De Venal. III. 3, αἱ ἡμέραι δὲ λειτουρτε τὰ ἐγγα καὶ ἀφίσανται τῶν ἡλιον ὑπὸ τὰς σκιας.

§ 8. παρ' οὕς] The reading παρ' ὅς is found in one good MS., and preferred by the majority of the editors. But the accusative presents no real difficulty, as there is a slight idea of motion implied in the verb κατέβημεθα, 'into whose keeping we consigned the friendship we had contracted.'

τῶν δὲ ἀνθρωπινῶν] Neuter: 'of human agencies'.

§ 9. σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοι] The same arguments are employed by Clearchus in an earlier speech (1. 3. 6), the language of which is plainly borrowed from the farewell of Andromache in the 6th Iliad.

πᾶσα...ἡ ὀδὸς] The passage would gain greatly in rhetorical effect, and also in symmetry, by the omission of the article, which does not appear in the corresponding clauses. It is retained, however, by Kühner, Vollbrecht, and the majority of the editors.

φοβηρύπατον δ' ἐρημία] For the neuter adjective, see note on ἀλειπόν (IV. 4. 11). Mr Taylor calls attention to the evident oxymoron which is intended by the combination ἐρημία μεστή. In Latin, the stock illustration for this rhetorical figure is the splendidem mendax of Horace: in Greek, δῖα πανουργίσσασα 'having wrought a holy crime' (Soph.) is a good example: while in English we have Tennyson's well-known lines:

His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.

§ 10. εἰ δὲ δῆ] nay, supposing that in a fit of madness we were actually to slay thee'. The δῆ is equivalent to adē, and has an intensifying force, as in II. 6. 20, εἰ δὲ δῆ καὶ οἱ ἄρετῆν ἄσκομετε στασιάζουσι, and Thuc. III. 40, εἰ δὲ δῆ καὶ οὐ προσήκον ὅμως ἄξιοτε τοῦτο ὅραν, in neither of which passages is there any trace of the temporal sense which in this connexion Kühner would assign to the particle.
NOTES.

_άλλο τι ἕν η...πολεμήσωμεν_] Elliptical for _άλλο τι γένοιτ' ἕν η..._ Cf. IV. 7. 5, _άλλο τι η οὐδὲν καλύει παρέλεαι_; The word _ἔφεδρος_ corresponds to the Latin _tertius_ or _secutor_, i.e. the reserve combatant who sits to watch the duel till his own turn comes to fight the champion. Thus, in Soph. _Ai. βιο_, Ajax is spoken of as ‘needing no avenger’ (_μόνος ὧν ἔφεδρος_), a phrase which possibly suggested to Martial the compliment paid to a famous gladiator in _v._ 24. 8,

_Hermes suppossitius sibi ipsi._

It is remarkable that in the present passage no less than five good mss give _ἔφορον_ in place of _ἔφεδρον_, a reading which Bornemann is inclined to retain in the sense assigned to the word by Hesychius: _Ἑφόρος i.e. ἑπιάκοπος, ἑπιστάτης, θεατής._

§ 11. τὴν τε Κύρου δόξαν καὶ χάραν ἔχοντα] The transfer to Tissaphernes of the authority held by Cyrus over the cities on the coast is noticed in _Hell._ III. 1. 3, and also by Diodorus (xiv. 26).

_πολεμία ἔχριτο_ ‘found opposed to him’. For this force of _χράομαι_, cf. _πιστοτάτῳ ἔχριτο_ (IV. 6. 3), and a similar employment of the verb _uti_ in Latin.

§ 12. _άλλα μὴν_] Leunclavius proposes to read _άλλα μὴν ἔρω γε_, by which the irregularity is avoided, and the construction becomes an ordinary example of the use of _άλλα_ in elliptical sentences. The mss., however, are unanimous in favour of the reading of the text, which may readily be explained by understanding a clause to this effect: ‘But in very truth (we can help you in our turn)’. Similar instances occur in _v._ 7. 31, and more especially in III. 2. 11, ἑπείτα δὲ—_ἀναμύνῃσι_ γὰρ ὑμᾶς...ἐλθώντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν κ.τ.λ.

§ 13. _Μυσοῦς...Πισιδᾶς_] Compare the statements in I. 6. 7, and I. 1. 11. With Πισιδᾶς we must of course supply _λυπηροὺς δυτᾶς_ from the previous clause. Τοιαῦτα, sc. _λυπηρά_.

_τεθυγωμένους_] For the revolt of Egypt, see note on II. 1. 14.

_ἄν κολάσεσθε_] I have already noticed the difficulty involved by the combination of a definite tense like the future indicative with a particle which marks in the strongest possible form that the result is a _conditional_ one. The natural emendation would be _κολάσσωσθε_, which is adopted by Vollbrecht, but, as there is no trace of hesitation on the part of the mss, I prefer to retain the text, subject to the usual explanation, which separates _ἄν_ from _κολάσσω_ and refers it to a suppressed hypothesis to be supplied from the participle _χρησάμενοι_.

§ 14. _ἄσ μέγιστος ἄν εἶναι_] _Sub. ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας_, which is added in the succeeding clause.

_άναστρέφοις_] Dindorf proposes to replace _ἄν_ before _άναστρέφοιο_ on the supposition that it has been merged in the initial letters of the verb. It is, however, a favourite custom with one author to omit the particle in cases where it may be readily supplied from a previous clause (cf. I. 6. 2, ἡ κατακάλνοι ἄν ἐνεδρεύσαι ἡ ἕωτας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐλνα). Add to which, in the present instance its introduction before _άναστρέφοιο_ would be intolerable on the score of euphony. ’ _Αναστρέφεσθαι_ corresponds in sense to the Latin _versari_, ‘to move’, ‘conduct one self’, and therefore simply ‘to live’.
§ 15. τὸ δνομα, τῖς...εστι] The construction is explained by Mac-michael as an anacoluthon. It is rather a combination of two modes of expression, the simple genitive which we should expect after δνομα being amplified into a relative clause directly dependent upon the verb ἀκούσαμι.

ἀπηνέψθη] One of the unclassical forms on which we have commented in the note to ἀπεκρίθη (II. 1. 23).

§ 16. ἀλλ' ἄραμε μὲν] For this use of ἀλλά, cf. I. 8. 17 ἀλλά δέχομαι τὸν ὄρνην, and a note on ἀλλά ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις (II. 1. 20).

καὶ ἀκούσαμ] ‘even to hear’.

§ 18. ἐπιτηδείων] The majority of the commentators make the infinitive ἐπιτιθέομαι directly dependent on ἐπιτηδείων. It may also be explanatory of it, ‘so that we could attack you’, and I prefer to understand it thus, as the verb is brought into relation with its proper subject. ὁμείσασθαι] ‘on the banks of which we shall have it in our own power to regulate what portion of your troops we may choose to encounter’. In its primary sense the verb ὁμείσασθαι signifies to ‘dispense rations’ in the capacity of a steward or manager: hence to ‘economise’ or ‘husband one’s strength’. Its secondary meanings are admirably illustrated by the following passages: καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ὁμείσασθαι, ἐς ὅσον βουλώμεθα ἄρχειν (Thuc. vi. 18), and παραδότες ἐνοτὸς ἡμῖν ὁμείσασθαι, ἑσοῦ ὁπόσοις ἄν βουλώμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι (Cyr. Ill. 3. 47).

διαπρεπομεν] This active form is a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, διαβιβάζων being the verb usually employed in this connexion.

§ 19. τὸ γέ τοι πῦρ] ‘yet remember that fire at all events is master’. The rhythm of the sentence would distinctly suggest the omission of τοι, which appears moreover in but two of the mss. It is retained, however, by Kühner, Vollbrecht, and the majority of the editors.

§ 20. μηδένα] The student will notice that μηδένα and not οὐδένα is the negative employed, because the participle ἔχοντες, with which it is connected, forms the conditional clause in the sentence.

πρὸς θεῶν...πρὸς ἀνθρώπων] A somewhat unusual expression, for which παρὰ θεῶς...παρὰ ἀνθρώπων is more commonly employed. See note on I. 6. 6, ὃ τι δικαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξεω.

§ 21. ἀπόρων ἐστὶ...οὕτως ἐβέλουσι] ‘it is characteristic of desperate men...to elect to work by perjury’: a not uncommon idiom, arising from the combination of two constructions, ἀπόρων ἐστὶν ἔβελεν and ἀποροὶ εἰσὶν οὕτως ἐβέλουσι. Another example occurs in II. 6. 6, ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου δοκεῖ ἀνθρώπος ἔργα εἶναι, ὡστὶ...αἱρεῖται πολεμεῖν, to which we may add the following from Thuc. IV. 18, σωφρόνων ἀνθρώπων, οὕτως τάγαθα ἐς ἀμφίβολον ἄσφαλες ἔθεντο.

§ 22. τὸ τούτο Ἑλληνων ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι] I have adopted with Kühner and Vollbrecht the reading which appears in the four leading mss: the remainder give the genitive (τοῦ...γενέσθαι), which may be regarded with fair probability as the correction of some copyist who wished to establish a connexion between τοῦτο and the clause which follows. Matthiae, Bornemann and other good authorities accept this.
latter view in regard to the interpretation of the sentence, retaining however the accusative (τὸ...γενόσθαι), which they justify on the analogy of a passage in Plat. Lach. 190 S. (ἐγὼ αἰτίος τὸ σε ἀποκρίνασθαι). The counter theory—that the clause in question is explanatory of ἐρως rather than of τοῦτον—is maintained by Kühner, whose arguments appear to me conclusive, whether we consider the rhythm of the passage which distinctly separates τοῦτον from the words which follow, or the unusual character of the phrase ὃ ἐμὸς ἐρως, which necessitates the addition of some qualifying clause. Translate therefore as follows: ‘Be well assured that the cause of all this is my intense desire (first) to be true to the cause of the Greeks, and (secondly) to return to the coast supported, in gratitude for my services, by those alien troops who, even as hirelings, were the mainstay of Cyrus during his march to the interior.’

§ 23. ὅρθην ἐχειν] The τίδαρα or κῑδαρῖς was surrounded by a blue and white band (cf. Curt. III. 3. 19). It was worn in a sloping position (κεκλιμένη) by the inferior Persian authorities: the τίδαρα ὅρθη being reserved for the king alone. The phrase τίδαραν ἐπὶ τῇ καρδῇ ἐχειν is at best a stilted one, and means apparently that, with devoted followers, even a private individual may entertain the feelings, and perhaps wield the authority, of an actual king. Kühner regards it as an intimation that Tissaphernes was already scheming to supplant Artaxerxes on the Persian throne: a suggestion which is destructive, I think, of the antithesis, the point of which lies in the fact that Tissaphernes is careless of the title of king if only he can exercise a kingly power. Precisely the same sentiment occurs in a fine passage of Soph. O. T. 587,

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὔτ' αἰτῶς ἰμέρων ἔφυν
tίμανος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡ τίραννα δρᾶν,
oὔτ' ἄλλος ὥστε σωφρονεῖν ἑπίσταται.

§§ 24—31. Persuaded by the arguments of Tissaphernes, Clearchus consents to a conference at which the parties who had caused this jealousy and suspicion are to be denounced and punished. With considerable difficulty he prevails upon five generals and twenty captains to accompany him. On arriving at the tent of Tissaphernes the generals are admitted into his presence: the rest remain outside.

ἐἰπεν] sc. ὁ Κλέαρχος. See note on ὅπως...φυλάττοιεν (I. 4. 5) for a still more remarkable change in the subject of the verb. The juxtaposition of εἰπὼν...εἰπεν may be instanced as an example of careless composition, as also λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας in the following section.

τοιοῦτων ἡμῖν...ὑπάρχοντων] ‘when we have such substantial motives for friendship’.

§ 25. εἰ τῷ ἐμφανεί] In the two leading mss the words ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί follow ἐλθεῖν: in the remainder they precede it. Both Kühner and Vollbrecht prefer the former collocation, but differ materially in the punctuation of the passage: Kühner connecting the phrase ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί with what precedes, Vollbrecht with what follows. I entirely agree with the latter view, as the expression εἰ βούλεσθε μοι...ἐλθεῖν is sufficiently complete in itself, while the words λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ
LEXIOMATA are weak without the addition of an adverb or its equivalent. Again, as regards construction, the combination ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεὶ ἔθειν is, I think, more open to objection than ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεὶ λέγειν which Kühner regards with suspicion.

§ 27. φιλοφρονοῦμενος ‘courteously’, ‘to shew his friendliness’. The participle occurs again in the same sense in IV. 5. 29. For the force of τὸ τέ, see note on IV. 1. 17.

diakείσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρει] ‘that he was on very friendly terms with Tissaphernes’. If we accept the reading as genuine, it is clear we must understand the passage in the above sense, though φιλεῖκεν διακείσθαι τινι usually means ‘to be kindly affected towards a person’. Various alterations in the text have been suggested (e.g. διακείσθαι τῶν Τισσαφέρων, Schneider; διακείσθαι αὐτῷ Τισσαφέρων, Schneer), but the passages quoted by Kühner and Krüger (more especially Thuc. VIII. 68, Dem. περὶ τῶν ἐν Χέρμονῆσῳ p. 99. 40) show that the phrase occasionally denotes a reciprocal feeling, viewed in relation to either or both of the parties, as the context may require.

οὐ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι.] The order is as follows: (οὕτωι) τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι.

§ 28. ὑπόπτευει] The cause of the feud between Clearchus and Menon is to be looked for in connexion with the events recorded in I. 3. 21, on which occasion, in return for his services in securing the allegiance of the Greek troops, Clearchus was promoted to the first place in the favour of Cyrus, supplanting Menon who had hitherto been treated as the chief authority in the camp. Cf. Ctesias § 58 Κλεάρχῳ ἀπαντα ὁ Κύρος συνεβούλευε, τοῦ δὲ Μενῶνος λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν. In I. 5. 11 of the Anabasis we find the jealous feeling, which prevailed between the two leaders, breaking out into open animosity and communicating itself to their respective troops: from which point the narrative supplies us with abundant intimations that Menon had entered on a system of intrigue with Ariaeus and Tissaphernes in the hope of recovering his former influence. Under these circumstances, Clearchus avails himself of the first opportunity for discrediting his rival, though he can scarcely have been blind to the attendant risks. As Mr Taylor suggests in his note, the jealousy between the two generals, if nothing had occurred to arrest it, would in all probability have been fatal to the success of the Retreat.

§ 29. πρὸς ἐαυτῶν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην] ‘should be attached to him’. For the addition of the negative after ἀντιλέγειν and similar verbs, cf. Soph. Antig. 443:

καὶ φημὶ δρᾶσαι κοίκ ἀπαρνοῦμαι τὸ μή.

§ 30. ὁ δὲ Κλεάρχος λοχυρὼς κατέτευεν] For another and different account, cf. Ctes. § 60, τὸ τε πλῆθος διὰ Μενῶνος ἀπατηθέν κατηγάκασε καὶ ἄκοντα Κλεάρχον πρὸς Τισσαφέρων παραγενέσθαι, καὶ Πρόξενος ὁ Βοιωτίως αὐτὸς ἤδη προσαλοὺς ἀπάθη συμπαρηκμ. This version of the story is not in itself an unreasonable one. The risk may have become plainer in the eyes of Clearchus: and it would thus be left for Menon at the last to enforce an arrangement in which he would naturally
have supposed that his own interests were secure. It is more probable, however, that Ctesias, who was no doubt intimate with Menon in the Persian camp, exaggerates the influence of his friend in effecting the capture.

\[ws\ els \alpha\gammaοραν\] 'itaque inermes', Krüger.

§ 31. \(\epsilonπι \tauαις \thetaυραις \epsilonμενον\) Vollbrecht omits the article, while Kühner, on the authority of a single ms, inserts it. At the commencement of the section (\(\epsilonπι \tauαις \thetaυραις \tauαις Τισσαφέρους\)) its presence is clearly required, for the phrase is a technical one as in 1. 2. 11. But in the case we are considering the article is unnecessary, the words being used in a purely general sense.

§§ 32—37. \(\text{At a given signal the generals are arrested, while their followers outside are cut down. The disaster is reported by one of their number who escapes; immediately after which a deputation arrives from the Persian camp, headed by Ariaceus and Mithridates.}\)

\(συνελαμβάνουτο...κατεκόπησαν\) Observe the change of tense. In III. 1. 2, where the historian reverts to the occurrence, \(συνελημμένου\) and \(Ἄπολλωσαν\) are the words used.

\(\gammaτινι \εντυγχάνοιν...πάντας \εκτεινον\) Cf. I. 1. 5, \(δοστις \delta' \αφικνότο...\)

\(\text{πάντας οὖτω διατηθείς ἀπεπέμπετο.}\)

§ 33. \(\etaμφιγνόνων\) \(\etaμφιγνόνων\) Vollbrecht, a form suggested by \(\etaμφιγνόνων\) which appears in two good mss. Moreover in Plato we have the doubly augmented aorist (\(\etaμφιγνόνσα\)).

§ 35. \(\etaσαν\) The action of the verb is thrown back to the period when Cyrus was still alive. See note on the use of the imperfect in I. 10. 1.

§ 37. \(\phiυλαττόμενον\) 'on their guard', 'cautiously'.

\(τα \περι \Προξένου\) Cf. III. 1. 4, where an account is given of the intimate relations which existed between Xenophon and Proxenus. Krüger, in an elaborate note on this use of \(\piερι\) with the genitive, shows that, while \(τα \περι \Προξένου\) would simply state 'the fate of Proxenus' as an independent fact, the genitive is employed when it becomes a matter of interest or enquiry to others.

§§ 38—end. \(\text{Ariaceus summons the Greeks to surrender. After an indignant reply from Cleanor, a proposition is made by Xenophon to the effect that Proxenus and Menon should be allowed to revisit the camp in the capacity of mediators. To this the envoys return no answer.}\)

\(\epsilonστησαν εἰς \epsilonπήκοον\) A pregnant form of expression for (\(\epsilonλθώντες\) εἰς \(\epsilonπήκοον\) \(\epsilonστησαν\). Cf. \(\piροσελθόντες εἰς \epsilonπήκοον\) (IV. 4. 5).

\(\epsilonχει \τὴν \δίκην\) 'has his deserts'.

\(δ\ βασιλέως\) The addition of the article, which appears in the three leading mss, is unusual. It is admirably explained by Kühner as taking the place of the possessive pronoun in the sense of 'our King'.

\(\tauον \epsilonκεῖνον \deltaυλον\) The position of the article, which is to be taken in connexion with \(\deltaυλον\), is distinctly open to objection. The collocation, however, is a favourite one with our author. Cf. v. 5. 18 \(οὐδὲν \ελαμβάνομεν τῶν \εκεῖνων, \text{Hell. vii. 1. 13 τῶν \εκεῖνων \δούλων, and many other passages. Exception might also be taken on the ground of careless writing to the juxtaposition of \(\alphaὐτοῦ\) and \(\epsilonκεῖνον\) in reference to the same individual: though it can of course be argued that the}
concluding words of the sentence are only a comment by Ariaeus on the statement which precedes. I have quoted in the Introduction a very similar passage from i. 6. 6, in which the words aυτῷ and τούτῳ are open to the same objection.

§ 39. ήμιν] Macmichael makes the dative depend on ὑμῶν, Weiske on τούς αὐτῶς, in which case it represents the ordinary phrase for concluding an offensive and defensive alliance. I have little doubt that both suggestions are right, and that the word is purposely placed, like many others, where it may do double duty in the sentence. The rhythm of the passage will, at any rate, preclude its separation from ὑμῶν/ws.

(oυς)] The manuscript reading is ὦς, which is omitted by Vollbrecht, Schneider, Porson and others on the authority of one inferior ms, while Kühner does not even bracket it, though he suggests that oυτως may possibly have been the original word. But, if a change is required in this direction, ὠδε would be a less violent alteration, and in a deictic sense would be peculiarly forcible in connexion with the context. Jacobs retains ὦς, which he regards as an exclamation, quam turpiter! quam impie!, while others treat it as an awkward anacoluthon, which closes the sentence as though ὦς and not oυτως had occurred in the earlier clause. In the present edition I have ventured to read oυς instead of ὦς, which, with the slightest possible deviation from the ms, restores the connexion between the clauses and increases the force of the climax: ‘having betrayed, I say, the very men with whom your oath was taken—the men whom you have now slain—and with them all the rest of us’ etc.

§ 41. ἐπὶ τοῦτοις] ‘thereupon’.
εὔε τὰς σπορᾶδας] For the force of the imperfect, see note on ἵσαν in § 35.
Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων] We might have expected Πρόξενον δὲ καὶ Μένων in direct connexion with πέμψατε, but the mention of their names is rendered more emphatic by this species of attraction. Kühner compares Π. 2. 12, and a passage in i. 1. 5 (σαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο κ.τ.λ.), the latter of which is not altogether a case in point.
φίλοι γε οὕτες] ‘since by your account they are friends’.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—15. Life and character of Clearchus.
ἀνήχθησαν ὦς βασιλεὰ] The treatment of the generals, prior to their execution, is described at length in Thirlwall (Vol. iv. p. 324). Menon was allowed to linger for a year before he was put to death: the others, with the exception of Clearchus, were executed after a short period of imprisonment. Parysatis used every effort with the King to induce him to spare the life of Clearchus, but was unable to counteract the influence of Statira—the wife of Artaxerxes—who secured his death.
ἐκ πάντων] ‘on the part of all’, a use of the preposition which is frequent in poetry. The theory that ἐκ is to be taken in close con-
nexion with the adverb ὤμολογομένους, ‘avowedly by all who knew him’, may perhaps have been founded on the analogy of the phrase which introduces the description of the character of Cyrus in 1. 9. 1, ὦς παρά πάντων ὤμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι.

§ 2. παρέμενεν] The reading of the two best mss. The remainder give the aorist παρέμενεν. The verb, as Kühner notices, cannot be taken in its literal sense, as it is clear from the account in the Hellenics (1. 1. 36, 1. 3. 15), that Clearchus was frequently parted from them during his missions to Byzantium, Chalcedon, and elsewhere. Trans. therefore: 'he was true to their cause'.

ὡς ἐδώσατο] ‘by whatever means’, ‘in what way he could’, a suggestion that he had employed deception or intrigue in securing this command.

Περίνθου] Perinthus was a town of Thrace, situated on the Propontis to the west of Byzantium. It was afterwards called Heraclea, a name which survives in the modern Ηρακλή.

§ 3. ἔσω δώτος αὐτοῦ] The employment of the genitive absolute in place of a participle in direct agreement with the subject has been noticed in connexion with αἰκισθέντος (v. 3. 7). The object of the idiom is clearly to give additional prominence or emphasis to a statement.

ἐξ Ἦσθιον] Schneider, who is followed by the majority of the authorities, infers from the context that the Isthmus of Corinth is meant. But, considering the localities which are dealt with in the passage, we should surely have expected the addition of some qualifying epithet, if the allusion had been to any other than the Thracian peninsula. Moreover, by rendering the words εἰς Ἑλλησπόντον ‘into the Hellespont’, any difficulty in reconciling the two statements will be easily removed.

§ 4. ἐκ τοῦτον] ‘in consequence of this’. The sentence which follows has been the subject of much discussion among the commentators. Whether we understand the verb ἔπεισε (with Weiske) as signifying that the war against Artaxerxes was undertaken at the instigation of Clearchus, or as simply referring to the monetary grant by which Cyrus secured his services, which is the suggestion of Schneider, it is certain that in neither case do we find any detailed account of the transaction, either in 1. 1. 9 (the passage which deals with the circumstances) or in any other portion of the Anabasis. It is very possible that our author himself imagined that the details in question had been given in connexion with the former passage: a solution which is accepted as satisfactory by Kühner, Krüger, and Macmichael.

§ 5. οὖν ἐπὶ βαθμωλὴν ἐπράπτετο] Cf. 1. 3. 3, μυρίους ἐδωκε δαρεικοὺς, οὐς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἔδοξον κατεθέμην ἐμοί, ἀλλ’ οὔδε καθηδυπάθησα. ἀπὸ τοῦτον τῶν χρημάτων] For the force of the preposition see note on 1. 1. 9, where the same phrase is used in describing the transaction.

ἀπὸ τοῦτον] ‘from that time’, ‘thenceforth’. Cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου, ‘from the first’ (iv. 3. 9). The usual order of the phrase ἁγεῖν καὶ φέρειν is here inverted. Occasionally the verbs are used separately, e.g.
in IV. 1. 8 (ἄν οὖθεν ἔφερον οἱ Ἐλληνες), where no mention had been made of live stock, to which the word ἀγεῖν would particularly refer. Maemichael instances the Scotch saying 'to reave and harry' as the modern equivalent of the phrase.

a) 'in turn': i.e. in contrast with his previous campaigns which he had conducted single-handed.

§ 6. ἔστε πολεμεῖν] 'on the understanding that it be for war'. Cf. ἔστε ἐκπλεῖν (v. 6. 26), 'on the stipulation that they left the country by sea'.

§ 7. φιλοκινδυνῶς τε ἦν] Answered by καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρονίμοις, the intermediate clause (καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους) being explanatory of φιλοκινδυνῶς.

§ 8. ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τρόπον] 'considering the character of his disposition'. The καὶ before ἔκεινος appears to me unnecessary, and indeed inexplicable. It is found, however, in all the mss, either as a separate word or in crasis with ἔκεινος.

ἐμποτίζαι τοῖς παρόντι] 'to inspire those about him with the conviction that Clearchurch must be obeyed'. The substitution of the proper name in place of εὐντῷ adds so decidedly to the force of the statement that it is surprising to find it regarded as a difficulty by some of the commentators. A remarkable illustration of the present passage is quoted by Krüger from the Oeconomies (XXI. 7): ἐρωμένοι ἄρχοντες γίγνονται, οἳ ἄν δύνανται ἐμποτίζαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀκολουθήτων εἰναι καὶ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ διὰ παιδὸς κινδυνῶν.

§ 9. ἐσθ' ὅτε] An equivalent for ἐντὲ, the repetition of which is by this means avoided. In the following sentence, γυνῆ means 'by rule', 'on principle'.

§ 10. ἐφασαν] The saying is quoted as the utterance of Clearchurch by Frontinus and Valerius Maximus, while at the same time they mis-apprehend its character in thinking that it was formally addressed to his troops. No doubt, as Dindorf suggests, it was casually uttered in the course of conversation.

φίλων ἀφεξεσθαι] 'abstain from injuring friends'.

§ 11. ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοις προσώποις] I entirely agree with Kühner, who retains ἀλλοις in the text on the authority of all the leading mss. It is omitted, however, by the majority of the best editors, including Vollbrecht, Krüger, Bornemann and Dindorf, though the employment of the plural προσώποι in place of the singular and in reference to a single individual would appear to be altogether indefensible. But, accepting the phrase ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοις προσώποις as unquestionably genuine, we shall find a difficulty in determining its precise meaning. Usually it is taken to signify that 'his gloominess seemed cheerful among (i.e. by comparison with) the faces of the rest'. But the context, I think, suggests another and more forcible rendering: 'his gloominess then shone as a bright light (reflected) in the faces of those around him'.

τὸ χαλεπὸν...χαλεπὸν] Observe the play upon the active and passive meanings of the adjective.

§ 12. *ἀρχομένους* ὦστε ἀρχεσθαι, 'to be under their command'. Kühner accepts this reading as intelligible, though he agrees with Hutchinson that the dative ἀρχομένους would be preferable, and more in
keeping with the verb ἔξελη. To me both the one reading and the other seems equally indefensible, and the substitution of the future for the present participle, which is proposed by Schaefer, is, I venture to think, a necessary alteration, if we are to understand the passage in this sense. Both the context, however, and the rhythm of the sentence irresistibly suggest that ἀρχοντας, and not ἀρχομένους, is the true reading: in which opinion I am glad to find myself supported by the authority of Dindorf.

§ 13. καὶ γὰρ οὖν] 'for as a matter of fact'. See note on καὶ γὰρ ἡσαν...καρβάτιναι (IV. 5. 14).

§ 14. ἡρεμτό] If the reference were a purely indefinite one, we should have expected, as Kühner observes, the frequentative optative. By employing the indicative, it is clear that the author had definitely in view the early victories of Clearchus.

ἡγη μεγάλα ἦν] 'powerful were then the agencies that tended to make his soldiers efficient'.

§ 15. For οὐ μᾶλα, οὐ πάνυ and similar combinations, see note on I. 8. 14.

§§ 16—20. The character of Proxenus.

Γοργία] The celebrated rhetorician. Diodorus indeed calls him the inventor of rhetoric, but his true position has been more accurately defined by Cicero in the opening chapters of the Orator. In the history of his times he is principally famous as the ambassador who secured for Leontini the assistance of the Athenians in her war against Syracuse.

§ 17. συνεγένετο] The usual Platonic word for denoting the relations between the pupil and the professor: 'when he had attended his course of instruction'.

μὴ ἡπτάσθαι εὑρηκέτων] A similar ambition is mentioned amongst the characteristics of Cyrus in I. 9. 11.

§ 18. μετὰ ἀδικίας...οὖν τῷ δικαίῳ] The phrases are purposely used in contrast: the former and weaker of the two suggesting merely the 'participation in crime', while οὖν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ is 'to walk hand in hand with justice and honour'.

§ 19. ἐστοι] Kühner would connect the pronoun solely with αἰσθ., but, from its position in the sentence, it is intended, I think, to refer likewise to φόβον.

τὸ ἀπίστει] In poetry ἀπιστεῖν is frequently used as an equivalent for ἀπεθεῖν. Compare, in particular, the closing passages of the Trachiniae of Sophocles:—e.g. 1224,

προσθεὶν δάμαρτα, μηδ' ἀπιστήσῃς πατρέ
d and again in 1229,

...τὸ γὰρ τῷ μεγάλα πιστεύσαν' ἐμοὶ
συκροῖς ἀπίστειν τὴν πάρος συγχεῖ κάρν.

§ 20. καλὸ τὲ κάγαθοι] For the meaning of the phrase, see note on IV. I. 19. As regards the form of it, it is clear that Xenophon uses indifferently καλό κάγαθοι and καλὸ τὲ κάγαθοι, though with other writers the former is the favourite combination. In the present instance the latter is preferred by Kühner and Dindorf on the authority of the two leading MSS.

§ 22. τὸ δὲ ἀπλῶν] "straightforwardness", "candour". For the sentiment, cf. Thuc. III. 82, τὸ δὲ εὐθὲς, οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλείστον μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἤφαντίσθη. Indeed the character as a whole suggests important points of comparison with the moral degeneration which attended the development of the factions in Greece (Thuc. III. 80—84).

§ 23. τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων] Kühner explains the construction as a species of attraction, and conceives the sense of the passage to be as follows: τοῖς δὲ συνόντις πάνω, ἡς καταγελάξαν αὐτῶν, ἀεὶ διελέγετο. I gather, however, from the context that the reference is not so much to conversation with his friends as concerning them, in which case the construction is a perfectly regular and simple one: "while, as regards his associates, he always gave one the impression that he was holding them up to ridicule in his conversation".

§ 24. μόνος] To be connected with εἰδέναι: "that he alone knew how very easy it was to seize unprotected property". With this use of μόνος in the sense of "innocent of all, 'præter ceteros', compare a similar employment of εἰς (e.g. εἰς γε ἄνδρι in i. 9, 12), and again of the Latin unus, e.g. in Cat. xxii. 10,

*Suffenus unus caprimumus aut fossor.*

§ 25. ὅσους μὲν (ἂν)] The difficulties which are raised by the construction of this sentence have been fully discussed in connexion with the parallel passage of II. 4. 26, ὅσον δὲ (ἂν) χρόνων τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσει.

§ 26. πλάσσασθαι]. Porson follows Suidas, who gives the active form πλάσσασθαι. There is, however, no trace of this reading in the MSS, while, as Kühner points out, the middle is the usual voice when the verb is employed in its metaphorical sense of coining falsehoods, calumnies, etc.

διαγελάν] The compound is an unusual one, and, in force, less strong than καταγελάν, which often carries with it a suggestion of disparagement and contempt.

τῶν πρώτων] = τοὺς τότε πρωτέουσας, 'by calumniating those who at present held that position'.

§ 27. ἐθέλων ἂν] We can easily supply the condition which is indicated by ἂν: 'and, if occasion should require, would be ready to do them an injury'.

κατέλεγεν] 'he reckoned it as a kindness on his part'. καταλεγεῖν is equivalent to the Latin *imputare*, 'to place to an account'. Cf. Mart. v. 20. 13,

*qui nobis percunct et imputantur.*

Vollbrecht, Schneider, and Krüger have adopted the frequentative optative ἀφίστατο, which appears in place of ἀφίστατο in the edition of Suidas. Kühner retains the imperfect, the force of which has been explained in connexion with ἐπελ ἐγείραντο νικᾶν (§ 14).

§ 28. τάδε] 'what follows'. The sentence at first sight would convey the impression that Xenophon wished to modify his previous imputations against the character of Menon. The reverse is rather the
case, the train of thought being something as follows: ‘I may wrong him, perhaps, by my estimate of his motives, but, as regards the acts of his life, mistake is impossible’.

στρατηγεῖν διεπράζατο] ‘he secured the command of the mercenary troops’.

§ 29. τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν] There is considerable doubt as to the actual fate of Menon, more especially as Ctesias does not allude to his death in express terms, as he would naturally have done, had he been cognisant of the fact, if only for the purpose of contrasting it with the honourable fate of his friend Clearchus.

§ 30. The characters of Agias and Socrates.

NOTES.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Recapitulation of preceding narrative.

ἔν τῇ ἀνάβασις τῇ μετὰ Κύρου] So Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors in place of ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀνάβασις which is preferred by Kühner on the authority of four leading mss. There is a slight difficulty in regard to the connexion and interpretation of the words ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς. White joins them closely with ἔγενε, 'took place during the truce', and punctuates the passage accordingly; but, standing where they do in the sentence, it is better, I think, to explain them as referring to ἀπόντων no less than to ἔγενε.

§§ 2, 3. Despondency of the Greeks upon a review of their position.

συνελημένωι...ἀπολύλεσαν] Compare συνελαμβάνοτο and κατεκπησαν, which are the words used in ii. 32, where an account of the occurrence is given. Clearchus, Proxenus, Menon, Agias and Socrates were the generals who fell. The scene of the treachery is placed by Layard in the plain of Shumanuk, on the south side of the Zab, near its confluence with the Tigris.

ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπόρλα] 'in very great perplexity'. For this strengthening force of δὴ, see note on i. 3. 14.

ἐννοοῦμενοι] This use of the participle is a favourite one with Xenophon, and is recognised in the present instance by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of six good mss. The remainder give ἐνθυμοῦμενοι which is preferred by Poppo and Macmichael, the former of whom suggests that the reading of the text may have arisen from the occurrence of the participle later on in § 3.

ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θέασι] Cf. ii. 4. 4 for this Eastern hyperbole. κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς...ῆσαν, 'they had enemies all around them.' The words μύρια στάδια represent, by a fair approximation, the direct distance of Cunaxa from Sardes, though the course taken by the expedition exceeded this by nearly six thousand stades.

ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκαδέ ὄδου] 'intervening in their homeward route'. This explanation is adopted by Sturz and others, and is preferable to making the genitive depend on διείργον, or supplying αὐτῶν as the correlative term to ὀδόν on the analogy of Aristoph. Achar. 384. Taken thus by itself, διείργον will mean little more than 'lay in their way', 'parted them from the district beyond'.
For the force of ὀστε with the indicative and infinitive, see note on I. 1. 8. Viewed on its own merits, the reading οὔτο ἄν ἦνα, which is adopted by Maemichael, is preferable to οὔδενα ἄν. Unfortunately, however, the manuscript authority is altogether in favour of the reading of the text.

§ 3. eis τῷ ἑπεραν] 'for that evening'. It is clear from the use of the word σῖτος in II. 1. 6 and other passages that its application is not limited to corn or even vegetables. Kühner notices that the reading πῦρ ἄνέκαυσαν, the correctness of which may be inferred from a parallel passage in IV. 5. 5, is preserved in but two of the MSS; the remainder give πῦρα ἐκαύσαν, for which πυρὰ ἄνεκαυσαν has been suggested as a probable correction. For the phrase ἐπὶ τὰ δότας, 'to their quarters in the camp', see note on the words ἐν τῷ ὄμαλῳ (IV. 2. 16). It is the place where the arms had been stacked preparatory to forming the encampment.

ὀπου ἐτύγχασαν] for ὀπου ἐτύγχασαν ἄν, this omission of the particle with τυγχάσαν being now a recognised idiom in Prose no less than in Verse. Cf. Anab. v. 4, 34, and Soph. Ai. 9. ἐνδον γὰρ ἄνηρ ἄρτο τυγχάσαν. Οὔτω διακελμένον, 'with these feelings', 'in this state of mind'.

§§ 4—8. The earlier history of Xenophon, and the advice he received from Socrates relative to the present expedition.

ἵνα ἔθε τις] 'there was one called Xenophon in the army'. For this use of τις in a disparaging or depreciating sense compare in particular Soph. Oed. Τύρ. 107, τοὺς αὐτούσας χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν τινὰ (where the plural τινᾶς is a certain emendation for τινά, which is still retained by Dindorf), 'to visit with punishment his murderers—certain persons unknown'. There is nothing to surprise us in this formal introduction of Xenophon's name. It is true that it had more than once been mentioned in the previous books (e.g. I. 8. 15, 16 and II. 1. 12), but always in such casual terms that a careless reader might have passed it almost without notice.

μετεπέμψατο] Observe the force of the middle, 'had sent for him'. Notice also the substitution of the future ποιήσεως in place of the more usual infinitive with ἄν, in order to give greater certainty or reality to this portion of the proposition, 'if only he would come, he would make a truth make him friendly with Cyrus'. Compare the note on διέλθοιεν ...διαβῆσανται (IV. 1. 3).

κρέιττα] 'a better friend to him than his country had ever been'. 'Preferable', i.e. more worthy of his devotion, has been suggested as an alternative rendering, but the emphatic addition of the word εὐντς is decisive in favour of the former explanation.

§ 5. ᾱνακονονταὶ] Maemichael distinguishes no difference between the active and the middle of this verb. Breitzenbach, on the other hand, would translate the active by consulere, the middle by communicare alicuius cum aliquo. The distinction between the two is really akin to that between συμβουλευέων and συμβουλευέσθαι, as the middle voice in both cases implies the interested motives of the consulting party. Thus ᾱνακονονταὶ τῶν is simply to 'lay the case before' some one, while ᾱνακονονονταὶ τῶν is to 'take his opinion' upon it.
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υποτεύγος μέν] The construction, like that of ἐννοοῦμενοι in III. 5. 3, is the same as it would be after a verb of fearing, the idea being similar in both cases: ‘being apprehensive that it might be made a ground of complaint on the part of his city if he became friendly with Cyrus’. The best authorities, with the exception of Kühner, are in favour of omitting the pronoun ὦ after the word πόλεως. It does not appear in the two leading mss, nor is it in any way essential to the construction.

συμπολεμήσας] to have co-operated vigorously with the Lacedaemonians in the war against Athens’. The allusion is to the negotiations of Lysander, who had been the agent of Cyrus in supplying funds to the Lacedaemonians.

ἐλθὼν] The position of the participle is in favour of ἐλθὼν rather than ἐλθόντι, though the latter reading is supported by the authority of three good mss. Kühner, Vollbrecht and Maemichael prefer the accusative.

§ 6. τίνι ἄν θεῖν θυών] It is a commonly received tradition that, in this and similar combinations, the force of the preliminary particle is thrown by attraction on the τίνι. Rather it is placed thus early in the sentence to show the hypothetical character of the succeeding clause, the requisite condition being represented by the double participle: ‘to which of the gods he was to pray and sacrifice, and (if he did so) succeed in his travels’. The repetition of ἄν with καλλίστα would be at once forcible and elegant. It is omitted, however, by Kühner and Vollbrecht, notwithstanding it appears in three out of the five leading mss. For a somewhat similar use of the verb ἄναιρεῖν, see a note on the concluding sentence of VII. 6. 44.

θέοις ὅσι ἄδει θύειν] ‘to sacrifice to the proper divinities’: more especially to Zeus, Hermes and Heracles, to whom, in particular, travellers looked for protection and guidance. Such is Kühner’s rendering of the passage; but his arguments have failed to convince me that θέοις may not be an ordinary instance of attraction for θεοῖς. Indeed, the statement which follows in § 8 (ὑποσάμενος ὅσι ἄνείλεν ὅ θεος) implies, in my opinion, that the deities in question were specially named by the oracle: it certainly does not suggest the contrary, as Kühner would seem to infer.

§ 7. ἀλλ’ αὐτῶς κρίνας] ‘instead of which he had decided on his own part that he ought to go’.

§ 8. ὑποσάμενος] For the distinction between θύειν (act.) and θεύειν (midd.) see note on IV. 6. 27.

ὁρμάν τίνι ἄνω ὁδῷν] ‘to start on his journey into the interior’. Compare, for this force of ἄνω, the following passage in I. 2. 1, ἔπει δ’ ἐδόκει ἣν πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, and a note in connexion with I. 1. 1. The accusative is referable to the same class as those mentioned in the notes on IV. 4. 1, and IV. 6. 12. συνεστάθη, ‘was introduced’ to Cyrus.

§§ 9, 10. The device of Cyrus for retaining Xenophon in his service. συμπροθυμεῖτο μεῖναι αὐτῶν] The verb συμπροθύμεισθαι, as is clear from the corresponding passage of VII. 1. 5, implies, not merely the desire for a result, but an active co-operation in the means for effecting it.
ἀποτέμψει] So Kühner and Vollbrecht in place of ἀποτέμψειν, which is read or suggested in the two leading MSS. The same difficulty occurs in vii. 5. 8, where the MSS fluctuate between παραδώσει and παραδώσεων: Kühner, in that case, preferring the latter. If we retain the infinitive with Bornemann we can only explain it as an anakolouthon, or as a combination of two constructions similar to that which meets us again in § 20 of the present chapter.

Πισίδας] Πισίδας Macm., but Kühner and Vollbrecht prefer the form given in the text. Cf. i. i. 11 and i. 2. i.

§ 10. τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμήν] 'for he knew nothing of the movement against the king'. δι' αἰσχύνην, 'for fear of losing the respect of Cyrus and their comrades'. The present is a good opportunity for reminding beginners of the difference between the objective and the subjective genitive. Thus αἰσχύνην Κύρον might either mean the 'shame felt by Cyrus' (subjective) or, as in the present instance, the 'shame felt in regard to Cyrus' (objective).

§§ 11, 12. The narrative of the expedition is resumed. Xenophon's dream and its supposed import.

μικρὸν δ' ὑπνοῦ λαχών] ὑπνοῦ is here a partitive genitive representing the entire whole, while the accusative μικρὸν denotes the part of the whole which is taken in the present instance. For a similar example see note on οὗ προσέθην (iv. 5. 5).

πάσαν] πάσα al., a very inferior reading, which has no doubt been introduced in the endeavour to make the construction of ἔδοξεν uniform in the two clauses. Retaining therefore the accusative πάσαν, we have ἔδοξεν used as a personal verb with κοππίστο, while by a very common idiom we must supply it in an impersonal sense with the latter clause of the sentence.

§ 12. βασιλέως] 'in his character of king'. This portion of the dream was unfavourable as suggesting that in this character he would take earthly kings, and in particular the king of Persia, under his care. Add to which, as White remarks, Jupiter was regarded as the founder of the Persian dynasty, and in this capacity is styled Ζεὺς πατριφός in the Cyrop. i. 6. 1.

κύκλω] is the emphatic word and suggests a second ground for disquietude: 'besides which the fire seemed to blaze all round him'. As regards the construction of the sentence, the optative with μή is of course dependent on the verb ἑφοβεῖτο, while the οὗ directly negatives δύνατο. Compare note on iv. 7. 11. This usage must be carefully distinguished from other combinations of μή and οὗ (cf. ii. 3. 11) where the only force of οὗ is to make the negation more emphatic.

§§ 13, 14. The reflections suggested by the dream.

ὁποῖον τι μὲν δὴ ἐστι] ὁποῖον τι μεντοὶ ἐστὶ δὴ is Macmichael's reading, which presents us with an intolerable collocation of particles. The reading of the text, which is adopted by Breitenbach and others on the authority of the MSS, is not free from objections on the same ground, and I am much inclined to adopt Schneider's simplified sentence, ὁποῖον τι μεντοὶ ἐστὶ τὸ κ.τ.λ., which is accepted by Kühner and Vollbrecht.

ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ] 'under the power of the king', 'at the mercy of the king'.
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τι ἐμποδῶν μὴ οὖν...ἀποθανεῖν;) Compare ὡστε πᾶσιν αὐλχόνην εἶναι μὴ οὖν συστοιχάειν (II. 3. 11). Students will particularly observe this combination of μὴ οὖν with an infinitive in the sense of the Latin quin and quominus. It must, however, be preceded by a negative either expressed or implied, for which the question τι ἐμποδῶν does duty in the present sentence. Compare τι δὴγα μέλλει μὴ οὖν παροικιάν ἔχειν; (Soph. Ai. 540). Akin to this is the use of μὴ οὖ with a participle which likewise necessitates a preceding negative. Cf. Oed. Týr. 12,

.....δυσάλγητος γὰρ ἄν ἔπνι τοιάνδε μὴ οὖ κατακτείρων ἔδραν.

where the negative is implied in the compound adjective δυσάλγητος.

ἐπιθύμητα] in the usual sense of this compound, ‘having lived to see’.

§ 14. ὅπως δὲ ἀμωνοῦμέθα] For the construction of ὅπως after verbs like σκοτεῖν and παρασκευάζειν, see note on ὅπως μὴ ποτὲ ἔσται (I. 4. 4).

ἐξὼν] A nominative or, by another explanation, an accusative absolute, which, in the case of impersonal verbs, takes the place of the genitive absolute.

τὸν ἐκ πολιας πόλεως στρατηγὸν] ‘the representative of what state’, or, in other words, ‘what state’s representative do I expect to undertake this duty?’ In this sentence two interrogations, as Kühner points out, are compressed into one. Similarly, in poetry, we often find constructions like the following: τις πόλεως μολὼν Σωλ ἐμπιγρήσει ταῦτ’ ἐμοῦ κλέειν παρὼν; (Soph. Trach. 421). An allusion is no doubt intended to his own unofficial position in the army, as compared for instance with that of Chérisophus, who had received his commission direct from Lacedaemon. (Cf. Λακεδαιμονίου ἄνδρος παρῶντος, VI. 1. 26.)

ἡλικίαν] There is great difficulty in determining the age of Xenophon at the present time. Mitford thinks that he was not yet thirty, others that he was now between thirty and forty: while those who are reluctant to discredit the story that he was saved by Socrates at the battle of Delium contend that he was more than forty at the time we are considering. The evidence, as a whole, suggests the conclusion that he was now about thirty years old, but those who are interested in the arguments will find them discussed in the introduction to the present edition, and, more fully still, in the Philol. Mus. pp. 506—510.

§§ 15—25. His speech before the assembled officers.

tοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον] Because, as suggested in § 4, he was especially intimate with Proxenus, and shared his quarters in the camp.

§ 16. πρὸν ἐνυμέρσα] πρὸν is here followed by an indicative because it refers to a condition which has already taken place. See note on IV. 1. 4. The fact that the Persian troops had been secretly preparing themselves for the campaign is cleverly suggested by the use of the verb ἕξθημαν, ‘disclosed their tactics’.

For παρασκευάσθαι four good MSS give παρασκευάσσαθαι, but the remainder, which are in favour of παρασκευάσθαι, are followed by Kühner, Vollbrecht and Macmichael; add to which, the aorist, had it been the original reading, is little likely to have been displaced in favour of the perfect.
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... κάλλιστα] 'as successfully as possible'. This very common construction is amplified by White into ὅπως οὕτως ἀγαπητότερον τέλειον ἐστὶ ἀγαπητότερον κάλλιστα. But the future ἀγαπητότερον is all that we need understand with ὅς κάλλιστα to complete the construction.

§ 17. ἀδελφοῦ] Cyrus.

... τοῦ ὀμοπατρίου] The article, which is omitted by Kühner but retained by Vollbrecht and Macmichael, is unquestionably rare in this connexion, though the emphasis which it throws on the more forcible of the two adjectives may justify its retention in the passage before us.

... καὶ τεθνηκότος ὠν] 'yes, even after he was dead', for which καὶ ταῦτα τεθνηκότος would have been the more usual phrase. The word ταῦτα is probably omitted because the participle is already rendered sufficiently emphatic by the addition of the adverb ὠν.

... λείας δὲ] This accusative, in place of the more usual ἦμείς, is usually explained on the ground that it is the subject of παθεῖν rather than ὀλοκληρώσῃ, although, for the sake of emphasis, it is removed from its natural position at the close of the sentence. But even then, as Schneider well observes, ἦμείς would grammatically be more correct. It is therefore better to treat it as an anticipatory accusative, which is often inserted for emphasis independently of the construction which follows: 'while, as for us', etc.

κηδεμών οὖνδεῖς] Whereas Cyrus had enjoyed the support and protection of his mother Parysatis.

§ 18. ἐπὶ τῶν ἔθνων] 'would he not have recourse to every expedient?' For the phrase τοῦ [μὴ] στρατεύσατε, see note on the corresponding passage of Π. 4. 3. In the present instance Macmichael inserts the negative on the authority of the leading MSS, while Kühner and Vollbrecht follow the remainder in omitting it. In either case the opportunity is a good one for noticing this use of the negative, which is a favourite one with the tragedians. Two explanations are suggested of this common and elegant idiom; (i) that the negative is actually redundant and added only for the sake of emphasis; (ii) that the phrase τοῦ μὴ στρατεύσατε is complete in itself and introduced in amplification of φόβον, 'to create alarm, so that they should not ever make war upon him'. For the latter explanation, see note on τὸ μὴ ἠδη ἐίναι (IV. 8. 14), and a passage quoted in connexion with Π. 4. 3 from Eur. Iph. in Taur. 1391, both of which favour the supposition that the phrase is grammatically an independent one.

The rhythm of the passage is conclusive against our leaving the enclitic ποτὲ to follow αὐτὸν as the last word in the sentence.

§ 19. διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν] 'observing in connexion with them', the sentences which follow taking the place of the accusative which we should have expected with διαθεώμενος. Bornemann virtually adopts this explanation when he regards the sentences which follow as in fact equivalent to simple substantives.

§ 20. ὁ πότε ἐνθυμοίμεν] The optative of repetition. See note on IV. 1. 9, and again on IV. 5. 30.

... ἦδειν ὅτε] ἦδειν ἐτι Breitenbach, Kühner and Vollbrecht, but the MSS with one single exception are in favour of the text, which may be readily explained as a mixture of the two constructions ἦδειν ἐτι ὅλγοι...
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Among and ἡδέων ὄλγους ἔχοντας. For a similar combination, see note on κρείττων...κλέψαι τι πειράζθαι...μᾶλλον ἡ μάχεσθαι (IV. 6. 11), and (if we accept Kühner's reading) the following passage in vii. 5. 8, καὶ τέως μὲν ἀεὶ ἐμέωντο ὡς...παραδώσεων αὐτῷ Βισάνθυν. As regards the construction of the entire paragraph, it will be observed that the sentence introduced by the words ὅτε δὲ ὄνταμεθα is not dependent on the optative ἐνθομολογεῖν, but added in the form of a parenthesis.

πορίζεσθαι...κατέχεοντας] 'restrained us from supplying ourselves with provisions in any other way than by purchase'. This is a case in which the author's meaning would have been made more clear by the addition of a negative to πορίζεσθαι, as κατέχεον in this combination might also mean 'binding us down to supply ourselves', and it is only from the context we can gather the right interpretation. In the introduction I have noticed other passages where the Greek presents a similar ambiguity.

§ 21. ἐν μέσω] = in medio, 'before us'. Lit. 'in the centre of the ring'. The omission of the article with ἀδὰλα of course marks the predicate: 'as prizes for whichever of us shall prove the better men'. The ἀγωνοθεταί were the umpires and presidents of the public games in Greece.

§ 22. τοὺς τῶν θεῶν θρόκους] 'oaths to the gods'. For the difference between the objective and subjective genitive, see note on τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὀρμήν (§ 10).

πολὺ] is usually construed with μείζων, 'far greater confidence'. But, if so, I cannot account for its position in the sentence, as our author is not as a rule careful for rhythm, which in Thucydides would have suggested a reason for its separation from μείζων. I should prefer therefore to take πολὺ alone in the sense of 'decidedly', 'unquestionably': 'so that I think we may go to the contest unquestionably with greater confidence than they can'. In confirmation of this view, see notes on μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γνησίον (I. 5. 8), and a still more remarkable trajectory in cap. II. § 15 of the present book.

§ 23. ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνελωνας] Not, as White, 'minds more observant of right and more influenced by conscientious motives', but 'hearts more courageous because we know the gods are with us'. Macmichael notices several instances of this use of οἱ ἄνδρες, οἱ ἄνδρωποι, in the sense of 'the enemy', e.g. in III. 4. 40, and again in IV. 2. 7.

τρωτοὶ καὶ θυττοὶ] 'more exposed to wounds (because their armour was inferior), and more exposed to death (because their constitutions were less hardy)'.

§ 24. ἀλλὰ ὅσως γὰρ it is often necessary to supply an ellipse, e.g. 'but enough, for...', 'but what need of words for...', etc. In many cases however, as in the present, the sentence is complete in itself, the order of the words being ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀναμείνωμεν, ὅσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἐνθυμοῦμαι. It may seem unnecessary to remind beginners that πρὸς τῶν θεῶν can only be used in an appeal, 'I implore you by Heaven'. No mistake, however, is more repeatedly made by advanced students than the use of this and similar phrases in the sense of similar affirmation.

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τοῦ ἔξορμησαί] is the genitive after ἄρξωμεν, 'let us begin the task of encouraging our comrades likewise to valour'.

§ 25. ἔξορμαν] is probably a neuter, to 'make a move', 'take the initiative' in this direction. Others would treat it as an active, to 'urge the rest to action'.

οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι] οὐδὲν is an adverbial accusative, 'in no wise', as in § 16 of the present chapter, and again in VII. 3. 35, οὐδὲν ἐτι μεθύνετi ἐνκυκλ. In the words οὐ προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικιαν, and the contrast which is so clearly implied between ἡλικιαν and ἄκμαξεν we have perhaps our strongest argument for inferring that 430 rather than 445 B.C. was approximately the date of Xenophon's birth. The verb ἐρύκεων is one of the many words which our author has adopted from the language of poetry.

§§ 26—31. The speech of Apollonides and its reception by the assembly.

ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα] Kühner and Bornemann retain the word ταῦτα, though the recurrence of the pronoun after so short an interval is objected to by Poppo and Vollbrecht, both of whom omit it on the authority of two good mss. But, in a simple and unstudied narrative like the present, it is not, I think, to be so lightly rejected. A more serious difficulty is presented by the reading ἀρχηγοὶ, which appears in place of λοχαγοὶ in five of the leading mss. If we retain it with Kühner (and, by the recognised rule, the rarer word is presumably the more genuine) it is clear from § 15 that we must understand it in this passage as synonynous with λοχαγοὶ, which Vollbrecht and Macmichael have admitted into their text.

βουστιάζων] He was not however a Boeotian by birth, as we can gather from the taunt of Agasias in § 31, but a native of Lydia, who had been the slave of Proxenus in Boeotia, and afterwards received his freedom.

πείσασ] Macmichael finds a difficulty in the nominative case, which he explains as put for πείσαντα by attraction to the subject of λέγει. But in truth no explanation is needed, since, on the assumption that the speaker has himself in view as the subject of the participle, πείσας is distinctly the better Greek. See note on ἴμας ἄε at the close of § 17.

ὑπερτερον λέγεων] Usually, no doubt, the participle takes the place of the infinitive when the reference is to a state not merely intended but begun. The rule however is not an invariable one, as we may gather from the constant use by Thucydides of such phrases as ἐπεργεύεσθα in reference to events or periods which were already in progress at the time he was writing.

τὰς ἀπορίας] 'their difficulties'.

§ 27. μεταξῆ] i.e. μεταξῆ λέγοντα, 'breaking in upon his speech'. See note on the use of ἄμα with the participle in IV. 1. 19, and again in IV. 7. 2.

οὐδὲν...οὐδὲ] 'you do not even understand what you see, nor remember what you hear'. White gives the right explanation of the negative, viz. that the former οὐδὲ stands for ne...quidem, but the wrong translation, 'neither on seeing understand, nor on hearing remember'.

ἐν ταύτῳ] 'yet of a truth you were in company with these officers'.

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§ 28. σπονδών ἔτυχεν] Here again White has written hastily on the use of τυχάνειν with an accusative in the sense of obtaining. In regard to Soph. Antig. 778 (τευχέσται τὸ μὴ βανεῖν) and similar cases, the infinitive is clearly explanatory, 'she shall get her wish, that she die not', while, of the two examples he cites from the Anabasis, the former (I. 4. 15) is really an instance of the genitive, and the latter (VI. 4. 32) is a wrong reference.

§ 29. οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν] 'is it not true that they are beaten, goaded, outraged and not even allowed to die, albeit, methinks, they long eagerly for death?'

πάλιν] Notice the position of this word, which by a device very common with Thucydides and other writers is placed where it may do double duty in the sentence, first with λοντας and again with πείθειν. Its force, I think, has been entirely misapprehended by Grote, when he infers from it that Apollonides may have been one of those who had used fainthearted language in the conversation with Phalinus shortly after the death of Cyrus (II. 1. 14).

§ 30. προσέσθαι εἰς τὰ ὑπότι] 'not to admit this fellow into communion with ourselves, but, having deprived him of his post, to pack baggage upon him and employ him in that capacity (i.e. ὁς σκέυοφόρος)'.

§ 31. ἀμφότερα τὰ ὁτα τετρυπημένου] either as a punishment for theft, or, more probably, for the admission of ear rings. Cf. Juv. I. 102, who decries the custom as typical of Eastern luxury. The word Λυδὸν may be taken in its literal sense as describing the man's nationality, or else, like Θρᾷ and similar adjectives, as a mere equivalent for δοῦλος. Kühner is in favour of the former view.

§§ 32--end. A council of war with the speeches of Hieronymus, Xenophon and Chereisophus, and the names of the officers chosen.

ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο] 'wherever he was missing'. Cf. III. 3. 5, φέρο ἀπειρὶ νυκτός, 'was missing one fine night', and again IV. 6. 3, τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπόφραξ φέρο. Notice the substitution of ὁπόθεν for ὅποιον to suit the verb οἴχοιτο.

§ 33. ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐκατὸν] 'about a hundred in all', as it is usually rendered, though it may be questioned whether this represents the force of the article, which is often a purely formal adjunct in connexion with numerals. Cf. πελτασταῖ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχίλιους (I. 2. 9), ἅρματα δρεπανη-φόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκκόσι (I. 7. 10), and in particular ἀμφὶ τὰ δέκα (VI. 3. 2). In the present passage, moreover, the ordinary sense of the article is also, I think, the more forcible: 'the number of officers present amounted to the usual total of one hundred'. See note on οἱ μύροι ἑπτεῖς in cap. II. 18 of the present book. The phrase μεσαὶ νύκτες occurs again in I. 7. 1.

§ 35. ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις] 'at the mercy of the barbarians'. See note on § 13.

§ 36. τοσοῦτοι ὄντες] The force of these words is considerably strengthened if we separate them by punctuation from those which follow, and regard them as added by way of emphasis, 'you who have now met together, all you, I say, who stand before me'.

καρδόν], 'responsibility'.

στρατιῶται πάντες οὗτοι] This order of the words, which is preferred by Bornemann and Macmichael, is more effective, and at the
same time more rhythmical, than στρατιώται οὕτωι πάντες, which appears in some of the editions. In reading βλέποντας for ἀποβλέποντας I have followed Kühner and Vollbrecht, both of whom prefer the simple verb on the authority of four leading MSS.

ἀθυμοῦντας] Kühner prefers ἀθυμός, which appears in two good MSS and would present no difficulty, as the participle is often omitted after verbs which indicate sensation or perception.

§ 37. διαφέρειν τι τούτων] ‘should in a measure excel the rest’. The genitive after διαφέρειν and similar verbs is due to the idea of comparison contained in them. We have another example of this in τούτων ἐπλονεκτεῖτε a few lines below.


tαξιαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοι] The arrangement of the sentence, and also the omission of the word ταξιαρχοι in corresponding passages, are strongly in favour of Krüger’s suggestion that a τάξις consisted of two λόχοι, and that the senior of the two λοχαγοι was also the ταξιαρχος. On the other hand, it is possible that the words τάξις and ταξιαρχοι may be used technically in special reference to the light-armed troops.

ἀξιόν δει ὑμᾶς] Not ‘you yourselves should make it your duty to be braver men than the soldiery at large’, as it is commonly translated, but, ‘we may fairly claim from you on your part that you should be braver’.

§ 38. οὐδὲν ἄν] Notice the position of ἄν after the emphatic word of the sentence. ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ‘to speak summarily’, lit. ‘as one might say who had summed the matter up’. For a similar construction, see note on προϊόντας in III. 2. 22.

εν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν] For this and the following passage compare Thucyd. II. 89: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐργῷ κόσμῳ καὶ συγγνην περὶ πλείστου ἡγείσθη, ὃς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν συμφέρει καὶ ναυμαχία οἷς ἥκυστα.

εὐταξία σούζειν δοκεῖ] Here again we may find an exact parallel in the Antigone of Sophocles, v. 672 ff.

ἀναρχίας γὰρ μεῖζον οὐκ ἔστω κακόν.
αὐτῷ πολέεις τ’ ἄλλωσιν, ἢδ’ ἀναστάτους
οἴκους τίθησιν· ἢδε σὺν μάχῃ δορός
τροπᾶς καταβρήθησον· τῶν ὅ ἄρθρομένων
σῶξε τὰ πολλὰ σώμαθ’ ἡ πειθαρχία.

§ 40. οὕτω γ’ ἐχόντων] ‘insomuch that, while they are in this frame of mind, I do not know what one could make of them’.

§ 42. οὕτε πλήθος...οὕτε ἱόχος] Here again we are naturally reminded of the Oedipus Tyrannus (56, 57), and from this point to the close of the speech every successive sentence, in form no less than in sentiment, is suggestive of the tragedians, while occasional words (e.g. μαστεύοντι in § 43) are directly borrowed from poetry.

For the phrase σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς...ἐρήμωμενέστερος, see note on § 23.

τούτων ὁρῶ] Observe the change which is made in the structure of the sentence. In strict correctness the sequence should have been as follows: οὕτω δὲ μᾶλλον πως εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνοῦνται, in place of which we have the same idea given in a clearer and more emphatic form: τούτων ὁρῶ...ἀφικνούμενοι.
NOTES.

§ 46. ἀπελθόντες ἦδον αἱρεῖσθε] For the position of the adverb ἦδον, see note on πάλιν in § 29. συγκαλούμεν is the Attic future by contraction from συγκαλέσομεν.

§ 47. μὴ μέλλοντο] ‘might not be delayed’. For the use of μέλλεν in the passive voice, cf. Thucyd. v. 111, and again Dem. Phil. 1. 50, εἰτ' ἐν ὄσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—8. The soldiers are assembled and addressed by Cheirisophus, Cleanor and Xenophon.

ὑπέφανε] For the force of ὑπὸ in composition see note on IV. 2. 7, where the verb is again used in an intransitive sense.

καταστήσαντας] ‘to station outposts and then assemble the troops’. In place of καταστήσαντας we should naturally have expected the dative of the participle. White (following Buttm. § 142. 4. Obs. 2) suggests that the change is made for the sake of clearness and emphasis. Another explanation is possible, viz. that the construction is accommodated to the meaning of the words ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ‘they determined’, rather than the impersonal form in which they are expressed.

§ 2. ὡπὸτε = quandoquidem, ‘since’, ‘now that we have lost’. στεροῦμεθα, as Kühner points out, denotes the condition in which they were placed by the loss of their generals, and is therefore more in keeping with the context than στεροῦμεθα which appears in two good mss. In the phrase πρὸς δ' ἔτι the preposition is used adverbially, with which we may compare the use of ἐν in poetry, e.g. Soph. Οἰδ. Τυρ. 27,

ἐν δ' ὅ πυρφόρος θεός

σκῆψας ἐλαύνει, λοιμὸς ἑχθιστος, πόλιν.

For the phrase οἱ ἄμφι Λυκαίον, see note on II. 4. 2.

§ 3. ἐλθείν] On the assumption that ἐλθείν is the correct reading, which there is some reason to doubt, we can scarcely avoid translating it ‘to come out of our present troubles’. The alternative is to regard ἐλθείν as purely poetic for ἐναι ὃ γενέσθαι, and translate ἐκ τῶν παροντῶν in the usual way, ‘considering our present difficulties’. I can find, however, no authority whatever for this rendering of the verb.

εἰ δὲ μὴ] ‘otherwise’. See note on IV. 3. 6. It is better to accept this as a phrase than to attempt to supply the ellipse. If anything is required, it can only be the future διωχσομεθα, as the optative διωιμεθα, which is suggested in some editions, is quite out of keeping with the other moods in the sentence.

ἀλλὰ...γε] ‘yet at all events’. For this well-known use of ἀλλὰ compare, amongst other passages, Soph. Antig. 779:—

ἡ γνώσεται γοῦν ἀλλὰ τηνικαῦθ', ὅτι πόνος περισσος ἐστι τὰν "Αἰδοὺ σέβειν"

‘or at any rate she shall learn—then if not before—that ’tis all waste
labour to court the powers below'. In Latin the word *tamen* does similar duty. Cf. *Phaedr.* (11. 5. 5), *hanc emendare, si tamen possim, volo.* It is better to supply *ποιος* with *ἀποθνῄσκωμεν* and *γενόμεθα* than to treat them as independent imperatives.

*διὰ...ποιήσειν*] The optative, as usual, expresses the wish: 'such evils as I pray Heaven to inflict on those who hate us'. For a similar prayer compare the well-known passage at the close of Vergil's third *Georgic* (513), *Di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum.* Observe how pointedly the author changes from *τοῖς πολεμίοις* (i.e. *hostes*—the Persians) to *τοῖς ἐχθροῖς* (i.e. *inimicius*—the personal enemies of each individual), a transition which has escaped the notice of Weiske and Kühner.

§ 4. *ἐπὶ τοῦτω*] 'directly after him': a stronger phrase, as in II. 2. 4, than *μετὰ τούτων*, which denotes mere sequence.

*περὶ πλεῖστον ἄν ποιήσαιτο*] 'and would esteem it the highest privilege to save us'. Students will observe the introduction of ἄν at this point to mark that the latter clause of the sentence is hypothetical: 'since he said that he was our neighbour, and would be glad, *if he could*, to save us'.

*ἐπὶ τούτων*] 'in confirmation of this'. The triple repetition of *αὐτός* by the figure technically called *anaphora* may be illustrated from III. 1. 37, where a similar emphasis is secured by the recurrence of the pronoun ὑμεῖς.

*Διὰ Ζέλινον*] *Πίλας* is another similar attribute, with which compare the Latin equivalent *Dius Fidius*. In *ὀμοτράπεζος* we have a word which, like *μαστεύοναι* in III. 1. 43, is suggestive of the language of poetry. *αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις*, 'by these very means', in reference to the previous participles: *ομόσας...δεξίας δοῦς...ομοτράπεζος γενόμενος*.

§ 5. *Ἀριαῖος δὲ* is virtually a nominative absolute, since, owing to the length of the sentence, *καὶ σῶς* is introduced with the verb to make the statement more emphatic.

§ 7. *ἀξιῶσαι*] The idea is as follows: 'that as he had counted himself worthy to *wear* the richest attire, so he would also, if need be, *die* in it'.

§ 8. *διὰ φιλίας λέναι* lit. 'to pass through a state of friendship with them', i.e. to be on a friendly footing with them. For one out of many similar phrases, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 742:

*ὡς παγκάκιστε, διὰ δίκης ἰὼν πατρί;*

*τοῖς στρατηγοῖς*] To secure additional emphasis, the nominative of the subordinate clause is anticipated in this form by attraction.

*διὰ πλατεως* is usually rendered 'by reason of their confidence', but, if this had been the meaning, we should naturally have expected the accusative. It is therefore far safer to translate the phrase as akin to *διὰ φιλίας* above, i.e. 'placed themselves in confidence (lit. in a state of confidence) in their hands'. In all these cases (e.g. *διὰ φιλίας, διὰ πλατεως* and *διὰ πολεμοῦ*) the preposition denotes the attendant or surrounding circumstances.

*σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς*] 'if heaven befriend us'.
NOTES.

§§ 9—32. Occurrence of an omen, after which Xenophon concludes his speech.

§ 9. πτάρνυται] Macmichael rightly calls attention to the fact that this was not under all circumstances regarded as a good omen, but only when it occurred in connexion with words or phenomena of good import. Thus in many cases (e.g. in Theocritus and Theophrastus) special formulae are given for averting the effects of it, while in Catullus (xlv. 8) the qualifying adjectives are given:

_Hoc ut dixit, Amor, sinistram ut ante,_
_Dextram sternuit approbationem._

eὐξασθαι] 'that we vow to sacrifice to this deity thank-offerings for our deliverance.....and that we make besides an additional vow to sacrifice also to the rest of the gods, provided we have the means'.

§ 10. ἐτύγχανον] is here used in its full and proper signification, 'I happened to be remarking'.

ἐπιωρκήσασι] 'have broken their oaths'. How closely the last paragraph of this section resembles the language of the tragedians will be seen by comparing such passages as Soph. _Antig._ 1158, _Ai._ 127, etc.

§ 11. ἔσεστα δὲ] 'in the next place'; in answer to πρῶτον μὲν in § 10. The parenthesis which follows causes a break in the construction, the natural sequence (ἰστε ὦ ἄγαθοι...προσήκει ἐλναι) being exchanged for ἵνα εἰδήτε and made subordinate to the parenthetical clause.

προσήκει] The verb contains a twofold idea—that bravery was at once the birthright and the duty of an Athenian.

Περοῦν] The allusion is to the invasion of Greece by Datis and Artaphernes, and to their defeat at Marathon in 490. The Athenian force is said to have numbered only 10,000 men, while the enemy had 10,000 cavalry and 100,000 foot-soldiers. On the assumption that the word ἄθραϊσ is to be retained (and it appears in all the leading mss) we must understand it with Bornemann in a purely general sense: 'intending to bring Athens back again to nought'. Observe the omission of the article with the word Ἀθηναίων which adds greatly to the emphasis, 'it was Athenians who were found to withstand them'.

§ 12. εὐξάμενοι] a nominative absolute, as, when the main verb comes, it takes the impersonal form ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, which would require εὐξάμενοις. Compare the corresponding passage at the commencement of § 1. The retention of ἃρ with the optative (ὁπότεισον ἃν κατακάνοιεν), notwithstanding the sentence has passed into the oblique narration, has been explained in connexion with 1. 5. 9.

τοσσάθρας χιμαῖρας] This vow was registered by the Polemarch Callimachus, and (according to the scholiast on Ar. _Equiv._ 657) heifers were originally named in it, though goats were afterwards substituted in consequence of the number required. There is little question that the sacrifice was retained to gratify the national vanity of the Athenians long after the requirements of the vow had been satisfied. It is by no means clear why the compound ἀποθύουσιν takes the place of ὥθουσιν when the verb is repeated. To judge from the force of ἀποστρέφειν in Ar. _Nub._ 1005 (to 'run off in heats') and ἀπολῆψεσθαι (ibid. 1140), it
may denote the separate instalments of the vow, an explanation which is quite consistent with the use of the compound in IV. 8. 25.

§ 13. ἀναρίθμητον] Compare the inscription on the tomb of the Peloponnesians who fell at Thermopylae:

μυριάσι ποτε τοῦτο τρικοσίας ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέταρες.

κατὰ γῆν] at Plataea: κατὰ βάλατταν, at Artemision and Salamis.
§ 14. πολλαπλασίον] 'though they outnumbered you many-fold'. The genitive (as in the case of διαφέρειν and similar verbs) is due to the idea of comparison which is contained in the adjective.

§ 15. πολύ] For the position and force of the adverb see note on πολύ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι (III. 1. 22).

§ 16. τὸ τε πλῆθος ἀμετροῦν] 'though you saw how countless were their numbers'. White, ignoring the position of the article, translates 'their immense multitude', a rendering which can only be justified by regarding the text as one of the few instances in which the adjective and substantive cohere so closely as to represent in effect one single idea. But the examples in question are almost entirely confined to poetry, and the construction moreover would be out of keeping with so simple a style as Xenophon's.

πατρῷοι] 'with the spirit of your fathers'. There is really no ground for rejecting this reading in favour of πατρῷος, which Dindorf, Breitenbach and others would substitute for it on the authority of the inferior mss. Their decision was no doubt influenced by a desire to conform to Hermann's ruling that πάτρων denotes 'quae sunt patris', πατρῷα 'quae veniunt a patre', πατρικά 'qualia sunt patris'. More probably, however, πατρῷοι is confined to the family, and πάτριοι to the nation, in which case the former adjective is more in accordance with the tone of the speech. Compare in particular such passages as the following: καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων πρόγονοι, and again τοιούτων μὲν ἄστε προγόνων.

eἰς αὐτοὺς] I have already noticed this use of the preposition in connexion with 1. 2. 18, and more fully in the essay on Xenophon's style. In the passage which follows, the negative is combined with δέκαται instead of θέλουσι in order that the cowardice of the enemy may be placed in the clearest possible light: 'determined to avoid us' rather than 'wished not to meet us'.

§ 17. μείον...ἐχεῖν] 'nor yet imagine that you are placed at a disadvantage in this respect that...'. In Attic Greek κελ often stands with the indicative in the sense of ὅτι to avoid a positive statement even in the case of an acknowledged fact. In the introductory essay I have commented on some exceptional uses of the same idiom.

οἱ Κυρέωι includes, amongst others, Ariæus and his followers.

ἐρευνων γοῦν] The inferior mss give ὅν, but, even on its own merits, the reading of the text is infinitely to be preferred, γοῦν being the recognised formula in cases where one example is given and the others suppressed.

§ 18. οἱ μυρίων ἱππεῖς] 'a body of ten thousand horse', but not in special reference to the number of the enemy's cavalry, as the remainder
of the sentence (οἱ δὲ ἀνδρὲς εἰσίν οἱ πουλοῦντες κ.τ.λ.) shows that the statement is quite a general one. To read, as Krüger does, μὐρλον ‘countless’ in place of μῷροι ‘the proverbial 10,000’ is to rob the passage of half its force.

§ 19. κρεμανται] ‘are poised’ on horseback: in contrast with βεβηκότες, ‘are planted’ on the ground. We are required to believe that an audience, with whom these trivialities could pass for argument, was composed of exceptionally intelligent men! See introd. II. ad fin. The verb τευξόμεθα is used in its original Homeric sense of ‘hitting a mark’.

ημᾶς] for which Cobet would substitute ημῶν, is the universal reading of the mss, though I can find no other instance in which προ-έχεω is followed by an accusative of the person.

§ 20. τοῦτο ἀχθεσθε] The accusative, which is practically a cognate (τοῦτο ἀχθος ἀχθεσθε), need occasion no difficulty, though some of the editors have proposed to substitute τοῦτοι.

λαβοῦντες] ‘such of the inhabitants as we may seize and direct to guide us’. In the sentence which follows observe that περὶ with an accusative denotes more general and indefinite relations than the same preposition with a genitive. Compare, in particular, a note on τὰ περὶ Προξένου in II. 5. 37.

§ 21. μηδὲ τοῦτο ἐτί ἐχοντας] ‘without so much as the money to buy with’, for the pay of the troops had ended with the death of Cyrus.

§ 22. ἀπορον] ‘but regard the rivers as a hopeless business, and think that you were greatly misled when you crossed them’. Notwithstanding the use of ἀπορον below in the sense of ‘impassable’, I still prefer to take ἀπορον in the more general signification of ‘hopeless’, ‘desperate’, more especially as ἀπορα νομίζειν in this sense is a favourite phrase with our author.

σκέψασθε εἰ] ‘consider that here again to my thinking the barbarians have acted in a very foolish fashion’. Students will do well to compare the construction of this clause with what is at first sight a similar one: μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μεῖνον δόξητε ἐχειν εἰ...ἀφεστήκασιν (§ 17). In reality however the present construction stands on a totally different footing, as the formation of the sentence in this case causes an ambiguity which a careful writer would studiously have avoided. By μωρόηταν the historian implies that the action taken by the inhabitants would in the end prove injurious to themselves, since, the more they impeded the return of the Greeks, the more would they suffer from their stay in the country.

ἀπορον ὅσι] ‘granted that they are impassable at a distance from their source’. If we are to retain the reading of the best mss the present is an instance of the rare use of εἰ with the subjunctive. For a full examination of this construction, which would exceed the limits of a note, I must refer the reader to Madv. Gk. Gram. § 125.

προφήται] ‘as we advance’, a phrase in which the participle is used to define the special circumstances or limitations within which an event can happen. For a similar construction, see note on ὡς συνελήνητε εἶπειν in § 38 of the first chapter.

§ 23. ἦνσουσιν] Kühner and Vollbrecht are probably right in
regarding this as the true reading by comparison with IV. 1. 8, v. 4. 2. That διοίσονων (which appears in four out of the five leading MSS) can mean 'vary in their depth', as Macmichael translates it, I do not for an instant believe, and, if it is to be retained in the text, we can only understand the verb in its primitive sense as an equivalent for διήσονων. In Soph. Trach. 323 there is the same difficulty in determining between διοίσει and διήσει:

οὖ τάρα τῷ γε πρόσθεν οὐδὲν ἐξ ἵσον χρόνῳ διοίσει γλῶσσαν

where, I think, διαφέρειν γλῶσσαν is used poetically for 'to part the lips'.

[κελτίους εἰναι] because the Mysians, like the Carians, were a proverbially worthless race.

[βασιλέως...ἐν τῇ βασιλέως] Schneider and Dindorf would alter the sentence so as to avoid this recurrence of the word βασιλέως. On the other hand the repetition is not without force, as in the case of αὐτὸς in § 4 of the present chapter. We may compare in addition II. 6. 8, ἴκανος δὲ (ὁ Κλέαρχος) καὶ ἐμποίησα τοῖς παρούσιον, ὡς πειστέον εἰς Κλέαρχος.

[τῷ τούτῳν χώραν] It has been proposed to substitute τούτων for τούτων, but the change is quite unnecessary, as the author passes by a natural transition from the Persian king to the nation which he represents.

§ 24. ἐν ἐφη] is the reading of the MSS, for which Bornemann and others would substitute φαίην. But the indicative is not only a more forcible but also a more correct construction, since, as Kühner points out, the indicative is required by the protasis εἰ μὴ ἐδοξάσεις, which is practically contained in the words which follow: ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα (§ 25). Macmichael well compares Juv. III. 315:

Hic alias pateram et plures subnectere causas:
Scil iumenta vocant.

οὐκαδὲ ὡρμημένων] 'that we have started for home'. For the compound κατασκευάζεσθα, see note on κατασκευασμέναι in IV. 1. 8.

καὶ δόποις οὖν γε] 'aye, and would make a road for them too'. The construction of τοῦ ἀδόλου ἐκκεψαις has been noticed in connexion with I. 3. 2.

§ 25. ἀλλὰ γὰρ] 'But (I do not recommend this course) for I am afraid that...'; 'I am afraid however that...'. A complete history of the construction will be found in Riddell's Digest of Platonic Idioms and Shilleto's Thuc. I. (on the combinations of γὰρ).

For καὶ Μῆδων δὲ see note on the force of δὲ in I. 1. 2, and again in IV. 6. 13. For the story of the lotus-eaters, see Herod. IV. 177 and Hom. Od. ix. 94.

§ 26. κομισαμένων] We might have expected κομισαμένοις, but, by a common idiom, a clause in dependence is often substituted for a clause in agreement, when the reference is not limited to any particular occasion. 'When they have it in their power to bring hither their needy citizens at home, and see them enriched'. White makes the strange mistake of translating κομισαμένοις, 'having come hither'. The
active *πολιτεύειν* is here employed in its usual and legitimate sense, 'to be a member of a community', while on the other hand the middle voice is generally used of a statesman, 'one who takes part in the politics of a community'. *ἄλληρος*, 'without a portion', has a special force in relation to the context, as *κλήρος* is the regular word for an allotment of conquered territory. With the whole tenor of the passage compare a very similar suggestion in the *Vespae* of Aristophanes, *v. 705*:

> εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλοντο βίον πορίσαι τῷ δόμῳ ράδιον ἤν αὐν. 
> εἰςίν γε πόλεις χιλιαί, αἱ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπάγουσιν 
> τούτων εἴκοσι ἀνδράς βόσκειν ἐι τ᾽ις προσέταξεν ἐκάστη, 
> δύο μυριάδες τῶν ὄντων ὁμοτοιχῶν ἔξων ἐν πάσι λαγῷσι.

§ 27. *στρατηγὴσ*] 'may not regulate our march'. *ζεύγη*, 'teams' (equi et boves jugales, Sturz), who might have added that the reference is usually to *ζεύγη* ἡμιονικά in cases where no qualifying adjective is given. See note on *vii. 5. 4.*

§ 28. *τὰ περισσά*] 'the superfluous articles'. It is better to treat *κρατουμένων* as a genitive absolute than to make it directly dependent on the word *ἄλληροι*, which is the suggestion of Kühner. *Tr.* 'when men are conquered all things are wrested from them'. It cannot in any case be the genitive after *πάντα*, a construction which would necessitate the article with *κρατουμένων*.

§ 29. *ὅτων μὲν*] 'so long as our officers were alive and we obeyed them'. On the position of *πολυ* in § 30 we have already commented in a note on *iii. 1. 22.*

With the words νῦν *ἡ πρόσθεν* at the end of § 30 we must supply *γενέσθαι* from the previous clause.

§ 31. *ἡ ψηφίσασθε*] This recurrence of *ἡ* is so awkward that I should be inclined to omit it and read *ψηφίσασθε*, or else *ψηφίσασθαι* with Breitenbach, if the case we are considering stood alone in the *Anabasis*. But compare, in particular, *vii. 3. 36*, and the examples quoted in introd. *ii.*

> τὸν ἀεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυχ’χάνοντα] 'that any one of you who happens to be present at the time shall take part with the commander in punishing him'. For this sense of ἀεὶ, see note on τὸ *περιβάλλον* in *iv. 1. 7*. In *ἐφευσμένοι* ἐσονται notice the force of the tense, 'will *find* themselves mistaken', while a remarkable use of the same perfect occurs in Thuc. *vi. 17*, ἄλλα μέγατον ἢ αὐτοὺς ἐφευσμένη ἢ 'Ἑλλάς μόλις ἐν τῶδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἰκανῶς ὀπλισθή.

*μυριόνοι...Κλεάρχους* in allusion to the exceptional severity of his discipline as noticed in *ii. 6. 8.*

§ 32. *εἰ δὲ τι ἄλλο βελτίων ἢ ταύτη* i.e. *βελτίων ἢ τοῦτο περάλειν*, though by a slight change in the construction *ταυτή* is substituted for the accusative *τοῦτο*. Some of the editors introduce εἰ δὲ or οὐδὲ into the text and read ἄλλων for ἄλλο, which impairs the rhythm of the sentence without touching the real difficulty. The context must determine the application of the term *ἰδωτής*. In this case it may denote a *civilian* as opposed to a *soldier*, or, more probably, a *private soldier* as distinguished from an officer.

§§ 33 to end. *After a short speech from Cheirisophus, and another*
from Xenophon who arranges the order of the march, the assembly is broken up.

καὶ αὐτικα] = max etiam, 'even later on', 'by and bye'.

§ 34. προσδοκάν] A strange verb to be combined with δοκεῖ, and, if it were not for the universal agreement of the MSS in favour of retaining it, I should be inclined to read προσδέχεται, the emendation of Wytenbach. As it stands, the text can only mean 'the contingencies which I think we must anticipate', and which are explained in detail in § 35.

§ 35. οὖν ἂν οὖν θαυμάζομαι] The plural, which Kühner substitutes for θαυμάζομαι on the authority of three MSS, is inappropriate in connexion with the context, since the suggestions which follow represent the impressions of Xenophon rather than those of his audience. Otherwise he would naturally have adopted the less definite formula θαυμάζεται δέω, to which he reverts in § 36, because all will participate in the development of his schemes.

αὐτο] is rather more elegant than the other reading οὕτω, and also rests on stronger authority. This particular form of anacoluthon (εἰ οἰ πολέματι...εἰ καὶ αὐτο), of which we have already had several instances, is at once inelegant and a mark of carelessness on the part of the writer, being an obvious and clumsy device for meeting the difficulties of a parenthesis.

§ 36. πλαίσιον] Elsewhere called ἑσπέρα, 'a hollow square'. In spite of Macmichael's apology for εἰς, I agree with Krüger Kühner and Poppo that it is practically indefensible, and that it must be abandoned in favour of ἔν. The ordinary explanation that the optative suggests a more uncertain chance of realisation than the subjunctive is inadmissible here, though it would no doubt be consistent with our author's character to couch his proposals in the most modest form. It should be noticed by beginners that, if εἰς be retained, it is εἰς rather than ἕστιν that must be supplied with ἀφαλέστερον. For, although we can say in Greek 'they did it...in order that there may be' (cf. Thuc. III. 22, φροντίς παραιτήσατο ὁπωσ ἄσαρ ἡ τὰ σημεία τῆς φροντιστῶς τὸς πολεμίως ἐν), the converse idiom, 'they do it...in order that there might be', is admissible only in connexion with the historical present, a construction which it would be unadvisable to imitate. The phrase πλαίσιον τῶν ὀπλῶν is equivalent to πλαίσιον τῶν ὀπλῶν as in II. 2. 4. τὰ προσβην κοσμεῖν] 'to regulate the vanguard'. ὑπὸς ἐξομήν may be the optative of doubt or uncertainty, 'if ever the enemy come', or, more probably, it is the simple optative of repetition. τῶς τεταγμένοις is of course a neuter, 'the plans we have made', i.e. our tactics.

§ 37. ἡγείσθω...ἐπιμελείσθων] The imperative is so clearly the mood which we require that it is surprising to find the optatives retained in the editions of Breitenbach and Vollbrecht. The words καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔστε contain a tacit admission that Cheirisophus was in other respects well qualified to exercise the command.

τὸ νῦν εἶναι] 'at any rate for the present'. Compare τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι (1. 6. 9) and a note on the passage. It is necessary, however, to take cognisance of the presence of the infinitive, which in the opinion of the best authorities tends to limit or qualify the meaning of the
phrase. Activity and energy were the primary qualifications for commanding the rear-guard. The proposition, therefore, that Timasion and himself should be appointed to this post would in itself suggest that our author was at this time under forty years of age, independent of the plea which follows on the ground of his youth.

§ 38. ἀεὶ 'from time to time' as in § 31. In § 39 beginners will distinguish μεμνημόσων εἶναι, 'let him remember to be', from μεμνημόσων ὁν 'let him remember that he is'.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—5. The overtures made by Mithridates, and the answer of Cheirisophus, together with the defection of Nicarchus and the measures taken in consequence.

μετέδίδοσαν] For the constructions of μετέχειν, μεταδίδοναι, see note on οὗ προσέλεσαν in IV. 5. 5. The phrase εἰς ἐπηκοον (i.e. τόπον) 'within hearing' occurs again in II. 5. 38 and elsewhere.

§ 3. ἦν μὲν τις εὖ] I have had no hesitation in adopting this text with Künnner in preference to ἐλ μὲν τις εὖ which appears in three leading mss., as the assurance which is implied by εἰ with the indicative is out of harmony with the context and their uncertainty in regard to the future.

§ 4. ὑπόπεμπτος εἰ] 'that he was insidiously sent', 'that he was sent with a purpose'—a force of the compound which appears again in II. 4. 22, τότε δέ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὡτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἀνθρωπον ὑποπέμψαεν.

The words καὶ γὰρ introduce an additional cause for the suspicion felt by the Greeks: 'add to which he was accompanied by a relative of Tissaphernes to insure his fidelity'.

§ 5. ἀκηρυκτον εἶναι] 'that the war would allow of no intercourse by herald so long as they continued in the enemy's country'. For this phrase (which is often found in connexion with the adjective ἄσπωνος) compare in particular the opening passage of the second book of Thucydides.

διέφθειρον...διέφθειραν] The tenses are intentionally contrasted: 'attempted to seduce...succeeded in seducing'.

Nothing can be determined as to the identity of this Nicarchus with the man of the same name who at the close of the previous book brought the news of the capture of the generals.

§§ 6—10. The Greeks cross the river Zabatus, and are severely harassed by Mithridates owing to the want of slingers and cavalry.

τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν] The river Zab, one of the most important confluent of the Tigris, which at certain seasons of the year it surpasses in magnitude. It was known to the older geographers as the Lycus, and to Pliny as the Zerbis. For further particulars see a note on χαράδραυν at the commencement of chapter IV, for the greater portion of which I am indebted to Ainsworth, p. 134.

§ 7. βραχύτερα...ἐτύχευον] The superiority of the Persian archers
was no doubt mainly owing to the greater length of their bows. Cf. III. 4. 17, μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστιν. For the phrase βραχύ-
τερα ἑτέρουν 'had a shorter range than the Persians', we may com-
pare the expression brevius valere in Tacitus Ann. (vi. 35) where it is
used of the Sarmatian bowmen. The Cretans alluded to in the present
instance were no doubt the two hundred men who had followed in the
train of Clearchus (i. 2. 9).

κατεκέλυφτο] Kühn., κατεκελευντό Vollbr. and Macm., κατεκέ-
λυστο MSS. The Cretan archers had been placed for security within
the protection of the square, a position which allowed little scope for
their services.

ἡ ὡς εἰκνεῖται] A construction which is employed like ἡ ὡςτε
after the comparative degree when it is an entire sentence that is the
object of comparison. Usually this infinitive will refer either actively
or passively to the subject of the adjective, while occasionally it is in-de-
pendent of the adjective whether as regards subject or object. More
remarkable is the combination of εἰκνεῖται with a genitive of the
object. The construction is apparently based on the analogy of the
verb τυγχάνειν, but Kühner does not instance a corresponding example,
no do I know of any.

§ 9. καταλαμβάνειν] ‘to overtake’. ἐκ πολλῶν will mean ‘with a
long start’. Compare ἐκ τόξου ρῷματος at the end of § 15.

§ 10. φεύγοντες ἀμα ἑττητωρικον] I have already noticed this use
of ἀμα in iv. i. 19, and again in iv. 7. 2. εἰς τούτισθεν ‘backwards’,
‘behind their backs’: reminding us of the description of the Parthian
archers in Verg. Georg. III. 31, fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque
sagittis.

§§ 11—end. On their arrival at a village they reconsider their posi-
tion and arrange for a supply of archers and cavalry.

τῆς ἡμέρας ὀλης] ‘in the course of all that day’. The genitive
is probably used with the express object of denoting their broken
and fragmentary march; ‘at intervals throughout the day’, ‘in their
starts throughout the day’. Similarly we may translate δεῖλης which
follows ‘in the late afternoon’. For δεῖλης in the sense of δεῖλης ὀλη, see
note on a similar omission in i. 8. 8. φάλαγγος is here used as an
equivalent for στρατεύματος. In ii. i. 6 and ii. 3. 3 it is employed in a
more technical sense.

§ 12. ἥτιστω...μαρτυρολη] The transition from the indicative to
the optative is objected to by Poppo, Krüger and Vollbrecht, who
would in consequence read αἰτιῶντο. But, as Kühner points out,
similar changes are of frequent occurrence in the Anabasis, while the
indicative may serve to mark the fact as distinct from the impression.

§ 14. μὴ μεγάλα] ‘so as to do us no great harm, but rather to
show us our deficiencies’.

§ 15. οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες = οἱ ἀκοντισταλ, as distinguished from
the archers.

πολύ] Although this word is placed early in the sentence for the
sake of emphasis, it goes closely with χωρίνιον in translation and must
not be taken adverbially as in iii. 1. 22 and elsewhere.

ἐκ τόξου ρῷματος] ‘if he starts but the length of a bow-shot in
advance'. Hutchinson aptly compares Aesch. Pers. 147, πότερον τὸδιον ῥώμα τὸ νικῶν.

§ 16. μέλλομεν!] for which Kühner and others read μέλλομεν on the ground that the optative would express a doubt in the speaker’s mind, is found in the two best mss and defended by Bornemann on the analogy of the following passage from Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 5, ὥς καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν δείται, εἰ μέλλου τολιορκηθήσεσθαι. With τὴν ταχίστην understand ὄδων.

§ 17. ἐκείναι] ‘the latter’, a common use of the pronoun when it stands alone. On the other hand, when it is found in combination with οὕτος, it is to be referred to the more remote of the two objects. With the poetic word χειροπληθέσιν compare the use of ἀμαξίαιοις in IV. 2. 4. The ‘leaden bullets’ referred to in ταῖς μολιβδίσιν are alluded to by several of the Latin poets, e.g. by Ovid (Metam. ii. 727) and Vergil (Aen. ix. 588).

§ 18. καὶ τοῦτω μὲν δάμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον] ‘and give money to such an one in exchange for them”, where τοῦτω has a collective force and refers to the τίνες above. Several of the editors retain the reading καὶ τοῦτων τῷ μὲν δάμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, which destroys the balance of the sentence and stultifies the word ἀλλο in the succeeding clause, the very point of which is that the same men who sold their slings might also get an additional reward if they chose to plait others. I am myself inclined to think that the true reading may be as follows: καὶ τοῦτων μὲν δάμεν αὐτῶ ἀργύριον, in which case αὐτῶ will be the equivalent of τοῦτω in the text, and explanatory of the word τίνες above, ‘giving money to such an one in exchange for them’.

ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ] ‘in the place appointed for him’. Kühner, strangely enough, reads ἐν τῷ ἐντεταγμένῳ, but the compound is to me unintelligible, as the reference is to a place and not to a person. On the other hand, Vollbrecht’s suggestion (τῷ σφενδοναν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἔθελοντι) is still less satisfactory, for there is little force in the compound, and the addition of the word ἔθελοντι is awkward both in construction and sense. The word ἀλλον may be interpreted in three distinct ways in the present passage: (i) ‘some exemption from duty besides’, i.e. in addition to the money he might have made by selling or plaiting slings, (ii) ‘some other immunity’ as distinct from a monetary reward (cf. ἀλλοι 1. 5. 5), and (iii) ‘an exemption from certain other duties’ as in 11. 6. 11. Of the above explanations, the second is probably the correct one.

§ 19. ἀξιμαλῶτον] ‘which we have captured from the enemy’. ἁγενοφόρα] ‘and replace them with baggage-animals while we adapt the horses for cavalry use’. The verb κατασκευάζειν, as Kühner notices, includes the training of the horses no less than their actual equipment.

§ 20. ἐδοκιμάσθησαν] ‘passed muster’, ‘were adjudged fit for service’. For the meaning of the word στολάδες and its different forms, see note on IV. 1. 18.
CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—5. After they had crossed the stream, Mithridates again encounters the Greeks in a deep ravine, and is defeated by them with great loss.

τὰς ἄλλας] See note on II. i. 3.

χαράδρας] The Khazir or Burmadus (al. Bumadus), a tributary of the Zabatus, which, according to Layard, was distant about three miles from the main ford of the river. Here they met and defeated Mithridates in the valley formed by the torrent. There is some little difficulty in determining the exact point at which the Greeks effected their passage. Layard would place it as far as five-and-twenty miles from the confluence of the Zabatus and Tigris: Macmichael at less than half that distance: while Colonel Chesney considers that the crossing was made in the immediate neighbourhood of their confluence.

§ 2. καταφρονήσας] 'whom he despised from the fact that...'

§ 3. παρῆγγελτο] sub. τοῦτος, 'now word had been passed to those of the peltasts and hoplites on whom fell the duty of the pursuit'.

§ 4. κατειλήφει] 'had overtaken them'. With ἐσῆμην supply σαλπιγκτής as in II. 2. 4. This omission is common in the case of certain officials (e.g. κύρις, γραμματεύς, etc.), whose duties were so well recognised as to be suggested by the mere use of the verb.

ἐθεον ὁμός] 'those who had received their orders immediately closed with the foe'.

§ 5. αὐτοκέλευστο] 'without orders', 'acting from impulse'.

§§ 6—9. The Greeks reach the river Tigris and the city of Larissa, of which the author gives a description.

§ 7. Λάρισσα] Nearly all the authorities are agreed in identifying this place with the ruins of Nimrud, a quarter of the larger city of Nineveh. It is further suggested that this Assyrian capital may represent the original city of Resen, and that from the combination Al Resen the name Larissa was formed by the Greeks. If we accept this more than doubtful proposition, the statement ὅκουν αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μήδου must refer to the period which followed the subjugation of the city by Cya
ares I. A rival theory, which later discoveries have tended to confirm, has been suggested by Colonel Rawlinson to the effect that Nimrud or Larissa represents the Calah of Genesis, which in the Samaritan Pentateuch appears as Lachisa (see Ainsworth, p. 137).

ὁὐ παρασάγγαι] in all probability about seven and a quarter miles.

κρητὶς λίθην, 'a stone basement'.

§ 8. βασιλεὺς ὁ Πέρσης] Cyrus the Great. Observe the force of the imperfect ἐλάμβανον, 'were endeavouring to seize the empire'.

νεφέλην προκαλύφως] The reference is apparently to a fog, or (less probably) to an eclipse of the sun, but the reading of the passage is more than doubtful. The text may be defended on the ground that it stands by hypallage for νεφέλη τῆς τόλμην προκαλύφως (Macmichael), or else προκαλύπτειν νεφέλην may be simply a poetical equivalent for the Latin obtendere nubem. Even if the mss were not unanimous in favour
of the text, I should scarcely be tempted to substitute in its place the emendation of Amaseus (ἡλιων ὄε νεφέλη προκαλύψασα ἡφάνσε), which, though accepted by Hutchinson and other editors, is made more than doubtful by the unusual position of the accusative ἡλιων. With the verb ἔγειρον we must, of course, supply αὐτάς.

§ 9. παρὰ τὴν πόλιν] For this force of παρὰ see note on IV. 3. 1, and introd. II.


Μεσπιλα] a portion of Nineveh, if we accept the opinion of Layard, Chesney and others: while Rawlinson, on the other hand, identifies it with Mosul, which (more probably) was situated on the opposite bank of the river. In either case the name Mespila (i.e. meso-pulai) was no doubt applied by the Greeks to the pass of the Tigris.

κογχυλιάτου] ‘The common building-stone of Mosul is highly fossiliferous, indeed replete with shells’ (Ainsworth, p. 140).

§ 11. Μήδεια] See note on το Μήδεια καλομέμενον τείχων in II. 4. 12. The imperfect ἀπωλλοσαν, for which ἀπωλέσαν has been substituted by the editors in defiance of the MSS, may be defended on the analogy of ἠρσαν in I. 1. 6 and ἠρμόντο (ed. Kühn.) in I. 10. 1. With the construction ἀποβολώνα ὑπὸ τινως, compare ἐκπεσῶν ὑπὸ τινως, ἀλτίαν ἐκεν ὑπὸ τινως and many other similar combinations.

§ 12. ἐμβρονητός ποιεῖ] ‘strikes the inhabitants with a panic’. How and in what way we have no means of inferring, though it is possible, as Sturz suggests, that the adjective is used in its literal sense to indicate the effects of a thunderstorm.

§§ 13—23. The progress of the Greeks is impeded by Tissaphernes and his troops. Special arrangements are made to secure them against his attacks.

eis τουτον ὄε τον σταθμων] Kühner treats this as a pregnant construction in place of ἐλθῶν ἐπεφάνη. But compare rather the old phrase ‘against the morrow’ (eis την υστεραλιν) and other similar expressions.

οὐς τε...ἐχων] i.e. ἐκεῖνας το ἐχων ἐπεταις, οὐς αὐτός ἡλθεν ὑχων—an awkward and unnatural construction, as the participle ἐχων, though entirely subordinate to the verb ἡλθεν, is made to supply the place of the main verb in the sentence. In the word ἐπεταις the author alludes to the 500 cavalry mentioned in I. 2. 4.

την βασιλέως θυγατέρα] See II. 4. 8. Plutarch gives Rhodogune as the name of this daughter of Artaxerxes.

ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφός] mentioned in II. 4. 25 as ὁ Κύρων καὶ 'Ἀρτάξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφός.

§ 14. ἐπισθεν] ‘in the rear of the Greeks’. For the full force of the construction ἐχεν καταστήμας, see note on ἐχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι (IV. 7. 1).

παραγαγών] ‘and others he drew out by a side-movement (παρὰ) to bear upon our flanks’. In other words, he had drawn up his troops so as to form three sides of a square, the side nearest the enemy being left open so as to tempt them into the trap. It will be remembered that, in the late African campaign, the Zulus adopted a similar mode of attack, by throwing out two crescent-shaped wings, one on either side.

XEN.
of their line of advance. διακυνδυνέευη is to 'risk a decisive engagement'.

§ 15. διαταξθεντες] 'having been dispersed among the ranks' (White); but there is no ground for supposing that this arrangement had been selected, which would on many accounts have been an awkward one, while the contrary is suggested in § 26 of the present chapter. 'In open order' is surely the more natural interpretation.

The reading Σκύθαι, which appears in the three best mss, is justified by Kühner on the ground that it had become technical in this connexion. Cf. Arr. Tacit. II. 13, οἱ τῶν ἑπτάων τόξων ἑρμήνευοι ἑπτατοξίναι λέγονται, ἵπ τέτων δὲ Σκύθαι. On the other hand, Σκυθοτοξίναι, which is supported by the remaining mss, is defensible on the same ground, as implying no more than 'mounted archers of the Scythian type'.

προθυμείτω] προθυμαίτω, which is accepted by Schneider, Macmichael and others on the authority of five mss, has been rightly rejected by Kühner as a solecism on the ground that ράδιον ἣν (facile erat) is equivalent to ράδιων ἄν ἢν, and refers altogether to a historic past.

§ 16. ἐσβοντο] is no doubt the true reading, as the rare occurrence of the verb in prose will easily account for the substitution of ἐπίκειντο, which appears in some of the mss.

For the force of τότε, see note on Π. 3. 1, and a quotation from Thuc. III. 69, which exactly illustrates its meaning in the passage before us.

§ 17. ἄνω λέντες μακράν] White boldly joins issue with Bishop Thirlwall in regard to the meaning of this passage, and supports Raleigh's view, who, in his Hist. of the World (III. 10. 8), says that Xenophon 'trained his archers to shoot compass who had been accustomed to the point blank'. But, granting the fact, I should still not expect to find it incidentally mentioned without a word of comment on so unusual a custom, more especially when the context proves that the main object of their present training was to give them a longer range than that of their enemy. I am inclined, therefore, to think that ἄνω λέντες means no more than 'shooting upwards perpendicularly', in order to lessen the trouble of collecting the arrows. [I am glad to find that, in his note on the passage, Kühner adopts the above interpretation.]

§ 18. πολὺς σώτος] 'Fertility (says Ainsworth) is the characteristic of the plain of Νίνεσσα to the present day'.

§ 19. ἐγνωσαν] 'discovered that a square was a bad arrangement for troops with an enemy following in the rear'. τὰ κέρατα is virtually equivalent to αἱ πλευραί, the only difference, as the word denotes, being this—that in the case of κέρατα the flanks of the column are regarded from the extremities, in the case of πλευραί from the sides.

συγκαίτη] 'should the flanks of the column be compressed...the hoplites (who form the centre) are forced out of position...on the other hand, when the flanks diverge, those who a while ago were crushed out of place are now too widely scattered'. In connexion with πονήρως 'with difficulty', Kühner distinguishes between the adjectives πόνηρος
(difficilis) and Πονηρός (pravus). The phrase τὸ μέσον τῶν κερατῶν denotes the troops which formed the centre of the column.

§ 20. ἀλλὰν τινὰ διάβασιν] ‘to go over a bridge or any other crossing’. The same phrase occurs again in § 23, and in both cases alike there is a doubt whether διάβασις is to be regarded as a direct or a cognate accusative. Its combination with γέφυραν naturally suggests the former, while the latter is the more idiomatic construction, ‘to cross by a bridge or in any other kind of way’.

ἐνεπιθέτων ἄρ] ‘and in all such cases the column was exposed to attack from the enemy’. Although White compares iv. 8. 12 and Herod. vii. 190 in proof that ἐνεπιθέτων is here used absolutely, I prefer myself to understand πλαίσιον or some equivalent substantive with Zeune and others.

§ 21. ἐνυμοστάχας] The ἐνυμοσταί (judging from the present passage) consisted of twenty-five men, and formed the fourth part of a λόχος. If so, it must have varied in numbers according to circumstances, as Thucydides (v. 68) says that it contained on an average thirty-two men.

ὁ λόχαγοι] Kühner regards these words with suspicion. On the other hand, Dindorf and others see no difficulty in retaining them, with the substitution, however, of οὗτω for οὗτοι.

ὑπέμενων ὕστερον] ‘they waited behind in the rear’. The words which follow, τότε δὲ παρῆγγον κ.τ.λ., have been explained in two ways, (i) afterwards by a side-movement (παρά) they came back into position outside the flanks, (ii) ‘this done (or ‘at other times’) they marched along outside the wings’. Of these interpretations the latter, which is preferred by Kühner, is also more consistent with the context, with the ordinary use of the verb παράγειν, and with the idea suggested by ἐπιπαρήσαν in § 23.

§ 22. ἀν ἐξεπιμπλασαν] Frequentative. See notes on οὐδένα ἄν πώποτε ἄφελετο (i. 9. 19), and ἐπαισεν ἄν (ii. 3. 11). In place of ἄν ἐξεπιμπλασαν, the mss give the compound form ἀνεξεπιμπλασαν, which is rightly rejected by Kühner and Krüger on the ground that we have no precedent for this inversion in the order of the prepositions.

κατὰ λόχος] White, following Halbkart, offers an elaborate explanation of the present passage, for which I must refer the reader to p. 177 of his edition. It proceeds on the theory that κατὰ λόχος is to be understood as implying that the companies were drawn up side by side. But the ordinary use of the phrase suggests a far simpler interpretation, viz. that the author is describing the columns in reference to their depth, and that κατὰ λόχος will mean 100 deep and therefore six abreast, while κατὰ πεντηκοστὸς and κατ’ ἐνυμοστιαί will mean respectively 50 deep and 12 abreast, or, on the other hand, 25 deep and 24 abreast.

§ 23. εἰ ποιν δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος] ‘if help was required in any quarter of the main column (ποιν τῆς φάλαγγος)’. Macmichael suggests ‘if there was any need of the column anywhere’, or ‘if it were necessary for a part of the column to be present anywhere’—neither of which interpretations is at all satisfactory.

§§ 24—30. The Greeks arrive at a palace after making their way.
over some lofty hills in the neighbourhood of which they are harassed by the enemy.

[III. iv.]

βασιλείων τι] A castle called Zakhnu (says Ainsworth) still stands in this spot surrounded by villages, while the hills mentioned by Xenophon have been satisfactorily identified as a triple range known to the Arabs and the Kurds as the 'White Hills'.

§ 25. ἐς τὸ πρανές] 'down hill', 'following the slope of the hill'.

In illustration of the phrase ὑπὸ μαστίγων compare the well-known passage in the account given by Herodotus of the battle of Thermopylae (VII. 223).

§ 28. ὁπότε ἀπολεῖν] The optative is used because the same operations were repeated at each successive hill.

§ 30. κατὰ τὸ ὅρος] By this manoeuvre the peltasts from their commanding position were enabled to cover the march of the rest of the troops, whose path lay parallel with their own across the spurs (γηλό-φον) which the mountain threw out at its base.

ἐπιπαρίωντες] The participle is better known in its more technical sense: e.g. of an officer engaged in 'visiting the ranks' of his troops. In the present case it means no more than to 'advance in the same parallel with the army (παρά) but on higher ground (ἐπὶ)'.

§§ 31—36. After remaining three days at their next halting-place the Greeks descend into the plain, where their progress is again impeded by Tissaphernes and his troops.

ἀμα ἐπιτήδεια...έλχον] By a very common idiom the second reason for their stay is stated as an independent fact without the addition of ὅτι.

ὑποτις] Note the omission of the article. The word πεδίον refers, in all probability, to the valley of the Khabur.

§ 32. ἀπόμαχοι] 'disabled for action', whether by wounds or, as he adds in explanation, by the charge of the wounded. For the omission of the article, see appendix on the text.

§ 33. πολὺ γὰρ διεφερεῖν] 'for it made a vast difference when they could sally forth from their position and repel the foe instead of having to meet his attack in the course of their march'. There can be little doubt that the above is the correct text, though Bornemann. I see, still follows the leading MS in reading διεφερεῖν... ὅρμωντες... πορευόμενοι, 'for they were much more successful in defending themselves by sorties from a camp than in meeting the enemy's attack in the course of a march'—a very weak form in which to state so evident a fact.

§ 35. πονηρῶν] 'an awkward thing'. Compare the phrase πονηρᾶ τάξις in § 19.

αὐτοῖς] An ethic dative, for which see note on 1. 2. 3, and again 1. 7. 4.

πεποδὼμένοι] 'hobbled'. Cf. Cyrop. III. 3. 14, and Tac. Ann. IV. 25. In the clause which follows, the full construction would be ὅπερ ἀν ποιήσειεκεν εἰ λυβείσαν, while the verb ἐπισάξαει refers apparently to the horsecloth of felt, which (according to the de re eques. VII. 5) sometimes took the place of a saddle.

θωράκιοθερτα] Notice the change to the accusative after ἰδί. It is
scarcely necessary to explain so common a construction, for in a succession of clauses it is only natural that, as the dependence on the main verb becomes less and less direct, the construction should take a more general and ordinary form. For the reading of the sentence which follows, see append. on text.

§ 36. διαγελλόμενοι] 'passing the word through the ranks'. Compare the use of παρεγγυνα in IV. 7. 24 and elsewhere. With ἐκήρυξε supply κύρις, an omission similar to that which we have already noticed in the case of ἁμαίνειν.

λύειν] for λυσιτελεῖν, 'it did not seem expedient'. The verb is found with the same construction in Soph. Elec. 1005, and, on the assumption that we possess the true reading, its occurrence in the present passage affords another instance of our author's partiality for poetic expressions. In the inferior mss, however, we have the compound λυσιτελεῖν, and it may be, as Kühner suggests, that the reading of the text was derived from some abbreviation of the fuller form.

κατάγεσθαι, 'to get back to their camp', is in fact a nautical phrase meaning 'to land themselves at their camp'.

§§ 37 to end. The enemy steal a march and occupy certain heights from which they are dislodged by the Greeks.

ἀνασέβαστον] To be understood, as White observes, in its most general sense, as the Greeks had destroyed all their baggage-waggons before commencing their retreat.

χωρίων ὑπερβίβασε] 'a commanding position on the right hand'. ἄκρωνυχαν ὄρος is the 'brow of the mountain', or, more correctly, of one of the spurs which project from it. Compare the definition of Suidas: ἄκρωνυξ τὸ ἄκρων τοῦ ὄρνυχος καὶ τὸ ἄκρων τοῦ ὄρους. The scene of this conflict, which took place in the outlying mountains of Kurdistan, has been satisfactorily identified by Ainsworth and Chesney as a spur from the main range which advances beyond the plain of Zaku down to the banks of the Tigris, and is bounded on the further side by the plain of Jizirah.

§ 39. ἡμῶν] 'against us', 'in our path': a species of ethic dative, for which see note on οὗτοι εἰς Ἐκατερίαν αὐτῷ ἀρίκοντο in I. 2. 4.

§ 41. ἐφοδο] 'an approach'. It will be observed that the brow of the hill (ἄκρωνυχα) which was in the occupation of the enemy was not the actual summit of the mountain, being itself commanded by the κορυφή or peak now mentioned.

§ 42. οἱ συμπέμψα] 'to send with him some men from the front'. Even beginners need scarcely be reminded that οἴ is the dative of the personal pronoun οὗ, and, being an enclitic, throws back its accent on the preceding word.

§ 43. τοὺς κατὰ μέσον] 'those stationed at the middle of the square'. The passage, as Kühner points out, means nothing more than that troops from the centre were called up to supply the place of those who had been selected for service with Xenophon. There is considerable doubt as to what troops are meant by the word τριακοσίων, Krüger assuming somewhat arbitrarily that they formed one half of the 600 men mentioned in § 21, while Larcher, with greater probability, under-
stands it as referring to a body of troops who were in personal attendance on Cheirisophus.

§ 44. ἀμιλλάθαι] 'to have a race to the top' is an exact, if not very elegant, rendering.

στρατεύματος, διακελευομένων] An example of the construction κατὰ σώματι, the genitive στρατεύματος being equivalent in effect to στρατεύ- των. See note on τὸ στράτευμα...κόπτουτες in II. 1. 6.

§ 46. (χρόνον)] Kühner and Bornemann are no doubt right in following the MSS which omit this word. Its place in the sentence is particularly objectionable on the score of rhythm. But I am by no means so positive as Kühner that the νῦν which precedes δλίγων is to be omitted likewise. On the contrary, he has made it indispensable to his text by placing a comma after the word γυναῖκας, and breaking up the sentence into three distinct clauses. There remains, however, the alternative of omitting the νῦν, and with it the stop in question. The sentence will thus become entirely grammatical, consisting in fact of two parallel clauses.

§ 47. χαλεπῶς] Weiske is at some pains to argue that χαλεπῶς refers solely to ϕέρων—a theory which is sufficiently disproved by the position of the adverb and by the rhythm of the sentence, either of which might have suggested that the word refers generally to the clause as a whole. Tr. 'while I, to my sorrow, am toiling under the weight of my shield'.

§ 48. ἔχων] 'with it'. In illustration of τὸν ἱππικὸν Hutchinson compares Plut. Vit. Philop. 9, πεζὸς ἐν ἱππικῷ ὀφρακι καὶ σκευῇ βαρύ- τερα. In the following sentence notice the contrast which is intended between ὑπάγειν 'to lead on gently', and παρείναι 'to press forward'.

§ 49. ὅ δε] sc. Ξενοφῶν. With βάσιμα (as I have already suggested in the case of ἀπορά and similar words) supply the most general subject, i.e. πράγματα or χωρία. See note on βατά in IV. 6. 17, where the dative τοῖς ὑποθυγίουσ takes the place of τῷ ἱππῷ to which βάσιμα and ἄβατα refer in the present passage.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—6. Tissaphernes and his troops retire before the Greeks, burning the villages on their way.

ἐν κώμῃ] The plain in which this village lay is found precisely in the position indicated, between a spur of the main range and the low hills which again block up the plain opposite to the town called Bezabde by the Romans. There was formerly a bridge over the Tigris in this neighbourhood, the ruins of which still exist.

§ 2. καὶ γάρ] These words introduce the reason of the foregoing statement: 'for in fact many herds of grazing cattle had been intercepted in the act of being conveyed to the further bank of the river'.

§ 3. ἐννοοῦμενοι] 'being apprehensive that...'. The verb occurs again with the same sense and construction in IV. 2. 13 and VI. 1. 28. After καλοιέν we must supply τὰς κώμας from the previous sentence.

§ 4. ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας] 'after their sally to the rescue'. No inform-
ation is given as to the objects of this excursion. We may infer, however, from the context that it was designed for the relief of the Greeks who had been collecting plunder in the plains.

§ 5. ὑπερνατας] 'conceding that the country is now our own: for whereas they stipulated in their proposals for a truce that we should refrain from burning the King's territory, they now of their own accord burn it as though they had lost all claim to its possession'. Two points should be noticed in regard to the construction of the above sentence, (i) that the negative statement μὴ καλεῖν reappears in a πολύνα form in the latter clause of the sentence, (ii) that αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν is a condensed expression for αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσι καλοῦσι. As regards the spelling of the verb, Kühner pronounces in favour of καλεῖν rather than καίειν throughout this portion of the Ἀναβάσις: proving by an accumulation of examples that our author, as a rule, preferred the fuller form, and that only in three or four instances is the other recognised by any manuscript of note.

§ 6. βορθεῖν ἐπι] 'to make a raid ῥιόν these destroyers'. For the distinction between ὑκόν and ὑκοῦν, and the reason why the latter is to be preferred in this passage, see note in connexion with 1. 6. 7.

§§ 7—12. Despondency of the Greeks, placed as they were between high mountains on the one side and a river of great depth on the other. A Rhodian soldier suggests a scheme for crossing the river, which on consideration is rejected as impracticable.

ἐπι τὰς σκηνὰς] 'to their quarters'. The word is used in a general sense, for, as we have already noticed, they had burnt their tents and had accustomed themselves to bivouacking in the open air. Zeune, with less probability, suggests that σκηνὰs may refer to the houses which they had occupied in the adjoining villages. The reading ἡλθον, though preserved in none but the two leading mss, is rightly preferred by Kühner and Vollbrecht to the compound ἀπὶ ἡλθον, the preposition in which is worse than otiose.

συνήλθον] The text is noteworthy, if only on account of the strange variant ἐνήσαν (which appears in four mss of exceptional authority) and the clever emendation (συνῆσαν) which it suggested to Borne-mann.

δῆ] The Carduchian mountains, now known as Ζήβαλ Ἰουδ. According to Ainsworth, the formidable character of this range can be fully appreciated only by the traveller who, like the Greeks, approaches it from the south.

πειρομένοις] Cf. διαβάτει in § 15 of the present chapter. The construction has been fully explained in connexion with συνελήμετρα (III. 1. 38) and προϊόντα (III. 2. 22).

§ 9. (ταύτα) πρόβατα] The pronoun is bracketed in the editions of Kühner and Vollbrecht. If retained, it will exercise a deictic force: but the best mss are in favour of its omission, and the sentence reads better without it.

τὴν διάβασιν] 'the means of crossing', though here again, as in cap. 4. 20, it may denote the actual bridge. The description which follows may be illustrated by two well-known passages of Herodotus, for the device suggested for anchoring the pontoons will recall the
means employed for steadying the barges on the Nile (Herod. ii. 96), while, in the construction of its upper works, the bridge would resemble the one thrown by Xerxes across the Hellespont. It will be noticed that the participles ἀποδιάφεσσα and φυσηθέντα are added on the principle that the relative ἑ, though constructed directly with πρόβατα, is tantamount in effect to ὄν τὰ δερματα. Krüger, by a slight modification of this theory, adopts this explanation solely in reference to the latter participle, which he regards as equivalent to φυσηθέντων τῶν δερμάτων. But surely the force of the preposition in the compound ἀποδιάφεσσα is also more appropriate in relation to δερματα than πρόβατα.

§ 10. ὑμισίας ἐκαστόν] 'I would moor each bag by attaching stones to it and dropping them like anchors into the water, whereupon, having extended them across the river and secured them to the banks at either end, I would place brushwood upon them and over that a layer of soil'. There is no question, I think, that this is the true meaning of the passage, which Krüger has needlessly complicated by explaining the participles διαγαγών and δησας in reference to the words ἀσκόν and νόσον, 'having fastened them on opposite sides to the inflated skins'.

§ 12. χαρέαν] 'a pretty one', 'a pleasant one'. The adjective, which, like ἀχάριστος in ii. 1. 13, is a favourite one with Plato, should in Kühner's opinion be accentuated thus; on the other hand, when it takes the place of an adverb he would prefer to write χαρεῖν.

§§ 13 to end. The Greeks retrace their steps and halt at certain villages. After receiving information as to the character of the surrounding tribes they determine to force a passage through the territory of the Carduchians.

eis τούπταλῳ ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα] That a movement in this direction should be styled a retreat has puzzled the commentators as a contradiction in terms. The reading, however, is unassailable, and implies nothing more than a temporary deviation from their route in contrast with the retreat (southwards or eastwards) which it was the object of the Persians to force on them. The latter, accordingly, are surprised at the Greeks electing to continue their course in face of the difficulties which confronted them. The villages to which they diverged were probably at the westerly end of the plain of Zakhu. Layard, however, would place them in the neighbourhood of Fisnuk, which, as Ainsworth remarks, commands the chief pass of the Tigris, and could not therefore have been reached by the Greeks at the present stage of their retreat. Students will notice the force of the compound ἅπανεκάριφον 'continued to retreat gradually'.

δμοιον ᾑςαν βαμάζεσεν] On the assumption that we have the true reading, and it is accepted as such by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of five leading mss, the construction must be explained by the analogy of ἢουκα with an infinitive. We should have expected, however, the statement to have been put in a more definite form, and it is by no means improbable that Bornemann and Macmichael are right in preferring the vulgate: δμοιον ᾑςαν βαμάζουται. In combinations like this the participle may take the case of the subject or object indifferently. See Jelf's Gk. Gram. § 682. 2. For the definite future τρέψονται
and the more remote contingency expressed by the optative ἐχοῦεν, see note on διέλθοιεν (IV. 1. 3).

§ 15. τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἐή] sub. ὅδοι ‘were in the direction that lay towards Babylon and Media’. In regard to θερήσεων and ἐαρήσεων, the former of which refers to Ecbatana, compare Cyrop. viii. 6. 22, τὸν μὲν ἀμφι τὸν χειμῶνα χρόνον διήγεν (sc. βασιλεὺς) ἐν Βαβυλώνι ἐπτά μῆνας: αὕτη γὰρ ἀλευρί ἡ χόρα; τὸν δὲ ἀμφι τὸ ἐαρ ἄρτες μῆνας ἐν Σοῦσοις: τὴν δὲ ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους δύο μῆνας ἐν Ἕκβατάνοις.

diaβάστε] ‘if you cross the river’. See note on προῖοισι in III. 2. 22.

§ 16. ὅποτε μέντοι κ.τ.λ.] σφῶν and ἐκείνων are partitive genitives: ‘yet when from time to time (frequent. opt.) they made a treaty with the satrap in the plain, some of their own number had dealings with the Carduchians, and some of the Carduchians with them’. The active ἐπιμεγνύσας is found in four good mss, and defended by Kühner and Vollbrecht, who instance similar uses in Thuc. i. 2. 13. Borne mann and Macmichael edit ἐπιμεγνύσατωι with the majority of the mss.

§ 17. ἐκασταχώσε] ‘those who professed to know the route that led in each of the above directions’. In the sentence which commences with the words τοῦτων γὰρ διέλθοντας, the nominative to ἐφασαν will be the captives (οἱ ἐαλωκότες) mentioned above, while τοῦτοι will refer to the Carduchians.

§ 18. παρῆγγελεν...παραγγέλλῃ] The recurrence of the same verb is inartistic. Similar instances have been noticed in the introd. in connexion with II. 5. 24 and II. 5. 25.
NOTES.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Recapitulation of preceding narrative.

ἐν τοῖς σπονδαῖς] For an account of these negotiations, c. II. 3.

§§ 1—9. The reading ἐπεισάντο, which takes the place of ἐποιήσαντο in a large number of the inferior MSS, is rejected by Kühner and Vollbrecht as the suggestion of some critic who was dissatisfied with the more commonplace verb.

δοσα...ἐπολεμήθη] ‘what hostility was shewn’.

§§ 2, 3. The Tigris being impassable and the Carduchian mountains barring their progress by the river side, they determine to cross them by what Layard calls the ‘chief pass of the Tigris’.

τὰ Καρδουχια δρῆ] These Carduchians occupied the north-west portion of the modern Kurdistan. A recent traveller notices that at the present time the Kurds extend over and are scattered through a far wider region than that assigned to them by the ancient writers: tens of thousands of them are now found even west of the Euphrates, and as far south as the southern slopes of the Taurus mountains in the region of Adiāmann: the streets of Erzroom, far to the north, are often crowded by these semi-savage freebooters...They have to-day very much the same characteristics that they had 2500 years ago...and in most respects bear a very close resemblance to the North American Indians, except that they are more civilized, better clothed, and live in rude huts instead of wigwams. Add to which, they dislike manual labour: and, like the Indians, are fond of roving and impatient of restraint.

ἀπότομα...ἐκρέματο] These words are to be closely connected, as is shewn by the position of the article: ‘hung sheer over the stream’.

ἐδὸκει δὴ] ‘they determined thereupon’. Bornemann and Macmichael edit δὲ with the MSS, which is used thus to mark the apodosis to which it gives a certain emphasis after relative sentences or conjunctions. The usage is probably to be explained by regarding the word δὲ as akin to δῆ in the sense of adeo.

διὰ τῶν ὄρεων] The conclusions of Layard and Ainsworth coincide
in regard to this portion of the route: the latter of whom thinks 'there cannot be a moment's question' that the Greeks followed the main pass of the Tigris which rises immediately beyond ḇizirah ibn Umar, and descends from thence into the valley of the river. This pass is commanded by the village of Ṣinṣẹ, representing the ancient Phœnicia. The alternative theory assumes them to have taken a less known but (it is said) easier route, which crosses the hills further towards the east.

§ 3. ἤκουον] Notice the force of the imperfect, 'they were constantly being told by the prisoners': and the same idea is suggested by the present participle ἀλικοκομένων for which otherwise we might have expected an aorist or perfect.

dιέθυον...βούλωνται...διαβιθονται] Students will do well to mark these successive changes of mood which, by passing from the oblique to the direct narration, denote three distinct degrees of probability: 'if ever they could cross the mountains, then, supposing they should wish it, they could for a certainty ford the river'.

ἐν τῇ Ἁρμενίᾳ] The position of these words shows that in sense they go rather with the preceding than with the following clause: 'if they could once cross the mountains and find themselves in Armenia'.

περὶτὰς] i.e. τὰς πηγὰς.

καὶ ἐστὶν οὕτως ἔχων] There is considerable difficulty as to the reading of this passage. The mss give ἐστὶν οὕτω στενόν, which is unintelligible, while the emendation I have accepted with Kühner, Vollbrecht and others is (as MacMichael notices) somewhat inconsistent with the fact that from the sources of the Tigris the Greeks travelled 135 miles before they reached the Euphrates at all, while the actual head of the river is 60 miles higher. In a former edition I had myself adopted a different emendation (ἐστὶν ὁποῖον τῷ στενόν) with the slight alteration of οὐ for ὁποῖον. The allusion would then be to the 'narrow strip of land' formed by mount Niphates which is situated between the two rivers.

§§ 4—9. The Greeks enter the territory of the Carduchi without any opposition at first on the part of the inhabitants.

ὥς] The force of the demonstrative is by no means clear. Kühner considers that it is explained by the participle πειρώμενοι, but I much prefer to understand it in reference to the details which follow in §§ 5 and 6. If this view be correct, the explanatory clauses are, by a not uncommon idiom, introduced by the particle δὲ: ἦν κάθε πᾶν κ.τ.λ.

πρὶν...καταλαβεῖν] The constructions of πρὶν are as follows:

1. with an infinitive, or an accusative and infinitive, when it denotes simply relation of time to an action either conceived or effected: e.g. πολλοὶ ἀποβῆσκονσι πρὶν δῆλοι γενέσθαι οὗι ἤσαν, and similarly the passage in the text.

2. with an indicative, when it refers to a condition or a change which has already taken place: e.g. οὗ πρῶτερον ἑπαύγαστο πρὶν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην μετέτεμψαντο.

3. If πρὶν after a negative sentence denotes a condition which has not yet taken place, on the fulfilment of which something else depends, then πρὶν takes the subjunctive either with or without ἄν, or, if a past tense has preceded, the optative without ἄν: e.g. οὗ πρῶτερον οἶνον
NOTES.

3—7] γιγνώσκειν, πρίν ἄν ἐπισκέψωνται and ὁ Κύρος ὅπεσχε τὸ μὴ πρόθεν πάθος ἀπὸ τῶν καταγάγων.

§ 5. ἀμφι τὴν τελ. φυλ.] 'about the last watch'. The preposition denotes vagueness whether in regard to time or place. With the Greeks, as Kühner points out, the third watch would be the last: with the Romans, the fourth.

δουν] i.e. τοσοῦτον τῆς νυκτὸς δουν κ.τ.λ. It is scarcely correct in explaining this construction to say that δουν is simply an equivalent for ὥστε. The accusative and infinitive really contain the explanation of δουν, 'so much of the night was left as is represented by the fact that they could...'

ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως] The word παράγγελσις denotes a special order to the troops which, to ensure silence, was passed by man to man along the lines. Compare the force of παρὰ in ἐπιτάρεμι (ἐίμι), a verb which is used of a general visiting the ranks, and again in παραγγέλλω towards the end of § 16.

§ 6. ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος] 'proceeded to take the lead of the army'.

το ἀμφ' αὐτῶν] 'his own party'. Most editors supply στράτευμα, but, to judge from the corresponding phrases in Homer, there is no need to understand a special substantive. In reference to the forms γυμνῆς and γυμνήτης (whence γυμνῆς and γυμνήτας), Kühner notices that, while both are found in Xenophon, the latter is unquestionably the one which he preferred.

ἀνω πορευομένων] 'while they were making their way upwards'. By substituting a genitive absolute for the dative which would naturally follow ἐπισπάστο, greater emphasis is thrown on the participle as in the corresponding passages of i. 4. 12, and v. 3. 7.

§ 7. ἀναβαίνει] The historic present, which is used in place of a past tense to give a greater reality to the narrative. Being virtually equivalent to a past tense, it is rightly followed by αἰσθάνεσθαι rather than by the present αἰσθάνεσθαι: add to which, the aorist further implies that the action was complete.

ὑπηγεῖτο] 'led the way slowly', as otherwise he would have parted himself from the rest of the troops who were still ascending. 'Drew a little ahead' is Macmichael's rendering, which misses I think the meaning of the writer, who is contrasting the rapidity of the ascent with the easier pace they fell into after reaching the summit.

τὸ ὑπερβάλλον] We may understand μέρος with most of the editors, though (as I have already noticed in § 6) it is not necessary to do so. Students will notice the position of the article and be careful in consequence to join ἄει with ἐφελίετο and not with ὑπερβάλλον, for, although this is one of the cases in which the sense might possibly be improved by connecting the adverb and participle, I am far from agreeing with Kühner, who in his rendering of the passage practically waives the distinction: ut quaque eius pars iugum superabat. Translate: 'and the portion of the army that was scaling the height followed him in due succession.' For this common use of ἄει in the sense of 'from time to time', cf. τὸν ἄει ύμῶν ἐνυγχάνοντα (iii. 2. 31), and similar expressions.
§ 8. τολλὰ ἡν] Notice the position of the article: ‘now of provisions there were plenty to take’.

κατεσκευασμέναι] opposed to παρεσκευασμέναι, as the latter compound is used of temporary rather than permanent furniture. Notice also the distinction between the substantives οἶκοι and οἶκος, the former word denoting the material building, the latter the household whom it contains.

ἐφερον] A part of the phrase ἄγεω καὶ φέρεω ‘to take as plunder’. He uses in this place only the latter half of the expression, as nothing has been said of live stock to which the word ἄγεω would particularly refer.

ὑποφειδόμενοι] ‘being inclined to spare them (in order to see) whether possibly...’ A common ellipse, which suggests the right explanation of a difficult passage in the Antigone of Sophocles, v. 414, ἐγέρτη κυών ἄνδρ' ἀνήρ ἐπιρρόθοις Κακοῖσιν, ἐλ τις τοῦδ' ἀφειδήσοι πόλον, ‘each man bestirring his neighbour to see whether he would be unsparing of his pains’.

διὰ φιλάς τῆς χώρας] Notice again the position of the article, ‘through their country as that of friends’.

§ 9. ὅτε] is Bornemann’s reading, and suits ἐπιτυχχάνωι better than διδι which is retained by one or two of the other editors. For the singular ὅτε in connexion with ἐπιτυχχεια, cf. I. 1. 5, and Thuc. VII. 29, πάντας ἔξης, ὅτε ἐπιτυχχεια, κτεινοτές. ἐπιτυχχάνωι and ἐλάμβανοι are both frequentative.

καλοῦσαν] ‘gave no heed when they called’. καλοῦσαν is probably a gen. abs., though ὑπακοῦσα in the sense of to ‘answer to a call’ occasionally takes the genitive.

§§ 10—13. Are harassed by a party of the Carduchians, and take measures to protect their march.

σκοταῖοι] ‘in the dark’. An adjective used adverbially. Compare the employment of ἄμενοι in II. 1. 16.

ἔγνυτο] ‘had lasted throughout the day’. The words εἰς τὰς κάμας, which in some few editions are inserted anew after the substantive κατάβασις, are omitted as tautological by Bornemann and Macmichael. The reader will remember that in point of fact the aorist of γίγνομαι is equivalent in sense to an ordinary pluperfect.

§ 11. πλείους σνελέγγσαν] ‘if however on this occasion they had assembled in larger numbers, a great portion of the army would have been in danger of destruction’. Let me remind the beginner to master once for all the three chief forms of the conditional proposition:

(i) denotes a certain consequence: e.g. ἐὰν τοῦτο σκοπῆτε, εὑρήσετε.
(ii) represents what is said as quite uncertain, or merely possible: e.g. ἐπιλήσμων ἄν εἶην, εἰ οἰηθεὶκ κ. τ. λ.
(iii) represents what is said as quite unreal and impossible: e.g. εἰ τι εἶχαν, έδόδουν ἄν.


οὕτως] ‘as they were’ rather than ‘accordingly’ as it is commonly translated. Notice the aorist ἡδισθησαν ‘took up their quarters for the night’.
NOTES.

πυρά] These beacon fires were distinct from those called φυκτωρία, which latter could be elevated on occasion.

συνέωρων] 'kept each other in view', i.e. by the aid of fire signals. Lit. 'had a connected view of each other'. The word ἀλλήλους refers solely to the Carduchi.

§ 12. ἔχοντας] 'with those of the cattle that were necessary and in the best condition'. The order of the sentence is as follows: πορεύεσθαι τε ἔχοντας...καὶ ἄφειναι πάντα ὑπόσω k.т.λ. It is noteworthy that in all the MSS, with the exception of the two best, the article is repeated before the adjective δυνατώτατα. Macmichael accordingly retains it, though, as the two adjectives are in all probability coextensive terms, I have preferred to omit it with Kühner and Vollbrecht.

αἰχμάλωτα] is here an adjective.

§ 13. πολλὰ ὄντα] 'for the cattle and the prisoners by their number retarded the march'. Notice the plural ἐπολων which is used out of regard to the meaning rather than the gender of αἰχμαλωτα. Macmichael and the other editors strangely enough let the plural pass without comment here and elsewhere. In other authors where this construction occurs it may be similarly explained, e.g. Thuc. IV. 88, τὰ τέλη Δακεδαιμονίων ἐξέπεμψαν, where τὰ τέλη is virtually equivalent to οἷ ἐν τέλει ὄντες, the 'Lacedaemonian authorities'. The same explanation will hold good in regard to another passage of the present book (IV. 2. 20), but fails when we come to apply it to similar cases in the Anabasis (e.g. 1. 7. 17). We can therefore only notice the construction as a peculiarity of the author, for further examples of which see II. 2. 15 and Intro. II.

δὲ] = δὴ, adeo, as in § 2, 'and many too were precluded from fighting'. This, as I have previously noticed, is a safer explanation than to take καὶ in the sense of even, and regard δὲ as the simple conjunction. οἷ ἐπὶ τοῦτοι, 'the men in charge of them'.

ποριζεσθαι τε καὶ φέρεσθαι] It is difficult to determine whether these verbs are middle or passive in the present instance, but the former is I think more probable.

δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα] 'and when it had so seemed'. According to Madvig the word ταῦτα is an irregular addition to the ordinary accus. absol. δόξαν, in place of τοῦτον δοξάντων which is the commoner form, cf. Hell. v. 2. 24. Two other explanations of the construction are possible, (1) that ταῦτα is used adverbially for οὗτο, or (2) that, though it is to be taken generally with δόξαν, it is in reality governed by ποιεῖν. There are passages, however (e.g. Plat. Protag. 31.4, c), which the last of the above theories would altogether fail to explain.

§§ 14—18. Continued assaults on the part of the enemy.

ὑποστάντες] 'having planted themselves'. εὐρίσκοντες like ἐπιτηγχανόν in § 9 and ἐπικέωντο in § 16 is the optative of repetition.

ἐκλεψεν] 'had secreted'—not from the present scrutiny, but on the occasion of the original order noticed in § 12.

τὰ μὲν τι] 'partly', 'at one time'. The rhythm of the sentence would be conclusive against joining τι with μαχόμενοι, even if the phrase were a less familiar one in this particular combination.

§ 15. elis] lit. 'against the morrow.' See note on elis τὴν ἐπιούσαν in I. 7. 1.
§ 16. ἀναχάζοντες] A poetical word which appears again in a dependent form in vii. § 10: 'what with pursuing one minute and the next falling back'.

παρήγγελλεν] 'passed the word for a halt'. Cf. παραγγέλσως in § 5. The imperfect παρήγγελλεν, which is distinctly preferable to the aorist in connexion with the context, is edited by Bornemann and Macmichael on the authority of one good MS. The word θαμμένα is poetical, like ἀναχάζοντες in the previous clause and διαμπερές in § 18.

§ 17. τότε δὲ] 'but on one occasion'. Lit. 'on the occasion I mean': a common use in Thucydidus when the writer is incidentally referring to a subject from which he had digressed. A note on the employment of this idiom will be found in connexion with 11. 3. 1.

ιδεῖν παρελθοντι] 'to go to the front and enquire into the cause of the haste'. For this common sense of παρέρχομαι cf. Demos. περὶ ὀνόματος § 999, ὅτε παρηλθὼν ἐσ Ταμίνας οἱ στρατιῶται, and an important passage in 11. 4. 12, for the explanation of which we are mainly dependent on the meaning of this particular verb. See note in Appendix 11.

§ 18. στολάδος] This was a jerkin made of leather or skin, and, owing to its lightness, peculiarly adapted for slingers. The form of the word varies between στολάς and στολάς, the latter being quoted by Suidas in connexion with this passage, though elsewhere the authorities are in favour of the form στολάς. See note on III. 3. 20.

dιαμπερές εἰς τὴν κεφ.] not 'right through his head', as Watson carelessly translates it, but 'right through (the helmet and) into the head'. Understood thus, the preposition εἰς is forcible enough, while its connexion with διαμπερές is altogether consistent with the usage of Homer. Compare, too, such passages as the following: διαμπερές διὰ μέσου σφονδύλου (Plat. Republic. 616, E). I have therefore decided to retain it with Bornemann, Macmichael and the majority of the MSS.

§§ 19—22. Altercation between Xenophon and Cheirisophus.

ώσπερ εἰχεν] 'just as he was', i.e. 'without delay'.

φεύγοντες ἀμα μάχεσθαι] 'to retreat fighting'. In the Greek idiom the word ἀμα goes closely with the participle, 'retreating the while'.

καλὸ τε καγαδῳ] 'two soldiers good and true'. The phrase describes the perfection of manhood: the word καλὸς marking outward excellence of form, the word ἀγαθὸς goodness of character. For other modifications of this familiar phrase, see note on 11. 6. 20. Students should notice the force of the tense in τεθνάτην which denotes the state of death: 'are lying dead'.

ἀνελέσθαι] The regular word for recovering the dead after battle. Cf. ἀνάπεσις. The words αὕτα and πρὸς ταῦτα, which I have bracketed in this and the following clause, are omitted by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of three good MSS.

§ 20. αὕτη] 'and the road you see before you is the only one, steep as it is'.

The word τοσοῦτον represents the scene as actually before them: 'all that crowd of men who have occupied and guard the outlet'.

ἐκβάσων] This word has created considerable difficulty, as the Greeks had not yet reached the pass of Chelek properly so called. Kühner offers the rather trivial suggestion that to the Greeks at any rate it was
an egress from their former position. The true explanation is no doubt furnished by White, who notices that the outlet from the valley of the Tigris formed in fact the commencement of the pass, so that in one sense it was an outlet, and in another an approach to the top of the mountain. On the other hand, if we accept the rival theory noticed in connexion with § 2, they would now be reaching the head of some minor valley—possibly the Mar Yihannah—which leads from the north-east into the basin of the Tigris.

§ 21. τάδ᾽ ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον] 'this then was my aim.' There is no necessity to explain ταῦτα on this occasion as equivalent to διὰ ταῦτα, for it may equally well be a direct accusative after ἔσπευδον.

οὐ φανεῖν εἶναι] 'say there is no other road'. The beginner should notice this use of the negative with ἐδώ, φημι and certain other words. The negative and the verb cohere so closely that they form together only one idea, and thus a directly contrary sense is given to the verb.

§ 22. ἀναπνεῦσαι] 'which gave us also time to take our breath'. The frequent recurrence of poetical words in this portion of the Anabasis is very remarkable: e.g. the present verb ἀναπνεῦσαι, θαυμᾶ § 16, ὀλο-τρόχους ἀμαξιαίους ii. 3, μαστὸς ii. 6, and many others.

§§ 23—28. Examination of the prisoners, who tell them of a height, which a body of volunteers are sent forward to occupy.

ἀλεγχον] like ἐκρινον, 'proceeded to question them'. διαλαμβάνειν is often simply 'to arrest a man' by seizing him with both arms, like the Latin complecti. In the present case however we should clearly give a fuller force to the preposition, 'taking them separately'.

φοβὼν] 'though many tortures were inflicted upon him'. φόβος is not unfrequently used of the act which causes the fear, i.e. of pain inflicted as well as threatened.

κατεσφάγη] κατασφάζειν is to kill by cutting the throat.

§ 24. τυγχάνει] ἔτυγχανε al. with three mss. It has been proposed by some of the translators to separate αὐτῷ τυγχάνει from the participle ἐκδεδομένη. But the latter is required for τυγχάνει, while αὐτῷ may be readily explained as an ethic dative, 'because his daughter had been given in marriage to a man in the neighbourhood'. At the same time, it may be well to notice the rule laid down by Dr Donaldson in relation to τυγχάνειν, who, in this and all other connexions, would assign to the verb a somewhat stronger force: 'because he has at this conjunction a married daughter who is living with her husband in that neighbourhood'. It is characteristic of Xenophon that he gives but a few words in passing to one of the grandest examples on record of heroic self-devotion.

τοποεύοντα] The full construction is as follows: δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποτυγχάνον (ὡςτε αὐτῷ) τοποεύοντα.

§ 25. ἔσεσθαι] Notice the change from the optative, which denotes the mere supposition, to the more direct ἔσεσθαι representing a consequence of the certainty of which the speaker is assured. The legitimate, but less forcible, sequence would have been represented by ἔν with the infinitive. In § 3 I have noticed a still more striking instance of this change.

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§ 26. συγκαλέσαντας] Xenophon and Cheirisophus are the subject of the sentence.

πελταστάς] is here used as an adjective, and, like the genitive τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, serves as an epithet to λοχαγοῦς, 'some from the targeteers and others from the heavy-armed force'.

τὰ παρόντα] 'the present emergency'.

ἐδέλει] ἐδέλει αὐτῷ Kühn. with a single ms. Bornemann and Mac-michael adopt the reading in the text, and, if any change were necessary, I should revert by preference to the simple optative, which is equally grammatical and supported by stronger evidence than Kühner's reading.

ὑποστάς] 'by special compact', 'under certain engagements'.

§ 27. ἄντιστασιάζων αὐτῶς] 'pressing his claims against theirs'.

§ 28] γεμνητῶν] Kühner edits ταξιαρχῶν with three ms, and explains γεμνητῶν as the genitive after it. But the construction of the participle is awkward in this connexion, and I much prefer the reading of the text.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—15. The Greeks, in spite of the continued resistance of the enemy, occupy in succession the three heights which command the pass.

οὶ δ' ἐκέλευον] The οἱ refers to Xenophon and Cheirisophus, the αὐτῶς to Aristonymus and the party of volunteers.

συντίθενται] 'and they arrange with them that, in case they should gain possession of the summit, they are to guard the position during the night, and give a signal by trumpet at the break of day'. The middle συντίθενται might denote either of the two contracting parties, as appears by its use at the commencement of § 2. Here, however, the position of the verb in the sentence, and its connexion with the accusative τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας, leave no doubt that Xenophon and Cheirisophus are the nominatives of the sentence.

συμβασιλῆσαι ἕκβαινοντες] 'while the generals in their turn would sally forth in a body to their assistance with all possible speed'. I have no hesitation in adopting with Kühner and Bornemann this conjecture of Muretus. The chief objections to Long's reading συμβασίλησ ἕκεκεν βαινοντες are (i) that it leaves the sentence without an infinitive, for to supply ἔλεος from the preceding clause is extremely harsh, and (ii) the extraordinary character of the phrase συμβασίλησ ἕκεκεν 'with a view to an engagement', the use of which even in poetry would require explanation.

§ 2. συνθέμενοι] This may refer generally to the two parties (οἱ μὲν...Ξενοφῶν δὲ) or, as is more probable, to the volunteers only. In the former case, the construction will be an ordinary example of partitive apposition like those noticed in 1. 7. 15 and II. 1. 15.

οἱ περιήλθες] 'their friends who were going round'.

§ 3. διαβάτησαι...ἔκβαινεω] 'which they had to cross before they could climb the hill'. They were at this time so placed that they could see in the distance the outlet (φανερὰ ἔκβασις), beyond which lay the table-land of Armenia. After dividing his forces, Xenophon with the
rearguard crossed the ravine, and made for this opening by the ordinary mountain track, while the volunteers, led by a native guide, took a circuitous route which was to land them at the same spot.

**διοιπρόχους ἀμαξιαλοὺς** 'round stones, a waggon-load each of them more or less', or, as some of the commentators prefer to understand it, 'stones so large that they could be transported only in carts and not by the hand'. The word διοιπρόχος is Homeric and will be found fully discussed in Buttm. *Lex*. Such derivations as διός τρέχω, διός τρέχω are now generally rejected in favour of εἴλω (volvo) and τρέχω.

(Ἀδεὺς)] Vollbrecht and Kühner omit this accusative: indeed it surprises me that any editor should have retained it as part of the text. Its position can scarcely be defended if it is to be taken with διοιπρόχους, while as a fresh substantive it is weak to a degree.

**διεσφενδώσων** 'which striking in their descent against the rocks were scattered as if from a sling'.

§ 4. *ἐλ...δύναμτο* The optative is hypothetical rather than, as Kühner suggests, frequentative: 'in case their attempt should not succeed in this direction they were trying their best at other points'. It will be remembered that this refers solely to the troops under Xenophon, who, by a series of feints, were diverting the enemy from the quarter threatened by the force of volunteers.

**οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαυτον**] This adverbial use of οὐδὲν is a favourite one with Xenophon. Cf. *vii*. i. 25, and a note on οὐδὲν φαύλων in *vi*. 6. 12.

**διὶ ὀλῆς τῆς νυκτὸς** 'at intervals throughout the night'. The student should carefully note the difference between the accusative and genitive in this and similar phrases.

§ 5. *καταδιώξαντες* 'chased the others down the hill'.

**ὡς τὸ ἀκρων κατέχοντες** 'in the impression they had gained the actual summit'.

§ 6. *ἀυτὸδεν* 'from where they were', 'from their present position'.

§ 7. *ὑπέφανεν* 'was beginning to break'. Cf. *ὑποφειδομενοι* in § 8. *καὶ γὰρ* This connects what follows with the word στέγη above and introduces a new fact to account for their unobserved approach: 'I may add too there was a mist so that they came upon them unobserved'.

**ἐπεφθέγξατο** 'sounded the charge'. For the force of the verb ἀλαλάξεων, see note on 1. 8. 18, while the rare use of *els* in the phrase which follows has been noticed and illustrated in Intro. *ii*. p. 20.

**φεύγοντες** 'abandoned the pass, and in their flight some few of them fell'. In the wish to be concise the author has given us a badly constructed sentence. It is clear from the context that only a portion of the retreating party were slain: but, taken by themselves, the words could only mean 'all the retreating party—few as they were—were slain'.


**ἐκαστοὐ** Students will observe this use of the plural and its special significance as denoting separate parties of men, each of the generals being attended by his particular band of followers.

**ἀνύμων** Derived from *παύω*, a leathern strap used for drawing water: 'they drew one another up with their spears'.

§ 9. *συνέμειξαν* 'joined company with their friends who had previously secured the position'.

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§ 10. διεχεῖνθαλ] Notice the change of tense, which gives reality to the result by regarding it as an accomplished fact: 'or find themselves separated'.

ἀν ἐπορευθησαν] 'might have gone by the same route as the rest of the army'. Here we find a deviation from the regular form of the conditional proposition, the latter clause in the sentence being only another way of saying 'if they had not been impeded by their cattle'.

§ 11. ἵσθιοι τοῖς λόχοις] 'they make an assault upon the hill with their companies advancing in files', the object of this manoeuvre being (as White observes) to distract the attention of the enemy by the number of the attacking columns. The phrase is a common one (cf. Cyrop. III. 2. 6, Anab. IV. 3. 17), and is equivalent to the recti ordines of Livy. On the other hand in the phalanx the men stood in line and presented an extended front to the enemy.


§ 12. τέως μὲν] To be taken with ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔπαλλον. Contrast this use of ἔκαστος with that of the plural in § 8. Here they went in parties: here each man makes the ascent by himself. The singular ἔκαστος is often joined with a verb in the plural when it is intended to convey the idea of many subjects taken separately.

ἐγγύς δ’ οὗ προσκείντο] 'they did not however admit them to close quarters'.

καὶ ἔτερον] 'when they saw another'. καὶ, like et in Latin, is often used as a temporal conjunction to show at what point the matter stood when a change or new event occurred. See note on VII. 1. 12.

§ 13. ἐννοήσας] Like ἐννοοῦμενοι in III. 5. 3, the verb suggests a reflection which is accompanied by fear. He would probably have used the simpler participle φοβηθείς but that his thoughts were dwelling on the device which his fears had suggested.

καὶ πάλιν] The καὶ is usually understood thus: 'might actually take it again and attack the baggage cattle as they went past'. I am inclined however to think that a far simpler explanation is available, viz. to supply αὐτὸν (i.e. τὸν λόφον) after λαβότας, in which case the καὶ is required to connect the optatives καταλίπωσιν ἐπιθύμωσιν.

ἐπὶ πολὺ] 'extended over a long reach of ground', i.e. 'formed a long train'.

§ 14. τῆς νυκτὸς] 'which had been surprised in the night'. The account of this is given in § 5. For the structure of the entire phrase and the slight displacement of the genitive νυκτὸς, compare such passages as the following: ἐπὶ ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ in § 18, and ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου in VI. 6. 19.

§ 15. ἀπολιπεῖς] 'that the enemy had left their position through fear of being surrounded and besieged in it. However, as the event proved, they had seen from the summit what was happening to the rearguard of the Greeks and were making their way to fall upon it'.

§§ 16—21. After continued fighting and losses the Greek troops are reunited.

ὑπάγετω] 'to move slowly forwards', i.e. by the narrow path mentioned in § 6, which ran along the foot of the hill.
For the position of these words which connects them in some degree with προελθόντας, compare note on ἐν τῷ Ἀρμενίᾳ (i. 3), where, as in the case before us, the construction is a pregnant one like those noticed in connexion with i. 1. 5 and l. 2. 2; 'Accordingly he told them to advance along the road (till they came) to a level spot and then to halt there'. The phrase θεσθαι τὰ ἄπλα is used of three distinct manoeuvres, (i) of stacking arms preparatory to forming an encampment, (ii) of posting troops under arms in the presence of an enemy, and (iii) of surrendering arms after a defeat.

§ 17. τεθναίτην] Cf. note on τεθνάτην (i. 19). The aorist ἄλλενοι, though of rare occurrence in Xenophon, is preferred by Kühner in the present instance, and suits the context better than ἀλλομενοι which appears in the majority of the mss.

§ 18. τῷ μαστῷ] This substantive is governed by the preposition in ἀντίπορον, and the position of the dative is easily to be explained by the analogy of the phrases referred to in connexion with § 14. Similar instances occur in the tragedians (cf. Soph. Αἰ. 573 and Eur. Ἱππ. 683), and, as we have already noticed the frequency of poetic phrases in this portion of the Ἀναβασις, it is unnecessary to alter ἀντίπορον with Schneider into the more ordinary expression τὸν ἄντιπερας λόφον. Add to which, the latter phrase is complete in itself, and would increase rather than diminish the difficulty caused by the presence of the dative.

§ 19. ἐφ' ὅ] 'on the understanding that he would not'. The complete phrase was ἐπὶ τοιῷ ὡστε... and hence it is usually followed by an infinitive, for which however in Thucydides and Herodotus we occasionally find the future indicative.

συνεβρύησαν] 'all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had flocked together'. The beginner will notice this pregnant sense of the preposition ἐκ, 'all the dwellers in the neighbourhood had flocked out of it'. The position of the words οἱ πολέμιοι would alone make it impossible to accept the reading of some of the editors, who write οὶ for οἱ and regard ἐνταῦθα ἵσταντο οἱ πολέμιοι as a part of the preceding sentence.

§ 20. ἐπεὶ ἦρεμαντο] This must of course refer to the Greek army which had been gradually making its way to the summit of the hill (παρῆς). But the change of nominative is so awkward and abrupt that I am strongly inclined to regard the words οἱ πολέμιοι as an interpolation, suggested apparently by their occurrence in the following sentence. Conformably with this view, Bornemann and Macmichael have enclosed them in brackets, in which case both the former and the latter verb may be explained in reference to the Greek troops.

τὰ ἄπλα ἐκείνο] The party mentioned in § 16, and again as τοὺς συντεταγμένους in § 21. The word ἄπλα is equivalent to ἄπλατα, which justifies the use of the plural ἐκείνο. Cf. τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἐπολοῦν in i. 13. Other examples, which this explanation fails to meet, have been noticed in Introd. ii. and a note on ii. 2. 15.

ἀπέλευσε] 'left him in the lurch' is surely the most natural rendering. Schneider, however, understands it to mean that the man 'fell behind' owing to the rapidity of the descent.

§ 21. προβεβλημένοι] sc. τὴν ἄππιδα, 'covering them both with his
shield’, like ἐπασαμένοι τὰ ξίφη in VII. 4. 16. Some of the commentators, however, prefer to understand the participle as a simple passive: ‘placing himself in front of both’. The adjective Λουσιέως is supposed to refer to Λουσόλ, a town in Arcadia.

§§ 22—end. After a night’s rest they continue their march under the same difficulties as before. A description of the Carduchian archers.

ὡστε, which Schneider reads ὅν, is not to be lightly rejected, more especially as it appears in all the MSS, and contains a forcible explanation of the adjectives δαφνές and πολὺς: ‘for there was wine in such abundance that the inhabitants kept it in cisterns lined with cement’. These (according to Ainsworth) were usually pear-shaped, and have been variously regarded as water-tanks, sarcophagi, &c. ‘The scholiast on Aristoph. Eccl. 154 remarks that the same custom was prevalent in Greece: Ἀθήναιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄρυξαν ύπό τὴν γῆν ποιντέντες εὐφύχρωμα καὶ στρογγύλα καὶ τετράγωνα καὶ ταῦτα κοινωνίαν ὅψιν ὑπεδέχοντο καὶ ἔλαιον εἰς αὐτά, καὶ ταῦτα λάκκους ἐκάλων.

§ 23. ὡστε ἀπέδωσαν] Students will notice the difference between the infinitive and the indicative after ὡστε, the former denoting the result as contemplated, the indicative as realised: ‘managed so that they should restore... managed so that they did restore’.

ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν] ‘to the best of their power’, lit. ‘considering their available resources’.

§ 24. ὅτι εἰσὶ] ‘wherever there was a narrow pass, they beset it and obstructed their march’. It is better, I think, to take παρόδους of the successive marches of the Greek army rather than in the sense of mountain passes, a meaning which is little better than a repetition of χωρίον and not very applicable to the verb ἐκάλων.

§ 25. ἐκβαίνων] ‘leaving the track and making for the higher ground relieved the vanguard from this obstruction to their progress’. In determining the reading of the words which follow, our choice lies between ἀπὸθράξων τῆς ὀδοῦ and ἀπὸθράξων τῆς παρόδου, the former of which is preferred by Kühner on the authority of four good MSS. But, apart from the question of the external evidence which is not conclusive either way, the employment of the more definite substantive in § 26 is surely a strong argument for accepting the reading παρόδου with Vollbrecht, Bornemann, and Macmichael, since it is the well-known custom of Xenophon in describing the recurrence of a manœuvre to repeat the phrase precisely in its original form.

§ 27. ἀποθεθέν] ‘so as to make good their escape ἔνωσis only a small start’. ἐγγύθευς = ἔξ ὀλυγοῦ, ‘from a short distance’. Here again we have the infinitive after ὡστε, as the writer is describing the fact as possible rather than realised.

§ 28. προβαίνωντες] The manuscript reading προβαίνωντες is explicable, though Kühner and Vollbrecht are probably right in preferring the former compound which appears in the corresponding passage of Diod. (III. 8): ‘and they drew the strings, whenever they shot, stepping forward and with the left foot planted against the end of the bow’. This position was necessitated by the extraordinary length of the arrow which could not have been pulled to the head if the ordinary posture had been adopted. The above interpretation is placed beyond a doubt
by the following passage from Arrian, Indic. 16, τὸ τὸξον κατω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, οὕτως ἐκτοξεύοντες, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἄναγαγόντες· ὁ γὰρ ὦστὸς ὄλγον ἀποδέων τριπήχεος. The theory of Schneider, that a species of crossbow is intended, does not at all agree with the description in the text, though Kühner and others have quoted his remarks with evident approval.

ἀκοντίους] 'and the Greeks, whenever they got hold of them, used them as javelins, fitting them with loops for the purpose'. These ἀγκυλαί were the leathern straps or thongs by which the javelins were hurled. Whether they were identical with the Latin amentum is still a disputed point. The best authorities think not, regarding amentum as a less technical and more general word.

χρησιμωτατοί] i.e. to the Greeks.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—7. The Greeks encamp in villages overlooking the river Centrites. Are threatened by the Persians from the opposite bank, and by the Carduchians in their rear.

τοῦ παρὰ] 'which extends along the river Centrites', i.e. the Eastern Tigris. There is some little difficulty in fixing the precise spot at which the Greeks effected their crossing. On the assumption that they had been following hitherto the valley of the Tigris, it is probable (as Layard suggests) that they first attempted the ford in the neighbourhood of Til where the Tigris and Centrites join, and, finding it impracticable for the reasons described, ultimately crossed higher up at a point further towards the east. According to Ainsworth, there are many places in this neighbourhood where the river is fordable, one of which is of special importance as forming a portion of the highway to Sard. The Centrites is now known as the Buthan chai.

τῶν ὄρεων...τῶν Καρδοῦχων] are to be connected in translation, and were only separated by the writer on account of the similarity of termination, or, it may be, for the sake of emphasis.

§ 2. πολλά...μνημονεύοντες] 'talking much of their past troubles'. μνημονεύων takes an accusative of the thing said and a genitive of the things or persons concerning whom it is said. As however either of these may be omitted on occasion, it is quite unnecessary to regard πολλά as the object of μνημονεύοντες and πῶνων as a partitive genitive.

ἐπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας] To make up this number it is necessary to conclude with Krüger that the narrative contained in ii. §§ 24—27 comprises also the events of the two following days.

οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα] I have little doubt that in the termination of the word σύμπαντα we have lost the article τὰ which originally followed it. Otherwise the construction is irregular, and we have nothing to couple τὰ σύμπαντα closely with the succeeding words. If we retain the present text we must understand ἐπαθον with the latter clause of the sentence.

ἀπηλλαγμένοι ποτῶν] Yet, as Rennell notices in his illustrations of this expedition, it was to the mountainous region of the Carduchians
that the Greeks owed their preservation from the Persians whose cavalry
could not operate on the hilly ground.

§ 3. ἑξωπλασμένους ‘completely armed’. This, as White observes,
may perhaps be an allusion to the troops called cataphracti who are
described by Propertius and others as protecting both themselves and
their horses with coats of mail.

§ 4. Ὀρὸντον] The satrap of Armenia. This form of the genitive
is preferred by Kühner, while Bornemann edits Ὀρὸντα.

Ἀρσωῦχον] He is mentioned in the Cypor. v. 3. 38 as a chief of
the Hyrcani, from which Schneider and others infer that the Mardonii
lived on the Caspian Sea near the borders of Hyrcania. But the
reading Μαρδώνοι is not altogether free from suspicion, since the best
ms of all gives in place of it Καρδοῦχοι, while in one of inferior authority
Μυρόνοι occurs as a variant. The Chaldæi are apparently identical
with the tribe mentioned elsewhere as the Chalybes.

§ 5. ὥσπερ χειροποιητός] ‘to all appearance artificial’. This may
be the very causeway noticed by Ainsworth as forming a portion of the
highway to Saart. He describes it as carried up the face of a lime-
stone rock just beyond the ruins of a bridge over which lay formerly
the road to Radwan.

§ 6. οὐτ’ ἐν τῷ ὑδατί] The negative οὔτε is answered by τὲ below,
as πεμέ is followed by τὶ in Latin, while the words εἶ δὲ μὴ, ἔρπασαν ὁ
ποταμός form a parenthesis. ‘And it was not possible for them to
handle their weapons in the water—otherwise the stream swept them
away—while if any tried to carry them on their heads they became
exposed to the arrows of the enemy’.

eὶ δὲ μὴ] ‘otherwise’, ‘if they did’. eὶ δὲ μὴ may denote the opposite
to a preceding condition, even if it be a negative one as in the present
instance.

οὐ] is resumptive after the previous digression: ‘accordingly they
abandoned the attempt and encamped where they were along the river
side’. This use of οὔν occurs frequently when the latter clause of a
sentence states the consequence of the former, and in such cases it is
treated in some of the grammars as a distinct construction.

παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν] For the accusative compare note on § 1.

§ 7. ἤσαν] ‘but on the hill where they themselves had been en-
camped throughout the previous night they saw the Carduchians as-
sembled in large numbers under arms’.

tοῖς διαβαίνουσιν] For the force of the present, see a reference to
diabainev in the note to ἐκδύντες (§ 12): ‘would attack those who
should attempt the passage’.


περίφρυναι] Sub. ἔδειξαν, ‘to have fallen off from him of their own
accord’. Macmichael compares circumscindre in Liv. II. 55.

diabainev] ‘could move his legs at pleasure’. The preposition in
diabainev denotes the action of the legs in walking.

§ 9. ἡ δὲ ταῖς. ἦσον ὑπέφανεν] like the Latin cum maxime: ‘just
when’ ‘at the very moment when’ the dawn was breaking.

ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου] ‘from the first’. As I have already noticed it is
unnecessary in these cases to supply a special substantive, but, if any-
thing were required, it would be a general word like χρόνον rather than τεπελον which is suggested by some of the editors.

§ 10. αὐτῷ] i.e. Ξευοφώτι.

ἐπεγεγραμμα] Sub. τινά by anticipation from τίς. ‘(It was allowable) for any one to awake him and tell his tale, supposing he knew anything of matters that might affect the campaign’.

§ 11. καὶ τότε ἔλεγον] ‘so on this occasion they proceeded to inform him’. This explanatory or illustrative use of καὶ occurs frequently in Xenophon, e.g. in vii. 8. 4, where it appears twice in the course of the same section.

ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ] ‘to make a fire’.

κατίδωσιν] This compound is specially used of any chance or casual observation: ‘had noticed on the opposite bank among certain rocks that reached to the very edge of the river’.

ὁσπερ] ‘what appeared to be bags of clothes’. The presence of these girls on the river bank was of importance—not because it implied that the river was fordable at this point (since this had happened elsewhere), but as a guarantee that they would find a practicable pathway when they had reached the opposite bank.

§ 12. δοξαὶ] This infinitive depends on ἔλεγον which we must supply as required throughout the narrative.

πρόβασις εἰπει] ‘moreover it was inaccessible in this quarter to the enemy’s horse’. We must be careful to avoid translating οὔδε ‘not even’, as the writer certainly does not intend to imply that the spot was more open to the cavalry than to the infantry.

ἐκδοντες] ‘so they stripped, they said, and with their daggers in their hands began to ford the river naked, thinking they should have to swim for it. However they went on and reached the other side before they were wet to the waist’. After which they recrossed the stream and recovered their clothes and were now come back again’. It is surprising that Macmichael should have adopted the reading διαβαίνειν with a single ms, as it would argue carelessness on the part of the author if he had used the same tense διαβαίνειν to denote the progress and the completion of the passage. As regards διαβάνεις, its close connexion with the words λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια suggests the translation which I have given above, though some of the editors prefer to understand ἱμάτια of the clothes deposited by the native women, in which case the participle will refer to the passage over instead of to the passage back.

§ 13. ἐγχεῖν] There is little doubt that νεάνικος is the dative after ἐγχεῖν, ‘ordered (the attendants) to fill cups for the young men’, even though the addition of the infinitive ἐγχοθαί makes, at first sight, a change of subject improbable.

καὶ τὰ λουτὰ ἀγαθὰ] ‘to complete what was wanting to success’.

§§ 14—15. Their passage across the river.

σωσκευάζοσθαι] The Latin convasari, vasa colligere.

αὐτολ] Xenophon and Cheirisophus. In regard to ἑβουλεύοντο the beginner may be reminded that the active is used of counselling others, the middle of taking counsel with or from others.

τῶν ἐμπροσθεν] The Persians, while τῶν ὅρισθε refers to the Cawardians.
§ 15. ἐν μέσῳ τοῦτων] i.e. after the party with Cheirisophus had crossed, while Xenophon’s troops were to follow in their rear.

§ 17. ἀντιπαρήσεων] ‘moved parallel with them on the opposite bank of the river’.

κατὰ τὴν δίαβασιν] ‘at the ford’. See notes on the force of κατὰ in connexion with i. 8. 21 and v. 2. 21.

στεφανοσώμενοι] Schneider and others compare Xen. de Rep. Lac. xiii. 8 and Hec. IV. 2. 12 in proof that this was a Lacedaemonian custom adopted by order of Lycurgus whenever his troops found themselves in presence of an enemy. But the religious ceremonial of which this formed a part was resorted to by all Greek armies—apart from any special nationality—under circumstances of danger.

ἀποδέναι] ‘having stripped himself and taken up his arms passed the word for the rest of the troops to do likewise’.

τῶν λόχων ὀρθίως] Consult the note on IV. 2. 11.

§ 18. ἐσφαγμένος] ‘cut the throats of the victims over the stream’, i.e. ‘let the blood of the victims flow into the stream’: a pregnant expression like σφάγαντες εἰς ἀσπίδα in II. 2. 9.

ἐξικυνόντο] ‘failed as yet to reach them’.

§ 19. σφαγία] Macmichael observes that σφαγία and not ἱερὰ is the word used, because, in sacrificing to river-gods, no portions of the victim were set apart for burning. For the usual distinction between the force of the words, see notes on I. 8. 15, II. I. 9 and VI. 5. 21.

ἀνηθάλαζον συναλολοζόν ὅτι] These words signify shouts of joy, the former denoting the war-cry of the men, while the latter is almost exclusively used in reference to women. On the other hand they are both to be distinguished from the verb παιανίζειν which signifies a solemn religious chant whether of prayer or thanksgiving.

§ 20. οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ] We should naturally have expected the reflexive, but compare a still more remarkable instance of the same construction in VII. 4. 10. Other similar examples have been noticed on p. 23 of Introd. II.

ἐπὶ τῶν πόρων] This ford has already been described in §§ 5, 6. Trans. ‘ran hastily back to the ford that was over against the outlet leading into the mountains of Armenia, making as though he would cross the river at this point and cut off the enemy’s horse who were manoeuvring along the river side’. Notice the future infinitive ἀποκλείσεων, which is thrown in to give reality to the narrative, and implies that the imperfect ἔθει is practically equivalent to the historic present.

§ 21. ὃς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ του ποτ. ἐκβ.] ‘made off to all appearance (ὡς) for the pass that led up the mountains from the river side’. Thus the maneuvre of Xenophon was successful which was intended to draw off their attention until the troops with Cheirisophus had effected their passage.

κατὰ τὴν ὅδὸν] ‘when they found themselves at the path in question’.

§ 22. Δύσις...καὶ Ἀιξίνης] The appointment of the former to the command of the cavalry was noticed in III. 3. 20, while Aeschines is mentioned later on in 8. 18 as captain of the Arcadian contingent of peltasts.

συνεκβαλνεὶν ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρος] ‘while the main body of his troops called
to them not to lag behind the enemy, but to follow them out upon the hills’. This is the usual explanation of the passage, but I question much whether it is the correct one. On the contrary, I prefer to understand the infinitive as referring, not to the irregular sortie of Lycius and Aeschines, but to the advance of the main body under Cheirisophus. Trans. therefore: ‘while the main body of his troops clammed not to be left behind but to take their part in the sally over the hills’. This view of the passage is further confirmed by the context, which implies that Cheirisophus denied their request (τῶν μὲν ἐπιπέδας οὐκ ἐδώκεν) and directed them in preference against the infantry, who had been guarding the top of the bank (ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνώς πολεμίους).

§ 23. κατὰ τὰς προσηκοῦσας] ‘at the place where the banks came down to the river’s edge’. A similar irregularity in the order of the words has been noticed in connexion with IV. 2. 18.

§ 24. τὴν παχίστην] Sub. ὄδον, ‘by the shortest path’. καὶ γὰρ ‘and (well he might) for’. See note on IV. 2. 7.

§ 25. ἐπιθείρησας ἐπιτίθει] ‘having undertaken the pursuit’. Notice the force of the present participle ὑπολειπόμενα, ‘such of the baggage animals as were falling to the rear’.

§ 26. ἄκμη] An accusative used adverbially =cum maxime: ‘were at that very instant crossing’. It is unnecessary to take ἄκμη in the sense of ἑτερων, which is condemned by Phrynichus as a later and still less classical usage.

κατ’ ἐνωμοτίας] ‘to form their companies respectively into divisions of five and twenty men, bringing up each division into line by a flank movement to the left’. This disposition of the troops is admirably explained by White. Its object was to present a continuous front (φάλαγξ) to the enemy, and, by so doing, to protect his own flank which was necessarily exposed to attack during the progress of the troops along the river bank. The movement was effectuated as follows. Each λόχος was formed into a column of four ἐνωμοτίαι of which the front ἐνωμοτία alone remained stationary ‘while the remaining three faced to the left and filed out (παρὰ ἀσπίδας παραγάγοντας), and, when they had advanced sufficiently far, faced again to the front and moved forward into line (ἐπὶ φάλαγγος)’.

παραγάγοντας] Another instance of our author’s careless use of tenses. The flank movement which it describes was of course subsequent to that of dividing the companies into ennomoties, but the participle used implies that it preceded it. παρὰ ἀσπίδας is opposed to ἐπὶ δόρου: ‘towards the shield-hand......towards the spear-hand’, an explanation which is given at length in Arr. Tact. p. 54. Compare, too, Theophr. Charac. ωμαθία § 2, ἐπὶ δόρου...ἐπ’ ἀσπίδα...ἐπ’ οὐράν, ‘eyes right......eyes left......and right about face’.

πρὸς τῶν Καρδονώων......πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ] ‘towards the Carduchi-ans......near the river’. In these cases πρὸς is literally ‘on the side of’, ‘from the quarter of’, the genitive denoting the point from which the motion is supposed to commence, but its connexion with ἐνωμοτία is distinctly irregular, even if in both cases we render it ‘on the side of’. Anyhow we cannot supply κώραν, which is the ordinary expedient.

§ 27. τοῦ ὑχλοῦ ψιλομένους] ‘deserted by the mass of the army’.
δχλος refers to the main body of the troops which had been drawn up in phalanx, rather than to the camp-followers as White suggests. The alternative rendering, which is preferred by Kühner and Krüger, proceeds on the theory that τὸὺς ὁπισθοφύλακας τὸ ὕγλον forms a combined substantive, while ψιλομένου is to be taken independently in the sense of ‘isolated’. But the order of the words, and still more the rhythm of the sentence, are in my idea strong arguments in favour of the former explanation.

§ 28. αὐτοῦ μεῖναι] ‘to remain where they were on the river bank’.

αὐτοί] i.e. Xenophon and his party, as distinguished from the targeteers, slingers and archers sent by Cheirisophus.

ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπει ἔφω] ‘they were to enter the river from the opposite bank under pretence of crossing it—some on one side and some on the other of his troops—the javelin-men with their hand on the strap, the bowmen with their arrow on the string, but not to advance far into the river’. τὸ υποταμοῦ is a partitive genitive: lit. ‘to a great extent of the river’, rather than directly dependent on πρόσω, which is the alternative explanation.

§ 29. σφανδώνῃ ἐξευκήται] ‘as soon as the first missile from the enemy should reach them and a shield rattle from the blow’, i.e. as soon as they should come within range of the enemy. Another but less natural interpretation is to regard the above as signals to be given to the Greeks by their own commanders.

σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικὸν] ‘should sound a charge’.

ἐπὶ δόρῳ] See note on § 26. The position of the participle is noticeable, as shewing that it refers to the entire body of the troops and not merely to the portion of them described as τὸὺς ὑφαγοὺς. ‘They should all of them face about to the right, the last man in every file now leading the way’. The sentence forms an example of the construction known as partitive apposition, illustrations of which will be found in the notes to I. 8. 9, and II. 1. 15.

ἐποιτό] Notice the change of construction: ‘(adding that) he would be the best man whoever should be first across the river’.

§ 30. τῶν μὲνεν τεταγμένων] These are the ὁπισθοφύλακας mentioned in §§ 26, 27.

§ 31. καὶ γὰρ] See note on § 24. ὡς μεὶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ‘as one would expect with mountaineers’. Cf. Thuc. II. 65, ὡς ἐν μεγάλη πόλει καὶ ἄρχη ἐχούση, ‘as was natural in a great and imperial city’. Sometimes, on the other hand, the same idiom is used with a limiting or qualifying force, for which compare the following passage: φροέι γὰρ, ὡς γνη, μέγα ‘for a woman she has grand ideas’ (Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1078), and the use of ut in Latin, multae, ut in homine Romano, litterae (Cic. de amicitia IV. 12).

§ 32. τάναντια ὀστραχαντες] ‘having turned in the opposite direction’, with which Kühner compares τάναντια ἀποστρέψας (Hell. III. 4. 12) and τοῦμπαλων ὑποστρέφειν (VI. 6. 38).

§ 34. οἱ δὲ ὑπαυκόσιατες] The reference is to the party of troops who had been sent by Cheirisophus. See § 27. ‘The troops however who had come to meet them, pluming themselves on their courage, and
entering the stream farther than the occasion required, recrossed it in the rear of Xenophon's men.'

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1, 2. The Greeks enter Armenia and arrive at the village of Tigranocerta (probably the modern Saârt) containing a palace of the satrap Orontas.

συνταξάμενον] 'having formed themselves in close order'.

πεδίον ἀπαν] 'marched through Armenia over an unbroken plain and hills of gentle ascent'. It is scarcely satisfactory to explain πεδίον and γηλόφος with White and Macmichael as accusatives in opposition with ἄπειρον understood. They are rather accusatives of occupation or (more generally) of extension. Cf. πηδώντα πεδία, 'bounding over the plains' (Soph. Αι. 30).

λείον] i.e. not precipitous or encumbered with rocks. This description entirely accords with the characteristics of the modern Saârt, while the extreme cold, which from this point proved the worst enemy of the Greeks, is easily accounted for when we consider the great elevation of these Armenian uplands: indeed, in the neighbourhood of Erzroom, where a height is reached of 6000 feet, it is 'by no means uncommon, on the melting of the snow, to find numerous corpses of men and bodies of horses that have perished in the previous winter' (Curzon's Armenia, p. 162).

In the words γηλόφος, ἀπλετος (11), ἀπασθαλίας (14), we have again a recurrence to the language of Homer.

§ 2. εἰς δὲ ἤν] By attraction for ἴ δὲ κόμη εἰς ἤν ἀφίκετο κ.τ.λ. This was, in all probability, the town now known as Saârt, though the distance from this point to the sources of the Bitlis su is somewhat greater than we should gather from the account of their marches in § 3.

τῷ σατράπῃ] Orontas, who was satrap of the entire province, while Tiribazus was his deputy in western Armenia. This is better than to consider, as Krüger does, that they were both of them sarapls, Orontas of eastern and Tiribazus of western Armenia. At the present time, Erzroom and Diarbekir are the centres from which the government is administered. For the dative σατράπη, cf. Thuc. (iv. 6) ἑπάνιζον τρόφης τοῖς πολλοῖς and Lys. (XIX. 22), χρημάτων προσέδει πρὸς τῶν μισθῶν τοῖς πελτασταῖς. When immediately attached to a substantive it denotes for whom the thing in question is had or wanted, while the genitive would imply that it was his property. The towers mentioned in the text are probably nothing more than the chambers on the roof which at the present day form a noticeable feature in the architecture of the East.

§§ 3—6. Cross an eastern tributary of the Tigris and reach a branch of the Euphrates. In western Armenia they have an interview with Tiribazus with whom they make a treaty.

τοῦ Τιγρντος ποταμοῦ] Macmichael notices that we must understand by this one of the most easterly of its tributaries—in all probability
the one now known as the *Bitlis su*—since the main branch rises far to the west of their route above *Diarbekir*.

Τηλεβόαρ* Ainsworth identifies this with the *Kara-su*, a tributary of the eastern Euphrates, Layard with the *Bitlis*. For the arguments on both sides I must refer the student to the Commentary of Ainsworth p. 172.

§ 4. ἐπαρχός ‘lieutenant-governor’. Cf. vii. 8. 25. With the phrase βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπίτον ἀνεβάλλει White compares Liv. xxxi. 37, regem in equum subiecit, ‘lifted the king upon his horse’.

§ 5. εἰς ἐπήκουν ‘having advanced within hearing’. The phrase occurs again in ii. 5. 38. Here, as elsewhere, the readings fluctuate between τὴν θέλης, which is adopted by Kühner after the two best mss, and τὴν θέλα which is preferred by Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors. Observe, too, the distinction in force between τὴν θέλη ‘what he meant’ and his answer δὴ θεύτου, ‘that he wanted to have an interview’.

§ 6. ἔψεφος] For the construction see note on ii. 19: ‘on the understanding that he would not injure the Greeks nor they burn his dwellings, while they were to take such provisions as they from time to time required’. In the above and similar passages beginners will notice in αὐτὸς the recurrence to the nominative whenever the infinitive refers to the leading subject of the sentence, and also the use of τε to couple to the second μὴτε the positive clause which follows.


διὰ πεδίου] According to Ainsworth this table-land of Armenia is at an elevation of 4200 feet above the level of the sea. Hence the excessive cold experienced in this region by Lucullus, Alexander Severus and the travellers of our own day. The palace of Tiribazus must have been situated in the plain of *Mush*, northwards of the *Kara-su*. Ainsworth suggests that the site may possibly be represented by the modern *Perak* or *Lis*.

παρηκολούθει] ‘dogged their footsteps’, a word specially used of tedious or chronic diseases. Cf. Dem. κατὰ Κορν. § 1260.

§ 8. ἔσβεν] lit. ‘starting from day-break’, i.e. immediately after it. Compare ἀπὸ μέσης νύκτος, and in Latin de tertia vigilia and similar phrases.

διασκηνώσεως] Intransitive: ‘should be quartered by parties (διὰ) in the different districts’. White calls attention to the well-known difference between σκηνῶ to ‘pitch a tent’, and σκηνῶν or σκηνέω to ‘dwell in tents’. He seems however to miss the force of the preposition διὰ when he translates it ‘throughout the villages’ rather than ‘in parties or divisions’.

ἀνάφαλέως] because they saw no enemy and thought they were safe from attack by reason of the snow.

§ 9. (πάντα) τὰ ἐπιτήδεια] Poppo is for retaining the word πάντα which appears in all the mss with the exception of four. For ἰερεία in the sense of ‘cattle’, cf. *Cyr. 1. 4. 17*, in connexion with which Hutchinson observes that the term ἰερεία came to signify any animal
used for food from the fact that the Greeks never killed one without offering a portion of it in sacrifice.

τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδασμένων] For the position of των, which interferes slightly with the construction, cf. ii. 18, ἐπὶ ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ. In the present case the words τῶν ἀποσκ. των form a combined idea, *certain stragglers from the camp*. κατίθοις, 'they had caught sight of', a sense which I have already noticed as peculiar to this compound. (Cf. iv. 3. 11.)

§ 10. διασκηνοῦσιν] Transitive: 'to quarter the troops by parties'.

ἐντεῦθεν] 'accordingly they closed up their quarters, for there were symptoms, moreover, that the sky was clearing'. The verb συνήλθον indicates a necessary precaution, now that the improvement in the weather had increased the probability of an attack. The majority of the MSS give the reading διαληθάζειν, which is preferred by Vollbrecht, and for which we have a near equivalent in English when we speak of a break in the sky, a rift in the clouds, etc.

§ 11. ἐπιπίπτετε] 'there came on them a fall of snow so heavy that it buried the men and the armour where they lay'. White translates ἐπιπίπτετε 'there is a further fall of snow', but cf. ἐπιπεπτωκυία below for the rendering which I have preferred.

ἀλειπείθοι] Sub. χρήμα or some equivalent. This neuter is used for the masculine or feminine when it denotes in a general way the essence of a certain class of objects. 'The snow, where it had fallen on him, served to warn a man when it did not slip away from his sides'. κατακεκιμένων 'as they lay' is beyond all question an ordinary instance of the genitive absolute, nor can I in any way understand the reasons which have induced Kühner to treat it as dependent on ὄτω. Indeed, the position of the participle in the sentence would in itself be decisive on the point: add to which, Kühner's explanation would necessitate the introduction of the article. There is more difficulty in determining the force of the verb παραρρυνεῖ, which can hardly mean 'melted' (i.e. with the heat of the body) as the majority of the editors would seem to imagine. 'Fall away, slip off on either side' is a more suitable rendering, as the snow would supply warmth mainly by acting as a defence against the wind.

§ 12. ἐτόμυμα] 'had the strength of mind to get up and cut firewood, thinly clad as he was'. γυμνός, i.e. without the ἰμάτιον, the mantle worn above the χιτών.

ἀφελόμενοι] Sub. ἀξίην with Krüger, or ἔξιλα with Kühner: words readily supplied from the idea conveyed in σχίζειν, 'took the implements from his hand'. For the force and construction of ἄν, which has been restored by Kühner on the authority of the two best MSS, see note on οὐδένα ἄν πῶποτε ἀφελείτο in 1. 9. 19.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου] 'thereupon', 'as a consequence of this'.

§ 13. ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν] 'oil of almonds extracted from the bitter kind'. With πικρῶν supply ἀμυγδάλινον out of ἀμυγδάλινων. The termination should be noticed as confined in particular to unguents and essences, like the corresponding forms in Latin, e.g. *amaricinum* (Lucr.) and *crocinum* (Prop.). For the use of sesame in unguents Kühner compares Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 10, and Quint. Curt. vii. 4. 23.
ēk de tōn aὐτῶν τοῦτον] 'compounded of these same ingredients'.
§ 14. eis στέγας] 'under cover'.
ἀτασθαλίας] 'wanter insolence'. The word is Homeric, like ἀπλετος in § 11. I cannot persuade myself in this instance to follow Kühner, who has admitted ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας into his text in place of ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας, though the latter is found in all the mss (either with or without the addition of the article). The majority of the editors, including Vollbrecht, Bornemann and Macmichael, are likewise against the alteration, the evidence for which rests altogether on the authority of Suidas who gives the passage we are considering in the following form (p. 648): οἱ δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρόσθησαν δίκην ἔδοσαν ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας κακῶς σκηνοῦντες.
§§ 15—end. The Greeks send out a party to reconnoître, and, acting upon intelligence received from a captive, they attack and plunder the camp of Tiribazus.
Τεμενίτην] From Temenus in Sicily, a district of Syracuse, though Kühner and the best authorities are strongly in favour of reading Τεμενίτην, in which case the reference will be to a town on the coast of Argolis.
ἀληθεύσαι] 'to have reported truly'. Beginners will notice carefully the use of the negatives in the latter part of this sentence. 'Surposing anything was not (the case stated as an hypothesis) he reported it as not being (the same stated as a fact)'.
§ 16. σάγραμ] The σάγραμ was apparently identical with the Ἀνασονία σεῦρις mentioned by Horace (Od. iv. 4. 20).
§ 17. ἔτι τίνι] 'with what object collected'. There is no means of deciding whether τίνι is masculine or neuter in this case, but the latter is the more probable alternative.
§ 18. ἐν ἔχων] White goes out of his way when he translates this 'was having with him' and describes it as a poetical phrase. Translate in preference 'he replied that it was Tiribazus with...'
ὡς...ἐπιθυμοῦν] These words are to be connected in translation, the ἐπιθυμα being introduced in consequence of the length of the sentence to give point to the conclusion. 'He added that Tiribazus was prepared to attack the Greeks on the road over the mountains in the narrow parts, by which way only there was a passage for their troops'.
§ 19. Σαφαίνετον] In v. 3. 1 we find him and Phileius mentioned as τοὺς πρεσβύτατος τῶν στρατηγῶν.
§ 20. ύπερβαλλον] ύπερβαλλον al., a reading which is clearly disproved by a statement in § 1 of the next chapter.
κατεδώτες] 'having seen the camp below them' is an admissible rendering. But compare note on κατειδώτει in § 9.
§ 21. φάκοντες εἶναι] 'as they called themselves'. This phrase is intended to express the writer's contempt for the luxury and extravagance of the Persian satrap, and is to be connected with the word ἀρτοκότοι as well as with the second substantive. The repetition of the article with the second substantive is worthy of notice, as implying that the two terms are not coextensive in their application.
§ 22. ἀνακαλεσάμενοι] 'having recalled the troops'.
CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—8. The Greeks make a forced march and reach the Eastern Euphrates. Having forded it they continue to advance, suffering many privations from cold and hunger.

πρὶν ἤ] This addition of ἤ though rarely met with in the Attic prose writers is not uncommon in Herodotus and the poets, in addition to which it occurs, as Kühner points out, in Cyrop. I. 4. 23 and Ages. II. 4.

§ 2. τὸν Ἐθρατήν ποταμὸν] The Murad su or eastern branch of the Euphrates. 'The Greeks would proceed from the Teleboas in a north-eastern direction till they had reached a position about seventy miles from the Kara su. This would require the seven marches given by Xenophon and fix the place where they forded the Murad su as not far above its junction with the Khānis'. (Col. Chesney, II. 229.)

οὐ πρὸς ἐναυα] See note on ἐστιν ὀὗτος ἔχον in IV. 1. 3.

§ 3. παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ δέκα] Krüger and others call attention to the rapidity of this march through the snow, and suggest not improbably that these numbers have crept into the text from § 2.

τρίτος] sc. σταθμός.

ἐναυτὸς] 'blew full in their faces completely parching up everything and numbing the men'. With ἀποκαλώ compare the use of adiuvare (Verg. Georg. I. 92), torrere (Hor. Sat. I. 5. 78), in reference to the effects of extreme cold, though Kühner notices that the uses are not precisely parallel since in Latin the substantive is always added to qualify the verb.

§ 4. τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεῦματος] Neuter adjectives in the singular are used thus as substantives to denote a certain notion in general, something regarded as a whole.

§ 5. ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ] 'at the encampment'. This abundance of wood indicates (according to Ainsworth) the proximity of a river—some tributary stream of the Murad su or the more westerly Khānis.

πάλαι ἥκοντες] 'those who had been there for some time'. Notice the peculiar force of ἥκειν which justifies its connexion with πάλαι rather than πρὶν.

οὐ προσίεσαν] 'would not admit the late-comers to the fire unless they shared with them wheat or a part of such edibles as they had with them'. In this and the next paragraph we have an illustration of the constructions of μετέχειν, μεταδίδοναι etc. They are followed by partitive genitives to express the entire whole, and an accusative (expressed or understood) of the part or parts which are taken or distributed.

§ 6. ἐστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον] 'reaching to the ground'.

§ 7. ἐβουλυμένοις] The 'bulimy' was a faintness from excessive hunger. White calls attention to the fact that βῶς in composition with words in general, like τρίς and πάν in composition with adjectives, is used with an augmentative force. Cf. βούταις.

τῶν πιποῦντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων] 'finding in his way the falling men'. An ugly construction, of which however Xenophon would seem to be

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peculiarly fond. See p. 19 of Introd. II. πιπτοντας ἀνθρώποι, or possibly πιπτοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώποι, would have been the regular and natural combination, supposing that τοὺς πεσόντας failed to give sufficient reality to the situation.

§ 8. τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν] I cannot agree with Macmichael who treats this dative as dependent on παρατρέχειν. In addition to other considerations, the rhythm of the sentence suggests that the phrase τοῖς δυνάμενοι παρατρέχειν is complete in itself. ‘He distributed it, and sent about those who had strength to run along the ranks administering it to the sick men’.

dιδόντας takes the place of δώσοντας for the reason suggested in the last note, viz. to give additional reality to the picture by representing the execution of the order as coincident with its delivery.

§§ 9—23. Cheirisophus and his party encamp at a village. Continued privations of the rest of the army until the two portions are reunited.

ἐκ τῆς κώμης] To be connected with the substantives which follow, ‘some women and girls from the village’.

§ 10. δοσων παρασάγγυν] ‘about a parasang’. Probably (according to Ainsworth) at the place now known as Khanus Kalahi, where the chief of the district still resides.

§ 11. ἐδωπήθησαν] We must supply σωευσέρχεσθαι or διατεθέναι τὴν ὀδον from the context. But, if it were not for the tense, I should prefer to translate δοσων ἐδωπήθησαν ‘all the able-bodied men’ of the army. This is unquestionably the meaning of τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα in the next section, where it is quite unnecessary to understand an infinitive.

§ 12. συνελεγμένοι τινές] ‘a band of the enemy’.

dιεσφαρμένοι] ‘those who had lost the sight of their eyes from the action of the snow, and those whose toes had mortised by reason of the cold’.

§ 13. ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος] ‘a protection against the snow’, but ἐπικουρήμα τῶν ποδῶν below is ‘a defence for the feet’. The vague relation which the dependent genitive bears to its governing noun is here admirably illustrated. The actual meaning must be gathered from the context, the genitive itself signifying little more than ‘in the matter of’, ‘in respect to’.

κυνοῖτο] ‘to keep constantly on the move and never stationary, and to take off the sandals for the night’.

§ 14. ὑποδεδειμένοι] ‘with their sandals on’, ὑποδεῖν being the opposite of ὑπολείψω. Observe the plural περιεπήγηνυτο, and for the idiom see note on ἔστω τὰ.. βασιλεία in 1. 2. 23.

καὶ γάρ] If γάρ is to be retained, a point which is open to question, it will as usual confirm the statement and give the reason: ‘for in fact, ever since their original sandals had given out, they had made them shoes of undressed leather from the hides of newly flayed oxen’.

Kühner objects to its insertion on the ground that the paragraph in question is in no sense an explanatory statement. It is surely, however, a very natural inference that the raw and untanned hide was more susceptible of frost than the original leather. The same authority would omit the pronoun before πεποιημέναι, which some of the editors have
introduced from the version of Suidas. Though not essential to the construction, it adds a grace and finish to the sentence which one would be loth to lose.

§ 15. ἀνάγκας] 'straits'. καὶ τετήκει, 'and it had melted'. Notice the pluperfect without the augment like τετελευτήκει, ἀναβεβήκει.

ἐκτραπόμενοι] 'having turned out of the path'. The present infinitive 'said they were not going further' is stronger in this connexion than the future, which is usually found as an alternative reading in some of the MSS. See note on πορευόμεθα in II. 3. 23, and again on πορεύεσθαι in § 27 of the same chapter.

§ 16. οὐδὲ γὰρ] in a negative sentence has the same intensifying force that καὶ γὰρ (cf. § 14) has in a positive, 'for indeed they couldn’t go further'. Kühner, however, edits οὗ γάρ, which is less forcible, on the authority of two leading MSS. σφάττεω, lit. 'to cut their throats'.

§ 17. διαφερόμενοι] 'wrangling over the booty in their possession'.

§ 18. ἀτε υγιαίνουτε] 'since they were in good health'. In regard to εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, students should be warned against this use of the preposition εἰς, common as it is in Xenophon. πρὸς or ἐπὶ πολεμίους would be the more classical combination. I have noted other examples of this irregularity on p. 20 of Introd. II.

ἡκαυ ἐυνότοι] 'flung themselves down the snow into the glen'.

§ 19. ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς] 'to fetch them', 'in quest of them'. See note on ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον in VI. 2. 2.

ἐγκεκαλυμμένοι] 'wrapt up' in cloaks or blankets: not 'covered up in the snow', as White translates it, a sense which suits neither the word ἐγκαλυπτεῖν nor the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος.

καθεστήκει] 'there wasn’t so much as a guard of any kind posted'. Notice the force of the imperfect ἀνιστασαν, 'they tried to rouse them'.

§ 20. ὑποχωροῦσι] Cf. ὑπαγεῖν, ὑπηγεῖσθαι, 'did not make way'. παρὼν 'passing on to the front'.

§ 21. οἷς ἡδύνατο] sc. καταστήσασθαι, ἀναστήσασται, 'with orders to wake them and compel them to proceed'.

§ 22. τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης] See note on συνεργόν σαν in II. 19, and also on I. 5. 7. οἷς δὲ refers to the party of young men who had been sent by Xenophon to the relief of the sick.

§ 23. αὐτοῦ] 'in the village where he was'. διαλαχόντες, 'having drawn lots for the several villages'. At first sight the plural ἔκαστοι is strange as it clearly does not include the followers of each general. It is however readily explained by supposing that more than one general was quartered on each village: 'they went their way, each party of officers taking with them their men'. The account which follows of these villages accords (says Ainsworth) with what is observed at the present day, the houses being in part subterranean and the live stock herding with the people during the severity of winter.

§§ 24—end. A description of the villages and the encampment.

ἀφέναι αὐτῷ] 'to let him go his own way'.

eἰς δασμὸν βασιλέω] See note on IV. 4. 2, βασιλεὺς εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ. It is probable (according to Krüger and others) that there is an error in the MSS as regards the number of these horses. This opinion is based
on the fact that in § 35 we find Xenophon taking some for himself and
giving one to each of his captains.

§ 25. τὸ μὲν στόμα ὤσπερ φρέατος] It is usual to understand the
participle ἔχοσαι with στόμα. But a far more simple explanation is
admissible, viz. to supply the word στόμα itself with the genitive φρέατος,
were as to their entrance like the entrance to a well'.

ὅρνεθες] 'fowls', while χίλδος 'hay' is equivalent to κελός ξηδός
mentioned below. For the plural ἐτρέφοντο, see note on 1. 2. 23.

§ 26. οἴνοι κολίνων] 'barley wine'. Macmichael compares the
following passage from the Germania of Tacitus (cap. 23), Ποτὶ humor
ex hordeo in quandam similitudinem vini corrúptus. The same liquor
was in use among the Egyptians (Herod. ii. 77).

ἰσοχεὶλεῖς] 'and in them were floating the actual barley-corns on a
level with the brim'. It was to avoid swallowing these that the mixture
was drunk through straws (κάλαμοι). γυνατα are 'joints' or 'knots'.

§ 27. ἄκρατος] 'strong', lit. 'unmixed' and equivalent to the
Latin meriti. συμμαθώντι is a poetical substitute for the more ordinary
word συνεμαθητέντι, 'to one who was used to it'.

§ 28. ἀντεμπλησσαντες] 'and they would fill his house before they
left with necessities if it should be proved that he had suggested any-
thing for the good of the army'. ἔχοισθαί is the Latin praebere, to
'point out', 'lead the way', whether by word or action. Beginners
will bear in mind the difference between φαινεθαι with an ininitive
(e.g. φαινεται εἰναι, 'he appears to be') and the same with a participle
(e.g. φαινεται οὖν, 'he clearly is').

§ 29. φιλοφρονοῦμεν] 'to shew his friendliness'. οἶνον, i.e. wine
made from the grape as distinguished from the oίνοι κρίθων mentioned
above. Kühner, however, thinks the latter is meant. With κατο-
ρωπυγμένος compare the Latin défossus. οὖτως, 'as I have said'.

ὲν φύθαλῳσι] is added to give emphasis to the words ἐν φυλακῇ,
'with the village-chief in their keeping and his children with him under
their very eyes'.

§ 30. πάριον] Notice the frequentative optative, 'and wherever
he came up to a village'. ἄφλέον, 'from no place did they allow them
to depart'.

§ 32. προπίεων] To 'drink the health of any one'. Lit. to 'drink
first to any one', as it was the Greek custom to pass the cup to one's
friend after drinking first oneself. Sometimes the drinking-cup itself
was offered as a present, and thus προπίεων came afterwards to mean
to 'give away'.

ἐλκεῖν] with which compare ἐδίδοσαν and ἐλάμβανεν below, is a fre-
quenative imperfect, employed to denote a continued series of actions
and constructed either with or without ἀν': 'he would draw him down
to the bowl, out of which he had to drink with his head bent'.

§ 33. σκυρώντας] 'in good quarters', i.e. carousing. The verb
is used similarly in v. 3. 9, παρεῖχε δὲ ἦ θεός τοῖς σκυρῶσιν ἄφιτα.

ἐνείοις] 'deaf and dumb'. ἐνείος is probably the same word with
ἀνείω from ἄω, αὐ. In other writers we usually find the fuller phrase
ἐνείος καὶ κυρφός.
§§ 1—4. After encamping for seven days the Greeks set out taking with them the comarch, to lead the way. He leaves them in consequence of a quarrel with Cheirisophus, and, after proceeding for seven days without a guide, they arrive at the river Aras.  

\[\text{§ 35. } \text{αὐτὸν} \text{ sc. } \tau\nu \kappaωμάρχης, \text{ to whom likewise the reflexive } \varepsilon\alphaυτοῦ \text{ refers.} \]

\[\text{§ 36. } \sigmaκλα \piερειλεῖν \text{ ‘to tie little bags round the feet of the horses’.} \]

Strabo (XI. p. 772) notices a similar custom in his description of the Caucasus: ὑποδόμους κεντρωτὰ ψαμβίνα δίκην τυμπάνων πλατέα διὰ τὰς χίωνας καὶ τοὺς κρυστάλλους.

**CHAPTER VI.**

§ 34. ἗ εἰς] ‘in what direction it lay’.

§ 35. αὐτὸν] sc. τὸν κωμάρχης, to whom likewise the reflexive ἐαυτοῦ refers.

\[\text{§ 36. } \sigmaκλα \piερειλεῖν \text{ ‘and a horse that he had taken, which was getting too old for him, he gave to the chief to fatten up for sacrifice, for he had heard that it had been consecrated to the sun’. I do not understand the pronoun to mean that horses generally were offered up in sacrifice to the sun, but rather that the particular animal which was given to the comarch was a sacred one. Many considerations are in favour of this interpretation, more especially the use of the pronoun αὐτὸν. Add to which it was only horses of a peculiar colour and breed that were consecrated to the sun.} \]

\[\text{τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει] ‘takes some of the colts’. For the construction, cf. I. 5. 7, and, for the reference, compare a statement in } \text{§ 24 of the present chapter.} \]

\[\text{§ 36. } \sigmaκλα \piερειλεῖν \text{ ‘to tie little bags round the feet of the horses’.} \]

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it to be the Colchian Phasis running into the Euxine, a point which Maumíchael illustrates by comparing two passages of the fifth Book (vi. 36, vii. 1). The mistake may have originated in the fact that near the sources of the Araxes was a plain called Phasiane.

§§ 5—21. Enter the district of the Chalybes, Taochi and Phasiani, who oppose their progress. A council of war, with the speeches of Xenophon, Cheirisophus and others.

In all these cases there are great difficulties in forming an estimate of the distances really travelled. Thus Professor Malden regards the parasang at this stage of their journey as equivalent to two geographical miles, while Colonel Chesney, taking into consideration the obstruction caused by the snow, thinks it may have averaged little more than a mile. If we accept the latter as the more reasonable estimate, we shall regard them as having travelled only five and thirty miles eastward along the supposed Phasis before they found out their mistake by meeting with the Hassan Kalashi, a western affluent of the Aras.

τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ] Hamilton (i. p. 185), in his description of the rocky districts between Κυπρι Κάινι and Χορασαν, notices that, after leaving the former locality, the road soon confines itself to a narrow pass between high hills on the left hand and the river on the right. The name Chalybes would seem to have included several branches of the tribe who inhabited the district between Armenia and the Euxine. The Taochi dwelt in the valleys to the north-east of Erzavoum, and (according to Ainsworth) their name still survives in the Taouk of the Turks, and the Taoutchie of the Georgian districts. The Phasiani lay southwards of these, but had apparently moved northwards to co-operate with them at the approach of the Greeks.

§ 6. κατὰ κέρας ἄγων] = agmine longo ducens, i.e. in column.

παράγεν τοῦ λόχους] This manoeuvre has been fully described in a note on IV. 3. 26.

§ 7. ἄγωνοφωμέδα] ‘how we shall fight with the best chance of success’. As regards the construction of ὁποιος after verbs like σκοπέων, βουλεύεσθαι, we have (i) the consideration how a thing may be done, in which sense the future indicative is exclusively used, and (ii) the preparation in order that it may be done, in which sense (as below in § 10) the subjunctive is also admissible. See note on βουλεύεται in I. i. 4.

§ 9. προσγενέσθαι] ‘and in all probability they will then and there be joined by others in larger numbers’. The aorist for the future denotes the certain and instantaneous result. The future perfect is another tense which gives the same idea of certainty but regards the result as a continuance, e.g. ἐγγεγράφησθαι (Ar. Equeit. 1370), ‘will find himself in the position of one enrolled’.

§ 10. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι] For the force of εἰ with the indicative in a sense almost equivalent to that of εἰ γε, see note on εἰπερ in vi. 1. 26.

§ 11. τὸ ὀδομενον] An accusative absolute, ‘as regards the part which is in view’. Trans. ‘now the mountain range, so far as we can judge by the eye, extends for more than sixty stadia’.
ἀλλ’ ἦν ‘save only’. This adverbial expression is admissible only after a negation or in a question equivalent to a negation. It is often incorrectly written ἀλλ’ ἦ if as if contracted from ἀλλο or ἀλλα rather than ἀλλά.

κλέψαι τιν] Compare the use of subducere and subripere in Latin, e.g. costam longo subductimus Appennino (Pers. i. 95), and putavi tam pauna millia subripi posse (Sen. ep. 53). Trans. ‘accordingly it is far wiser to try to steal a position unobserved on some part of the desert mountain and occupy it by a surprise’.

μᾶλλον] This μᾶλλον is of course superfluous after the preceding comparative κρείττον. As an idiom it scarcely requires explanation, for it is easy to see that it may have arisen from a combination of the two constructions κρείττον κλέψαι ἡ μάχεσθαι and ἀγαθὸν κλέψαι μᾶλλον ἡ μάχεσθαι, if it be not rather a mere adjunct to emphasise the force of the comparative.

§ 12. ὁρθῶν...λέων ἡ ὁμαλές] These adjectives may be used adverbially, though it is safer to explain them as accusatives of occupation, a construction which I have already noticed on iv. 4. 1.

τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν] ‘what lies before one’, i.e. in one’s intended path, while τὰ πρὸς ποσὶν ‘what lies close at one’s feet’. Trans. ‘nay by night when fighting is out of the question one may see what lies before one better than by daylight if fighting has to be done’.

τὰς κεφάλας βαλλομένων] In a former edition I had suggested that this was perhaps equivalent to τὰς κεφαλὰς παραβαλλομένως, ‘to men who are risking their lives’. I can find, however, no other example in which the verbs are synonymous, while a further acquaintance with Xenophon’s style has led me to prefer the simpler rendering as the more appropriate. Tr. therefore, ‘when their heads are a mark for missiles’.

§ 13. κλέψαι δὲ] ‘to steal a march too’. For this use of δὲ see note on iv. 1. 2, where I have explained it as in all probability akin to the emphatic δή.

ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον] ‘to withdraw to such a distance as not to give an idea of our whereabouts’. He means that, before attempting to force a passage, they should withdraw to a safe distance from the enemy who are mentioned in § 11 as guarding the regular pass. This is better than the explanation proposed by Weiske: τοσοῦτον [ἐρυσίον ὅπετετίμαται] ἀπελθεῖν.

ταύτης προσποιούμενοι] ‘and I think that by making a feigned attack in this quarter we shall be likely to find the rest of the mountain less carefully guarded’. Students will notice that ᾧ is often used twice and even three times in the same sentence. In such cases it will generally be placed early to stamp the character of the sentence which is to follow, and it will appear again in all probability with the emphatic word (as in the present case with ἑρυμοτέρῳ), and again perhaps with the main verb at the close of the sentence.

μένοιεν] We may supply ᾧ from the previous sentence as in the case of i. 6. 2. The context in this case will scarcely allow us to press the more scholarlike explanation that ᾧ is purposely omitted with μένοιεν to shew that it is the more remote contingency: e.g. ‘the
mountain will probably be more unguarded, for the enemy may possibly remain here'.

§ 14. συμβάλλωνι] Sub. λήγων, which is added in the corresponding passage of Cyrop. II. 2. 21, and compare the use of the Latin conferre either with or without the addition of sermonem. τῶν ὄμοιων = τῶν ὄμοιων (Cyrr. I. 5. 5), the Peers. A term used in the aristocratic states of Greece to denote all those citizens whose rank entitled them to hold the highest offices of state, in contrast with those who from poverty or other causes had lost their full prerogative, and were known in consequence as ὑπομελῶνες.

εὕθους ἐκ παίδων] 'from your very boyhood'.

οὐκ αἰσχρόν εἶναι] The explanation of this peculiar code must (as White observes) be sought in the fact that in communities like Sparta, where most things were held in common, the rights of property naturally fell into abeyance and were violated without offence.

§ 15. ἄφα] is ironical: 'it is customary, I fancy, with you'. ἐπι-δείξασθαι, 'to give us a specimen of your training'.

μέντοι] is equivalent apparently to the Latin tamen: 'and to be on your guard notwithstanding'. If a simple emphasis had been intended without any adversative force (e.g. 'to be by all means on your guard') the writer would probably have used δῆ in the sense of adeo or simply τοι. So again in the following section we may translate τῶν κρατίστων μέντοι, 'the best men notwithstanding (they are so)'. τῶν βροὺς is a partitive genitive.

§ 16. τῶν κτισίσεων] for the penalty was ἄτιμα or loss of the franchise until the offender had restored twice the amount of the property taken. Cf. Aesch. I. 113. For the position of μᾶλα in the sentence, see note on i. 5. 8.

eἰπέρ] 'that is to say if it be the best men who are preferred for office in your communities'. Notice the difference between εἰπέρ which states the case as an assumption 'on the understanding that', and εἰ γε which expresses a fact 'since, seeing that'. The former is used in the present instance, as the speaker wishes to cast a slur on the general character of the Athenian demagogues.

ψῆφοι] 'with you', 'in your states'. Two explanations of this dative are possible, (i) to combine it closely with ὀλ ἱερά, 'your leading men', in which case we may refer it to the class of datives mentioned in the note on iv. 4. 2, (ii) and preferably, because it makes the pronoun more emphatic, to treat it as an ethic dative, which is introduced to 'denote a participation and interest in the person speaking, spoken to, or spoken of' (Madv.). The position of ψῆφοι at the commencement of the sentence is favourable to either of the above explanations, but against our combining it closely with either δόξανται or ἄρχειν.

§ 17. τῶν ἐπιμένων ἴδιόν κλωτῶν] 'of the thieves who hang upon our steps'. It is with reluctance, I confess, that I abandon the more forcible compound ἐφεπμένων, though Kühner is probably right in regarding it as the alteration of some copyist who saw his chance of improving upon the original expression. νέμεται, 'is fed by', but for the literal meaning of the verb see Lidd. and Scott on νέμω, προνέμω.

βατᾶ...ἐσται] Lit. '(matters) will be passable'. In all such cases, as
I have repeatedly noticed, supply the most general word, e.g. πράγματα
or χρήματα rather than χωρία.

§ 18. ἐν τῷ ὄμολῳ] ‘on the same footing with them’, like εἰς τὸ ἱσον
ἡμῖν, ‘to a fair encounter with us’. Cf. εἰς τὸ ἱσον καθίσταται τινι
(Cyr. I. 6. 28). Lidd. and Scott translate ‘they will not descend to
the level plain’, but the addition of the pronoun ήμῖν is fatal to this
rendering.

§ 20. Μεθύδρειν] Methydrion, as we are told in IV. I. 28, was a
town in Arcadia. It is an open question whether the article should be
inserted before Χίος, though Kühner justifies it as intended to mark the
special merits of Aristeas. On the other hand, it appears in only two
mss, and is omitted by the majority of the editors, including Vollbrecht,
Bornemann and Macmichael.

σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο] ‘they agreed’, equivalent to ταῦτα συνθήμενοι
in the next section.

§ 21. ταῦτα προσάξειν] ‘that he would lead the assault in this
direction’.

§§ 22—end. Success of the manœuvres.

ἐγρηγόρεσαν] Owing to the force of the present ἐγείρω this plu-
perfect takes the place of an ordinary imperfect, ‘kept watch’.

§ 23. κατὰ τὴν ὀδόν] The pass mentioned in § 11. κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα,
‘advanced against the enemy along the heights’.

§ 24. τοὺς πολλούς] Cf. τὸ πολὺ above: ‘before the main bodies
(of the contending armies) had closed’. Kühner and Vollbrecht alike
prefer this Platonic form of the present, which is preserved in the two
leading mss, in preference to the later and more usual termination (συμ-
μεγνώνουσι) which is found in the remainder.

§ 25. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου] Cf. τῶν ἐκ τῆς κόμης, IV. 5. 22. Observe
how the general nominative οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου is afterwards subdivided by
partitive apposition into οἱ μὲν πελασται and Χειρίσοφος δὲ σὺν τοίς
ὀπλίταις.

βαδῆν ταχύ] ‘at a quick march’. βαδῆν is opposed to ὅρμως ἔθεν,
but qualified in its turn by the addition of ταχύ.

§ 27. θοῦσαντες] Cf. I. 7. 18 for this use of the active when the
idea is that of simple sacrifice whether in thanksgiving or otherwise.
On the other hand, ‘to take the auspices’ in regard to a future event is
represented by the middle voice as in § 23.

CHAPTER VII.

§§ 1—14. The Greeks enter the country of the Taochi, who obstruct
their progress by hurling stones on them from a mountain stronghold.
The place is taken and plundered.

εἰς Ταόχοις] The modern Taochir, a district of Georgia. But see
note on § 5 of the previous chapter. The country is still thickly wooded,
being occupied in part by the Suwanli, one of the few forest ranges to
be met with for many miles round.

ἐπελυκέ] ‘failed’. Used intransitively this is a commoner form than
The word ὕσεσίν, which appears in the editions of Bornemann and MacMichael, is omitted by Kühner and Vollbrecht. It would be difficult to explain it, even if the manuscript authority had justified its insertion.

ἐκθέτω ‘immediately on his arrival’. As in the phrase ἄμα μαχόμενος, which we have already noticed, the adverb though in sense it belongs to the leading verb is by the Greek idiom attached closely to the participle.

ἄθροις] ‘for the army could not encircle it in a body because a river ran round it’,—leaving however in one direction the πάροδος mentioned in § 4.

§ 3. (καὶ πελτασταῖς] These words, which are omitted in three leading mss, are bracketed by Kühner because the idea which they represent is virtually contained in ὀἱ ὑπαθοφυλάκες. On the other hand, Vollbrecht and MacMichael have admitted them into their text.

ἐσ᾽ καλῶν] = καλῶς, ‘in good season’, ‘to good purpose’. Here again, if we must needs supply anything, it should certainly be πράγμα rather than χρόνον.

§ 4. (ἀλλὰ)] This force of ἀλλὰ has been explained in connexion with ii. 1. 4. In the present instance, however, it is bracketed by Kühner and some of the editors as the addition of a clever copyist.

おす ὑπαθηταῖα] ‘is treated as you see’. In the sentence which follows, the portions of the text enclosed within brackets are omitted by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of four good mss.

§ 5. ἄλλο τι ἦ] ‘is it not the case that nothing hinders our advance?’ In other words ‘does anything hinder our advance?’ See note on ii. 5. 10. The phrase ἄλλο τι ἦ is an elliptical expression meaning ‘is it anything else than...? ’ ‘is the case otherwise than...?’ corresponding in fact with the Latin nonne—?

ἐλ μὴ] One of the regular phrases for a negative condition or (as here) an exception. Note the omission of the article: ‘a few men as you see’.

§ 6. σχέδου τρία ἡμίπλεθρα] ‘about a plethrum and a half’. Another expression for the same amount, and one much used by Herodotus, would be δεύτερον ἡμίπλεθρον, ‘the second only a half-plethrum’.

βαλλομένους] Compare note on IV. 6. 12, ‘which we must cross within range of their missiles’.

διαλειτουσαίς] ‘at intervals’. Lit. ‘leaving spaces between them’.

ἀνθ’ ὄν] ‘opposite to which’, and therefore by inference from the context ‘behind which’.
NOTES.

[1—15]

ηδὸν] 'now the remainder of the distance from that point'. λωφησισωσιν, 'whenever the shower of stones shall have abated', a poetical word used in connexion with the plague at Athens (Thuc. II. 49).
§ 7. πολλοι] Notice the position of the article, 'the stones fly in showers'.

αυτό] 'the very thing', he answered, 'that we require'.

μικρὸν τι] White regards this as an accusative after παράδραμεν, but the two clauses of the sentence are more evenly balanced if we take it as the nominative to ἔσται, i.e. μικρὸν τι ἔσται (ὡστε) παράδραμεν. ἀπελθεῖν is to 'go back', with which contrast the use of ἀπῆλθων in the following section with an exactly opposite force.
§ 8. ἡ ἡγεμονία] 'for he took the lead among the captains of the rearguard'. λοχαγῶν is a partitive genitive, not governed by ἡγεμονία but following τῶντοι. The λόχος which led the way had the post of danger: consequently, as White observes, each company took the position in turn.

ὑλαπτόμενος] 'protecting himself'.

ὑφεστασαν] 'drew up their men for shelter just outside the trees'. This compound is more suggestive than ἐφεστασαν which is preferred by some of the editors. It is also more in accordance with the tense, which is scarcely suitable to so instantaneous an act as halting an army. With either verb supply λόχος rather than ἑαυτός, as the latter would be a very questionable construction.
§ 10. ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς] 'at each of his sallies'. We have noticed the character of the verb ἀνέχαγεν in connexion with IV. 1. 16.
§ 11. πρώτος] refers to Agias, 'fearing he should not be the first to run past'. δεδώκα μή = vercor ne, 'I fear something will happen', but δεδώκα μή οὐ = vercor ne...non, 'I fear something will not happen'. After a historic tense the optative will of course take the place of the subjunctive. One other important construction remains to be noticed, viz. δεδώκα with the indicative, expressive of great certainty, e.g. δεδώκα μή τέλυση, 'I fear that he is dead'.

οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀριστ.] 'not even Aristonymus', as otherwise we should require οὐτε in place of οὐδὲ for these successive negatives.
§ 12. τῆς ἱπτος] 'the rim of his shield'. It is also used for the felloe of a wheel, indeed for the outer edge of any round body.

ἀντεποιοθετο] 'made pretensions to courage and vied with one another in displaying it'.
§ 13. ὑποτοῦσαι] Kühner agrees with Bornemann in preferring this frequentative form of the present, which occurs with the same force in Cyrop. III. 1. 25 and elsewhere, though the verb in its remaining tenses follows the formation of ἥπτω.
§ 14. ἐπιστάται] 'drags him after him, and both went tumbling down the rocks'.

§§ 15—19. Enter the country of the Chalybes. Description of their dress and manner of life. Arrive at the river Harpasus, and, after passing through the plain lands of the Scythini, reach the city of Gymnias, from which they take a guide.

Χαλυβῶν] Called by Pliny Armeno-Chalybes to distinguish them
from other branch tribes who inhabited Pontus and Paphlagonia. It is commonly supposed that the Greek troops followed the road to Kars which takes the same line as the modern route, and, crossing the mountains from Kars to the Arpa chai at Kizil Chak Chak, completed a journey of something more than fifty miles. The alternative theory (for which see note on § 18) assumes that they travelled in a north-easterly direction to the valley of the Juruk su.

τῶν περίφραγμαν] 'and in place of the usual skirts they wore thickly twisted cords'. By περίφραγμα are meant the fringes of the cuirass which were usually made of leather or felt. According to Hutchinson, the cuirass itself was composed of folds of linen, steeped in vinegar and salt and then compressed into a solid plate.

§ 16. ἕνθηλην] 'and at the belt they wore a knife of the size of a Laconian scimitar'. The ἕνθηλη was shaped like a sickle and is a term of Laconian origin. For ἔσφαττον see note on κατεσφάγη, IV. 1. 23, and translate δώματο as a frequentative.

ἀποτέμποντες ἄν] 'they would cut off their heads and carry them with them on their march'. In a note on IV. 5. 32, I alluded incidentally to this frequentative sense of ἄν with the aorist and imperfect indicative. In this and similar combinations it affects the participle no less than the leading verb (cf. Demos. § 1951, οὐκ ἄν ποτε τοὺς χρόνους ανέλυσε την πεδαυτ ἐκάλεσ), the former of which is practically equivalent to a second imperfect. Compare, in particular, a note on the force of ἄν in III. 1. 6.

μίσων λόγχην] To distinguish it from the Grecian spear which had a second spike at the butt end (στύραξ or σαυρωτήρ) by which it could be planted in the ground.

§ 17. ἐν τούτοις] For the force of the preposition, see note on § 1.

ὡστε μηδέν λαμβάνειν] To preserve the usual force of ὡστε with the infinitive this clause should be printed in close connexion with the preceding, as denoting the object with which the Chalybes had stored away their provisions. The result is marked by the change to the indicative διετράφθησαν.

§ 18. Ἀρτασάν ποταμόν] Great difficulty is experienced in identifying this river. It has been generally assumed to be the modern Arpa-chai, the northern and chief branch of the Araxes. But this river could scarcely have had a width of four hundred feet at this part of its course, on the assumption that the Greeks fell in with it at the point where it is crossed by the high road from Erzroom and Kars. Accordingly Layard and Chesney consider that the river alluded to is the Juruk su, called afterwards the Apsarus and Acampsis.

διά Σκυθών] Of this tribe we have no certain information. They lived near the Euxine, bordering on the territory of the Macrones, and were possibly the survivors of a party of Scythian invaders.

§ 19. Γυμνίας] This place has been variously identified with Comasour, Erzroom and Ispir. The last assumption is the most probable, more especially as Mount Theches is generally supposed to correspond with Tekiya Tagh from which Ispir is about sixty miles distant. This would give an average march of twelve miles a day if we suppose the Greeks to have followed the valley of the Juruk su.
This historic present, being equivalent to a past tense, accounts for the optative which follows.

τῆς εινάτων πολεμίας] 'which was at war with his own tribe'. Cf. εἰς τὴν εαυτοῖς πολεμίαιν in the next section.

§§ 20—end. Their guide conducting them they reach Mount Theches and obtain their first view of the sea.

(πέντε ημερῶν] 'in five days'. Lit. 'at some period within five days'. These words are retained by Vollbrecht, Bornemann, and the majority of the editors, though they are under the necessity of transposing them from the place which they occupy in the mss after ὅθεν to their present position in the text. Kühner, however, condemns them as an interpolation, the origin of which may, he thinks, be found in the opening clause of § 21: καὶ ἀφεκνουντα ἐπὶ τὸ (ἱερὸν) ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

tεῦναναι] Notice the certainty expressed by the tense, 'he offered to be slain on the spot'. The verb εὐεβαλεν is to be taken, as usual, in an intransitive sense: 'he had entered (i.e. invaded) the territory which was at enmity with his tribe'.

τῆς τῶν 'Ελλήνων εὐνοίας] 'good will towards the Greeks'. For the genitive τῶν 'Ελλήνων, see note on IV. 5. 13.

§ 21. τὸ [ἱερὸν] ὄρος] The adjective is omitted by Kühner with the two best mss. It is a slight argument in its favour that the ancient no less than the modern name (Τεκίγα or Τεκίεθ Ταγή) is suggestive of a chapel or monastery which had existed on the spot.

§ 22. ἐμπροσθεν] In opposition to εἰπόντο ὅπουθεν which follows.

βοῶν ὠμοβδεια] In illustration of this genitive White compares such expressions as εἰμὸς τοῦ ἀβλίον βιος, where ἀβλίον is in apposition with εἰμὸ to be supplied from εἰμῖ. So in the present instance βοῶν is in apposition with the same genitive implied in ὠμοβδεια.

§ 23. οἱ δὲ ἐπίδοτες] For this use of δὲ, see note on IV. 1. 7, 'the fresh-comers as they arrived'.

§ 24. παρεγγυνώντων] 'reliquis ut approperaret' (Krüger), 'cheering on the rest' (White). But, to judge from the sense of παρεγγυνήσαντο below and παρεγγυνώτο in IV. 1. 17, it clearly means no more than 'passing the word (Θάλαττα) along the lines'.

ηλαύνετο] 'were pressed to a gallop'. Lit. 'were driven hard'.

§ 25. περιβαλλον] Sub. χεῖρας, 'they threw their arms round one another'. According to Tate and others the reciprocity of the action required the middle voice, but the employment of the active is not inconsistent either with analogy or usage. The ordinary force of the middle is to 'throw something round oneself', e.g. τεῦχεα, εἶμα and the like, while the converse is more usual in a metaphorical sense, to 'throw oneself around something', i.e. to appropriate it.

ὀστὸν δὴ παρεγγυνήσαντο] 'some one or other having passed the word to do so'. The phrase in full would have been παρεγγυνήσαντο ὡστὶς δὴ παρεγγυνήσαν, or, still more simply, ὡστὶς δὴ ἦν.

§ 26. κατέτευμεν] As otherwise they would have been carried off by the inhabitants of the district.

§ 27. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ] 'from the common stock'. Notice the force of the article in τοὺς δακτύλους, a reading which Schneider regards with suspicion: 'their rings', 'the rings which he saw on their fingers'.

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CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1—8. The Greeks enter the territory of the Macrones, who at first oppose but afterwards assist them. Conducted by these they arrive at the frontiers of the Colchians.

διὰ Μακρῶνων] These are the Sanni mentioned by Strabo, and are supposed by Herodotus to have been of the same family as the Colchians.

§ 2. οἶνον χαλεπῶτατον] 'on their right hand they had high ground most difficult of ascent'. In place of ὑπὲρ δὲξιῶν, which is preferred by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of two good MSS, the majority of the editors give ὑπερδέξιον, an adjective which in v. 7. 31 appears to be a mere equivalent for ὑψηλῶν. Observe the addition of οἶνον for the purpose of strengthening the superlative. Lit. 'a place such as the most difficult is'.

ἐνέβαλλεν] 'emptied itself'. The words δι᾽ οὗ are to be understood as referring to the last-named river (ὁ ὄρθων). Col. Chesney places the junction of these two rivers near the modern village of Damajula. One of the rivers (he adds) coming from the north-west has remarkably steep banks, rising fifteen or twenty feet, with hills above, of difficult ascent on the eastern side, and a chain of more accessible shoulders on the opposite; both are covered with firs and silver poplars of small size (παχέσι μὲν οὗ).

δὲνδρα] This form (which appears again in Oec. iv. 14) is preferred by Kühner to δένδρα on the authority of the two best MSS.

ἐκοπτον] Their object in this was twofold, (i) to clear a passage to the river, and (ii) to use the trees as they felled them for bridging over the stream.

§ 3. άλθος εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐβίβασα] The motive for this is not clear, though, in all probability, it was simply to warn them against attempting the passage of the river. The idea that they were intended as stepping-stones, a suggestion adopted by Kühner, appears to me far-fetched and improbable.

οὔτε ἐβλαπτον] This is the reading of two good MSS, and I believe that Macmichael is right in retaining it, though he should have added a note in explanation of so remarkable a solecism. Had the writer used the ordinary sequence of negatives (i.e. οὐ... οὐδὲ or οὔτε... οὔτε), he would have represented the two clauses of the sentence as of equal importance. That this was not his intention we may readily infer from the emphatic position of the leading negative, which (if I may use the expression) covers the ground of the second: 'they did not reach them and consequently did not injure them'.

Breitenbach solves the difficulty by writing οὐδὲ for οὔτε. White reads έξικνούντο δὲ οὐδὲ, οὐ έβλαπτον οὐδένα, a most intolerable sentence.

§ 5. ἀντιτετάχαται] An Ionic form for ἀντιτεταγμένοι εἰσὶν used repeatedly by the most classical writers.

§ 6. καὶ ύμεῖς] A retort to the question τί χρήζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμου
elvai; In the answer however the charge of hostility is implied rather than expressed in the words ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐρέσαθε. The employment of ὅτι in two parallel clauses with a totally different sense is entirely in keeping with our author’s usage. His systematic contempt for neatness and elegance of style forms one of the chief subjects of Introd. ii.

§ 7. ἐὶ δοῦεν ἄν] The addition of ἄν implies, as usual, a suppressed hypothesis, e.g. ἐὶ αἰτήσειαν (which Kühner suggests) or some equivalent. Cf. ἐὶ ἔδεικνύ ἄν in II. 6. 27.


§ 8. συνεξεκόπτων] ‘helped them to clear the trees from their path and worked at making their road, with the view of forwarding them through their territory’. I prefer this rendering of the participle to the alternative theory which would limit its application to the actual passage of the river.

παρῆγαγον] ‘forwarded them on their way’.

§§ 9—19. Enter the territory of the Colchians who are drawn up on a range of hills to oppose their progress. The Greeks dislodge them and encamp in a number of villages.

δρος μέγα] The Kolat Tagh of Brant, and Kara Kaban of Hamilton. οἱ Κόλχοι] They occupied the coast of the Euxine from Trafæus to the Phasis.

ἀντιπαρετάξαντο φάλαγγα] I have omitted the preposition κατὰ before φάλαγγα with Vollbrecht, Bornemann, and the majority of the editors. Kühner retains it on the authority of three MSS, only one of which has any strong claim on our respect.

βουλεύσασθαι συνλεγέσων] ‘to meet and deliberate’. For ὅπως with the future indicative, see note on IV. 6. 7.

§ 10. διασπασθήσεται] ‘will be broken’.

§ 11. ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι] opposed to ἐπὶ ὁλίγων τεταγμένοι below, ‘many deep...few deep’.

περιττέσουσιν ἡμῶν] ‘will outnumber us and will employ their surplus men for any purpose they may please’. White calls attention to the fact that the genitive ἡμῶν is due to the idea of comparison which is contained in the verb. περιττέσουσιν is usually translated ‘will outflank us’, a sense which, though implied by the context, is decidedly less forcible than the original idea: ‘the longer the file, the more numerous will the enemy be in proportion to its front’.

ἀδρόων] ‘by a simultaneous assault in some particular quarter both of missiles and men’. The adjective πολλῶν, which does not appear in the inferior MSS, is added in forgetfulness that the word ἀδρόων had been constructed with ἀνθρῶν as well as with βέλων.

§ 12. ὁρθίους τοὺς λῆκους] By this clever manœuvre of bringing up the army in parallel columns with open spaces between them the extension of the phalanx was secured without its weakness. ‘My advice is that we should form the companies in column and occupy such an extent of ground with the companies by leaving intervals between them that those who are at the extreme ends shall find themselves outside the enemy’s wings’.

dιαλιπόντας] Cf. IV. 7. 6. For δοῦν with the infinitive, see note on
EXPEDITIO CYRI.  [IV. viii.

ὅσον σκοταλοὺς διέλθειν (IV. 1. 5), while the force of the aorist γενέσθαι has been already noticed in connexion with iv. 6. 9.

οὕτως ἐσόμεθα] ‘and thus our army will be disposed as follows’. For this general nominative and its subsequent distribution, cf. IV. 6. 25, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελάται τῶν Ἑλλήνων...Χειρόσοφος δὲ κ.τ.λ.

οἱ κράτιστοι ἠμῶν] Because the λοχαγοὶ would march at the head of each column. πρῶτος is a conjectural emendation (accepted by Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors) in place of the manuscript reading πρῶτον, which Dindorf still retains.

§ 13. οὔδεις μὴ ἐτι μείνῃ] ‘not a man of the enemy will any longer stand his ground’. Learn by heart the constructions of οὗ μὴ:—(i) by putting a negative before the elliptic μὴ with a subjunctive we have the denial of a fear = a future with a strong negation, ‘there is no fear that the enemy will stand his ground’: (ii) οὗ μὴ is combined with the second person of the future indicative in questions denoting a strong prohibition, e.g. οὗ μὴ ληφθῆς; ‘don’t trifle’. In the latter construction the μὴ goes closely with the verb which it negatives, ‘will you not not-trifle?’ Compare the same expression in II. 2. 12.


τὸ μὴ εἶναι] ‘so that we are not already there’, while τοῦ μὴ ἡδὶ εἶναι would mean ‘so that we should not be there’, the latter regarding the object as merely contemplated, the former as actually realised.

ὦμος δὲι καταφαγεῖν] ‘Coarse but vigorous. Cf. ὥμον βεβρόθους Πρίαμον Πριάμου τε παῖδας (II. Δ. 35) and its parody by Attius Labeo: crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinos.

§ 15. White notices the correspondence between the number of the troops mentioned in this chapter with that given in the title of the work. In the present case we hear of 8000 Hoplites and 1800 Peltasts and light troops: in all, 9800.

§ 17. ἀντιπαραλέοντες] ‘running to the flank to meet them’, i.e. extending their line both ways to confront the Greeks’.

§ 18. διαχάζωντες*] ‘leaving a break in their lines’ is the emendation of Schneider in place of the corrupt διαχάζωντας, and the only instance of its use as an intrans. act. The context shews that οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκα-

δικὸν πελαταῖον means ‘the peltasts in the Arcadian contingent’, with which compare the phrase τοῖς καὶ ἐκατόν (Thuc. vii. 78). It is clear from §§ 15, 16 that these troops were posted in the centre. More often the preposition would indicate troops stationed at (i.e. to confront) a particular part of the enemy’s line.

§ 19. ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις] These villages (according to Ainsworth) correspond with the Greek hamlets which occupy at present the head of the valley leading down from the range of hills mentioned in § 9.

§§ 20, 21. Intoxicating effects of the honey produced in the neighbourhood.

ὅ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν] ‘which at all surprised them’. In combinations of this kind καὶ may increase or lessen the emphasis according to the context. The latter explanation is more in accordance with the negative form of the present sentence.

ἀφροῦς τε ἐγίνοντο] These intoxicating effects were due to certain plants on which the bees had fed, among others the azalea pontica and
the *rhododendron ponticum*. Pliny (xxi. 13) ascribes the same effects to the honey produced in this neighbourhood, and his statements are borne out by Hamilton and others who have made trial of it in more modern times.

[ἀποθησκοων] is of course a participle, ‘men at their last gasp’.

§ 21. *oútw*] ‘as I have described’, ‘in this state’. It is better to take *oútw* in this sense than to connect it closely with the words which follow.

§§ 22—end. The Greeks reach Trapezus, and for thirty days plunder the surrounding territory of the Colchians. Sacrifices to Jupiter and Heracles, and games to celebrate their arrival at the coast.

Τραπεζοντα] Trebizond. Its Greek name was derived in all probability from an isolated and lofty piece of table-land (τραπεζα), which rises on the south-east of the adjoining town. ἀποθησκοω, ‘a colony from Sinope’. Beginners will notice the difference between ἐποικου ‘immigrants’ and ἀποθησκο ‘emigrants’. Thus the same individual is ἐποικος in reference to the country he leaves, and ἐποικος in relation to the country he adopts.

§ 23. ἐνεθεθεν οδρόμυκοι] ‘sallying forth from these’, ‘using these as their base of operations’.

§ 24. συνιετράπτοντο] Observe the force of the preposition διά, ‘they carried on in concert with them a course of negotiations’. The word μαλίστα is referred by Krüger to συνιετράπτοντο, and by Kühner to των ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. I believe that neither explanation can be justified, the rhythm and arrangement of the clause suggesting very decidedly that the adverb is to be connected with οἰκονύμων, ‘those I mean, who had their dwellings directly in the adjacent plain’.

(πλέον)] Neither πλέον nor τὸ πλέον, which it is proposed to substitute for it, are admissible readings in place of the complete phrase ὡς ἐπὶ πλέον. I would suggest πλέον as a simple and effective emendation.

§ 25. ἡν εἰςαντο] Compare § 16. ηγεμόνων are ‘thank-offerings for safe conduct’.

§ 26. τὰ δέρματα παρέδοσαν] To be offered as prizes in the games.

Cf. Herod. II. 91, παρέχεις οἷα κτήμα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα.

μαλλον τι ἀνάστηται] ‘so much the worse for him who is thrown’.

§ 27. αἰχμαλώτων] ‘It has been proposed to substitute Ἀκαδαιμονίων for αἰχμαλώτων and to understand it as referring to the Spartan epheloi who followed the camp, simply on the ground that the Greeks would not allow slaves to compete in their games with freeborn citizens. But any such alteration is quite unnecessary, as it is unlikely that any but adult soldiers would have been allowed to take part in the original expedition, while it is also extremely improbable that the strict rules of entry would have been enforced on such an occasion.

δόλιον] In the σταθιον the course was an eighth of a mile in length, the διάλος was this distance doubled, while the δόλιον or long course consisted of six, twelve or twenty-four stadia according to circumstances.

κατέβησαν] ‘entered the lists’. Lat. ad certamen descenderant.

§ 28. ἔδει] ‘and the course prescribed for them was that they should gallop down the steep till they reached the sea, then turn and work their way back again up hill to the altar’. For the position of the words ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, see note on IV. 1. 3.
NOTES.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Recapitulation of preceding narrative. 

In IV. 5. 6 we find the corresponding phrase ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον. 

ἀφίκουσαι] The optative, for which ἀφίκουσαι is read by a few MSS, throws the sentence into the oblique narration as forming a part of the original words.

§§ 2—4. In accordance with the suggestion of Antilochus it is voted that Cheirisophus shall be despatched to the Spartan admiral, Anaxibius, to obtain from ships for the conveyance of the Greeks.

Θουρίας] Thurii was a city of Lucania in Magna Graecia, founded by a colony of Athenians, and situated on the gulf of Tarentum near the site of Sybaris. 

τοίνυν] ‘now I for my part, said he, am wearied out.’ The word τοίνυν is often introduced thus to soften transitions, a use in which it corresponds with the Latin autem. Its force is scarcely so pronounced as that of igitur in Latin with which Kühner however prefers to compare it.

anaxtis ἀποθεμένοι] A participle is often added thus to ἀπείρηκα and similar verbs, e.g. in Soph. Trach. 789 ἔπει Ϝ ἀπείπε πολλὰ μὲν τὸλας χθονὶ Ρηπτῶν ἑαυτῶν, κ.τ.λ.

φυλακᾶς φυλάττων] For a similar cognate accusative compare στρατηγήσων ταῦτα τὴν στρατηγίαν (I. 3. 15), while φυλακᾶς φυλάζων occurs again in II. 6. 10.

καθεύδων] This participle, which is admitted by Kühner into his text, is rejected by Breitenbach and bracketed by Schneider, Bornemann, and Macmichael. It appears in but one of the five leading MSS, while its presence in the text may be further objected to on the score of internal evidence. The passage in the Sympos. IV. 31, ἡδέως μὴν καθεύδω ἐκτεσμένος, though at first sight analogous, offers no justification for the introduction of the double participle.

ὡσπερ Ὀδυσσέως] The passage which describes the arrival of Ulysses at Ithaca and how he was left asleep on the shore by the Phocian sailors (Od. XIII. 116) is rendered in Pope’s version as follows:

Ulysses sleeping on his couch they bore; 
And gently placed him on the rocky shore.
§ 4. καὶ των ἄνδρων] Three out of the four leading MSS read καὶ before των ἄνδρων which is retained by Kühner and all the best editors: 'and he is too at the present time the admiral of the fleet.' As Kühner points out, the natural order of the sentence των ἄνδρων δὲ καὶ ναυαρχῶν (which would have offended no one) is purposely inverted by the author in order that the words φίλος and ναυαρχῶν may be placed in stronger relief.

πέμψας] to Byzantium, where, as we gather from a passage in VII. 1. 3, the Lacedaemonian admiral was at this time stationed.

εἰπερ] 'since you wish to go by sea,' Macmichael, a rendering which is suggestive rather of εἶπε than of the slight doubt which is almost without exception denoted by εἰπερ. Translate therefore 'if in truth you prefer to go by sea.'

§§ 5—13. A speech is made by Xenophon in which plans are proposed for the maintenance and safety of the Greeks during the absence of Cleirisophus, and other means suggested for securing their return home in case his mission should fail.

§ 6. εὐπορεῖα] 'a supply of funds with which to make purchases,' ὄνομα being of course the genitive of price. This twofold want has been repeatedly referred to in the earlier books as an important consideration in determining the future course of the expedition.

§ 7. σὺν προνοιαῖς] 'with organised forays,' as the word is evidently used in contrast with the expressions ἀμέλεις τε καὶ ἄριστον πορεύεσθαι and ἀλλος πλανᾶσθαι. Muretus suggests the elegant emendation σὺν προδρόμοις, but Kühner sufficiently defends the text by the analogy of the following passage in the Cyrop. (VI. 1. 24) ἐξήγειν ἂν εἰς προνομάς...πῶς ἐν ταῖς ἁγωνίαις τὰς τάξεις ὑπομιμήσκοιντο. The word occurs again in Hyl. IV. 1. 15, though without any explanation which can help us in determining its meaning.

πλανᾶσθαι] In place of the infinitive Kühner reads πλανᾶσθε on the authority of two out of the five leading MSS. I cannot however agree with him, as the return to the oblique narration after the introduction of this parenthesis is surely an awkward and unnatural construction. In either case the infinitive ἐπιμέλειασθαι must depend on the preceding verb δοκεῖ, while ἡμᾶς will refer to the generals, and τούτων to the subject-matter of the entire sentence.

§ 8. ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ] Kühner, and with him Matt. and Jeff, understand γὰρ in this connexion as equivalent to γε ἡρά (cf. Anab. VI. 4. 8 των γὰρ στρατιώτων...τοιοῦτοι όνων κ.τ.λ.) adding the following explanation: saepe γὰρ rationem enunciationis sequentis reddere videtur; at videtur lantum. Madvig, on the other hand, explains it as assigning a relation or circumstance which has been already pointed at by a preceding demonstrative pronoun, and would render it in English by 'namely' or 'that.' It is probably simply proleptic in the sense of ἐπει, 'as some of you will go...therefore I think,' etc.

ὅσοι] i.e. μέλλει εἶπεναι 'and also to inform us of the direction.'

ἐγχειρή τοὺ] which has been emended by most of the editors into ἐγχειρή τι ποιεῖν, is retained by Kühner and Breitenbach on the authority of three at any rate of the five leading MSS, although the passage from Diod. XL 80 ἐπεχειρήσαμεν εἰς τὰς ἀνω σατραπείας, which
they quote in support of it, is hardly an instance in point, as the compound ἐπιχειρεῖν is more indicative of motion, and the object likewise is more definitely expressed.

ἐβ’ οὖς ἄν ἑως[.] By understanding δύναμιν directly as a noun of multitude, i.e. ‘the troops,’ ‘the force,’ we can avoid the necessity of supplying τούτων with οὖς, which is the alternative explanation suggested by Kühner and the other editors.

§ 9. κατὰ μέρος μερισθέντες is the reading of all the mss with the exception of one which gives μερισθόμενοι φολάττοντες. Notwithstanding, Kühner is almost the only editor who retains μερισθέντες as part of the text, Schneider and others considering it to have been added in explanation of κατὰ μέρος. They contend moreover that εἰς μέρη μερίζειν rather than κατὰ μέρος μερίζειν is the legitimate phrase, an objection which is anticipated by Kühner when he proposes to disconnect the words κατὰ μέρος from the participle, and to understand them in the sense of ‘by turns.’ It is doubtful however whether even this concession is needed, as the analogous phrases κατὰ μέρη διηρθημένοι, κατ’ ἀναπαύλας διηρτημένοι are found in Thucydides (e.g. ii. 75).

ἠπαν[.] a poetical word, denoting either the pursuit as in Soph. Ἀμ. 2, πείραν τιν’ ἐχθρῶν ἀρπάσαν θερώμενον, or the capture as in Soph. Ἀντ. 432 σῶν δὲ μν Θερώμεθ’ εὐθὺς οὐδὲν ἐκπεπληγμένη.

§ 10. ἥξει[.] for which two out of the five best mss give ἥξοι, is rightly retained by the editors, as the form of the sentence implies that the hypothesis is presumptively, though not actually, realised. ‘Granting that we had been assured of his return.’ Cf. Madv. obs. gr. p. 20, and Dem. Megal. § 12 οὖδ’ ἄν ύμεις ἣθελήσατε δήποτε σώζειν αὐτόν, εἰ τούτο προσλέγον ύμίν ὅτι σωθέντες…οὐδεμιαν ύμίν χάριν ἔζουσι τῆς σωτηρίας.

ὑπαρχόντων ἐνθάδε[.] ‘while we have ships ready on the spot.’

§ 11. μακρὰ πλοία[.] παντεῖς λογώς. Observe that with the verbs κατάγομεν καὶ φυλάττομεν it is πλοία alone, and not μακρὰ πλοία, that must be supplied. ‘If therefore we were to ask for the loan of some ships of war, and (by this means) bring the craft into harbour and detain them there, unshipping their rudders…we should probably secure the necessary means of conveyance.’

τὰ πηδάλια παραλυόμενοι[.] The object of this manoeuvre, the nature of which has been fully explained by Prof. Paley in his note to Eur. Ἑλ. 1536, was of course to render escape impossible.

§ 12. ἐννοήσατε…εἰ εἰκός[.] ‘bethink you whether it be not right,’ a construction which occurs again in III. 2. 22 σκέψασθε εἰ ἡρὰ τότῳ καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι, where I have discussed it in a note as peculiar to Xenophon and objectionable for the ambiguity which it causes in the sense.

ναῦλων ἔννοδοθα[.] ‘to come to terms with them about the price of the passage.’ It is not impossible however that ναῦλων may be used in the more general sense of ‘pay,’ as, independent of what they were to receive in the shape of passage-money, the crews would probably require some compensation for the loss of time caused by their detention in harbour.

§ 13. ἅν ἡρὰ[.] ‘if, as may possibly be the case, these efforts on
our part should prove unsuccessful.' On the authority of three good MSS Bornemann endeavours to defend the reading ἀρκεῖν in place of ἀρκεῖν. The two passages however which he quotes in support of his theory (Isocr. Soph. 3 p. 504, and Xen. R. eq. vi. 15) are with reason objected to by Kühner, as in both cases the statements have reference to realised facts.

ταῖς παρὰ θάλασσαν οἰκονήμασι] For the accusative see III. 1. 1.

§§ 14—end. The assembly declines to entertain the question of a land journey, in consequence of which Xenophon makes private arrangements with the inhabitants for the repair of the roads. Dexippus a Spartan, and Polyceates an Athenian, receive each the command of a galley. Defection of Dexippus, and death of Cleanthes in a foray.

ἐπεφήσως μὲν οὐδὲν] 'put nothing formally to the vote.' Ἐπιψηφίζειν with an accusative occurs again in VII. 3. 14, and the addition is so common with every class of verb as scarcely to need comment, had not ἐπεφήσωσε μὲν οὐ, ἐνιαὶ δὲ πόλεις been proposed as an emendation. That no change is necessary is sufficiently proved by Dindorf, who further suggests that ἐνιαὶ δὲ πόλεις would be questionable Greek in place of the more usual ἐνιαὶ δὲ τῶν πόλεων.

§ 15. περιοκοῦν] 'a Lacedaemonian provincial.' The perioci were the free inhabitants of the towns round Sparta, and consisted in a great measure of the native population who had given place to their conquerors. They were excluded from civil but not from military offices, and held a position midway between the Spartans (or δυνατοὶ) on the one hand and the Helots and Neodamos on the other. For further information see in particular Grote, Arn. Thuc. I. 101, Valck. Hecod. ix. II, and Phil. Mis II. p 63.

ἐξῳ τοῦ Πώντου] Amongst other places, as Kühner points out, Byzantium is meant, where Dexippus endeavoured to prejudice Xenophon and the Greek army in the eyes of Anaxibius and Clearchus (VI. I. 32, VI. 6. 9).

πολυτραγομονών τι] The same class of accusative which we have noticed above in reference to ἐπεφήσως μὲν οὐδὲν, the precise meaning of which it is often difficult to determine. Thus πολυτραγομονῶν τι may mean either (1) to do some one thing in a meddlesome way, or (2) to be meddlesome in many things after some one fashion: while the same ambiguity is found in the case of ἐπεφήσωσεν οὐδὲν, which may equally well be rendered 'he put no formal question,' or 'he did not put that particular question in any form.'

§ 16. κατῃγεν] The optative and the imperfect are alike frequentative in force.

χρῆσαντο] So Kühner alone on the authority of the four leading MSS, while ἔχρησαντο, which is adopted by the rest of the editors, he regards as an attempt to reduce the sentence to a grammatical form, and defends the reading of the text on the following grounds. Τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις εἰς παραγώγην ἔχρηστο would, he thinks, have been the regular form of the words, had not the author, as the sentence was in progress, diverted by a species of attraction the verb of the leading clause into the mood of the subordinate.
Ingenious as the above explanation undoubtedly is, I can yet see no objection to the simpler expedient of making χρήσαντο depend like εἰς directly upon δῶσω, in which case the verb χρήσαντο will refer more particularly to the idea contained in the words τὰ ἀγώνια ἐξαιροῦμενοι, 'they removed the cargoes to make the ships available for cruising work along the coast.'

εἰς παραγωγήν] Not, I think, 'for the transmission of their troops,' as Sturz suggests, but 'for cruising work along the coast,' under which I would include the conveyance of provisions for the army, whether peaceably or by plundering from their neighbours. Kühner and Krüger consider that depredation was the sole object in view on the strength of a passage from Diod. xiv. 31, ἐληστευον τοὺς περιοικοῦντας βαρβάρους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—3. To increase their stock of supplies, Xenophon leads out half the army on an expedition against the Drilae, who lay waste their own lands, and then take refuge in their principal stronghold.

ἀπαυνθημερίςεων] 'to return the same day,' is one of the quasi-poetical compounds which form such a marked feature in the language of Xenophon.

στρατόπεδον] which is the reading of the four best mss, has been adopted by Kühner and the majority of the editors, on the ground that the variant στράτευμα does not imply the idea of a camp, which is clearly required by the context.

εἰς Δρίλας] A tribe who occupied a tract of country to the south of Trebizond, and whom Arrian under the name of Δρίλλας (Periāl. p. 123) confounds with the Σαννί of a later date. Kühner however identifies the Σαννί with the Μαρκόνες mentioned in IV. 8. 1.

πολλά...ἀθρόοι] 'collected in numbers.'

§ 2. αὐτοῦ] is introduced κατὰ σύνεσιν, as δυνατον in the previous clause is virtually equivalent to εἰς τούτους ἀφ' ὑπ. Cf. Herod. ix. 1 ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γλύνωτο, τούτους παρελαμβάνε.

§ 3. εἶναι ἑδοκεῖ] Kühner and Breitenbach adopt this order of the words on the authority of two leading mss, while ἑδοκεῖ εἶναι is preferred by Krüger, Bornemann, Schneider and others. The rhythm of the sentence is in favour of the reading in the text, while the usage of the historians, who with the exception of Thucydides preferred a natural to a rhythmical order, is distinctly in favour of ἑδοκεῖ εἶναι.

§§ 4—16. An attack made on the fort by two thousand light-armed troops fails, but, acting on their advice, Xenophon organises a regular assault which proves successful.

προδραμύνετες] for which most of the mss give προτρέχοντες, is found in the four leading mss, though in two of them it appears
EXPEDITIO CYRI. [V. II. 5—9

in the manifestly corrupt form προδραμόντες. Tr. ‘having outstripped the heavy-armed troops by five or six stadia.’

[Δωρυφόροι] The editors are agreed in referring this word to casual members of the attacking party who had armed themselves thus for purposes of plunder rather than to some definite body of troops who were known by this name.

eis διαχλιων] The preposition, though it does not appear in three of the leading MSS, has been restored by the majority of the editors on the assumption that it may easily have been merged in the first three letters of the word διαχλιων.

§ 5. ἄναβεβλημένη] is usually regarded as a condensed expression. Thus Bornemann renders it ‘fossa ducta humo egesta,’ ‘a trench, formed by throwing up the soil that came from it.’ But there is little question that, in addition to the idea of a trench, the substantive τάφρος suggested by implication an agger, the formation of which was a simultaneous process, and, if so, we need seek no further for an explanation of the participle ἄναβεβλημένη. The ambiguity of the word τάφρος has been exactly reproduced in our modern use of the term ‘dyke.’

ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμβολῆς] Cf. ἀμβολᾶς γῆ (Cypr. VII. 5, 12), and also the phrase δικέλλης ἐκβολῆ, ‘earth thrown up by spade,’ which appears in Soph. Antig. 250.

ἀπέναι δῆ ἐπεχείρου] ‘so they attempted to retire.’

§ 6. ἀποτρέχειν] This verb is peculiarly applicable to denote the quick retreat of a light-armed force, and doubly so if we revert to the commencement of § 4, προδραμόντες στάδια πέντε ἢ τῶν ὀπλιστῶν.

ἐφ’ ενὸς] ‘in single file.’ De fronte aut latitudine dictum est, Krüg., who compares Cypr. II. 4. 2. It is also used of depth. Cf. I. 2. 15, ἐκάχθησαν οὐν ἐπὶ τεττάρων.

§ 7. ὁ δ’ ἐκθών] i.e. ὁ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα περιφελες, as we may easily gather from the preceding section.

§ 8. θέσθαι...τὰ ὄπλα] ‘to stand to their arms.’ See Grote on Thuc. II. 2. ‘The phrase θέσθαι τὰ ὀπλα will be found fully explained in the note to the words ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ (IV. 2. 16). Its force in the present instance will correspond with the second of the proposed renderings.

ὡς ἄλωντος ἄν τοῦ χιορίου] ‘in the hope that by so doing the place might be taken.’ The construction will be found fully explained in Jelf, § 429. 3, the ἄν of course implying the hypothesis ei οὔτοι διαβεβλημένοι ορ ei τοῦτο γέγονοτο. The participle with ἄν being a recognised usage in these conditional clauses, it is hardly necessary to say, with Kühner and Macmichael, that ὡς ἄλωντος ἄν stands for νομίζοντα ὤτι ἄλογη ἄν.

§ 9. ἄνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν] The entire sentence is eminently characteristic of Xenophon’s style, as it is simple even to baldness. ‘For a retreat was judged to be an impossibility without incurring a heavy loss, while the captains on their part thought they could take the place.’

ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν] This use of the perfect passive in place of the perfect middle is particularly common in Demosthenes, e.g. πεποίηται (κατ’ Ἀνδροτ. 617). Occasionally (as in Anab. I. 6. 9) we find the substantive γνώμην added, and as a rule without the article, the omission of which
may be justified on the same grounds as the omission of the substantive, i.e. that the verb had become a recognised part of this particular phrase, and therefore required no substantive to explain and no article to limit its meaning. By a corresponding idiom we find the subject often omitted with the verbs κηρύσσειν, σαλπίζειν, γραμματεύειν and the like.

έσται] For the substitution of this mood in place of the optative see note on διέλθοιεν (IV. i. 3) and again on ἔσται (IV. 3. 29). The construction is usually explained as an easy and natural transition from the oblique to the direct narration without any particular reason being suggested in each case for the change. This does not, I think, sufficiently explain the successive alterations of mood which appear in Thuc. III. 22 and in the passage quoted above from the Anabasis (IV. 1. 3). In these and similar cases the author evidently resorts to the indicative with the intention of giving greater reality to the idea he is contemplating.

§ 11. έκαστον] is to be taken with τῶν λοχαγῶν, ‘he directed each of his captains to form his men in whatever order he thought they would fight to the best advantage.’ Ποιεῖν is the regular word which Xenophon uses in this connexion (e.g. IV. 8. 14), and it is difficult to imagine how the idea of ‘influencing their men by a speech,’ to which Kühner objects, can ever have been seriously suggested as an explanation.

περι ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιοῦντο] The somewhat similar phrase ἀρτήρια μεταποιεῖσθαι is used by Thucydides in his account of the Plague (II. 51). Agias, who was one of the λοχαγοὶ in question, is mentioned in terms of similar praise in IV. 1. 27, and again in IV. 7. 11.

§ 12. (δεύσον)] On the authority of four good mss, Kühner and Breitenbach have omitted this accusative absolute after ἀκοντίζειν, retaining it, however, with the second verb τοξεύειν. It is almost impossible that it can have been introduced by the author with both infinitives, and equally impossible to regard it as understood with the first verb ἀκοντίζειν, which is Kühner’s suggestion. That its place is with the first infinitive, from which it can readily be supplied with the second, is almost a self-evident fact, nor need we hesitate to restore it to its proper position in the sentence, as it clearly formed part of the text and has simply been misplaced in some of the mss through ignorance or carelessness.

The expressions διηγκυλωμένους and ἐπιβεβληθαί ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς will be found fully explained in a note on IV. 3. 28, where they occur again in close connexion.

τούς γυμνότας] It is most unusual to find γυμνότας used thus in contradistinction with τοξότας and ἀκοντίστας, both of which terms it usually includes.

ἐπιμεληθήναι] i.e. ὅστε ἐπιμεληθήναι, nor can I at all agree with Kühner’s suggestion that the infinitive depends on ἐπιτηθείον. The use of the article with ἐπιτηθεῖον, the position of ἐπιμεληθήναι, and the rhythm of the entire sentence are all in favour of our translating the passage thus: ‘he sent fit persons to superintend these arrangements.’

§ 13. οἱ ὑπολοχαγοὶ] The best editors understand this word as equivalent to πεντηκοστῆρες. Cf. III. 4. 21.


Krüger objects to the introduction of the particles μὲν δὴ in the present instance on the ground that they make the assertion unnecessarily strong. But considering the explanation which immediately follows, and the corresponding passage in Συνομιλ. III. 3. 48 (ἐλεγον, δὲ...καὶ παρακελεύοντο μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἐπὶ ἐξώ οὕσι πολλά), Kühn is probably right in retaining them after the best MSS. The admirable emendation μενοειδῆς has been generally accepted by the editors in place of μονοειδῆς which is the reading of all the best MSS, and the alteration is confirmed by Poppo, who points out that in Thuc. II. 76 one of the MSS exhibits precisely the same corruption. The reading of the text is illustrated by Krüger from Herod. VIII. 16, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μενοειδὲς ποιη
cavites τῶν νεῶν ἐκκλέουστο, ὡς περιδάβοις αὐτῶν.

§ 14. ἀμα τε] These words introduce the apodosis to the passage contained in § 13, the construction having been broken in the meantime by an explanatory parenthesis, and by the insertion of the additional clause ἐπεί δι᾽ ἐπαινεῖαν κ.τ.λ.

τῷ Ἐνυάλῳ] Cf. I. 8. 18, ἐφθέγξαντο πάντες ὅλων περ τῷ Ἐνυάλῳ ἐκκλήσει. In this instance the ἄλαλή is clearly distinguished from the paean, while they are apparently regarded as identical by the scholiast on Thuc. I. 50, who says that an engagement was preceded by a paean to Enyalus, and followed by one to Apollo. The ἄλαλή was in fact the war-cry, while the paean was a prayer or a thanksgiving for victory.

Students will observe the change of tense from the aorist ἄλαλάζειν to the imperfects ἔθεον and ἐφέρετο.

ὁμοῖος] for which Poppo and Dindorf read ὁμός, hardly requires the elaborate defence of Kühn. ὁμός could only mean that the missiles met in mid air, a fact on which Xenophon would not have wasted his words.

§ 15. ἀναβεβήκει] 'had got up without aid.' A similar omission of the augment (τετήκει) is found in IV. 5. 15.

§ 16. ἔξω] Notice the proleptic use of ἔξω, 'kept them out.' The order of the words is of course as follows; ὄποιοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔδυνατο (κατακυλήσαν) ἔξω κατεκτᾶον.

§§ 17—27. The Greeks are still harassed by a portion of the enemy entrenched within the citadel, whom they finally dislodge by firing the surrounding buildings.

καὶ ἔχοντες] 'actually retaining what they had taken.' For this intensifying force of καὶ, see a note on καὶ πάλιν (IV. 2. 13). It is scarcely necessary to point out that τάξα is used in the sense of ἵσως, 'and it may be that one or two were wounded.' I see however that one of the editors is at pains to prove that it means 'presently.'

οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες] We can scarcely compare this expression with τοὺς πιπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων (IV. 5. 7), where I have objected to the phrase as an unnatural one if we take into consideration the meaning of the verb. We can speak of a body of men as simultaneously engaged in playing, fighting and the like, but such an expression as οἱ πιπτοντες appears to me indefensible.

§ 18. τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας] This includes the Greek troops who were
in retreat from the town and the Drilae who were in pursuit of them.

§ 19. ἐξεκομισαντο] The accusative may be readily supplied from the word πάντα above. For ἔθεντο τὰ ὅταλα see note on § 8.

§ 21. τῶν ἄφοδων] 'thereupon they commenced their preparations for the retreat, and each party proceeded to pull down the palisading in their neighbourhood,' the object being to increase the facilities of egress.

Observe the distinction between ἐκαστος and ἐκαστος, and compare Thuc. II. 39, 'never have the Lacedaemonians met us with only a part of their forces.' For the phrase τοὺς καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς see note on διαχάζωντας (iv. 8. 18) and Thuc. VII. 78. It is often used as in the present instance to denote what is stationed at (i.e. over against) a person or thing.

καὶ τοὺς ἀχρείους] for which we might have expected τοὺς δὲ ἀχρείους after the preceding μὲν, is easily explicable, as no antithesis is intended between τοὺς μὲν σταύρους...δίψουν and τοὺς ἄχρειους ἐπεσέμποντο, the particle μὲν being intended simply to emphasize what follows. The word ἀχρείους is equivalent to ἀχριστοὺς in III. 4. 26, and for the middle ἐπεσέμπωντο compare ἀπεπεμψάμεθα, Dem. κατὰ Κων. § 1257, 'we caused the slaves to be removed.'

καταλιπόντες] i.e. καταλιπότες ἐκείνους οἱ ἐκαστος ἐπίστευεν. There is a slight difficulty caused in this passage by the position of the words καταλιπότες οἱ λοχαγοὶ. They cannot certainly be taken with the verbs παρακενάζωντο and διψοῦν, while to connect them with ἐπεσέμπωντο necessitates a sudden change of nominative and does not explain their position in the sentence. I prefer therefore to understand them as a nominative absolute, which is very frequently added thus towards the close of a paragraph.

§ 22. κράνη Παφλαγονικα] These were of leather, as we find from V. 4. 13, and πεσλεγμένα according to Herod. VII. 72.

§ 23. ἢ νυξ...ἐπισύσα] 'the approach of night alarmed them.' In the following section Macmichael calls attention to the occurrence of an iambic line: Ἰεὼν τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας. Although the participle ἀπορομένων is found in Dem. κατὰ Κων. § 1260 in a passive sense, 'when my life was almost despaired of,' ἀπορομένων is no doubt to be taken as equivalent to ἀποροομένων in the present passage.

§ 24. ὅτου δὴ ἐναψαντο] Cf. ὁτοῦ δὴ παρεγγυήσαντο (IV. 7. 25). For the use of the preposition in the phrase οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξίᾳ ὁλικῶν, which is a condensed expression for οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁλικῶν δυτες ἐκ τοῦτων ἐφευγον, compare IV. 2. 19 πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦτο τοῦ τόπου συνερήσαν.

§ 26. οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα] 'the enemy in the front.' White's interpretation of this passage, which implies that the Greeks were retreating without confronting the foe, is manifestly inconsistent with the words οἱ κατὰ στόμα.

ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχοιεν] 'might have their attention turned that way.' The expression occurs again in III. 5. 14. In the Bell. Gall. II. 7, Caesar gives an account of a similar stratagem which was practised upon him by the Bellovaci: in addition to which many of Xenophon's words and phrases are suggestive of the passage in which Thucydides

...
describes the attempt made on Plataea by the Lacedaemonians (Bk. II. §77), although the object of the manœuvre in that case was entirely different.

§§ 28—end. The expedient devised by Mysus for the protection of the Greeks during their return to the camp.

§ 29. Μυσᾶς τὸ γένος] 'a Mysian by birth and called too by that name,' a passage which is exactly illustrated in Luc. Τάξ. 28, οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ Σῦρος καὶ τοῦφαμα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα. That the practice was an ordinary one with the Greeks is clear from the plays of Plautus where such proper names as Persa, Cappadoc, &c. are of common occurrence.

δέκα] The reading δέκα is a doubtful one, though adopted by the best editors including Kühner, Dindorf, and Poppo. It appears in four of the MSS including three of the best, while the majority give τέταρτας ἡ πέντε. Bornemann, while objecting to this latter number as too small for the purpose, thinks that the original reading was probably τέταρτας ἡ πέντε καὶ δέκα.

προσεποεῖτο] 'made as though he were endeavouring to avoid the enemy's notice.'

ἀλλοτε καὶ ἀλλοτε] is adopted by Kühner and Bornemann after five of the leading MSS, while the rest point (with variations) to the reading ἀλλῃ καὶ ἀλη. Considering the context, and that the object of the stratagem was to give an exaggerated idea of the numbers concealed, I am strongly inclined to read ἀλλῃ καὶ ἀλη, which, notwithstanding Kühner's assertion to the contrary, places this fact in a far stronger light than the alternative reading ἀλλοτε καὶ ἀλλοτε, 'their shields gleamed through now and then.'

§ 30. ὑπεληθυθέναι] 'and when Mysus thought that his friends had got far enough on their way.' Dindorf is almost the only editor of note who joins τῷ Μυσᾶ with what follows, and understands ὁ Ξενοφῶν as the subject of ἐσάημυνε. The strongest argument in favour of this punctuation, though unnoticed by Kühner, is the introduction of ὦς in the succeeding clause, which is almost superfluous if we regard ὁ Μυσᾶ as the nominative to ἐσάημυνε.

The preposition in the compound ὑπεληθυθέναι very often gives this idea of secrecy and stealthiness. The tense of the verb, no less than the circumstances of the case, are against our understanding it of a slow or measured retreat, while I do not appreciate the force of Macmichael's rendering, 'when he thought they had gone from under far enough.'

§ 31. ἀλλοκισθαί γὰρ ἡφασαν τῷ δρόμῳ] with which Kühner well compares οὐκ ἡφασαν πορεύεσθαι (IV. 5. 15), is simply the statement of the men at the time of the occurrence, and not (as Krüger understands it) their account of the matter after they had returned to the camp. In the direct narration these words would have been as follows: εἰ τρέψο-μεν, ἡφασαν, ἀλλοκισθαί, while the present infinitive is used in place of the future, as in the passage referred to above, to give additional prominence to the certainty of the result.

καλυφοῦμενοι] Kühner notices this form as less common than κυλυ-δοῦμενοι but in occasional use with even the best writers.

§ 32. ἐπὶ τὸδα ἀνεγύρων] 'retreated backwards,' i.e. with their face to the foe, which is the usual signification of the phrase, the idea of
III. 1—4] NOTES. 471

'slowly,' 'step by step,' being quite a secondary and derived one. Cf. Cyrop. VII. 5. 6, ἀπ’ ἰδον, ἐὼς μὲν ἑξικνεῦτο τὰ βέλη ἀπὸ τοῦ τεῖχους, ἐπὶ πόλις ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξω βελῶν ἐγένετο, στραφέντες.

In the concluding sentence of the section πάντες refers to the entire party who had joined in the original foray and not merely to the handful of men with Mysus.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—3. As Cheirisophus had not returned and supplies were failing them, the Greeks proceeded by land with the exception of the feeblest of their number, who were conveyed on ship-board under charge of Philesius and Sophnaenus. Arrival at Cerasus, where they remained for ten days and a review of the troops took place.

§ 2. Κερασώντα] The site of this place is not identical with that of the modern Kerasunt, which is more than sixty miles from Trebizond, and could hardly have been reached by the Greeks in a three days' march, even in their present unencumbered state. More probably the town was situated in a watered valley bearing the same name (Kirasun Darah su) and thickly planted with cherry trees, whence Lucullus is supposed to have introduced the fruit into Europe.

ὁν τοῖς ὄπλοις] for which ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις is the more usual expression, is read by Kühner on the authority of the two leading MSS. It must be carefully noticed that the entire total ὀκτακασχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι includes not merely the hoplites (who are stated in IV. 8. 15 to have numbered less than 8000 men) but all the armed troops of whatever class, baggage carriers and the crowd of camp-followers being alone excluded.

§ 3. (ἐκ τῶν ἄμφι τῶν μυρίων)] These words, which are omitted by Kühner on the authority of the three chief MSS, may I think have been due to a copyist who understood σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις above as referring to the hoplites alone, the original number of whom was 10,400 according to the statement given in 1. 7. 10. From the same passage we find that the rest of the troops under arms amounted to 2,500, thus raising the combined total to 12,900, a number too large to be referred to in the phrase ἄμφι τῶν μυρίων, at any rate in a passage where we may fairly expect the author to have been precise in his language.

ἐλ τις νοσώ] sub. ἀπώλεσο, with which Kühner compares in Latin et si quis morbo (perit) and similar phrases. The expression is characteristic of the Greek language in which acknowledged facts are often stated in a hypothetical form, even when there is no suggestion, as there is in the present instance, of a limited application. 'The remainder died in battle or from the effects of the snow, and some few perhaps from disease.'

§§ 4—end. The prisoners are sold and the proceeds divided, a portion being reserved for a thank-offering to Apollo and Artemis. An account by anticipation of Xenophon's exile at Scillus, and of the uses to which he applied his share of the prize-money.

τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμ. ἄργ. γεν.] 'the money which arose from the sale of the captives.' Students will observe the position of the sub-
stantive ἀργύριον which by a common idiom is made to precede the participle, a completeness being thus given to the combined phrase which could not have been obtained by closing it with a substantive.

(kai) διέλαβον] Three good mss which Kühner follows retain the kal, and, if we accept this reading, we must take the verbs ἐξείλον...kai διέλαβον in close connexion, making the accusative δεκάτην depend on diaλαμβάνοντι in the previous clause. There would be no valid objection to this reading and punctuation if it were not for the position of the words καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι. As it is, the connexion of ἐξείλον...kai διέλαβον is made so awkward by their insertion that I have not hesitated to omit the kal with the majority of the editors, regarding the accusative δεκάτην as dependent on the verb διέλαβον.

Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος] who, as we gather from v. 6. 36, had been his ὑποστρατηγός.

Asines was a town on the coast of Laconia.
§ 5. τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπολλώνος] sub. μέρος, as the corresponding phrase τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος which follows clearly shows. It is not equally plain, however, how the words are governed, whether by ποιητέμενος 'caused an offering to be made out of the share due to Apollo,' or, as is less probable, by ἀνατιθέον ἠδίκεις the share due unto Apollo, having caused an offering to be made.'

τὸν...τῶν Ἄραγαλών θησαυρόν] These private treasuries, which might be secured either by a nation or an individual, are noticed by Herodotus and also by Strabo (ix. p. 420).
§ 6. τὴν εἰς Βουιότους ὀδόν] In allusion to the expedition which Agesilaus in conjunction with the Thebans undertook against the Athenians, and which culminated in the fight at Coronea, B.C. 394.

Μεγαβόζω] This, as may be gathered from Lucian and other writers, was the common title of the priests and guardians of Diana's temple at Ephesus.

The words μετὰ Ἀγγειλάου ἐν Κορωνελά are, as Kühner points out, an evident interpolation, if only from the fact that at the period to which Xenophon is referring it would have been impossible for him to forecast the battle of Coronea.

ἂν ἐκ τὶ πάθη] A euphemism for ἄν ἀποθάνῃ. Except in the case of the three leading mss 'ἐκ δὲ τὶ πάθει is the recognised reading of the sentence, though Kühner rightly rejects it, as the usual distinction between the subjunctive and the optative would be perfectly out of place in a passage like the present.

ἀναθέωναι ποιησάμενον] 'to get some offering made with it which he thought would find favour with Artemis and dedicate it to her.'

§ 7. ἔφυγεν] I have not ventured to follow Kühner in deserting this reading (which is found in all but two of the mss) in favour of the more obvious tense ἔφυγεν. Moreover Thirlwall's defence of the text appears to me entirely satisfactory, who regards ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν κ.τ.λ. as equivalent in sense to ἐπεὶ φυγᾶς ὑπὸ κατφκει, the matter of the banishment being in his idea a merely incidental statement in connexion with the residence at Scillus and therefore naturally expressed by the aorist ἔφυγεν.

According to Diog. Laer. (II. § 51) Xenophon was banished ἐπὶ
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Δακωνισμῷ, while the present passage might seem to imply that the immediate cause was his connexion with Agesilaeus in the above-mentioned expedition to Boeotia. On the other hand, if we accept the statement of Pausanias (v. 6. 4), comparing with it Xenophon's own words in III. 1. 5 and VII. 7. 57, we shall probably agree with Thirlwall who finds the cause of his banishment in his attachment to the service of Cyrus. For a further notice of the subject, see commencement of Introd. i.

ἐν Σκιλλαύντι] Scillus was in Elis near Olympia, where an estate had been assigned to Xenophon by the Lacedaemonians.

ὀίκουθέντος] Kühner is no doubt right in retaining οἰκουθέντος with all the mss., though his objection to the emendation οἰκουθέντι on the ground that we know nothing of the colonization of Scillus by Lacedaemon is anything but forcible. Nor again am I able to accept his suggestion that οἰκουθέντος may refer to Xenophon and be an equivalent for κατοικουθέντως, a usage of which he quotes no other example. Consequently, retaining οἰκουθέντος in the text, I should prefer to understand it as referring to Scillus, the genitive absolute being introduced thus by a very common idiom when it is required to give additional prominence or emphasis to a statement.

θεωρῆσων] 'to be a spectator at the games.' By ὁ θεὸς Apollo is meant.

§ 8. καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ] For the position and force of δὲ see note on καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ (IV. 1. 13) and again on καὶ κλέψαι δὲ (IV. 6. 13). With θῆραι πάντων ὑπόσα ... θῆρα cf. VI. 3. 15 ἐκέλευε δὲ καλείν ἅπαντα, ὅτω εὔπγακῶν καυσίμω, ἱ. ἃπαντα καύσιμα κ.τ.λ.

§ 9. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἀεί] The adverb ἀεί is purposely placed in an ambiguous position, although the rhythm of the sentence suggests that it is to be connected with what precedes 'and so for all future time' rather than with δεκατέων in the sense of 'on each occasion.'

ὀμοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες] This position of the words, for which ἄνδρες ὀμοί καὶ γυναίκες would have been more usual and also (considering the ambiguity caused by the previous nominatives) more natural, is illustrated by Kühner from Eur. Héracl. 455, and Hom. Od. IX. 75.

λάχος] is used poetically for μέρος as in VI. 1. 2, 'a share of the victims taken from the sacred pasture and of the hunted animals as well.'

§ 10. εἰς τὴν ἔορθην] 'about the time of the feast,' on the analogy of εἰς τὴν ύπερπάλαιν and similar phrases, though it is possible to understand the preposition as meaning simply 'to meet the requirements of the feast.'

καὶ ἄνδρες] i.e. adults, as contrasted with οἱ Ξενοφώντος παῖδες καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν πολιτῶν.

Phoile was the spur of a mountain range in Arcadia, closely over-hanging Olympia, and according to Cramer identical with what is now known as Μαύρο Βούνι.

§ 11. ἡ] sc. τῇ ὁδῷ ἡ, 'now it lies on the road by which men travel from Lacedaemon to Olympia.' The reading ἡ χῶρα is retained by Kühner after the four leading mss. in preference to ὁ τόπος which appears in the majority. At the same time he is inclined to agree with Bornemann who thinks that both the one substantive and the other are interpolations by copyists.
§ 12. ἀλσος] which is akin to the Lat. saltus, is an open expanse or glen, while ἴμερα δένδρα are sativae or feraces arbores. The sentence which follows contains a good example of the σχῆμα κατὰ σύνεσιν or πρὸς τὸ σημανώμενον, the phrase ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὑπάρχει being accommodated to the idea of fruits, which is suggested but not expressed in the words ἴμερων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη. The explanation which limits the use of the word τρωκτα to such fruits as are eaten raw by way of dessert is due to a commentary by Perizonius on Aelian (V. H. i. 31).

§ 13. παρὰ τοῦ ναὸν] This use of the preposition with an accusative in a passage where no idea of motion or extension is implied should be noticed as an irregularity on the part of the author. It may be fanciful to suggest that ἐστὶ παρὰ possibly represents some idea like the following 'was (brought and) placed by the chapel.'

With καταθύεω supply χρη or some equivalent verb, which it is customary to omit in writing inscriptions, etc.

ἐκ τοῦ περιττοῦ] 'from the residue,' while ἐπισκευάζεω is to 'repair,' 'refit,' according to the regular use of the compound.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—10. On the arrival of the Greeks at the territory of the Mossynaeci one portion of the inhabitants attempts to stop their progress while the other concludes an alliance with them.

§ 2. τοὺς Μοσσυννοίκους ὄριοι] The Mossynaeci, or Mossyni as Pliny styles them, were a tribe on the shores of the Euxine, situated between the Tibarenii and the Drilae, and their territory extended nearly seventy miles along the coast from the neighbourhood of Trebizond on the west as far as the district of Pharmacia. From VIII. 8. 25 we learn that they were independent of the Persian authority. It is said that they derived their name from μοῦσαν 'a wooden tower,' owing to the character of their dwellings.

προῖκενυ θύτα] The duties of the proceins, which it is the fashion to compare carelessly with those of a consul in modern times, will be found fully discussed in Smith's Dict. Antiq. under the word hospitium.

In addition to other essential points of difference, the proceins was not a member of the nation whose interests he befriended, while as regards his place of residence and the primitive and unofficious character of his duties he had nothing in common with the consul of our times.

διήρων] 'they would not give them a passage.' This emendation of Jacobs is suggested by the reading δεδοίσεων which appears in one good MS, and is now generally accepted in place of διοίσεων which is justly rejected by Poppo as a barbarous form. How constantly these verbs are interchanged in the MSS will be seen by referring to a note on the word διοίσουσαν in III. 2. 23.

§ 3. εἰσον αὐτοῖς] Kühner follows three good MSS in reading τολεμέων εἰσότοι εἰσών, but the introduction of the word αὐτοῖς is essential to the context, while his suggestion that εἰσών is used in a δεικτικ sense is
not I think borne out by the character of the passage. I have therefore
without hesitation retained the ordinary reading with Bornemann.

οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα] 'the Mossynocci who dwelt beyond them.'

ἀλ χαίντο] ' (to see) whether they were willing.' For this con-
struction see note on ὑποφείδομεν, ἐλ πῶσ εὐθελήσειν ... διὰν (iv. 1. 8),
where I have quoted a still more striking example from Soph. Antig. 414.

§ 5. διασωθήναι] Observe the force of the tense, 'to get safe
through to Greece.' The MSS with the exception of four of the best
give εἰς in place of πρὸς. The former is the preposition ordinarily used
in this connexion, and the single instance to which Kühner appeals for
his defence of the present combination (Cyrop. v. 4. 16, ἐσώζοντο πρὸς
τὸ στρατόπεδον) is hardly a satisfactory vindication of the text, more
especially as στρατόπεδον is virtually a noun of multitude.

§ 6. εἰ τί ποτε] for which εἰ τί πῶποθ' is the ordinary reading, is
adopted by Kühner after three MSS as the usual phrase when the propo-
sition does not take a negative form.

ὑπηρέτους εἰναι τούτους] We should naturally have expected ἔχειν in
place of εἰναι, but the construction of the sentence is varied as if δια-
πράξεσθε or some other similar verb had preceded in place of the phrase
ἔχεις τὸν ἥμι.

§ 7. αὖθις] The authority of two MSS, though of unquestionable
weight, is scarcely sufficient to warrant Kühner in defying euphony by
reading ἀδ for αὖθις.

§ 9. τί ἡμῶν δεῖσθε χρῆσασθαι] A combination of two construc-
tions, (i.) τί ἡμῶν δεῖσθε, and (ii.) τί δείσθε ἡμῶν χρῆσασθαι, with
which compare a very similar passage from Soph. Trach. 57,

...ἐλ πατρὸς
νέμοι τῳ ὑψι τοῦ καλῶς πράσσει νόκειν,
and another from Soph. Antig. 490,

...τῇνδε γὰρ
ἐπαιτιῶμαι τοῦθεν βουλεύσαι τάφου.

In the majority of these cases another and perhaps a simpler expla-
nation is admissible, viz. to regard the infinitive as exepxegetical (e. g. τί
ἡμῶν δεῖσθε, ἡμῖν χρῆσασθαι), but in the passage quoted above from
the Trachiniae the addition of the article τοῦ with the infinitive δοκεῖν is
a strong argument in favour of the former interpretation.

§ 10. ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ βάτερα] 'from the further side,' corresponding to
the expression οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα in § 3.

§§ 11—18. Some of the Greek troops acting in concert with their
new allies suffer a heavy loss.

μονόξυλα] 'hollowed out of a single tree.'

§ 12. οἱ μὲν] 'the occupants of the boats,' while οἱ δὲ refers to the
men who had landed.

ἀνὰ ἐκατὼν μάλιστα] 'in parties of nearly a hundred,' as in cases
where the numeral is rendered indefinitely by the addition of μάλιστα
the estimate is usually overstated rather than the reverse. As regards
the text of this passage I have adopted the reading of Dindorf, which
appears in one of the MSS, and is suggested in another. It is also
approved of by Kühner, who in his criticism on other proposed altera-

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tions observes that the point of comparison does not lie in the numerical strength of the troops but in the position which they took up (ἀντιστοι-
χώντες ἀλλήλους).

εἰκασμένα] ἕκασμένα Kühn., but, as he admits that the form given
in the text is uniformly preferred by Xenophon and Thucydides, while
only two of the mss give a trace of the reading ἕκασμένα, I have preferred
to follow the majority of the editors.

διπόσθεν δὲ τοῦ ἔξολου] 'behind (i.e. at the bottom of) the shaft
itself.' This reading and explanation is adopted by Kühner, but the
expression διπόσθεν τοῦ ἔξολου is so strange a one that I am inclined
to prefer Krüger's rendering of the passage, who regards τοῦ ἔξολου
as a genitive of quality or material on the analogy of the phrase γέρρα
δασεῖων βοῶν ὁμοβώια which occurs in IV. 7. 22. If we accept this
interpretation there can be no objection to our retaining the reading
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔξολου which is found in the majority of the mss. In either
case the sense is clear, viz. that the butt end of the spear-handle was
spherical instead of being fitted with the usual spike (στύρας or σαυρώτηρ).

§ 13. ύπερ γυνάτων] 'short tunics not reaching so low as the knee.'
For the word στρωματοδέσμου, a sack for packing bed-clothes, cf.
The construction of the genitive, which Kühner regards as dependent
on χιτωνίσκους, I should prefer to explain by the analogy of a corre-
spounding passage in IV. 5. 25, εἰκλαι δ' ἦσαν...τὸ μὲν στόμα ὡσπέρ
φρέατος, i.e. ἦσαν τὸ μὲν στόμα ὡσπερ (στόμα) φρέατος.

κραβύλων] is explained by the scholiast on the locus classicus (Thuc.
1. 6) as εἰδος πλέγματος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπὸ ἐκατέρων, εἰς ὀξὺ καταλήγον.

ἐγγυότατα πιαροειδῆ] So Kühner with four good mss, while the majori-
ty give ἐγγυότατω πιαροειδῆ. Both the one phrase and the other appear
to me to be vulgarisms, indefensible by any laws of grammar, and the
editors are apparently driven to the same conclusion, as Zeune denies
the possibility of ἐγγυότατα being used absolutely, while Kühner and
Schneider make the same objection to ἐγγυότατω.

§ 14. ἐξήρχε] sc. παιῶνa. The verb is particularly appropriate
in consideration of the word χορόλ above, the leader of the chorus being
known technically as the ἔξαρχος or κορυφαῖος.

ἀδοντες ἐν ῥυμῷ] 'marched keeping time with their song.' In
most of the mss the participle precedes the verb ἔπορευόντο, while in
either case it must be noticed that the words ἐν ῥυμῷ refer as much to
ἔπορευόντο as to ἀδοντες.

διὰ τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν] Kühner understands these words
as a hendiadys 'through the ranks of the Greeks who were drawn up
under arms.' There is nothing however to prevent our taking ὀπλῶν
in the simpler sense of the 'camp' or 'quarters' of the troops.

§ 15. τὸ ἀκρότατον] 'the highest ground in the territory of the
Mossynoei.' For the use of ἄει in the sense of 'from time to time,' see
note on τὸ ὑπερβάλλον (IV. 1. 7). The subject of ἐφοσαν is the
Mossynoei who were in alliance with the Greeks: 'they said that its
present holders were not entitled to the possession of it, but had
seized it when it was common property for their own advantage.'

§ 16. προσίωτων] 'while the foe was approaching.'
§ 17. *νόμω των δούντες* ‘singing to a kind of tune.’

§§ 19—29. The troops are encouraged by an address from Xenophon, and on the following day make a successful attack on the citadel.

§ 20. οἰσπερ] i.e. πολέμοι εἰσι (τούτοις) οἰσπερ καὶ ἴμας (πολεμίους εἶναι) ἀνάγκη.

οἱ ἀμελήσαντες] is the reading of the five leading mss, while the rest give the participle ἀφροτιστήσαντες which Kühner thinks may be accounted for by the practice of substituting recondite words in place of more ordinary ones. He might also have added that the latter participle from the character of its formation is little likely to have suggested the need of a gloss like ἀμελήσαντες.

τῆς σὺν ἴμας τάξεως] is not ‘the discipline which prevails in our ranks,’ as it is usually translated, but rather ‘their post at our side,’ in contrast with the words σὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις which follow.

§ 22. ὀρθιοι τοὺς λόχους] See note on IV. 2. 11.

(ἀρδίων)] Kühner retains this word on the authority of three good mss. As a predicate its position in the sentence appears to me indefensible, and one of the best mss, I find, omits it altogether.

τοῦ στόματος] The genitive depends on ὑπολειτομένους, ‘though falling a little short of the front line of the hoplites,’ i.e. they were not perfectly on a level with the hoplites when viewed from the front.

§ 23. ἀνέστελλον] A poetical word, ‘held in check.’

ἐπρεβήσαν] This rare form of the aorist occurs again in Hell. III. 4. 14, and expresses more clearly than ἔτραπησαν would have done the forced and compulsory character of their flight.

§ 24. ἐδέξαυτο...ἐμάχοντο...ἐτράποντο] Observe in translating these successive changes of tense.

§ 25. ὁμοὶ δὴ παντες γενόμενοι] ‘having now at last joined all their forces.’ For ἐκ χειρός, ‘hand to hand,’ cf. Soph. Αἰ. 27, ἐκ χειρός αὐτοῖς ποιμνίων ἐπιστάταις.

§ 26. φυλάττοντα] i.e. τὸ χωρεῖν (τὴν μητρόπολιν). Brunck’s emendation φυλάττουνα, though sanctioned by Poppi, is rejected by Kühner as an endeavour to make Xenophon’s narrative conform too precisely with the later accounts of Diodorus and Pomponius Mela, according to whom the king of the Mossynoei was treated as a prisoner of state.

οὐδὲ οἱ] οὐδὲ ὁ is read by Bornemann, Macmichael and others on the authority of two good mss, but, as Kühner observes, no mention has been made of a second head of the tribe.

§ 27. πατρίους] i.e. πατέρως, Kühner, but, as I have mentioned in a note on III. 2. 16, I cannot altogether accept this rendering of the adjective. ‘After the fashion of their people’ is an equally satisfactory explanation, and certainly more in accordance with the regular usage of the word. The adjective περσιςίων, which in some of the mss follows the word πατρίους, is omitted by all the best editors as a manifest interpolation.

ζείαi αἰ πλείσται] In this construction ἰαν and αἰ πλείσται agree with the predicate ζείαi by attraction instead of with σῖτος, the substantive to which they virtually refer.

§ 29. τὰ πλατέα] ‘of the flat kind, having no division.’ It is clear
from Salmasius that chestnuts are meant, the Latin name for which was derived from Castanea in Thessaly, the first district in Greece where they were successfully cultivated.

τούτω καὶ πλείστω] 'this they used mainly for food.' The so-called emendation τούτοις καὶ πλείστον ὥς σῖτῳ ἐχρῶντο is simply the paraphrase of an idiomatic sentence in an unidiomatic form, for, as in the case just noticed in § 27, τούτω is made by attraction to agree with σῖτῳ instead of with its legitimate subject καρπὸς.

§§ 30—end. *A description of the country and its inhabitants.*

παρῆσαν] 'came to in their progress,' according to the regular use of the verb. The arrangement of the clauses which follow is somewhat unskilful, more especially as regards the position of the words τὰ εὐ-

προσοδώτατα.

§ 31. ἀναβοῶσιν] This statement does not exclude the use of instruments to aid the voice, and, considering the nature of the ground, it is surely not impossible that people who were ten miles apart from each other by road might have made themselves heard across the valley. We might instance by way of illustration the well-known case of Mounts Ebal and Gerizim, which are separated by a valley across which the words of a reader are found to be distinctly audible.

§ 32. παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων] Kühner is no doubt right in regarding εὐδαιμόνων as equivalent to the Latin *baci* in the sense of 'rich.' It is not so clear however whether by παῖδας slaves are meant, or only the children of the wealthy classes. Kühner inclines to the latter view, but according to Diod. Sic. the practice would seem to have been a badge of servility.

ἐπιγραφεῖς ἀνθέμια] 'tattooed with devices of flowers.' The phrase στῖκεν ἀνθέμια is simply a modification of the cognate accusative στίκεν στίγμα, while, for the construction, compare in Greek δέλτων ἐγγεγραμμένων Συνθήματα (Soph. Trach. § 157), and in Latin the Vergilian phrase *inscripta nominum regum Flores* (Eccl. I. 106).

§ 34. ἐλέγον] 'were in the habit of saying.' The editors notice this as one of the frequent attempts made by Xenophon to conceal his authorship of the *Anabasis.* The paragraph ἀλλὰς δὲ οὐκ ἂν τολμήσει, which Kühner includes in brackets, is not found in three of the chief ms., and moreover destroys the balance of the clauses.

διελέγοντο τε αὐτοῖς] 'they talked to themselves, and laughed at themselves, and would stand and dance whenever the fancy took them.'

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—6. *The Greeks pass through the country of the Chalybes, and arrive at Cotyora in the territory of the Tibareni, where they remain for five-and-forty days.*

ὅκω σταθμοῖς] This statement, as in a similar instance (I. 2. 23), must be regarded as including the delay caused by fighting, negotiating, &c. no less than the time spent on the actual march.

ἔς Χαλυβᾶς] These *Chalybes* were only a fragment of the nation already described in IV. 7. 15, and had been brought down from the mountain districts of Armenia to work the iron mines of the *Mossynoei.*
Hamilton, when he visited the neighbourhood of Cotyora, found that
the mines were still worked in a superficial way.

§ 2. πεινωτέρα.] In accordance with this epithet the Tibareni are
described as πολυφόρης, ‘rich in flocks,’ by Apollonius Rhodius (Π. 377).
Observe the change from ἐφώκτο in § 2 to καταφυσάτων in § 3,
and compare, amongst other passages, IV. 6. 27 for the difference of
meaning between θέω (act.) and θέωσια (midd.).

§ 3. Κατώφρο.] This town was replaced by Pharmacia, which ac-
cording to Strabo was built out of its spoils. Hamilton and Col.
Chesney have identified the site with a town called Ordu, where there
are traces of an ancient port: Ainsworth, however, places it at Per-
shembah.

§ 4. ἐν Βασιλίων] i.e. in the neighbourhood or territory of Babylon.
There are naturally slight discrepancies between this summary of the
time spent on the κατάβασις and the more detailed account in the narra-
tive. In the summary 122 marches are mentioned, in the narrative
only 117, while, instead of eight months, only 208 days are accounted
for in detail, or 223 if we include a halt of fifteen days at the villages in
the plain (IV. 6) on the authority of Diod. Sic. XIV. 29.

§ 6. ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας] An inaccurate use of the title, which may
have arisen from the fact that the district in question was subject to a
Paphlagonian prince.

§§ 7—end. The inhabitants of Sinope, in their alarm at the depreda-
tions committed by the troops, send a deputation to Xenophon. His con-
ciliatory speech in reply.

§ 8. νικάτε] which is the historic present, is found in two good
mss, and Kühner is undoubtedly right in adopting it in place of ἐνυκάτε.
The aorist ἐνυκήσατε would be defensible, but the imperfect could hardly
be justified in the present connexion.

§ 9. ὑπήρχαμεν] ὑπάρχεισ is to ‘take the initiative.’ Cf. Π. 3. 23,
ἐὰν μέντοι τις ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπάρχησ.

§ 10. Κοντορέται δὲ οὕτωι] Kühner calls attention to the idiom by
which the article is omitted when the demonstrative pronoun is added to
a proper name.

§ 11. ἐνίους] ‘per appositionem partitivam additum est,’ Kühn.,
while ὑμᾶς is the anticipatory accusative referring to the troops as a
whole. For similar instances cf. Π. 1. 15, οὕτωι μὲν, ὁ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλοι ἄλλα λέγει, and v. 6. 30, ὡς τα λαβώντας ὑμᾶς πόλιν, τῶν μὲν βουλομένων
ἀποπλεῖν, τῶν δὲ κ.τ.λ.

βία] which appears in five of the chief mss is rejected by some of
the editors as unnecessary with οὐ πειθότας. But Kühner and Bornem-
mann justify it as an emphatic phrase like ἔκοντες οὐκ ἔκοντες and many
others.

§ 12. ταῦτ’ οὕτω οὐκ ἀξιόθησεν] ‘now we protest against this.’ Corylas,
as we are told in VI. 1. 2, was at this time the ruler of Paphlagonia,
and his name appears again in VII. 8. 24 in a list of the Persian autho-
rities which is probably spurious.

§ 13. ὑμεῖς δὲ] This use of δὲ in answer to ὑμεῖς μὲν λέγετε ταῦτα
or some similar thought in the mind of the speaker is noticed by Kühner
as of frequent occurrence in the speeches of Xenophon.
§ 14. *kal el' tis*] The MSS as a rule give *kal nûn el' tis*, and one *kal μῆν el' tis*, a reading which Kühner praises highly, but which is hardly in accordance with the simple style of Xenophon.

§ 17. *Xalâdaiou*] As Macmichael suggests, the *Armeno-Chalybes* (cf. IV. 7, 15) are probably meant, for the *Xalâdaiou* are only casually mentioned as mercenaries in IV. 3, 4, while according to Strabo the Chaldæi of his time were originally known as the Chalybes.

§ 18. *Mákrwos δὲ*] *Mákrwos δὲ γε* is read by the majority of the MSS, but in a passage like the present where no fresh contrast is introduced the adversative δὲ is sufficient in itself without the addition of a strengthening particle.

τῶν ἑκείνων] ἑκείνων is of course dependent on the neuter τῶν.

Cf. II. 5. 38 Κύρου ᾿ηαυ τοῦ ἑκείνοι δοῦλον, where the collocation is still more objectionable.

§ 19. *ἀρμοστὴν*] ἀρμοστὴ δι proper denotes a governor sent out by the Lacedæmonians to their dependent states, though the term was afterwards adopted in the same connexion by the other Greek communities.

§ 20. *παρελθόντας*] 'that some of our number entered the town.'

αὐτὸ τὸ χωριόν] 'we entered by that quarter of the city where the nature of the ground invited us.' This is Kühner's rendering of the passage on the analogy of νάπος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὑπεδέχετο (VI. 5. 31). Although it is not entirely satisfactory, it is the only one which is admissible if αὐτὸ τὸ χωριόν is to be retained as part of the text. But the readings ἐδέχοντο and οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, between which the MSS are divided, suggest perhaps the following reading and interpretation: ᾿η ἡμᾶς ἐδέχοντο αὐτό, τὸ χωριόν ταῦτα ἐσελθόντες, 'our entry was made after the fashion of their welcome,' i.e., without permission being given or received.

κομίσασθαι] 'that it may rest with us to take back our wounded.'

§ 22. ἡμεῖς δὲ] A not uncommon use of δὲ in the ἀπόδοσις, 'we on the other hand.'

καὶ φίλον ποιησόμε[θα] 'we will treat him as an actual friend.' Ἡμῖν καὶ φίλον ποιήσωμεν is the reading and punctuation of Kühner, which cannot however be regarded as satisfactory, for the rhythm of the sentence suggests irresistibly that ἡμῖν should be connected with δοκῇ, while the middle ποιήσωμεν has been used in the corresponding clause. If ποιησόμεθα be too violent a change from the MS reading ποιήσωμεν, I should propose to understand the latter as suggesting the scheme which follows: 'we will take measures to make the Paphlagonian an actual friend,' a rendering which would account in some degree for the use of the active in place of the middle.

**CHAPTER VI.**

§§ 1—10. *On the following day the troops are assembled, and the ambassadors from Sinope are consulted as to the future course of the expedition. Hecatomnus points out the difficulties they would experience in a march through the country, and advises them to proceed by sea.*

§ 1. *παρακαλέσαντας*] The participle is to be referred to the Greeks who are the main subject of the sentence.

(Ἱγοῦμενοι)] This participle, which appears in the majority of the
mss, is rightly rejected by Kühner as an interpolation. Students of Greek prose will observe the position which ἀν occupies in this and the following sentence though εἶναι is the verb to which it actually refers.

προσδεῖν ἡ ἀν to need help in addition from the Sinopians. I cannot but think that Kühner is wrong in regarding this compound as merely a stronger form of δεῖν, for without the aid of the Sinopians it lay beyond the power of the Greeks to provide themselves with a fleet. Besides which, πρὸς is not one of the prepositions which are ordinarily used to strengthen the force of a verb.

§ 2. Ἐλληναί] Had the author chosen to write Ἐλληνας for Ἐλληνα the sentence would have presented no difficulty. Avoiding however the juxtaposition of the two accusatives, he has made the word Ἐλληνα depend rather on the idea contained in εἶναι τε εἶναι καὶ... ἔμπολολεῖων than on the verb δέχεσθαι which in strict sequence it follows. Trans. 'And begged them, as Greeks dealing with Greeks, to inaugurate a kindly welcome thus, viz. by a show of friendliness and by advising them for the best.' The explanation suggested by Stephens, which makes the dative Ἐλληνα dependent on ὄντας, though it removes all the other difficulties of construction, is rejected by the majority of the editors owing to the unusual character of the phrase Ἐλληνας ὄντας Ἐλληνα.

§ 3. ἀπελογήσατο] 'alleged in defence of his statement...that he did not make it as implying that his countrymen would oppose the Greeks.' For the construction ὡς τοῖς Ἐλληναῖς πολεμησόντων σφῶν, cf. 1. 3. 6, ὡς ἐμοὶ οὖν λόγον ὅτι ἄν καὶ ύμεῖς, and notice in particular the ingenuity with which the mood is changed from the optative to the indicative (αἰρήσονται) when the speaker comes to the more certain of the two alternatives.

وها] Like ἀν in v. 3. 9, ὥδε is purposely placed where it may do duty with either verb, 'having made the following appeal to heaven he proceeded to this effect.'

§ 4. ἔμπολολεῖονι] The mood hardly expresses the confidence we should expect in a speaker whose truthfulness is at stake.

ἡ ἑρά ἔμπολα] In allusion to the proverb ἑραν ἀπὸ χρήμα (Plat. Theag. 122, B). 'For here before us we have in my idea a realisation of what the proverb styles sacred counsel.'

ἔονται] which has been altered into ἔοντα by the majority of the editors, is retained by Kühner, who points out that only the Greeks who heard Hecataeum would suffer from his dishonesty, while others would praise him supposing his advice proved successful.

§ 6. πεδία κάλλιστα] e. g. Themescyra and Cadilonitis (Strabo xii. 546, 548).—δρη νυπηλότατα, e. g. Cytorus.

§ 7. εὐθὺς] like εὐθὺ and προένι, as you go forward.

τῆς οὖσα καθ' ἐκάπερ] 'on either side of the road.' For the order of the words cf. Diod. Sic. iv. 74, κατέχει τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τὴν νῦν ὀνομα-ζομένην Παφλαγονίαν.

κρατεῖν] The infinitive is to be taken alone: 'by holding which even a very small number of troops may be masters of the situation.' Macmichael suggests that κρατεῖν κατέχοντες is equivalent to κατὰ κράτος κατέχειν, but the infinitive διελθεῖν, with which it is contrasted, leaves
no doubt as to the true meaning of κρατεῖν. Notice the force of the article in the phrase of πάντες ἀνθρώπους, 'all the men in the world.'

§ 8. καὶ νῦν] 'only the other day they did not present themselves at the king's command.' The allusion is to Corylas who at a later period, as we learn from Xenophon Ages. III. 4, openly espoused the cause of Agesilaus.

§ 9. τὰ τε ὅρη κλέψαι] Cf. iv. 6. 11, and the corresponding use of subducere in Latin e.g. in Pers. i. 95.

τὸν Θερμωδόντα] The Thermus and the Iris both rise in Pontus, and after a westerly and then a northerly course fall into the Sinus Amisenus on the Euxine. The Parthenius mentioned below forms the boundary between Paphlagonia and Bithynia, and discharges itself into the Euxine near Amastris.

§§ 11—14. Though partially distrusting his advice, the Greeks determine to proceed by sea, if a sufficient number of vessels are forthcoming for the conveyance of the troops.

τὸς Κορίλα] For the objective genitive see note on ὰι ἀλοχώνων Κυρον (III. i. 10)

οἱ δ' ὀν̄᾽Ελλήνες] Observe the force of δ' ὀν̄: 'in any case (i.e. notwithstanding their suspicions) the Greeks determined to go by sea.'

§ 12. ἰκανά ἄριθμοι] Kühner is the only editor of importance who attempts to defend the reading of the mss ἰκανά, ὃς ἄριθμος ἐνα...μη καταλείπεσθαι. Had the words which follow been written in their usual sequence (μη' ἐνα καταλείπεσθαι), the analogous phrase in Latin (numero ne unus quidem) would have gone far to justify this position of ἄριθμος in the sentence. As it is, the point of the comparison is lost, and the majority of the editors are right. I think, in treating the substantive as part of the usual phrase ἰκανά ἄριθμοι.

ἐνα μη] which is a more emphatic expression than μηδ' ἐνα, may be illustrated by a precisely similar phrase in Thuc. π. 51, ἐν τε ὀυδὲν κατάστη ταμά, ὃς εἰπείν, ὃ τι χρῆν προσφέροντα ωφέλειν. ήμεῖς ἀν̄ πλέομεν]. Is read by four of the leading mss, while the majority give ἠμεῖς δὲ πλέομεν ἀν̄, to which Kühner rightly objects on the ground that any such expression as would be given by δὲ in the apodosis is out of place in connexion with the pronoun ἠμεῖς.

§ 13. κρατῶμεν] 'are masters of the situation.' Cf. κρατεῖν in § 7. With the phrase ἐν ἄνθρωπον χώρα ἐν' 'in the position of slaves,' which is peculiar to Xenophon, compare the corresponding expressions ἐν οὐδεμίῳ χώρᾳ ἐσονται (v. 7. 28), and ἐν μεσοβούρον χώρᾳ εἶναι (Cyrop. II. 1. 18).

§§ 15—18. The intention of Xenophon to found a colony in the country is defeated by Silanus, a priest, who had been in the service of Cyrus.

ἰκανάσις is here equivalent to δυνατοῦς, 'efficient,' 'in good condition.'

ἀπ' ὀλγων χρημάτων] 'where a force of the same magnitude could not have been provided (for the purpose) without a large expenditure.'

§ 16. ἐπὶ τούτοις] 'with this view.'

§ 18. παρὰ Κύρον ἐλαβε] The circumstances under which Silanus received this present from Cyrus are told in i. 7. 18.
§§ 19—26. On the suggestion of Timasion and Thorax, the Sinopians and their neighbours offer money to the Greeks on condition of their speedy departure from the country. Settlements in the Troad or the Thracian Chersonese are proposed to them by Timasion and Thorax respectively.

έξευπνοίωσαι] In place of this verb the majority of the editors read ἐκποροίωσι, objecting to ἔξευπρολέων as a barbarous compound. But, in addition to the fact that the four chief MSS give ἔξευπνοίωσι in the present passage, the form is found in other writers where the reading cannot be questioned.

ὅτι...ὅτι] In VII. 4. 5, will be found a similar instance of the repetition of ὅτι after a parenthesis: ἔλεγεν ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται καὶ πείσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ τούτων ταῖς κώμαις.

§ 20. ὅρωμεν ἡμᾶς ἄπορον ὄντας] Kühner notices the construction as supplying greater emphasis than the usual phrase ὅρωμεν ἄποροι ὄντες. It is very questionable however whether the latter would have been admissible, as it does not follow that, because αἰτιανομέθα ἄποροι ὄντες is a recognized idiom, therefore the verb ὄραν can be used in the same connexion.

ἐν τῷ ἀπόλλων] ‘on the voyage.’

[ὁς] ἦκασί ἀπελθόντας] The word ὃς, which Kühner admits to be inexplicable, is nevertheless retained by Dindorf and himself on the authority of five leading MSS. All the other editors either omit or bracket it. There is at any rate no possibility of explaining it as a combination of two constructions which is the usual resort in similar cases (e.g. ἤδειν ὅτι ὁλίγως ἐχοντας in III. 1. 20), and, if it is to be retained as part of the text, we must understand it as giving its usual force to the participle ἀπελθόντας, ‘on the supposition that we have left for home.’

εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε] As Kühner points out, the difficulties which have been discovered in this sentence by Schneider, Long and others are purely imaginary. The genitive τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας is clearly to be taken in a partitive sense after ἐκλαξάμενοι, while the indicative βούλεσθε by a very common idiom is followed (i) by the simple infinitive κατασχέιν, and (ii) by an accusative and infinitive, τὸν μὲν ἐθέλοντα ἀπείναι κ.τ.λ. The apodosis of the sentence commences with the words πλοία δὲ. Reiske has needlessly undertaken to rewrite the passage by supplying ἔξεισαι before τὸν μὲν, placing a colon at αὐτοῦ, and making the words πλοία δὲ commence a new sentence.

§ 21. προστατεύσασαι] ‘to use his influence to effect the withdrawal of the troops.’ With this construction of προστατεύσασαι, which appears again in Συνόρ. 1. 2. 5, compare the analogous use of προξενεῖν in the Greek tragedians (e.g. Soph. Oed. Col. 465). The employment of ὅτως with the first aorist subjunctive ἐκπλεύσῃ should be particularly noticed by the student, as it is one of the many passages which disprove the canon laid down by Dawes that ὅτως is never joined to the subjunctive of the first aorist (act. or midd.). In the present instance no change to the future indicative is possible without a radical alteration in the form of the verb.

§ 22. τῶν στρατιωτῶν] ‘of men who were soldiers.’ With προσ- ἐκεῖν supply τῶν νοῦν, ‘we must not turn our thoughts to staying in the country.’
§ 23. ἀπὸ νομιμῆς] 'starting from the time of the new moon,' with which compare ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου οὐδὲν ἐτι τούτων ἐμέγιηηο. The Cyzicenian stater, like the δαρεικός, was equivalent to twenty silver drachmæ of Attic money.

§ 24. τῆς Φαρωβαζου ἀρχῆς] This district, by which the satrapy of Dascylis is meant, contained the above-mentioned provinces, including Bithynia. Dercyllidas, who is mentioned below, had been the Lacedaemonian harmost at Abydus.

§ 25. ὥστε τῷ βουλωμένῳ] The dative, for which we should naturally have expected τῶν βουλωμένων, is curious, and Weiske suggests that it depends on ἐπειθαί, which is to be supplied from the previous clause. This is at any rate better than Schneider's suggestion, who proposes to omit ὥστε without regard to the elegance or rhythm of the sentence. But Kühner's explanation, that τῶ βουλωμένῳ is accommodated by a species of attraction to the case of αὐτοῖς, is undoubtedly the correct one.

In III. 1. 43, we have already had occasion to notice the occurrence of the poetic verb μαστέβεων.

§ 26. μισθοφορίαι] which is found in three of the best mss in place of μισθοφοράν, though equivalent to opéra mercenaria rather than to mercès, as Kühner points out, is often used indiscriminately with μισθοφόρα in the latter sense. ὥστε εκπλεύω, 'on the understanding that they left the country by sea.'

§§ 27—33. The conduct of Xenophon is called in question by Phileus and Lycon. His speech in reply.

§ 28. ἀρχεσθαι λέγειν] For the use of the infinitive in place of the participle see note on III. 1. 26.

§ 29. ὡς ἄρα γνώσκων] 'knowing, as he might well do,'

§ 30. ἀφ' οὗ ἄν γένοιτο] 'should have considered by what means it could be effected.' The change of mood from the indicatives εἴρων and εἰσκόπων to the optative with ἄν is noteworthy, but at the same time explicable, as the words ἄν γένοιτο do not point, as do the previous verbs, to conditions which are already impossible.

τῶν δὲ μὴ βουλωμένων] sub. ἀποπλεῖν τότε.

§ 31. σωξομένους] 'when we are safe in the place where we wish to be,'

ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας] in reference to his intention of founding a colony.

§ 32. κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης] 'if your forces are broken up piecemeal.' For this combination of a participle in the nominative with a genitive absolute compare a corresponding passage in I. 1. 7, and for the circumstances under which ἄν may be repeated in the same sentence see note on IV. 6. 13.

ἀπαλλάσσατε] 'so that you would not come off with impunity.' This intransitive use of the verb ἀπαλλάσσω in the sense of abire is common with the Greek tragedians, e.g. Oed. Tyr. 363.

§§ 34—end. Objections are raised by Silanus to the proposals of Xenophon, but he is overruled by the majority. As the inhabitants of the country fail to supply the promised funds, Timasion and Thorax in alarm agitate for a change of route.

εἰ λήψοιται...ἐπιθήσοιειν] Observe this combination of the direct with the oblique narration, which presents an additional peculiarity in
VI. 35—VII. 2] NOTES. 485

the instance before us, as it is the conditional clause of the sentence (εἰ λήψουντα ἀποδιδράσκοντα) which is here expressed in the direct form.

§ 35. τά δὲ χρήματα...τῆς μισθοφορίας] The best editors are agreed in making the genitive depend on χρήματα, comparing IV. 3. 1, where there is an instance of a similar trajectory, ἀπείχε δὲ τῶν ὀρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ὡς ἦν ἐπτά στάδια τῶν Καρδοῦχων. On the other hand, Krüger and Hutchinson regard the words τῆς μισθοφορίας as an interpolation. It is possible, I think, to treat τά χρήματα as an anticipatory accusative, and, understanding μισθοφορία in the sense of μισθοφορός, to regard the genitive as dependent on ἐψευσμένων ἕσεω.

§ 36. ἀνεκκεκδιώκων] For the distinction in sense between the active and middle of this verb see note on ἀνακουνταῖ (III. 1. 5).

εἰς Φάσιν] i.e. the Colchian Phasis, rising in Mount Caucasus, which must be carefully distinguished from the river of the same name mentioned earlier in IV. 6. 4.

§ 37. Αἰήτου] According to Strabo, Acetes had from mythical times been the regular patronymic of the kings of Colchis. As Krüger observes, the reigning prince must have been well known to the Greeks, since otherwise we should have expected a more precise description.

οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν] ‘that he was against holding a public meeting,’ while μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν, which appears in all but the four best mss, would signify ‘voted that they should not hold a meeting.’

CHAPTER VII.

§§ 1—4. Great discontent is caused amongst the troops by the report that Xenophon intends to lead them to the Phasis. Whereupon he calls a meeting in order to justify his conduct.

[τά] πραττόμενα] In this case I have preferred to follow Borne mann and Dindorf who object with good reason to the presence of the article in this position, while Kühner on the other hand retains it on the authority of three good mss. So far as internal evidence goes, no objection can be raised to the reading οἱ δὲ στρατιώται ἀνεπιθυμοῦντα παῦτα πραττόμενα which appears in the majority of the mss, though it is naturally viewed with suspicion as an attempt to re-arrange the words in their natural order.

πάλιν εἰς Φάσιν] Either from misconception or with the deliberate intention of misleading the troops, Neon alludes to the Phasis as identical with the same name mentioned in IV. 6. 4.

§ 2. κύκλοι] This word, with which compare the phrase κατὰ ἐνυστάσεις γίγνεσθαι (Thuc. VIII. 83), is equivalent to coronae and circuli in Latin.

φοβεροῦ ἕσεων μή ποιήσειαν] The construction is an ordinary one, and compare amongst other examples δὴ λοι ἕσαν δὲι ἐπικελοῦσαι (v. 2. 6), and Herod. 1. 155, οὐδὲν δεινοῖ τοι ἔσονται μή ἀποστέως. No mention has been made of this occurrence in the earlier portion of the narrative, but a full account of it is given afterwards in § 23 of the present book. Krüger considers that the omission was intentional on the part of the author, who would otherwise have been compelled to repeat himself. But
the words which follow (ὅσοι γὰρ μὴ κ.τ.λ.) contain in themselves all that is required by way of explanation, more especially as it was an occurrence which, but for the exigencies of his speech, Xenophon might have been well content to pass over in silence.

τοὺς ἀγορανύμοις] These officers were appointed to regulate the sale of provisions in the soldiers’ market, and in this capacity would correspond to the commissariat of modern times.

§ 3. ἀγοράνων] for ἐκκλησίαν, a sense in which it does not appear elsewhere in Xenophon. The usage is no doubt borrowed from Homer and the epic poets. It likewise appears in inscriptions, and once in Aeschines (c. Ctes. p. 421), where we have the phrase φυλῶν ἀγοράν.

§§ 5—33. The speech of Xenophon, in which he describes the damage that would be caused to their comfort and reputation if they resorted to violent measures in dealing with the inhabitants.

ὡς ἔγνω ἀνα] Observe the ironical force of ἀνα, in allusion to the fact that it was the generals themselves who had originated the scheme.

φαίνωμαι ἀνακῶν] I cannot appreciate the reasons which have induced Kühner to read the infinitive on the authority of two mss in preference to the participle, which is the more forcible phrase, and occurs moreover in the next clause. To imagine that a contrast is intended between the two constructions in point of sense is out of the question in dealing with a style so simple and unartificial as Xenophon’s.

§ 6. ἔνθα μὲν ἄνισχει] Schaefer, on the authority of some inferior mss, proposes to reconstruct the sentence thus: ὡς ἡμίος ἔνθεν μὲν ἄνισχει, δύναται μὲν ἄντειπτα ἔνθα δὲ δύστα, ἄνισχει δ’ ἐντείπου, a reading which Kühner naturally regards with suspicion as an attempt to make the clauses of the sentence exactly correspond.

§ 7. ἀλλὰ μὴν]—jam vero, ‘then again.’ The occurrence of the two forms βορέας and βορίδας in such close conjunction is remarkable, though both are used indiscriminately by the other Attic writers (e. g. in Thuc. II. 96, III. 4. 23 we have the uncontracted form, and in VI. 2, the contracted).

§ 8. ἐμβιβασό] The Attic form of the future ἐμβιβάσω. ‘But, you say, I shall take advantage of a calm when I wish to embark you.’

§ 9. ποιῶ δ’] ‘I assume however, that, beguiled and tricked by me, you have reached the Phasis: let us assume further that we make a landing in the country,’ In the phrase καὶ δῆ [καὶ] Kühner following three mss would omit the second καὶ, and, had this been the leading clause in the sentence, no objection could have been raised to its omission. As it is, some word is required to connect this clause with the former, as otherwise the second assumption introduced by the phrase καὶ δῆ becomes exceedingly abrupt and awkward.

§ 10. τί γὰρ;) A phrase which is often employed in hurried and energetic narration to bridge over the transition from one topic to another.

ἔγνω τωι] Krüger would retain the interrogative τωι in this passage, justifying the position of the emphatic words ἔγνω τωι by a similar collocation in Cyrop. IV. 6. 8, τὸν ἡμῖν τί ἀντι τούτῳ ὑπηρετήσεις;

§ 11. ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἃν ολετα ταῦτα] ‘thinks that he could himself
be deceived by these schemes or that he could deceive another thereby.'
The above is Kühner's rendering, who apparently regards the con-
struction of ταύτα as identical in both cases. But, considering how
rarely an active verb is found with this construction, I should strongly
prefer to understand ταύτα in the second case as the direct subject
to ἐξαπατήσας, while in the first Kühner is no doubt right in taking
it as a cognate with ἐξαπατηθῆναι. Tr. 'that he could himself be de-
ceied by these means, or that they could impose upon another.'

§ 12. Ἀλις ἔγχρητε] 'when you have satisfied yourselves on this point.'

ἐπεισι] 'if it shall make head against us,' like ingressus, invadere
in Latin. With ὑποδείκνυαν we may supply ἔσεσθαι out of ἔσται.

§ 13. πάλυν ἔλθειν] 'came back again.' Dindorf and Kühner
follow three good MSS in reading πάλυν ἄπηλθον in place of πάλυν
ἔλθειν. But I cannot consider this authority sufficient to justify the
introduction of a construction which makes the word πάλυν superfluous,
and the sentence ungrammatical. If there were overwhelming evidence
in favour of the reading δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι...ἄπηλθον, it might of course
be explained as (i) a combination of the two constructions ὡς
dοκοῦσι δὲ μοι...ἀπηλθον, and δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι...ἀπελθεῖν, or (ii) as a
species of attraction by which δοκεῖ δὲ μοι takes the form of δοκοῦσι δὲ
μοι. Kühner instances the following passage in v. 8. 22 as a case
in point, οἶμαι γὰρ, εἰ ἔθελετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὑρίσκετε καὶ τότε
κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑπερηφάνους, in which however the phrase οἶμαι...
εὑρίσκετε is scarcely an example of the same irregularity.

§ 15. τόδε] which is omitted in the majority of the MSS and for which
Krüger suggests τὸῦτο, is defended by Kühner as having a deictic force.

οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκευοι] A pregnant construction, of which we
have had repeated examples. In the present instance it denotes that
his friends who were on the water co-operated from that quarter with
Cleareus who was on the shore.

§ 16. οἱ δὲ τινες] 'some few of them.' Lit. 'the remainder who
were few in number.'

§ 17. τῶν δὲ πλεύστων] In allusion to the party who in v. 4. 1
are described as ἐκ Κερασοῦντος κατὰ θάλασσαν κομίζομενον.

§ 18. ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφέις λέγειν] The entire passage is full of dif-
culties, which are for the most part removed if we are content to omit the
words σφέις λέγειν on the authority of the four leading MSS. Kühner
however prefers to regard them as genuine since no reasonable grounds
can be suggested for their interpolation, and he illustrates the use of
λέγειν for λέγων in the oblique narration by a precisely similar passage
in II. 2. 1, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι πολλοὶς φαίνει Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας...οὓς
οὐκ ἀν ἀνασχέσαθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος. As regards the rest of the con-
struction, ἐφασαν is of course parenthetical 'our informants told us'
in allusion to the previous words ὥς οἱ Κερασοῦντοι λέγοντος, while
ὅτε...γίνοιτο τὸ πράγμα depends on λέγειν. The only other point
requiring explanation is the introduction of αὐτοῦ before ἀπετευν,
which we may either regard as redundant or as added for emphasis,
'ordering them of their own accord.' Translate the passage thus:
'When however, as our informants added, they had themselves ex-
plained that the scheme had not originated with the army as a whole,
the ambassadors were then well pleased, and intended to sail hither that to us what had happened, at the same time ordering on their part that those interested in the matter should recover and bury the dead. Τῶν τούτων δεσμένως is an unusual phrase in place of τοὺς προσηκόντας or some other similar expression.

§ 19. τῶν δ’ ἀποφυγόντων τινὰς 'Ελ.] For the position of τινὰς see note on τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδασμένων τινές (IV. 4. 9). In the majority of the MSS, with the exception however of the four leading ones, the nominative takes the place of the accusative throughout, a reading which no doubt originated in the attempt to make this clause of the sentence harmonize with the succeeding one where the author passes from the oblique to the direct narration.

§ 20. ταφεῖσαι] For this rare form of the optative, cf. ἀποτμηθεῖσαι in III. 4. 29.

§ 22. ὃς ἄν καὶ ἐφρακότες] ‘as was natural since they had been spectators of the disaster at home.’ The particle ἂν, to which Poppo takes exception, is quite in keeping with the passage, and the optative which it implies may be understood from either δείσαντες or ἀποχωροῦσι.

§ 26. τούτους τί δοκεῖτε;] ‘what think ye of these men?’ i.e. of their flight and conduct. Compare the familiar phrase quid illum censes? (Ter. Andr. v. 2. 12).

§ 27. οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι (v. 6. 7).

τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἱόντων] These words depend on the previous genitive τῶν λόγων.

§ 30. δειπνάξαντο] ‘have brought it to pass that we are the only men of all the Greeks for whom it is unsafe to enter Cerasus except with the protection of a strong force.’ In place of ἀφικνείσθαι two of the leading MSS read ἀφικνηθῆ. Both the one reading and the other may be defended, as in the former case it is easy to understand ἀφικνηθῆ with the words ἂν μὴ σὺν ἵσχυ, and, in the latter, ἀφικνεῖσθαι with μὴ ἀφόδελες εἶναι.

ξίον κηρυκίῳ] ‘with a herald’s wand,’ equivalent to our ‘flag of truce.’

§ 31. ἅλλ’ ἡμεῖς] Weiske is probably right, who justifies this ἅλλα by the negative idea which is implied in the previous question: ‘no one, but we had in consequence to ask the Cerasuntians to bury them.’

δοξάτω ὑμῖν] ‘let a decree be passed, so that, understanding this to be the order of the day, each of us may set a watch for his personal safety.’ The words ἐρωματα (ὑπερδέξια), which are beset with difficulties, strangely enough pass unnoticed by Kühner. If Krüger be right in suggesting that either ἐρωματα or ὑπερδέξια is an interpolation, I should be strongly in favour of omitting the latter word, of which none of the editors offer an intelligible explanation, though it is used elsewhere in Xenophon as an equivalent apparently for ὑψηλά. The general meaning of the passage is sufficiently plain: ‘if anarchy is to be the order of the day, let each man look to himself and choose a strong position for his camp.’

§ 33. τοιαύτα] It would have been scarcely necessary to mention that τοιαύτα is to be taken with ἐξαμαρτάνοντες had not White and Macmichael joined it with τὰ μέγιστα in their translations.
NOTES.

7 34—VIII. 7] 

ἐπαλων] Had the construction been a regular one, the genitive επαλων would have been represented by ἐπαλων, the cognate accusative after ἐπαλωσιευ. As it is, it is attracted into the case of the relative οὐ. The majority of the mss, with the exception of the two best, read ἄν after ἐπαλωσιευ, which Kühner is no doubt right in omitting, as the addition of ἄν would increase the probability of the result and thus weaken the force of the question.

§§ 34—end. Resolutions are passed to authorise the punishment of future disobedience, and a court of inquiry is appointed to consider the conduct of the generals since the death of Cyrus.

τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ] 'at no time in the future.' For the force of the genitive see note on πέντε ἡμέρων (IV. 7. 20).

§ 35. καθαρμός] A illustration, to purify the army from the guilt caused by the murder of the three ambassadors.

CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1, 2. The generals are brought to trial. Phileius and Xanthicles are fined twenty minae, and Sophaenetus ten, while Xenophon himself is charged with having struck a soldier.

διδόντων] 'when the generals were put on their trial.' The mss vary in their readings, the majority giving διδόντες and the best διδόντων. I have explained at length the distinctive force of the genitive absolute in a note on οἰκισθέντος (v. 3. 7).

τῆς φυλακῆς] 'for their negligent custody of the transport goods were fined twenty mine, the amount of the loss.' For τῆς φυλακῆς in the sense of 'non-protection' compare in particular the following phrases: (i) ἐξ ἐμφανῶν καταστάσεως, 'for non-production of available documents' (Dem. πρὸς Νίκον. 1251), and (ii) de missione litterarum (Cic. ad Att. i. 5. 2), where missione is equivalent in sense to intermission.

The words τῶν γαυλικῶν χρημάτων refer to the transport goods mentioned as ἄγωγωμα in v. 1. 16.

§§ 3—end. His defence and acquittal.

ἄλλα μάλ] 'well indeed!' The phrase implies astonishment, like the corresponding expression at vero.

παρὸν] 'if it was not possible even to get a scent of wine.' The expression was a proverbial one to judge from Athen. iv. p. 134. ἀπαυγαστὰς ὁρχοῦντ' εὐθύς, ἢν οἶνον μᾶλον δαμὴν άδοσων. Kühner is no doubt right in reading παρὸν for παρὸντος with the best mss, if only on the ground that any alteration would no doubt have been made in the opposite direction.

ἀπαγορευόντων] This use of the verb occurs again in i. 5. 3.

τῶν δὲν ὅριστότερον] A proverbial expression, which appears in Luc. Pseudolog. 2 and Piscat. 34. Compare too Herod. iv. 129, where we have an apt illustration of this particular use of the proverb.

§ 4. έκ τινος] A most unusual substitute for the ordinary phrase διὰ τί, which takes its place in the corresponding passage of § 12.

§ 7. τοιαύτη] It has been remarked above that Xenophon is not always careful to observe the recognised distinction in his use of the words τοιαύτη, τοιάδε and the like.
From the account which follows we gather that the man in question had acted as baggage-carrier for a portion of the troops, and that Xenophon had relieved him of this duty for the time being that he might be free to carry a wounded comrade.

§ 8. κατελεῖπετο] A strong imperfect 'was on the point of being left behind.'

§ 10. ὁπόσα γε βουλεταὶ] The editors are generally agreed in accepting the reading and interpretation of Murettus: vivat sane quantum vult; nam ego guidem eum hinc non aseham, while Zeune retains σὺ δ᾽ εἰπὲς ὁπόσα γε ἐβολου, which he understands as follows: 'your words were in accordance with your wishes.'

§ 11. καὶ γὰρ] 'why yes, we shall all of us die.' An ellipse must be understood to complete the construction: 'well said, for in truth we must all of us die.'

§ 12. ὀλίγας] sub. πληγᾶς. The word is emphatic by position, 'fewer than he deserved.'

§ 13. σωζεσθαι μὲν ἡρκεῖ] 'were content to save their lives by our efforts, who had to march and fight at our posts.' There is no need to understand ἡρκεῖ with Macmichael as equivalent to ἡρκεῖ ἄν. Indeed he strangely misinterprets the entire passage when he refers the participles ἑυτῶν καὶ μαχομένων, which are really explanatory of ἡμᾶς, to the same subject as ὅσος. With the words αὐτὸν δὲ λιπώσει the sentence becomes irregular, as a nominative takes the place of the dative, which would have been the regular sequence in consideration of the construction ὅσοι... ἡρκεῖ above. The author, however, by the commonest of idioms closes the sentence as though he had commenced it with the usual nominative and verb.

§ 14. κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς] 'I found that I rose and stretched my legs with difficulty.'

§ 15. ὁποτε ἔδομι] The optative is of course frequentative.

§ 16. παίουσο] Kühner is probably right in reading παίουσο for παίουστο with the two chief MSS, the plural being often found after ἀλλος and τὸς when they are used in a collective or indefinite sense.

§ 17. καὶ γὰρ οὐ] He proceeds to justify his conduct by the results: 'in fact now that they are safe out of danger they have full power, you see, to get satisfaction for any wrong.'

μέγα ἄν οὕτως ἐπαθοῦν] Equivalent to οὕτω μέγα ἄν ἐπαθοῦν, except that additional emphasis is given to the statement by the position of οὕτως.

§ 18. ὑπέχειν δίκη] Ironical: 'I am content to give such satisfaction as sons may claim from parents and schoolboys from their masters.'

§ 19. σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς] 'thanks to the favour of Heaven.' The expression occurs repeatedly in Xenophon (e.g. in III. 1. 23, and again in III. 2. 8). For the omission of the participle in the phrase ἐν εὐδίᾳ (ὁντας), Kühner compares Cyrop. III. 3. 67, and Dem. de Cor. p. 298, 211.

§ 21. κατεδικάσατε] 'you gave sentence against them.' By this translation we retain the legitimate force of the compound which is lost in the rendering proposed by Kühner and Hutchinson: vestrō
judicio declarasti. The argument used by Xenophon is something as follows: 'Your taking no part with them was, so far, a verdict in my favour: on the other hand their confidence was increased by your simply being passive in the matter.'

§ 23. άποδοδεκευ] The use of this perfect in a transitive sense should be noticed as unusual.

§ 24. τουτων ταναπτια ποιησετε] A very good ms gives τουτων for τουτων, a reading which, as Kühner remarks, would have required η in place of η.

διδεαι] In place of διδεαι all the mss, with the exception of the two best, give δεσμευουσι, which is condemned by Kühner as apertum glossae. The verb διδημι is Homeric and occurs in II. λ. 105, and its introduction here is strictly characteristic of the author's style in which a rare or poetical word is so often used to set off a commonplace sentence.

§ 25. χειωνα ϑηκαϑησα] This use of ϑηκαϑειν with an accusative of the object in place of the usual dative may be illustrated from Milton's Comus (line 845),

Helping all urchin blasts and ill-luck signs.

συνεξευτροφησα] συνεξευτροφησα Pors., but the reading of the text is certainly suggested in the four leading mss, and is admirably defended by Kühner, who quotes the following examples of an active use of ευπορειν, (i) Plat. Legg. xi. 133 επικουραν ταις χρεαις εξευ- πορειν, and (ii) Dem. contr. Phorm. 962, χρηματι ευ ποραηρηκος.

§ 26. αναμιμησασκον] 'recounted them at length.'

περιεγενετο] 'and so it turned out that all went well,' though in the passage of Thuc. (II. 39) from which Kühner illustrates this use of περιγγενεθαι the force of the compound is rather as follows: 'we have this balance in our favour, that we are not troubled by the anticipation of coming disasters.'
NOTES.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

§§ 1—4. *In consequence of the unfriendly relations which prevail between the Greeks and the inhabitants of the country, Corylas, the governor of Paphlagonia, sends a deputation to the camp which meets with a hospitable reception.*

*ἐκ τούτου δὲ* [It will be observed that the usual recapitulation, by which each of the earlier books has been prefaced, is here wanting. As it reappears, however, at the commencement of the VIIth Book, we may naturally infer that the one intended for this place was written but lost. It is true that, when we come to the third chapter, we find a few words of introduction prefixed to it. They do not, however, appear in four (or, by Dindorf’s account, in five) of the leading MSS, and are moreover so evidently spurious that it is surprising that Muretus, Schneider and others should have found in them a reason for commencing the book at that point. We may notice in addition that Athenaeus (xl. p. 476 c) quotes the fourth section of the chapter before us as actually forming part of the Sixth Book.

*ἐν μάλα* [‘right well’], the word μάλα being the intensifying adjunct, which is displaced for the purpose of additional emphasis. Cf. i. 5. 8, ἔστω, ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης, καὶ μάλα κατὰ πραγμάτων γνώριμον. For the genitive πραγμάτων, see note on δέκα ἡμερῶν (1. 7. 18).

§ 2. *τοὺς Ἑλλήνας*] The construction in full would be as follows: μῆτ’ ἀδίκειν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας μῆτ’ αὑτὸς ἀδίκεισθαι ὑπ’ αὑτῶν, but, by changing the order of the sentence, the emphasis is thrown on the important word Ἑλλήνας, to which both clauses refer in sense though not in construction. It is difficult, as Kühner observes, to understand the objections raised by Schneider and Popko to the position of the word αὑτῶς. It is forcible enough both in sense and rhythm, and gives character to a commonplace phrase.

§ 3. *ἐπὶ ξενία* [‘on terms of hospitality’]. The force of the preposition in this and similar cases (see note on ἐπὶ γάμῳ, ii. 4. 8) is hardly in favour of the opinion advanced by Sturz (Lex. Χει. III. 218) that with ξενία we are to understand the substantive τραπέζη.

*δικαιοσύνος εἶναι*] Sub. παρακαλεῖσθαι, which may be readily supplied from the preceding verb παρεκάλεσαν. For the phrase δικαιοσύνος
ἐναι in connexion with the infinitive, ‘to be most entitled (to an invitation)’, cf. Sympos. IV. 15. 113, and Thuc. I. 41.

§ 4. βοῦς τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν] ‘oxen of the number of those that had been captured’. For the genitive, cf. Theophr. Char. (περὶ μικροφιλοτημα) θευρακάς τῶν στρογγυλῶν ληκύθους καὶ βακτηρίας τῶν σκολίων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος.

ἐν σκίμπωσι] ‘on truckle-beds’. To judge from Plat. Protag. 310 c, and repeated allusions in Aristoph. Nub. 254, 709, etc., it would appear that these couches were particularly affected by students, ascetics and the like.

§§ 5—13. At the close of the banquet the Greeks perform their national dances for the entertainment of their guests.

σταδία τ’ ἐγένετο καὶ ἑπαύσαν] It appears from Sympos. II. 1 and other passages that the singing of the paean formed the regular accompaniment to this preliminary libation. Observe the alteration in tense from ωχῆσαντο, which denotes the general character of the action, to ἥλκωντο and ἔχρωντο, which mark the successive changes through which it passed.

πεπληγέναι] ‘so that every one fancied he had wounded his man’. The reading ὃς πᾶσιν ἔδικει is supported by the two leading mss, and preferred by Kühner, Vollbrecht and all the best editors. Add to which, the alternative reading (ὡς πᾶι ὅκειν) necessitates our understanding πεπληγέναι in an intransitive sense, a usage which at the best Attic period was entirely confined to the poets.

τεχνικῶς ποιο] ‘by some clever device’.

§ 6. ἄδων τόν Σιτάλκαν] ‘singing the Sitalcas-song’. A short account of this Thracian king will be found in Thuc. II. 29. In illustration of the phrase, we may compare ἄδειν τόν Κρίνων (Aristoph. Nub. 1356), and τόν Ἀρμάδιον ἄσεται (Achar. 980).

§ 7. τήν καρπαίαν καλωρένην] This dance, it would seem from the context, was intended to represent the struggle between a labouring man and a robber, and must have been derived from the times when, according to Thuc. I. 6, ἐσκυθή τήν διαίτην μεθ’ ὅπλων (οἱ Ἑλλήνες) ἑπο-ψαντο, ὡσπερ οἴ βάρβαροι. The exact meaning of the term καρπαίαν is doubtful. It can scarcely be connected with καρπός (fruit), as the season suggested by the words σπειρε καὶ ἐκενηταῖ (manifestly that of spring-time, nor does the description of the dance in any way imply that it was associated with the housing of the crops. Probably, Macmichael is right in deriving it from καρπός (a wrist) in the sense of a ‘binding-dance’, for which he compares the concluding words of the section. If so, we may instance the well-known δέσμως ὑμος, or ‘binding-song’ of the Furies (Aesch. Eum. 332), as a parallel form of expression.

§ 8. τρόπος τῆς δραχἀτες ἤ] In the majority of the mss these words are followed by δόσε, the omission of which, though defended by Kühner and Vollbrecht, is not entirely satisfactory. It is true that our author is frequently abrupt in his method of introducing parenthetical and explanatory clauses, before which he usually omits the connecting particle (cf. 1. 1. 7, 9, 1. 2. 17, II. 1. 3, 6), but I can recall no single instance in which such abruptness is caused by the absence of the preliminary demonstrative.
NOTES.

προϊθηται] The employment of the middle form has raised a doubt whether προϊθηγε τε, which is found in a large number of the inferior mss, should not be accepted as the true reading. But the middle is not unfrequently used in place of the active, more especially by the poets, when it is required to express a deeper interest in the action of the verb, e.g. in the following passage of the Trachiniae of Sophocles (v. 306):

οὕτως ἐγὼ δέδοικα τάσσ᾽ ὀρωμένη;

and again in v. 909,

ἐκλαεὶν ἢ διστηρος εἰσορωμένη.

ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν] ‘keeping time to the pipe’.

δῆσας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει] Vollbrecht cuts the knot of this difficulty by bracketing the καὶ. But, apart from the fact that the mss are unanimous for retaining it, it may be questioned whether its omission can be justified by the context, which clearly implies that the man is carried off in company with his team. I have therefore decided to retain it with Kühner, whether we accept his suggestion that the construction in full would be as follows: δῆσας τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει, or prefer to regard the words τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει as an independent sentence, to which the participle δῆσας bears only a general relation. This latter idiom is of frequent occurrence in Xenophon, and is suggested, I think, by the rhythm of the passage. Tr. ‘The robber leads off the husbandman and his team after making all safe with bonds’.

παρὰ τοὺς βοῦς] The accusative in this case is justified by the verb ἐλαύνει. Other instances occur in which the combination is used by our author without any such idea of motion, for which see note on παρὰ in 1. 2. 13, and again in v. 3. 13.

§ 9. μμούμενος] Sturz in his Lexicon proposes to understand σχηματα or κινήσεις, an expedient which one is anxious to avoid except in cases of absolute necessity. Here, I think, the verb may fairly be taken absolutely in the general sense of ‘acting’, ‘gesticulating’; but, if anything is to be supplied, I should certainly prefer to understand αὐτοῦ, sc. τοὺς ἀντιστοιχοὺς.

ἐξεκυβίστα] Macmichael is silent as to the force of the preposition. The simple verb occurs in the Iliad in the account of the death of Cebrones (xvi. 745):

ὁ πότοι· ἡ μᾶλ έλαφρός ἀνήρ, ὥς ρεῖα κυβιστῇ,

where it is further explained as follows:

ὁ δ’ ἃρ’, ἀρνευτῆρι ἐοικός, ἢ χάππος ἀτ’ εὐρέγεος δίφρων· λίπε δ’ ὀστέα θυμὸς.

The compound form is found in much the same connexion in Eur. Supp. 692,

δίφρων

ἐς κράτα πρὸς γῆν ἐκκυβιστῶτων βία, and again in Xen. Conv. ii. 11, where, in describing a species of sword-dance, the author says of the performer: εἰς ταῦτα (sc. τὰ ξίφη) ἐκκυβίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα. In this latter passage the verb apparently means no more than that the dancer ‘turned somersaults in and out among the
swords'. Weiske, however, thinks that the contrast is between a forward and a backward leap. In the case before us, unless we are to regard the compound as merely a stronger form of the simple verb, there is good ground for supposing with Kräger that the passage originally stood as follows: ἐκβίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκβίστα.

δὴν καλὴν] In the majority of the MSS the participle ἐχων is introduced between these words. But, independently of other reasons, its occurrence in the previous clause is an ample reason for omitting it here.

§ 10. ὀκλαζε] 'sank on his knees', in which sense the verb occurs in Soph. Oed. Col. 196. According to Zeune, who quotes from Pollux IV. 109, and Heliod. IV. 17, this gesture was the characteristic feature of the dance, and the one from which it received its name (ὀκλασμα).

§ 11. πρὸς τὸν ἑνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν] This war-measure is mentioned in Aristoph. Νυμ. 651,

κατ' ἑνόπλιον, χώπαδος αὖ κατὰ δάκτυλον,

and (according to the scholiast) was made up of a spondee, pyrrhic (~-~-), trochee and iambus. αὐλούμενοι, 'to the accompaniment of pipes'. We might have been tempted to take αὐλεῖσθαι in an active sense, but for a precisely similar passage quoted by Sturz from Cyrop. IV. 5. 7, where the context leaves little room for doubt: οἱ δὲ Μηδόι καὶ ἐπίνον καὶ ἐνωχοῦντο καὶ ἡλοῦντο.

δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο] took it seriously to heart'. The phrase may include the outward manifestations of annoyance, a meaning which is more distinctly marked in the case of the active (δεινὰ ποιεῖν).

§ 12. ἐπὶ τοῦτος] For the force of ἐπὶ both here and in the preceding section (ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτῳ), see note on 11. 2. 4, and 11. 5. 41. In spite of Kühner's suggestion to the contrary I much prefer to treat the phrase as independent of ἐκπεπληγμένους.

Πυρρίχνων] The Pyrrhic was another species of war-dance, accompanied like the former by music, in the course of which the performer pretended by turns to deal and parry blows. It is mentioned more than once by Aristophanes, e.g. in connexion with the phrase Πυρρίχνων βλέπειν 'to look daggers' (Av. 1169), and in a passage of the Rhuæae (v. 153).

§ 13. αἱ τρεψάμεναι...βασιλέα] The facts, of which this is a highly coloured version, will be found in connexion with 1. 10. 3.

§§ 14—16. A treaty is concluded between the Greeks and Paphlagonians, after which the former proceed by sea along the coast and anchor at Harmene, a port of the Sinopians, where they are welcomed by the inhabitants. Here Cheirisophus joins them with a single ship, and invites them to take service under Anaxibius as soon as they are clear of the Black Sea.

§ 15. εἰς Ἀρμύρην] A port situated about five miles to the eastward of Sinope. It was a place of little importance, in proof of which White instances the following proverb: ὃς ἔργον οὐκ ἔχειν, Ἀρμύρην ἐτειχίσετε. On the contrary, Sinope (now Sinūb), one of the earliest colonies of Miletus, was the most important city on the coast: noted, amongst other reasons, as the birthplace of Diogenes the Cynic, and Mithridates.
The kephámuv contained about 9 English gallons, i.e. about \( \frac{1}{4} \) less than the Attic medimnus.

§ 10. τριήρης ἔξωρ] The failure of the mission of Cheirisophus is noticed by Diodorus (XIV. 31) as follows: παρεγενέθη δὲ καὶ ἐνταύθα Χειρίσωφος, ὁ πρῶς τὰς τριήρεις ἀπεσταλμένος, ἀπρακτός.

ὅτι ἐπαινοῦν...ὅτι ὑποσχεῖτο] Kühner calls attention to the change of mood: of which many similar examples have been noticed in the earlier books (e.g. in I. 1. 2, 3, I. 2. 1, 20). As usual, the transition from the indirect to the direct narration marks the greater importance and reality of the concluding statement.

§§ 17—19. Five days are spent at Harmene, during which, in the hope of strengthening their power, and of achieving some result worthy of the expedition, the Greeks offer the supreme command to Xenophon.

εἰσέχει αὐτῶς] 'the thought was continually presenting itself'. The subjunctive ἄφικωνταί, though preferred by Vollbrecht, Kühner and the majority of the editors, is not found in three of the leading mss, all of which point to ἄφικνυότο as the true reading. Either mood is capable of defence: the subjunctive, as Kühner suggests, by the analogy of the idioms παρασκευάζειν, ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως ἄν (for which see note on I. 1. 4), while the optative, which Macmichael still retains, is simply the ordinary equivalent for the Latin quomodo posset.

§ 18. ἐκ τῆς μυκώσεως] sc. γνώμης. Cf. Thuc. II. 12. The phrase occurs again in II. 12 of the present book, and is remarkable on account of the irregular use of the preposition, in place of which κατὰ with the accusative would have been the ordinary formula. 'At the suggestion of the decisive vote' would seem to be the special force intended by the preposition ἐκ.

§ 19. ἐκαστὸς (τις)] The indefinite τις is retained by Kühner, Macmichael and others, but omitted by Vollbrecht and Dindorf on the authority of the three leading mss. The combination in itself is entirely unobjectionable, but is out of place, I think, in this connexion, where the special mention of the λοχαγοὶ and the precise form of the statement is in no way suggestive of vagueness or ambiguity.

ἐπείθεν] Observe the force of the imperfect: 'endeavoured to persuade him'. It is strange that the phrase ὑποστήναι τὴν ἀρχὴν, which does not occur elsewhere, should have escaped the notice of the commentators. The primary idea is clearly that of 'putting the shoulders' to a task, and so to 'undertake' it.

§§ 20—24. Being in doubt whether or no he shall accept the offer, Xenophon sacrifices to Zeus. The result determines him to decline the command.

γρυγνειθαὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους] The reading of this passage is open to considerable doubt. The text I have adopted is that of Kühner and Dindorf, which is supported by the authority of the four best mss. On the other hand, Vollbrecht, Weiske, Macmichael and other editors of note follow the bulk of the mss by inserting καὶ after γρυγνειθαὶ, the words πρὸς τοὺς φίλους being taken in connexion with the ensuing clause. Where authorities are thus divided, our best guide will be the internal evidence supplied by the passage itself, and this, I think, is almost decisive in favour of Kühner's reading: for, in point of grammatical con-
struction, the phrase πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν is awkward and cumbersome; while the antithesis which is clearly intended between πρὸς τοὺς φίλους (his friends in the camp) and εἰς τὴν πόλιν (the public at home) is distinctly weakened if we confine it to a single clause.

τυχὼν] an accusative absolute: 'if it so happened', i.e. perchance.

§ 21. δὴ τὸ μέλλον ἐξεί[ 'how the future will turn out'. For the change of mood from ἐνυμοῖτο to ἐξεῖ, see note on ὑπισχυεῖτο in § 16. καὶ τὴν προειρημασμένην δόξαν ἀποβαλεῖν] So Kühner and all the leading editors in place of μὴ καὶ τὴν προειρ. δόξ. ἀποβάλλω, which has all the appearance of a gloss, though it is found in all but the three best mss. I am more in doubt about the καὶ which precedes κίνδυνος. It reads awkwardly in connexion with the following καὶ, and is moreover omitted in all the mss with the exception of four.

§ 22. διαπορομένῳ...διακρίναι] These words are to be taken in combination: 'being still at a loss how to decide'. There is some doubt as to the precise force of διά in the compound. It may be intended, as usual, to denote a divided opinion: or it may simply suggest continuance (as in διατελεῖν). The latter is the more forcible rendering in the present connexion owing to the juxtaposition of the verb διακρίναι.

ἀνακοινώσαι] 'to lay it before Heaven'. Kühner renders it by 'consider deos', which is not, however, directly expressed by the active. Cf. III. 1. 5, where the two phrases appear in striking contrast: (i) ἀνακοινώσαι Σωκράτει (he 'takes the opinion of' Socrates), and (ii) ἀνακοινώσαι τῷ θεῷ, the expression before us.

ἔβητο] For the force of the middle, see note on θύσαντες (IV. 6. 27). The meaning of μαντευτός is simply as follows: 'who was suggested to him by an oracle at Delphi', and the explanation that it stands for ἔπερ θύειν αὐτῷ μαντευτόν ἢν ἐκ Δελφῶν, which is adopted by Macmichael and others, appears to me needlessly complicated. The occasion and circumstances under which he received this response are described in connexion with III. 1. 6.

καὶ τὸ δναρ δή...δειδε] The δὴ is equivalent to adeo or profecto: 'and in fact the dream which he saw at the time when he began to undertake his share of the responsibilities of the campaign'. For the circumstances, cf. III. 1. 11.

§ 23. εὖ Ἑφέσου (δὲ)] If we are to retain δὲ with Kühner and the majority of the mss, its force will be the same as in the phrases καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦτος ὄρτες ἀποβαλοῦσαν ἤσαν (IV. 1. 13), and καὶ κλέψαι δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατον μοί δοκεῖ οὖν (IV. 6. 13). But it reads awkwardly in the present passage in connexion with the words εὖ Ἑφέσου, and I am glad to find that Vollbrecht has decided to omit it on the authority of two leading mss.

dεξιῶν φθεγγόμενον] 'screaming in the direction of the east'. Tokens from this quarter were regarded as favourable alike by Greeks and Romans; though to the latter, who faced the south when they were taking the auspices, they presented themselves as omens from the left (sinistra).

καθήμενον μέντοι] Compare the description of a similar portent in Aesch. Pers. (v. 209):
For ὃσπέρ (in the clause which follows) Hutchinson proposes ἀντερ, a conjecture which is noticed with approval by Kühner. The text, however, is easily defensible as an ordinary form of anacoluthon, the object of which was to relieve the sentence of a cumbrous succession of participles: καθήμενον μέντοι, καλ., ὃσπέρ ὁ μάντις προπέμπτων αὐτὸν ἔλεγε, μέγαν...καλ ὧν ἰδιωτικόν καὶ ἑνδοξὸν κ.τ.λ. A very similar passage occurs in Π. 5. 5, where the same change is made in the construction, and apparently from the same motives.

προπέμπτων] 'when he was forwarding him on his way'. Cf. καθημένω in the sentence which follows. This predicative sense, which gives additional force to the participle, would be lost by the introduction of the article before προπέμπτων, which Poppo regards as indispensible.

ὦν ἰδιωτικὸ] 'out of keeping with a private individual'. For the significance of the eagle as an emblem of power and sovereignty, compare in particular Aristoph. Αν. 480:

ὦν ἀποδώσει ταχέως ὃ Ζεὺς τὸ σκήπτρον τῷ δρυκολάπτη;

and also ν. 515,

ὦ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὃ νῦν βασιλεύων
ἀετὸν ὄρνιν ἐστηκεν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, βασιλεῖς ὡν.

ἕνδοξος] 'betokening fame, but fame not easily won'.

§§ 25—29. An assembly is convened, at which the command of the army is offered to Xenophon. The reasons which he assigns for declining it.


§ 26. ἐπερ ἄνθρωπος ἐλμ] Krüger proposes ἐπέπερ for ἐπερ on the analogy of Cyrop. VII. 2. 10, καὶ σὺ γε (χαῖρε), ἐπείπερ ἄνθρωποι γε ἔστων ἄμφότεροι. And, if we were dealing with a different author, I should be inclined to accept the correction, since, in the best Attic Greek, ἐπερ (as distinguished from ἐγε) always implies a measure of doubt, because it states the case as an assumption and not as a fact. In ν. 1. 4 (ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἐπερ πλεῖν βούλεσθε, περιμένετε)—the passage quoted by Kühner in defence of ἐπερ—the hypothetical form of the sentence is distinctly apparent: 'if I am to believe that it is your wish to go by sea'. But in the case before us, as there is no sign of a variant in the MSS, I prefer to retain ἐπερ with the best editors, understanding it as far as possible in its legitimate sense: 'I must be pleased at the honour you propose for me, on the supposition that I have the feelings of a man'.

Δακδαμονίου ἄνδρος παρόντος] Cheirisophus.

τυγχάνειν] It will be observed that τυγχάνειν is not impersonal, but depends on δοκεῖτε, which, as Kühner suggests, is to be supplied out of the previous δοκεῖ. Tr. 'nay, you would, I think, be less likely in consequence to obtain from them a favour'. The alternative explanation, which understands ὑμᾶς μοι δοκεῖ before τυγχάνειν, is less neat and scholarlike.
οὐ πάνυ τι] 'not at all'. For the forces of οὐ πάνυ, see note on I. 8. 14. In the present case, the addition of τι as an intensive leaves no doubt as to the meaning to be preferred.

§ 27. καὶ αὑτῶν] sc. τῶν Ἀθηναίων, which may be understood κατὰ σύνεσιν from πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, i.e. πάντας τῶν πολιτῶν. Besides dismantling their long walls, and surrendering all their vessels except twelve, they were required by the terms of the treaty Λακεδαιμονίων ἐποσθαί καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ὅποι ἄν ἥγουται (Iell. II. 2. 20).

§ 28. ταῦτα ὅρων] 'accordingly I bear in mind the probability that I should be very soon brought to order, if, with these examples before me, I were to give them the impression that I had used an opportunity like the present for the disparagement of their dignity'. I can see no reason for removing the participial phrase ταῦτα ὅρων from its place in the subordinate clause, as Kühner does when he rearranges the sentence as follows: ταῦτα οὖν ἐγὼ ὅρων ἐκεῖνο ἐννοοῦ μὴ κ.τ.λ. On the contrary, it gains distinctly in force if we connect it solely with εἰ... δοκοῦμεν.

ἐννοοῦ] In III. 5. 3 we find the middle employed in the same way, to denote a fear or apprehension: ἐννοοῦμενοι μὴ τὰ ἑπιτῆθεια ούκ ἔχοιεν ὅποιον λαμβάνουν. The force of the verb σωφρονίζειν is admirably illustrated by the use of the corresponding substantive in Thuc. III. 65, σωφρονισταί ὄντες τῆς γυνῆς, 'taking upon us to school (i.e. reform) your politics'. The particle ἄν, which Porson proposes to omit as a repetition of the concluding syllable in λαμ, is defensible in cases like the present, where a conditional clause is modified by the requirements of the oblique narration. Compare the two following passages, the former of which is quoted by Kühner: εἰ δὲ τινὲς αὐδά βοοῦνταί, μὴ μαται ἄν γένουτο ἡ κατασκευή (de Vettig. IV. 41), and similarly Soph. Trach. 164, χρῆν προτάξας ὦς τρίμηνον ἴακ' ἄν χώρας ἀπείη.

§ 29. τούτων πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ σωφρονίαν στασίαζε] Here again, as in III. 1. 38, the sentiment recalls the Antigone of Sophocles, vv. 666—676,

ἀλλ' ὅν πόλις στήσεις, τοῦτο κρῆ κλέων,
...τῶν ὡς ὅρθομένων
σωζεῖ τὰ πολλὰ σώματ' ἤ πειθαρχία.

§§ 30—end. After a short speech from Agasias which disposes of Xenophon's objections, the latter appeals to the will of Heaven as indicated in the recent sacrifice. Upon this Cheirisophus is chosen, who in a short and manly address accepts the responsibilities of the command.

ὅτι γελοῦν εἶν] The objections raised by Xenophon are in truth supremely ridiculous, more especially to those whom he has permitted to understand the real motives by which he was influenced. Nor does he better his position by appealing to the circumstances of the late sacrifice, the references to which are so unusually vague that we may be pardoned for doubting whether the result was quite in accordance with his wishes: supposing indeed that the ceremonial was actually performed. On the other hand, the conduct of Cheirisophus is straight-
forwardness itself, though he throws out some unkindly hints as to the true motives which had deterred Xenophon from accepting the command.

(όσα δργίονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι] ‘since (in that case) the Lacedaemonians will be indignant even if persons meet at a dinner-party and do not choose a Lacedaemonian as master of the ceremonies'. It is only after most careful consideration that I have departed on this occasion from Kühner and Vollbrecht, both of whom have adopted εἰ for όσον on the authority of a single ms—a reading which I should still regard as untenable if the arguments in its favour were many times stronger than they are. As it is, I can see no reason whatever for discrediting the ordinary text, which appears in the majority of the mss, and is in perfect keeping with the context; while it supplies us with an easy clue in regard to the cause of the corruption. For, granting that the word ότος may have been displaced by accident, traces of which are apparent even in the best mss, the substitution of εἰ for όσον might naturally have followed. It is, at any rate, a less violent alteration than others which have been proposed in its place: e.g. the following, which is adopted by Macmichael: ὅτι γελοίον εἰ τε: εἰ ότος ἔχει, δργίονται οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κ.τ.λ. In addition to which, the latter reading would be an almost exact reproduction of a clause in the ensuing sentence.

συμποσίαρχον= magnistrum or arbitrum bibendi.

§ 31. πλέονεον εὑρέον] ‘that something more was required’, or, as Krüger expresses it, ‘graviori rem aliqua ratione egere’. The passage is an important one, if only for the light which it throws upon the character of Xenophon, and his conduct on similar occasions (e.g. III. i. 12, 2. 9, etc.). I have therefore dwelt upon it at some length towards the close of the Introduction.

ἀλλ', ὁ ἀνδρες] In a note on ἀλλ' ἀφελε χην (II. i. 4) will be found other instances where ἀλλὰ is used with this adverasive force in relation to a feeling not openly expressed, but existing in the mind of the speaker.

ἐμοι] The dative is preferred by Kühner and Vollbrecht to the accusative, which appears in the three leading mss, on the ground that it corresponds with νο橈 in the previous clause. But it reads awkwardly, if not ambiguously, in connexion with νοστήρα, and I am inclined to think that Xenophon wrote ἐμὲ in order to avoid this difficulty.

καὶ μοι] All the mss, with the exception of the two best, give ἐμοι, which appears preferable at first sight owing to the false emphasis which is thrown on the enclitic by its place in the sentence. But, as Kühner points out, the emphasis is not a real one, for the word καὶ refers to the entire sentence and not to the pronoun in particular.

§ 32. Δέξιππος ηῆ οἰεβάλλεν] The circumstances of his defection are related in v. i. 15, though no special mention is made of his attempts to calumniate Xenophon. What little we know of the matter has been gathered by inference from III. i. 47, where Timasion is elected to supply the place of Clearchus after the capture of the generals, and again from III. 2. 37, where he is chosen by Xenophon as his colleague for the protection of the rear-guard. From a comparison of
these passages it has been inferred that Xenophon was accused of favouring Timasion on account of the influence he possessed over the troops of Clearchus. But the reasons for the latter appointment (III. 2. 37) are stated in such clear terms (ὄπισθοφυλακῶμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώ-
τεροι, ἐγὼ τε καὶ Τιμασίων) that the theory, which is probable enough in itself, must be judged upon other grounds.

συγάζοντος] 'though I strongly urged him to silence'. It is remark-
able that in five of the best mss the word συγάζοντος is replaced by δοξάζοντος. Hesychius, however, notices that the former verb occurs in the Anabasis, while Schneider condemns as unclassical the use of δοξάζειν in the sense of the Latin laudare.

ο δὲ] sc. ὁ Δέξιππος, while αὐτῶν of course refers to Xenophon.

§ 33. ἐὰν πλοῦς ἐγγυ] 'if we have a fair wind'. Cf. v. 7. 7, καὶ λέγετε, ὅταν ὁ Βορρᾶς πνεύ, ὡς καλὸς πλοῦς εἰσν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. This use of κατασχεῖν in the sense of 'landing' or 'touching at a place' is recog-
nised by Thucydides, Herodotus and the best authors. In Thuc.
I. 25 we find the simple verb σχεῖν employed in a somewhat similar sense.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—3. On the next day the Greeks embark, and, following the line of the coast, arrive after a voyage of two days at Heraclea. The inhabitants welcome them with presents.

παρὰ γῆν] The reading παρὰ τὴν γῆν is found in but one ms. I have therefore followed Kühner and Vollbrecht in omitting the article, though I am far from agreeing with the former authority who suggests that the phrases are convertible terms. On the contrary, the force of παρὰ γῆν is so distinctly general that it seems out of place in a description the language of which is unusually precise. If the authority of the mss were one whit less decided in favour of the text, I should have inserted the article, as Macmichael has done.

τὴν τε 'Ἰασωνίαν ἀκτῆν] In Macmichael’s opinion, ἀκτῆν is used poetically for ἄκραν, and accordingly we find another editor proposing to read ἄκραν in its stead. But, in truth, the terms are not synony-
mous: the reference being to the broken line of coast which lies between Cotyora and Sinope, rather than to the particular headland. Indeed some of the editors have suggested that the true explanation of the geographical difficulty may be found in the theory that the 'Ἰασωνία ἄκρα, which had been passed by the Greeks after leaving Cotyora, was an entirely different locality. But the best authorities either regard the present passage as an interpolation, and it certainly reads like one, or consider with Prof. Koch that our author’s geography is at fault.

'Ἡράκλειαν] The modern Herakli, while the Lýcus, which is men-
tioned by Xenophon below, is still known as the Κιλίς-σου, or Sword River, in significance, no doubt, of its dangerous floods.

§ 2. λέγεται ὁ 'Ἡράκλῆς] This is in accordance with the account of Apol. Rhod. II. 353—356. There is another and different legend which places the cave by which he descended in the neighbourhood of Cape Taenarum in Laconia. ἔπι τὸν Κέφσερον, 'to fetch Cerberus', as in Aristoph. Ran. 111.
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τὰ σχήματα...τὸ βάθος πλέον] The construction passes without comment from Kühner, though it is a remarkable instance of the σχήμα κατὰ σύνθεσιν, if, as is commonly supposed, the words τὸ βάθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια are added in reference to ὄργυμα or some equivalent, the idea of which is contained in the previous clause. Another and, I think, a simpler method of explaining the construction is to regard the substantive καταβάσεως as an instance of the abstract used in place of the concrete: i.e. the ‘way down which’ Heracles went rather than the ‘manner of his going’. For other examples of the idiom, see notes to III. 4. 20 and III. 5. 9.

§ 3. Κέραμια] Cf. VI. I. 15.

§§ 4—8. A council is held, at which it is determined to send ambassadors to Heraclea, to demand further supplies from the inhabitants. The names of Cheirisophus and Xenophon are proposed for election, but Lycon, Callimachus and Agasias are chosen in their stead as less likely to err in the direction of leniency. On receiving the information, the inhabitants ask time for deliberation, and, on obtaining it, immediately place their town in a state of siege.

θαυμάζω...τῶν στρατιώτων] ‘I wonder at our generals’. The genitive is usually explained by treating the entire clause which follows (ὅτι οὐ περιουσίαν κ.τ.λ.) as the object after θαυμάζω. Cf. Mem. III. 7. 8, θαυμάζω σου, εἰ ἐκείνου...ράδιος χειρούμενος, τούτοις δὲ μηδένα τρόπον οὔτε δυνάμεσθαι προσευχῆναι.

σινηρέσιον] Synonymous with σινηρέσιον, i.e. the money allowed for their rations, which were seldom supplied in kind. Cf. Aristoph. Pax, 1182, τῷ δὲ στιλ' οὐκ ἐκοίμητο' οὐ γὰρ ὶδειν ἐξῆν. On the other hand the word μισθὸς denotes the wages they received for actual service.

οὐ μὴ γένηται] ‘will not amount to’. The constructions of οὐ μὴ have been fully explained in connexion with οὔδεις μηκέτι μείνῃ (IV. 8. 13), and οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται (II. 2. 12). ‘Provision for a three days’ campaign’ (στιλ' ἡμερῶν τριῶν) was one of the standing orders to an army that was about to take the field. Accordingly, we find the following injunction given to the jurors in Aristoph. Vesp. 243, ἥκειν ἔχοντες ἡμερῶν ὅργην τριῶν ποιηνὰ.

ἐπιστεισάμενοι] ‘The emphatic word: ‘from which we can supply ourselves with provisions before proceeding on our way’. The Cyzicen- nian stater has been estimated at the same value as the δαρεικός, i.e. as equivalent to about twenty silver drachmae of Attic money. If so, it is clear from a statement in v. 6. 23, where the private soldiers are offered a cyzicene per month, that the pay of the troops had fallen to the original sum for which they were engaged by Cyrus. Cf. I. 3. 21, ὃ δὲ Κῦρος ὑποχνεῖται ἡμιδίκιν πᾶσι δώσει οὐ πρῶτον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρεικά τοῦ μηνοῦ τῷ στρατιώτῃ. But, if this had been made, it could scarcely have passed without notice, and there is therefore strong ground for believing with Larcher and others that the true value of the cyzicene was about a daric and a half (τρία ἡμιδα- 

§ 5. μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ μυρίους] sc. αἶτεν τοὺς Ἱπακλεώτας. Kühner and Vollbrecht are clearly justified in omitting the words μηνὸς μυρίους, which follow the verb ἐπέ in all the MSS with the exception of the
leading four. The passage quoted in the previous note from a speech by Timasion (v. 6. 23) was in all probability, as Kühner suggests, the ground-work for the interpolation. 

\[ \text{ημών καθημένων} \] A very abrupt transition to the direct narration, in place of which we should certainly have expected \( \sigmaφών \) \( \alphaυτών, \) or even an accusative in apposition with \( \varepsilon\lambdaομένοι, \) as the subject of the participles is in both cases the same. Both changes were undoubtedly made for the purpose of giving increased emphasis to the words \( \text{ημών καθημένων}, \) 'ourselves the while remaining quiet', and the idiom may be illustrated by passages like the following: \( \dot{\alpha}\nu\piερ \tauοίς \) \( \piροτέρους... \dot{\alpha}ναβάσα...καλ \) \( \tauαύτα \) \( \text{οὐκ} \) \( \dot{\epsilon}πι \) \( \text{μάχε\ιν} \) \( \text{λύσων} \) (I. 4. 12), and \( \dot{\epsilon}πει \) \( \dot{\delta} \) \( \dot{\epsilon}φυγεν \) \( \dot{\delta} \) \( \text{Σεινοφών}, \) \( \text{κατοικούντος} \) \( \text{ηδή} \) \( \text{αυτοῦ} \) \( \text{ἐν} \) \( \text{Σκιλλαοῦτι} \) (v. 3. 7). There is some difficulty in determining whether the participle \( \text{καθημένων} \) is to be understood in its general or restricted sense. The former is, I think, the more forcible, though Kühner and Krüger take the opposite view and render it thus: 'ourselves the while being seated in conclave'. 

§ 6. \[ \dot{\epsilon}στι \] \( \delta \) \( \dot{\omega} \) \( \kappaα\ell \) \( \text{Σεινοφώντα} \] The singular \( \dot{\epsilon}στι \) is preferred by Kühner, Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors; though it is difficult to account for their unanimity in its favour, as the reading is at best, supported by only two mss. Moreover, it is clear that our author frequently uses the plural in the same connexion (cf. \textit{de re equestri}, III. 4, XI. 10, and \textit{de venat.} III. 6, 10): and there is therefore little reason for crediting him with a doubtful construction in a case where the manuscripts are so distinctly in favour of the recognised idiom. It is true that Kühner defends the phrase \( \dot{\epsilon}στιν \) \( \dot{\omega} \) as a classical one, notwithstanding the opinion of other leading authorities. But the instances which he quotes of its use are entirely confined to Xenophon: while his theory that the combination \( \dot{\epsilon}στιν \) \( \dot{\omega} \) stands upon the same footing as \( \dot{\epsilon}στιν \) \( \dot{\delta} \), \( \dot{\epsilon}στιν \) \( \dot{\alpha} \) \( \dot{\delta} \) and similar phrases appears to me distinctly open to question. 

\[ \dot{\alpha}πεμάχωτο \] 'fought off' is the English equivalent. \( \dot{\alpha}ναγκάζειν \) may very possibly be used in its general acceptation, but, considering the juxtaposition of the verb \( \dot{\delta} \dot{\alpha} \dot{\delta} \), I prefer to understand it in a technical sense as follows: 'not to \textit{levy requisitions upon} a friendly city'. As the clause \( \dot{\delta} \tauι \) \( \muη...\dot{\delta} \dot{\alpha} \dot{\alpha} \dot{\alpha} \) is only indirectly connected with \( \dot{\alpha}ναγκάζειν, \) I cannot agree with Macmichael, who instances the passage as illustrating the use of \( \dot{\alpha}ναγκάζειν \) with two accusatives on the analogy of \textit{cogere} in Latin, and compares Verg. \textit{Aen.} III. 50, 

\[ \text{auri sacra fames, quid non mortalia cogis pectora?} \]

§ 7. \[ \dot{\delta} \dot{\omega} \] See note on I. 2. 12. 

\[ \piούσειαν \] Kühner and Krüger have both adopted the aorist, while the future \( \piούσειαν \) is preferred by Dindorf and Vollbrecht and has the better manuscript authority. The internal evidence appears to me conclusive in favour of the text, for, by the employment of the imperfect \( \dot{\epsilon}φασαν, \) the action of the verb is treated as already past. Kühner defends the optative on somewhat different grounds as denoting the necessity for immediate action. 

§ 8. \[ \dot{\beta}ουλεύσεσθαι \] The context in this case appears to me to be
distinctly in favour of the future, which is adopted by Vollbrecht and Macmichael, and is in close accordance with the MSS, the majority of which fluctuate between βούλευσασθαί and βούλευσασθαί. Kühner, however, prefers the indicative, and compares II. 3. 27, ὑμᾶς δ‘ αὖ ἡμῖν δείχσει ὑμᾶς ὑμῖν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φίλας ἀσώς, κ.τ.λ., to which we might add II. 3. 23, πορευόμεθα δ’ ολκάδε, εἶ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποῖν, though some of the editors are in favour of reading πορευόμεθα δ’ ἄν. The present passage, however, appears to me to stand on totally different grounds, and I question much whether ἐφάσαν βούλευσασθαί is defensible in place of ἐφάσαν βούλευσασθαί. On the other hand, in a combination like ὑμᾶς ὑμῖν πορεύεσθαι the present tense is peculiarly appropriate, not only in relation to ὑμᾶς, but as referring to an action, the course of which had been only temporarily suspended and was at once to be resumed.

ἑὼς ἀνεσκέυασαν] To ‘reconstruct’ is perhaps the nearest equivalent we have for ἀνασκέυασται in this connexion. The phrase, however, is a pregnant one, suggesting the additional processes of packing and removing. The distinctive character of the tenses which follow one another in close succession must be carefully noted in translating. The student should further compare II. 3. 21, where imperfects and aorists alternate in striking contrast throughout the entire section.

§§ 9—12. The Arcadians and Achaeans, being indignant at the subordinate part assigned to them in these operations, break off from Chetrisophus and Xenophon and appoint their own officers.

οἱ παράκειντες ταῦτα] ‘the authors of these disturbances’. The verb συνίστασιθαί, like coiēre in Latin, denotes a seditious faction or coalition. It occurs in a similar sense in Συγρ. 1. Ι. 2, ἀνθρωποὶ δὲ ἐπ’ οὐδένας μᾶλλον συνίστασται ἢ ἐπὶ τούτους, κ.τ.λ.

§ 10. ἐνα ‘Αρηναίόν] Xenophon.

παρεχθεμένων] Observe the force of the middle voice: ‘though he had furnished on his part no contingent to their forces’. In the following sentence σφῶν is to be connected with κατεργασμένων rather than σωτηρίαν: ‘and this too when it was they themselves who had achieved the safety of the troops’.

καὶ ἦν δὲ] ‘and indeed as a matter of fact’. See note on καὶ στρατηγόν δὲ (I. Ι. 2). In the succeeding sentence the direct and indirect narrations are again curiously blended, the construction in the earlier portion suggesting that the sequence will be as follows: καθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἀν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαί, κ.τ.λ. § 11. λοχαγοῦς...ἐαυτῶν] Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors read στρατηγοῖς in place of λοχαγοῖς. On the other hand, Kühner retains the text on the authority of five leading MSS, and defends it by shewing that after the readjustment of the troops the terms came in fact to be synonymous (cf. vi. 4. 5, 6). In all probability, the source of the error was the substitution of στρατηγοῖς for λοχαγοῖς in the following section, where the context might seem to suggest the alteration; after which, its introduction into the corresponding paragraph would be only a matter of time.

§ 12. ἐκ τῆς μυκώσης] Cf. vi. Ι. 18. The order of the sentence is as follows: ἐψήφισαντο δὲ τοῦτο τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὅ τι δοκοῖν ἐκ τῆς μυκώσης.
§§ 13—16. An account of the causes which led to the reconstitution of the army in three divisions, one of which was commanded by Xenophon, another by Cheirisophus, while the third was composed of the Achaean and Arcadian contingents under the officers which they had recently elected.

μετ’ αὐτῶν] sc. the Achaean and Arcadian troops; but there is much to be said in favour of μετ’ αὐτοῖ, the ingenious suggestion of Krüger, for it may be assumed that Xenophon would feel some compunction at parting with an old friend and colleague like Cheirisophus; while their recent conduct must for certain have embittered him against the Achaeans and Arcadians. Moreover, the force of the particle μετ’ οἱ is distinctly in favour of this view.

eis Κάλπης λαμένα] The promontory of Calpe is now known as Kirbah or Kaifkan Adasi. The self-interested advice of Neon was no doubt recommended to Xenophon by his own fears that provisions and plunder would fall short if the troops journeyed in company.

§ 14. αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιώται] So Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors in place of αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιώται which is preferred by Kühner, who somewhat arbitrarily adopts the reflexive in all cases without exception in which the pronoun stands between the article and substantive. The word αὐτοὶ refers of course to Neon and Cheirisophus.

ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῶ] It is by no means clear who is meant by the pronoun, though we may safely affirm that it does not refer to στρατεύματι, as Schneider seems to imagine. Almost all the editors (including Vollbrecht, Zeune, Bornemann and Macmichael) understand it as alluding to Xenophon. I cannot at all acquiesce in this opinion, as the main subject in the previous paragraph has throughout been Neon, who, in the disgust felt by Cheirisophus at the turn of affairs, had clearly taken upon himself to make the necessary arrangements. According I understand αὐτῶ as referring to Neon rather than to Xenophon.

§ 15. ἐτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν] This use of ἐτι is very clearly illustrated in a passage of Plato Protag. 310 C: ἐτι μὲν ἐνεχείρησα εὐθὺς παρὰ σὲ ἑναν, ἐπειτα μοι πᾶν πόρρω ἐδόξε τῶν νυκτῶν εἶνα.

τῷ Ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεί] It will be remembered that they sacrificed to the same deity when they had made good their passage through the Colchian territory (IV. 8. 25). For the force of κοινομενῳ, see note on ἀνακαυώσαι (VI. 1. 22).

τῶν παραμέλαντας] ‘the troops that held by him’. Compare the force of παρέμενεν in II. 6. 2.

§ 16. πλεῖους ἢ τετρακασιώτωι] The inferior MSS add the words καὶ πεντακόσιοι, which are strangely enough retained by Vollbrecht, although, by inserting them, he raises the number of the troops to 8040, which allows no margin for the losses they had met with on their way from Cerasus. If we accept Kühner’s reading, which is based on the authority of the four leading MSS, we shall find that the entire strength of the army at the present time consisted of 8140 men, exclusive of a small body of cavalry. The student should compare with this two other passages (I. 2. 3, and V. 3. 3), which will enable him to obtain a good idea of the losses sustained by the troops at different stages of the
campaign. Since the last computation, which was made at Cerasus (v. 3. 3), we find a deficiency of 460 men, the majority of whom must have perished in the encounters with the Mossynoei (v. 4. 16), and in the affair of Clearetes (v. 7. 16).

§§ 17—end. The three divisions of the army depart by different routes. πλέουσιν ὀπως...λαβοῖν] The optative is justified by the fact that πλέουσιν is a historic tense. Cf. IV. 6. 1, τοῦτον...δίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὀπως...έχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίου.

τῆς Θράκης i.e. Asiatic Thrace: a name given to the country of the Bithyni (originally known as Bebrycia) in significance of the fact that a portion of them were immigrants, whose original home was on the banks of the Strymon in Thrace. Accordingly they are called the Strymonians by Herodotus (vii. 75). By the description given in vi. 4. 1, Asiatic Thrace extended from Byzantium to Heraclea.

§ 18. παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἥκι] The reason for this is suggested in the words which follow, his feeble health necessitating the shortest and the easiest route.

§ 19. διὰ μέσογαλα] 'through the interior'. According to Ainsworth, Xenophon took this course in order to avoid the Yazilah Tash, a densely wooded range of hills, quite impassable for a body of troops, that lay between the shore and the central plains. From the nature of the country it is scarcely possible that he made for Calpe in a direct line, as Col. Chesney would seem to suggest. More probably, he commenced his journey by crossing the hills, being tempted by the hope of plunder which he looked for in the plains beyond.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. A recapitulation, which is in all probability a spurious addition. ὅν μὲν ὄν τρόπον...εἰρηται] For the reasons which have induced the commentators to reject this paragraph as spurious, consult the first note on vi. 1. 1.

jeta Ἐκείσθεν άρχῃ τοῦ παντὸς] The double genitive is exactly illustrated in the following passage of Soph. Antig. 929, ἔτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνέμων αὐτὰλ ψυχῆς ἴπταλ τὴν ἕ' ἔχουσιν, the words ψυχῆς ἴπταλ 'passionate gusts' being taken in close combination, like ἀρχῇ τοῦ παντὸς in the present sentence.

§§ 2—9. The Arcadian division makes a successful attack upon some Thracian villages. The inhabitants, however, rally their forces, and in their turn besiege the invaders, compelling them to come to terms.

ἐκάστοι] See note on ἐκάστοι in 1. 1. 6.

§ 3. συνεβάλοντο] 'they agreed, likewise, upon a hill'. Some few of the editors understand περιεβάλοντο to mean 'surrounded', a sense which is strictly within the compass of the verb, though it is scarcely forcible enough to suit the present context: ἀνθρώπος ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔλαβον. Kühner is, therefore, to be followed, who renders it 'sibi compararunt', 'abstulerunt', on the analogy of a passage in Cyne. III. 3. 23, τοῖς δὲ ἐπίποις καταδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι περιεβάλοντο πολλὴν καὶ παντοταίν λειαν.

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We may compare, in addition, a very common use of the aorist participle in the clause which follows: the majority of the commentators, including Dindorf, Schneider, Weiske and Vollbrecht, prefer diapeýgontes and διέφέρον. In the case of the participle, the MSS are altogether in favour of the present, though they are by no means equally unanimous in regard to διέφέρον. Under these circumstances, I have determined to follow Kühlner, as the reading διαφεύγοντες is to a certain extent borne out by the force of the compound. Add to which, our author shews a marked predilection for the present tense in other similar combinations. Cf. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλυσομένων (1. 5. 2), τῶν δὲ πλεόντων ἐτὶ τινὲς (v. 7. 17) and the constantly recurring phrase οἱ ἀποσκεδασμοῖς (1. 5. 6), τῶν ἀποσκεδασμοί (IV. 4. 9), etc.

eis τὸ συγκείμενον] i.e. Λόφου εἰς ὅπειρα πάντα ἁλίσθεθαι (§ 3).

§ 5. eti δὲ διαβάτει χαράδρας] For this sense of διαβάσις, cf. κατὰ τὴν διαβάσιν ‘at the ford’ (IV. 3. 17). In other cases where the substantive occurs (e.g. in II. 3. 10, III. 4. 20, III. 5. 9) the context leaves it open to us to treat it as an instance of the abstract for the concrete, or else to understand the word in its legitimate sense as denoting merely the ‘mode or manner of crossing’.

τρέπονται] sc. οἱ Θρακεῖς. In I. 4. 5 we have a yet more remarkable change in the subject of the verb.

τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου] sc. τοῦ (Λόχου) Ἡγησάνδρου. But the sentence is a carelessly constructed one owing to the cumbrous succession of genitives, and I am strongly inclined to relieve it by omitting altogether the words τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν, which have all the appearance of an explanation, added by some officious scribe.

§ 6. σὺν πράγμασιν...κακε ἐπραγματῶν] ‘some easily: others with difficulty’. All the best editors adopt this interpretation, but I can find no other example which justifies so stilted a use of the phrase. To avoid the difficulty, it has been proposed to render πράγμασιν...πραγματῶν by ‘baggage’ or ‘effects’, which is certainly no improvement.

ἐπεὶ εὐτύχησαν] It is remarkable that all the MSS, with the exception of the three best, give the participle εὐτυχήσαντες in place of επεὶ εὐτύχησαν. The form εὐτύχησαν, though it is found in one good MS, is rejected by Kühner, Vollbrecht and Maemichael, as of doubtful authenticity in the writings of Xenophon.

§ 7. oἱ δὲ] sc. oἱ Θρακεῖς, oἱ πολέμιοι. The same ambiguity occurs again in § 8, where τῶν μὲν refers to the Greek troops, τῶν δὲ to the Thracians. The optative επιούν is of course frequentative.

§ 8. τὸ μὲν ἀλλα ὄμολογητο αὐτοῖς] It is an open question whether ὄμολογητο is to be taken impersonally, or with ἀλλα for the nominative: in all probability, the former is the correct explanation, i.e. ‘on all other points they had come to an agreement’. Compare the impersonal use of convenire in Latin.

ἐν τούτῳ ἦσχετο] ‘at this point there was a check’.
§§ 10—18. The arrival of Cheirisophus at Calpe. During his progress through the interior of the country Xenophon is informed of the perilous position of the Arcadian troops, and at once determines to relieve them. His address to his followers.

Ένεσθαντι] This is commonly regarded as an instance of the dative absolute. Kühner, however, objects to the phrase as inaccurate, and suggests an explanation similar to that employed in treating of the ethic dative, i.e. that the person or persons in question have a certain interest and participation in the matter in hand. See note on ἀντώ in I. 2. 3.

ὁντος Ἐλληνικοῦ] ‘if they had anywhere heard tidings of another army, consisting of Greek troops’. As Kühner, Vollbrecht and Macmichael have agreed to retain ὅντος, which is supported moreover by the authority of two out of the three leading mss, I have decided to follow them, though the addition reads awkwardly, and is by no means sufficiently justified by the well-known Thucydidean phrase to which Kühner refers us: ἐσῆλθον ἡς Πλάταιαν, ὁδον Ἀθηναίων ἄμαχα (Thuc. II. 2). In the latter instance the participle represents a new and important condition, which could hardly have been stated otherwise than by a distinct subordinate clause.

§ 11. ἔλεγεν] Observe the force of the tense, and cf. ἔλεγεν in I. 5. 11. In the clause which follows, the position of the word ὅν marks it as emphatic. Otherwise it would naturally have stood between ὅτι and πάλαιρηκοῦνται.

§ 12. ἀπολογοῦνται...ἐδει] For the change from the future to the present tense, see note on πορεύεσθαι (II. 3. 27).

§ 14. ὅν μὲν ὅν] There is no regular apodosis to this sentence, though the idea which was present in the mind of the speaker may be inferred from § 21, where the antithesis is actually completed: καὶ τὴν μὲν νόκτα φυλακᾶς ποιησάμενοι ἐκάθενόν ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ... ὡς εἰς μάχην ἐπορευόντο.

ὁνὼν] sc. προελθεῖν, which may easily be supplied from προελθόντες above. The word κάρος would seem to have seriously perplexed the commentators from the number of suggestions which have been made to explain it. Weiske understands it to mean that they were to continue the march till they began to feel exhausted: Krüger, till they could find a safe position for their encampment. It would be a simpler explanation than either to assume that they were to get as far as possible on their way before the usual supper-time.

ἐφορων ἡμᾶς] ‘keeping us in view’.

§ 15. παρέπέμψε δέ...καυσίμω] The introduction of this parenthesis, awkward as it undoubtedly is, need scarcely surprise us in Xenophon, except on the ground that he is still credited by some of his admirers with neatness and elegance of expression.

καθορίσαν] For the peculiar significance of the compound, see note on κατίδειν (IV. 3. 11), as well as a similar use of the verb in I. 8. 26.

καλεῖν ἀπαντα, ὅτω ὑπνυχάωνεν καυσίμῳ] Cf. § 19, ἐκαίνων πάντα, ὅσα καύσιμα ἔφων. In I. 1. 5 we have an example of a similar construction: ὅσ τύ σ' ἀφικνότο...πάντας οὕτω διατίδεις ἀπεπέμπετο.

πολλὴ] sc. ὁδός.

εἰς Χρυσόπολιν] The modern Scutari, which stands over against Constantinople on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. The Turks call it Uskudar.

οὔτε πλοία ἔστω...μένουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ] The irregularity in the antithesis has been accounted for in two ways; (1) by assuming that the *apodosis* in the mind of the speaker was to the following effect: εἰς Πράκλειαν δὲ, ἔνθα πλοία ἔστι, πολλῇ ἔστιν ὡδὸς πάλιν ἀπέναι, and (2) by regarding the entire sentence as a combination of two constructions, in one of which the parallel clauses would have been introduced by οὔτε...οὔτε (e.g. εκεῖ οὔτε πλοία ἔστι...οὔτε ἐπιτήδεια), and in the other by μὲν and δὲ (e.g. εκεῖ ἀποπλευσομένους μὲν οὐκ ἔστι πλοία...μένουσι δὲ κ.τ.λ.). Both explanations appear to me to be equally far-fetched. In its natural order the sentence would no doubt have stood as follows: ἀλλὰ δὴ εκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοία ἔστω...οὔτε, εἰ μένομεν αὐτοῦ,...ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, but, whether for the sake of variety or emphasis, the second clause by a very common idiom is presented in a stronger form. I have already noticed many similar examples, e.g. the transposition of βίναι (II. 2. 4), and a passage in II. 1. 7.

§ 17. τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχεται] 'lend a helping hand in securing our preservation'. In the ensuing sentence the order of the words is as follows: ἀλλὰ χρή παρεὔεσθαι, (οὔτω) παρασκευασμένους τὴν γυμνὴν ὡς κ.τ.λ.

§ 18. τοὺς μεγαληγορήσαντας] Compare the speeches of the Arcadians and Achaeans as they are given in VI. 2. 10. πλέον φρονεῖν is to be ‘wiser’ than your neighbours: while μεῖτον φρονεῖν, as Dindorf points out, denotes pride and self-confidence. The sentiment embodied in this section is a favourite one with our author, and was probably borrowed from the poets. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 230, Ai. 127—133 etc.

τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρχομένους] Compare the phrase ἀφ’ Ἑστίας ἀρχισθαί (Arist. *Vesp.* 846), where the reference is clearly to a form of dedication, very nearly equivalent to our grace before meat. It is difficult to avoid the inference that one of the objections raised by the Arcadians and Achaeans to the authority of Xenophon was his habit of deciding all questions of importance by the ordeal of sacrifice.

§§ 19—23. The Greeks advance to the rescue of their countrymen, burning and destroying everything along the line of their march. On arriving at the hill in question they find it abandoned: the Thracians having decamped at nightfall, and the Arcadians at day-break on the following morning.

ἐκ’ ὁσῶν καλῶς εἶχεν] Sub. σπείρεσθαι.

ἐπιπαρώντες κατὰ τὰ ἄξρα] Cf. III. 4. 30, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπὶπαρώντες. The verb is more commonly used in a technical sense (e.g. in Thuc. IV. 94, and elsewhere) of a general ‘visiting the ranks’ of his troops either to inspect or address them.
NOTES.

καὶ ἡ στρατιά δὲ] sc. έκαιεν. For the combination of καὶ...δὲ, see note on καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ (I. 1. 2). Kühner calls attention to the fact that ἡ στρατιά, which is here contrasted with οἱ ἰππεῖς and οἱ πελατασταῖ, must be regarded as equivalent to οἱ ἐπιλίται. In Caes. Bell. Gall. III. 38 the same distinction is made between exercitus and equitatus. The employment of the present participle παραλειπομένων seems to need explanation. It may be only another instance of the peculiarity noticed in connexion with οἱ διαφεύγουντες (VI. 3. 4). More probably, however, it is used instead of a past tense to give additional reality to the scene.

καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ εἶναι] This clause explains the motive for the original order (§ 15): ἐκέλευε δὲ καίειν ἀπαντα, ὅτῳ έντυγχάνοιεν καυσίμω. § 20. τὰ τὲ τῶν πολεμίων πυρὰ ἡρώω...καὶ αὐτὸ...πυρὰ ἐκαίον] The two clauses of the sentence are in strict correspondence, the paragraph which separates them (ἀπείχον δὲ ὡς τεταράκωντα σταδίους) being parenthetical.

§ 22. ἐλάνθανον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ γενόμενοι] 'found themselves unexpectedly upon the summit of the hill'. The same phrase occurs in the δὲ τὲ ἐγμεύ. IX. 3, ἐκ τοῦ βραδυτάτου ἀρχόμενον οὖτως αὖ εἰς τὸ βάττον πρόδειγμεν (χρή), ὡς ἀν μάλιστα λανθάνοι αὐτῶν ὁ ἔπος εἰς τὸ ταχύ ἀφικομένοις.

ἐπολυρκόντω] This use of the imperfect has been discussed in connexion with the reading ὡμωντο (for ὡμηντο) in I. 10. 1. In the present instance it throws back the action of the verb to the time when Xenophon received information of the blockade.


§§ 24—end. On finding that the garrison had started in the direction of Calpe, Xenophon and his troops follow and overtake them. The reasons which had induced the Achaeans and Arcadians to abandon their stronghold.

συμμικαῖα...εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα] The construction is a pregnant one for ἔλθοντες εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμικαῖα, and falls under the same category as those noticed in connexion with I. 1. 5, III. 6. 11, V. 2. 3 etc.

ἐπὶ Κάλπης] Only two MSS, but these the two best, give ἐπὶ Κάλπην in place of ἐπὶ Κάλπης. Both phrases are admissible, though the accusative, according to the well-known distinction between ἐπὶ οἶκον and ἐπὶ οἶκου, gives greater clearness and precision to the object that is in view.

§ 25. τῆς νυκτὸς] See note on σταθμῶν (II. 2. 11).

§ 26. ἐξῆκεν] Tr. 'the time had elapsed', in accordance with the special force of the verb ἤκειν (II. 1. 9). The compound occurs in Soph. Antig. 896,

κάτεμι, πρὶν μοι μοῦραν ἐξῆκεν βίου
while, similarly, the phrase μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι ύμῶν may be illustrated from Soph. Elcid. 1169,

τοῦ σοῦ θανόσα μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι τάφον,
and, possibly, from *Trach.* 1275,

λειτου μηδε συ, παρθεν', ἀπ' οἴκων,

where, however, the construction of the sentence is not entirely free from doubt.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—6. *The combined troops encamp along the sea-shore adjoining the harbour of Calpe. The situation and physical characteristics of the place are described.*

ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγαλοῦ] The substantive is probably borrowed from Homer, and occurs elsewhere in Xenophon. In Herodotus and the Ionic writers it is of common occurrence.

ἀρξαμένη δὲ...εστιν] Cf. δυναμένη ἡν in place of ἔδωκα (II. 2. 13). The combination is in both cases more forcible than the simple verb; here more especially, where, in addition to the idea of commencement, we require the further notions of extent and prolongation.

μέχρι Ἰάκωλια] Kühner observes that the district of Herculea is meant, not the city. At the present time the town of Herakli occupies only the south-west corner of the space covered by the ancient city. The construction εἰς τὸν Ἰάκωλιον εἰσπλέωντι, 'on your right as you sail into the Euaine', may be illustrated from III. 5. 7, ὥς μηδε τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειραμώνοι τοῦ βάθους.

§ 2. εἰς Ἰάκωλιαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου] The harbour of Calpe was situated about midway between the two cities, or about 700 stadia from each, though Arrian represents the distance as considerably greater.

ἄλλα Ὄρδηκες Βιβυνοί] Two slight difficulties occur in connexion with this reading: (i) whether the words ἄλλα ἡ are to be substituted for ἄλλα on the authority of four inferior mss, and (ii) whether the omission of the article before Βιβυνοί, no trace of which appears in the mss, is capable of defence. As regards the former question, the manuscript authority is decisive in favour of the reading in the text: while the omission of the article is justified by Kühner on the analogy of the phrase πολίται Ἀττικῶν, which is used, like the one before us, when the reference is only to a branch or fraction of the nation. Similarly in English we have the terms Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Indian, &c.

ἐκπιπτοντος] = ejectos, 'cast ashore' by shipwreck. In the majority of the mss the word ἡ is inserted before the participle. Maemichael accordingly retains it, though it is omitted by Kühner, Vollbrecht and the best German editors on the ground that the clauses are by no means of equal importance, ἐκπιπτοντας being unquestionably the emphatic word.

ἀλλως πως] sc. λάβωσι. The introduction of the accusative (τοὺς Ἐλληνας) at the close of the sentence is objected to by Muretus, but entirely without reason, as we have similar examples in III. 2. 23 (οἱ βασιλέως ἀκοντος εἰ τῇ βασιλείᾳ χώρα κ.τ.λ.) and elsewhere: while, in the case before us, the addition is peculiarly forcible as emphasizing the fact that they were treated the worse on account of their nationality.
§ 3. τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καθήκων] According to Ainsworth, the chief headland is now called Kaifkan Adasi, the lesser one Yalanji (or deceitful) Kaifkan: while the mountain that rises over the town is the Kaifkan Tagh. As regards the formation of the sentence, the original nominative χωρίον is subsequently represented in its three divisions (τὸ μὲν...καθήκων, ὅ δὲ αἰχέριν and τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ αἰχένον) by the construction known as partitive apposition, for which see note on οὕτω... ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει (II. 1. 15).

Κρυγερ compares the term cervix, which is used by Pliny (iv. 5) in describing the Isthmus of Corinth. The words τοῦ χωρίου read awkwardly, particularly when we consider the juxtaposition of χωρίον in the ensuing clause. Neither are they required for the sake of clearness, as they are a mere repetition of the leading substantive. The editors, however, do not appear to have objected to them, nor is there any sign in the MSS that they are to be regarded as an interpolation.

§ 4. τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν] An adverbial construction: though some of the editors, I am surprised to find, regard it as an accusative after ἔχων.

ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπικρατείας τοῦ χωρίου] A remarkable expression, the meaning of which, to judge from the use of the substantive in vii. 6. 42 (Ἀπίστιν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας), must be something as follows: ‘a spring which is commanded by the stronghold’.

ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θαλάττης] Ainsworth notices the fact that even at the present time the neighbourhood is rich in timber, insomuch that it is known by the inhabitants as Aghaj Denizi, or the ‘sea of trees’. Xenophon’s description of the locality is replete throughout with instances of careless writing, notably in the recurrence of this particular phrase (ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θαλάττης) in two successive sentences, and in the declension of the substantive χωρίον through all its cases.

§ 5. (τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι] These words are omitted without notice by Vollbrecht, and bracketed by Kühner and Bornemann as ‘apertum glossa’. Add to which, they do not appear in the two leading MSS.

τὸ δὲ παρὰ θάλασσαν] An accusative of extension, for which compare οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν αἰκοῦντες (I. 2. 24). According to Krüger, the correct sequence of the clauses would have been as follows: εἰς μεσάριαν μὲν ἀνήκει...παρὰ θάλασσαν δὲ παρῆκε. The author’s motive in changing the construction may, I think, be found in the fact that the substantive ἔριξ is only indirectly the subject of the latter clause.

δάσῳ πολλὸς καὶ παντοδαπὸς καὶ μεγάλος ξύλος] In this case the author reverts to the recognised construction of δάσῳ with a dative: in II. 4. 14 it was followed by a genitive.

§§ 7, 8. The troops decline to occupy the stronghold, suspecting their generals of a desire to colonise the spot.

eἰς δὲ τὸ πόλεμον ἀν γενόμενον] ‘to the position which might have been converted, at pleasure, into a town’; τὸ...γενόμενον being equivalent, as Kühner points out, to eἰς τοῦτο δ' ἐγένετο ἀν πόλισμα. The same authority makes no comment on the unusual character of the construction, though it would be difficult to find a parallel for it in classical Greek. In Hell. vi. 5. 17 we have another instance in which the verb
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στρατοπεδεύεσθαι is combined with a preposition of motion: ἐλαθε στρατοπεδευσάμενος εἰς τὸν ὄπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντωκῆς. In both cases the construction is no doubt a pregnant one for ἐλθὼντες eis τὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι εἰς αὐτῷ. In the next clause we have the converse idiom: ἑλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα.

§ 8. ἀρετὴν] in its widest sense: 'goodness'. By understanding it, as some of the editors have suggested, in the limited acceptance of 'generosity', 'liberality', a contrast is created which it is difficult to reconcile with the statement that the motives which influenced the adventurers were not those of pecuniary interest.

ἀνδρας] Indefinite, like quosdam in Latin: 'while some actually brought others in their train'.

πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν] 'were in very good case', 'were doing admirably well': the idea of pecuniary profit being only incidentally suggested.

§§ 9—11. After burying their friends who had fallen in the late engagements, the troops assemble and decree that any future proposition for paring their forces shall be treated as a capital offence. The death of Cheirisophus from fever. His place is taken by Νέον.

τῆς εἰς ταῦτον συνόδου] The genitive is dependent on the word ὑστέρα, which contains in itself the idea of comparison. There is no sign of corruption in the MSS, though Weiske not unreasonably objects to the diffuseness of the opening paragraph, for which τῇ δὲ ὑστέρᾳ τῆς εἰς ταῦτον συνόδου would unquestionably have been the simpler and more natural equivalent. Compare, however, Cyrop. viii. 3. 9, ἥνικα δὲ ἡ ὑστεραία ἤκε.

ἐπ᾽ ἐξὸδῳ ἐθυέτο] The corresponding phrase occurs below in § 13, and θεέσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ in vi. 6. 35.

τὰ ἵππα καλὰ ἐγένετο] The adjective καλὰ, which appears in the four leading MSS, is retained by Kühner, bracketed by Vollbrecht, and omitted altogether by MacMichael. That it is not essential to the construction is abundantly clear from its omission in other passages of the present book (e.g. vi. 4. 13, 19). However, in the case before us the manuscript authority clearly justifies Kühner in retaining it. For a full examination of the phrase in this and similar connexions, see note on II. 2. 3, θυμωμένως λέναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγένετο τὰ ἱερὰ.

ἐκδότους] 'in parties'. See note on ii. 2. 17, and introduction. The phrase ἡσαυ πεμπταίοι recalls the well-known passage in St John's Gospel (xi. 39), τεταρταῖοι γὰρ ἐστί. In reference to ἀναφερών, Kühner notices the fact that the middle voice is generally preferred when the verb is used in this connexion. Τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὀδῶν συνενεγκόμενες is of course a condensed form of expression, like the one we have frequently referred to in i. 1. 5.

κεφοστάφιον] Cf. Verg. Aen. iii. 304. In Thuc. ii. 34, the chapter which precedes the funeral speech of Pericles, mention is made of another and very similar token of respect: μὰ δὲ κλίνῃ κενή φέρεται, ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, δὲ ὃν μὴ εὐρέθωσιν εἰς ἀναφέρων. All the MSS, with the exception of the three leading ones, introduce the words καὶ τυφάν μεγάλην before the final clause (καὶ στεφάνου ἐπέθεσαν). Dindorf, however, is the only editor of note who retains them: the com-
bination of the πυρά with the κενοτάφιον being rejected as an incon-
gruous one by all the other commentators, including Zeune, Kühner, \Vollbrecht, Schneider and Macmichael.

§ 11. τοῦ λοιποῦ] For the genitive, see note on σταθμῶν (II. 2. 11).

κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι...τὸ στράτευμα] The substantive στράτευμα clearly refers to ἀπιέναι no less than to εἰς; but in other respects the passage before us is a difficult one, as the phrase κατὰ χώραν admits of several interpretations, and it is not easy to determine whether the relative ἦπερ refers directly to χώραν, or whether some other substantive (e.g. ὀδὸς or τάξις) is to be supplied in connexion with it. That κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι τὸ στράτευμα can be an equivalent for κατὰ τάξιν ἀπιέναι τὸ στράτευμα, as the majority of the editors would seem to imply, appears to me extremely questionable. On the other hand, I can see no objection to our taking the words κατὰ χώραν independently, either in the sense of κατὰ τὴν χώραν, 'to start homewards through the country', or as a mere equivalent for κατὰ γῆν, an explanation which is in perfect accordance with the commencement of Xenophon's speech. In either case, τάξει (for κατὰ τάξιν) will have to be supplied before the relative, as there is no intimation that the Greeks had to commence their journey by retracing their steps; otherwise it would have been easy to connect the words κατὰ χώραν ἦπερ πρεσβευ ἐις in the following sense: 'through the same country by which they had previously made their way'.

φάρμακον πιῶν πυρέττων] 'from a draught which he had taken during a fever'. Others have proposed to render it as follows: 'from a fever brought on by some poisonous draught'. But, if this had been the meaning, the word πυρέττων would naturally have followed τετελευτήκησε as the more important of the two participles.

τὰ δ’ ἐκεῖνα...παρέλαβε] He succeeded him apparently by virtue of his former office. Cf. v. 6. 36, πλὴν Νέων τοῦ Ἀσιναλοῦ, ὡς Χειροδρόφῳ ὑπετραπήκει.

§§ 12—16. Owing to the failure of supplies, Xenophon recommends an immediate removal from their present quarters, but, after repeated sacrifices, the omen is found unfavourable for commencing the journey. The troops in consequence begin to murmur, charging him with having induced the priest to make a false report for the furtherance of his own schemes.

§ 15. παραγγείλας παρείναι] Sub. aitōn, with which the following participle συνθεσάμεθαν is placed in agreement.

§§ 17—22. It is proposed to send out a foraging expedition. Xenophon, however, declines to take the command, as the sacrifices, which are again and again repeated, still continue unfavourable.

ξυνελθόντων] The pronoun is often omitted, when the context leaves no doubt as to the subject of the participle. Cf. θυμένων in the previous section, and προϊόντων in 1. 2. 17.

§ 18. ὡς γάρ ἐγὼ...ηκουσά τινος...οτί] To avoid the irregularity in the construction, Schaefer proposes to substitute καλ γάρ ἐγὼ in place of ὡς γάρ ἐγὼ, though the latter appears in all the mss, nor is there the slightest trace of any variant. Moreover, the reading in the text may be easily explained as a combination of two constructions: (i) ὡς γάρ
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ékw ἤκουσά τινος, Κλέανδρος μέλλει ἤκειν, and (ii) ἐγώ γὰρ ἤκουσά τινος ὅτι Κλ. μέλλει ἤκειν, other examples of which we have already had occasion to notice in connexion with v. 4. 9 and vi. 1. 23. The idiom is a common one, even with writers who are far more careful than Xenophon in the formation of their sentences. Compare, in particular, Soph. Trach. 394, and 1238.

ó ἐκ Βυζάντιου ἀρµοστῆς] For an account of the origin and duties of the office, see note on v. 5. 19. It is a singular fact that the article is omitted in every manuscript without exception, though the text reads awkwardly, and indeed ungrammatically, without it. Kühner ascribes its omission to the ignorance of some抄ist, who imagined that the words ἐκ Βυζάντιου were to be taken in close connexion with ἤκειν.

§ 19. μὴ γιγνοµένων τῶν ιερῶν] ‘unless the sacrifices should prove favourable’. The employment of ὅβ would have negatived the participle absolutely: on the other hand, the present combination implies that the negation is only a conditional one: in other words, that a conditional clause might be substituted in place of the participle.

§ 20. ἐκυκλοῦντο] The majority of the MSS give the singular, but the plural, which appears in three good MSS, and is preferred by Kühner and the best editors, is more forcible in a case where it is required to express the action of a large number of persons taken individually. Compare a still more striking example of the idiom in ii. 1. 6, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σίτων, ὅπως εἴδουσα, ἐκ τῶν υποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ δονους: ἔως τί ἔχρωντο κ.τ.λ.

§ 21. ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ χωρίῳ] The stronghold of which an account was given in §§ 3—7.

§ 22. ὡς οὐδέν δέου] For δέου Schneider proposes to read δέω, but the participle is nearer and more idiomatic. The construction is probably that of an accusative absolute, though the passage in ii. 5. 22, with which Kühner compares it, is not entirely analogous owing to the omission of ὡς. Accordingly in the present instance some of the editors prefer to understand ἐστι.

βοῦς...ὑπ' ἀµάξης] ‘oxen from under the wagon’. Similarly we have ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς in the passage of ii. 1. 6, to which reference was made in the note on ἐκυκλοῦντο (§ 20). I am surprised to find that Macmichael follows Schneider, who—partly to ensure uniformity with a passage in § 25 and partly from a mistaken rendering of the words εἰ τι ἐν τοῖς εἰη—edits βοῦν in place of the plural, though the latter is supported by the authority of all the MSS. That a careful scholar like Schneider should have gone astray in so simple a phrase as εἰ τι ἐν τοῖς εἰη is in itself remarkable: still more so, that he should have proposed in consequence to alter a recognised reading. The theory by which he refers the pronoun τοῦς directly to βοῦν would be untenable, even if the alteration which he advocates were admitted into the text.

προθυμεῖσθαι] is the reading of the MSS, and has been generally accepted by the editors, though Kühner notices with approval an ingenious conjecture by Bornemann, who proposes προθυμεῖσθαι in the following sense: rogabat Cleanorem ut prius sacrificaret (sc. cognitus) num in eo peccasset quod ista sacrificii praeludia neglexisset. The com-
pound προδύσθαι is found in Plat. Crat. 401 D, and at least twice in Euripides (Ion 805, and Suppl. 29), though in the two latter passages πρό is equivalent in sense to ῥέρ rather than an adverb of time. On the assumption, however, that προδυσθαι is the true reading, the passage is usually explained as follows: 'Xenophon urged Cleanor to give all attention to the sacrifice on the chance that a favourable token might be obtained thereby'. I am myself inclined to give a totally different rendering to the verb προδυσθαι, considering how often it is used absolutely by the historians of campaigns in the technical sense of forwarding some military scheme. Taken thus, it will give peculiar force to the mention of Cleanor the Arcadian, who belonged to the party that were pressing for immediate action. Translate therefore as follows: 'Xenophon urged Cleanor to get forward with his preparations, on the chance that a favourable token might result from the proceedings'.

έγεντο] έγένεστο Vollbrecht, but the plural is retained by Kühner on the authority of four leading MSS, in which case the construction falls under the same category as ἔσαν τὰ βασιλεία (1. 2. 23), ἔσαν δὲ ταῦτα (1. 4. 4), and other passages noticed in the introduction. The idiom is apparently employed when reference is made to a total which is composed of several distinct parts. For other explanations, see note on 1. 2. 23. In the present instance the words τὰ ιερά, which are added by Macmichael and some few of the editors, are rejected by Kühner as having evidently originated in some marginal gloss.

§§ 23—end. A foraging party composed of two thousand men, headed by Neon, sallies forth for plunder. Attacked by the cavalry of Pharnabazus, he loses five hundred of his troops: the remainder take refuge on a hill, from which they are rescued by Xenophon. The combined forces pass the night under arms, expecting every moment a renewal of the attack.

κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου μέρος] 'in the place of Cheirisophus'.

ὡς ἤγεμόνος ἐσομένου] The force of ὡς with the participle is explained in connexion with ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖνος (1. 1. 6). Whether in the word ἤγεμόνος Neon is referring enigmatically to himself, as Schneider and Macmichael would seem to imagine, or merely to the native guide ('ανδρωπόν Ἦρακλεωτήν), which is the suggestion of Vollbrecht, is a point open to question. The latter, however, is the more probable alternative, owing to the form in which the statement is put and the employment of the word ἤγεμῶν in the same sense throughout the Anabasis (e.g. in IV. 6. 1, etc.).

§ 24. οἷον Φαρναβάζου ἰππεῖσ] Pharnabazus was in command of the north-western or Bithynian district, in other words of Phrygia Minor: the central or south-western satrapies having been amalgamated after the death of Cyrus and bestowed on Tissaphernes. The authority of Pharnabazus extended over Bithynia, Hellespontis and Aesalia.

μὴ ἐλθεῖν] The construction is fully explained in a note on τὸ μῆ καταπετρωθήναι (1. 3. 2).

§ 25. οἷον μέχρι τρίακοντα ἐτῶν] The majority of the MSS give πεντάκοντα, for which all the best editors (including Kühner, Vollbrecht, Bornemann, Poppo and Macmichael) have substituted τρίακοντα on the
authority of three leading mss. This reading is further confirmed by comparing the parallel passage of VII. 3. 46, which tells us that on an occasion similar to the present, when extra energy and activity were required, the age of the men selected was limited to thirty.

§ 26. τοὺς λαυτούς ἀνδρας] 'the survivors'. The phrase διὰ τῶν λασίων, which occurs later on in the section, is an adaptation apparently from the language of Homer. In this particular sense the use of the adjective in prose is confined to Xenophon, with whom both λάσιος and the kindred form δασίος are favourite words.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—4. At daybreak on the following morning the Greeks retire to their stronghold, and secure themselves against an attack. A ship arrives from Heraclea with supplies and victims for sacrifice. The auspices being now reported as favourable, Xenophon leads forth a portion of the army: the remainder are left with Neon in charge of the citadel. Of these a considerable number follow in his wake, only those who had passed the age of forty-five being left for the protection of the camp.

ἀπετάφρευσαν...ἀπεταφρώσαν] For the force of these compounds, see a note on ἀποσκάπτει...ἀποτελείσει in II. 4. 4.

§ 2. ἐθνετο ἐπεξόδια] Vollbrecht adopts the conjecture of Schneider (ἐν ἐξόδῳ in place of ἐπεξόδια). The alteration, however, is quite unnecessary, for, as Kühner points out, the parallel form of expression (τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι) is found in Hell. IV. 7. 2.

ὁ μάντες Ἀρηξίων] The position of the proper name implies that the individual himself was comparatively unknown, the emphasis being thrown on the word which describes his office. For the phrase τὰ ὄπλα τίθενται in the following section, see the note on ἐν τῷ ὀμαλῷ (IV. 2. 16).

§ 4. τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου] In determining the text our choice lies virtually between ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, which is edited by Macmichael and others on the authority of one good ms, and the reading which I have adopted in deference to Kühner and Vollbrecht, who follow two of the leading mss which omit the article. For the more usual phrase (τῶν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ) the manuscript evidence is of the weakest possible kind. The expression ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου is no doubt a strange one, though formed on the analogy of such well-known phrases as ἐπὶ ξένης, ἐπὶ ἀλλοτρίας etc. Kühner, however, quotes a parallel passage from Plat. Legg. 674 A, Καρχηδονίων νόμος μηδέποτε μηδένα ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γείσεσθαι οἶνον, as well as a second from Arr. Ind. XI. 3, though it is true that in both cases the allusion is a more general one than in the sentence before us.

ἀπέλειπτον αὐτοὺς] The manuscript authority is decisive in favour of αὐτοὺς: Krüger, however, edits αὐτῶν, which, together with τοῦτον in the preceding sentence, would of course apply to Neon. As regards the interpretation of the passage, I cannot but think that Kühner has committed a grave error in referring the nominatives λοχαγοὶ and στρατιωταὶ to the troops who had been left with Neon in charge of the
camp rather than to those who had been selected to accompany Xenophon. The rendering which he proposes appears to me far-fetched in itself, while it is further open to the objection of stating incidentally, and as a recognised fact, an occurrence of which no mention had previously been made. On the other hand, I can see no possible objection to the explanation which finds in αὐτοῦς the subject of ἀλογινώμενοι and κατέλιμποι, transitions of this kind being among the most recognised features of Xenophon's style. Trans. therefore as follows: 'But after the captains and soldiers (under Xenophon's command) had left them, they in their turn from a feeling of shame... (followed, and) left in the camp only those who had passed the age of forty-five'.

§ § 5—10. The Greeks under Xenophon proceed to the scene of the late encounter for the purpose of burying their dead. While engaged in foraging for provisions, they are surprised by a large force of the enemy who appear on the neighbouring heights. A favourable result having been obtained from the sacrifices, Xenophon prepares his troops for battle.

τὴν οὖρὰν τοῦ κέρατος πιουράμενοι] 'having halted the rear of their column over against the bodies which they had sighted first, they proceeded to bury as many of them as their line enclosed within its range'. The object of this manœuvre was to save time by adopting a methodical system of burial, and also to prevent the dispersion of the troops engaged in the work, who might at any moment be called upon to repel an attack from the enemy. The word κέρας, as in iv. 6, 6, is equivalent in force to the Latin agmen, 'an army marching in column'. In rendering πιουράμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρῶτους 'ad cadaveras primum conspecta progradit iubentes', Kühner, I think, repeats the mistake on which I commented in the note to τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς 'Ελληνας αὐτομολήσαντας (i. 10. 6). In both cases κατὰ is a preposition of rest, to be compared with ἀπὸ rather than with ad. Cf. v. 2. 21. 'At' or 'over against' is perhaps the nearest equivalent in English.

§ 6. κατὰ τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν ἀτάφων] To prevent monotony, a slight variation is made in the form of the original phrase: κατὰ τοὺς πρῶτους φανέρας νεκροῖς.

§ 7. εντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος] Cf. ii. 1. 6, ξίλους δὲ ἐξράντο μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φαλαγγος, where the employment of the word φάλαγξ in the sense of the Latin acies is still more strongly marked. The punctuation which connects the phrase εντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος with ἐλάμ-βανον rather than ὑπὸ is rightly rejected by Kühner as destructive to the rhythm of the sentence.

ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λύφους τινὰς] The verb occurs in the same sense in iv. 1. 7. The force of the preposition κατὰ is determined in the present instance by its connexion with ὑπερβάλλοντας. It is used elsewhere in the Anabasis to denote the deployment of troops 'along a range of hills'.

ἐχοντες τὴν δύναμιν] 'with their respective forces'. The article, which appears in the three leading mss, is retained by the best editors. As in ii. 5. 38 (ὁ βασιλεὺς = 'our king') it practically takes the place of the possessive pronoun.

§ 8. κατεῖδον] See note on κατίδοειν (iv. 3. 11).
§ 9. λόχους φόλακας] 'reserve-companies'. The same device was adopted at an earlier stage of the Retreat, and with the same object, viz. to protect a marching column against the assaults of Tissaphernes. Compare εἰ ποι δέοι τι τῆς φόλαγγος, ἐπιπαρήγαυν οὕτωι (III. 4. 23) with the language of the present section.

τεταραγμένοι] 'so that the enemy when their order has been broken may have to encounter fresh and orderly troops'. It will be noticed that the participle τεταραγμένοι contemplates the confusion of the enemy as caused, not by a defeat, but by the excitement of a temporary triumph.

§ 10. καταχωρήσας] 'when I have posted this rear-guard'.

§§ 11—21. The army continues its march in the order prescribed by Xenophon. On arriving at the edge of a thickly-wooded ravine, which Sophocles declines to cross, a halt is called for the further consideration of their plans. At the suggestion of Xenophon it is decided to cross the ravine, and force an engagement with the enemy.

ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίων] In order to assimilate the construction in the two clauses of the sentence, Bornemann proposes to read ἐπὶ τῷ δεξίῳ in place of the accusative. But, if any change is to be made in this direction, the second clause is clearly the place for its introduction, where two of the leading MSS actually give ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ instead of the dative. The text, however, is easily explicable in its present form. If the construction of the sentence had required that the phrases τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίων and τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ should be treated as combined substantives, the uniformity which is studied by Bornemann would no doubt have been desirable. But ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίῳ and ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ are in fact independent adverbial phrases, in the former of which the accusative is easily accounted for by its connexion with a verb of motion, while, in the case of the latter, a dative of rest is in better keeping with the force of the verb ἐχώρισεν. Trans. 'he directed one of these to follow in the wake of the right wing...while another he set apart to follow close in the rear of the centre column'. In construction, the infinitive ἐπεσιθάι is epexegetical.

ἐπέτερεψεν] The best MSS are all in favour of this reading in place of ἐπεμψεν which appears in the inferior MSS. Hutchinson proposes ἐπέταξεν, but it is quite possible that our author may have preferred the gentler and more poetical expression.

τὴν μὲν...ἀπολύουσας] We have already had occasion to notice this idiom in connexion with IV. 8. 18, τὸ Ἀρκαδῶν ὀπλιτικῶν, ὅν ἦρχε Κλαύνωρ, while in II. 1. 6 we have a still more exact parallel: τὸ δὲ στράτευμα...κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς. Similarly we often find a noun of multitude combined with an adjective in the plural.

§ 12. προιόντες δὲ] A nominative absolute, which refers to the Greek troops as a whole: οἱ ηγοῦμενοι being added by partitive apposition like ἄλλοι in II. 1. 15, and ἐκάστη in I. 7. 15. By Kühner's shewing, the substantives νάτος and νάτη are interchangeable terms, equivalent either to saltus or silua as the context may require. In the present instance a 'wooded ravine' is meant, like the χαράδρα which stopped their progress in III. 4. 1.

παρεγγυόσι] 'pass the word'. The verb is used thus in IV. 7. 24, the famous passage which describes their first sight of the sea.
παρεναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον] ‘to advance to the front’. From the words which follow it is clear that Xenophon, as on former occasions (III. 2. 37, IV. 5. 7 etc.), was in command of the rear-guard, a post which demanded exceptional energy and activity. The passage has consequently been quoted among those which tend to fix the date of his birth at 430 rather than 445 B.C.

§ 13. ἐλαυνεὶ ἢ τάχιστα] In two good mss the verb ἔδυνατο is inserted before τάχιστα. The addition is not essential to the construction, though our author usually prefers the fuller phrase.

βουλής οὐκ ἔξιον εἴη, εἰ] The sentence is an awkward as well as an ambiguous one, and I cannot at all agree with Kühner who styles it ‘commodissima’. There seems, however, to be little doubt that we have the true reading, as the six leading mss all concur in giving it as it appears in the text, though in three of them the word εἰ has apparently been lost in the initial letters of the verb εἴη. The only alternative is οὐκ ἔξιον εἴη διαβαίνειν, the genitive βουλής being altogether omitted: a reading which is supplied by the inferior mss, and is naturally viewed with suspicion, if only because it presents us with the meaning of the text in a more simple and intelligible form.

τοῦτον ὅν τὸ νεπός] The words ὅν τὸ do not appear in the four best mss. They have been consequently bracketed by Poppe, and omitted altogether by Vollbrecht. Kühner, however, retains them on the supposition that they may have been easily merged in the words between which they stand. On the other hand, their position in the sentence might furnish an equally strong argument in accounting for their interpolation, and they certainly give an elaborate finish to the construction which is totally foreign to Xenophon’s style.

§ 14. ὑπολαβῶν] Cf. II. 1. 15, and the note on ὑπελάσσας in I. 8. 15. The position and force of ἀλλὰ at the commencement of a speech have been noticed in connexion with II. 1. 4, ἀλλ’ ὠφελε μὲν Κύρος ἕν.

προξενήσαντα] to ‘introduce’ or ‘recommend’ to a person is perhaps the most general equivalent for προξενεῖν in English. Cf. Dem. adv. Nicostcr. § 1466. The verb in its figurative senses is a favourite one with Sophocles, from whom in all probability Xenophon borrowed it. Thus in Trach. 726, προξενεῖν θράσος is to ‘supply’ or ‘lend’ confidence: in Oed. Col. 465, παῦν τελοῦντι προξενεῖν is to ‘give instructions’ to a willing ear: while in Oed. Tyr. 1468 we have a still more remarkable use of the verb, where it introduces an infinitive clause in the sense of conveying or bringing about a result:

αἱ τοῦ φιλοτυργοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν ὡδ’ ὀραῦ
ta πρόσθε λαμπρὰ προξενήσαν ὅμωτα.

εἰς ἀνδρειώτητα] Krüger understands this as equivalent to εἰς τὸ ἀνδρείους εἶναι, ‘to stimulate your courage’, an explanation which is quite in keeping with the arguments advanced in § 18. Otherwise the force of the preposition in the phrase εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην (I. 9. 16), to which Kühner refers us, would point to a somewhat different rendering: ‘for, as touching courage, it is not reputation that you need at present, but rather self-preservation’.
§ 15. ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους] It is worth noticing that in the present instance our author reverts to the usual and more classical phrase in place of εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, the combination which he adopts in III. 2. 16, and again in IV. 5. 18. The same arguments have done duty in a previous speech (III. 2. 35): οἷον ἐν θαμμάζομι εἰ τοι πολέμιοι, ὥστερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παρόντας διώκοντι τε καὶ δάκρυσαν, ἣν δύνανται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτῶν Ἱμᾶν ἀποιδίσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν.

§ 16. μεταβαλλόμενους] sc. τὰ ὑπά.

§ 17. οὐδὲνι καλῷ ἔσκε] 'is characteristic of no honourable man'. So Bornemann and Macmichael interpret the passage (comparing Plat. Legg. ix. 16 b), and, although this use of ἔσκε is undoubtedly a rare one, I much prefer their rendering to that of Kühner, who treats καλῷ as a neuter, losing thereby the whole point of the contrast which is evidently intended between καλῷ and κακίσι.

καὶ τοῦτοσ] An anticipatory accusative, the object of which is to throw special emphasis on the word selected. Compare σεῖν me in quibus sim gaudiis (Ter. Énn. v. 9. 5). In reference to the aorist after ἐπιτετε, it is noteworthy that this is one of the few cases in which the construction is admitted without any variant on the part of the mss. As a general rule, the future appears as the alternative, and is in every instance preferred by Madvig. See a note on παύσωσθαι (I. 2. 2).

dέξασθαι ἡμᾶς] 'that they will await our attack'. The pronoun αὐτῶς takes up again the subject of the verb which had been previously anticipated in τούτος.

§ 18. τὸ δὲ...μελάνοτας μάχεσθαι] 'now for troops on the point of an engagement to leave in their rear a difficult ravine which they have themselves crossed, is not this an opportunity which it is worth our while to seize?' For ἄρπάσαι, cf. IV. 6. 11, and also Soph. Αἰ. 2, πείραν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἄρπάσαι θηρώμενον.

ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου...διάδασσεθαι.] The inferior mss read ὑπὸ for ἀπὸ, but the latter, though rare, is a recognised use, as Kühner shews by comparing Theog. 35, Συμφ. 1. 1. 2, v. 3. 30, etc. He might have added that it is especially appropriate in cases like the present where the reference is to an inanimate object like χωρίου.

§ 20. πέσον τι νάπος ὁ Πόντος:] The indefinite τι has the force of the Latin fere, as in II. 4. 21, πόση τις ἐλη χώρα. The audacity of the figure which describes the basin of the Euxine as a species of νάπος, coupled with this tedious succession of abrupt and illogical questions, marks the passage before us as among the worst specimens of Xenophon's oratory.

§ 21. τὰ τε ἱερὰ...τὰ τε σφάγια] For the distinction between the terms, cf. I. 8. 15. The relative position of the two words in the present passage tends to confirm my theory that the former is usually the more general term, denoting all that appertains to the sacrifice, and all the omens and tokens (including on occasion the οίωνι of the present passage), which are not directly derived from an examination of the victims (σφάγια).

ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντως εἶδον] 'now that they have once seen us.'

§§ 22—end. The passage of the ravine. After a short address from
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Xenophon, the Greeks close with the enemy's troops. Having defeated them and erected a trophy on the field of battle, they proceed upon their journey to the sea.

τοῦ νάρως] A partitive genitive, to be taken in close connexion with the adverbial ἕως.

θάττων γὰρ ἄν ἄρδον ἐδόκει] Vollbrecht and Dindorf follow the two leading mss. in placing ἄν after ἐδόκει. That Kühner is right in preferring the order of the text is scarcely open to question: whether we consider the rhythm of the sentence, which is in itself decisive on the point, or secondly that θάττων is the emphatic word, or thirdly that the particle refers to the infinitive and not to ἐδόκει.

ἐξεμπρόντο] ἐκμηρίεσθαι is to 'march in single line', i.e. to defile. I can find no instance in which the compound is employed in its primary sense of 'unwinding' the thread from a ball of wool (μήνυμα): used figuratively, it is a favourite word with writers on military subjects. Cf. Polyb. III. 51. 2; 53. 5. The phrase κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν clearly implies that the ravine in question had been formed by some torrent, though we are scarcely concerned in determining with the commentators the history of its formation.

§ 23. σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς] See note on III. 2. 8, and introduction. The phrase ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος is an eastern form of hyperbole, on which we have already commented in connexion with II. 4. 4.

§ 24. ἡγεμόνι τῷ Ἡράκλει] See note on VI. 2. 15. In illustration of ὄνομαστι Macmichael refers to Homer II. x. 68,

πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῖς ὄνομάζων ἄνδρα ἐκαστον.

ἡδον το] The word τοῦ is replaced by τῶν in the inferior mss. The cause of the corruption may, I think, be easily found in the activity of some copyist, who, not content with the usual explanation (see note on αὐτοῖς κακῶς τοῖς in I. 4. 8), was anxious to create a definite subject for the verbs which follow.

ἐν ὦς ἐθέλει] I am not surprised that Schneider should have suggested the omission of the preposition, with which Kühner, however, expresses himself satisfied. It certainly does not accord with the verb παρέχειν, and might have been easily evolved from the final letters of the previous word. Its retention may perhaps be justified on the ground that the phrase μνήμην παρέχειν implies, if it does not include, the idea of leaving a record (μνήμην καταλείπειν).


ἐπὶ τῶν δεξιῶν ὁμοῦ.] The accusative is accounted for by the fact that the phrase in question is a condensed one. Cf. παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις (I. 2. 2) for ἐλθοῦντες εἰς Σάρδεις παρῆσαν.

εἰς προβολὴν καθένας] 'with their spears couched at rest'. I cannot at all appreciate the reasons which have induced Kühner and Zeune, alone of all the editors, to read προβολὴν for προβολὴν on the authority of four mss. Not only is the phrase εἰς προβολὴν καθένας the recognised one in this connexion: it is also the exact counterpart of the participle προβαλλομένουs, which in I. 2. 17 is used to describe the same manœuvre.

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διώκειν] Similarly in VII. 2. 20 we find the verb used absolutely, as in the present instance, to denote a quick advance.

καλὸν ἐχειν τὸ χαρὰν] 'that the position they occupied was a strong one'. The phrase is a more forcible one than καλῶς ἐχειν τὸ χαρὰν, which some of the editors have proposed to substitute for it. In the sentence which follows there might have been some doubt as to the subject of the verb ἐπλησίαζον, if it were not for the contrast implied in ἡτέμενον which makes it clear that we are to understand οἱ Ἔλληνες from the succeeding clause. A note on the verb ἀλαλάζεων will be found in connexion with ἐκκλήσουσι (I. 8. 18).

§ 27. ὑπηρτίαζεν] The compound occurs frequently in poetry: in prose it is used only by Herodotus and Xenophon.

§ 28. ὡς ὀλγοι ὄντες] 'considering the smallness of their numbers'. According to VI. 2. 16, there were only about forty of them in all. In illustration of this force of ὡς, cf. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1578, φρονεῖ γὰρ, ὡς γυνὴ, μέγα, 'for a woman she has grand ideas', and a similar use of in Latin, e.g.nullae, ut in homine Romano, litterae (Cic. de Amic. IV. 12).


§ 30. ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν, ὅμως δ' ἐδίκει] 'they decided, tired though they were, that the pursuit must be followed up'. This idiom, which is especially common in poetry, treats the two clauses of the sentence as of equivalent importance: though the words ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν really represent a subordinate idea, which might have been equally well expressed in a participial form (καλὸς ἀπειρηκότες). Compare, however, Thuc. VI. 91, Σικελιωταί ἀπειροῦσατο μὲν εἰσιν, ὅμως δ' ἀν καὶ νῦν ἐτι περιγένωντο. The verb ἀπειρήκεσαν in its figurative sense is a favourite one with our author, no doubt from its frequent occurrence in poetry, e.g. in Soph. Trach. 789, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπείπε, πολλὰ μὲν τάλας χθόνι Ρίπτων ἔαυτόν.

ὡς μὴ τεθαρρηκότες ἀναπαύοντο] 'that the enemy might not take courage and recruit their strength'.

§ 31. κατὰ τὸν πρανός] Cf. I. 5. 8, καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανός γηλό-φου. In place of ὀπεπερ Kritter proposes to read ὀπεπερεῖ, which, taken in connexion with the participle, is not only the more elegant but also the more grammatical combination. The article οἱ, which follows ὀπεπερ in three good MSS, is rejected by Kühner, who acutely suggests that its introduction would necessitate the article with ἵπτεύων, as the reference would in that case be limited to the definite occurrence noticed in § 28.

ὁ] The relative is to be taken in connexion with the whole of the previous statement, not merely with νάπος.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—5. The Greeks regain their camp, and await the arrival of Cleander, the Spartan harmost. Meantime they plunder the surrounding territory. The question of forming a colony in the neighbourhood is reopened. Arrival of Cleander with two triremes, but no transports.
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Dexippus, who had deserted from the Greeks at Trapezus, reappears, and foments a quarrel between Cleander and the army.

Which 'in expectation that they would soon arrive'. See note on ὃς εὐπολεύοντος in i. 1. 6.

§ 2. kataμένοι] A frequentative optative. With the exception of Kühner, almost every editor of note, including Bornemann, Poppo and Vollbrecht, has followed Schneider in introducing the article before ἐξίστυτες, clearly for the purpose of strengthening the contrast between the plunder which was regarded as private property (ἐλάμβανον), and that which was confiscated for the service of the camp (δημόσιον ἐδοξεῖν εἴναι). But, in addition to the fact that there is not a trace of the article in any of the MSS, the reference intended in ἐξίστυτες is not so much to a definite portion of the army as to the entire army taken individually, and the construction consequently comes under the same head as ἀπολυπόντας (vi. 5. 11) on which I have commented in my note to the passage.

§ 3. κατῆγον] Kühner, apparently, takes the verb in an absolute sense, but I know of no other case in which the active is used as an equivalent for κατάγεσθαι. In all probability it is this difficulty that has led Vollbrecht and some of the best editors to prefer κατέχων in defiance of the authority of the four leading MSS. There is no reason, however, why we should not retain the reading of the text, understanding it in the following sense: 'were glad to land their cargoes', a rendering which may further explain how the gloss κατέπεμπον found its way into one of the MSS.

§ 4. ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτοὺς] The statement is worthy of notice if only as tending to show that Xenophon had not yet abandoned his favourite project of forming a settlement in the neighbourhood.

§ 5. ἀλλοι ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφησαν] The text of this passage is full of difficulty. The reading which I have adopted is a conjectural emendation of Dindorf's, accepted by Vollbrecht (who does not even bracket it), and mentioned with approval by Kühner, though he does not give it a place in his text. In the MSS the passage appears as follows: καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινές οἰχόμενοι, ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ εἰλήφησαν, a reading which it is impossible, I think, to regard as genuine, though Kühner edits it without questioning its authenticity. The words ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος he explains naturally enough by assuming that the main body of the troops had, as usual, sought their plunder in the plains: but his theory in regard to the construction, by which ἐτύγχανον is to be supplied with οἰχόμενοι and ἐπὶ λείαν οἰχόμενοι ἐτύγχανον with ἄλλοι, appears to me to be hopelessly involved. By placing a colon after the word ὄρος, and removing the comma after οἰχόμενοι, Maclachlan has at any rate rendered the passage grammatical. Other emendations have been proposed: e.g. καὶ οἰχόμενοι ἄλλος ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφησαν (Schneider), and καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινές οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοσε εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφησαν (Bornemann).

μὴ ἀφαίρεθαίν] sc. as confiscated property, a statement which should give us some help in determining the reading of the foregoing passage, as it identifies the relation of the stragglers to the main body of the troops with that mentioned towards the close of § 2.
§§ 6—11. The progress of the dispute. Cleander threatens to close the neighbouring ports against the admission of the Greeks, unless they surrender to him Agiasias, who, as Xenophon's friend, had been specially selected by Dexippus as the subject of his calumnies.

§ 7. ἀφαίρεται] 'rescues him from his hands, for the man they were arresting was a private in his company'. The phrase ἀνακαλοίντες τὸν προδότην is noteworthy only on account of the introduction of the article, the force of which would be very nearly represented on paper by the use of inverted commas. Krüger proposes a slightly different explanation, suggesting that the addition of the article stamps Dexippus as the traitor κατ' ἐξοχήν.

§ 8. διὸ οὐδὲν εἴη πράγμα] 'that there was nothing the matter'. Cf. IV. 1. 17, οὕτε δὴλον ην διὸ πράγμα τι εἴη. In Madvig's opinion ἀρίστος is followed by a direct infinitive (e.g. ταύτα γενέσθαι in place of τοῦ ταύτα γενέσθαι), when it refers to an event that has already taken place. Accordingly we find the article omitted in the phrase τὸν ἀρέσαντα βάλλειν (§ 8) in contrast with its employment when the reference is to an act either contemplated or incomplete, as in the case of the phrase ἀρέσαντες τοῦ διαβάλλειν (1. 4. 15).

§ 11. ἐξῆτει] Macmichael still retains the manuscript reading ἐξῆτει, though the majority of the editors have adopted ἐξῆτει, the conjecture of Schaefer, which Kühner describes as 'elegantissima'. The expression διὰ τῆς χαλαροῦ φίλος 'a constant friend' is incomplete in construction. Other writers would have added a participle, or have drawn up the clause in a relative form.

§§ 12—16. An address from Xenophon on the difficulties of the situation.

ἐμοὶ δέ] In the present instance δέ takes the place of ἀλλά, the employment of which in similar cases has been repeatedly noticed. Compare in particular I. 8. 17, II. 1. 20 and II. 5. 16.

οὐδὲν φαίλον] This adverbial use of οὐδὲν is by no means uncommon, more especially in poetry. Cf. VII. 1. 25, τὴν πόλιν τὴν οὐδὲν αἰτιάν, and a passage quoted by Dindorf from the Trachiniæ of Sophocles (773): τὸν οὐδὲν αἰτιον τοῦ σοῦ κακοῦ. Its place in the present text rests on the authority of two leading MSS, which Kühner has deemed sufficient to warrant its introduction. The editors as a rule, including Vollbrecht, have preferred ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ, which is found in the bulk of the MSS, and I am strongly inclined to agree with them, as Kühner, I think, has not noticed the fact that, when οὐδὲν is combined with an adjective in an adverbial sense, it is usually preceded by the article, being (strictly speaking) an accusative of respect. Thus, in the passage
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quoted above from the Trachiniae, we have τὸν οὐδὲν αἰτιῶν, 'the man who was in no respect the cause of the mischief you had wrought'.

ἡμῶν is an ethic dative, or, as others have preferred to call it, a datīvis commodi or incommodi. It refers to ἀπειθῶν no less than to the subordinate participial clause. See note on Κύρος in II. 1. 1.

深切 δὲ εἰς καὶ εἰς ἐκάστος] There is little doubt, I think, that the construction is the same as that referred to in the note on διαλείτουσι δ' ἐκάστη (1. 7. 15), usually known as partitive apposition. The addition of εἰς ἐκάστος to the plural verb suggests, as a further idea, that what had been stated collectively is now to be regarded seriatim. It is true that Kühner proposes an alternative explanation, according to which the sentence might be paraphrased as follows: ἱκανοὶ δὲ εἰς Λακε- 

dαιμόνια, καὶ (sc. et quidem) εἰς ἐκάστος αὐτῶν, ὁ τι βουλοῦται διαπράτ
tεσθαι.

§ 13. ὡς ἀπιστοῦντας] This use of ἀπιστεῖν as an equivalent for ἀπειθεῖν has been noticed in connexion with II. 6. 19. It is possible that our author may have borrowed it from Sophocles, his favourite dramatist, who on several occasions clearly preferred it as the more poetic word.

§ 14. ἐνεκά] Three of the inferior MSS give εἰνεκά, the form which should be substituted for οὐνεκά in every passage of the tragedians where ἐνεκά is inadmissible in consequence of the metre. It has long been recognised that, notwithstanding its retention in Dindorf's text, the formation of οὐνεκά (by crasis for οὐ ἐνεκά) precludes its use as a simple preposition. Kühner notices as an interesting fact that, while ἐνεκά and εἰνεκά are used indifferently by Plato and Xenophon, Thucydides on the other hand entirely confines himself to the shorter form.

οὐτὲ ἐνὸς ἄνδρος...οὐτὲ δοῦν] Lit. 'we ought not out of regard for one man, nor yet for two, to be debarred from reaching Greece'. It is worth notice that in stereotyped expressions of this kind the stress is laid in English on the smaller of the two numbers: in Greek (whether by the order or arrangement of the words) on the larger. Compare by way of illustration Soph. Ai. 432,

\[\text{νῦν γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ ὅς αἰδξείν ἐμοὶ καὶ τρίς' τοιωτοῖς γὰρ κακοῖς ἑντυγχάνω.}\]

ἀπέκεχεσθαί] is the reading of the four best MSS for ἀποσχέσθαι, which appears in the majority. The present participle occurs in the same sense in Hell. VII. 3. 10.

§ 15. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν...ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν] The repetition of these words at the close of the parenthesis in precisely the same form is entirely consistent with Xenophon's style. Compare a number of similar passages which I have collected in the introduction (e.g. I. 6. 6, II. 2. 17, II. 2. 20, etc.), in all of which there is less ground for excuse, since no particular emphasis is gained, as in the present instance, by the repetition of the phrase.

ἐμὲ τι τοῦτον αἰτίον] 'that I am in any sense the cause of these troubles', the τι being used adverbially like οὐδὲν at the commencement of § 12.

καταδικάζω ἐμαυτοῦ] Kühner, alone of all the editors, reads ἐμαυτοῦ.
in place of ἐμαυτῶν on the authority of two leading mss, without, however, instancing any other passage in which the confusion caused by the interchange of the words is so intolerable as in the case before us, for in VII. 5. 5 the reading, as he himself admits, is doubtful.

§ 16. κρίνατι sc. ὡστε Κλέαρδον κρίνατι αὐτόν.
ἀντὶ δὲ τοῖτων] This use of δὲ in the apodosis to give a certain emphasis after relative sentences or conjunctions has been noticed in connexion with IV. 1. 2. Cf. Soph. Elec. 25—28,

ὡσπερ γὰρ ἵππος εὐγενὴς, κἂν ἢ γέρων,
ἐν τοῖς δευόσι δυοίνον οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν,
...ὡσαύτως δὲ σὺ
ήμασ τ᾿ ὀτρύνεις καύτος ἐν πρώτοις ἐπει.

§§ 17—19. Agasias takes upon himself the sole responsibility of the act, and, at his own request, is sent to Cleander, attended by an escort of officers and by the man whom he had rescued from Δεξίππος.

§ 18. μὴ ἐκδώτη] I would warn beginners against the solecism μὴ ἐκδώτη, which is actually found in three of the best mss, though (as Kühner points out) the position of the accent on the penultimate gives a very clear hint as to the true reading.

κρίνατι...ποιῆσαι] sc. κρίναι τε καὶ ποιῆσαι, 'will place myself in the hands of Cleander for trial that he may perform his pleasure upon me'.

σωζόσωθε] Dindorf edits σωζόσωθε, which is the reading of the inferior mss. But the words of Agasias are far more expressive and graceful as a prayer than as a command, even if the manuscript authority had been decisive in favour of the optative. We have already had occasion in II. 4. 19 to notice the combination of σωζωθε with an adverb of motion.

συμπέραψατε...ἐλάμβαν] 'select, however, and send with me to Cleander certain of your own number'.

§ 19. ὁ ἀφαίρεθαις ἀνήρ ὑπὸ 'Αγασίου] Cf. IV. 2. 18, ἐπὶ ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ. The more grammatical order would be as follows: ὁ ὑπὸ 'Αγασίου ἀφαίρεθαις ἀνήρ, but in composite phrases where the words are to be taken in close combination the rule is not invariably observed. Compare, in particular, such expressions as ὁ λυμεὼν ἐμὸς (Soph. Ai. 573) and Ζεὺς ὁ γεννητωρ ἐμὸς (Eur. Hipp. 683), in both of which the position of the word ἐμὸς presents a similar difficulty.

§§ 20—24. After a conciliatory speech from the officers, Agasias himself addresses Cleander.

σε αὐτόν] Maecmichael edits σεαυτόν, a reading which Kühner rejects on the following grounds: 'pronomina reflexiva usurpari non possunt, nisi ubi quis sibi ipsi opponitur'.

§ 22. Δέξιππον...Δέξιππον] The repetition is no doubt intentional for the sake of rhetorical emphasis. Compare a very similar passage in III. 2. 23, βασιλέως ἀκοντός ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ, as well as the introduction of the proper name in II. 6. 8, ἰκανὸς δὲ (ὁ Κλέαρχος) καὶ ἐμποιησαί τοῖς παροῦσιν ὅτι πειστέν ἐνή Κλέαρχο.

εφ᾽ ὡστε] For an account of this idiom, see note on IV. 2. 19. In analyzing the construction of the entire passage, which is rendered somewhat awkward by the cumbrous succession of participles (ἀπεθέντα
...ἀποδόντα...προδόντα), it will be sufficient to notice that the order is as follows: ὁδὸν Δέξιππον...καὶ ἀποδόντα καὶ προδόντα τοὺς στρατιώτας—
the clauses which intervene being treated as parenthetical. The
passage, though an inelegant one, is in fact sufficiently clear, if Kröger
had not created difficulties for himself by coupling the participles
thus: αἰρεθέντα καὶ ἀποδόντα.
§ 23. τοὺς τε Τραπέζωντις ἀπεστερήκαμεν...αὐτοὶ τε...ἀπολώλαμεν]
It will be observed that the two main clauses of the sentence are intro-
duced respectively by τὲ and τέ, the passage which intervenes (καὶ κακὸι
dοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτον) being merely a subordinate addition to the
earlier clause. τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, 'as far as it depended upon this man', for
which Kühner compares Συνοφ. V. 4. 11, μὴν τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ἐμοὶ ὀμοιῶ, τὸ
δ’ ἐπὶ σοὶ σέωσιμαι, a passage which may further serve to illustrate the
force of the perfect ἀπολώλαμεν.
ἀφελῆμα] It is easy to understand τὸν ἀνδρα after ἀφελῆμα, con-
sidering the repeated allusions that have been made to his rescue in the
previous narrative: 'such then were the antecedents of this man from
whom I rescued (the soldier)'.
§ 24. τῶν παρὰ σοῦ] See note on τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως in connexion
with the word ἀφεκνοῦτο (1. 1. 5).
νομίζει...ἀποκτείνων] The participle, which is very rarely found in
combination with the verb νομίζειν, may be accounted for on the ground
that νομίζεων in the present passage is itself equivalent to a stronger verb,
denoting a sure and certain belief. For ἀποκτείνων, the mss (with the
exception of the two best) would seem to have read ἀποκτεῖων, though
with a wrong accent: a combination which Hermann and others have
denounced as ungrammatical. There is, however, distinct evidence that
both constructions are admissible, the present participle being pre-
ferred when the reference is to an act the execution or realisation of
which is regarded as imminent.
§§ 25—34. Agasias and the soldier whom he had rescued are de-
tained by Cleander for trial. A deputation, headed by Xenophon, obtains
their release, and at the same time offers the supreme command to
Cleander, who provisionally consents to accept it.
τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν] 'to obtain his deserts', like ἔχει τῷ δίκην in II. 5.
38. The words τῶν ἐτοῦ τὸν ἀνδρα in the following section refer of course
to Agasias.
§ 27. ἀδικοῦντα] The emphatic word: 'that I was doing anything
wrong when I was arrested (by Dexippus)'.
§ 28. παρὰ τῷ ρήτρατ] The unwritten laws of Lycurgus were
called ρήτρατ, and it is possible that the word is substituted for ὁμομα in
the present passage to conciliate the favour of the Lacedaemonian
general. Tr. 'that he might himself secure his own share, and preserve
their booty for the plunderers in defiance of our decree'. The force of
the words τοιοῦτος εἰ is well expressed by Macmichael's rendering:
'since you are so far implicated', 'since the case stands thus with
you'.
§ 29. συνεβουλεύει] For the force of the active, see note on II. 1. 16.
Only two mss—but those the two best—are in favour of the reading
συνεβουλεύετο which is preferred by Kühner: Vollbrecht and the ma-
majority of the editors follow the bulk of the mss in retaining the active. There is little doubt that, taken *per se*, the employment of the middle might be justified in the sense which Kühner assigns to it: *re cum alis deliberata aliquid statuere, decernere*, though, if this had been the author's meaning, it is difficult to see why he did not, as usual, employ the plural (*συνεβουλεύοντο*) in reference to the entire assembly. Moreover, there is a certain want of fitness in the combination of the active and the middle voice (*συνήγαγε καὶ συνεβουλεύοτο*) without a corresponding change of subject; add to which, the use of the middle in the sense which Kühner proposes weakens by anticipation the statement of the final decision: ἑδοξεν αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.

*παρατησομένους περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν*] 'to ask his indulgence on behalf of the prisoners'.

§ 30. *ἐκ τούτου*] The omission of the connecting particle in cases where a statement is explanatory of what precedes has been commented on in the note to *τούτῳ συγγενῆμενος* (1. 1. 9).

*Δρακάντων*] A short account of his antecedents is given in IV. 8. 25.

§ 31. *ὑφείτο*] Nearly all the leading editors, except Krüger, retain this reading on the authority of four good mss, in preference to *ὑφείτο* which appears in the remainder. To the idea of *permitting*, which is contained in *ὑφείτο*, the present compound adds the notion of *humblly* permitting, a force which is peculiarly suitable in connexion with the context. Moreover, by a reference to other passages (e.g. *Cypri* VI. 3. 36, *Hell* VII. 4. 9) Kühner shews that the word is a favourite one with our author in this particular sense.

§ 32. *ἐπιτείδειεφω*] The future, which passes without a remark from the commentators, is noteworthy, because, as we have repeatedly shewn, the aorist is the construction which our author usually prefers after verbs of *promising*, *expecting* and the like. But in such cases it will be found that the reference is always to a *definite* and *imminent* event: here, where the promise points to a continued service of obedience, the future is the more forcible tense.

§ 33. *ἀρέσκατα*] Observe the force of the aorist, 'having taken the command over them'. In place of the plural *ἐκάστῳ* we might have expected *ἐκάστῳ*, considering that *οίς ἐκαστὸς ἐστι* has preceded it, but the plural, as usual, represents the men by their respective *classes*: e.g. Dexippus and those who resembled him, Agasias and those of his stamp.

§ 34. *οὐ τῷ σῶ*] *Laconice* for *νῆ τῷ θεῷ*, Castor and Pollux being the deities intended as in *Hell. IV. 4. 10*.

*παραδοῦσαν*] The use of this verb in an absolute sense is so generally recognised that Kühner and the majority of the editors are manifestly right in rejecting the word *τι* by which it is followed in every single ms with the exception of one. It is less easy to determine the special force of the preposition in the compound *ἐξγεγκυρομα*. It might simply intensify the force of the verb, though the occurrence of the compound *ἐκκομίσαε* in § 36 practically reduces the choice to an alternative: i.e. 'I will lead you out of the country' or it may be 'out of your troubles'.

§§ 35—end. The auspices do not admit of Cleander's accepting the command: so, after returning the presents which had been made to him
and giving other tokens of his goodwill, he leaves them and departs by sea. The troops with Xenophon resume their march, and, after diverging from their course for the sake of securing plunder, they arrive six days later at Chrysopolis, where they remain for a week, occupied with the sale of their spoils.

εὕτε ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ] See note on vi. 4. 9. The phrase ἴναι ἱματισθαί, 'to make a covenant of friendship', denotes the formal recognition of their duties and responsibilities as friends.

§ 36. ἐμοὶ μέντοι] On the assumption that this is the true reading, in place of which all the MSS but the three best give ἐμοὶ μὲν, the force of μέντοι will be equivalent to that of ἀλλὰ in II. 1. 4, being directed against a feeling not openly expressed, but existing in the mind of the speaker. In dealing with the rest of the sentence Vollbrecht stands by the manuscript reading οὐ τελθεὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἔξαγεν, the objection to which lies mainly in the addition of the infinitive. Kühner edits οὐκ ἔθελε γενέσθαι, and traces in a very clear summary the successive stages by which the interchange of the two readings was probably effected. For the construction of the phrase, see note on λέναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα in II. 2. 3.

ἐκείσθαι] sc. to Byzantium.

§ 37. διαβέβηκα] διατίθεσθαι is literally to set out or arrange for sale. Tr. 'having disposed of their corn'.

§ 38. οὐδεὶς] Neuter: 'no plunder'. For δειξεῖθεῖν the two best MSS give ἔθεῖν, which is consequently preferred by Vollbrecht and some of the editors, though, as Kühner suggests, it is difficult to understand how the more recondite and expressive verb should have supplanted the simpler one. He has failed, however, to notice the occurrence of the form ἔθεῖν in the following clause, which is perhaps the very strongest point in favour of his reading. Tr. 'so that, with something to shew, they might pass out through a land of strangers into a land of friends'.

ἐλς Χρυσόπολις] The distance from Callæ to Chrysopolis (the modern Scutari) would be about eighty miles. The Greeks, accordingly, must have travelled on an average some thirteen miles a day, and, as on this occasion they had the advantage of a regular road, it is easy to understand that, at the period of their worst difficulties, an advance of six or seven miles may have represented the results of a long day's march. With the arrival of the troops at Chrysopolis, the Retreat (properly so called) terminates: their service under Seuthes in Thrace being in no way connected with the original objects of the expedition.

τῆς Χαλκηδονίας] Chalcedon, now known as Kadi Kuy, was colonised from Megara in B.C. 676. It was situated in Bithynia, very nearly opposite to Byzantium, at the southern extremity of the Thracian Bosporus.
NOTES.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Recapitulation of preceding narrative.

ἐπολοὺν] The manuscript authority is altogether in favour of the imperfect, though Dindorf edits ἐπολησαν, which is in better keeping with the aorist ἐπηράξαν, and is moreover the tense uniformly adopted by our author in these introductory chapters. On the other hand, the imperfect is distinctly more forcible, and may be easily defended on the analogy of the reading ἐρμῶντο in I. 10. 1 and II. 1. 3.

ἐξω τοῦ στόρατος] The Thracian Bosporus is meant. For ἐξω a geographer at Athens would no doubt have used εἰσώ. But, as Kühner points out, both expressions may be equally correct on the assumption that the writer in each case is describing the locality in reference to his own position at the time.

§§ 2—7. At the instigation of Pharnabazus, the Spartan Admiral encourages the Greeks to cross to Byzantium by holding out promises of payment. Scuthes of Thrace urges Xenophon to use his influence in the same direction. Having secured their compliance, Anaxibius fails in his promise.

δει] sc. ποιεῖν. For the future ποιήσειν in connexion with ὑποσχεῖτο, see note on ἐπιδείξειν in vi. 6. 32.

§ 4. ἀπαγγέλλειν] 'that they must take counsel before they returned a reply'. The MSS as a rule are in favour of the present ἀπαγγέλλειν, which Kühner accordingly retains. The other editors—including Dindorf, Vollbrecht and Macmichael—have adopted the reading in the text which is found (though with a wrong accent) in the best MS. I have little hesitation in following them, as the phrase ὁμός ἦ μὴ πορεύεσθαι in II. 3. 27, to which Kühner refers in defence of ἀπαγγέλλειν, stands, it is clear, on totally different grounds. In the passage he quotes, the allusion is to an action that had been continuously in progress, and was only momentarily delayed: while in the case before us the reference is to an isolated and independent act of the future, in relation to which this use of the present seems wholly indefensible.

ἐπείτα οὕτως] The ordinary equivalent in Greek is τὸτ' ἡδη, in Latin tum demum. The peculiarity of the present expression lies in
the combination of the two adverbs, either of which may be used independently with nearly the same force as they bear in the passage before us. Macmichael instances the phrase *ibi tum* (Ter. Enni. 1. 2. 28, *Avdr*. 1. 1. 79) as an analogous combination, while *καθ' οὖν* occurs in *Aristoph. Avv. 678 and Nub. 1139.

§ 5. Σεῦθης...ό Θράξ] Cf. VII. 3. 16, Σεῦθης δε...ἀρχων ἐκεῖνο τῶν ἐπὶ ταλάντι, from which and other passages it is clear that he is not to be confounded with the prince of the same name who succeeded Sitalcas as king of the Odrysae. He was in fact the representative in these parts of Medocus, the reigning king. An account of his antecedents is given later on in VII. 2. 32.

οτί οὖ̂ μεταμελήσει] Kühner and Vollbrecht are right, I think, in preferring this reading to οτί οὖ μεταμελήσειν, which appears in all but the three leading MSS, and is retained by Macmichael and a few of the editors. It is true that there are instances of a similarly confused construction in other portions of the *Anabasis*, notably in III. 1. 20, where ἡδεῖν οτί διλίγην ἐκοντας affords an almost exact parallel, but, as I have observed in the introduction, these are chiefly confined to the earlier portions of the work, and are certainly not to be multiplied in cases where there is good manuscript authority for a simpler and more intelligible reading. See note on παράδωσει in VII. 5. 8. Notwithstanding its position, the pronoun *αὐτῷ* is strictly dependent on μεταμελήσει, though it is placed early in the sentence to secure an additional emphasis. Cf. I. 8. 21 ἡδεῖ αὐτὸν, οτί ἔχοι.

§ 6. τελείτω] sc. ὁ Σεῦθης. There is some little doubt as to the precise meaning of the term *ἐπικαμάλος*. The omission of the article implies that it is coextensive in application with the word *διαμένοντας*, i.e. *those who remain and who will (therefore) be available for his purpose*. On the other hand, Kühner’s rendering, ‘qui maxime apti sunt’, can scarcely be strained so as to include the entire number of those who might continue in the country.

§ 7. ἐπιστιξεσθαι] The infinitive is epexegetical: ‘so as to (i.e. with which to) purchase supplies for the journey’.

§§ 8—17. Acting on the suggestion of Cleander, Xenophon cooperates with Anaxibius in withdrawing the troops to a point outside the city walls, whereupon the gates are closed upon them. Enraged at their treatment, the soldiers re-enter the city by force. 

προσελθὼν ἡσπάζετο αὐτὸν] ‘came to wish him good-by’. ἀσπάζεσθαι, like the Latin salutare, is used indifferently both of meetings and leave-takings.

el δὲ μή] may denote the opposite to a previous condition, even if it be a negative one as in the present instance.

οὐ ταχὺ ἐξερπεῖ] In order to retain the special force of the verb *ἐξερπεῖν*, Hutchinson, who is followed by Macmichael, proposes to render the passage as follows: ‘because the troops are creeping out so reluctantly’. So far-fetched an interpretation is entirely unnecessary, when we consider how frequently our author uses *ἐρπεῖν* as a mere equivalent for *ἐλναί, πορεύεσθαι* and the like, whether it was that he preferred it as the more poetic word, or, as Kühner thinks probable, adopted it from the Doric dialect.
NOTES.

§ 10. ἐφη] sc. ὝΚλεινδρος.
§ 11. αὐτῷς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται] ‘will have himself to blame for the consequences’. The order of the sentence is as follows: ὅτι, διὰ ἄν μὴ παρῇ... αὐτῷς αὐτόν αἰτιάσεται. The word ἄρθν in the ensuing section is adopted from the language of poetry, being found in Eur. Phoen. 1636, and in Aristoph. Thesm. 274, where it is treated by Hesychius as an equivalent for παντελῶς. In its primary sense (cf. αἴρω) it is still more frequent in tragedy, e.g. in Aesch. Prom. 1051, and again in Soph. Antig. 430,

ἐκ τ’ εὐκροτήτου χαλκέας ἄρθν πρόχου
χοαίνει τρισπόνδουει τὸν νέκνιν στέφει.

§ 12. καὶ Ἐτεόνικος] ‘when Eteonicus took his stand by the city gates’. Cf. I. 8, 8, and IV. 6. 2. We have frequently noticed this idiom by which καὶ, like et in Latin, is used as a temporal conjunction to shew at what point the matter stood when a change or fresh event took place. The employment of the accusative in the phrase ἐιστήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας is remarkable: less so, however, than in the corresponding passage of v. 3. 13, where any idea of motion is altogether foreign to the context.

τῶν μοχλῶν ἐμβαλῶν] The bar, after being raised into position, was dropt into a groove or socket constructed in one of the door-posts. The βάλανος, by which it was finally secured in its place, was a moveable plug of iron, which could be passed at pleasure through the door-post and into the bar.

§ 13. ἔλεγε] The imperfect, no less than the aorist, is a recognised tense in this connexion. The question, therefore, between the two readings is simply one of manuscript authority, which is almost entirely in favour of the imperfect. With the exception, however, of Kühner, nearly all the editors, including Vollbrecht, have adopted ἔλεγε, though it rests on the authority of one single MS.

τῆλα ἐπιτήδεια] I have no hesitation in following Kühner, who omits the article before ἐπιτήδεια in conformity with the two best MSS. Indeed the argument which he adduces to justify its introduction by the majority of the editors tells rather in favour of its omission. In phrases of this character he regards the substantivé as added by way of apposition (e.g. οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παραπαγχάνοντες in Apol. 11). But the construction to which he refers is used in a limiting or qualifying sense in the passage which he has quoted from the Apology, ‘the rest, I mean those (only) who were present at the time’, and where no such idea appears in the context, as in the case of the passage before us, I cannot regard the presence of the article as in the least degree appropriate.

Kυνίσκος] According to Zeune he was a Spartan general, engaged at this time in conducting a war with the Thracians in the Chersonese.

§ 14. διαγγέλλει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα] The preposition is peculiarly appropriate in this connexion, where the metaphor is that of a river which makes its way into a place by different channels.

διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ βρους] A mountain which extended from Thrace into the Chersonese. The fortress, which took its name from the mountain,
is mentioned by Demosthenes (de Hal. p. 85), and also as having been
occupied by Philip in the course of his war with Cersobleptes.
§ 17. παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τοῦ τελχοῦς 'by the mole which protected
the wall'. The locus classicus on the subject is Thuc. 1. 63, in com-
menting on which the scholiast describes the χηλὴ as a rough species of
breakwater designed to protect the wall against the action of the sea,
adding that it received its name from its resemblance in shape to an
ox-hoof (παρὰ τὸ ἐσκέβαιν χηλὴ βοῦς). Such structures are especially
common in the Mediterranean, e.g. at Catania, Palermo and Fiume.
§§ 18—31. In the hope of quieting the disturbance, Xenophon enters
the city in company with his troops. The terror of the inhabitants. His
soldiers urge him to make himself master of the place. Declining the
proposal, he takes advantage of the opportunity to counsel moderation.
§ 19. ἔνδων 'within doors'.
ως ἐκλωκνιάς τῆς πόλεως] See notes on ως ἐς Πισιδίας βουλῆμενος
(I. 1. 11), and ως ἐπὶ βουλευόντος (I. 1. 6).
§ 20. εἰς τὴν ἄκραν...εἰς τὴν ἄκρωπολιν] In Kühler's opinion the
reference in each case is to the citadel. Otherwise, as he acutely sug-
gests, it would be impossible to account for the article with ἄκραν,
unless some previous mention had been made of the locality.
§ 21. πολλα] 'in numbers'.
§ 22. θέσθε τὰ ὀπλα] See notes on I. 5. 14 and IV. 2. 16. The
manoeuvre was a clever one. To reestablish his authority, it was
necessary at all hazards to arrest the attention of his troops. This he
effected by giving an apparent assent to their schemes, and by promul-
gating an order which, while ostensibly furthering their plans, enforced
discipline as the first requisite for success.
κατημεύθησαί] If the MSS were not absolutely unanimous in favour
of this unusual form, I should certainly prefer to read κατημεύσαί (the
conjecture of Dindorpf), which is accepted by almost every editor with
the exception of Kühler, and is to a great extent confirmed by the fact
that, when the verb occurs again in § 24, three of the leading MSS give
κατημεύσαθησαν as the form of the aorist. In either case the compound
should be noticed as belonging to a class of words which are favourites
with Plato and Xenophon, both of whom show a marked predilection
for the language of poetry and metaphor.
παρηγγύωνα] 'passed this order'. Cf. παρηγγύσαν εὐχεσθαι in IV.
3. 16.
§ 23. οἷ τε ὀπλίται...καὶ οἷ πελτασται!] These substantives are
added to the main nominative (οἷ δὲ...ταπτίμενοι) by partitive appos-
tion, for which see notes on II. 1. 15 and II. 5. 5.
εἰς δκτῷ] According to the inferior MSS, εἰς πεντήκοντα would be
the true reading. Kühler, however, demonstrates how easily the two
numbers, which would be represented by the characters Η' (=8) and
Ν' (=50), might have been interchanged, and notices at the same time
that the wide extent of ground available for the review would have
suggested no departure from the ordinary rule (cf. III. 2. 16).
§ 24. ἐκτάξασθαι] sc. ὡστε ἐκτάξασθαι τὸ στράτευμα. To judge
from a passage in Hell. 1. 3. 20, the ground chosen for the review was
situated in the neighbourhood of the Thracian Gates.
§ 26. ἑωρακότας] ‘when one has seen’. The substitution of the accusative for the dative marks the statement as a purely general one. Had the dative been used, its application would have been confined to Xenophon, and the audience he was addressing. By τὰ νῦν ἣδη γεγενημένα he means the recent events of the Peloponnesian war.

§ 27. ἢθομεν] It is surprising that Macmichael and some of the editors should have elected to retain the compound εἰσήθομεν, when the simple verb, which is so frequently found in this connexion, occurs in three out of the five leading MSS.

ἐχοντες τριήρεις] The statement which follows of the wealth and resources of Athens at the commencement of the war should be compared step by step with the still more elaborate review which is given by Thucydides in his Second Book (Chrs. 9—13). Taken in connexion with the well-known passage of Aristoph. Vesp. 657 ff., which enumerates her various sources of income at the time, these extracts will furnish a clear idea of the grounds on which Pericles based his forecast that, given an impartial fortune and an honest government at home, Athens must assuredly have triumphed in a single-handed contest with Lacedaemon.

οὐκ ἐξάπτως τριακοσίων] Cf. Thuc. Π. 13 (ἀπέθανε)...τριήρεις τὰς πλοίους τριακοσίας, which furnishes conclusive proof that the five leading MSS of the Anabasis are right in reading τριακοσίων in place of τετρακοσίων which appears in the majority.

ἐν τῇ πόλει sc. ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει. Cf. Thuc. Π. 13, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει ἐτὶ τότε ἁργυρίων ἐπισήμων ἐξακισχίων ταλάντων, while the use of the term πόλις to denote the Acropolis or old city is also mentioned by Thucydides in the closing words of § 15.

ἀπὸ...τῶν ἐνδήμων] These include the various items of home revenue enumerated by Aristophanes in Vesp. 657, 658,

κἀξιον τοῦτον τὰ τέλη χωρίς καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἐκατοστάσις, πρυτανεία, μέταλλ’, ἀγοράς, λιμένας, μυσθοὺς καὶ δημιώτατα.

In the line which follows the above quotation, the poet estimates the total amount of the Athenian revenue, both at home and abroad, at close upon two thousand talents, but the apparent discrepancy will occasion no difficulty if we remember how extraordinarily their foreign income fluctuated according to the vicissitudes of the war. To take only one example: at the date of the peace of Nicias it was more than double what it had been at the time of the commencement of the war, having risen from 600 talents to more than 1200.

τῆς ὑπεροπίας] sc. ἡ τῆς or χώρας, under which head are included all the districts that were subject to Athens outside the actual confines of Attica.

ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ] Cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 700,

ὄστις πόλεων ἀρχῶν πλείστων, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόλιτος μέχρι Σαρδών.

Among the islands which sided with Athens Thucydides (Π. 9) specially mentions the following: Chios, Lesbos, Corcyra, Zacynthus, and all the Cyclades with the exception of Melos and Thera.

§ 28. τῶν Ἀχαιῶν] Of these the Pellenians alone were favourable
to Sparta at the outset of the war (cf. Thuc. II. 9), though subsequently she was supported by the entire population.

τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως] ‘the king who lives in the interior’, whose seacoast dominions (τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττη) were under the control of his satraps.

ei δεινάμεθα] The substitution of the optative for a past tense of the indicative is remarkable, though it does not appear to have been noticed by the commentators. It is in deference to the feelings of his auditors that Xenophon avoids the indicative, which would have implied too clearly that the expedition had failed in its object.

πάντων ὑμῶν ὄντων] ‘should they all combine against us’.

§ 29. μακρώμεθα…ἀπολώμεθα] Notice the change of tense from the present, which denotes a continued state or action, to the more definite aorist.

δικαίως] sc. στρατεύονται, which may be easily supplied from στρατευσόμεναι above.

βαρβαροὶ] The term is used somewhat loosely to include cities like Τραγεζία, Σινώπη, Ηερακλεα, &c., all of which, though inhabited by a Greek population, might fairly be termed βαρβαροὶ in contrast with Byzantium, not only as being situated in Asia, but because, as Macmichael observes, their subjection to the Persian king had been repeatedly recognised: e.g. in the treaties of B.C. 411 and 387.

οὐδεμίαν] and not μηδεμίαν, is the negative used, because the reference is to a definite fact, and because ei in this connexion is virtually equivalent to δε. Although, in respect of construction, the two clauses of the sentence are made of parallel importance, the point of the appeal lies mainly in the latter, which is further strengthened by a marked antithesis in the force of the verbs κατασχέων and ἐξαλατάξομεν. Tr. as follows: ‘if, after caring to occupy no one of the towns in Asia, we are found plundering without mercy (ἐκ) the first Greek city we come to’.

§ 30. ἐπίδεικν] For the special force of the compound, see note on ἐπίδοντας in III. 1. 13.

ἐμέ γε…γενέσθαι] Similar prayers, though couched in a more poetic form, are found in Hom. Π. iv. 182, and Verg. Aen. iv. 24. The nearest parallel in prose is quoted by Kühner from Συνορ. v. 5. 9, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ δοκῶ δεκάκις ἀν κατὰ τὸν γῆς καταδύναι ἧδον ἢ ὄφθηναί οὕτω ταπεινός. For the aorist infinitive after εὐθομαι, see notes on I. 2. 2 and II. 3. 20.

tοῖς τῶν Ἐλλήνων προσετηκότοι] The article, though it is omitted in all but the two leading mss, is of course essential to the construction, as the reference includes the whole nation regarded as one community.

μὴ στέρεσθαι] ‘at any rate not to lose our prospects of revisiting Greece’.

§ 31. ἀλλ’ ἦν μὲν δυνάμεθα] I cannot at all persuade myself to accept Kühner’s punctuation and rendering of this passage. Omitting the colon, which in the majority of the texts closes the earlier portion of the paragraph at the words ἦν τὴν πόλιν, he connects the clause ἦν μὲν δυνάμεθα…εὕρισκεσθαι closely with what precedes, supplying out of it the future participle, which is to correspond with πολεύοντες in the previous sentence: a device which appears to me awkward and unscholar-
like. On the other hand, if we retain the colon after the word πόλις with the majority of the editors, the emphatic addition of the particle μὲν can be explained by an ordinary ἀποσιόπεσις, examples of which are common enough in Thucydides, Demosthenes and all the best authors. Tr. therefore as follows: 'It is from no desire to commit violence that we have entered your city: on the contrary, should we be able to obtain any favour at your hands (well and good): if not, we shall at any rate shew that it is under no deception, but rather in deference to the authorities, that we now consent to quit it'.

§ 32—end. A deputation is sent to Anaxibius with proposals framed in accordance with Xenophon's advice. Meanwhile a Theban adventurer, named Coeratades, endeavours to obtain the command of the army. The troops are inclined at first to accept his propositions, but reject them subsequently when he is found incapable of performing his promises.

§ 33. καθημένων] 'while the troops remained quiet'. Here again, as in vi. 2. 5, I prefer to understand the verb in its general rather than its technical sense.

Κοινοπαίκτης] For an account of his antecedents, cf. Hell. i. 3. 15. He had recently escaped from Athens, to which he had been transferred from Byzantium where he had held office up to the time of the surrender of the city. As regards the construction, the words τῆς Ἑλλάδος περιήγει are to be taken in combination.

στρατηγῶν] For the force of the termination, cf. μαθητῶν (Aristoph. Nub. 183), 'I burn to be a disciple’. Similarly in Latin we have petitiure, and verbs of a similar form. Cf. Cic. ad Att. i. 14. 7, Lucceius video valde petitiure, 'Lucceius, I see, has a sharp fit of office-fever upon him’.

ἐπαγγέλλομενος] 'proffering his services'.

eis τὸ Δήλα καλομένων τῆς Θράκης] The Thracian Delta lay between Byzantium and Salmucdessus. This much is certain, but the authorities are not agreed as to the precise locality: Gryllus and some of the modern geographers identifying it with a fishing station situated at the point called Delion or Dercon, while Rennell considers that it was the angular space which projects into the Euxine near Byzantium.

§ 34. ἀκούοντι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις] The construction, which the writer had in view when he commenced the sentence, was apparently as follows: ἀκούοντι ταῦτα...έδοξε δέχεσθαι, but, in consequence of the long parenthesis which intervenes, he changes the form of it at the beginning of the next section, and leaves the dative without a governing verb. Instances of this construction κατὰ σύνεσιν are sufficiently common, and the nominative ei στρατιώται, which in all but the three best MSS replaces τοῖς στρατιώταις, represents, it is clear, a poor attempt to correct the irregularity, though strangely enough Dindorf has given it a place in his edition. Even if the motives for the alteration had been less apparent than they are, there would still be valid objections to ἀκούοντι as a present indicative, for in the case of this particular verb the historical tense is rarely, if ever, employed.

§ 35. συντίθεται αὐτοῖς] 'covenants with them’. The reading συντάσσεται, which appears in the majority of the MSS, is, in Schneider's
opinion, incapable of defence, the use of the verb as an equivalent for συντίθεσθαι being confined to Polybius and writers of a later date than Xenophon.

§ 36. πεπράσεται] Observe the force of the tense: 'shall be sold then and there'. A similar transition of moods (ἐκήρυξεν…ώλη…πεπράσεται) has been noticed in connexion with I. 3. 20, and IV. 1. 3.

§ 37. ἐλαιῶν] sc. ἐλαιῶν (ὁσον ἐδώσαντο μεγαστον φορτιον φέροντες).

ὡς ἐπὶ δόξειμου] 'implying they were for distribution'. Cf. ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους (1. 2. 1).

§ 38. διαμαζαία] 'to arrange for him'. The use of the active implies that Cleander would be practically autocratic in obtaining for him the required permission: a force which is clearly marked by the change to the middle (διαμαζαίεσθαι), when Cleander describes with less confidence his own share in the transaction.

§ 39. εἰσέγεια...μελλον] This transition from the direct to the indirect narration is still more remarkable than the one on which we commented in § 36. 'However, in case Xenophon intended to sail away in his company, his directions were that you should come into the city'.

§ 40. εἰστήκει παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα] See note on εἰστήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας in § 12.

§ 41. ἔνθει] ἔθει, which is found in three good mss, would not supply the sense which is required by the context. Tr. 'when, however, a great failure was apparent in his promise that a day's maintenance should be forthcoming for each of the soldiers'.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—4. The generals who remain in command of the army differ in respect to its future destination: Phryniscus and Cleantor being in favour of joining Seuthes, while Neōn proposes to go into the Chersonese, and Timasion to return to Asia. Meanwhile many of their followers are leaving them, some to return home, others to settle in the adjoining districts. Anaxibius views with pleasure the disintegration of the army.

Φρυνισκος] We are told in § 29 of this chapter that he held office as one of the generals, though of the time and circumstances of his election no information is afforded in the previous narrative. It is noticeable that Cleantor's name does not appear in the present list, though it is clear that he remained with the army. The omission is ascribed by Poppo to carelessness on the part of a抄ist.

τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον] Kühner, as usual, would render the preposition by ἀφεί or ἀδ. But see note on τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς Εὔμηνα αὐτομολῆσαντας in 1. 10. 6.

§ 2. ἔπειθε] a strong imperfect, as in VI. 1. 19: 'was doing his best to persuade them'. For the force of κατελθεῖν at the end of the section, see note on κατάγειν (1. 1. 7).

ταύτα ἐβούλωτο] The word ταύτα refers, of course, to the proposal of Timasion. Vollbrecht edits ταύτα with Zeune.

§ 3. τόλλοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν...οἱ μὲν...οἱ δὲ] The construction has
been explained in connexion with I. 8. 27, and II. 5. 5, nor does the passage as a whole present any difficulty till we reach the words οί δὲ καὶ διαδόντες, at which point almost every editor adopts a different text. The participle διαδόντες, which is accepted by Kühner as an evident improvement on the ordinary reading διάδωτες, was suggested to Bornemann by the phrase divisis (armis), which appears in the version of Amaseus. With this single exception Kühner prints the text as it stands, admitting even the words κατὰ τοὺς χῶρους, which are so manifestly tautologous that I have not hesitated to enclose them in brackets. With the rest of the commentators excision has been the order of the day, from Muretus and Vollbrecht, who would omit the entire passage between διάδωτες and χῶρους (inclusive), to Macmichael and others, who retain the text in its integrity with the exception of the words κατὰ τοὺς χῶρους, which they reject as an interpolation from the previous clause. We may notice as a reason for retaining διάδωτες, διαδόντες or some equivalent that, in all probability, the Greeks were required to give up their arms before they were allowed by the inhabitants to settle in their country.

§ 4. ταῦτα ἀκούον, διαθεμεῖσθαι τὸ στράτευμα] As Dindorf, Kühner and Vollbrecht have agreed to accept this reading, which appears in the two best MSS, I have not ventured to omit the pronoun, though feeling strongly that the construction is an unusual one, and almost without parallel in classical Greek. It is clear from his note on the passage that Kühner himself entertains a similar misgiving, though he thinks that the corruption (if any) lies not so much in the pronoun ταῦτα as in the addition of the explanatory clause which follows it.

§§ 5—9. At the suggestion of Anaxibius, Aristarchus, who had been appointed to succeed Cleander as harmost at Byzantium, sells four hundred of the Greeks into slavery. Indignant at finding himself supplanted by Aristarchus in the favour of Pharnabazus, Anaxibius communicates with Xenophon, advising him to collect the scattered remnants of his army and transport them with all possible speed into Asia. Xenophon rejoins the Greek troops, who welcome his arrival as the signal for a return into Asia.

ἐν Κυδωνί] The modern Bal Kiz. It was colonized from Miletus about the year 750 B.C., and was situated in Mysia on the shores of the Propontis, being connected with the main-land by a system of bridges.

Παλαισο] The name is given differently in some of the MSS. Schneider thinks it possible that an admiral called Pollis (Hell. v. 4. 61) is meant: a suggestion rejected by Kühner on the ground that Pollis was in office some twenty-five years later, and it is known that the Lacedaemonians never re-elected the same man to fill this po-t.

διὸν ὅ ὑπαρέλθῃ] 'was on the point of arriving'. For διὸν ὅ some of the better MSS give the phrase διὸν ὁ ὑπάρ. But, in addition to the fact that the more unusual combination is not found elsewhere in Xenophon, its substitution for διὸν ὅ in the present passage would necessitate (as Schneider points out) the omission of ὑπάρ, a word which appears in all the MSS. Macmichael, however, and some few of the editors have adopted the latter alternative.
§ 6. ὀπόσους ἀν ἐὔροι] Vollbrecht prefers the more grammatical mood ἐῴρη, which is in this case supported by the authority of one good MS. In the note to I. 5. 9, where the manuscript evidence is altogether in favour of the optative with ἀν, I have suggested the probable explanation. Other examples of the construction are recognised in poetry (e.g. in Soph. Trach. 164), where the requirements of the metre would alone make any change impossible.

ἀναγκάζων] sc. τοὺς πολίτας.

§ 7. εἰς Πάριον] Now Pario. According to Strabo, Parium was founded conjointly by the Milesians, Parians and Erythraeans. It lay between Cyzicus and the Hellespont, and was known by the Romans as Colonia Iulia Pariana.

κατὰ τὰ συνεχέμενα] The covenant between them is mentioned in § 2 of the first chapter, and no doubt suggested to Anaxibius the scheme by which he proposes to revenge himself upon Pharnabazus in the quarrel which ensues.


τοῖς ἵπποις] Observe the force of the article: ‘with the necessary (relays of) horses’.

§§ 10—15. Medosades has an interview with Xenophon, and endeavours to enlist him in the cause of Seuthes of Thrace. For the time his offers are rejected. At Perinthus Neon withdraws himself from the main army, and, attended by eight hundred followers, establishes a separate camp. Aristarchus arrives with two triremes, and deters Xenophon from attempting a campaign in Asia, who turns in consequence to Seuthes, and sacrifices for permission to engage in his service. Aristarchus forms a plot to arrest him, but his schemes are betrayed.

ὁ τι φετο λέγων πείσει] ‘offering promises, the mention of which he thought likely to tempt him’.

§ 11. οἱ ὁ Ἐλλήνες] The emphatic, and also the inclusive, term: the component parts of which are afterwards enumerated separately by partitive apposition (Νέων μὲν...τῷ ᾗ ἄλλο στράτευμα).

ἀποσπάσας] The verb is probably intransitive, as it is explained by some of the editors in a difficult passage of I. 5. 3. πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέσπα (ἥ στρατόδος) φεύγουσα, where Kühner’s suggestion that we are to supply the words τοὺς διώκοντας appears somewhat far-fetched.

Nor again in the present instance does the isolated position of the participle favour his theory that we are to understand τοὺς εἶναι or some similar phrase out of the words which follow: ὃς δικασκοσίους ἀνθρώποις. Had this been the author’s intention, it is difficult to see why he did not suggest it by altering the position of the participle in the sentence. In II. 2. 12 we have the passive ἀποσπασθώμεν employed in a similar sense.


§ 12. ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἁρμοστὴς] Cf. τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνου Ἑλλήνων (II. 4. 24), and the note on the passage.

§ 13. ἔλεγεν] The imperfect, as in II. 4. 2, exercises its usual force: ‘made formal statement’, ‘gave as his reasons’, while a similar
transition from the indirect to the direct narrative has been noticed in § 39 of the previous chapter.

τηδε] 'in these parts'. Cf. vii. 6. 24, from which it appears that the town of Perinthos, where the Greeks were at this time encamped, was also under his authority.

§ 14. ὑντων] See note on προϊώντων (i. 2. 17).

ἡλήσται] The majority of the editors, including Vollbrecht, follow the inferior MSS in reading ἡλήσται. Kühner, however, in consideration that the middle form ἡλήσται is found in the six leading MSS, prefers to retain it, on the assumption that it may possibly be used in a passive sense like ὑπακόουσεται (Thuc. vi. 69) and ἀγνόησεται (Dem. de Cor. § 249). While agreeing with him that the manuscript authority in favour of the middle is too strong to be disregarded, I cannot persuade myself to accept his solution of the difficulty, unless it were supported by stronger and more pertinent examples. On the other hand, there can be no objection to our regarding the text as an instance of those sudden transitions of subject which are so common in the Anabasis, and of which we have already noticed more remarkable examples, e.g. in II. 4. 2 (οὐκ ἡρεσκε, ἀλλά προϊώντες), and still more decidedly in I. 4. 5, where in one and the same sentence ἄποβλάσαεμεν refers to Κύρος, βιασάμενοι οἱ ὀπληται, and φυλάσσομεν οἱ πολέμωι.

αὐτοῦ τι πεισται] a euphemism for αὐτοῦ θανεῖται, as in v. 3. 6.

αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν] Weiske acutely suggests that αὐτὸς, though transposed for the sake of emphasis, is in fact constructed with βολαίτω rather than εἶπεν. The change from θυσαί (act.) to ἔθετο (midd.) is remarkable, though quite consistent with the distinction observed by our author in his use of the voices. See notes on I. 7. 18, and IV. 6. 27.

§ 15. παρεῖν] The best MS gives εἶπερ εἶν, from which Bornemann and Dindorf have cleverly evolved the present text. Kühner is almost the only editor of note who retains the ordinary reading παρεῖν, the objection to which he clearly recognises in the fact that it does not so much denote simple permission as a permission which is attended with risk or loss.

*ἐνθάδε δὲ*] 'if he staid where he was'. The MSS fluctuate between ἐνθα and ἐνθα δή, the former of which is accepted by Vollbrecht, though Kühner conclusively demonstrates the weakness of the reading by shewing that (the reference being in that case to the Chersonese) the concluding words of the section (τῶν δὲ ἐπινόεισιν οὐδὲν ἐμελλὲν ἔξειν τὸ στράτευμα) will form only a feeble repetition of the previous statement: τὸ στράτευμα ἐν πολλῇ ἑπαρκεῖ πάντων γενέσθαι. In preference he edits ἐνθάδε δὲ, the conjecture of Bornemann, to which, however, objection may perhaps be taken on the score of euphony. Indeed, I should myself prefer to read ἐνθα δὲ in the same sense.

§§ 16—end. The sacrifices proving favourable, Xenophon leaves Perinthos by night, attended by some of his officers, and repairs to the camp of Seuthes who gives him a hospitable welcome. They arrange the conditions on which Xenophon and the Greeks are to aid him in recovering his paternal dominions.
νῦν μὲν 'his instructions were that for the present they should retire, and return again later on in the afternoon'. τῆς δὲλῆγε·, lit. 'in the course of the afternoon'. For an explanation of the genitive, see note on δέκα ἡμερῶν (I. 7. 18).

ἔδοξεν] The inferior MSS add the infinitive εἶναι, which all the best editors have agreed to omit. The question is not of great importance, though the omission of the infinitive may possibly give greater certainty and reality to the statement, in the same way that φανεται οὐδα would be a stronger assertion than φανεται εἶναι.

§ 17. ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν] This combination is remarkable, and, I believe, without parallel in the Anabasis, though it does not seem to have attracted the notice of the editors. Even for the sake of euphony, and to avoid the juxtaposition of the vowels, it would have been natural to have supported the article with μὲν or some equivalent particle.

αὐτῷ] Kühner: αὐτῷ Vollbrecht, on the authority of two leading MSS. The latter reading is defensible, as the use of αὐτός for the reflexive pronoun is sufficiently well established. Compare, however, the text of the corresponding passage in vii. 1. 18, as it appears in the best MSS, and, in particular, a note on vi. 2. 14.

ἐλαῖν] For the infinitive in this connexion, see notes on ii. 2. 3, and vi. 6. 36.

§ 18. πυροῦς ἐρήμωσ] Cf. ἐρήμων πέλτα (ii. 1. 6), and ἐρήμη πόλις (i. 5. 4).

μὴτε ὄπον εἰσι, μὴτε ὄποι οἶον] In this case none of the MSS afford a practicable reading, the nearest approach to a possible text being perhaps the following: μὴτε ὄποι εἰσι μὴτε ὄποι εἶνεν. Of the many conjectural emendations which have been proposed, Krüger's is, I think, the best, and I have therefore followed Kühner who gives it a place in his text. It is certainly more forcible than μὴτε ὄποι οحكيم μὴτε ὄποι εἶνεν, which is accepted by Vollbrecht on the authority of Dindorf and Bornemann. Macmichael gives the passage as follows: μὴ ὀρθωτὸ..μὴ ὄποι εἶνεν, for which other editors have substituted μηθ ὄποι εἶνεν, a flagrant solecism. As regards the historical fact, it will be remembered that a similar device was adopted by the Plataeans, when they were attempting to cover their escape from the town (Thuc. III. 23), and also by Iphicrates (Hell. vi. 2. 29).

§ 19. ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος] Vollbrecht curiously enough edits ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, a crasis unusual in itself, and altogether at variance with Xenophon's style. Kühner treats the phrase as an ordinary example of the pregnant construction which we have so often had occasion to notice. But Bornemann, I think, is right, who regards it as a technical idiom in the sense of 'qui praest exerexit', with which compare a corresponding use of the prepositions ab and ex in Latin.

§ 20. ἐδίωκων] 'galloped off', a force of the verb which has been already noticed in connexion with vi. 5. 25, and for which compare the comment of Phavorinus: διώκειν εἴσοε τὸ ἀπλῶς κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλαίνειν. The best editors understand ἐπὶ τοὺς ὕππους with the particle ἀναπηδήσαντες, and the addition of the verb ἐδίωκων points to this as the true rendering. I cannot, however, find any other instance in
which the words in question are omitted, except in cases where some previous reference had made their repetition unnecessary.

§ 21. ἐγκεκαλινωμένοι] a dative of the instrument: ‘with his horses ready bridled’. The better MSS fluctuate between ἐγκεκαλινωμένοι and ἐγκεκαλινωμένοι, neither of which is satisfactory, though the adverb, in spite of its being a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, is defended by Poppp. The inferior MSS omit the word altogether. The dative, which is accepted by the majority of the editors including Kühner, Vollbrecht, Dindorf and Maemichael, is the conjecture of Voigtlander: Bornemann prefers the genitive, supplying αὐτῶν as in the case of προῖντων (I. 2. 17).

§ 22. Τήρησ] He is apparently identical with the prince of that name who is mentioned by Thucydides (II. 29) as ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατήρ, and as the sovereign who first consolidated the kingdom of the Οδηγας in Thrace: ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος...πρῶτος ὁ Ὀδρύςας τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἅλλης Θράκης ἐποίησε...βασιλεὺς τε πρῶτος ἐν κράτει ὁ Ὀδρύςας ἐγένετο.

ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν] ‘the inhabitants of this region’. According to Weiske, the pronoun has a deictic force. On the other hand, the phrase may be a mere variation of the one which precedes it: ἐν ταύτῃ τῷ χώρα.

Θυνοι] Their territory, which was situated in European Thrace, extended from Apollonia to Salmiadesus. A comparison with the fourth chapter of the present book has enabled the editors to restore the reading of the text in place of Βυνοὶ, which appears in all the best MSS.

μάλιστα νυκτὸς] Kühner and Krüger take these words in combination: Maemichael, on the other hand, suggests that μάλιστα strengthens πολεμικῶτατοι. Of the two interpretations, the former is decidedly the preferable; though a third alternative, which would connect the adverb with πάντων, is, I think, suggested by the rhythm and order of the sentence: ‘who, far above all other tribes, have the reputation of being most formidable foes at night’.

§ 24. ἵχεστο λέγεων] For the distinction between the infinitive and the participle in this connexion, see note on III. 1. 26.

διαβάζων τὸ στράτευμα] Similarly in III. 1. 9 we find the verb συμπροσμείζεισθαι constructed with an accusative and infinitive: καὶ ὁ Κύρος συμπροσμείζεισθα μεῖναι αὐτῶν.

§ 25. τάλλα τὲ σοι φίλῳ χρήσεσθαι] ‘that in all other respects I should find in you a friend and brother, and that I should receive as a present from your hands the sea-board towns in your control’. Three good MSS suggest the following reading: τάλλα τὲ σε φίλῳ μοι χρήσεσθαι κ.τ.λ., which is accordingly adopted by Vollbrecht, Bornemann, Dindorf and many of the best editors. But Kühner’s arguments are conclusive in favour of the text, for the reading which they propose in its place would imperatively require the addition of ὥς before φίλῳ—the meaning of the phrase χρήσθαι φίλῳ being to ‘find a friend in a person’ (cf. πιστοτάτῳ ἔχρητο in IV. 6. 3) rather than to ‘treat a person as a friend’.

τὰ παρὰ θαλάττη] τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττη is the reading of the inferior MSS,
which Kühner is inclined to prefer. But the combination in the text is the more usual one, though in place of the dative θαλάττη we might perhaps have expected an accusative of extension.

§ 27. ὠντε σοι] That σοι follows τελείω and refers to Xenophon would appear to be self-evident. Some of the inferior editors, however, understand it of Seuthes, and make it precede the infinitive.

§ 28. τλ γὰρ ἐλεγο][‘well—what did I say?’, the γὰρ being used to introduce the question, like igitur in Latin.

κατὰ Σηλυβριάν] Selybria or Selymbria (for the name appears in both forms) was a city of Thrace, situated on the coast of the Propontis between Pirinthus and Byzantium. Its modern name is Silius or Silivria. Before the infinitive διαβαλειν we must supply χρήσαι or some equivalent in contrast with the previous negation: οὐκ...οὐν τε ἐλαλ.

§ 29. ἐξει ἔσειν...δ πιατιᾶτας ἐκάστη] Another example of participle apposition. Cf. διαιείτουν δ' ἐκάστη (1. 7. 15), which the present passage very closely resembles both in sense and construction. In both cases the idea is that of a number of persons or things taken seriatim. With the genitive Νέων we must, as Kühner suggests, understand ἀπὸ from the previous clause.

§ 30. κάλεσαι] Note the force of the middle: ‘have them called in’. In the sentence which follows, the position of the word ὅπλα marks it as the emphatic word of the paragraph.

§ 31. ἐν ἀπειτήσειν] There is little force in the objections raised by Poppo to the presence of the particle ἀν. As usual, it indicates a suppressed condition, of which Kühner suggests the following as a probable form: εἴ μη ὑποτένυ τι ποιήσειν.

συγγενεῖ] It is possible that the term is used generally as an equivalent for συμπόλεμαι in reference to the fact that the Athenians had bestowed their franchise upon Sadocus, the son of Sitalcæ (cf. Thuc. II. 29 and Aristoph. Achar. 145). Krüger, however, suggests with greater probability that the allusion is to a tradition, discredited by Thucydides but still widely prevalent, that the Thracians were directly connected with the Athenians by the marriage of one of their former princes. Cf. Thuc. II. 29, Τήρει δὲ τῷ Πρόκκυν τὴν Παρδίωνος ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν σχόντι γυναίκα προσήκεν ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὔδεν ὡδε τῆς αὐτῆς Θράκης ἑγένοτο.

§ 32. Μελανδίται] On the assumption that we have the name in its correct form the tribe in question occupied a portion of the Sithonian peninsula.

ἐνδύσασθαι] A poetic use of the verb, for which Kühner compares Eur. Her. Eur. 34,

στάσει νοσοῦσαι τήν θέτεις πόλιν.

The collapse of the Odryssian dynasty is mentioned in connexion with the fortunes of Seuthes, because he and his father, as subject princes, were involved in its ruin.

§ 33. νεανίσκος] Cf. II. 1. 13, where I have commented on the word as restricted to persons between the ages of twenty-three and forty-one.

ἐνδιφρος] ἐν διφροις is the reading of three good MSS, and originated
no doubt in the transposition of the letters i and o. According to the best authorities it was the custom of the Thracians to sit at table instead of reclining on couches. Hence the force of the compound ἐνδιήροις as an equivalent for ὁμοτράπεζος, which is still more apparent when the adjective stands alone as in § 38. The infinitive δοῦναι depends by a very common idiom on the idea of supplication which is contained in the previous words, the combined phrase ἐκαθέζομην...ικέτης being practically equivalent to ἐκαθέζομην ἰκετεύων.

οὕτοισος ὑνινάτος ἐλεύθερον δοῦναι.

[§ 34. σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς] See note on II. 3. 23.
[§ 36. Κυλίκην] In the note to ἐπιστισθήσαμεν (vi. 2. 4) will be found a comparative estimate of the wages received by the Greek troops at the various stages of the expedition.

[§ 37. ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων] I have followed Kühner in retaining the manuscript reading ὑπὸ, though Vollbrecht, Macmichael and most of the leading editors have adopted ἀπὸ on the recommendation of Schäfer. That the alteration would be an improvement on the score of neatness and elegance, is, I think, unquestionable, but it can scarcely be called necessary when passages like the following can be quoted in defence of the present combination: Πανοικιάζων ὑπὸ ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (Thuc. i. 130), and τοσαύτης ἐπιτηδεύει τοῖς μικροῖς ὑπὸ τεως, ὅσης οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων (ἀντικρ. i. 11). Moreover, when we consider the force of the two prepositions, it may be questioned whether ἀπὸ is not distinctly the more appropriate of the two in connexion with the context, for, while φίλος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων denotes a 'panic inspired by the Lacedaemonians', φίλος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων is rather a 'terrorism initiated on the part of Lacedaemon'.

[§ 38. Ὁρακίῳ νόμῳ] Cf. Herod. v. 6, ὠνηνται (οἱ Θράκες) τὰς γυναικὰς παρὰ τῶν γονεῶν χρημάτων μεγάλων. That the practice in question was not confined to the Thracians is clear from Aristot. Pol. i. 11. 8, ἐνίδηποροφοροῦντο τε γὰρ οἱ Ἑλληνες καὶ τὰς γυναικὰς ἐνοπύντο παρ’ ἄλλως.

[Βιασθήν] It was situated on the Propontis to the north-west of Perinthus, and was originally colonised from Samos. Subsequently its name was changed to Rhaedestum or Rhaedestus, which survives in the modern Rodosto.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—6. Having exchanged pledges of friendship with Seuthes, the Greeks return to their camp. At daybreak a general meeting is summoned, at which all the troops appear with the exception of Neon and his division. In accordance with Xenophon's advice they determine to return for provisions before deciding between the propositions of Seuthes and Aristarchus.
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\textit{απῆλθανον} 'they rode away'.

\textit{ἐνὶ τῷ στρατοπεδῷ} The majority of the editors retain the article: Kühner omits it on the authority of two good MSS. It appears to me essential to the context for the reasons given in the note to \textit{παρὰ γῆν} (VI. 2. i). The force of the plural \textit{ἐκαστοι} has been explained in connexion with i. 1. 6.

§ 3. \textit{οὖτος δὲ αὐτῶς} Macmichael and the majority of the editors prefer \textit{οὖτος δὲ ὁ αὐτῶς} on the strength of some inferior MSS: Vollbrecht edits the same in the form of \textit{αὐτῶς—a crasis which, like \textit{ἀπὸ} in the previous chapter, may be at once rejected as out of keeping with the style of Xenophon. Even on internal grounds the reading of the text is, I think, to be preferred: for, while the phrase \textit{ὁ αὐτῶς} is little better than a weak addition, the word \textit{αὐτῶς}, as Kühner points out, emphasizes the antithesis between the \textit{direct} commands of Aristarchus and his \textit{indirect} opposition to their schemes in Asia.

\textit{διὰ τοῦ ἄρου ὅρους} See note on VII. i. 14. Whether the phrase \textit{κρατεῖν ὅρους} means simply to 'gain the mountain', as Macmichael understands it, or to 'surmount' and consequently to 'pass' it, which is the interpretation of Bornemann, is somewhat doubtful. The latter alternative is, I think, the more probable, if we compare the force of the verb \textit{superare} in Latin, and remember that in VII. i. 14 the mountain in question is regarded solely as an obstruction in the line of their march.

\textit{πωλῆσεων} in allusion to \textit{οὐκ ἐλάπτους τετρακοσίων ἀπέδωτο} (VII: 2. 6). \textit{ἐξαπατήσεσθαι} The middle used in a passive sense, as in Plat. \textit{Phaedr.} 262 a. The passage furnishes a notable example of the sudden transitions of subject on which we have so often commented: the verbs \textit{πωλῆσεων} and \textit{περίψεσθαι} referring to Aristarchus: \textit{ἐξαπατήσεσθαι} and \textit{λήψεσθαι} to the Greeks. There is, however, no need to complicate matters further by taking \textit{ἐξαπατήσεσθαι} in an active sense, as some of the editors have proposed to do.

§ 4. \textit{ἐκεῖνον} We should rather have expected \textit{αὐτόν}, but our author is not particular in observing the usual distinction (e.g. in I. 6. 6). Possibly too, as Kühner suggests, he employs \textit{ἐκεῖνον} in the present instance to mark more clearly the contrast between Seuthes and Aristarchus.

\textit{ἐνθάδε μενοντες} 'whether you will settle this point before you leave this place, or first of all go back in order to secure your supplies', i.e. \textit{εἰς κύμας...τῶν Ορακῶν τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον} (VII. 2. 1).

§ 5. \textit{οἱ ἤπτοι} (the inhabitants as) the weaker party'.

\textit{δὲ τι...δειται} The accusative is only indirectly connected with \textit{δειται}: 'for the service in which anyone requires our aid'. Cf. \textit{ἄλλο τι χρῆσθαι} (II. 1. 14), and \textit{τι βούλεται ἡμῶν χρῆσθαι} (I. 3. 18).

§ 6. \textit{τῷ ἤγουμενῳ} All the editors take this as a neuter, comparing II. 2. 4, II. 4. 26 and similar passages. Notwithstanding, I prefer to regard it as a masculine: 'follow the guidance of your general', since there are no special circumstances in the case before us which limit the word to its technical sense, nor, indeed, is the rendering in itself a very intelligible one. As an additional reason for understanding the sentence in the way which I propose, observe the words which immediately follow: \textit{μετὰ ταύτα Σενοφῶν μὲν ἤγειτο, οἱ δὲ εἰπόντο}. 
NOTES.

§§ 7—14. In the course of the march the troops are met by Néou and the representatives of Aristarchus, who attempt to divert them from their project. Later on, they encounter Suthes himself, who supplies them with provisions and persuades them to engage in his service.

citou] sc. ὁ Ἐρεμόφων.

§ 8. τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ] sc. Νέων δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ἀριστάρχου ᾿Αλλος, who are mentioned in the previous section. Schneider is unquestionably right in treating the article as masculine. On the other hand, Krüger understands it to mean the ‘proposals of the Lacedaemonian’, an explanation which would be natural enough if the phrase were less directly coupled with the personal pronoun σοῦ. Moreover, if the article were neuter, it is difficult to understand why it should have been omitted with the previous genitive.

§ 10. ᾿Αρκην] Compare the remarks on § 36, and, more particularly, on vi. 2. 4. In explanation of the words τὰ νομίζωσα, cf. vii. 2. 36, from which it appears that the λοχαγὸς received twice as much, and the στρατηγὸς four times as much, as the private soldier.

diastémein] Cf. vi. 6. 37.

§ 11. δίκειον καὶ μαστεῦν] The Thracians, as Zeune points out, reserved for themselves departments of this service because they were well supplied with cavalry, and had a special knowledge of the localities. The verb μαστεῦν, though chiefly confined to poetry, is employed repeatedly by Xenophon, e.g. in v. 6. 25.

§ 13. παντὸς αξία] ‘the offers of Suthes were worthy of all respect’. The phrase παντὸς αξία is understood thus by the majority of the editors: it is difficult, however, to see why it should not be taken in its simpler and more legitimate sense: ‘worth any price’, i.e. invaluable. With ἔτη in the clause which follows we must supply ὥσι from the previous paragraph.

evília] Cf. εὐρημα ἐποιησάμην (II. 3. 18), and the note which explains it.

§ 14. ἔπιστημηζέτω] Other readings are ἔπιστημηζέω and ἔπιστημηζέτε, while Krüger edits ἔπιστημηζέσθη, a conjectural emendation. Dindorf, Vollbrecht, Kühner and Macmichael are all in favour of ἔπιστημηζέτω, which has the authority of the two leading mss. The omission of the subject is common in the case of certain officials, whose duties were so well recognised as to be suggested in each case by the meaning of the verb. Accordingly, in III. 4. 4 the word σαλπιγκτής is omitted with ἔσημερε, and again with σημών in ii. 2. 4. It is possible that the responsibility of proposing the formal vote may have been purposely declined by Xenophon, so that no blame might attach to him in case the expedition should fail in its objects.

§§ 15—20. The officers in command of the Greek troops are invited by Suthes to a banquet. On their way to attend it they are met by an official, who advises them to conciliate by presents the favour of the prince.

§ 16. Μαρονεῖτης] Maronna was a Greek colony in Thrace, situated between Abdera and Doriscus. It is now called Maronia or Maronia.

εἰς ἐκάστῳ, οὖστιν] We may either understand τούτῳ before οὖστιν, or treat the construction as a species of partitive apposition,
of which we have had repeated illustrations in the converse form (e.g. ὅτα τὸ διὰ τὸν κακὸν μεστὸν ἃν τὸν θρήσκον τὰς τραπεζὰς εἰσφέρειν.

§ 17. ἀμενοῦ ὑμῖν διακείστηκα] Kühner suggests that we are to supply τοῦτο, sc. your gift. I think, however, that a more general word (e.g. τὰ πράγματα) will give an improved sense, and one more in keeping with the ordinary usage of the verb. Lit. ‘affairs will be better arranged for you’, i.e. you will find your position improved.

§ 18. τοιαύτα προμνάσθαι is to ‘court favours on another’s behalf’. ‘Pleased for Seuthes’ is the rendering of Macmichael, which loses in some degree the metaphor which is the chief characteristic of the verb.

§ 19. ὃσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ύμετέρων] It is supposed that Alcibiades in particular is meant from a comparison of the following authorities: Hell. II. 1. 25, Corn. Nep. Alloc. VII. 4, and Plut. Alloc. cap. 36.

§ 20. ὅσον ἐφάδιον Sub. ἐναι (as in the phrase ὅσον μὴν γείσασθαι in § 23) rather than ἦ, which is suggested as an alternative. Kühner compares VII. 8. 19, ἔχωτες πρόβατα ὅσον βύματα. §§ 21—33. An account of the banquet. The Greeks present their offerings to Seuthes. After a short speech from Xenophon, the Thracians entertain their guests with dancing and music.

τράπεζαι] sc. mensae tricodes. Cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 1216,

ὡρων κατὰ χειρὸς τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρειν.

ὁτα δ’ ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστοὶ] A considerable number of the inferior mss give the following reading: ὁτα δ’ ὅσον εἰκοσι κρεῶν μεστοῖ, which Krüger alone is in favour of retaining. The other editors regard the verb ἦσαν as an essential part of the construction. But, if the reading in question were supported by stronger manuscript authority, the omission of the verb would scarcely form an insuperable difficulty: indeed, the statement would gain considerably in force by being placed in apposition, as in the well-known phrases καὶ ταύτα τὴν θυλακίοντος (Soph. Elec. 614), and καὶ ταύτα πρὸς γυναικός (Aesch. Eum. 627).

ἀρτοὶ κεφυτῆς] ‘loaves of leavened bread’. The custom alluded to in the word προσπεπερογμένοι (‘attached by skewers’) still survives in Turkey and other eastern nations.

§ 22. κατὰ τοὺς ξένους] ‘in front of their guests’. See note on κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας (1. 8. 21). The word τράπεζαι is something more than a mere equivalent for τράπεζαι in the previous section, as Hutchinson shews by comparing Poll. ὸνομ. VI. 84. τραπέζας δὲ ἐκάλουν καὶ τὰ στιλά τὰ ὦν αὐτῶν τιθέμενα.

Σεῦθης’ (καὶ) ἀνελόμενος] The word καὶ is omitted by Vollbrecht and Macmichael, which is the simplest and most natural emendation of a difficult passage. By this slight alteration the sentence commencing with the participle ἀνελόμενος takes its proper place as an explanation of the pronoun τοῦτο, and the connecting particle is therefore dispensed.
with in accordance with the general rule. Cf. Soph. Trach. \textit{vii.} 351 and 900. Kühner, while admitting that the pronoun can only refer to what follows, still retains the kai as an ‘explanatory particle’, a suggestion which is somewhat suspiciously adapted to meet the requirements of the present passage.

\textsection{23. \textit{elai xαλρειν}}] ‘neglected it’, ‘would have none of it’. For the phrase \textit{δον πρεχολκων}, cf. \textit{δον εξακασιοι} (1. 8. 6), and a doubtful reading \textit{δον είκοσι} in \textsection{21.}

\textsection{28. \textit{'ινα καί εγώ...εχω} [‘so that I for instance...’. Observe the transition from a purely general statement to the particular case which the speaker has in view.

\textsection{29. \textit{τι πονήσει}]} So Kühner and Vollbrecht with the two leading MSS: Macrimal on the other hand retains the optative \textit{πονήσοι}, a mood which, as Kühner points out, cannot correctly be used in the future to express doubt or hesitation in regard to a coming event.

\textsection{30. \textit{υπωπεωκως}} ‘was somewhat far gone in his cups’. See note on \textit{υπέραυε} in II. 4. 7 and again in IV. 2. 7.

\textsection{31. \textit{προείμενο}}] All the commentators without exception understand this participle in an absolute sense, regarding it as a mere equivalent for the fuller phrase \textit{προείμενοι εαυτούς}. I can find, however, no passage which in the least degree warrants this explanation: the verb being usually constructed with a simple accusative (e.g. \textit{ερανοι} in Thuc. II. 43, \textit{εφεργεσιαν} in Plat. Gorg. 520 c), for which a participial clause is sometimes substituted (e.g. \textit{ημας προεσθαι αδικουμένους} in Thuc. II. 73), and occasionally an explanatory infinitive such as frequently follows the verb \textit{παρέχειν}. Of this latter construction we have an example in Lys. 130 ad \textit{μιν} (\textit{αγεν προεσθαι}). Dealing with the present passage on the same principle, I should connect the verbs \textit{πονείν} and \textit{προκυνωνείν} with the participle \textit{προείμενοι}, treating \textit{εδολοντε} as an independent adjunct: ‘nay, they freely dedicate to you the service of labouring on your behalf with a ready will’.

\textit{πολλήν χωραν την μεν ..την δε} For the construction, see note on VI. 4. 3 (\textit{χωριον, το μεν...ο δε αυχην}).

\textsection{32. \textit{συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετ’ αυτοι το κέρας}} ‘and, simultaneously with Xenophon, emptied what was left in the beaker upon his person’. The custom in question is referred to by Plato as follows in Legg. I. 637 E: \textit{Σκύθαι δε και Θράκες ἀκράτω παντάπασι χρώμενοι γυναίκες τε και αὐτοί και κατα τῶν ἱματίων καταχεομενοι καλὸν καὶ εὔδαιμον ἐπιτηδεύμα ἐπιτηδεύον νεομικαία}. In determining the reading of the passage before us, our choice practically lies between Kühner’s text, which I have adopted in the present edition, and that of Dindorf and Vollbrecht which stands thus: \textit{κατεσκεδάσατο μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κέρας}. The objections to the former reading are, as a rule, based upon the ground that it implies the participation of Xenophon in a custom of which, as a stranger, he was presumably ignorant. We must remember, however, that the compound \textit{συγκατεσκεδάσατο}, which is practically decisive on the point, appears in five leading MSS, and in a transcript of the passage contained in Athenaeus, while we shall hardly be rash in supposing that Xenophon may have had prior intimation of the ceremonies to be observed at the feast.
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εἰσήλθον] Sub. ἀνδρεῖς or ἑτέρες, either of which may be supplied from the participle αὐλοῦντες. ὀφεῖ οὐμαίνουσιν, 'of the kind used for giving signals in war'.

ῥυθμός τε καὶ οἶνον μαγάδι σαλπίζουντες 'playing tunes with their trumpets and airs like those which are produced by the harp'. According to the best authorities, the magadis was a three-cornered instrument, like a harp, with twenty strings arranged in octaves.

§ 33. ἀνένεκχαγέ τε πολεμικόν] 'raised a war-cry'.

§§ 34—end. At the close of the entertainment watches are set for the night, and Scourus calls a meeting of the Greek officers to whom he proposes an immediate attack upon his foes before they should gain information of his new alliance. Having adopted the suggestions of Xenophon as to the disposition of his troops, he commences his march upon the enemy at midnight, surprising them in their villages and securing an easy victory.

παραγγέλλαι δὴς ἠτεῖς ἀνένεκχαγέ] The construction is analogous to that of παρασκευάζειν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὑπόσ in combination with a future indicative, for which see note on 1. 1. 4. In both cases attention is drawn to the method rather than to the purpose of the action—to the character of the order rather than the object which it contemplates.

ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν] Observe the transition to the direct narration, and consult the note on § 28. The best editors all concur in this reading, in place of ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, which is found in the inferior MSS, though the latter, understood as follows, presents a very intelligible sense: 'for our enemies are of Thracian descent, and so likewise are our our friends'. Of the various interpretations which have been proposed of the reading in the text, I much prefer Dindorf's: 'for your enemies are of Thracian descent, and so likewise are our friends'. In either case, the motive for the order is equally clear, since, in the event of an attack by night, the friendly Thracians in the Greek camp might easily have been mistaken for foes.

§ 35. οὐκἐν ἐτι] This adverbial use of οὐδὲν, on which we have recently commented, occurs again in vii. 6. 26.

ἀποκαλέσας] metamasterias or metamastertaneôs is the more usual verb in this connexion, ἀποκαλεῖν being rarely found except in the secondary sense of 'reviling' (e.g. in Mem. 1. 2. 57).

§ 37. εἰπερ νυκτὸς πορειασθένη] For the special force of εἰπερ, see note on vi. 1. 26. In brief, it states the case as an assumption, while εἰþερ states it as a fact. The sentence is an inelegant one owing to the juxtaposition of εἰπερ...εἰ, for which, however, compare III. 2. 31 (ὥν ἐν ἱερί ἄπειδη, ἡν ἡφισιοσθεῖ), and other similar passages to which I have called attention in the introduction. Exception may likewise be taken to the use of εἰ for ὅτι in this and similar cases (e.g. in III. 2. 22) on the score of ambiguity—a difficulty which Thucydides and the best authors have studiously avoided by employing it only 'in combinations which either fix or restrict the application. For example, in III. 2. 17, where the same idiom is repeated, it will be found that the introduction of the negative in the previous clause relieves the sentence of any chance of misconstruction.

ἡγεῖται] The nominative is to be sought for in what follows: 'that
portion of the army leads which in each particular case may be best adapted to the requirements of the country'. In III. 4 §§ 18—23 a still more elaborate arrangement of the troops is devised for the purpose of securing a close and compact order during the march through an enemy's country.

περπιστονων ἀλληλοις] 'fall foul of one another'. The verb is a favourite one with Herodotus and Thucydides (e.g. Herod. viii. 16. 89, Thuc. ii. 65) for describing the confusion caused in a sea-fight by cumbrous or badly-maneuvred vessels.

§ 39. εἰπω] sc. Seuthes and Xenophon: indeed, the other nominatives which have been proposed (e.g. the Thracians, as Macmichael suggests, or Seuthes and the generals, which is Vollbrecht's explanation) are, I think, entirely out of keeping with the context.

κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν] 'in token of the affinity between them'. The form Ἀθηναῖαν is in the main a poetic one, occurring most frequently in Aristophanes (e.g. in Av. 1652, Equis. 760), but used also by Plato in Luthyl. p. 82. 12. In the present instance it appears in three out of the five leading mss, and is very clearly suggested in all the remainder.

§ 41. καὶ σὺν δλήγως πορεύόμενοι] 'even when he had been marching with a small company'.

σκεψάμενος τι νῦν] 'I will reconnoitre the country, and be back anon'. For the force of εἰπ... ἤγομενα, see note on ἤν δυναμένη (II. 2. 13).

§ 44. καταιδὼν] The force of the compound is less certain than in I. 8. 26 and IV. 3. 11, though the usual rendering ('having described the villages') is by no means inappropriate in connexion with the context. It is possible, however, that the addition of the words εἰπ τοῖς δκοῖς may be a reason for understanding the preposition in its primary sense: 'having looked down upon the villages'.

καταιδέτων] Exegetical: 'to gallop down into the plain'.

§ 46. τοῦς εἰς προάκοντα ἐπὶ] Of all the passages which have been quoted in confirmation of the theory that Xenophon at the present time can have been little more than thirty years of age, the one before us is perhaps the strongest and the most conclusive.

ἔπροχαξε] Though repeatedly used by Xenophon, and once, at any rate, by Herodotus (ix. 66), the verb προχάξεων is discountenanced in prose by the pure Atticists. Cf. Lob. Phrygiu. 582, and Bek. Anecd. Gr. προχάξεως οὔ̣ φασι δεῖν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πρέπειν.

§ 47. τάδε δὴ... & σὺ ἐλεγεῖς] There is considerable difficulty in determining the particular speech of Xenophon to which this passage refers. The best authorities discover in the words ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐρμοῦ κ.τ.λ. an allusion to the advice tendered by Xenophon in §§ 37 and 38. But in neither of these sections do we find any statement that altogether justifies this explanation, though they contain, it is true, a general warning against the dangers to which troops are exposed by dispersion and isolation. Still less satisfactory is the suggestion offered by Bornemann, that the words ἔχονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι contain the point of the allusion, the subject of which may, he thinks, be found in the casual prediction of success mentioned in § 31: πολλοῖς δὲ ἔπους, πολλοῖς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας κατακτήσων.
"alld αγρ] = at enim. See note on III. 2. 25.
Ερήμου] 'alone', 'unprotected', nor is there any warrant for taking
the adjective in an active sense, as some of the editors have suggested
in consideration of the context. Cf. Ερήμου άμαξα in II. 1. 4, έρήμη
πολις in I. 5. 4 and the more difficult expression σταθμόυς έρήμους in
II. 4. 27. In ἀλλος ἀλλη δώκων we have another instance of partitive
apposition (cf. II. 1. 15), while μοι is an ethic dative, like αυτῷ in
the following sentence: οὔτω μείν εἰς Σάρδεις αυτῷ άφικοντο (1. 2. 4).
§ 48. σωφρισθησαι] This plural does not necessarily come under
the same category with ἔσεαι δε ταύτα (I. 4. 4), and the passages on
which I have commented in the introduction. Not only is the masculi-
line βόες included among the subjects to which it refers, but the sub-
stantive ἀνδράπωδα is in itself equivalent to a masculine noun.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—6. Sceuthes burns the captured villages, and forwars the
plunder to Perinthus to be disposed of by sale. Severity of a Thracian
winter. The dress of the inhabitants. A message is sent to the mountain
tribes requiring their submission. Those who refuse are attacked in
their villages, and all who are captured are slain.
οὶ πείσονται] Observe the transition of mood, and compare by way
of illustration ὅ τι χρη ποιεῖν in II. 1. 2.
§ 2. διατίθεσθαι] Cf. vi. 6. 37. The infinitive is equivalent in sense
to δοτε διατιθεσθαι, and is added on the same principle as καταβείν, on
which we commented in § 44 of the previous chapter. It will be
observed that the true order of the words is as follows: ἀπέτεμψε
Πρακλείδην εἰς Πέρινθον διατίθεσθαι την λέιαν, though the accusative
λειαν, as the emphatic word, is used to introduce the sentence.
ἀνά το Θυνών πεδίον] This particular preposition is used as being
the most general and indefinite of all those which are employed to denote
locality. Cf. ἀνά δήμων (Hom. II. II. 144), ἀνά σκότων 'amid the gloom'
(Thuc. VII. 44). The accusative πεδίον must be supplied anew with
ἐκλιτόντες in the following sentence.
§ 3. οὔτως] To be taken independently: 'cold to such an extent,
of such severity': a construction which is exactly reproduced in Thuc.
III. 81, οὔτως ὥμη στάδες προϊδώρησε, 'to such lengths did cruel sedition
go', where some of the editors have been led into the mistake of
connecting οὔτως with the adjective, taking no account of the omission
of the article.
ὁ οὖν ἐν τοίς ἀγγελοις] Cf. Verg. Georg. III. 364, caeduntque secu-
ribus humida vina.
Pellibus et sitis arcent mala frigora braccis,
Oraque de toto corpore sola patent.
ζείμαι] The ζείμαι or σείμαι (for the word appears in both forms) is
supposed by the best authorities to have been a long cloak, which dif-
f ered from the Greek chlamys mainly in the fact that it covered the feet
of the wearer, and was fastened round the loins instead of round the neck. It is mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 69) as forming part of the Arab costume.

§ 5. τῶν αἰχμαλώτων] A partitive genitive, like σταθμῶν in 1. 5. 7.

ὅτι...ὅτι] The repetition is inelegant, and, as I have noticed in the introduction, betrays a careless and inartistic style. But the reappearance of the construction in this particular book is important, for, viewed in connexion with its occurrence in earlier portions of the work (e.g. ii. 2. 17 and v. 6. 19), it supplies a strong argument in support of the theory that the entire Anabasis, in the form in which we possess it, was in fact the work of one hand.

τῷ λυμῷ] The force of the article is probably what Kühner suggests: 'they would die by the famine that would ensue'.

υπὸ τοῦ ὄρους] An accusative of extension, of which we have had repeated examples in connexion with παρά and ἐπί.

§§ 7—10. An episode in the campaign.

Ἐνθεθέντι...Ὁλύνθιοι] To judge from a notice in i. 2. 6, it is probable that Episthenes joined the army in the train of Menon, the Thessalian.

§ 8. λόχον ποτὲ συνελέγατο] It will be remembered that the famous company of Epaminondas, called the ἰερὸς λόχος, consisting of 600 men, was enrolled on a somewhat similar principle.

§ 10. αὐτῶν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου] We should naturally have expected ἀντὶ ἐκεῖνος, nor does the passage quoted by Kühner in illustration of the text from iv. 3. 20 (καὶ Χερίσσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ) present the irregularity in so striking a form, because the clearness of the statement, which comes directly from the author, precludes any possibility of misconstruction. Other examples of this usage will be found in the introduction, notably one from ii. 5. 38, αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἶναι φήσαι ἐπεὶ περὶ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δοῦλον.

§§ 11—15. The troops encamp in the neighbourhood: Seuthes and his followers going down to the plain, while the inhabitants of the mountains are held in check by Xenophon and the Greeks. Under cover of desiring a truce, the enemy make their preparations, and attack the camp by night.

ὁρέλοις καλομένοις] 'the Highlanders, as they are called'. Similarly, the Athenians of old were subdivided into the Pedieans, Paralians and Diacrians: the last-named tribe being the inhabitants of the uplands, and their title (ὅι ἄκριας) synonymous with ὄρειοι in the text.

§ 12. καὶ...διεπράττοντο] The conjunction in this idiom has the force of 'when'. Compare the opening sentence of ii. 1. 7.

σκηνῶν] This form is either read or suggested in the five leading MSS: σκηνῶν in two inferior ones. In commenting upon the text Kühner notices that Xenophon uses indifferently all the three forms σκηνῶν, σκηνῶν and σκηνῶν.

ἐν ἑγυρίοις ἐν χωρίοις] The present is one of the few instances in which the reading of the two leading MSS is discredited by Kühner, the word ἑτέρους, which they exhibit in place of ἑγυρίοις, being unquestiona-
ably weak in the extreme. I am inclined, however, to follow them as regards the omission of the word ἀν before χαρίας, which, though forcible enough in position, is certainly not essential to the construction, and damages, moreover, the rhythm of the sentence. It is omitted by Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors, but retained by Kühner.

στεγνοῖς ὦστε ἀπολέσθαι] 'under cover, but at the risk of their lives'. The clause ὦστε ἀπολέσθαι limits or qualifies the adjective στεγνοῖς. This explanation of the construction appears to me simpler and more natural than the one proposed by Macmichael: μάλλον ἦ ἐν τοῖς στεγνοῖς (ὡς ὄντως αὐλιθεσθαι) ὦστε ἀπολέσθαι.

§ 13. κατασκοπής ἐνεκα] 'as an excuse for spying out the camp'.

For the force of ἁρὰ, cf. IV. 2. 15.

§ 14. μεγάλοις σταυροῖς] 'a strong palisade'. As in IV. 5. 14 and other passages, καί γὰρ confirms the statement and gives the reason: the entrance through the stockade being difficult of access except to one acquainted with it like the master of the house.

§ 15. ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας] 'found themselves at the doors'. It is strange how persistently Kühner follows up his original error in regard to the force and interpretation of this preposition. See note on I. 10. 6. In the present instance he discovers a special force in the verb γένεσθαι to justify the idea of motion which he finds in the preposition.

ἐφασων] The nominative to ἐφασων is understood by Kühner and others to be the Thracians who are conducting the attack. Interpreted thus as a formal declaration of their purpose, the statement becomes singularly feeble and pointless, and I prefer to understand it more generally of the reports circulated by the captives and others: 'which, it was said, these tribes carried with them for the purpose of breaking off the spear-points from the shafts'. Cf. ἔλεγον in VII. 5. 13.

§§ 16—end. Being defeated by the Greeks with great loss, and finding that the success of Scuthes is followed by offers of help on the part of the adjoining tribes, the enemy tender their submission, which is accepted in accordance with Xenophon's advice.

Μακέστιος] Macedus (or Macistus, as the name is commonly spelt) was a town in the Triphian district of Elis, not far from Scillus. It is now called Moskitza. Why Silanus obtains the honour of this mention is not clear. Possibly, as Macmichael suggests, because he was well known in the immediate neighbourhood of Scillus, where our author in all probability compiled his account of the Retreat. Schneider considers that he is noticed only on account of his extreme youth; others, on account of the presence of mind which he displayed at this particular crisis.

ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ἡφη] The construction is usually regarded as analogous to that of ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμια in v. 4. 32. More probably, it is only another instance of the passive employed as a middle, examples of which have been noticed in I. 3. 10, IV. 7. 1, while a still more remarkable case occurs in Dem. adv. Androt. 617, ὡς τοῖν ἄνελων τὰ τῆς δέξης κτήματα, τὰ τοῦ πλούτου πεποίηται μικρὰ καὶ ὀξύ ύμων ἄξια.

§ 17. περιβαλλόμενοι] Krüger explains the participle as equivalent
to *περιδοῦντες*. That the shield was by some means fastened to the back is clear, if only from the statement which follows: *κρεμασθέντες ἑνεχομένων τῶν πελτῶν τοῖς σταυροῖς.*

§ 18. *τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν καλομένην*] 'discharged their javelins out of the darkness and into the light at those who were hurrying past some house that was in flames'. There is considerable doubt as to the true reading of the proper names which follow. The word *Εὐδέα* is a strange and improbable one, whether it stands alone (as in Kühner's text), or whether we connect it with *Ιερώνυμον* by omitting the *καὶ*, as Dindorf and Vollbrecht have suggested. Other passages, as Kühner points out, describe Hieronymus as an inhabitant of Elis. It is therefore not improbable that the word *Εὐδέα* contains in a corrupt form some reference to his native town, like *Λοκρῶν* which follows with the second name.

§ 19. *τοῖς πρώτοις*] 'the first he could muster'. The verb ἠσθένετο refers to the first intelligence which he received of the danger that threatened the Greeks.

§ 20. *αὐτῶν ἅσσαι*] sc. στρατευσθαί.

§ 24. *ἄλλη ἓγωγε...νομίζω*] See note on II. 1. 4. The phrase δίκην ἐχειν means to ‘have satisfaction’. Cf. ἐχω παρὰ σειν πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην in Herod. 1. 45. As Sturz points out, the construction would have necessitated the addition of αὐτοῦς or τοῦτος, if δίκην ἐχειν were equivalent to *τινὶ τι* as in II. 5. 38.

οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτης πάντες] 'all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood'.

**CHAPTER V.**

§§ 1—6. *The Greeks cross over into the Delta, where Heracleides joins them with the money obtained by the sale of the plunder. The amount proving insufficient for the pay of the soldiers, Xenophon lays the blame on Heracleides who becomes in consequence his bitter enemy.*

*eis τὸ Δῆλτα καλομένον*] See note on VII. 1. 33.

οὐκέτι ἄρχη Μασάδου] 'was not from this point comprised in the kingdom of Maesades'. It is clear from this statement, as Macmichael points out, that the Greeks had already effected their object in recovering for Seuthes the power which had been held by his father Maesades. The Delta, which they were now entering, had not formed a part of the empire in question, and was consequently not included in their arrangement with Seuthes, although at some former period it had been governed by one of his ancestors. Such, in brief, appears to be the meaning of this difficult passage, from which Krüger proposes to eliminate the words ἄρχαίον τινός on the supposition that they originated in a gloss. Whether we understand the Teres of the present text to be the prince of that name mentioned in VII. 2. 22, or an earlier representative of the same family, is comparatively of trifling import. I am inclined, however, to regard them as identical, for, in a purely general allusion like the present, the word ἄρχαίον is a fair equivalent for the more precise term προγόνος which appears in the earlier passage.

§ 3. *καὶ αὖθις*] 'even later on', 'even at some future time'. For the force of αὖθις, cf. V. 4. 20.

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§ 4. καὶ τῶν ζευγών] sc. τῶν ἤμιοικῶν, which Krüger has needlessly introduced into the text, since the substantive, when it stands alone, would naturally bear this meaning, independently of the contrast which is implied in the words which follow: τὰ δὲ βοεικὰ ζευγγυ.

οὗ πλείου εὑπολήσατ' 'he had not sold more of the spoil' is the rendering preferred by Kühner, and the majority of the editors: indeed, the former authority expressly objects to the more convenient interpretation, on the ground, apparently, that it would require a genitive of the price. I cannot myself see the force of the objection, as εὑπολῶν does not so much denote the simple act of sale, as the profit that is made by the transaction, and in this sense may fairly be followed by a direct accusative: 'he had only made that amount by his trading'.

§ 5. προσδανείσαμενος] 'even though you had borrowed the extra sum'.

§§ 7—11. The anger of all is turned upon Xenophon—his own troops being ingignant with him for not securing their pay, and Senteus for the persistency with which he advocates their claims. Under these circumstances, it is proposed to continue the campaign without him. His officers, however, meet this proposition with a direct refusal, and it was not till Xenophon had been consulted and his consent obtained that the armies continue their march.

§ 8. ὣσ...παραδώσει] The infinitive appears in two good mss, and is retained by Kühner and Vollbrecht, while the indicative παραδώσει has excellent manuscript authority, and is on all accounts far preferable to παραδώσων, which is the remaining alternative. In defence of the reading παραδώσεων Kühner instances the following passage in III. 1. 9, εἰπὲ δὲ δὴ τα...ἀποτέμψεν, where, however, he himself edits ἀποτέμψει, declining to follow Bornemann, who, on the strength of the leading ms, prefers the infinitive. Under these circumstances, and finding that Kühner himself has declared for the indicative in the parallel passage, I have decided to retain it in both cases, though it would be quite possible to defend the infinitive, if necessary, on the analogy of ἥδειν δὲ τῷ ὀλίγων ἔχοντας in III. 1. 20, and other mixed constructions like those we have already noticed in VI. 1. 23, VI. 4. 18, and especially Soph. Trach. 1238,

ἀνὴρ δῆ᾽ ὡς ἔοκεν οὐ νεμεῖν ἐμοὶ
φθίνοντι μοιραν.

Βισάνθην] See note on VII. 2. 38. Ganus (the name of which remains unchanged) was situated on the Propontis to the south of Bisanthe: Neontichus, between Ganus and Selybria in the immediate neighbourhood of the former town. Bisanthe and Neontichus were among the places appropriated to Alcibiades, a transaction which has already been alluded to in connexion with VII. 3. 19.

τοῦτο διαβεβλήκει] 'had insinuated this to his prejudice'.

§ 9. ἐτὶ ἄνω] 'still further inland'.

ἀλήγων ἡμερῶν] See note on σταθμῶν in II. 2. 11, and δέκα ἡμερῶν in I. 7. 18. All the mss, with the exception of the one which stands first in authority, exhibit the word ἐντὸς before ἡμερῶν, though it is omitted or bracketed by Kühner and the majority of the editors as an evident interpolation. Vollbrecht, on the contrary, retains it: nor can I
myself appreciate the reasons which have led to its rejection. The juxtaposition of another and a differently constructed genitive (δονοῦ 
μηνοῦ) may have induced the author to add the preposition for the sake of clearness, though this same probability might, I know, be made use of to account for its interpolation.

§ 11. πανωργίαν 'knavery', 'cunning'. The equivalent in Latin is malitia, which, together with the corresponding adjective, is regularly employed in this sense by the Roman comedians, and also by Cicero, e.g. in the opening chapter of the Or. pro Caeccina.

§§ 12—end. The combined forces arrive at Salmydessus. An account of the wreckers who occupy the coast. Having effected their purpose, the troops return, and form a camp in the neighbourhood of Selybria. The discord between Seuthes and Xenophon increases, as also the discontent of the soldiers at the deficiency of their pay.

Μελιγοφάγοι] 'millet-eaters'. A tribe which inhabited the eastern portion of the Little Balkhan range, identical, apparently, with the Asti of Strabo (vii. 442), and of Pliny (iv. 18). Salmydessus or 'Αλμυ-
δοσός, as it is given by the later writers, was the name which dis-
tinguished a long range of coast extending from the promontory of
Thynias to the mouth of the Bosporus. The city itself (now called
Midyia) was situated just below the above-mentioned promontory. For the bad reputation in which the locality was held, cf. Aesch. Prom.
Vinct. 726,

τραχεία πόντου Σαλμυδοσίᾳ γνάθος
ἐκθρόζενος ναβαται, μητρυὰ νεὼν.

déllōn]. The verb is used indifferently in a transitive and intrans-
sitive sense. For the former, cf. Aesch. Suppl. 438,
kal δή πέφρασμαι: δεῦρο δ' ἔξοκέλλεται.

§ 13. στήλας δρισάμενοι] The expedient suggests comparison with the custom so frequently cited in Demosthenes (e.g. in § 876, 9) of setting up ὅροι (elsewhere described as στήλαι) to define the boundaries of a mortgaged property.

ἐκαστοι] See note on II. 2. 17. The verb ἐλεγον in this connexion (for which ἐλέγοντο is read in the inferior mss) is, in point of force and construction, very nearly akin to ἐφασαν in vii. 4. 15. As in the former case, the omission of a special nominative accords well with the vague and indefinite character of the statement, a device which has been modernised by the French in their phrase on dit. Similarly, and for the same reason, we find the nominative omitted with ἐφασκε in vi. 114 of the Oedipus Tyrannus:—

θεωρός, ὡς ἐφασκεν, ἐκθημέων, τάλων
πρός οἶκον οὐκ ἔθ' ἴκεθ', ὡς ἀπεστάλη.

§ 14. βιβλίοι γεγραμμέναι] The word γεγραμμέναι, which is added (or suggested by the form γεγραμμένοι) in the five leading mss, can only refer to written documents. It is consequently retained in this sense by Kühner, Vollbrecht, Krüger and Macmichael, though the last-named authority has enclosed it in brackets. Zeune and Weiske omit the
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participle altogether, and understand βιβλία to mean either paper or rolls of bark, while Larcher proposes to alter the reading into πολλὰ δὲ βιβλία, which would signify cordage or cables. Krüger finds no difficulty in the text on the ground that books were by this time plentiful in Greece, and would naturally have made their way into the colonies.

τευχεα] ‘cases’ or ‘boxes’. It is not clear why this explanation is added; possibly, as indicating the value of the MSS rather than to account for their floating ashore, which is the suggestion of some of the commentators.

§ 15. οἱ ἀεὶ πειθόμενοι] ‘those who, as time went on, gave in their submission’.

§ 16. ὀποτε...έλθαν] a frequentative optative.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1—6. Commissioners arrive at the camp with a message from Thibron requiring the cooperation of the Greek troops in a campaign against Tissaphernes. Heracleides recommends Scutus to take advantage of the opportunity for dismissing his allies. The commissioners are hospitably entertained, and, in accordance with the advice of Heracleides, determine to ignore the presence of Xenophon and to address themselves directly to the troops.

Θιβρων] Both Θιβρων and Θιβρων are recognised forms of the name, the latter occurring most frequently in the Anabasis, while in the Hellenics the former is, by Poppo’s account, invariably used. He had been sent out by the Lacedaemonians as harmost with a force of 4500 men.

στρατευεθαι εἰς Τισσαφέρνην] The campaign was undertaken at the instance of the Asiatic Greeks, against whom Tissaphernes was meditating vengeance for the favour they had shewn to Cyrus and his followers.

§ 2. εἰς τὸ στρατεύμα] ‘to fetch the army’. Cf. εἰς τὸν Κέρ-
βερον in VI. 2. 2.

καλλιστὸν γεγένηται] ‘that it was a most fortunate occurrence’.

§ 3. φίλος τε] It is only on rare occasions that we find the word τε used, as in the passage before us, to couple two clauses of a sentence. In 1. 9. 5, however, we have noticed another example: τοῖς τε προσβοντέροις ... (ἐξόχει) μάλλον πείθεθαί, though it reads more awkwardly in the present passage owing to the juxtaposition of καλ, with which, at first sight, one might be tempted to connect it.

ἐπὶ ξενία] which is the ordinary reading, is retained by Vollbrecht, Krüger and other good editors, while ἐπὶ ξενία is preferred by Kühner, Hutchinson and Macmichael on the authority of the leading MS. I have myself adopted the former reading because the phrase ἐπὶ ξενία καλεῖν is found repeatedly both in inscriptions and elsewhere, while it appears to be extremely doubtful whether ἐπὶ ξενία καλεῖν without some qualifying adjunct can bear the sense which is required by the context. On the assumption that the phrase ἐπὶ ξενία had become practically equivalent to ξενίως or φιλίως, we may be prepared to accept the ex-
preission ἐπὶ ἔνθλα ἐδέχοντο αὐτῶς in VI. 1. 2 as complete in itself without admitting that it justifies so bald a combination as ἐπὶ ἔνθλα καλεῖν.

§ 4. ἵππον ἐστίν αὐτῷ] ‘it fares worse with him’. The statement is noticed and explained in § 39 of the present chapter. In the question which follows, the words ἀλλ' ἦν, by which it is introduced, are equivalent in force to the Latin an ergo. The verb δημαγωγεῖν is hardly ever used except in reference to persons who court popularity by unfair and unprincipled schemes. Cf. Aristoph. Ran. 419, Aristot. Pol. v. II. 33.

§ 5. ἄρ ποιον...μήν = ὑμνέε, inasmuch as it suggests a negative reply, but implies at the same time an apprehension as to the result: ‘you do not think that he will oppose us, will he?’ The omission of the preposition περὶ before τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς, which is authorised by three of the leading MSS, and by the majority of the editors with the exception of Dindorf, Bornemann and Macmichael, need occasion us no real difficulty. Instances of the same construction are common in poetry (e.g. in Soph. Trach. 928 and 1122), in addition to which Poppo quotes an exactly parallel passage from Thuc. I. 136: ἔκεισ τρεῖσ τινος ἐναντιώθησα. In the other cases to which Kühner refers the peculiarity is less strikingly marked owing to the employment in each instance of the verbs ἀμφισβητεῖν or ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, the formation of which would sufficiently account for the genitive.

ἀλλ' ἦν ὑμεῖς] The force of ἀλλὰ has been explained in the note on II. 1. 20.

προσχόντες] sc. τὸν νοῦν, as in II. 4. 2. There is some doubt as to the spelling of the participle. Hermann and others would double the sigma (e.g. in Soph. Oed. Tyr. 79), while Elmsley and Lobeck prefer the form adopted in the text.

§§ 7—38. Accordingly on the morrow the commissioners are introduced to the army. After a short speech from the former, an Arcadian rises and accuses Xenophon of having enriched himself at the expense of the troops. The accusation is supported by other speakers. Xenophon makes his defence.

§ 8. ἐν ἐπηκόω] See note on II. 5. 38.

§ 9. καὶ πάλαι ἀν ἦμεν παρ' ὑμῖν] Cf. Soph. Trach. 86,

ἀλλ' εἴμι, μὴντε' εἰ δὲ θεσφάτων ἐγώ

βάζων κατήδη τῶνδε, κἂν πάλαι παρῆ.

πεταύμεθα] ‘we have in no wise ceased’: ὀυδὲν, which is by construction an accusative of respect, being used adverbially as in VI. 6. 12. Kühner, Dindorf, Poppo and Vollbrecht have adopted the reading of the text, which appears in all the MSS without the slightest trace of a variant. A large number of the remaining editors have accepted the conjecture πεταύμεθα, being in doubt, apparently, as to the adverbial use of ὀυδὲν in this connexion, a subject on which I have already commented in the note to VI. 6. 12. It is clear, however, that, in the case of the present author, no weight can be attached to this objection, as precisely the same construction has been met with in IV. 4. 10, ὀυδὲν επαισάμενο δι' ὁλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους, to which we may add the phrase ὀυδὲν ἄχθεοςθαι, which occurs only a few lines below.
In the passage before us the former of the two negatives is omitted by all the MSS with the exception of five. I cannot at all agree with Kühner that this change is admissible without damage to the construction merely because οὗτος follows; on the contrary, if either of the two were to be condemned as superfluous, it would unquestionably be the latter.

§ 12. ὥθεν] in reference to Perinthus.


εἰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ αὐτὸν] 'on the assumption that I do praise him'. This transition to the indicative mood (for which cf. v. 6. 12) is an effective device for giving greater reality to the hypothesis in question.

περὶ ὅν] In his note to the passage Kühner suggests that περὶ ὅν may be equivalent either to περὶ τούτων περὶ ὅν or περὶ τούτων ἀ διαφέρωμα. A third alternative is possible, and one which is simpler and more effective: i.e. to understand the relative as a masculine, and refer it directly to ὕμων, 'on whose account (i.e. for the protection of whose interests) I am incurring his dislike'.

§ 16. τεχνάζειν] 'that it is possible for me to have received what is due to you from Seuthes, and to be practising an artifice'. In the sentence which follows, the majority of the MSS introduce δὲι before εἰπέρ, which is retained by Macmichael and a considerable number of the editors, but omitted by Kühner and Vollbrecht on the authority of four good MSS. The question must virtually be decided by the external
evidence, as the omission of ὅτι has simply the effect of making οὐκ οὗτος ἔτελει κ. τ. λ. a principal instead of a dependent clause—the words οὐκόν δὴν τοῦτο γέ ἐστιν becoming thereby independent of the construction, like οὕτως in the passage quoted by Kühner from v. 8. 22, ὁμοίᾳ γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑβριστότατος.

δὴν] 'he did not, I imagine, pay it'. The construction ὡς στε- ρωτό is no doubt preferred to ὡστε στερείσθαι because, as Kühner points out, the latter would not indicate so clearly that it is the purpose rather than the result which is specially contemplated.

ἐπὶ τοῦτο] 'on these terms', 'on this understanding'. The words μείον and πλείον afford a good example of the rhetorical figure called ὑμιστελευτον.

§ 17. ταύτην τὴν πράξεως] 'to stultify this intrigue'. The substantive πρᾶξις embodies the sense of corrupt and underhand dealing which so often accompanies the simple verb.

ἀπαίτησει μέντοι δικαίως] The particles, as in i. 8. 20, have the force of the Latin protetgor: 'of a truth', 'assuredly'. The phrase βεβαιῶ τὴν πράξεως 'unless I confirm (i.e. make good) the transaction' is admirably illustrated by a passage quoted by Schneider from Cyrop. viii. 8. 2, πρὸτερον βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τίς τὰ ἑσχατα πεπουκόσων, εἰτε ὁρκοὺς ὑμόσανεν, ἡμιπέδου, εἰτε δεξιὰς δότεν, ἐβεβαιῶν.

§ 19. μὴ τοινύν μηδὲ ὅσα] 'nay more, not even so much as some of the captains'. The particle τοινύν has the force of asseveration which is more frequently conveyed by the simple word τοῦ. Kühner notices the use as a strange one, but instances no other example, nor do I know of any.

§ 20. συμφέροντι τοῦτω τὴν τῶτε πενταν] A construction which is more common in poetry. Cf. Eur. Herc. Furi. 1366, and, similarly, Alc. 370,

εὖχ εἰς οὐ τευδός, ὡς φίλος φίλω,
λυπρὸν συνοίσω τῆς δέ

while in Aesch. Eum. 847 it appears in a modified sense:

ὅργας συνοίσω σοι' γεραίτερα γάρ εἰ.

γιγνώσκω δῆ] As in i. 3. 14 and ii. 5. 10, the δῆ is equivalent to adico, and has an intensifying force: 'I recognise too well'. Kühner further compares Ages. iii. 5, οὕτω μέγα καὶ καλόν κτήμα τοῦ κ᾽ ἀλλος ἀπαντεῖ καὶ ἀνδρὶ δῆ ἐπεστάρχης τὸ δοῦντι τε καὶ πιστὸν εἶναι, a passage in which there is certainly no trace of the temporal sense with which he usually credits the particle.

§ 21. ἦσσυμφωνων] Schäfer finds a difficulty in the omission of ἄν, and proposes in consequence to substitute μὲν τ᾽ ἄν for μὲντοι. But the particle is by no means essential: on the contrary, its omission (as in vi. 6. 25 and vii. 7. 40) gives an increased certainty to the result which is entirely in keeping with the force of the asseveration.

§ 22. ἐν γε...φιλακη] 'if indeed there be such a thing as taking precautions against friends' is the rendering of Macmichael, based apparently upon the following comment by Krüger: 'ἐν γε conditionis vim
extollit, i.e. magis dubiam reddit'. Both the one explanation and the other appear to me entirely incompatible with the traditional use of *eile* which here, as in all other cases, presents the condition in its strongest and most probable form. Trans. therefore: 'since precautions have to be taken in our dealings with friends', and see note on *eîper* in VII. 3. 37.

Πάσαν...φυλαξαμένους] sub. φυλακήν as a cognate accusative.

καταβλακέσαμεν τὰ τοῦτον] Like the similar compound καθηδυπαθεῖν, which occurs in I. 3. 3, the verbs καταβλακεύων and καταδελιῶν are both intransitive, the accusatives by which they are followed (τὰ τοῦτον and ὀδέ) being in each case accusatives of respect. All the MSS., with the exception of three good ones, give οὔτε μὴν in place of οὐδὲ μὴν for the third negative. There can, however, be little question that Kühner, Vollbrecht and Macmichael have done wisely in retaining the latter reading, which gives increased energy to the statement by throwing an additional emphasis on the last and strongest verb. It is on this account that οὔτε μὴν is less frequently used by the best authors than οὐδὲ μὴν, because the former combination is employed when the clauses which it negatives are of equal importance, in connexion with which an intensifying adjunct like μὴν is manifestly inappropriate.

§ 23. τὰ ἐνέχυρα] 'the proper securities'. In connexion with the idiom ὡς μηδὲ...εὖνατο, 'so that he might not have been able', let me warn students once for all against an explanation which has received the countenance of high authority, the point of which lies in assigning to ὡς, ἵνα and ὁπως in this combination a local sense ('where', 'in which case') rather than a final one ('in order that'). Accordingly, on this principle, ἵν ἦ τυφλὸς τε καὶ κλῦων μηδέν (Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1389) is to be rendered 'in which case I had been sightless as well as deaf'.

In refutation of this mischievous theory we need only instance the fact that μὴν and not οὐ is the negative invariably found in connexion with this idiom: independently of which, the theory itself is a gratuitous assumption, totally at variance with the principle which regulates these conjunctions when they are constructed with the other moods.

ἄγνωσμον] 'ungrateful', 'heartless', the ordinary meaning of the adjective, for which see note on ἄγνωσμοσὺνας in II. 5. 6. The very fact of their ingratitude may account for his reluctance to speak before Seuthes, even though it had forced upon him the necessity of defending his conduct. It is possible, however, as Weiske suggests, that he was unwilling to disclose to the Thracians the circumstances which had compelled the army to take service in their country.

§ 24. οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρυνθον (εἰ) προσήγετε πόλιν] I have followed Macmichael, who omits the word εἰ from his text, since the presence of the two prepositions may be accounted for as indicating a condensed construction (e.g. ἐλθὼντες εἰς Πέρυνθον), or else as a mere redundancy, examples of which are sufficiently common. His reading, moreover, has the advantage of being almost identical with that adopted by Kühner and Bornemann, from which it differs only in the omission of εἰ before προσήγετε, a point in which one or two of the MSS. are distinctly in his favour. The other leading editors give the passage in the following forms:
(i) *ἐλ προσήγε τῇ πόλει, Ἀρισταρχὸς ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.* (Vollbrecht),
(ii) *ἐλ προσήγε τῇ πόλει, Ἀρισταρχὸς ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.* (Krüger),
(iii) *ἐλ προσίστε τῇ πόλει, Ἀρισταρχὸς ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.* (Dindorf),

all of which are alike open to objection as taking no account of the adversative δὲ which in the two best MSS follows the nominative Ἀρισταρχὸς, while the employment of the subjunctive in No. ii, and of the optative in No. iii, would raise questions of greater difficulty than those which are presented by the original text.

ἀγορᾶ δὲ ἐξῄρησεν ‘you had to resort to the market’. The Greek troops, having crossed the water by invitation, might naturally have expected a gratuitous supply of provisions: elsewhere, and under other circumstances, the permission to buy would have been regarded as a favour and privilege.

ἀτων ὡνοίσθε] The manuscripts give ὅτων, which is clearly untenable in connexion with the plural στάντα, and the editors have generally agreed to accept the plural in its stead, which, though rarely met with in prose, is recognised in Occ. III. 2, and a few other passages. There is more difficulty in determining between ὡνοίσθε and ὡνήσεσθε, the former of which is suggested in five leading MSS and preferred by Kühner and Dindorf, while Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors retain the latter on the authority of the remaining MSS. The internal evidence appears to me decisive in favour of the optative; indeed, the employment of the future indicative would be an actual solecism in a passage the references of which deal altogether with the past.

§ 25. ἐπὶ Ὑράκης] The majority of the editors, including Vollbrecht and Macmichael, retain ἐπὶ Ὑράκης, which is the ordinary reading: Kühner defends the dative, which has the authority of the two leading MSS. There are several arguments which might be quoted in favour of the genitive, e.g. the probability that the less definite expression would be preferred in a case like the present, and the analogy of the phrase τὸ ἐπὶ Ὑράκης, which is so frequently used by Thucydides to denote the localities in question. On the other hand, we have the well-known fact that combinations like τὰ ἐπὶ Ὑράκης, which have once become familiar in a particular sense, are rarely employed otherwise or in a fragmentary form in cases where a different phrase will supply the required meaning.

ἐν πολεμίᾳ εἶναι] sc. ἀνάγκη ἂν.

§ 26. οὐδὲν τι ἀφθονὸν] ‘in no great abundance’. The construction has already been illustrated in the note to vi. 6. 12, with which compare οὐδὲν ἔτι (al. οὐδὲν τι) μεθυοῦτι ἑοκὼς in VII. 3. 35.

συνεστηκός] like συνεστραμμένον, denotes a compact and well-disciplined body of troops. Tr. ‘I did not find any organised force of cavalry or peltasts existing in your ranks’.

§ 27. μποροῦν ὁντιναὐν μεθύνου] ‘even the smallest pay’.

ὑμῖν...πρὸ ὑμῶν] At first sight, the repetition of the pronoun appears tautological, and Krüger in consequence proposes to omit the words πρὸ ὑμῶν as a mere explanatory gloss. It is evident, however, from the context that the change would weaken the force of the argument, which has the two-fold object of explaining to the soldiers his
concern for their interests (πρὸ ὑμῶν), and the injustice of the opinion they had formed respecting him (ἐδόκουν ὑμῖν).

§ 28. μᾶλλον μετάσχετε] A difficulty has been found in reconciling these words with the arrangement alluded to in VII. 3. 10, according to which Seuthes was to keep all the plunder in his own hands, the troops receiving a stipulated sum of money in payment for their services. There can be little doubt, however, that a large amount of surreptitious plunder had been made by the Greeks in the course of the campaign, an assumption which may suffice to explain the present passage. Otherwise we must fall back on another and less probable theory, according to which the words μᾶλλον μετάσχετε will mean no more than that, by the letter of their agreement, an increase of plunder meant an increase of pay.

§ 29. κατ’ ὀλίγους ἀποσκεδασμένον] ‘dispersing ourselves abroad in small companies’.

§ 30. τὸντο δὴ τὸ σχέτλων πάθημα;) ‘is this, I ask, the terrible infliction you complain of?’ This rendering of the passage is, I think, necessitated by the presence of the article, the force of which is considerably impaired in the version suggested by Kühner: estne id, quod nobis accidit, iam calamitosum?

ἐμὲ ἀνείναι] It is hardly necessary to discuss seriously the reading ξώντα ἐμὲ ἐὰν ἐλναί, which Dindorf and Bornemann have adopted in place of the text: indeed, it would be difficult to say whether the construction or the rhythm more effectually condemns it. Add to which, the verb ἀνείναι is peculiarly appropriate in this connexion, as Krüger has shewn by comparing Hell. II. 3. 51, οὐ φασίν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψεων, εἰ ἀνήσουμεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερός τὴν ὀλγαρχίαν λυμαίωμεν.

§ 31. περιττὸν δ’ ἐχοντες τούτο] ‘having this to the good’. Compare a similar use of περιγύμνησθαι in Thuc. II. 39, ‘we have this clear balance in our favour’.

ἐδαπανάτε] The force of the imperfect is the same as in I. 10. 1 and II. 1. 3, ‘you have been living all the while at the expense of your enemies’. For the phrase παντα πράττονται, see note on πολλὰ καὶ ἄγαλα πράττεν in VI. 4. 8.

§ 32. πρὸς ἐκεῖνος] i.e. ‘in addition to the honours won in Asia’. The phrase τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Ῥώμας is peculiarly appropriate, as the victories they had won in Asia had been gained in part over the kinsmen of this very tribe.

ἐν ἐμόι χαλέπαινε, τοῦτων] The genitive ἐν takes the place of an accusative by attraction with τοῦτων. There is nothing, however, to justify Kühner’s condemnation of the alternative theory, which treats the relative as a genitive of respect, the employment of which is common in poetry in the sense of περί ἐν.

§ 33. ἀπορᾶ] a poetical expression, for which ancovam solvere is the Latin equivalent. Macmichael is one of the few editors who retain the more commonplace verb ἀπορά on the authority of the inferior MSS, while Kühner and Vollbrecht are both in favour of the text.

ἐκον...καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων] ἀπὸ rather than ὑπὸ is the preposition we should have expected in this connexion. Compare,
however, the note on vii. 2. 37, in which I have collected other examples of a similar use.

οῦν μὲ έπεμπον] The condition which is implied by the particle would be to the following effect: εἰ μὴ έπιστευόμην ὑπ’ αὐτῶν.

§ 34. ἀποστροφή] 'a sanctuary,' as in Eur. Med. 603. Being placed in direct apposition with the masculine οὖ, it affords a remarkably bold example of the employment of the abstract for the concrete. On the assumption that εἰ γένουσα is the true reading (and it is accepted as such by the majority of the editors, notwithstanding εἰ γένουσα has the better manuscript authority) the passage becomes of interest in relation to the question of Xenophon's age, since both his sons (Diodorus and Gryllus), the latter of whom fell at Mantinea in the year 362, must have been born at a period subsequent to the date of the present speech.

§ 36. κατακεκανότες] This participle is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, and, in Poppo's opinion, violates analogy in the principle of its formation, since perfects of the same class have their termination in γικα, e.g. πέφαγακα from φάνω and μεμίαγκα from μαίνω. He is therefore prepared to accept the aorist κατακανόντες in its place, admitting the difficulty that it is the perfect rather than the aorist participle which is usually met with in this combination. This view of the passage is followed by Macmichael and several of the editors: the rest, including Kühner and Vollbrecht, treat the objection as hypercritical, and retain κατακανόντες on the authority of the two leading mss.

πολλά μὲν ὄν...ἀγρυπνόσαντα, πολλά δὲ...πονήσαντα] It is more than probable that the form of this sentence was suggested by a passage in the Oedipus Tyrannus (v. 66, 67):

ἄλλα ἵστη πολλά μὲν μὲ δακρύσαντα ὄν, πολλά δ’ ὄδοις ἔλθοντα φροντίδος πλάνωσι.

cal ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος] 'in season and out of season', or, as Owen more literally renders it, 'in turn and out of turn'. The phrase is reproduced by Arrian (iii. 26. 8), ὄν πολλάκις καὶ ἐν (τῷ) μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος κατὰ πρόσταξιν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐξίν χάριτι ἔξηγεν.

τρόπαια βαρβάρων] 'trophies over foreign foes', as in Soph. Trach. 1102:

κοῦδεὶς τρόπαι’ ἔστησε τῶν ἐμῶν χερῶν.

ὁσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην] The regular sequence, as Kühner points out, would have been ὅσον ἐδύνατο, the sentence having hitherto been accommodated to the opening words: ἀνδρα κατακεκανότες ἔσεσθε. But the transition, which makes the statement a personal instead of a general one, is at once effective and natural. Whether contra vos, āptud vos or vestra causa is intended by τρὸς ύμᾶς, has seriously puzzled the commentators. I am myself in favour of the second rendering. Kühner and Weiske prefer the first.

§ 37. καὶ γὰρ οὖν] See note on i. 9. 8.

ὅτι...φαίνεται] Dindorf, who is followed by Macmichael, substitutes ὅτε for ὅτι. But, as Poppo demonstrates, the temporal sense
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of ὅτε would be entirely out of keeping with the spirit of the context. It will be noticed that the sentence, as a whole, forms a good example of the construction κατὰ σύνεσιν: the nominative ὑμεῖς, which would lead us to expect καὶρῶν νομίζετε ἐίναι, being replaced at the close of the paragraph by an impersonal and more emphatic clause: καὶρῶς ὑμῖν δοκεῖ ἐίναι.

πλέετε] Kühner prefers this uncontracted form (which our author may have borrowed from Herodotus) on the authority of the two leading MSS.

§ 38. ἀγνώσμοιν] ‘unappreciative’, ‘void of intelligence’, for which compare the force of ἀγνώσμοσθαν as in II. 5. 6. Kühner renders it ‘iniqui’, which is less forcible because it implies by anticipation a verdict in favour of the speaker.


§§ 39—end. Charminus, a Lacedaemonian, espouses his cause. Eurylochus proposes that the Lacedaemonians should enforce their claims for payment: Polycrates, that Heracleides should be arrested, as the author of their misfortunes. The sudden flight of Seuthes and Heracleides. The former renews his promises to Xenophon, who declines to accept them and prepares to depart with the army.

§ 40. τοῦτο...πρῶτον ἡμῶν στρατηγηγήσαι] ‘that you should inaugurate your command over us as follows’. The accusative τοῦτο acts as the cognate to στρατηγηγήσαι, and is in its turn explained by the infinitive clauses which follow.

§ 41. ἀναστας ὑπὲρ Ξενοφώντος] On the assumption that we have the true reading, we must understand these words as referring to the indirect effect of Polycrates’ speech, which certainly does not contain any definite exculpation of Xenophon’s conduct. The leading MSS give αἰνετῶς in place of ἀναστᾶς, while Dindorf and Vollbrecht have unearthed the reading ἐινετῶς, which (after substituting ὑπὸ for ὑπὲρ) they explain in the sense of subornatus. The word, however, is post-classical, and is not found elsewhere in Xenophon: who, as Kühner points out, employs ὑπὸπεμπτος in this connexion.

§ 42. ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας] Cf. VI. 4. 4, and a note on the passage.

§ 43. ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιησάμενοι] ‘having treated it as a secret’. Cf. Herod. IX. 45, 94.

§ 44. ἀναίρει] sc. ὁ Ζεὺς, though the verb is more frequently used in connexion with an oracular response, e.g. in III. 1. 6.

CHAPTER VII.

§§ 1—3. Seuthes encamps at a distance. The Greeks supply themselves with provisions from certain villages which had been given by Seuthes to Medosades. The latter prince, attended by an influential follower and by a force of thirty horse, repairs to Xenophon, and orders him in the name of Seuthes and Medoces to withdraw his troops from the country.

ἐσκήρησαν εἰς κώμας] ‘quartered themselves in certain villages’:
a pregnant form of construction for ἑλθόντες εἰς κόμας ἐσκήνησαν ἐν αὐταῖς. In the clause which follows, the participle ἐπιστησάμενοι is the emphatic word: 'from which they intended to draw their main supplies in anticipation of their arrival at the coast'.

§ 3. ὅδε ὁ ἀνήρ] The article is essential to the construction. I prefer, however, to write it thus with Macmichael and one good ms rather than in crasis (ὁδε άνήρ) with Kühner and Vollbrecht, a figure which is rarely met with in a simple and unstudied narrative.

ἐπιτρέψομεν] sc. τοῦτο ποιεῖν οτ τάς ἡμετέρας κόμας πορθεῖν, though, like παρέχειν, the verb is often used independently.

ἀλεξάμεθα] Dindorf, Bornemann and Macmichael edit ἀλεξάμεθα, in consideration, apparently, of the form ἀλεξάσασθαι, which has the better manuscript authority in 1. 3. 6. But, in the case of the present text, five of the leading mss are in favour of ἀλεξάμεθα, which is preferred by Kühner and Vollbrecht, the former of whom instances κοῦ ἀλεξομῦν μαθῶν (Oed. Tyr. 539) and also ὅ τις ἀλεξάται (ibid. 171), though he needlessly weakens the force of the comparison by suggesting that ἀλεξάται in the latter passage may possibly be only a form of the present.

§§ 4—10. Xenophon's reply.
καὶ ἀποκρινόμεθα] 'even to make answer'. Cp. Soph. Trach. 314, τι δ' ἀν μὲ καὶ κρίνοις; 'why should you even ask me?'

§ 5. ἣν μὲν ἐθέλουμεν πορθοῦντες] a frequentative optative. The phrase ἐγκεχαλιώμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις in § 6 has been discussed in connexion with VII. 2. 21.

§ 7. νῦν δὲ ἐξελαύνετε] 'you are now for driving us out'. For this force of the present, see note on ἐβιάζετο in 1. 3. 1. The use of δὲ in the ἀποδοσίς has been illustrated in a note to ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦτων in VI. 6. 16. In the present passage all the editors, with the exception of Kühner and Poppo, substitute ἄν for δὲ: an alteration so distinctly suggested by the rhythm of the sentence that I should not hesitate to adopt it, if the mss were not absolutely unanimous in favour of the text.

ἐκ τῆς δὲ τῆς χώρας] ἐκ ταῦτης τῆς χώρας would be more rhythmical, and at the same time more consistent with the ordinary use of the demonstratives. Kühner, however, instances two passages out of the present book (VII. 3. 47 and VII. 7. 9) where our author prefers ὅδε in the same connexion, while rhythm and euphony are so systematically ignored in the composition of the Anabasis that they can scarcely be allowed to guide us in a case like the present.

ἐχὼντων κατὰ κράτος] 'when we were in possession of it by force'. The phrase ἐχεῖν κατὰ κράτος is so well recognised that Krüger's objection on this score to the reading of the text need scarcely be discussed. It is remarkable, however, that the leading ms is the only one which gives the participle ἐχὼντων. The remainder are unanimous in favour of ἐκόντων, a word so forcible in itself that Weiske, Schneider and others have endeavoured to retain it by altering the order of the sentence, or by introducing another participle (e. g. ἐλόντων) to be taken in combination with the phrase κατὰ κράτος.

§ 8. οὐχ ὀπως ὁδρα δοῦν] 'so far from giving us presents'. The phrase οὐχ ὀπως...ἀλλὰ is said to be elliptical for οὐ λέγω ὀπως...ἀλλὰ
κ.τ.λ. Compare the corresponding use of *non dico* in Latin, and of *ne dum* (i.e. *ne dicam*) as an equivalent for μὴ ὅτι in a similar sense.

ἀποπέμψαται] 'to get rid of us.' Observe the force of the middle, which, in contrast with ἀποπέμψαι, suggests with quiet irony the ulterior object of the proceeding.

§ 10. οὐδὲν ἐμὲ παρακαλέσαντες] For the adverbial use of οὐδὲν, cf. οὐδὲν ἔτι μεθύοντι ἐοικώς in VII. 3. 35. The optative χαρίσαμαι, which is to be taken in close connexion with παρακαλέσαντες, passes without notice from Kühner and the commentators. It is difficult, however, to understand why a past tense of the indicatice was not employed in its place, as the very point of Xenophon's argument lies in the fact that his reconciliation with the Lacedaemonians had been rendered impossible by the treatment he had received from the Thracian authorities.

θαυμαστήτατοι] is used ironically as an equivalent for θαυμασώτατον, which is the word employed in III. 1. 27 and preferred by some of the editors in the present passage.

§§ 11—20. The Odrysian who had accompanied Medosades declines to remain with him, and, after expressing his sympathy with the Greeks, returns to Medoeus with the larger portion of his retinue. In concert with Xenophon, Medosades has an interview with the Lacedaemonian authorities at which it is decided to send a deputation to Seuthes and demand the fulfilment of his promises.

κατὰ τὴν γῆς καταδύομαι] The phrase occurs again in Cyrop. VI. 1. 35.

§ 13. προερέαν] 'to make the same announcement to them.' Others would render it 'to forewarn them,' but the former explanation suits the context better, and is suggested by προλέγομεν which is the corresponding verb in § 3.

§ 14. δεδέηται] This reading, which is found in one good ms and suggested in two others under the form δεδέκται, is accepted by Kühner, Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors. It is noticed by Krüger as occurring in Isaeeus VIII. 22, and also in a passage of Demosthenes. The alternative in the present instance is δέοιτε, which is found in some of the inferior mss and has all the appearance of a marginal emendation.

φασὶ] sc. οἱ στρατιῶται, which may be easily supplied κατὰ σύνεσιν as an equivalent for ἓ ποιήσατα. 

ὑπέσχεσθε αὑτοῖς] Macmichael considers that the word αὐτοῖς can scarcely be explained otherwise than by referring it to Medosades and the Thracian envoys, in which case the employment of the aorist ὑπέσχεσθε (to which he objects) would occasion no difficulty, more especially in a speech which is reviewing by anticipation the events of the present on the assumption that they are already past. In Latin, the employment of the epistolary tense will furnish an almost exact parallel. A more valid objection to Macmichael's rendering may be found in the fact that no distinct mention of the Thracian envoys has been made in the previous clauses, throughout which the Greek troops under Xenophon have been recognised as the subject of the sentence. I prefer, therefore, to understand αὑτοῖς with some of the commentators as equivalent to τοῖς στρατιῶταις, the recurrence of which as the nominative of the follow-
ing clause may be only a device for throwing additional emphasis on so important a word. Kühner and Vollbrecht do not notice the difficulty.

§ 15. *ei μὲν σοῦ τι ἔχεις...λέγειν*] Either *ei* or *καλῶς* *ἔχει* may be supplied to complete the sentence, which furnishes an example of ἀφοσιότερος similar to that on which I have commented in the note to ἦν μὲν δυνάμεθα *παρ’ ὑμᾶν* ἁγαθόν *τι εὐρίσκεσθαι* (VII. i. 31).

§ 16. *ὑφειέμενον*] *‘succisively’. From the explanation which follows it is clear that in the words *τοῦ σφίους ὑμῖν γεγένημένου* Medosades is referring to the inhabitants of the villages from which the Greek troops had been drawing their supplies.

§ 17. *ὁπότε...ἔχουσιν* *ἔχουσιν* is usually explained independently of its connexion with the previous clause as an ordinary instance of the indefinite optative. On the contrary, the two clauses are to be taken in close combination, as *ὁπότε ἔχουσι* simply represents the condition, for which *ei ἔχουσι* would be the more familiar phrase. *οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῖν καταπράξαντες, ‘the authors of your present misfortunes’.

καὶ νῦν i.e. notwithstanding your appeal: an interpretation which suits the context better than ‘forthwith’, ‘this very minute’, though the latter rendering would be equally consistent with the Greek.

ἐνθεθε] *‘from this district’, i.e. from you.*

§ 18. *ὁπότερα ἄν ψηφιασται* *sub. ψηφιάσθαι*, though there would be nothing ungrammatical in making the accusative depend directly on the verb ἐπιτρέψαι. The use of προσῆκεν, for which we might have expected προσῆκε, is noticed by Kühner chiefly for the purpose of denouncing the theory that the forms are interchangeable in classical Greek. The idiom, by which the imperfect is used without ἄν to represent in detail the application of some familiar principle, is chiefly confined to expressions like ἐρίδον ἦν, εἰκὸς ἦν and the like, with most of which we are familiar in their Latinised form: e.g. facile erat, aportébat, tempus erat.

§ 19. *οὐκ ἐφη* *sc. ἐπιτρέψαι ἄν, ‘said no’, ‘declined’.*

ὅστισθαί ἄν *Σευθὴν πεῖσαι*] It is quite impossible that ὅστισθαί can depend on ἐκέλευ, which is the suggestion of Bornemann. The context requires that we should understand ἐφη or some equivalent, reverting, however, to ἐκέλευ as the main verb when we reach the infinitive πέμπειν.

§§ 21—47. Xenophon appeals to Socrates.

§ 22. *εἰς τὸ φανερῶν*] *‘raised you to distinction’. The phrase occurs again in Ages. v. 6, and Cyzipp. VIII. 7. 23.

καλλιθάνειν] Kühner proposes to understand ποιῶν, but the verb is often used independently, e.g. in Soph. Trach. 455;

*ὁπως δὲ λήσεις, οὔδὲ τοῦτο γίνεται.*

§ 23. *τοιοῦτῳ δὲ ὡς τι ἀνθρ.]* ‘for a person of your position’. We have noticed the use of the middle ἀποτέλεσθαι in the same connexion and with the same force in Xenophon’s earlier speech (VII. 7. 8). The substitution of σαυτῶν for ἑαυτῶν at the close of the sentence marks, as Kühner points out, the application of a general statement to the individual case.

**XEN.**
§ 24. πλανωμένους] 'miss their aim', a use of the verb which is especially common in poetry. The force of the verb σφορονιζεῖν, and of the corresponding substantive σφορονιστής, has been illustrated in connexion with VI, 1, 28: ἐκείνο ἐννοεῖ μή πλαν ἄν ταχύ σφορονισθεῖν.

τὸ ἡδή κολάσειν] Macmichael edits τὰς ἡδή κολάσεις with Schneider and Bornemann, a conjectural emendation based upon ἄλλων τε ἡδή κολάσεις which appears in all the MSS with the exception of three. The reading of the text is adopted by Kühner and Vollbrecht mainly on the ground that the more difficult phrase is presumably the more genuine, while the unusual position and construction of the genitive ἄλλων was in all probability suggested by the corresponding expression τὰς τούτων ἀπελάσας.

οἱ ἄλλοι] 'the rest of the world'. The article is omitted by Dindorf and some of the leading authorities on the ground that it destroys the balance of the antithesis.

§ 25. ὀδὴ ὅτι] Vollbrecht and the majority of the editors have accepted ὀδὴν ὅτι, the conjecture of Muretus, but there is a quiet irony in the use of the first person which is totally lost by the alteration: 'nothing (says Xenophon), as I know to my cost'. πιστευεῖς ἄληθεύεις ἠ ἐλεγές] 'having been trusted in the assurance that you would be true to your promises'.

§ 26. τούτων τῶν χρημάτων] a genitive of price, in reference to the money which he was now claiming for the payment of the troops. Kühner calls attention to the occurrence of the form βλάβης in § 28. It is not found elsewhere in Xenophon: but I cannot discover that its use by the other prose authors is so restricted as he seems to imagine. It is certainly employed by Plato, Antiphon and Herodotus, all of whom would seem to have preferred it to the correlative form βλάβη.

§ 27. πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ] Krüger correctly observes that πῶς is to be connected with ἡγοῦ rather than with μέγα, as the latter combination would have necessitated the employment of ὃς.

§ 28. κατασχέων] The present is more commonly found than the aorist in this connexion: indeed κατασχέω would be more appropriate as an equivalent for λαβεῖν than in contrast with it to denote a state of repression. Accordingly in § 29 the author reverts to the more usual tense (κατέχοι).

For the use of ἀρχὴν in the sense of omnino, which is only admissible in combination with a negative, cf. Soph. Antig. 92,

ἀρχὴν δὲ θηράν οὐ πρέπει τάμηχαν.

§ 29. φιλα τῇ σῇ] 'from any friendship for you', the possessive taking the place of the objective genitive on which I have commented in the note to II, 5, 7. The introduction of the particle μὲν after ἐπιστασαι is no doubt correctly explained by Krüger, who suggests that the termination of the sentence, as originally intended by the author, would probably have been as follows: ἐπιστασαι δὲ, ὃτι ἐπιχειροῖεν ἄν κ.τ.λ.

§ 30. ὡς...μένοντας ἄν] See note on ὡς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἄν in I, 1, 10.

ἄλλους τε...παραγενέσθαι] It is difficult to determine whether this
infinitive is dependent on the main verb ὀλεί, or on νομιζομεν, which may be supplied from ὀρφέων and would refer to the subject-tribes mentioned in § 29 (οἱ νῦν σοι υπήκουσί). Kühner takes the former view: while Vollbrecht, Krüger and Macmichael, with whom I am inclined to agree, are in favour of the latter. It is awkward, I think, to understand a change of subject in the central passage of a paragraph which from its commencement (in the word ὀρφέων) to its close (in the word καταδοξάσειαν) has followed with unusual precision the thread of the original construction. On the other hand, the strength of Kühner's argument undoubtedly lies in the genitive τούτων, for which, in strict correctness, we should expect σφῶν or σφῶν αὐτῶν on the assumption that it refers to the subject of ὀρφέων.

καταδοξάσειαν] καταδοξάζειν is to 'form a disparaging idea' of a person or thing. Compare the force of κατενόησαι in Thuc. II. 3, and the notes on i. 3. 3 and II. 2. 11 in the present edition.

τούτων] will of course refer to the Greek troops: αὐτοῖς to the subject-tribes mentioned above as τοῖς νῦν σοι υπήκοοις.

§ 31. καὶ τοῦτο κλίνοντος] Kühner understands this as a species of attraction, like οὐσαρεῖν for οἴαντερπ on which I commented in a note on i. 3. 18. Another and, I think, more probable explanation is suggested by the phrase ἀλεεινὸν ἦν ἡ χώρα in IV. 4. 11: the neuter being used for the masculine or feminine when it refers in a general way to the characteristics of a class.

προστάτας αὐτῶν] 'to command them'.

ἀν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ νῦν ἀναπράξωσιν] The argument is as follows: 'if you leave it to the Lacedaemonians to exact the money that is due from you in preference to paying it of your own free will, it will give them a hold over the Greek troops which may on occasion prove fatal to your authority'.

§ 32. οἱ νῦν υπὸ σοι Θρᾴκες γενόμενοι] The position of the substantive is slightly irregular. Compare, however, a parallel passage in vi. 6. 19 (ἐ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἄνηρ υπὸ Ἀγασθοῦ), in connexion with which I have instanced other examples of composite phrases which exhibit a similar departure from the ordinary rule.

§ 33. ἡ ἐγκαλοῦσιν] 'their claims'. This use of ἐγκαλεῖν is a rare one, but recognised, apparently, by the orators, as Schneider quotes one example at least from Demos. con. Apatru. p. 900, διὰ τὰ πέρας ἐπιτήμων μὴ δίτι δικάσασθαί, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι μου ἑτύλιμα, where the context clearly shows that the reference is to a monetary claim.

§ 34. ὀφείλουσθε] Kühner and Macmichael retain this plural on the authority of four leading mss, adding the usual explanation as in i. 2. 23 and II. 2. 15. Vollbrecht edits ὀφειλοῦσθο, which I am inclined to adopt notwithstanding the manuscript authority for the reading in the text, as the explanation which has served to justify the idiom when it occurs elsewhere (e.g. in i. 2. 23) is not equally available in the present case.

§ 35. λαβεῖν] equivalent to the Latin conferire: 'to find this money'. The question whether the article should be omitted with δέκατον on the authority of the two best mss has been practically decided by Kühner, who conclusively proves that, both in Xenophon and Thucydides, the ordinary usage is in favour of its omission.
§ 37. ὅκησ...διαφθαρέτηρ] The transition from the subjunctive to the optative admirably marks the change from the nearer to the more remote contingency. Cf. Thuc. iii. 22, ὅπως ἀσαφῆ γὰ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς φροντίδος τοῖς πολεμοῖς καὶ μὴ βοήθουσιν, and § 57 of the present chapter. There is, however, no instance apparently in classical Greek where the transition is made from the optative to the subjunctive, as suggested by some of the editors in a similar passage of the Anabasis, the more probable of the two alternatives in all cases taking the precedence.

§ 39. ἐκ τοῖς στρατιώταις = militum causa, 'to give us a hold on the troops': a rare and unclassical use of the preposition, the nearest approximation to which occurs in a passage quoted by Poppo from Cyrop. i. 6. 39 (μηχανῖς ποιεῖται ἐπὶ θηρίων), though it in no wise justifies the present combination.

§ 40. μηθὲ ἀποδοδοῦντοι] sub. σοῦ. The change to the gen. abs. is made for the sake of emphasis, as in the case of οἰκισθέντος for οἰκισθέντι in v. 3. 7.

αισχρῶν γὰρ ἦν] The imperfect has been already explained in connexion with προσήκεν in § 18.

διαπεπέραχθα] is to be treated as a middle: else it would be difficult to account for the omission of εἰμι before the infinitive, which is inserted in some of the editions on the authority of the inferior mss. We have noticed a similar example of this use in Demos. adv. Androt. 617, where the form πεποιήθαι takes the place of a middle.

§ 43. ἀλλὰ γὰρ] 'however'. See note on iii. 2. 25.

ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγους] Cf. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθήκησωμεν (iii. 2. 3), in the note to which I have explained and illustrated this force of ἀλλὰ. For πάντας Schäfer proposes πάνως, an alteration which adds so greatly to the elegance of the passage that it has been accepted by Dindorf, Bornemann and Macmichael.

ψέων] To 'make small', and therefore to 'disparage', 'deprecate', is the literal force of the verb (cf. ψεω), a meaning which can be traced in many of the correlative forms: e.g. in the case of the subst. ψικάς or ψεκάς 'small rain'.

§ 44. αὐτοῖ] 'on their own account': in contrast, as Kühner points out, with πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους in the leading clause. In § 45, a marked emphasis is thrown on the words τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα by their position in the sentence.

§ 46. ἀποδείκνυσθα] Only two mss. of very inferior authority give the reading ἀποκείσθα, which has been accepted on its own merits by Vollbrecht, Dindorf, Poppo and Krüger. Like πάντως in § 43 it would be an unquestionable improvement to the text, but an argument on this ground is a dangerous one in dealing with conjectural emendations.

ὑποσχυόμενος οὐς ἐνεπιμέλασο] = non satiari poteras pollicendo, Kühner, 'were never weary of promising'. For τολμάς in the sense of the Latin audes, 'can you bear?' 'have you the face?', cf. iv. 4. 12, and Soph. Antig. 449,

καὶ δῆτ' ἐτόλμασ τοῦσὸ διερθαίνειν νόμος;

§ 47. δτὶ σοι δόξει] Kühner understands these words as dependent on the infinitive διδαξεῖν, an explanation which I much prefer to the
alternative suggested by some of the editors, who would make the verb πιστεύω do double duty—first with the phrase δη δέξει, and then, by a change of construction, with the infinitive clause which follows.

τοὺς σοὶ προεμένους ἐνεργεσθαί] See note on the constructions of προεσθαί in vii. 3. 31, while the special force of the verb, ‘to give without stipulation’, or, as in this case, with no certainty of remuneration, is still more clearly illustrated in a passage quoted by Schneider from Plat. Gorg. 520 C: καὶ προεσθαί γε δὴ ποῦ τὴν ἐνεργεσθαί ἂν εἰμιδῶν μόνοι τούτοις ἐνεχώρει...ἀλλὰ μόνῳ ἀσφαλεῖς τάυτῃ τὴν ἐνεργεσθαί προεσθαί, εἴτε τῷ δυναι τις ἀγαθοῖς ποιεῖν.

τοιοῦτον ποιῆσαι] ‘to reinstate me in the position in which you found me’.

§§ 48—end. The troops receive their wages, partly in money and partly in slaves and cattle. At the request of Xenophon, the transaction is allowed to pass through his hands. Declining to continue longer in the service of Seuthes, he makes his preparations for a return to Athens, but consents to defer it until Thibron in person shall have relieved him of his command.

§ 49. ἀνομολος ἔχοντα] ‘to stand on a different footing’. Cf. δέομαι οὐν σοῦ...τοιοῦτον ποιῆσαι, οἴνπερ καὶ παρέλαβες in § 47.

§ 51. ταῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐκ ἄν τε] ‘it is impossible that your wish should be realised’.

§ 52. ἐπανω] The phrase employed for refusing an invitation, as in Conv. 1. 7, which became in consequence the recognised formula for declining a favour of whatever kind. Cf. κάλλιστε ἐπανω in Aristoph. Ran. 508, and the corresponding use of laudaret in Verg. Georg. II. 412.

Exignium colito.

§ 53. τοὺς τῶν ἄδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους] The transfer of these hostages to Xenophon, after his successful repulse of the night attack made upon his camp, has been mentioned in vii. 4. 21.

§ 54. ἔξεκνηται] Cf. Plat. Protag. 311 D, ἄν μὲν ἔξεκνηται τὰ ἡμέτερα κρήματα, καὶ τούτων πείθωμεν αὐτόν. The verb ἔξαρκη, which has supplanted the true reading in all the inferior MSS, was clearly, as Kühner points out, an explanatory gloss.

τίνος τἄλαντον φῆσω ἔχειν;] ‘to whom shall I say the talent in my keeping belongs?’ After laughing at the idea of distributing so small a sum, Xenophon continues his joke, if such it can be called, in the question which follows: ‘and would it not be safer, since there is certainly peril in store for me, that I should guard against the risk of being stoned by making good my escape?’ In explanation of φιλάττεσθαι τοὺς πέτρους, compare vii. 6. 10, εἰ τούτων ἱδομα καταλευσθέντα...τὸν μισθὸν ἄν μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν. The only real difficulty of the passage lies in the meaning to be attached to the participle ἀπίστων, which I have translated in accordance with Kühner’s rendering, though it probably means nothing more than ‘on my return to the camp’, ‘on leaving your presence’, an explanation which is suggested by ἀπίστων, a reading of scarcely less authority than ἀπίστων.

τότε μὲν] ‘for the time being’. See note on II. 3. 1.
CHAPTER VIII.

§§ 1—6. The troops cross over to Lamphacus. By the advice of Euclides, the son of Cleagoras, Xenophon on reaching Ophrynum sacrifices to Zeus Milichius. Bion, accompanied by Euclides, arrives with pay for the army. In consideration of Xenophon's destitution, they recover for him a favourite horse which he had been forced to sell at Lamphacus.

eis Λάμψακον] now Lamsaki, a city of Mysia, to the north-east of Abydos. It was originally colonised by settlers from Phocaea and Miletus.

Φιλάστοσ] The town of Philius in Achaia was situated about midway between Sicyon and Argos.

ta énoupia en Δυκεία] The gymnasium called the Lyceum lay eastwards of the city. On the assumption that we possess the true reading (of which there is considerable doubt, as the MSS fluctuate between toü ta énoikia en oikig, toü ta en oikia en oikig and the reading of the text), the allusion is probably to a work entitled Dreams in the Lyceum. Macmichael follows Weiske who prefers to understand it of a painting, the subject of which may possibly have been derived from the Homeric dreams (cf. II. β', 8, 16 and Od. τ', 562), in illustration of which Schneider notices on the authority
of Pausanias that an ὄνειρον ἀγαλμα actually existed in the temple of Aesculapius. But this was in all probability a statue of the god "Ὅνειρος, while, in the passage before us, the omission of the article after the substantive ἐνύπνια is entirely in favour of the ordinary rendering.

In place of ἐνύπνια it has been proposed to substitute ἐντολή, ἐκλίνα, or (preferably) ἐνώπια, none of which can be accepted as satisfactory in the absence of all information as to the profession of Cleogoras.

γεγραφότος] Kühner edits γεγραφηκότος on the authority of four MSS, among which are three of preeminent weight. But the reading of the text, which is preferred by Vollbrecht, Macmichael and the majority of the editors, is almost invariably met with in this particular connexion.

§ 2. τὸν ἰππόν] ‘his horse’. See note on the force of the article in II. 5. 38.

ἀμφ' αὐτόν] Almost all the editors, excepting Kühner, have adopted αὐτῶν for αὐτόν in the present passage, and as a rule, whenever the same question has arisen, I have been disposed to follow them. But, in the case before us, the use of the imperfect εἰχεν so clearly marks the clause as the statement of the historian that I have had little hesitation in preferring the reading of the text.

§ 3. παρεστήσατο] ‘he placed beside him’, a sense of the verb which became technical in connexion with the proceedings which closed a criminal trial. Cf. Dem. § 546, 20, παιδία παραστήσαται.

ἰερεία] It is surprising that Vollbrecht should have preferred to read ἱερὰ on the authority of the inferior MSS. The latter term, denoting as it does the sacred portions of the victim rather than the animal itself, would be altogether out of keeping with the sense of the context, the force of which lies in the paucity and inferiority of the intended victims.

ἐφ' sc. ὁ Ἐυκλείδης. With μέλλῃ ἑσεθαί supply the word χρήματα from the previous sentence.

οὐ σαντί] in compliment to the unselfish liberality of Xenophon’s character.

§ 4. ὁ Μειλίχως] An attribute which was by no means specially confined to Zeus, being used on occasion of the other deities to whom sacrifice was offered in atonement for guilt. To judge from a comment of the scholiast on Aristoph. Nub. 407, the festival of the Διώσσια at Athens was celebrated in honour of this particular deity.

ἠμῖν] i.e. for your family. It appears from this statement that their present meeting was only the renewal of an intimacy which had been formed in earlier days at Athens.

καὶ ὀλοκαυτέν] The καὶ, as Kühner points out, has an explanatory force, ‘i.e. by burning the victim whole’: in contrast with the ordinary ceremonial at which only special portions of the animal were reserved for sacrifice. In Cyrop. VIII. 3. 24, ὀλοκαυτῶ, and not ὀλοκαυτέω, is the form preferred.

καὶ δ’ εἰώθει] If the reading be correct, the καὶ is again explanatory as in the phrase καὶ ὀλοκαυτέν. But the text is not entirely free from
suspicion, though it is found with no important variation in five of
the leading mss, and is accepted by Kühner, Macmichael and the
majority of the editors. Dindorf, however, proposes to omit the kal,
while Vollbrecht and others for kal à would substitute kathá, a form
which does not occur elsewhere in the Anabasis.

συνολσεως] sc. τα πράγματα, 'your affairs will improve'. Cf. Dem.
Ol. III. ad fin., and a note on ἀμενον ὑμῖν διακείσται in VII. 3. 17.

§ 5. εἰς Ὄφρωνον] Situated southwards of Dardanus in the district
of the Troad. In consideration of Xenophon's poverty, Larcher,
Macmichael and others propose to understand χολροὺς of cakes or
loaves which had been made up so as to resemble swine: a theory
rejected as untenable by Kühner and Schneider on the ground that
(had this been so) some qualifying word would assuredly have been
added.

πατρῴῳ] 'after the custom of his family', which is found in three
leading mss, is rightly preferred by Kühner, Bornemann and Mac-
michael to the form πατρῷο, though the latter is edited by Vollbrecht
and others. Interpreted in its strictest sense, the adjective is in
admirable keeping with a statement in § 4, ὥσπερ σίκου, ἐφ, εἰώθεν
ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θυεῖσθαι καλ ὀδοκαπεῖν. For the distinction between πατρῴῳ
and πατρῴῳ, which I believe to be invariably observed by the writers
of the best period, see note on σὺν τῷ πατρῴῳ φρονήματι (III. 2. 16).

§ 6. (αὐτα Εὐκλείδης)] Kühner, though admitting that the name
is undoubtedly corrupt, does not however include it in brackets. Voll-
brecht edits Ναυσικλείδης in place of Εὐσικλείδης, the latter being the
nearest approach to a reading that can be obtained from the mss.
It is at any rate hardly possible that Euclides would be introduced
anew in this casual manner, nor is the formal word ξενοῦνται at all
in keeping with the intimacy which existed between himself and
Xenophon. In addition, it is little likely that a priest would have
been selected to perform the office in question.

The article, which Poppo and Kühner have introduced before ἵππον,
is omitted by Kühner, who acutely argues that the explanatory clause
which follows sufficiently supplies its place.

§§ 7—11. Continuing their advance through the Troad, and taking
Anianthus, Atramyttnum and Certonium on their way, the Greek troops
arrive at Pergamus. Xenophon is hospitably entertained at the house of
Hellas, who counsels him to make an attack on the stronghold of Asidates,
the Persian. The sacrifices proving favourable, Xenophon conducts the
assault.

τῷ τῷ [ἵππῳ] now Karajah Taqit. In the clause which follows, Kühner
proposes Μυστας in place of Αὐστας (which appears in the better mss)
or Λυστας (which is found in the majority). Neither of these, he argues,
are in accordance with the statement of Herodotus and Aristotle, by
both of whom the plain of Thebes is treated as a part of Mysia. The
town itself was situated at the foot of Mount Placos, and was known in
consequence as Thebe Hypoplacia.

Atramyttnum (or Astrapyttnum) was a city on the river Caicus. The
modern name is Atramyttii.

§ 8. Κερτονοῦ] Neither in this form nor in the form Κερτονοῦ, which
is the alternative reading, do we find any other mention of this town. *Cytonium*, which it is proposed to substitute for it, lay between Mysia and Lydia, and therefore does not accord with the locality in question. *Kapnys* (the conjecture of Hutchinson) is more probable, as it is believed that a town of this name was situated on the banks of the river *Caresos* in Mysia.

'Ατραψεια] a strongly-fortified town, over against Lesbos, now *Dikheli*. *Pergamus* (now *Bergma* or *Bergamo*) became famous as the metropolis of the Attaline Princes.

παρ' Ἑλλάδϊ] ‘at the house of Hellas’. Gongylus, who had died before the time of Xenophons’s visit, is well known as the agent employed by Pausanias (about B.C. 477) when he was intriguing with Xerxes against the liberties of Greece. Cf. Thuc. i. 128. In return the king presented his sons and himself with certain cities of Asia (*Hell. III. I. 6*), and among them, apparently, was *Pergamus*.


§ 11. ὁντως εὖ πανθηα αὐτως] ‘that he might do them a good turn’, i.e. by awarding them a share of the expected plunder. *βιασμένοι, having forced themselves upon him*, for which compare Demos. *προς Βοι. πέρι ὀφθ. ad fin.*

τὸ μέρος] ‘their share’, the article taking the place of the possessive pronoun as in § 2 of the present chapter.

§§ 12—19. The enterprise fails, and, in carrying out their retreat, the Greek troops suffer heavy losses, the garrison being assisted in their defence by volunteers from the neighbourhood.

ἀνθρώποι...καὶ χρήματα...ἀπέδρα] Observe the *εὐγμα*.

τῆς τύρσιος] It is only in the singular that our author prefers the Ionic form of the genitive, as Kühner proves by numerous examples. To avoid the rare construction of *πέριξ* with a genitive, the same authority suggests that the preposition is to be taken independently. But the phrase ἀνθρώποι τῆς τύρσιος ‘the slaves in the tower’ would be a most singular form of expression, while the position of the article and the rhythm of the sentence are altogether in favour of the more usual rendering. Possibly Krüger may be right, who, in view of the difficulty, proposes to omit the genitive τῆς τύρσιος, the origin of which may have been a marginal gloss explanatory of the word *πέριξ*.

§ 13. *προμαχεώνας*] ‘battlements’. The word is a favourite one with Herodotus, who uses it on more than one occasion (cf. III. 151) in connexion with the Walls of Babylon. The adjective *γνωάν* in the following section is equivalent to *κεράμαι* in III. 4. 7, and possibly (though only by implication) to *ὀπτών* in II. 3. 12.

§ 14. *δειφάνη*] ‘diluxit’ Kühn., ‘as soon as the light shone through’. The phrase βουτόρω...βελισκω has been variously explained as a ‘spit on which you might roast an ox’, or else as a species of lance used for goading cattle. The connexion in which it is employed by Euripides (*Cycl. 302*) is in favour of the former rendering. The Homeric adverb *διαμπερές* occurs again in IV. 1. 18, τοξευθείς...διαμπερές ἐς τὴν κεφαλήν.

§ 15. *Τρικάνθα*] That the Hyrcanians of Upper Asia are meant is clear from the context, and also from a notice in the *Cyropaedia* (IV.
EXPEDITIO CYRI. [VII. vili.

2. 8), which includes them among the mercenary forces of the kings of Persia. Their country lay to the south of the eastern portion of the Caspian sea. Parthenium and Apollonia were Mysian towns in the neighbourhood of Pergamum.

§ 16. καὶ ἄνδράποδα] The position of these words is remarkable, and might suggest at first sight that they alone had reference to the participial clause which follows: έντος πλασίου ποιησάμενοι. It is clear, however, from a comparison of analogous passages (e.g. VII. 1. 41), that no such distinction is intended: the trajectio being employed either to throw an additional emphasis on the word ἄνδραποδα, or, it may be, to connect it less directly with the verb ἔλαυνον, the special subject of which is to be found in the previous substantives.

καὶ...θραυστεροι εἶν] This optative forms a direct continuation of the main clause: μὴ φυγῇ εἶη ἦ ἄφοδος.

§ 17. εἰς Ἀλισάρην] Halisarna (or Alisarna, as the name is sometimes written) was also in the neighbourhood of Pergamum. See note on π. i. 3. Procles is mentioned in the same passage as ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγονός ἀπό Δαμαράτου τοῦ Δάκωνος.

§ 18. πρὸ τῶν πολεμών] ‘that their shields might be available as a defence against (lit. in the face of) the arrows’: a rare use of the preposition, which is found, however, in i. 4. 4, τεῖχος πρὸ τῆς Κιλίκας.

§ 19. διασώζονται] sc. οἱ Εὔλλοιρες.

δόσων θύματα] For the construction, cf. δόσων ἐφόδιον in VII. 3. 20. The victims in question were clearly intended to form part of the sacrifice which is incidentally mentioned in the following sections.

§§ 20—24. A second expedition results in the total defeat of Asidates, after which the Greek troops return to Pergamum. Arrival of Thibron, and the termination of Xenophon’s command.

δὲ τι μακροτάτην] sub. δόν. In τῆς Ανδρᾶς we have an example of the partitive genitive, dependent on the idea of distance and extent which is contained in the superlative μακροτάτην. Cf. I. 3. 1, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἔναν τοῦ πρόσω ἀνυ ἱπ τοῦ ἱπτομοῦ (IV. 3. 28) ‘further into the river’.

eἰσ τὸ μη...φοβεῖσθαι] ‘so that the enemy might not take alarm at the proximity of the Greek troops’. Dindorf and Bornemann edit ὡστε μη...φοβεῖσθαι. The text which I have adopted rests on the authority of four leading mss., and is preferred by Vollbrecht, Kühner and Macmichael.

§ 21. ἐπ’ αὐτῶν] ‘for permission to march against him’. The phrase, though equivalent in sense to περὶ τοῦ ἤναν ἢ πέ τη γ ηναι ἢ άπ αὐτῶν, is, notwithstanding the suggestion of some of the editors, sufficiently complete in its present form.

eἰσ κόμως...ἐχούσας] pertinentes is the Latin equivalent for ἐχούσας. The expression, however, is a rare and inelegant one, nor is it entirely justified by a passage which Hutchinson quotes as analogous from Herod. IV. 42, διώρυχα...τῆν ἐκ Νειλοῦ ἐχούσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπουν.

§ 23. τῶν ἑοὺν] in reference, apparently, to the sacrifice he had offered to Zeus Milichius, of which mention was made in §§ 4 and 5.

Similarly, in Soph. *Trach.* 245, we have the following:

\[ \epsilon\varepsilon\iota\epsilon\lambda\theta' \alpha\upsilon\tau\phi \kappa\tau\mu\alpha \kappaai \theta\varepsilon\omega\iota\varsigma \kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\nu. \]

§ 25. *This section, the authenticity of which is doubtful, contains a summary of the Persian provinces with the names of their respective governors.*

(\[\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \delta\epsilon \omicron \omicron\delta \kappa.\tau.\lambda.\]\) It is needless to examine in detail the arguments by which Krüger has conclusively demonstrated that the summary which follows forms no true portion of the present work, though it may possibly have been transferred to its present quarters from some other account of the *Anabasis.* Among the more important of his objections are the employment of the first person \[\epsilon\tau\varphi\lambda\theta\omicron\omicron\epsilon\upsilon,\] the mention of Artacamas as governor of Phrygia in place of Cyrus or Tissaphernes, the combination in one satrapy of districts so widely separated as Arabia and Phoenicia, the omission from the catalogue of a province so large and important as Eastern Armenia, and the incorporation of Seuthes among the representatives of the Persian King.


(\[\alpha\rho\varphi\omicron\mu\omicron\delta \delta\epsilon \kappa.\tau.\lambda.\]\) There is, apparently, no good reason for including this section in the condemnation which has been passed on the previous paragraph, though it is rejected as spurious by Vollbrecht and some of the editors. If we accept the numerals as they appear in the leading mss, the present summary is entirely consistent with the distances recorded in II. 2. 6 and v. 5. 4. Taken in combination, the marches from Ephesus to Cunaxa and from Cunaxa to Cotyora, where the Retreat (properly so called) terminates, form the precise total which is given in the passage before us. It has been calculated (though by no means with positive certainty) that the entire extent of the journey was approximately equivalent to 4330 English miles; and that, of the time which was consumed on it, the *Anabasis* must have occupied six months, and the *Katabasis* about three quarters of a year.
APPENDIX.

ON THE TEXT OF THE ANABASIS.

[A comparison in detail of the manuscript readings would be altogether out of place in an edition like the present which is intended mainly for the use of schools. At the same time it may be of service to the general reader, in cases where the text which I have adopted differs from that of Kühner, to be supplied with the readings of the five mss which in point of authority stand preeminently at the head of the list. In all such cases the readings, as they are given below, have been derived from Kühner's edition, except in the very few instances where, for reasons explained in the notes, I have suggested a correction of my own. In estimating the comparative authority of the mss in question, Kühner assigns the first place to A (Romæus Vaticanus, 987), the second to B (Parisinus regius, 1641), written by a more careful hand, the third to C (Parisinus regius, 1640), which in the parts that have been collated approximates closely to B, the fourth—after a wide interval—to D (Parisinus regius, 2535), which, with certain distinctive characteristics, is practically uniform with B, and the fifth to the Codex Etonensis (E), the readings of which are often in accordance with those of distinctly inferior mss. It may be added that Vollbrecht's confidence in the authority of A and B is by no means so unwavering as that of Kühner.]

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

§ 18. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης] So Vollbr, who sees no ground for departing from the reading of the mss: ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης Zeune, Kühn. and Macm.

CHAPTER III.

§ 17. τὰυταίς ταῖς τρεῖτεσι] τὰυταίς ταῖς τρεῖτεσι Kühn. Macm., but Vollbr. is, I think, justified in mistrusting the word τὰυταίς. See note ad loc.
APPENDIX.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 15. Ὡς φίλοι τεῦξεσθε] BCD Vollbr. Born. and Macm., φίλα E, Ὡς φίλοι τεῦξεσθε Kühn. with the inferior mss. It is suggestive that in Λ the words οἶδα δότι Ὡς φίλοι are omitted altogether.

CHAPTER V.

§ 2. [ἂν] ἑστασαν] The particle is omitted by Vollbr. Dind. Macm. and the majority of the mss, including the five best. Kühn. transposes it thus: ἑστασαν ἂν, but see note ad loc.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 4. *ὑμῶν*] Schn. omits the pronoun (which is worse than superfluous) on the authority of E.

§ 12. (καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἱγμηρύνεις)] The majority of the editors have followed Weiske, who omits these words as an interpolation. For Kühner's arguments in favour of retaining them, see note ad loc.

§ 18. εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις] So Vollbr. Born. and Macm., εἰ μὴ ἐν ταύταις μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις Kühn. Four out of the five leading mss (ABCE) exhibit the double negative: in the remaining one (D) μὴ is omitted.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 6. ἵππεις * τοῦτον] ἵππεις μετ’ αὐτῶν Born. Macm., οἱ ἵππεις τοῦτον Vollbr., while Kühn. is satisfied with the reading in the text. But, on the assumption that the sentence is otherwise correct, the article (which appears in Λ) is essential to the construction.

§ 10. *ἐλώντων καὶ διακόψεων*] ἐλώντα καὶ διακόψεων Kühn. and the more recent editors by conjecture for ἐλθόντα καὶ διακόψοντα (ABCD). The earlier editors, as a rule, prefer the reading of the text which is found in several mss of inferior note. See note ad loc.

CHAPTER IX.

§ 13. ἃ ἐφ’ ὃ τι προχωροῖν] ἔχοντι ὃ τι προχωροῖν (προσχωροῖν ABCE) is the manuscript reading, from which none of the editors have elicited a satisfactory sense. The alteration which I have suggested affords an easy clue to the origin of the corruption.

CHAPTER X.

§ 1. ὡρμητο] Vollbr. Born. and Macm. on the authority of C, while Kühn. edits ὡρμῶτο with the other leading mss.
APPENDIX.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER III.


CHAPTER V.

§ 25. ἔλθειν, ἐν τῷ ἑμφανει λέγει Born. and Macm. with the majority of the mss. The collocation in the text is preferred by Kühn. and Vollbr. on the authority of AB, though Kühn. connects the phrase ἐν τῷ ἑμφανει with the infinitive which precedes it.


§ 39. [οὐς] ἀπολωλέκατε] ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε is the ordinary reading, which satisfies none of the editors, and it is proposed in consequence to omit ὡς on the authority of one inferior ms. The substitution of οὐς for ὡς appears to me a simpler and more effective solution of the difficulty.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 12. *ἀρχομένους*] ἀρχομένουs Hutch. Popp., ἀρχομένουs Schaeef., while Kühn. and Vollbr. accept the reading of the text, with an admission that nothing short of a radical change to ἀρχοντας will meet the requirements of the passage.

§ 25. ὡςος μὲν (ἂν) αἰσθάνοντα] ὡςος μὲν ἡθάνετο C and the bulk of the mss; ὡςος μὲν αἰσθάνοντα Vollbr. Born. Macm. and the majority of the later editors. Kühn. retains the particle with ABDE, though in II. 4. 26, where it rests on similar authority, he marks it as doubtful.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. ἐν τῷ ἀναβάσει τῷ μετὰ Κύρου] Vollbr. Born. and Macm. with the majority of the mss: ἐν τῷ Κύρου ἀναβάσει ABDE Kühn.


§ 38. ὁθελήσα] ABDE and the majority of the editors: ὁθῆσαι Kühn. and Vollbr. with the bulk of the MSS.

§ 47. Βγλου Αρκάδος] The majority of the MSS, including ABCD, supply the adjective, which (to secure uniformity) is omitted by Kühn. and some of the editors. Vollbr. adopts ἀντὶ δὲ Βγλου Κλεάνωρ Αρκάς with the Eton MS and others of inferior note.

CHAPTER II.

§ 22. οὐτω κρείττονα] οὐτω, which appears in the majority of the MSS including E, is omitted by Kühn. and Vollbr. but retained by Born. and Macm.

§ 25. μεγάλαις] Born. and Macm. with the bulk of the MSS, including E: μεγίσταις, which has high authority (ABCD Kühn. and Vollbr.), is most intolerably weak.

§ 34. προσδοκάν] which is the manuscript reading, is retained by Born. and Macm., προσδεῖν (the suggestion of Wyttenb.) being adopted by Kühn. and Vollbr.

CHAPTER III.


§ 18. εν τῷ τεταγμένῳ] εν τῷ ἐντεταγμένῳ Kühn. with ABD: τῷ σφενδόναν ἐντεταγμένω Vollbr. with the remaining MSS, which, by the omission of the words εν τῷ, would seem to indicate the source of the corruption. See note ad loc.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 32. ἀπόμαχοι] οἱ ἀπόμαχοι Kühn. and Zeune with ABE. For the reasons which have led me to omit the article with Vollbr., see note ad loc.

§ 35. (τε)...(ποιεῖν)] Both Kühn. and Vollbr. omit these words, though they are read or suggested in all the MSS with the exception of four, and the sentence seems incomplete without them.

§ 36. λέειν αὐτοὺς] So Vollbr. and the majority of the editors with AE and (by inference from κωλύειν αὐτοῖς) B. Kühn. follows Dind. in editing λυσίτελειν αὐτοῖς with the remainder of the MSS.

§ 46. νῦν...(χρόνον)] See note ad loc.
APPENDIX.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

§ 18. *διαμπερές εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν*] So Born. and Macm. with the majority of the MSS, while Kühn. and Vollbr. omit the preposition εἰς with ABE. But see note *ad loc.*

CHAPTER II.

§ 22. *ὡστε ἐν λάκκοις κοινιατοῖς εἰχὼν*] ὡν ἐν λάκ. κοιν. εἰχὼν Schn. Kühn. and Vollbr. But the MSS are unanimous in favour of the reading in the text, which is retained by Born. Macm. and the majority of the editors for the reasons given in my note.


CHAPTER III.

§ 30. *ἐπιμεληθεμένοι*] So Born. Macm. and all the MSS, with the exception of ADE, from which Kühn. and Vollbr. have adopted the simpler but less probable future: *ἐπιμεληθέρμενοι.*

CHAPTER IV.

§ 9. *πάντα τὰ ἑπτῆςειά*] Poppo and Vollbr. retain πάντα, which is found in all the MSS with the exception of ABDE. It is omitted by Kühn. and bracketed by Born. and Macm.

§ 14. *ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας*] ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας Kühn., on the sole authority of Suidas (p. 648). The majority of the editors, including Vollbr. Born. and Macm., see no sufficient reason for departing from the reading of the MSS.

CHAPTER V.

§ 3. *πέντε καὶ δέκα*] Kühn. and Vollbr. omit the words καὶ δέκα on the authority of a single MS (A). See note *ad loc.*

§ 8. *βρωτόν*] The words ἡ ποτῶν, which are added by Kühn. on the authority of AE and some of the inferior MSS, are omitted by the majority of the editors, including Vollbr. Born. and Macm.

§ 17. *ἐπιτεθόειν*] CE Born. and Macm., ἐπιτεθείν ABD Kühn. and Vollbr.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 2. *ἡγαγεν*] for which Kühn. edits ἡγεν on the authority of A and E, is preferred by Vollbr. Born. and Macm. as essential to the context.
APPENDIX.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 8. ἐως ἐπὶ] So Vollbr. with A in place of ἐως οὗ ἔστε, which is the reading of the mss: ἔστε ἐπὶ. Born. Macm., ἐως οὗ ἐπὶ. Kühn. on the assumption that ἔστε is an interpolation explanatory of the original text.

§ 9. ἀντιπαρεπάξαντο φάλαγγα] Kühn. alone of recent editors has adopted κατὰ φάλαγγα on the authority of three mss of very inferior note.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

§ 2. (καθεῦδων)] The participle is omitted by Vollbr. and Breitenb., and bracketed by Schn. Born. and Macm. It is found in but one of the five leading mss (C), on the strength of which Kühn. gives it a place in his text.

§ 7. πλανάσθαι] πλανάσθε Kühn. on the authority of AB and some inferior mss. The majority of the editors, including Vollbr. Born. and Macm., prefer the infinitive.

CHAPTER II.

§ 12. ἄκοντιζειν (δεψον)] In deference to four good mss, the greater number of the editors omit the participle after ἄκοντιζειν and insert it after τοξεύειν, but see note ad loc.

CHAPTER III.

§ 4. (καὶ) διέλαβον] καὶ is omitted by CD. Vollbr. Born. and Macm. On the other hand, Kühn. retains it with ABE, but omits in consequence the stop after γενόμενον. See note ad loc.


CHAPTER IV.

§ 3. πολέμιοι εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς] πολέμιοι οὗτοί εἰσιν Kühn. and Vollbr. But the deictic force of οὗτοι seems out of place in this connexion, and I have therefore followed CD. Born. and Macm. in retaining the vulgate.

§ 12. ἀνὰ ἐκατὸν μᾶλιστα τῶν χοροῖ] This reading, which is suggested in two of the better mss, is accepted by Vollbr. and Born., though the latter editor substitutes ὃσπερ for οἷον. It has further the approval of Kühn., notwithstanding he retains the vulgate in his text: ὃσπερ ἀνὰ ἐκατὸν μᾶλιστα οἱ χοροὶ.

§ 22. (ὁρθίων)] I have followed Born. and Macm. in omitting this adjective on the authority of B. Without the addition of ὅτων, which is not found in any good ms, its position in the text is practically indefensible.
APPENDIX.

CHAPTER V.


CHAPTER VI.

§ 12. ικανά ἀριθμὸν ὡς ἑνά] So all the editors, with the single exception of Kühn. who retains the manuscript reading (ικανά, ὡς ἀριθμὸν ἑνά), which he defends on the analogy of the Latin: numen ne unus uidetm.

§ 20. (ὡς) οξιάδε ἀπελθόντας] The majority of the editors, including Born. and Macm., omit ὡς, which does not appear in C or any of the inferior mss. Kühn. and Vollbr. retain it, with an admission that its presence in the text is almost unintelligible.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. (τὰ) πραττόμενα] The article is omitted by Vollbr. and Dind., and bracketed by Born. and Macm. Kühn. alone retains it with ABE, though he instances no other passage in which it is similarly placed.

§ 13. πάλων ἐλθεῖν] So all the mss with the exception of ABE (πάλων ἀποθέλων) which is preferred by Kühn. and Vollbr., πάλων ἀπελθεῖν Born. Macm. See note ad loc.

§ 31. τὰ ἐρωματικὰ (ὑπερδέξα) τὰ ἐρυματὰ ὑπερδέξεια MSS, a reading which is indefensible since there is no authority for ὑπερδέξεια as a substantive. Krüg. would treat either ἐρωματικὰ or ὑπερδέξεια as an interpolation, but the omission of the article is perhaps a simpler alteration.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

§ 19. ἔκαστος (τις)] Kühn. and Macm. retain the indefinite τις with ABE: Vollbr. and Dind. omit it with CD.

§ 23. ἐκ Ἐφέσου (ὁ) ὃς ὁργισόνται] ἐκ ὡς εἰ οὐτὼς ἔχων, ἐκ ὡς ὁργισόνται Α, ἐκ ὡς οὐτώς ἔχοι ὁργισόνται BD, ἐκ ὡς οὐτώς ὥσει ὁργισόνται E. The remaining mss give the reading of the text with ἔχων in place of ἔχων. Kühn. and Vollbr. edit ἐκ, ἐκ ὑμῶς ἔχων, ἐκ ὁργισόνται by adaptation from Α, while Macm. adopts the reading of E and punctuates thus: ἐκ, ἐκ ὡς ἔχων, ὁργισόνται.
CHAPTER II.
§ 8. βουλεύεσθαι] So Vollb. and Macm. after the majority of the mss, ou βουλεύεσθαι B, βουλεύεσθαι A, which is followed by Kühn.

CHAPTER V.
§ 13. τοιούτον (δὲ τὸ) νάπος] τοιοῦτο νάπος Α, τοιοῦτο νάπος BCD. The words δὲ τὸ are omitted by Vollbr., bracketed by Poppo and retained by Kühn. and Macm.
§ 25. εἰς προβολὴν] So ACE with Vollbr. and Macm. in place of προβολὴν, which is preferred by Kühn. and Zeune.

CHAPTER VI.
§ 5. ἀλλοι ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν] So Dind. who is followed by Vollbr., καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τῶν οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ εἰλήφεσαν mss and Kühn., καὶ οἰχόμενοι ἄλλος ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν Schneid., καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τῶν οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος Born.
§ 15. καταδικάζω ἐναυτὸν] CDE with Vollbr. and Macm., καταδικάζω ἐναυτὸν AB and Kühn.
§ 29. συνεβολεύει] CDE with Vollbr. and Macm., συνεβολεύειτο Kühn. with AB.

BOOK VII.
CHAPTER I.
§ 4. ἀπαγγέλειν] So Dind. Vollbr. and Macm. after Α (ἀπαγγέλειν): Kühn. edits ἀπαγγέλλει with the other mss.
§ 31. εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἅλλη ἥν μὲν δυνάμεθα] Kühn. and Macm. place only a comma after πόλιν, connecting the clause with what follows, but the emphatic position of μὲν is suggestive of an αφοσίωσις, for which see note ad loc.
APPENDIX.

CHAPTER II.

§ 3. *διαδόντες* τὰ ὄπλα (κατὰ τοὺς χῶρους) διδόντες τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τοὺς χῶρους MSS, *διαδόντες* τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τοὺς χῶρους Born. Kühn. The words κατὰ τοὺς χῶρους are omitted by Macm., and the entire passage by Muret. and Vollbr.

§ 15. *εἰ παρείειν*] So Born. Dind. Vollbr. and Macm. for *εἰπερ εἰν* which is found in A. Kühn. reads *προσείειν* with the other MSS: Schneider *έφειεν*.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. ἐπὶ τὸ στρατοπέδῳ] So Vollbr. and Macm. with the majority of the MSS: Kühn. omits the article with AB.

§ 22. Σεύθης* (καί) ἀνελθομένοι] καί is retained by AB and Kühn., omitted by the other MSS, Vollbr. and Macm. Krüg. suggests the possibility of a lacuna after the words νάμος γὰρ ἦν, which he would supply thus: τούτους διανέμειν.

CHAPTER V.


CHAPTER VI.

§ 3. ἐπὶ ξένια] So Vollbr. Krüg. (ed. min.) with BCDE, while Kühn. Hutch. and Macm. edit ἐπὶ ξένια with A and one other MS.

§ 24. οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθου (εἰ) προσήτε τὸλεν] Macm. follows AB in omitting εἰ and retaining δὲ ('Αρίσταρχος δὲ), while Vollbr. adopts the converse alternative: οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθου, εἰ προσήτε τῇ πόλει, 'Αρίσταρχος οἴμας κ.τ.λ. Born and Kühn. retain εἰ with the majority of the MSS, and δὲ with AB.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 3. οὗτος ὁ ἄνηρ] So Zeune and the majority of the editors after a single MS, οὗτος ἄνηρ Kühn. and Vollbr. in place of the vulgate ὁ άνηρ.

§ 24. ἀνύσασθαι] ἀνύσεσθαι Kühn., which is apparently a typographical error.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. γεγραφότος] DE Vollbr. and Macm., γεγραφηκότος ABC and Kühn.

§ 6. (Εὐκλείδης)] Eυκλείδης (which is avowedly corrupt) Kühn. and Macm., Χανσκλείδης Vollbr., Eυσκλείδης (to all appearance) ABE.
The words παρῆλθον εἰσώ αὐτοῦ represent in themselves a question of very considerable importance to the student, since on the meaning to be assigned to them will depend not only his interpretation of the present passage and of the corresponding one in I. 7. 15, but also his general conception of the course taken by the Greeks in this, the early portion of the Retreat. Macmichael considers 'they can only signify an entry through the Wall into Babylonia'. Hutchinson and Mr Taylor take the same view, together with Bishop Thirlwall, who further expresses his conviction that, in all cases in which it is joined with a verb of motion, εἰσώ must bear the signification of to the inside, not on the inside. It was in deference to their combined authority that, in a note on I. 7. 15, I expressed a general acquiescence in the theory propounded by Mr Taylor, that, whatever import we may attach to the description of the Wall which appears in the First Book, it was crossed by the Greeks for the first time on the present occasion: a conclusion which necessitated our giving a different direction to the Wall than that taken by the ruins now known as Sidd Nimrud, with which it had hitherto been proposed to identify it. However, since writing the note in question, I have called to mind a passage in Thucydidès (III. 22), where the phrase we are considering is very nearly illustrated in the words καὶ οἱ τριακάσουι αὐτῶν, ὅστις εὐτέκτων παραβοΰντειν εἰ τι δέοι, ἐκώρουν ἐξω τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὴν βοῦν, the meaning of which is definitely fixed by the context to be as follows: 'they moved along outside the wall in the direction of the cry'. This use of ἐξω will clearly justify an analogous rendering of εἰσω in the present instance, in spite of the numerous authorities who have agreed to regard the phrase παρῆλθον εἰσω as a simple equivalent for διέβησαν. Moreover, the verb παρέχωμαι is a technical term with military writers to denote the forward advance of an army. Compare, by way of illustration, such passages as the following: παρῆλθον εἰς Τημύνας οἱ ἄλλοι (Dem. peri ὄνομ. § 999), and a corresponding use of the compound παράγειν in III. 4. 21 of the present work. We have now to consider how far this rendering will affect our conclusions as to the geography of the Retreat.

After a further examination of all the passages which bear upon this portion of the march I am induced to return to the opinion expressed by Ainsworth, Ross, Lynch and the majority of the commentators that the so-called Median Wall was in fact identical with the ruins now known as Sidd Nimrud. These (according to the account furnished to Ross by his Bedouin guides) form the remains of a structure which for a portion of its length was clearly built of brick, though in some places it is now worn level with the surface of the desert. It extended apparently from a point below Opis, on the west bank of the Tigris, as far as the Euphrates, which it joined at a position a little below that of Pylæ. This Wall I conceive to have been crossed but once by the Greeks at some earlier stage of the narrative—in connexion
possibly with their entry by way of Pylae—as the theory suggested by Ainsworth that they retraced their steps to Pylae, and so placed themselves on the north side of the Wall, is somewhat suspiciously adapted to suit the supposed requirements of the verb παρηλθόν. According to this view, the Greeks now meet the Wall for the second time, but without crossing it. In the author's words, as I understand them, they 'advanced along the inner side of it'.

The above explanation, which I believe to be in strict keeping with the language of the narrative (παρηλθόν εἰσώ), will also meet all the difficulties which have been raised in connexion with the situation of Sittake and the distances travelled by the troops before reaching it, while it is highly probable that the bend to the north-west, which brought the travellers into fresh proximity with the Median Wall, may have been made in the endeavour to avoid the Hur, as well as the marshes of Akka Kuf. It is certainly surprising that no record should have been left us by Xenophon of the occasion on which the Greeks actually crossed the Wall, whether the passage was effected at Pylae or at some other stage of the upward route. But the theory countenanced by Ainsworth and Macmichael—that the Wall at its western end was even at that time in a ruined state, and presented few traces of its existence—will not only account for the author's silence, but also for his statement that it was 'not far distant from Babylon' (ii. 4. 12), whereas the ruins of Sidd Nimrud are, by Rennell's shewing, about 100 miles above Babylon at their south-western extremity. If we suppose Xenophon to have been ignorant of the fact that he had actually crossed the Wall in the neighbourhood of Pylae, it is not to be wondered at that, as he continued his march and met no traces of its existence, he should have concluded that its western end lay in the direction of Babylon, at a point further south than Cunaxa, where his own experiences terminated.

Let me quote in conclusion a passage from Colonel Chesney's narrative, in which he gives a short summary of his own views concerning the present portion of the Katabasis, and pronounces very distinctly in favour of the above theory. 'The Greeks (he says) came up to and departed from the Median Wall into the interior. This wall was of bricks, and once 100 feet high and 20 feet thick. It is still to be traced with its towers and ditch, running south-westward from the Tigris, nearly opposite Kadisiyeh, to the Euphrates near Felujah, a distance of forty-two or forty-three miles.'
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