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THE
EXPEDITION
OF
CYRUS INTO PERSIA;
AND THE
RETREAT
OF THE
TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

TRANSLATED FROM
XENOPHON,
WITH
CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES,
By EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

VOL. I.

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M.DCC.LXXVI.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
LORD *LOVELL*.

MY LORD!

IF I wanted a Reason for dedicating this Translation of *Xenophon* to your Lordship, I could easily find one in the many Years of Acquaintance, I may say, of Intimacy, I have passed in your
A 2 Neigh-

D E D I C A T I O N.

Neighbourhood: But your Lordship's superior Knowledge in ancient Literature, your Acquaintance with the most celebrated Authors, your Sagacity in discovering, and Judgment in admiring their Beauties are not so properly Reasons to persuade, as Claims to challenge a Dedication of one of the politest Authors of Antiquity. On the other Side, how will your Lordship, who reads the Original, not only without Difficulty, but with Admiration, bear to see the Elegance of an *Attic* Author debased by the Rudeness of a *Gothic* Language, and, what is worse, by the Incapacity of the Translator? The first of these it is not in my Power to reform, and if the last is in any Degree improved, it is owing
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DEDICATION.

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ing to my Conversation with your
Lordship.

I remember, when we were Fox-hunters, and a long Day's Sport had rather tired, than fatigued us, we often passed the Evening in reading the ancient Authors; when the Beauty of their Language, the Strength, and Justness of their Thoughts for ever glowing with a noble Spirit of Liberty, made us forget not only the Pains, but the Pleasures of the Day.

WONDER not, my Lord! that I am willing to recal those Seasons of Delight, since they afforded me a double Pleasure, one arising from the Authors themselves,
and

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and the other from your Lordship's Observations on them. I have too great a Regard for the Reputation of those Authors, not to make it known, that, next to Nature, they have made your Lordship one of the best Judges in the World, in Painting, and Architecture; it is owing to your exquisite Taste in both, that *Holkham* is an *Athenian* Country-House in every Thing, but the Danger of being eminent; but your Lordship is yourself an Instance, that, in *England*, though as free as *Athens*, Eminence may be univerfally acknowledged without being exposed.

IT must, however, be owned that these Monuments of your Taste, which your Lordship will
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 leave.

DEDICATION.

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leave for the Instruction, and Admiration of Posterity, might seem to intimate in the Mind that raised them, a Want of that Perfection, they themselves so justly boast of, if you did not at the same Time, leave the Person, who, according to the Course of Nature, will succeed you, qualified to relish the Possession of them: This you have effectually provided for, by taking Care that, as Nature has made Mr. *Coke* Heir to your Understanding, and the Law to your Fortune, his Education should make him so to your Accomplishments.

THAT your Lordship may long enjoy the Knowledge you have treasured up, and your Son have long the Improvement of your Example,

DEDICATION.

ample, as he has already had That
of your Instruction, and that I may
long be a Witness of both, are the
sincere Wishes of,

MY LORD!

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient Humble Servant,

EDWARD SPELMAN.

THE
P R E F A C E.

THERE is not, possibly, a more difficult, a more discouraging, or a more useful Task than That of a Translator; when I say this, I mean one who writes a Translation, not a Paraphrase, under which Name most modern Performances of this Kind ought to be comprehended. It was very judiciously observed by Mr. Pope, in the Preface to his incomparable Translation of the Iliad, that there have not been more Men misled in former Times by a fervile dull Adherence to the Letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical insolent Hope of raising and improving their Author. If these Liberties are not to be allowed in translating Poets, much less ought they to be indulged in translating Historians. These Paraphrasts, it seems, are
a Men

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*Men of too exalted a Genius to stoop to a literal Translation; they must improve their Author, by adding something, which he ignorantly omitted, or by omitting something, which he vainly thought material; by this Means, the Readers, who cannot compare the Translation with the Original (for whose Use chiefly Translations are intended) have either some wretched modern Interpolation imposed on them for the Thoughts of an Ancient, or lose some of the Author's Thoughts, which the Title of a Translation gave them a Right to. But these Gentlemen have another Reason for paraphrasing, instead of translating, if they will own it; they find less Difficulty in cloathing modern Thoughts in a modern Dress, than in making Those of an Ancient appear gracefully in a Language so very different from That, in which they were conceived: For it is a Work of greater Difficulty, than those, who have not experienced it, can possibly imagine, to give an Appearance of Novelty to Antiquity, to give Light to those Things, which the Ignorance of ancient Customs, and Manners has rendered obscure, to give Beauty to those that are obsolete, to give Credibility to those that are doubtful, and, above all, to give to a Copy
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the Air of an Original. Yet all these, however difficult, belong to the Province of a Translator; these are Embellishments, which he is to acquire, if he can, but his first Duty is Fidelity to his Author: without that, his Performance is not what it professes to be, and, in that Case, these Embellishments, like royal Robes upon the Back of an Impostor, are rather a Mockery than an Ornament. If to the most exact Fidelity a Translator joins Beauty of Language, Strength of Expression, and, above all, Perspicuity; and if, with these, he has Genius enough to animate his Translation with the Spirit of his Original, he then performs every Duty belonging to his Profession. I am far from thinking that my Translation of Xenophon has all these Perfections; on the contrary, I am sensible that it is in this, as in most other Things, much easier to point out a Duty, than to fulfil it. But I should be very much wanting in that Respect which every Author owes to the Public, if I did not assure them, that no Endeavours, no Application, no Labour has been spared to render this Translation fit to be laid before them. If the Difficulties a Translation meets with are considerable, the Discouragements he labours under

are no less so. The great Number of anonymous Translations, the great Number of Translations of Translations, for which we in England are famous; but, above all, some very unfortunate Versions of Lives from the Greek into our Language, to which the Names of Authors justly admired for every other Kind of Writing are prefixed, shew the small Account the World has Reason to make of Translations, as well as the Difficulty of succeeding in them. These Considerations, I say, are powerful Discouragements to the undertaking any Thing of this Kind; but, if these are not sufficient to deter, let it be considered how unjust a Way of thinking prevails with most Readers; if there is any Merit in the Performance, it is placed to the Account of the Author, and if any Fault, to That of the Translator. Yet it should seem that Translations might deserve more Indulgence, when it is considered how many Persons of great Parts, who happen to be unacquainted with the learned Languages, particularly with Greek, would, without that Assistance, be deprived of the Satisfaction, and Improvement of reading ancient Histories written by ancient Authors; for, I dare say, those, who are conversant with both, will allow that those

those Histories are generally so much disfigured, and distorted by modern Relators, as scarce to be known: An Instance of this we see in our Countryman Sir Walter Raleigh, who has, in my Opinion, treated ancient History with more Strength, and Dignity than any modern Writer of any other Nation, and yet, let his Account of the Battle of Cannæ, though a military Subject, and therefore particularly within his Province; let his Account, I say, of that Battle be compared with the Relation given of it by Polybius, from whom he took it, and what I have advanced will plainly appear. When I say this, I do not mean to insinuate that Sir Walter Raleigh was inferior, either as a Soldier, or a Scholar, to Polybius; for I am thoroughly convinced of his great Abilities, his Fate alone is a Proof of them: The only Disadvantage he lay under, was in being less acquainted with the Manners, Customs, and Discipline of the two contending Nations at Cannæ; so that I am confident, whoever reads the two Relations of that Battle, will agree with me that a close Translation of the Account given of it by Polybius would have been much more satisfactory and instructive, to those who cannot read the Original.

THE

THE Reader will observe that I have, in the Course of my Notes, principally taken notice of three Translations, That of Leunclavius, of Hutchinson, and of d'Ablancourt; there is, besides, an Italian Translation of the Expedition of Cyrus by Gandini, which I have occasionally consulted; but, as in Cases of Difficulty I found no Assistance from thence, and, as I thought a Criticism upon a Translation in a third Language would incumber the Notes, I have chosen to take no Notice of it. I am also sensible there is a Latin Translation of this History by Stephens, which I have mentioned as occasion required. But I cannot part with this Subject without taking particular Notice of Mr. Hutchinson's Edition of the Expedition of Cyrus, which I look upon to be the best edited Book in the World, except the Cyropædia published by the same Author: If I have sometimes differed from him, I hope it will be thought I have supported my Opinion in such a Manner that he will have no just Reason to find Fault with me. I have observed the same Conduct with Regard to d'Ablancourt, the Looseness of whose Translation I have been frequently obliged to condemn; on the other Side, it will be allowed that

that I have often commended him; though I cannot carry my Commendations of him so far as his Countryman Menage, who says Menage upon Laertius, p. 103. that d'Ablancourt has surpassed even Xenophon himself in the Elegance of his Style. Another celebrated French Critic, Balzac, says, that d'Ablancourt's Translation of Xenophon would be incomparable, Balzac, Letters to Conrart, 1 B. if he had placed nothing before it, but that his Preface is so fine, that it obscures the finest Things that can be compared to it; he adds that, if it were possible for d'Ablancourt to have lived in the Time of Cyrus the Younger, and for Xenophon to be now alive, the Prefaces of d'Ablancourt would deserve to be translated by Xenophon. The Reader will observe that this forced Style was in Fashion among the French in Balzac's Time, that is, in the Infancy of their Taste; the Writers of that Age seem to have imposed an Obligation upon themselves of being for ever witty; they were often so, but that was not enough; this eternal Straining after Wit obliged them many Times to have Recourse to forced Turns of Thought, and, sometimes, to what their Language calls Phœbus, that is, shining Expressions that seem to signify something. After the Reader

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has compared the many Passages I have taken the Liberty to censure in d'Ablancourt with the Original, he will be able to judge how far he has surpassed Xenophon in the Elegance of his Style, and how far, according to the Supposition of Balzac, his Works might deserve to be translated by Xenophon. But there is an old English Translation of the Expedition of Cyrus by John Bingham, printed in 1623, and dedicated to the Right Worshipful the Artillery Company. The first Notice I had of this Translation was by a Note of Hutchinson about the Middle of the last Book; he also mentions it towards the End of the same Book, where Xenophon says Gongylus marched out to the Assistance of the Greeks βία τῆς Μητρὸς, upon which Occasion, Hutchinson says vis phraseos omnino latuit versionis Anglicanæ Authorem; and, indeed, he had great Reason to say so, for, upon looking into Bingham's Translation, I find he has rendered that Passage, by Compulsion of his Mother, whereas he should have said against his Mother's Will, in which Sense all the other Translators have rendered it. I do not remember that Hutchinson has taken any Notice of this Translation but upon these two Occasions.

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Finding therefore, by Hutchinson's Note before mentioned, when I had not more than half the last Book remaining to compleat my Translation, that there was an old English Version of the Expedition, I employed several of the most eminent Booksellers in Town to get it for me, but all in vain; for none of them could find it, neither would they be persuaded there was any such Book extant, 'till I referred them to that Note of Hutchinson: However, at last I got a Sight of it from a public Library. Upon comparing it with the Original, I found the Author was a Man of some Learning, from whence I conclude that he must have made Use of some very faulty Edition, otherwise, it is not possible that a Man of Learning, (for such he really seems to have been) should ever have been guilty of so many Mistakes, as are to be met with through the whole Course of his Translation: As to his Style, it seems to be, at least, a Century older than That in which he writ. There is, in the fourth Book, a Conversation between Xenophon, and Cheiriosophus, in which they rally one another upon the Art of Stealing, so much practised by their respective Countries; the Foundation of which Rallery is the Advice given by Xenophon

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phon to steal a March to some Part of a Mountain they were to pass. *As the Spirit of Rallery is, of all others, the most likely to be lost in a Translation, for that Reason, Rallery itself is the last Thing one would chuse to translate, if it did not necessarily come in one's Way; upon this Occasion, therefore, I was in Hopes of receiving some Assistance from the old English Translation, which I should both have made Use of, and acknowledged very readily; but, upon Examination, I found this Passage translated in the following Manner, it seemeth to me not impossible to steal some Part or other of the Hill. After this, I dare say, it will easily be concluded that I could entertain no great Hopes of any Assistance from that Quarter. Many ancient Authors, both Greek, and Latin, and, particularly, those, who were themselves, fine Writers, as well as judicious Critics, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Tully, have celebrated the Beauty of our Author's Style, his Perspicuity and that peculiar Sweetness in his Composition, which made his Writings be called the Language of the Muses: The latter goes so far as to say that Lucullus, being sent to make War upon Mithridates, which was no easy Province,*
and

and being unacquainted with the Duty of a General, acquired, by reading the Expedition of Cyrus, so great a Knowledge in the Art of War, as to owe his Victories against that Prince to the Information he received from it. However this may be, we find, by the Commentaries of Cæsar, that he often made Use of the same Dispositions against the Gauls, which Xenophon had employed, with so great Success, against the Persians: But, what is much more for the Credit of our Author, it is obvious that the Expedition of Cyrus was the Model of these Commentaries; the same Elegance, the same Clearness of Expression, the same unaffected Grace, are the distinguishing Characters of both; and possibly, the Greek, and Latin Languages, have nothing in their Kind more perfect than these two admirable Performances. I am sensible that all Commendations bestowed upon the Original, tend to expose the Translation to Censure, which I ought not, in Prudence, wantonly to solicit; but I was willing, if I could not do Justice to Xenophon by translating him, to endeavour to do it, at least, by commending him: This may be thought a small Amends for the former: However, the Determination of this Question must be left to

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*the Voice of the People, who are still Sovereigns in This, and who, as they were formerly remarkable for their Justice in deciding the Fate of Mankind, are still not less so in determining That of their Productions; so that, to use the Words of my Ancestor, * in the Preface to his Glossary, I submit my Labours, and Errors to the Public.*

* Sir Henry Spelman, who was great great Grandfather to the Author.



A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
XENOPHON.

XENOPHON was an *Atbenian*; his Father's Name *Gryllus*. All that we know of him 'till he attended *Cyrus* in his Expedition, is, that he was a Disciple of *Socrates*. If, to have been a Disciple of that great Man was an Instance of his good Fortune, the Improvement he made of that Education is an Instance of his Merit; and, indeed,
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nothing less than the happiest Disposition, the best Education, and the greatest Improvement of both, could render *Xenophon* that universal Man we find him in his Writing: his *Cyropædia* shews him to have possessed, in a sovereign Degree, the Art of Government; his *Expedition of Cyrus* shews him a compleat General; his History, an entertaining, an instructive, and a faithful Historian; his Panegyric of *Agefilaus*, an Orator; and his Treatise of Hunting, a Sportsman; his Apology for *Socrates*, and the Account he gives of his Manner of conversing, shew that he was both a Friend, and a Philosopher; and all of them, that he was a good Man. This appears remarkably in his preserving *Byzantium* from being plundered by his Soldiers, who, having gained no other Reward of the dangerous Expedition they had been engaged in, but their Preservation, were not only strongly tempted to plunder that Town by the hope of making their Fortunes, but justly provoked to it by the disingenuous Behaviour of the *Lacedæmonian* Governor; yet these two lawless Pas-

Passions, Avarice, and Revenge, the Authority, and Eloquence of *Xenophon* quite subdued.

As *Cyrus* had assisted the *Lacedæmonians* in their War against the *Athenians*, the latter looked upon *Xenophon's* Attachment to that Prince as criminal, and banished him for engaging in his Service. After this, *Xenophon* attended *Agésilas*, when he was sent for by the *Lacedæmonians* with his Army from *Asia*; where, the Success of his Arms gave something more than Uneasiness to *Artaxerxes*, who, not without Cause, began to fear the same Fate from *Agésilas*, which his Successor, *Darius*, afterwards found from *Alexander*; but the former, by corrupting the *Greek* Cities, and, by that Means, engaging them to make War upon the *Lacedæmonians*, suspended the Fate of *Persia* for a Time: But, in all Evils, Relief, obtained by Corruption, is only a Respite, not a Cure; for, when *Alexander* invaded *Persia*, the same low Arts were again practised by *Darius* to recall him from *Asia* by a Diversion
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in Greece; but, these proving ineffectual, the Persians, by trusting more to the Vices of their Enemies, than to their own Virtue, became an easy Conquest.

Xenoph.
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Agesslaus, soon after he returned, fought the Battle of *Coronea*, where, though wounded, he defeated the *Thebans*, and their Allies; at this Battle *Xenophon* was present. After that, he retired to *Scilus*, where he passed his Time in reading, the Conversation of his Friends, Sporting, and writing History. But, this Place, being over-run by the *Eleans*, in whose Neighbourhood it was, *Xenophon* went to *Corinth*, where he lived 'till the first Year of the 105th Olympiad, when he died in the ninety-first Year of his Age: So that, he must have been about fifty Years of Age at the Time of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, which was the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, just forty Years before. I am sensible some learned Men are of Opinion that he was not so old at the Time of the Expedition, though I see no Reason to disbelieve *Lucian* in this Particular, who says that *Xenophon* was above ninety

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Years

of XENOPHON.

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Years of Age when he died. - However, this is beyond all Dispute, that he lived 'till after the Battle of Mantinea, which, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was in the Diod. Sic. second Year of the 104th Olympiad, be-¹⁵ B. cause he closes his History of the Affairs of Greece with the Account of that Battle: In which Account it is very extraordinary that he should say nothing more of the most remarkable Incident in it, I mean the Death of *Epaminondas*, than *that he fell* in the Action; but this may be accounted for by that Modesty, which was the distinguishing Character of our Author, because it is well known that *Epaminondas* fell by the Hand of *Gryllus*, the Son of *Xenophon*, who was sent by his Father to the Assistance of the *Athenians*. It will easily be imagined that a General, at the Head of a victorious Army, then pursuing his Victory, could not be attacked, much less slain, without manifest Danger to the daring Enemy, who should attempt it. This *Gryllus* found, for he had no sooner lanced the fatal Dart, which deprived *Thebes* of the greatest General of that Age, but he was

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cut to Pieces by the Friends of *Epaminondas*. When the News of his Death was brought to *Xenophon*, he said no more than that *he knew he was mortal*.



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INTRODUCTION.

NOTHING seems to contribute more to the forming a clear Idea of any Transaction in History than a previous Knowledge both of the Persons, and Things that gave Birth to it; for, when the Reader is once acquainted with the Characters, and Views of the principal Actors, and with what has been done in Consequence of both, the Scene unfolds in so natural a Manner, that the most extraordinary Events in History are looked upon in the same Light as the most surprizing Phenomena in Philosophy; that is, like these, they are found to be the necessary Result of such Principles, as the all-wise Creator has thought fit to establish; and, like these, are as little to be wondered at, and

as easy to be accounted for. In Order, therefore, to enable the Reader to view the Consequences in their Principles, and contemplate the Embryo Plant in its Seed, I shall lay before him a short Account of the most remarkable Transactions, that seem to have had an immediate Influence upon That, which *Xenophon* has chosen for the Subject of his History. The Affairs of the *Athenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had been, for some Time before the Expedition of *Cyrus*, so much interwoven with those of *Persia*, that all three seem to have had a Share in every remarkable Event, that happened to each of them: Thus, the Supplies of Money with which *Lysander*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, was furnished by *Cyrus*, enabled him to carry on the War against the *Athenians* with Advantage, and, at last, to give them a decisive Blow at *Ægos Potamos*, which ended in the taking of *Athens*; and, on the other Side, the Assistance which *Cyrus* received from the *Lacedæmonians*, both by Sea, and Land, in return, encouraged him to an Attempt of no less Moment than the dethroning his Brother *Artaxerxes*. The
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Several Steps which led to this Enterprize equally great, unfortunate, and unwarrantable, shall be taken Notice of in the Order of Time in which they happened; in this short Survey, I shall avoid entering into any Chronological Discussions, which often puzzle, seldom inform, and never entertain, but confine myself almost entirely to *Diodorus Siculus*, who, besides the Character he has deservedly obtained for Fidelity, and Exactness, had the Advantage of living many Centuries nearer the Transactions he recounts, than those who differ from him in Chronology, as well as That of consulting many Authors, whose Works are unfortunately lost to modern Ages: Neither shall I go further back than the taking of *Athens* by the *Lacedæmonians*, which happened in ^{Diod.Sic.} 13 B. the fourth Year of the ninety-third Olympiad, and put an End to the *Peloponnesian* War, after it had lasted twenty-seven Years. The same Year died *Darius Oebus*, King of *Persia*, after a Reign of nineteen Years, and left his Kingdom to his eldest Son *Artaxerxes*, who was born before he was King: *Parysatis* his Queen, the most artful of all Women, and Mother

ther both to *Artaxerxes*, and *Cyrus*, tried the Power of every Practice to engage *Darius* to imitate his Predecessor, *Darius Hyftaspes*, who preferred his Son *Xerxes*, born after his Accession, to *Artobaxanes*, who was born before it; but all her Efforts proved ineffectual, and *Artaxerxes* succeeded his Father without Opposition. If the Arts of *Parysatis* could not prevail with *Darius* to set his eldest Son aside, her Fondness for *Cyrus* not only encouraged him to form a Design against his Brother's Life, but rescued him, if not, from Disgrace, at least, from Punishment, when it was discovered. The next Year, which was the first of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, there happened an Eclipse of the Sun, which is only taken Notice of, as it is no small Satisfaction to find History, upon this Occasion supported by Astronomy, by which it appears that the Eclipse of the Sun, mentioned by *Xenophon*, in his *Greek History*, to have happened this Year, fell out on the third Day of *September*, upon a *Friday*, at twelve Minutes after Nine o'clock. The same Year, *Cyrus* returned to his Government in *Asia Minor*, with a Mind
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Herodot.
in Poly-
hymnia.

Xenophon, 2 B.
Uffer. p.
128.
Petav. de
doctr.
Temp. 13.
B.

more exasperated at his Disgrace, than terrified with his Danger, and immediately resolved to repair the Disappointment of private Treason by open Hostility; to this Purpose, he addressess himself to the *Lacedæmonians*, who chearfully espouse his Quarrel. This Intercourse between *Cyrus*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, could not be carried on so privately, as to escape the Notice of *Alcibiades*, who, being banished from his Country, was now retired to *Grynium*, a strong Place Ephorus, in *Phrygia*, appointed by *Pharnabazus* for 17 B. in Diod. Sic. his Residence, to whom he immediately communicates his Intelligence, desiring him, at the same Time, to appoint proper Persons to conduct him to Court, that he might give *Artaxerxes* an Account of the whole: But *Pharnabazus*, being willing to have the Merit of a Discovery of so great Importance, sent Persons of Trust to *Artaxerxes* to lay the Information before him. *Alcibiades*, suspecting his Design, left *Pharnabazus*, with an Intention to apply himself to the Satrape of *Papblagonia*, to the End, that, through him, he might be recommended to *Artaxerxes*; but *Pharnabazus*, fearing the
King

King should, by this Means, be informed of the Truth, prevented his Design, by ordering him to be put to Death.

Diod. Sic.
14 B.

THE next Year, that is, the second of the ninety-fourth Olympiad brings *Clearchus* upon the Stage; he makes so considerable a Figure in the ensuing History both by his Conduct, and his Fate, that the Incident we are going to speak of, which happened just before he engaged himself in the Service of *Cyrus*, and which seems to have driven him into it, must not be omitted: It seems, the Inhabitants of *Byzantium* being engaged in Factions, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Clearchus* to compose their Differences, who uniting them in nothing but their Complaints against himself, the Ephori recalled him: But he, refusing to obey their Orders, they sent *Pantædas* with some Troops, to force him to a Submission. With these he defeated *Clearchus*, and obliged him to fly to *Ionia*; here he was received with open Arms by *Cyrus*, to whom his Experience in military Affairs, his enterprising Genius, and, possibly, even his Rebellion, were, at this Juncture, no
small

small Recommendations; since he could not but look upon a Man, who had dared to fly in the Face of his Country, as a proper Person to bear Command in an Army, which he was raising to invade his own. It was upon this Occasion that *Cyrus* gave him the ten thousand Daricks mentioned by *Xenophon*, with which he levied a considerable Number of Forces, and engaged them in his Service.

THE next Year *Diodorus Siculus* passes over without taking Notice of any Thing relating to this Expedition, so we may conclude that *Cyrus* employed it in continuing his Preparations under various Pretences, particularly, since we find him in the Field early the Year after. *Sardes*, Xenophon, Exp. of Cyrus, the Capital of *Lydia*, and, formerly, the Residence of its Kings, was the Place of general Rendezvous; from hence *Cyrus* ^{1 B.} marched at the Head of about twelve thousand eight hundred *Greeks*, and one hundred thousand *Barbarians*, to dispute the Crown of *Persia* with his Brother *Artaxerxes*; and, from hence, *Xenophon*, who came to him to *Sardes*, begins his History of this Expedition.

THE Year, which decided this great Contest, was the 783d Year from the taking of Troy, the 351st of Rome, Publius Cornelius, Cæsar Fabius, Spurius Nautilus, Caius Valerius, Marcius Sergius, and Junius Lucullus, being military Tribunes; and the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, *Escanetus* being Archon at Athens: This Expedition has, I find, been thought of Consequence enough to be taken Notice of in the *Arundel* Marble, the eightieth Æra of which has these Words, * *From the Time those, who ascended with Cyrus, returned, and Socrates, the Philosopher, died, being seventy Years of Age, one hundred and thirty-seven Years, Laches being Archon at Athens.*

Diod. Sic.
14 B.

THE Year the Greeks returned was the Year after they marched from *Sardes*, since *Xenophon* says they were fifteen Months in their Expedition, and consequently, that Year was the first of the ninety-

* The Words of the *Arundel* Marble are these:

ΑΦ' ἧ ἰκωνήθων οἱ μετὰ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ
ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ἰτεΛΕΒΥΤῆσι βίΟς; ΕΤΗΓΔΔΔΕΤΗ
ΗΔΔΔΠΗ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ ΔΑΧΗΤΟΣ.

fifth Olympiad; the Authority of the *Arundel* Marble is supported by *Diodorus Siculus*, who says that *Laches* was Archon that Year at *Athens*, and that *Socrates* was put to Death the same Year.



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1948
State Department
[Faint, illegible text follows]

THE
EXPEDITION^a
OF
CYRUS.

TRANSLATED FROM XENOPHON.

BOOK I.

CYRUS was the youngest Son of *Darius*^c by *Parysatis*, and Brother to *Artaxerxes*. *Darius* being sick, and apprehensive of his approaching End, desired both his Sons might attend him.

^a *D'Abblancourt* has thought fit to change the Title given by *Xenophon* to his History, and, instead of *The Expedition of Cyrus*, to call it, *La Retraite des dix mille*; the reason he gives for it is this, he says, Things ought to derive their Name from that which is most remarkable in them, and

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THE EXPEDITION

him. *Artaxerxes* the Eldest being then present, he sent for *Cyrus* from his Government with which he ^d had invested him,

that the Expedition is nothing in comparison to the Retreat. I own this Reason does not persuade me; whatever weight it ought to have had with the Author, I think it should have none with a Translator.

^b *Ἀναβάσις*. Every one who is conversant with the Greek Authors, knows, that whenever they speak not only of Military Expeditions, but even of Journeys undertaken by private Persons from the *Lesser Asia* to *Babylon* or *Susa*, the Residence of the *Persian* Kings, they use the word *ἀναβαίνειν*; the same word came afterwards to be applied to the City of *Rome*, though more rarely: *Arrian*, who in his Expedition of *Alexander*, has followed our Author, not only in the Distribution of his Work into seven Books, but in his Style, as far as he was able, has also copied him in his Title, calling his History also, *ἀνάβασις Ἀλεξάνδρου*. *Hutchinson* thinks that the Rivers of that part of *Asia* in question, falling into the *Aegean* and *Mediterranean* Seas, gave occasion to these Terms *ἀναβαίνειν*, and *καταβαίνειν*; but it is certain that almost all the great Rivers of that part of *Asia* run either to the North or South, as the *Haly*, the *Iris*, the *Thermodon*, the *Tigris*, and the *Euphrates*.

Dem. ^c *Δαρείω ἢ Παρυσάτιδι*, &c. This first Period is much celebrated by *Demetrius Phalareus*, as full of Dignity and historical Simplicity.

Phal. *SeB.* 19. ^d *Καί γε αὐτὸν δι' αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε*. *D' Ablancourt* has visibly mistaken this passage, he makes *Darius* constitute *Cyrus* General at his Arrival at Court, *à sa venue*; whereas it not only appears from this Passage, but from History also, that he was actually invested with that Employment when he was sent for: I wish the old *Latin* Translation, which says, *Prætozem designat*, did not lead him into this Error; *Hutchinson* has translated it properly, *Præseſsum designaverat*. I said that this also appeared from History: Our Author, in his Account of the Affairs of *Greece*, mentions a Letter to have been written by *Darius* to the People of the *Lesser Asia*, six Years before this Expedition of *Cyrus*; in this Letter, *Darius* gives them notice of his having

Xenoph.
Ἐλλην.
I B.

him, as ^o Satrape, having also appointed him General of all the People, who assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*. Hereupon, *Cyrus* came to Court, accompanied by *Tissaphernes* as his Friend, and attended by three hundred ^f heavy-armed *Greeks*, under the command of *Xenias* of *Parrhasie*.

AFTER

having appointed *Cyrus* Commander in Chief of those People, who assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*: The Words of the Letter are these; καταπέμπω Κύρον Κάρανον τῶν εἰς Κασωλὸν ἀθροισμένων. τὸ δὲ Κάρανον εἰσι Κύριον.

^o *Σατραπείης*, though used both by *Latin* and *Greek* Authors, is a *Persian* Word, and signifies a Commander, a General; *Σατραπαίαι*, *Ἀρχηγοί*, *στρατηλάται*, *Περσικῆ* δὲ ἢ *λίξις*. *Hesychius*. *Herodotus* says, *Darius Hystaspes* appointed *Herodot.* twenty of these Governments, *ἀρχὰς κατετίθειτο ἑκοσι*, *in Thalia.* τὰς αὐτοὶ καλεῖσι *Σατραπειάς*.

^f *Ὀπλίτας*. *D' Ablancourt* excuses himself for not distinguishing these heavy-armed Men in his Translation; but I do not only think it necessary to distinguish them from the light-armed, but to give some account of their Distinction. There are three different kinds of Foot-Soldiers chiefly mentioned by our Author in the course of this History, the *Ὀπλίται*, the *Ψιλοὶ*, and the *Πελταταί*; of whom, and of their respective Armour, *Arrian* gives the following account in his *Tactics*: τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν πᾶν, ὅτι περ ὄνου ἔχει θώρακας, καὶ ἀσπίδας παραμήκεις, καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ δόρατα, *his Tac-* ὡς Ἕλληνας, καὶ σαρίσσας, ὡς Μακεδόνας. The heavy-armed *tics.* Men have Corsets, long Shields, and Swords, and Pikes, like the *Greeks*, and Spears, like the *Macedonians*. τὸ δὲ ψιλὸν ἰαντιώτατον ἔχει τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ πᾶν, ὅτι περ ὄνου θώρακος, καὶ ἀσπίδος, καὶ περὶ μῆδος, καὶ κράνους, ἐκπεδόλοισ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς διαχωρῶμενον, τοξίσμασιν, ἢ ἀκοντίοις, ἢ σφιδόναις, ἢ λίθοις ἐκ χειρὸς. The light-armed Men are armed in a quite different manner from the heavy-armed, they have no Corsets, or Shields, Greaves, or Helmets, but altogether make use of missive Weapons, such as Arrows, Darts; and Stones thrown by Slings, and out of the hand. τὸ δὲ πελτατικὸν δὲ κωφότερον μὲν τυγχάνει ἐν τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ ἢ γὰρ πέλτε, μικρότερον τῆς ἀσπίδος δὲ ἰλαφρότερον, καὶ τὰ ἀκοντία

AFTER the Death of *Darius*, and the Accession of *Artaxerxes*, ^ε *Tissaphernes* accuses *Cyrus* to his Brother of Treason: *Artaxerxes* gives credit to the Accusation, and orders *Cyrus* to be apprehended, with a design to put him to death: but his Mother having saved him by her Intercession, sends him back to his Government. *Cyrus*,

as

ἀρόντια τῶν δοράτων κ' σαρισσῶν λεπτόμυνα, βαρύτεροι δὲ τῷ ψιλῷ. The Targeteers are armed in a lighter manner than the heavy-armed Men, for their Bucklers are smaller and lighter than the Shields of the latter, and their Darts shorter than their Pikes and Spears; but their Armour is heavier than that of the light-armed. These three kinds of Foot-Soldiers are so often mentioned by *Xenophon* to have been employed by the *Greek* Generals, and particularly by himself upon different occasions, according to the difference of their Armour and Manner of Fighting, that I thought it necessary at first to give the Reader a clear Idea of that difference.

Plutarch in Alcibiades. ^ε *Τισσαφέρνην*. This is the same *Tissaphernes*, over whom *Alcibiades* gained so great an Ascendant, that he governed him not only in his Politicks, but in his Pleasures. We shall find him in the Course of this History at the Head of the *Persian* Army, that endeavoured in vain to cut off the Retreat of the *Greeks*: But the Treachery he was guilty of in relation to the *Greek* Generals, after they had incautiously put themselves in his Hands, must render his Name so odious, that it may not be unacceptable to the Reader to be informed of his Fate after this History leaves him. *Agesslaus* being sent by the *Lacedemonians* at the Head of an Army into *Asia*, and having gained many Advantages over the *Persians*, *Artaxerxes* looked upon *Tissaphernes* as the Cause of the ill Success of his Arms, and being incensed against him by *Parysatis*, in Revenge for his Behaviour to *Cyrus*, he appointed *Tithraustes* to succeed him in his Government with Orders to cut off his Head: This happened in the first Year of the 96th Olympiad, that is, about five Years after the Expedition of *Cyrus*.

Diodor. Sic. 14 B.

as soon as he left the Court after this Danger and Disgrace, ^h deliberates by what means he may no longer be subject to his Brother, but if possible, reign in his place. In this he was ⁱ supported by his Mother *Parysatis*, who had a greater love for *Cyrus*, than for the King *Artaxerxes*; and when any Persons belonging to the Court resorted to him, he sent them back more disposed to favour him than the King: Besides, he took so great care of the *Barbarians* who were with him, as to render them both good Soldiers, and affectionate to his Service: He also levied an Army of *Greeks* with all possible Secrecy, that he might find the King in no degree prepared to resist him. And whenever he recruited the Garrisons that were dispersed in the several Cities under his Command, he ordered each of their Officers

^h Βουλευεται ως μήποτε ἔτι ἔται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. This is rendered by *d' Ablancourt*; *il songea aux moyens de se venger de cet affront*; which may be a Translation of any other Passage, as well as of this.

ⁱ Παρόσατις μὲν δὴ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, &c. *Leunclavius* has translated this Passage, as if ὑπάρχω signified here ἐμὴ, in the same sense as *Plutarch* uses the Word, speaking of this very thing, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε μᾶλλον τὸν Κύρον φιλοῦσα; but every body knows that ὑπάρχω, with a Dative Case, signifies to favour; *Hutchinson* has said very properly, *mater a Cyri partibus stetit*. *D' Ablancourt* has thought fit to leave out this Period entirely.

cers to enlist as many *Peloponnesians* as possible, and of those the best Men they could get, under pretence that *Tissaphernes* had a design upon those Cities. For the Cities of *Ionian* formerly belonged to *Tissaphernes*, having been given to him by the King, but at that time they had all revolted from him to *Cyrus*, except ^k *Miletus*: The Inhabitants of which being engaged in the same Design, and *Tissaphernes* having early notice of their Intentions, put some of them to Death, and banished others; these *Cyrus* received, and raising an Army besieged *Miletus* both by Sea and Land, endeavouring to restore the banished Citizens: this he made another pretence for raising an Army; and sending to the King, he desired, that, as he was his Brother, he might have the Command of these Cities rather than
Tissa-

^k *Μίλητος*. A considerable City of *Ionian*, not far from the Mouth of the *Mæander*; at the time of the *Trojan* War it was inhabited, according to *Homer*, by the *Carians*, whom he mentions among the Allies of *Troy*.

II. β.

Νάγης αὐ Καρῶν ἠγήσατο βαρβαροφώνου
 Οἱ Μίλητον ἔχον.

Herodot.
 in Erat.

This Town, having revolted from the *Persians*, at the Instigation of *Aristagoras*, was retaken by them six Years after that Revolt. About sixty-seven Years after the Time our Author speaks of, *Alexander* took *Miletus*, after a brave Resistance from the Garrison, consisting of three hundred *Greeks* then in the Service of the King of *Persia*.

Arrian,
 1 Book.

Tissaphernes: In this also he was assisted by his Mother; so that the King was not sensible of the Design that was formed against him, but looking upon these Preparations as directed against *Tissaphernes*, was under no concern at their making War upon one another: For *Cyrus* sent the King all the Taxes, that were raised in those Cities, which had been under the Government of *Tissaphernes*.

HE had also another Army raised for him in the *Chersonesus*, over-against *Abydus*, in this manner. There was a banished *Lacedemonian*, his Name *Clearchus*; *Cyrus*, becoming acquainted with him, 'admired the Man, and made him a Present of ten thousand ^m Daricks; with which Money
Clearchus

¹ *Ἠγάσθη τε αὐτόν. Ἄγαμαι, θαυμάζω. Phavorinus.* In this sense I have Translated it, though I must own I am pleased with what *d' Ablancourt* says, *Cyrus le gouta*. As *Clearchus* makes a considerable figure in this Expedition, our Author has given his Character at the end of the second Book; but there being some Particulars relating to him mentioned in *Diodorus Siculus*, which are not there taken notice of, I thought the Reader might not be displeas'd to be inform'd of them, for which reason I have mentioned them in the Introduction.

^m *Δαριχάς.* The Darick was a *Persian Gold Coin*. *Aristoph.* *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, say *Ἐκκλην* it was of equal value with the *Attick χρυσός*, or with *σιαζούων*. twenty Silver Drachms, that is, the 5th part of a silver Arbuth-Mine, sixty of which made a Talent, which last amounted not on an-

Clearchus raised an Army, and marching out of the *Chersonesus*, made War upon the

- to 193—15—0 Sterling; so that ten thousand Daricks will make $33\frac{1}{3}$ Talents, or 6458—6—8 of our Money. On the reverse of this Coin was an Archer, which gave occasion to *Agesilaus* to say, that he was driven out of *Asia* by thirty thousand Archers, meaning so many Daricks distributed among the Greek Cities by the King of *Persia*. The Authors before mentioned inform us, that this Coin did not derive it's Name from *Darius* the Father to *Xerxes*, but from another more ancient King; who that should be, is not so well understood, since *Darius Hystaspes*, the Father to *Xerxes*, and one of the seven *Persian* Noblemen, who put the Magi to death, was the first *Persian* King of that Name. I am sensible in *Tbalia*. *Prideaux* is of opinion, that *Cyaxares*, Brother to *Daniel* v. *Mandane*, and Uncle to the first *Cyrus*, is *Darius* the *Mede* mentioned by *Daniel*, from whom, he says, this Coin took it's Name, and who caused it to be struck at *Babylon* during the two Years he reigned there; but *Xenophon*, in his *Cyropædia*, mentions some of this Coin to have been found among other Riches, by *Cyrus*, in a Castle belonging to *Gobryas*, even before the taking of *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Persians*. Sir *Isaac Newton* thinks that *Darius* the *Mede*, when he and *Cyrus* took *Sardes*, melted down all the *Lydian* Money he found there, and re coined it with his own Effigies. But *Xenophon* speaks of Daricks upon the occasion already mentioned, even before the taking of *Sardes*, which preceded that of *Babylon*. It is not possible this could have escaped a Man, to whom nothing either in History or Nature was unknown; it is much more probable that he looked upon it as an Anticipation in *Xenophon*, which Opinion, I find, prevails with some learned Men. There is however a Passage in *Herodotus* in *Melpomene*, which almost inclines one to think, that *Darius Hystaspes* was the Author of this Coin, notwithstanding what *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* say to the contrary; he says there, that *Darius Hystaspes* refined Gold to all the Purenets that was possible, and coined it into Money, $\Deltaαρικῶν μὲν χρυσίου καθάρωτατον ἀπεψήσας εἰς τὸ δυνατώτατον νόμισμα ἐκόμηναι$: Now it is certain that all Authors celebrate the Daricks for the Fineness of the Gold: And a few Lines before,

the *Thracians*, who inhabit above the *Helleſpont*, which, being a great Advantage to the *Greeks*, induced the Cities upon the *Helleſpont* to ſubſiſt his Forces with greater Chearfulneſs. Thus was this Army alſo ſecretly maintained for his Service. *Ariſtippus* of *Threſſaly*, between whom and *Cyrus* there was an Intercourſe of ^a Hoſpitality, being oppreſſed by a contrary Faction at home, came to him, demanding two thouſand Mercenaries, and their Pay

the ſame Author ſays, *Darius* did this with a view of leaving behind him ſuch a Monument as *no other King had done*, *μνημόσυνον ἰωυτῶ λιπίσθαι τῆτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἶη βασιλείῃ κατεργασμένοι.*

ⁿ *Ξίνος*. *Ξίνος* καλεῖται ὁ ὑποδεχόμενος, καὶ ὁ ὑποδεχθεὶς. *Phavorinus*. In the ſame manner *Hoſpes*, every one knows, has both an active and paſſive Signification. Theſe Rights of Hoſpitality were of ancient Date, and of ſo ſacred a Nature, that *Jupiter* himſelf was thought to preſide over them, and to puniſh the Violations committed againſt them; for which reaſon he was called *Ξίνος*; with whom *Ulyſſes* in *Homer* endeavours, to very *Odyſ. 1.* little purpoſe, to threaten *Polypheme*.

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμῆτωσ' ἱεστῶν τε Ξίνων τε
Ξίνος, ὃς Ξίνουσι ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὄπηδι.

This Tradition *Virgil* has, among many others, tranſ-Æneid. planted into his *Æneid*; where the unhappy *Dido*, when *1 Book.* ſhe firſt entertained her *Trojan* Gueſt, implores the Favour of *Jupiter*:

Jupiter, Hoſpitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.

Pliny has tranſlated *Ξίνος*, *hoſpitalis*, in the Account he *Plin. N.* gives of a Statue of *Jupiter* under that Denomination; *H. 36B.* this Statue was the Work of *Pamphilus*, a Diſciple of *Praxiteles*, and to be ſeen in the Collection of *Aſinius Pollio*. The ſame Word ſignifies Mercenaries a little lower, whence comes *Ξενίτις*, *μισθοφορεῖν*, *Ξίνοι δὲ οἱ μισθοφόροι. Harpocration.*

Pay for three Months, in hope, by their assistance, to subdue his Adversaries: *Cyrus* granted him four thousand Men, and six Months Pay, desiring him to come to no terms with his Adversaries without consulting him: In this manner the Army in *Thessaly* was also privately maintained for his Use. At the same time he ordered *Proxenus* the *Bæotian*, a Friend of his to attend him with all the Men he could raise, giving it out that he designed to make War upon the ^p*Pisfidians*, who, it was said, infested his Country. He then ordered *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian*, and *Socrates* the *Achaian*, with whom also he had an Intercourse of Hospitality, to come to him with as many Men as they could raise, pretending to make war upon *Tissaphernes*, in conjunction with the banished *Milesians*: These too obeyed his Commands.

HAVING

^o Συμβουλευήσται. The difference between συμβουλευέσθαι and συμβουλεύειν, appears very particularly from a Passage in *Herodotus* in *Polyhymnia*, συμβουλινομένη τε ἂν συμβουλινοίσι τὰ ἀριστα; where the former signifies to ask Advice, and the latter to give it.

^p Πισίδας. The *Pisfidians* inhabited the mountainous Part of *Asia Minor*, which lies between the *Pbrygians*, *Lydians*, and *Carians*, to whom they were very troublesome Neighbours.

HAVING now determined to march into the *Upper Asia*, he pretended his Design was to drive the *Pisidians* entirely out of the Country: and, as against them, he assembles there both his *Barbarian* and *Greek* Forces; commanding at the same time *Clearchus* with all his Troops to attend him, and *Aristippus* to come to an Agreement with his Fellow-Citizens, and send his Army to him. He also appointed *Xenias* the *Arcadian*, who had the Command of the Mercenaries in the several Cities, to come to him with all his Men, leaving only sufficient Garrisons in the Citadels. He next ordered all the Troops that were employed in the Siege of *Miletus*, together with the banished Citizens, to join him⁹, engaging to the last, if his Expedition was attended with success, not to lay down his Arms, 'till he had restored them. These cheerfully obeyed him, (for they gave credit to what he said) and, taking their Arms with them, came to *Sardes*. *Xenias* also

⁹ Ἰπποχόμηνον αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξῃεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐστράτευτο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν, &c. This Sentence is thus translated by *d'Ablancourt*, avec assurance de ne plus faire d'entreprise avant leur rétablissement, which is so apparently foreign from the Author's Sense, that it is unnecessary to make any Observations upon it.

also came thither with the Garrisons he had drawn out of the Cities, consisting of four thousand heavy-armed Men. *Proxenus* brought with him fifteen hundred heavy-armed and five hundred light-armed Men. *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian* a thousand heavy-armed; *Socrates* the *Achaian* about five hundred heavy-armed: *Pasion* the *Magarean* seven hundred Men. Both he and *Socrates* were among those who were employed in the Siege of *Miletus*. These came to him to ^o *Sardes*. *Tissaphernes* observing all this, and looking upon these Preparations as greater than were necessary against the *Pisidians*, went to the King with all the haste he could, taking with him about five

^r *Γυμνήτας*. These are the same with *ψιλοί*, mentioned in the fifth Annotation.

^s *Σάρδεις*. *Sardes* was the Capital of *Lydia*, and the Seat of its Kings: The first, *Cyrus* took after a Siege of fourteen Days, and in it *Craesus*, after he had reigned as many Years. It was afterwards set on fire by the *Ionians*, and with it the Temple of the Goddess *Cybele*; which was the pretence afterwards made use of by *Xerxes* for burning the Temples of the *Greeks*.

Herodotus in *Clio*.
Herodotus in *Terpsichore*.

^t *Ὡς βασιλεία*. *ὦς* is frequently used by the *Attick* Writers for *πρός*, which possibly may be understood. In this Sense it is employed in the first of those two Verses which *Pompey* repeated, when he put himself in the hands of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*.

Dion. Caf-
sius, 42B.

Ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται
ἔκλειν' ἔτι δ' ἄλλ' ἢ κ' ἂν ἐλευθερῶ μύλην.

five hundred Horfe; and the King being informed by *Tiffaphernes* of the intended " Expedition of *Cyrus*, prepared himself to oppose him.

CYRUS, with the Forces I have mentioned, marched from *Sardes*; and advancing through *Lydia*, in " three Days, made twenty two * *Parafangas*, as far as

" Τὸν Κύρου στόλον. Στόλον καὶ τὸ πικτικὸν κράτευμα. *Suidas*. καὶ ἡ διὰ γῆς πορεία. *Phavorinus*. The Author first mentioned quotes a Passage out of *Arrian*, in which στόλον is taken in the same Sense our Author uses it in this place. Σποράκις μαθὼν τὸν στόλον βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῆν αὐτῆ ἐπικράτειαν γινόμενος, ἔφυγε.

" Σταθμὸς τρεῖς. I have said three Days march, in the same manner as the *Roman* Authors say, *tertiis Castris*, without any regard to the particular Distance from one place to another, but only to the Motion of the Army. In this I am confirmed by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, speaking of the March of the *Greek* Army in their Retreat through the Country of the *Mosynæcians*, explains ὀκτώ σταθμὸς mentioned by our Author upon that occasion, by ἐν ἡμέραις ὀκτώ. Diod. Sic. 14 B.

* Παρασάγγας. Παρασάγγης, μίτρον ὄν τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχον. *Hesychius*. *Herodotus* says the same thing. On the other hand, *Strabo* says, some make it sixty, others thirty in Euterpe. cited by the Etymological Lexicon, which explains it thus, παρασάγγαι, τριάκοντα στάδια παρὰ Πέρσαις, παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις δ' ἑξήκοντα; so that the *Parafanga* was thirty Stadia among the *Persians*, and sixty among the *Egyptians*; but as the March of the *Greek* Army, described by our Author, lay through *Persia*, there can be no doubt but he followed their Account. It may not be improper to observe that a Stadium contains one hundred ὀργυιαὶ or Fathoms, στάδιον ὀργυιαὶ ἑκατὸν, *Phavorinus*, that is, 600 Feet, ὀργυιαὶ being, according to the same Author,

as the River *Mæander*: this River is two Plethra in breadth; and having a Bridge over it supported by seven Boats, he passed over, and advanced through *Phrygia*, making in one day's March eight Parasangas, to *Colosea*, a large City, rich and well inhabited, where he staid seven Days, when *Menon* the *Thessalian* came to him with a thousand heavy-armed Men, and five hundred Targeteers, consisting of *Dolopians*, *Ænians*, and *Olynthians*. From thence he made, in three Days march, twenty Parasangas to *Celæna*, a City of *Phrygia*, large, rich, and well

Arbuth-
not of an-
cient mea-
sures.

Odyf. λ.

ἡ ἑκτασίς τῶν χειρῶν σὺν τῷ πλάτει γῆρας, that is, a Fathom. I know very well, that the *Greek* Foot contained ,0875 Decimals more than an *English* Foot, so that whoever has a mind to be exact, must compute according to that Fraction. As the Parasanga, Stadium, and Plethrum are frequently mentioned in the Course of this History, I thought it proper to explain them at first, that we may have done with them: The Plethrum has not yet been taken notice of; *Suidas* says, it contains one hundred Feet, ἔχει δὲ τὸ πλῆθρον πόδας ε'; or, as both he, and *Phavorinus*, affirm, together with the *Greek* Scholiast upon this Passage of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Tityus*

Ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐνία κίετο πλίθηρα,

Τὸ πῆ γὰρ εἰς ἕκτον μέρος; The sixth part of a Stadium, that is, one hundred Feet. As the *Latin* Tongue has no Word to express πλῆθρον in this Sense, with accuracy, *jugerum* signifying a square Measure (though I am sensible the Poets use it also for πλῆθρον) the *Latin* Translators have thought themselves under a necessity of using the word *Plethrum*: I hope I shall also be allowed to use the words *Parasanga*, *Stadium*, and *Plethrum*, after having explained them.

Well inhabited : Here the Palace of *Cyrus* stood, with a large Park full of wild Beasts, which *Cyrus* hunted on Horseback, when he had a mind to exercise himself and his Horses : Through the middle of this Park runs the River *Mæander*, but the Head of it rises in the Palace ; it runs also through the City of *Celæna*. There is besides a fortified Palace belonging to the great King in *Celæna*, at the head of the River *Marsyas*, under the Citadel. This River likewise runs through the City, and falls into the *Mæander* ; the *Marsyas* is twenty-five Feet broad : Here *Apollo* is said to have flayed *Marsyas*, whom contending with him

ἢ Παράδεισος. This Word is, no doubt, of *Persian* Jul. Pol. Original, and like many other *Persian* Words, as *Julius lux, B. 9. Pollux* says, commonly used by the *Greeks*. These Parks c. 3. planted with stately Forest and Fruit-Trees of every *Segm. 13.* kind, well watered, and stocked with plenty of wild Beasts, were very deservedly in great request among the *Persians*. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Tissaphernes*, to shew his *Plutarch* Opinion of the Elegance of *Alcibiades's* Taste, gave this in *Alci-* Name to that which belonged to him. The Ecclesiastical *biades*. Writers after *St. Jerome*, have thought fit to translate the Garden of *Eden* in *Moses, Paradisus voluptatis* ; and the *Gen. ii.* Septuagint in τῷ παραδείσῳ τροφῆς, making *Eden* an 15. appellative, though they oftener make it a proper Name. The *English* Translation says, *the Garden of Eden*, which agrees with the *Hebrew*.

² Μεγάλη βασιλεία. This is the Title given by all the *Greek* Authors to the King of *Persia*, which is preserved to the Successors of *Mahomet* in that of the Grand Seigneur.

THE EXPEDITION

him ^ain Mufick, he had overcome, and to have hung up his Skin in the Cave, from whence the Springs flow : For this reason the River is called *Marfyas*. Here *Xerxes*, when he fled from *Greece* after his Defeat, is said to have built both this Palace, and the Citadel of *Celæna*. Here *Cyrus* staid thirty Days, and hither *Clearchus* the banished *Lacedæmonian* came with a thousand heavy-armed Men, five hundred *Thracian* ^bTargeteers, and two hundred *Cretan* Archers. At the same time *Sofias* the *Syracusan* came with a thousand heavy-armed Men, and *Sophænetus* the *Arcadian* with a thousand more. Here *Cyrus* reviewed the *Greeks* in the Park, and took an account of their Numbers ; they amounted in the whole to eleven thousand heavy-armed Men, and about two thousand Targeteers.

FROM hence *Cyrus* made in two days march ten Parafangas, and arrived at *Peltæ*, a City well inhabited : there he
staid

^a Περὶ σοφίας. *Hutchinson* has proved from several Authorities, that σοφία in this place signifies Skill in Mufick, rather than Wisdom.

^b Πιλταγαί. Here πιλταγαί seems to be taken in a comprehensive Sense, and to include all those who were not heavy-armed Men.

staid three Days, during which, *Xenias* the *Arcadian* solemnized the *Lupercalian* Sacrifice, and celebrated a Game; the Prizes were golden *Scrapers*; at this Game *Cyrus* was present. From thence he made in two marches twelve *Parasangas*, and came to the Market of the *Cramians*, a City well inhabited, the last of the Country of *Mysia*. From thence he made in three days march thirty *Parasangas*, and arrived at a well peopled City called *the Plain of Cæjstrus*, where he

τὸ Λύκαια. This was an *Arcadian* Sacrifice, instituted in honour of *Pan*, and brought by *Evander* into *Italy*, when he, with his Followers, settled upon the *Palatine Hill*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, from whom I have this, adds, that after the Sacrifice was over, the Priests ran through the Streets naked all but their Middle, which was covered with the Skins of the Victims newly sacrificed; this Sacrifice, he says, continued to his time, which is confirmed by *Dion Cassius* and *Plutarch*. *Virgil* has taken notice of this Circumstance of the *Lupercalian* Priests running naked, among the other Points of History, with which the Shield of *Aeneas* is embellished, Dionysius Hal. 1B.
Dion Cassius, 45B.
Plutarch in Antony Virg. 8B.

*Hic exultantes Salios, nudosque Lupercos,
Lanigerosque apices, & lapsa ancilia caelo
Extuderat.*

στραγγίλας. In *Latin*, *strigiles*. They were Instruments Phavorius used in Bathing, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*; with these they scraped their Bodies. *D'Ablandcourt* has rendered it *des estrilles d'Or*: for which he makes an excuse: *5 Sat.* The best I can make for the Word I have made use of is, that I know no other.

Καύρη πηδίων. *D'Ablandcourt* suspects this Passage to be corrupted: But *Hutchinson* says, this Plain may very probably have given name to the City.

he staid five Days. There was now due to the Soldiers above three Months Pay, which they, coming often to his Door, demanded: He continued to give them Hopes, and was visibly concerned; for he was not of a Temper to deny Money, when he had it. Hither *Epyaxa*, the Wife to *Syennefis* King of the *Cilicians*, came to *Cyrus*; it was said she made him a Present of great Sums of Money. *Cyrus* therefore gave the Army four Months Pay at that time. The *Cilician Queen* had a Guard of *Cilicians* and *Aspendians*; and *Cyrus* was reported to have an Amour with her.

FROM thence he made, in two days march, ten Parafangas, and came to the City of ⁸*Thymbrium*, a Town well inhabited. Here was a Fountain near the Road,

8 Book.

Herodot.
in Thalia.

[†] Ἴόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. The Custom of attending at the Door of the Kings of *Persia*, was introduced by the first *Cyrus*, as we find in the *Cyropædia*, ἔτι κ; νῦν ἐστὶ ποιεῖσθαι οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ ὄντες. θεραπεύουσι τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων θύρας. It was in use in the time of *Herodotus*, and *Xenophon*, and continued as long as the *Persian Empire*. This Compliment was paid to the Satrapes as well as to the Kings. It is possible the Name of the Port given to the Court of the Grand Signor was derived from hence, rather than from the great Gate leading to the Seraglio, as is generally thought.

⁸ Θύμβριον. A Town of *Phrygia*.

Road, called the Fountain of *Midas*, King of *Phrygia*, where *Midas* is said to have ^b caught the Satyr, by mixing the Fountain with Wine. From thence he made, in two days march, ten Parafangas, and arrived at *Tyriæum*, a populous Town, where he staid three Days. And here, it is said, the *Cilician Queen* desired *Cyrus* to shew her his Army; in compliance therefore with her Request, *Cyrus* reviewed in the Plain, both his *Greek* and *Barbarian* Forces; ordering the *Greeks* to dispose themselves, according to their Custom, and stand in Order of Battle, and that each of the Commanders should draw up his own Men; so they were drawn up ¹ four deep, *Menon* had the right with his People, and *Clearchus* the left with his Men; the rest of the Generals being in the Center.

^b Θηρεύσαι. I have translated this in the same manner as if our Author had said, λαβῆν, which is the Word made use of by *Maximus Tyrius* speaking of this Adventure; λαμβάνει τὸν Σάτυρον κενάσας ὕψω κνήμην. For this ³⁰ reason I am of opinion, that *Satyrum venatus* is not so proper in *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*.

¹ Ἐπὶ τετραῶν. This is what *Arrian* in his *Tactics* calls τὴν τάξιν ἑκτείναν ἐπὶ τέσσαρας. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have said, *in quaternis dispositi*, which, I think, signifies rather that they were drawn up in Platoons of four Men each, *D'Ablancourt* is much clearer, à quatre de hauteur.

Center. First therefore *Cyrus* viewed the *Barbarians*, (they marched by him drawn up in Troops^k, and Companies) then the *Greeks*, *Cyrus* driving by them on a Car, and the *Cilician Queen* in a Chariot^l. They had all brazen Helmets, scarlet Vests, Greaves, and burnished Shields. After he had^m passed by them all, he stopped his Car in the Center of the Front, and sending *Pigres* his Interpreter to the *Greek* Generals, he ordered the whole Lineⁿ to present their Pikes, and advance in Order of Battle: These conveyed his Orders to the Soldiers; who, when

^k Κατ' ἴλας, ἢ κατὰ τάξεις. Ἴλη in *Greek*, and *turma* in *Latin*, are proper to the Horse, as *τάξεις* and *cohors* are to the Foot; though I know there are some Examples where the two last are applied to the Horse also; however in this place there can be no doubt but *τάξεις* signifies Companies of Foot.

^l Ἀρμαμάχης. *Plutarch* employs this Word for a close Carriage used by Women. *D'Abblancourt* has not distinguished it in his Translation from *ἄμαξα*.

^m Ἐπὶ πάντας παρέλασε. This is rendered by *D'Abblancourt*, *après les avoir contempler*.

ⁿ Προεαλισθαι τὰ ὄπλα. There is a Passage quoted by *Suidas* out of *Demosthenes* in his first *Philippic*, in which *προεάλλισθαι* is used in the same Sense our Author uses it here, *προεάλλισθαι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ βλίπιν ἰνατόιον ἔτι ἴδιον, ἔτι ἰθίλει*, where *Suidas* explains *προεάλλισθαι τὰς χεῖρας* by *προτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην*: So that *προεάλλω τὰ ὄπλα* will be the same with *κάθευ τὰ δόρατα*, a Word of Command mentioned by *Arrian* in his *Tactics*. *D'Abblancourt* has, I think, said very properly *qu'ils fissent baisser les Piques*.

Arrian in his *Tactics*.

when the Trumpets sounded, presented their Pikes and advanced; then marching ° faster than ordinary with Shouts, ran of their own accord to the Tents; upon this, many of the *Barbarians* were seized with Fear, the *Cilician Queen* quitted her Chariot, and fled; and the Sutlers leaving their Commodities, ran away: The *Greeks*, not without laughter, repaired to their Tents. The *Cilician Queen*, seeing the Lustre and Order of their Army, was in admiration, and *Cyrus* pleased to see the Terror with which the *Greeks* had struck the *Barbarians*:

THENCE, in three days march, he made twenty Parasangas, and came to *Iconium*, the last City of *Pbrygia*, where he staid three Days. Thence he made in five days march, thirty Parasangas through *Lycaonia*; which, being an Enemy's Country, he gave the *Greeks* leave to plunder it. From hence he sent the *Cilician Queen* into *Cilicia* the shortest way,

° Θᾶρλον. I am sensible that θᾶρλον is not always used in a comparative Sense; it sometimes, though rarely, signifies no more than ἰσθὺς, ταχίως, as *Hesychius* explains it; however it is generally used in the Sense I have given it by the *Attick* Writers. Θᾶρλον Ἀττικοί, τάχιον Ἑλληνας. *Phavorinus*.

way, and appointed *Menon* the *Thessalian* himself, with his Soldiers, to escort her: *Cyrus*, with the rest of the Army, moved on through *Cappadocia*, and in four days march, made five and twenty Parasangas to *Dana*, a large and rich City, well inhabited: Here he staid three Days, during which, he put to death *Megapbernes*, a *Persian*, one of his Courtiers^p, with another Person who had a principal Command, accusing them of Treachery: Thence they prepared to penetrate into *Cilicia*; the Entrance ^q was just broad enough

^p Φοινικιστῶν βασιλείων. I have never met with the word Φοινικιστῆς in any Author but *Xenophon*, or in any Lexicon ancient or modern, but *Hesychius*, who quotes this passage without explaining it; so that the Readers and Translators are left to shift for themselves as well as they can: *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have said, *Regium purpuræ Tinctorem*; which I can by no means approve of, since the King's Purple Dyer does neither seem to be a proper Person to attend *Cyrus* in a military Expedition, neither does he appear a proper Accomplice in a Design of this nature, with so considerable a Person as the other is represented. *D'Ablancourt* has said *Maistre de sa garde-robe*; this indeed answers the two Objections I made to the other Interpretation, but I am apt to believe, if *Xenophon* had designed to denote any particular Office, he would have made use of the Article, and have said τὸν φοινικιστῆν βασιλείων. *H. Stephens* has employ'd a very classical Word *purpuratus*, which answers properly to φοινοῖξ, whence φοινικιστῆς is derived; this is the Sense I have given to the Word, though I am very far from being fond of it.

Arrian ^q Ἡ δὲ ἰσοκολή. This is the Pass which *Arrian* calls *Alex. Exp.* τὰς πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας, which *Alexander* possessed himself of,
2 Book.

enough for a Chariot to pass, very steep, and inaccessible to an Army, if there had been any opposition; and *Syennesis* was said to have possessed himself of the Eminences, in order to guard the Pass; for which reason, *Cyrus* staid one Day in the Plain. The day after, News was brought by a Messenger that *Syennesis* had quitted the Eminences upon Information that both *Menon's* Army were in *Cilicia* within the Mountains, and also that *Tamos* was sailing round from *Ionia* to *Cilicia* with the Galleys, that belonged to the *Lacedaemonians*, and to *Cyrus*, who immediately marched up the Mountains without opposition, and made himself master of the Tents, in which the *Cilicians* lay to oppose his Passage. From thence he descended into

a

of, as he marched into *Cilicia* to engage *Darius*: The 2 Book. Day before, he encamped in the place, where we now find *Cyrus*, ἀφικόμενος; says *Arrian*, ἐν τῷ Κέτρῳ τῆ ἐν τῷ Ξενοφῶντι στρατοπέδῳ, where he left *Parmenion*, when he went himself to attack the Pass.

Ἡπειρώσεως. *Hutchinson* very justly observes, that ἀφικόμενος is properly used by *Ξενοφῶν* to describe the Course a Ship must take from the Coast of *Ionia* to that of *Cilicia*: But this has not been preserved either in his or *Leunclavius's* Translation, any more than in that of *d' Ablancourt*.

Ἔλα. I have followed the Conjecture of *Muretus*, who reads ἔλα instead of ἔδα, in which I am supported by *Hutchinson*.

Vol. I.

D

a large and beautiful Plain, well watered, and full of all sorts of Trees and Vines; abounding in ' Sefame, Panick, Millet, Wheat and Barley; and is furrounded with a strong and high Ridge of Hills from Sea to Sea.

AFTER he had left the Mountains, he advanced through the Plain, and having made five and twenty Parasangas in four days march, arrived at " *Tarfus*,

a

^t *Σίσυραμον*. This Plant is common in the *Levant*, and is called by *Tournefort*, *Digitalis Orientalis*; the Seed of which they make an Oil, that is good to eat, and for several other uses. Panick and Millet are so like to one another, that they are scarce to be distinguished but by the manner in which they bring forth their Grain, the former bearing it in Ears, and the latter in Bunches; they both make very bad Bread, and are chiefly used to fat Fowls. *D'Ablancourt* has thought fit to render this Period by *remplie de toutes sortes de fruits & de grains*; but his reason for it, is still more curious than his Translation; I was so much entertained with the Vivacity of it, that I cannot help transcribing his Words; *Je l'ay tranché*, says he, *en deux mots, pour ne pas venir à un détail ennuyeux*.

^u *Ταρσός*. *Tarfus*, a considerable City of *Cilicia*, was built by *Sardanapalus*, who built both that and *Anchialus*, another City not far from it, in one day; which, though incredible to those who do not consider how many Millions of Men the *Affyrian* Kings had at their Command, is however attested by an *Affyrian* Inscription, which *Arrian* has translated: This Inscription was, it seems, engraved on the Monument of this Prince, upon which stood his Statue, in the Attitude of a Person who expresses a Contempt, with his Hands clapped together, or, as *Strabo* says, I think, more probably, by seeming to snap his Fingers. The Sense of this Inscription is so very

philo-

Arrian
2 Book,
Exp.
Alex.

Strabo,
14 Book.

a large and rich City of *Cilicia*, where stood the Palace of *Syennefis* King of *Cilicia*; having the River ^w *Cydnus* runing through the middle of it, and is two hundred Feet in breadth. This City was^x abandoned by the Inhabitants, who, with *Syennefis*, fled to a Fastness upon the Mountains, those only excepted who kept the publick Houses: But the Inhabitants of ^y *Soli* and *Issi*, who lived near

philosophical, that I cannot omit it, though at the same time, the Phrase is so very libertine, that I shall not translate it. Σαρδανάπαλῳ ὁ Ανακυνδαρῶς παῖς, Αγγχίαλον κ' Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἰδίματο. σὺ δὲ, ὦ ξένη, ἴσθις, κ' πῦρ, κ' παῖζε, ὡς τ' ἄλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐκ ὄντα τὰς ἀξίας: Plutarch, instead of παῖζε, others read ὄχεις, which *Arrian* says, is ^{περὶ τύχης} the Sense of the *Affyrian* Word: and which *Plutarch*, Αλιξάν- speaking of this Inscription, has rendered by ἀφροδισίαζε. δευ.

^w *Κυδνος*. This River rises out of Mount *Taurus*, and running through a clean Country, is remarkable for the Coldness and Clearness of its Stream; this tempted *Alexander* after a long and sultry March to bathe in it, which had like to have put an end both to his Life and his Victories; but the Care of his Physician, or the Strength of his Constitution, soon recovered him, and once more let him loose upon Mankind.

^x *Εξίλιπον*, &c. I agree entirely with *Hutchinson* against *Leunclavius* and *Stephens*, that there is no necessity of having recourse to *φυγόντες*, or of any thing of that kind to perfect this Sentence. These Apophepes are frequent in the *Attic* Writers.

^y *Σόλοις*. This City was afterwards called *Pompejopolis*. *Strabo*, it was formerly a Colony of the *Athenians*, who forgot- 4 *Book*. ting, by length of time, their Mother-Tongue, or at least the Grammar of it, spoke a barbarous Language, us upon from whom the word *Solacism*, so dreadful in the Ears of *Dion*. Pe- School-Boys, took its Name, riegetes.

THE EXPEDITION

near the Sea, did not quit their Habitations. *Epyaxa*, the Wife of *Syennesis*, came to *Tarsus* five Days before *Cyrus*. In the Passage over the Mountains into the Plain, two Companies of *Menon's* Army were missing. It was said by some, that, while they were intent on plunder, they were cut off by the *Cilicians*, and by others, that being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the Army, or gain the Road, they wandered about the Country, and were destroyed : * The number of these amounted to one hundred heavy-armed Men. The rest, as soon as they arrived, resenting the loss of their Companions, plundered both the City of *Tarsus*, and the Palace that stood there. *Cyrus*, as soon as he entered the City, sent for *Syennesis* : but he, alledging that he had never yet put himself in the hands of any Person of superior Power, declined coming, till his Wife prevailed upon him, and received assurance from *Cyrus* : After that, when they met, *Syennesis* gave *Cyrus* great Sums of Money to pay his Army, and *Cyrus* made him such Presents, as are of great value

* *Ἦσαν δὲ ἑξοὶ ἑκατὸς ἀνδράσιν.* By this Passage it seems that their Companies consisted of fifty Men each.

value among Kings; these were a Horse with a golden Bit, a Chain, Bracelets, and a Scimitar of Gold, with a *Perſian Robe*, beſides the Exemption of his Country from further plunder; to this he added the Reſtitution of the Priſoners they had taken, wherever they were found.

HERE *Cyrus* and the Army ſtaid twenty Days, the Soldiers declaring they would go no further; for they ſuſpected he was leading them againſt the King, and ſaid they were not raiſed for that Service. *Clearchus* was the firſt, who endeavoured to force his Men to go on; but as ſoon as he began to march, they threw Stones at him, and at his ſumpter Horſes, ſo that he narrowly eſcaped being then ſtoned to death. Afterwards, when he ſaw it was not in his power to prevail by force, he called his Men together, and firſt ſtood ſtill a conſiderable time, ſhedding many Tears, while the Soldiers beheld him in amaze and ſilence; then

Καὶ τὸν ἕξτον μῆνα, &c. This Period is celebrated by *Demetrius Phalareus* for the proper placing of this uncommon Gift, which, he ſays, if it had been placed as *Phalarcher* in the Beginning, or in the Middle, would have reus of been diſagreeable, but is graceful at the Cloſe of it. *Blaynato.*

then spoke to them in the following manner :

“ FELLOW-Soldiers! wonder not that
 “ I am concerned at the present Posture
 “ of Affairs; for I am engaged to *Cyrus*
 “ by the Rights of Hospitality, and when
 “ I was banished, among other Marks
 “ of Distinction with which he honour-
 “ ed me, he gave me ten thousand Da-
 “ ricks: After I had received this Money,
 “ I did not treasure it up for my own
 “ use, or ^blavish it in Pleasures, but laid
 “ it out upon you: And first, I made
 “ war upon the *Thracians*, and with
 “ your Assistance, revenged the Injuries
 “ they had done to *Greece*, by driving
 “ them out of the *Chersonesus*, where they
 “ were endeavouring to dispossess the
 “ *Greek* Inhabitants of their Lands. After
 “ that, when I was summoned by *Cyrus*,
 “ I

^b Οὐδὲ καθηδυσάθησα. *Que je n'ay pas employez à mes plaisirs*, in *d' Ablancourt*, does not, I think, come up to the Strength of the *Greek* Word; *nec per voluptatem & luxum absumpsi* in *Hutchinson* is far better. Sure this Word, which has great Energy, was never more properly employed than by *Plutarch* to *Mark Antony's* lavishing the most precious thing he could throw away, his Time, in the Arms of *Cleopatra*, καθηδυσάθειν τὸ πολυτελέστατον ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον, where by, the way, *Plutarch* has taken that fine Application of πολυτελεῖς ἀνάλωμα to Time, from *Theophrastus*.

Plutarch
in Anto-
ny.
Diogenes
Laërtius.
Life of
Theo-
phrastus.

“ I carried you to him with this view,
 “ that, if there were occasion, I might in
 “ return for his ‘ Favours, be of Service
 “ to him : but, since you refuse to go on
 “ with me, and I am under a necessity
 “ either, by betraying you, to rely on
 “ the Friendship of *Cyrus*, or, by being
 “ false to him, to adhere to you; though
 “ I am in doubt whether I shall do
 “ right or not; however, I have deter-
 “ mined to give you the ^d preference, and
 “ with you to suffer every thing that
 “ may happen: Neither shall any one
 “ say, that, having led *Greeks* among
 “ *Barbarians*, I betrayed the *Greeks*, and
 “ preferred the Friendship of the *Bar-*
 “ *barians*; but, since you refuse to obey
 “ me, and to follow me, I will follow
 “ you, and share in all your Sufferings;
 “ for I look upon you as my Country,
 “ my Friends, and Fellow-Soldiers, and
 “ that with you I shall live in honour
 “ wherever I am, but without you, that
 “ I

^c Ωφελούν αὐτόν. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have said *Cic. Epist.*
ut ei commodarem, which is not only the Sense; but ele- 13. 35.
 gantly expresses *ut ei commodo essem*; *Tully* uses the Word
 in the same Sense in his *Epistles*. *D' Ablancourt* has said,
pour payer ses faveurs de quelque service, which I think, at
 least, equal to the other.

^d Αιρέσομαι δ' ἔν ὑμᾶς. αἰρέωμαι, προκρίνω. *Phavorinus*.

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“ I shall neither be useful to my Friends,
 “ or formidable to my Enemies : Be
 “ assured therefore, that whither soever
 “ you go, I resolve to go with you.”
 Thus spake *Clearchus* : The Soldiers, both
 those who belonged to him and the rest
 of the Army, hearing this, commended
 him for declaring he would not march
 against the King ; and above two thou-
 sand left *Xenias* and *Pafon*, and taking
 their Arms and Baggage with them,
 came and encamped with *Clearchus*.

THESE things gave *Cyrus* great Per-
 plexity and Uneasiness : so he sent for
Clearchus, who refused to go, but dis-
 patched a Messenger to him, unknown
 to the Soldiers, with Encouragement,
 that this Affair would take a favourable
 Turn : he advised *Cyrus* to send for him ;
 but at the same time let him know that
 he did not design to go to him. After
 this, assembling his own Soldiers, with
 those who were lately come to him, and
 as many of the rest as desired to be pre-
 sent, he spake to them as follows :

“ FELLOW-

* *Ξυνοφόρα*. The Passage quoted by *Hutchinson* out of
Herodian; which is also quoted by *Constantin* in his Lexi-
 con, plainly shews, that *συνοφόρα* signifies both the
 Carriages and the Beasts of Burden.

“ FELLOW-Soldiers! it is certain the
 “ Affairs of *Cyrus* are in the same Situa-
 “ tion in respect to us, with ours in re-
 “ gard to him; for neither are we any
 “ longer his Soldiers, since we refuse to
 “ follow him, neither does he any longer
 “ give us Pay. I know, he thinks him-
 “ self unjustly treated by us; so that,
 “ when he sends for me, I refuse to go to
 “ him, chiefly through Shame, because I
 “ am conscious to myself of having
 “ deceived him in every thing; in the
 “ next place, through Fear, lest he should
 “ cause me to be apprehended and pu-
 “ nished for the Wrongs he thinks I
 “ have done him. I am therefore of
 “ opinion, that this is no time for us to
 “ sleep, or to neglect the Care of our
 “ selves, but to consult what is to be
 “ done. If we stay, we are to consider
 “ by what means we may stay with the
 “ greatest Security; and if we resolve to
 “ go away, how we may go with the
 “ greatest Safety, and supply ourselves
 “ with Provisions; for without these,
 “ neither a Commander, or a private
 “ Man, can be of any use. *Cyrus* is a
 “ very valuable Friend, where he is a
 VOL. I. E “ Friend,

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“ Friend, but the severest Enemy, where
 “ he is an Enemy. He is also Master
 “ of that Strength in Foot, Horse, and
 “ at Sea, which we all both see and are
 “ acquainted with, for truly we do not
 “ seem to be encamped at a great distance
 “ from him ; so that this is the time for
 “ for every one to advise what he judges
 “ best:” Here he stopped.

UPON this some rose up of their own accord to give their Opinions; others, by his Direction, to shew the Difficulties either of staying or going without the Approbation of *Cyrus*: One, pretending to be in haste by returning to *Greece*, said, that, if *Clearchus* refused to conduct them thither, they ought immediately to chuse other Generals, to buy Provisions (there being a Market in the *Barbarians* Camp) and pack up their Baggage: then go to *Cyrus* and demand Ships of him to transport them; which if he refused, to desire a Commander to conduct them, as through a Friend's Country; and, if this also be refused, continued he, we ought forthwith to draw up a declaration of Battle, and send a Detachment to secure the
 the

the Eminences, that neither *Cyrus*, nor the *Cilicians*, (many of whom we have taken Prisoners, and whose 'Effects we have plundered, and still possess,) may prevent us: after him *Clearchus* spoke to this effect:

“ LET none of you propose me to be General in this Expedition, (for I see many things that forbid it) but consider me as one resolved to obey, as far as possible, the Person you shall chuse, that you may be convinced I also know as well as any other, how to submit to
Com-

† *Χεήματα*. This Word in this and in many other places in *Xenophon*, as well as in other good Authors, signifies Effects rather than Money: In this Sense it is explained by *Hesychius*, *χεήματα, οἷς τις δύναται χεῖσθαι. κτήματα, βοσκήματα*: This explains a Passage in *Homer*, where *Eurymachus*, one of the Suitors, tells *Halistberges*, that, if *Penelope* continues to amuse them,

Χεήματα δ' αὐτε κακῶς βεβρώσεται.

Odyf. β.

Hutchinson has rendered *χεήματα* here *bona*, and *Leunclavius*, *opes*, the latter not so properly. *D'Ablancourt* has said *ceux du país qu'on avoit pillé*, which, in my opinion, is too general, because it is applicable both to their Money and Effects; on the other side it is not applicable to the seizing their Persons; for I dare say those who are Criticks in the *French* Language will own, that *piller quelque'un* does not signify to seize a Man's Person.

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Command." After him another got up, shewing the Folly of the Man who advised to demand the Ships, as if *Cyrus* would not resume his Expedition; he shewed also how weak a thing it was to apply for a Guide to that Person whose Undertaking we had defeated. "If, says he, we can place any Confidence in a Guide appointed by him, what hinders us from desiring *Cyrus* himself to secure those Eminences for us? I own I should be unwilling to go on board the Transports he may give us, lest he should sink the ^εShips; I should also be afraid to follow the Guide he may appoint, lest he should lead us into some place, out of which we could not disengage ourselves; and since it is proposed we should go away without the consent of *Cyrus*, I wish we could also go without his Knowledge, which is impossible. These then are vain Thoughts; I am there-

^ε Αυταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδόση. This Ellipsis is very frequent in *Thucydides* and *Homer*; the latter speaking of the Waste made by the wild Boar on the Lands of *Oeneus*, says, in the same Figure,

II. 1.

Πολλὰ δ' ὄγε προδίλυμα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρα μακρὰ
 Αὐτῆσιν εἰζήσει, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶσι μύλωνι.

therefore of opinion that proper Persons, together with *Clearchus*, should go to *Cyrus*, and ask him in what Service he proposes to employ us; and to acquaint him, that, if the present Undertaking be of the same nature with that in which he before made use of foreign Troops, we will follow him, and behave ourselves with equal bravery to those who ^h attended him upon that occasion; but if this Enterprize appears to be of greater Moment than the former, and to be attend with greater Labour and ⁱ Danger, that we desire he will either prevail on us by Persuasion to follow him, or suffer himself to be prevailed upon to allow us to return home. By this means, if we follow him, we shall follow him, as Friends, with Cheerfulness, and if we return, we shall return with Safety: And let them report to us what he says, which

^h Συναγαγάντων. This relates to the three hundred Greeks, who, as our Author tells us, attended *Cyrus* to Court under the Command of *Ξίνας* of *Parrhasie*.

ⁱ Επιπονώτερα καὶ ἐπικίνδυνωτερα. These are the proper Characters that distinguish this Expedition from the former; however, *d' Ablancourt* has not taken the least notice of it in his Translation.

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which we may then consider of." This was resolved.

HAVING chosen the Persons therefore, they sent them with *Clearchus*, who asked *Cyrus* the Questions appointed by the Army; to which he made this answer: "I am informed, that *Abrocemas*, my Enemy, lies near the *Euphrates*, at the distance of twelve days march; therefore, my Intention is, if I find him there, to punish, by leading my Army against him; but if he flies from the place, I will there consider what we are to do." This coming to the ears of those who were appointed to attend *Cyrus*, made their Report to the Soldiers, who suspected his Design was to lead them against the King; yet they resolved to follow him; and when they demanded an Increase of Pay, he promised to give them half as much more as they had already; that is, instead of one *Darick*, a *Darick* and a half every Month to each Man. But it was not even then known that he intended to lead them against the King, at least, it was not public.

HENCE;

HENCE, he made in two days march ten Parafangas, to the River *Pbarus*, which was three hundred Feet broad, From thence to the River *Pyramus*, which is one Stadium in breadth, making in one march five Parafangas; from which place, he made, in two days march, fifteen Parafangas, and arrived at *Issus**, the last Town of *Cilicia*, situated near the Sea; a large City, rich, and well inhabited, where he staid three days, during which time, five and thirty ships, with *Pythagoras*, a *Lacedæmonian*, (the Admiral) at the head, sailed from *Peloponnesus*, and came to *Cyrus*, being conducted from *Epbefus* by *Tamos*, an *Egyptian*, who carried with him five and twenty other Ships belonging to *Cyrus*, with which he had besieged *Miletus*, because that City was in friendship with *Tissaphernes*, against whom, *Tamos* made war in conjunction with *Cyrus*. With these

* *Ισσοίς*. Hard by stands a Town now called *Scanderoon*, a Place very well known to our *Turkey* Merchants, built by *Alexander* in memory of the great Victory he obtained there over *Darius*, whose Mother, Wife, and Children, were taken Prisoners in the Action. The Bay called by *Strabo* *κόλπος Ἰσσικός*, took its Name from this Town, and is now called the *Bay of Scanderoon*. Strabo,
14 B.

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these Ships also came *Cbeirifophus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, whom *Cyrus* had sent for, with seven hundred heavy-armed Men, which he commanded under *Cyrus*, before whose Tent the Ships lay ¹ at Anchor. Hither also four hundred heavy-armed Greeks came to *Cyrus*, (leaving *Abrocomas*, in whose Service they were,) and marched with him against the King.

HENCE *Cyrus* made in one march five Parafangas to the ^m Gates of *Cilicia*

¹ Αἱ δὲ νῆες ὄρμαν, &c. I will not say that ὄρμεῖ is never used to signify a Ship that comes to Land, but I am sure it is generally applied to a Ship that lies at Anchor, and that ὀρμίζω is almost universally the Word made use of to express the former; the difference between the two Words is particularly set forth by *Phavorinus*, ὀρμέω, says he, ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἵσταμαι, ὀρμίζω δὲ τὸ εἰς τὸν λιμένα εἰσάγομαι: I will not therefore absolutely say that the *French* and *Latin* Translators have mistaken this Passage, but with the former, instead of saying *elles vinrent mouïller l'ancre*, had said *elles étoient à l'ancre près de la Tente de Cyrus*; and that the latter, instead of saying *naves propter Cyri Tentorium adpullerant*: had said, *in anchoris stabant*.

Plin. N.H. ^m Ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. There are
 5 B. c. 22. two Passes upon the Mountains that divide *Cilicia* from
 Syria, as we find in *Pliny*, and *Tully's* Epistles, where the
 latter gives the Reasons why he led the Army, which he
 Cicero, commanded as Proconsul, into *Cappadocia* rather than
 15 B. into *Cilicia*: *duo enim sunt aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria*, one
 4 Epist. of these is called πύλαι Ἀμανικαί, by *Pliny portæ Amanī*
 Plin. ib. *montis*,

xia and *Syria*: These were two Fortresses, of which the inner next *Cilicia* was possessed by *Syennesis* with a Guard of *Cilicians*, and the outer next to *Syria*, was said to be defended by the King's Troops: Between these two Fortresses runs a River called *Kersus*, one hundred Feet in breadth: The Interval between them was three Stadia in the whole, through which it was not possible to force a way; the Pass being narrow, the For-

montis, and the other simply *ώλαι*, or, as the last mentioned Author calls them *portæ Ciliciæ*; the former are to the Eastward of the latter, which, as we find in this Account of *Xenophon*, lie close to the Sea. There is a doubt which of these is meant by our Author; but this will be clearly rectified, if we look into *Arrian*, where we shall find *Alexander* to have taken the same Rout with *Cyrus* for a great way, and to have often encamped in the same places: After that Prince had passed these *πυλαι* mentioned by *Xenophon*, and while he lay with his Army at *Myriandros*, the same place where *Cyrus* encamped *Arrian*, after he had passed them, he received advice that *Darius* ^{2 Book.} had left his Camp at *Soebi*, within two days march of the *Exp. Alex.* *ώλαι*, and having passed the mountains at the *ώλαι Αμυνηκαί*, or the eastern Pass, was got behind him and marching to *Iffus*. *Alexander* was pleased to find his Enemy had abandoned the Advantage of a champaign Country, and shut up his numerous Army, the chief Strength of which, consisted in Horse, between the Mountains and the Sea, and, marching back, possessed himself again of the *ώλαι* that Night; the next Day he engaged *Darius*, and the Ground between this Pass and *Iffus* was the Scene of that memorable Victory: This happened in the 4th Year of the 111th Olympiad, *Diod. Sic.* 68 Years after *Cyrus* marched through *Cilicia*. 17 B.

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Fortresses reaching down to the Sea, and above were inaccessible ^a Rocks. In both these Fortresses stood the Gates. In order to gain this Pass, *Cyrus* sent for his Ships, that, by landing his heavy-armed Men both within, and without the Gates, they might force their Passage through the *Syrian* Gates, if defended by the Enemy; which he expected *Abrocomas*, who was at the Head of a great Army, would attempt: However, *Abrocomas* did not do this, but, as soon as he heard *Cyrus* was in *Cilicia*, he suddenly left *Phœnicia*, and went back to the King, with an Army, consisting, as it was said, of three hundred thousand Men.

HEREUPON, *Cyrus* proceeded through *Syria*, and in one march, made five *Parafangas*

^a Πέτραι ἠλίκατοι. This Expression is very poetical, and often made use of by *Homer*, whose Scholiast explains it in this manner, ἧς ὁ ἥλιος μόνος ἐπιβάινει, a Rock inaccessible to every thing but to the Rays of the Sun. When *Homer* II. *Patroclus* reproaches *Achilles* with his Cruelty by suffering the *Greeks* to be slain in such numbers for want of his Assistance, he tells him,

— ἐκ ἄρα σὸι γε πατήρ ἦν ἵπποτα Πηλεΐδης,
 Οὐδὲ τίς τις μύθη· γλαυκὴ δὲ σε τίειτε θάλασσα
 Πέτραι τ' ἠλίκατοι, ὅτι τοὶ νόσοι ἐστὶν ἀπηνής.

rafangas to *Myriandrus*, a City near the Sea, inhabited by the *Phœnicians*, ° which being a Mart-Town, where many Merchant Ships lay at Anchor, they continued seven days; during which, *Xenias* the *Arcadian* General, and *Pafon* the *Megarean*, took Ship, and putting their most valuable Effects on board, failed away. It was the general Opinion, that this was owing to their Repentment against *Clearchus*, whom *Cyrus* had suffered to retain the Troops that left them, and put themselves under his Command with a view of returning to *Greece*, and not of marching against the King. As soon therefore as they disappeared, a Rumour was spread that *Cyrus* would follow them with his Gallies: Some wished that, having acted perfidiously, they might be taken: others ^P pitied them, if they should fall into his hands.

Cyrus

° Εμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ δρῦν αὐτόθι ὀλιγάδες πολλαί. Here *Hutchinson* has translated δρῦν in the manner I have contended for in note ¹, pag. 40. *Leunclavius* has still adhered to *adpulerant*. *D' Ablancourt* has left out the whole Period in his Translation. ὀλιγάς, πωρὰ Θεουδίδη, ἢ ἱμπορικὴ ναῦς. *Suidas*.

^P Οἱ δ' ἄκτιρον εἰ ἀλώσονται I own, I cannot, with the *Latin* Translators, see the necessity of supplying this

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Cyrus immediately assembled together the General Officers, and spoke thus to them: “*Xenias* and *Pafson* have left us, but let them be assured that they are not ⁹ gone away so as to be concealed, (for I know whither they are going) neither are they escaped, (for my Gallies can

Sentence with any Word in order to complete it; I think the Expression elegant, the Sense plain, and the eventual Commiseration fully pointed out by the conditional Particle *ἰ*.

⁹ *Ἀποδιεξάκασιν*. *Annonius* and *Phavorinus* are quoted upon this occasion by *Hutchinson*, to shew the difference between *ἀποδράναι* and *ἀποφύγειν*, the first, say they, signifies τὸ ἀναχωρησάντά τινα ἑυδηλον εἶναι ὅτι ἐστὶ, the other τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπιληφθῆναι, and, to support this, the Passage now before us in *Xenophon* is cited by *Annonius*. Now I own, that, notwithstanding the very great deference, which I have, and which every one ought to have for those two Grammarians, and the Person who quotes them, yet I cannot help thinking that the very Passage they quote, destroys the difference they have established; for, if *ἀποδράναι* signifies, as they say, to retire in such a manner that the Place of Retreat is known, *ἀποδιεξάκασιν* here must signify the reverse, for *Cyrus* tells the *Greeks* that they have *not* retired to a Place unknown to him, εἰδὲ ἀποδιεξάκασιν, because he says he knows whither they are going: *Hutchinson* himself confirms what I say by his Translation, even against his own Quotation, for he says, *nec clam se aufugisse*; whereas if the Observation of the Authors he quotes, is just, and that *ἀποδράναι* signifies ἀναχωρησάντά τινα ἑυδηλον εἶναι, he should have translated it *nec palam se aufugisse*. I wish, I do not say for the Advantage of the Sense, but for the Ease of the Translator, that *Xenophon* had said ἀποδιεξάκασιν μὴ, ἢ ἀποφύγειν αἰ, δι, I should then have translated it, they are fled, but not escaped.

can come up with their Ship.) But I call the Gods to witnesses that I do not intend to pursue them, neither shall any one say, that, while People are with me, I use their Service; but that, when they desire to leave me, I seize them, treat them ill, and rob them of their Fortunes. Let them go therefore, and remember, they have behaved themselves worse to me, than I to them. Their Wives and Children are under a Guard at *Tralles*, however not even these shall they be deprived of, but shall receive them

* *Μὴ τὸς Θεῶς.* *Μὴ* is a negative Assertion, and *τὸς* an affirmative one.

* *Ἰόντων.* The Use of the genitive Case plural of the Participle, is very common with the *Attick* Writers, instead of the third Person plural of the imperative Mood in the same Tense, unless *ἴτωσαν*, according to the Opinion of some Critics, is upon those occasions to be understood. *Diogenes Laërtius* gives a remarkable Instance *Diogenes* of something like this; it relates to the Trial of *Socrates*, *Laërtius* where *Plato* offering to speak to the Judges in defence of *Life* of his Master, began his Speech in this manner: *Νεώτατος*, *Socrates*, ὦν, ὃ ἄνδρες *Ἀθηναῖοι*, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων, upon which the Judges interrupted him by calling out *καταβαῖτω*, for *καταβῆτι*, and made him come down. But the *Attick* Authors are not singular in the use of this Phrase: *Homer* says

— κήρυκες μὲν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτόνων
 Λαῶν κηρύσσοντες ἀγχιρόντων κατὰ νῆας,

Homer
 Il. β.

for ἀγχιρόντων. This Atticism is often made use of by the best Authors.

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them in return for the gallant Behaviour they have formerly shewn in my Service." The *Greeks*, if any before shewed a backwardness to the Enterprize, seeing this Instance of *Cyrus's* Virtue, followed him with greater Pleasure and Chearfulness.

AFTER this, *Cyrus* in four days march made twenty *Parafangas*, and came to the River *Chalus*, which is one hundred Feet broad, and full ' of large tame

Lucian of the Syrian Goddes.

Πληθὺν δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων, &c. *Lucian* in his Treatise of the *Syrian* Goddes, has a Passage that will explain this of *Xenophon*; he says, the *Syrians* looked upon Fish as a sacred thing, and never touched them; and that they eat all Birds but Pigeons, which they esteemed holy: he adds, these Superstitions were owing to their respect for *Derceto* and *Semiramis*, the first of whom had the Shape of a Fish, and the other was changed into a Pigeon. That Author has affected to write this Treatise in the *Ionick* Stile, his Words are these: ἰχθύας, χρῆμα ἱερὸν νομίζουσι καὶ ἔκτοι ἰχθύων φαύουσι. καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας σιτίονται, περιεργὴν δὲ μόνην ἔσιτίονται, ἀλλὰ σφίσι ἕδα ἱερή. τὰ δὲ γιγνώμενα δοκίμι αὐτοῖς ποίεσθαι Δερκετῆς, καὶ Σεμιράμιδος ἕνεκα· τὸ μὲν, ὅτι Δερκετὴ μορφὴν ἰχθύος ἔχει· τὸ δὲ, ὅτι τὸ Σεμιράμιδος τίλ' εἰς περιεργὴν ἀπίκατο. This Tradition is somewhat varied by *Diodorus Siculus*, who says, that *Derceto* being brought to bed of *Semiramis*, threw herself into a Lake, and was changed into a Fish, for which reason, he says, the *Syrians* worshipped Fish as Gods. The same Author adds, that *Semiramis*, when a Child, was fed by Pigeons, 'till a Person who had the Super-intendency over the King's Herds, took her home to his own House, and called her *Semiramis*, a Name derived,

Diod. Sic. 2 B.

tame Fish, which the *Syrians* look upon as Gods, and do not suffer them to be hurt any more than Pigeons. The Villages in which they encamped belonged to *Parysatis*, and were given to her for her Table". Thirty Parasangas more

rived, as he says, from Pigeons in the *Syrian* Language : and that this was the occasion of the Worship the *Syrians* paid to Pigeons. It may not be improper to acquaint the Reader, that the Goddesses called *Derceto* by the *Greeks*, and *Atargatis* by the *Syrians*, was looked upon by the Plin. Nat. Hist. 5 B. last as the Mother of *Semiramis*, and worshipped as a Goddess in *Bambyce*, by them, called *Magog*. Lucian c. 23. says, she was represented in *Phœnicia* as a Woman to the Waist, and from thence as a Fish ; which made *Selden* of Selden de Diis Syris Sint. 2. c. 3. opinion, that *Derceto* and *Dagon*, who was also represented in the same manner, were the same Divinity, though it is certain that *Dagon* was looked upon as a God, and *Derceto* as a Goddess. Had *d' Ablancourt* considered these Matters, he would not have been so hasty in condemning *Xenophon* of too great Credulity, neither would he have thought himself under any Obligation of softening, as he calls it, these Facts, for fear of corrupting the Truth of History : Particularly since *Diodorus Siculus* also says, Diod. Sic. 2 B. the fabulous Tradition of *Derceto* being changed into a Fish prevailed so far, that the *Syrians*, even in his time, abstained from Fish, and honoured them as Gods.

Ἐἰς ζῶντ' δεδόμεναι, &c. *Hutchinson* has departed from the Text, and without the Authority of any Manuscript, has followed *Muretus* and *Jungermannus* in reading ζῶντ' Cicero in instead of ζῶντ'. Indeed the Passage he has supported this Verrem, Correction with, out of *Tully*, *Plato*, and *Herodotus*, shew 3 B. c. 23. plainly, that the Kings of *Persia* used to give some particular Cities to their Queens to find them in Girdles, Alcib. 1P. others to find them in Necklaces, and others in Shoes ; p. 123. so that it cannot be denied but ἰς ζῶντ' is here very proper ; but it is as certain from those Authors he has quoted, and indeed from every Author, who has treated of the *Life of Affairs of Persia*, that the *Persian* Kings also assigned particular

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more, in five days march, brought him to the source of the River *Daradan*, the breadth of which was one hundred Feet, having near it the palace of *Belysis*, who was formerly governor of *Syria*, with a very large and beautiful Park producing every thing proper to the Season: *Cyrus* laid waste the Park, and burned the Palace. From thence in three days march he made fifteen *Parasangs*, and came to the River *Euphrates*, which is four *Stadia* in breadth; where, being the large and flourishing City of *Thapsacus*, they remained five days; during which, *Cyrus*, sending for the Generals of the *Greeks*, told them that he proposed marching to *Babylon* against the great King, and ordered them to acquaint the Soldiers with it, and to persuade them

to

Athenæus ticular Cities to those whom they had a mind to honour, to find them in Bread, others to find them in Wine, and
deurv. 1 *B. c.* 23. others in Meat, or, as some will have it, in Fish. In this
Plutarch manner *Artaxerxes* *Μακρόχρηστος*, distinguished *Themistocles*,
in The- *σις ἀπὸν καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἄψον*, as *Plutarch* and *Thucydides* say; so that it is not at all improbable the Villages our Au-
thor here speaks of, might be assigned to *Parysatis* to supply her Table; but if the Reader prefers *ζώνη*, it must then be translated, that these Villages were given to *Parysatis* to find her in Girdles.

Arrian " *Θάψακος*. Here *Darius* passed the *Euphrates* with
 2 *Book.* the broken Remains of his Army, after his Defeat at
Exp. Alex. *Issus*.

to follow him. Hereupon, they called them together, and informed them of it; but the Soldiers were angry with their Generals, saying they knew this before, but concealed it from them; therefore refused to march, unless they had Money given them, as the other Soldiers had, who before attended *Cyrus* to his Father, and that not to fight, but only to wait upon him, when his Father sent for him. The Generals immediately gave an account of this to *Cyrus*, who promised to give every Man five * Mines of Silver, as soon as they came to *Babylon*, and their full Pay, 'till he brought them back to *Ionia*; by which means great part of the *Greeks* were prevailed upon: but *Memon*, before it appeared whether the rest of the Soldiers would follow *Cyrus*, or not, called his own Men together apart, and spoke thus to them:

“ FELLOW-Soldiers! if you will follow my Advice, you shall, without either Danger, or Labour, be in greater esteem with *Cyrus*, than the rest of the Army. What

* Πέντε Αργυρία μνάς. See note ^m, page 9.

What then do I advise? *Cyrus* is this minute entreating the *Greeks* to follow him against the King: I say, therefore, we ought to pass the *Euphrates*, before it appears what Answer the rest of the *Greeks* will make to him; for, if they determine to follow him, you will be looked upon as the Cause of it by first passing the River, and *Cyrus* will not only think himself under an Obligation to you, as to those who are the most zealous for his Service, but will return it, (which no Man better understands;) but if the rest determine otherwise, we will then all return: As you only are obedient to his Orders, he will look upon you as persons of the greatest Fidelity, and as such employ you in the Command both of Garrisons and of Companies; and I am confident you will find *Cyrus* your Friend ¹ in whatever else you

¹ ἄριστος. *Hutchinson* has observed from *Stephens*, that ἄριστος is remarkable among those Verbs which the *Attick* Writers use in the present Tense, instead of the future.

² Ω; φίλος. I agree with *Hutchinson* that this is an Ellipsis, and that ὑπὸ, or something like it, is to be understood; without condemning ὑπὸ; I should like παρέα full as well; thus *Telemachus* tells *Menelaus* in the same Phrase,

Homer
Odyss. O.

παρέα σείο νυχθὶν φίλοτατ' ἀπάσης
ἔρχομαι.

you desire of him." The Soldiers, hearing this, followed his Advice, and passed the *Euphrates*, before the rest had returned an Answer: When *Cyrus* heard they had passed the River, he was pleased, and sending *Glus* to them, ordered him to say to them in his Name; "*Soldiers! I praise you for what you have done, and will take care that you also shall have reason to praise me; if I do not, think me no longer Cyrus.*" Hereupon, the Soldiers conceiving great hopes, prayed for his Success; after which, [having, as it was reported, sent magnificent Presents to *Menon*] he, at the head of his Army, passed the River, the Water not reaching above their Breasts, notwithstanding the Inhabitants of *Thapsacus* declared, that the River was never fordable before, or passable but in Boats, which *Abroomas* had burned, as he marched before them, to prevent *Cyrus* from passing over; it seemed therefore providential^a, and that
the

^a *Edóξαι δὲ θεῶν εἶναι*. I make no doubt but what *Xenophon* says concerning this Submission of the *Euphrates* was the Stile of *Cyrus's* Court upon this occasion. It seems that the *Euphrates* was not indued with the same Spirit of Prophecy that *Horace* gives to *Nereus*: other-

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the River visibly submitted to *Cyrus*, as to its future King.

From thence he advanced through ^b *Syria*, and, having in nine days march made fifty *Parasatgas*, came to the River ^c *Araxes*; where, being many Villages full of Corn and Wine, they staid three Days, made their Provisions, and then proceeded through ^d *Arabia*, keeping the River

wise, like him, he would have tried out *mala ducis avi*; and not have suffered his army to have forded him so easily, a favour he afterwards denied to *Alexander*, whose Success might have given him a better Title to it, and who was obliged to pass this River at the same Place over two Bridges.

Arrian 3
B.

^b *Διά τῆς Συρίας*. Let not the Reader be surpris'd Plin. N. to find *Xenophon* mentions *Syria* in *Mesopotamia*, through H. 5 B. c. which he is now conducting *Cyrus*; for it appears both 12. by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, that the Country lying between *Strabo*, 16 *Phasfacus*, and the *Scythic Arabians*, of whom he will B. speak presently, was part of *Syria*.

^c *Ἀραξῶν*. I never yet could find this River in any Ammian. other Author but *Xenophon*, I mean a River called *Araxes*, Marcel. that runs through this Part of *Syria*; for every body 5 B. c. 18. knows there are Rivers of this Name in other Parts of *Strabo*, *Asia*, so must submit it to the Learned, whether this 16 Book. River is the *Aborus* of *Marcellinus* which *Strabo* calls *Ptolemy*, *Ἀβόρου*, and *Ptolemy* *Ἀραξῶν*, and the *Arabians* *Al* 5 B. c. 18. *Chabur*.

^d *Διά τῆς Ἀραβίας*. The Inhabitants of this Part of *Strabo*, *Arabia* are called by *Strabo* *Ἰσχυροὶ Ἀραβῆς*; they were 16 B. a vagabond People, and, like most of their Countrymen, great

River *Euphrates* on his right hand, and in five days march through a Desert, made thirty-five Parasangas. The Country was a Plain throughout, as even as the Sea, and full of Wormwood; if any other kinds of Shrubs, or Reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic Smell; but no Trees appeared. Of wild Creatures, the most numerous were wild Asses, and not a few Ostriches, besides
Bust-

great Robbers; *Nomades, infestioresque Chaldaeorum, Scimitæ*, says *Pliny*, a *tabernaculis cognominati*: they were afterwards called *Saracens*; which Name *Scaliger* derives from *Saric*, which, in *Arabic*, signifies a Robber: Those, who have travelled through *Asia*, will not think this Etymology forced. Plin. 6 B. c. 28. Ammian.

* *Αγροί βοι.* All Authors, both ancient and modern, agree, that wild Asses are exceeding swift. *Oppian*, in his Treatise of Hunting, calls the wild Ass *ἀλλοπόδον*, *Κορρυ*. his Treatise of Hunting, calls the wild Ass *ἀλλοπόδον*, *Κορρυ*. swift as the Wind, an Epithet given by *Homer* to the Horses which *Jupiter* bestowed on the Father of *Gany- 3 B.* *mede*, to make him some amends for the loss of his Son. The wild Ass is very different both in its Shape and Colour from the common Ass. There is a Skin of this Animal at the College of Physicians in *London*; another I have seen, among many other Curiosities, natural and artificial, ancient and modern, belonging to my Neighbour *Sir Andrew Fountain*: The first of these is stuffed, and by that the Creature appears to have been between twelve and thirteen Hands high; the Colour of every Part about him is composed of white and chestnut Stripes, his Bars, Mane, and Tail like those of a common Ass; his Forehand is long and thin, his Shoulders fine, his Back straight, his Body full, his Hoofs a little bound, his

‘Bustards, and ‘Roe-Deer, which our Horsemen sometimes chased. The Asses, when

his Legs perfectly fine; seems a little goose-rumped, his Quarters are thin and lying under him, and his Hams bent inward; to these three last Shapes he very probably owes his speed. This Doctrine I know all Sportsmen will not allow, but many Observations in Sporting have convinced me of its Truth. Wild Asses were sometimes made use of by the Ancients to

Pl. N. H.
8 B.

cover Mares, in order to breed Mules; but all their Authors agree, that the best Stallion for that purpose was an Ass bred between a wild Male Ass, and a Female of the common kind. *Pliny* tells us also, that the Foals of wild Asses were called *Lalifones* and were delicate Meat. Wild Asses are common in the Deserts of *Numidia* and *Lybia*, and particularly in *Arabia*; they are sold at an excessive Price when reclaimed, and it is said the Kings of *Persia* have always Stables of them. When they are young, their Flesh is like that of a Hare, and when old, like red Venison.

Galen.

‘ *Struthio* is *mydas*. Ostriches are Animals very well known, they are common in *Africa*, *South America*, and many Parts of the *Levant*, as *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*, &c. I remember to have seen two that were shewn at *London*; we were informed they came from *Buenos Ayres*: they answered the Description given of them in Books. Their Feathers, in so great request for several kinds of Ornaments, particularly upon the Stage, and anciently

Pl. N. H.
10 B. c. 1.

in War, *conos galeasque adornantes pennæ* says *Pliny*; these, I say, come from their Tail and Wings, and are generally white: The Feather of an Ostrich was among the *Egyptians*, the Emblem of Justice. All Authors agree, that in running they assist themselves with their Wings, in the manner described by *Xenophon*: some have thought that this compound Motion, which consists both of flying and running, gave occasion to the Fiction of the poetical Horse, *Pegasus*. It is said they eat Iron, which is so far true, that in those dissected in the Academy of Sciences

Urreta
Hist. of
Æthio-
pia.

at

when they were pursued, having gained ground of the Horses, stood still (for they exceeded them much in speed) and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again: so that our Horsemen could take them by no other means but

at *Paris*, they found several Pieces of Iron-Money in them more than half diminished; but this was occasioned by the mutual Attrition of those Pieces, and not by Digestion, for they swallow Iron to grind their Meat, as other Birds swallow Pebbles for the same purpose.

^e *Gruidæ*. Bustards are very well known to Sportmen; we have great numbers of them in *Norfolk*; they are remarkable for having no more than three Claws, like the Dotterel, and some few other Birds; they are scarce to be approached by any Contrivance as I have been taught by many Disappointments: possibly this may be owing to their exquisite Sense of hearing, no Bird having in proportion to its Size, so large an Aperture to convey it. What *Xenophon* says concerning their short Flights, can only be understood of them before they are full grown, for, when they are so, they make Flights of five or six Miles with great Ease. *Pliny* and *Pl. 10 B.* *Xenophon*, like many other People, differ in their Taste *c. 22.* with relation to Bustards; the first calls them *dammatus* in *Cibis*, the last, we find, commends them.

^h *Δορκάδæ*. We have no Roe-Deer in the South of *England*, they are common in *France*, *des Chevreuils*: I have often seen them hunted there; they run the Foil more than a Hare, and hunt shorter; they have great speed, but, as they do not run within themselves, but often tapise, and consequently give frequent Views, they seldom stand long even before their Hounds. They are vastly less than our Fallow Deer, and are very good Meat, when fat, which seldom happens.

THE EXPEDITION

but by dividing themselves into Relays, and succeeding one another in the Chase. The Flesh of those that were taken was like that of red Deer, but more tender. None could take an Ostrich; the Horsemen, who pursued them, soon giving it over: for they flew far away as they fled, making use both of their Feet to run, and of their Wings, when expanded, as a Sail to waft them along. As for the Bustards, they may be taken, if one springs them hastily, they making short flights, like Partridges, and are soon tired. Their flesh was very delicious.

IN marching through this Country they came to the River *Masca*, a hundred Feet in breadth, surrounding a large City uninhabited, called *Corfote*; whence, after continuing three days, making their Provisions, he made ninety Parasangas in thirteen days march, through a Desert, still keeping the *Euphrates* on his right, and came to *Pyle*; during which Marches, many sumpter Horses died of Hunger, there being no Grass, nor any other Plant, but the whole Country entirely Barren; the Inhabitants being

being employed near the River with digging ¹ Mill-stones, which they afterwards fashioned and conveyed to Babylon for sale to buy Provisions for their support. By this time the Army wanted Corn, and there was none to be bought, but in the *Lydian* Market, which was in the Camp of the *Barbarians*, belonging to *Cyrus*, where a ^k Capithe of ¹ Wheat, or Barley-Meal was sold for four ^m Sigli. The Siglus is worth seven *Attick* Oboli ⁿ and a half; and the Capithe holds two *At-*

¹ Οὐς ἀλέτας. Οὐς δ' ἀνώτερος λίθος τῆ μύλας. *Phavorinus*. So that ἄνοι ἀλέται signify properly the upper Mill-stones.

^k Καπίθη. From this passage it appears that the Καπίθη held two *Attick* Chœnixes.

¹ Ἀλέρων. *Hutchinson* has, with great Judgment, supported the *Greek* Text against *Muretus*, who wanted to strike out ἀλέρων, as signifying the same thing with ἀλφίτων, whereas *Phavorinus* from the Scholiast of *Æschylus* plainly distinguishes ἀλευρα from ἀλφίτα, *Æschyl.* shewing that the first signifies the Flour of Wheat, Schol. and the other that of Barley. "Ἀλευρα κυρίως τὰ ἐκ σίτου, *Schol.* p. 31. ἀλφίτα τὰ ἐκ κριθῶν ἀλευρα. *Phavorinus*."

^m Σίγλος. This was a *Persian* Coin: *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus* make it worth eight ὀβολοί, but this Passage shews it was worth but $7\frac{1}{2}$.

ⁿ Ὀβολός. The ὀβολός was the sixth part of a Drachm, *Phavorinus*. *Julius* it was called so from its Resemblance to a Spit. See *Pollux*. *note m*, page 9, concerning the *Greek* Coins.

Attick ° Chœnixes: so that the Soldiers lived upon Flesh. Some of these Marches were very long, when *Cyrus* had a mind his Army should go on 'till they came to water or forage. And once where the Road was narrow and so deep, that the Carriages could not pass without difficulty, *Cyrus* stopped with those about him of the greatest Authority, and Fortune, and ordered *Glus* and *Pigres* to take some of the *Barbarians* belonging to his Army, and help the Carriages through; but, thinking they went slowly about it, he commanded as in Anger, the most considerable *Persians*, who were with him, to assist in hastening on the Carriages, which afforded an Instance of their ready Obedience; for, throwing off their purple^p Robes, where each of them happened to stand, they ran, as if it had been for a Prize, even down a very steep Hill, in their costly Vests, and embroidered

Arbuth-
not.

° Χοῖνιξ. A dry Measure containing three Κοτόλαι, which were equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the ξεστis; the χοῖνιξ contained 49,737 solid Inches.

^p Κάβδος. Κάβδος, χιτῶν Περσικός. *Suidas*. A *Persian* Robe.

ed 'Drawers, some even with Chains about their Necks, and Bracelets round their Wrists; and, leaping into the Dirt with these, they lifted up the Carriages, and brought them out sooner than can be imagined. Upon the whole, *Cyrus* appeared throughout to hasten their march, stopping, no where unless to get Provisions, or for other things that were very necessary; he judging the quicker he marched, the more unprepared the King would be to encounter him, and the slower, the more numerous would be the King's Army; for it was obvious to any Person of Attention, that the *Per-*
sian

⁹ *Αναξυρίδας*. *Ἀναξυρίδας* were also part of the Dress Diodorus of the old *Gauls*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, who says, Siculus they called them *Βραχίαι*, which *Braccæ* it is certain gave ⁵ *B.* name to a very considerable Part of *France*, called from thence *Gallia Braccata*, the same with *Gallia Narbonensis*: The *French* Language has retained this word, *Bragues*, which is softened into a more modern one *Braves*. I leave it to some profound Antiquary, who may be disposed to employ his idle Labour in this Enquiry, to consider how far this Dress, from which *Perfius* calls the *Perfius*, *Medes*, *Medos Braccatos*, and which *Ovid* calls *Persica* ³ *Sat.* *Bracca*, how far, I say, this Dress, which we find to have been common both to the *Persians* and *Gauls* of old, *Ovid.* ⁵ *B. Trist.* may be a proof of their being descended originally from the same People, that is, the *Scythians*, who, after they had conquered the *Medes*, continued Masters of that Part of *Asia* for eight and twenty Years; particularly since we find in *Herodotus*, that among the *Persians* there *Herodo-*
was a People called *Γερμανοί*, *Germans*. *tus Clio.*

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lian Empire, though strong with regard to the ' Extent of Country, and Numbers of Men, was however weak by reason of the great Distance of Places, and the Division of its Forces, when surpris'd by a sudden Invasion.

IN their march through the Desert, they discovered a large and populous City situated on the other side of the *Euphrates*, called *Carmande*, where the Soldiers bought ' Provisions, having pass'd over to it upon ' *Rafts*, by filling the
Skins

* ΠΛΗΘΟΣ. This Word signifies Quantity in this place, when applied to the Country; and Number, when applied to the Men; it is frequent'y used by the best Authors in the first Sense as well as the last.

* Ηγόραζον. Somebody has violently provok'd *Hutchinson* by finding fault with the Scripture-Writers, for making use of this Word in the Sense *Xenophon* uses it upon this occasion: There can be no doubt but ἀγοράζειν is to be found in the best Authors in this Sense; I remember a Passage in *Isocrates* to *Nicoles*, which will not only support what I have said, but may well deserve translating; δορεάς ὑμῶν πολὺ πλείονος ἀγοράζετε παρὰ τῶν δίδόντων ἢ παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων. You (Men of Fortune) purchase Presents much dearer from those who give, than from those who sell.

Odyss. s. * Σχεδίασις. Whenever *Homer* speaks of the Boat, which *Ulysses* built with his own Hands in four Days, in *Ogygia*, *Calyss's* Island, he calls it σχεδία, which is thus explained by the Scholiast, εἰκαίως κατασκευασθεῖσα ναύς; a Boat built on a sudden; it signifies also an ex-
tem-

*Skins, which they made use of for Tents, with dry Hay, and sewing them together so close, that the Water could not get therein: these Provisions were such as Wine made of the ²Fruit of the *Palm-Tree*,

temporary Bridge, in which Sense *Herodotus* applies it to Herodotus the two Bridges of Boats, over which *Xerxes* passed the two Poly-Hellesponts. Here *Xenophon* uses it for a Raft, (if I may hymnia. be allowed to make use of that Word upon this occasion) made of Skins stuffed with Hay.

¹ Διφθίρας. This Method of passing Rivers was formerly much in use; as the Soldiers Tents were generally made of Skins, instead of Canvas, they had always great numbers of them at hand; the Tents of the Romans were also made of Skins, whence come these Phrases, *sub pellibus durare*, and *sub pellibus contineri*, which we find in *Livy* and *Cæsar*. *Alexander*, in his victorious March through *Asia*, passed several Rivers in this manner, particularly the *Oxus*, the Passage of which is described by *Arrian* in such a manner, that it is obvious to any one he had this Description of *Xenophon* in his Eye, which, I think, he explains much better than I can, his Words are these: ξυναγαγὼν ἐν ταῖς διφθίρας ὄφ' αἷς ἰσκήνων οἱ στρατιῶται, φρεστοῦ ἱμαλῆσαι ἐκίλευσεν ὡς ξηροτάτη, καὶ καταδῆσαι τι καὶ ἐνέξασαι ἀκριβῶς τὴ μὴ ἰνδύσθαι ἐς αὐτὰς τὴ ὕδατος.

Livy 5 B.
Cæsar B.
G. 4 B.
c. 38.
Arrian,
3 B.

² Τῆς βαλάνου. The Fruit of the *Palm-Tree* is properly called Dates, of which there is an infinite variety: of these they make in *Persia* a Wine, which is very agreeable, but does not keep well: of this Wine, *Cam- Herodotus*, when he was in *Egypt*, sent a Hogthead to the King of the *Ethiopians*, as a Present; with this Wine the *Egyptians* washed their dead Bodies before they embalmed them. By the way, I have always thought, that the Fruit of a certain *Palm-Tree*, described by *Pliny*, who calls the Trees *Syagri*, answers exactly to the *Coco-nut*: This

Id. in Eubalmed them. By the way, I have always thought, that terpe.
Pl. N. H.
13 B. c. 9.

Tree, and *Panic*, there being great plenty of this in the Country. 'Twas here, that a dispute arose between *Menon's* Soldiers, and those of *Clearchus*; the latter, thinking one of *Menon's* Men in the wrong, struck him; the Soldier, thereupon informed his Companions of it, who not only repented it, but were violently incensed against *Clearchus*, ' who, the same day, after he had been at the place where the Men passed the River, and inspected the Provisions, rode back to his own Tent with a few Attendants through *Menon's* Army; and before the arrival of *Cyrus*, who was on his way thither, it happened that one of *Menon's* Soldiers, as he was riving Wood, saw *Clearchus* riding threw the Camp, and threw his Ax at him, but missed him; then another, and another threw Stones at him, upon

This *Palm-Tree*, he says, grew in that Part of the *Lower Egypt*, which he calls *Cbora Alexandriæ*; the Description he gives of its Fruit, is, as follows, *Ipsum Pomum grande, durum, horridum & a cæteris generibus distans sapore serino, quem sermè in Apris novimus, evidentissimèque causa est nominis.*

Υ Κλέαρχος ἔλθων ἐπὶ τῆν διάβασι τῆ βαταμῆ, κ' ἐκὶ κατασκευάμενος τὴν ἀγοράν. D' *Ablancourt* has left out all this in his Translation, as he has this Parenthesis also, Κυρὸς δ' ἔπει ἦκεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι προσήλαυε.

upon which, a great Outcry ensuing, many did the same. However, *Clearchus* escaped to his own Quarter, and immediately ordered his Men to their Arms; commanding the heavy-armed Soldiers to stand still, resting their Shields against their Knees, and taking with him the *Thracians* and the Horse, of whom he had above forty in his Army, the greatest part *Thracians*, he rode up to *Menon's* Men, who thereupon, were in great Consternation, as well as *Menon* himself, and ran to their Arms, while others stood amazed, not knowing what to do; but *Proxenus*, for he happened to be coming after them at the head of his heavy-armed Men, advanced between them both, and ^zmaking his Soldiers stand

^z Εθετο τὰ ὅπλα. *Hutchinson* with great reason finds fault with *Leunclavius* for translating this *arma deponebat*, it really signifying the reverse, as he has very properly rendered it, *armis ritè dispositis*, and as *Harpocration* explains this Phrase, θίμενⓄ τὰ ὅπλα περιθίμενⓄ, ὀπλισάμενⓄ; And as *Shakespeare* has said, according to his Custom, more beautifully than any other Author, *the Powers above put on their Instruments.* Not that I imagine *Proxenus*, when he advanced between *Menon* and *Clearchus*, had his Armour to put on, but that he ordered his Men to stand to their Arms, that he might be prepared to prevent their engaging by force, if he could not prevail by fair means. Upon the whole, I look upon it, that *Proxenus* put his Men in the same Posture, into which

Macbeth.

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stand to their Arms, begged of *Clearchus* to desist. But he took it very ill, that, having narrowly escaped being stoned to death, the other should speak tamely of his Grievance; and therefore desired he would withdraw from between them. In the mean time *Cyrus* came up, and being informed of what had happened, immediately took his Arms, and with the *Persians* who were present, rode between them, and spoke to them in the following manner: *Clearchus! and Proxenus! and you Greeks who are present! you are not sensible of what you are doing; for, if you fight with one another, be assured, that I shall this day be destroyed, and you not long after; for, if our Affairs decline, all these Barbarians, whom you see before you, will be greater Enemies to you than those belonging to the King.*" *Clearchus*, hearing this, came to himself, and both sides resigning their

which *Eurypylus* in *Homer* threw the *Greeks*, in order to secure the Retreat of *Ajax*, when he was pushed by the *Trojans*,

II. A.

οἱ, δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν
 Πλησίον ἕστασαν ἄλλοις κλίναντες
 Δυστ' ἀνασχόμενοι.

D'Ablancourt foresaw the Difficulty of this Passage, and prudently avoided it by leaving it quite out, a Conduct he observed about three Lines above, where he also omitted to translate οἱ δὲ κ' ἕστασαν ἀπορῶντες τῷ πράγματι.

their Anger, laid up their Arms ^a where they were before.

WHILE they were marching forward, there appeared the Footing and Dung of Horses, which, by the ^b Print of their Feet, were judged to be about two thousand, marching before, burning all the Forage, and every thing else that could

^a Κατὰ χώραν. I own, I cannot agree with *Hutchinson* that κατὰ χώραν, in this place, signifies *suo ordine & loco, ubi arma iter facientium disponi par est*: I think that is rather the signification of ἐν χώρᾳ, than of κατὰ χώραν, the last implying no more than that a thing remained in the same place it was in before. In this Sense *Aristophanes* says, ἀλλ' ἐδὲ τὸ βλέμμ' αὐτὸ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει, his Look *Aristop. in* even is not the same. So that a thing may be κατὰ χώ- *Pluto.* ran, and not ἐν χώρᾳ, in the place it was, and not in the place it ought to be.

^b Ὁ σίβη. I make no doubt but σίβη signifies, as *Hutchinson* has translated it, ἰδῶ: but I hope it will be allowed that it signifies also the Print of Feet; there being a Passage in *Homer*, in his Hymn to *Mercury*, which *Homer* plainly proves that σίβη has both these Significations, *Hymn to* for which reason I shall transcribe it: *Mercury.*

Ὀφρα μὲν ἔν ἰδίωκε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χώρον,
 Ρεῖα μάλ' ἔχρια πάντα διέπριπεν ἐν κονίῃσιν·
 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ψαμαθοῖο μέγαν σίβη ἐξέπρησαν,
 Αφρασῶ γίνετ' ὄκα βοῶν σίβη, ἠδὲ τῆ αὐτῆ
 Χωρον αἰὶά κρατερῶν.

I hazard an Observation to shew, that our Author uses the Word here to signify the Print of the Horses Feet, it is this: The Article ὁ before σίβη seems to me to refer to ἔχνη ἵππων, mentioned in the foregoing Line.

could be of any use. There was a *Persian*, by Name *Orontas*, a Prince of the Blood, and of Reputation, in military Affairs, equal to the most considerable among the *Persians*; having formed a Design to betray *Cyrus*, with whom he had before been at war; but, being now reconciled, told *Cyrus*, that, if he would give him a thousand Horse, he would place himself in Ambuscade, and either destroy those Horse that burned all before him, or take many of them Prisoners, which would prevent them both from burning the Country, and from being able to inform the King that they had seen his Army. *Cyrus* thinking this Proposal for his Service, ordered him to take a Detachment out of every Troop belonging to the several Commanders.

ORONTAS, presuming the Horse were ready, wrote a Letter to the King, acquainting him, that he should come to him with as many Horse as he could get, and desiring him to give Orders at the same time, to his own Horse that they

they should receive him as a Friend; reminding him also of his former Friendship and Fidelity. This Letter he gave to a trusty Person, as he thought, who, as soon as he had received it, delivered it to *Cyrus*; who immediately commanded *Orontas* to be apprehended, and caused seven of the most considerable *Persians* about him to assemble in his Tent; and, at the same time, upon giving Orders to the *Greek* Generals for bringing their heavy-armed Men, and place them round his Tent, with their Arms in their Hands,

^c ΑΑΑά. 'ΑΑΑά is here, as *Hutchinson* has observed, παρακαλευστικόν, an exhortative Particle; in which Sense it is frequently used by *Xenophon*, and indeed by all Authors, particularly by *Homer*. There is a necessity of so frequent a Repetition in this place, that it unavoidably renders the Translation disagreeable; the difference in the Termination of ἰππίας and ἰππιῶσι, and in the *Latin* of *Equites* and *Equitibus*, makes the Reader insensible of this Repetition; this is one Disadvantage, among many others, to which a literal Translation, in a modern Language, is subject. *D'Ablancourt* always avoids these Repetitions, and every thing else that lays him under any Restraint, whatever Violence he may do to the Author's Sense; it must be owned, his Method gives a Translation the Air of an Original, but then it often makes it one. Joseph.
12 B.

^d Τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἰππία. We often find a Council of seven mentioned by the Writers, who treat of the Affairs of *Persia*; which Council seems to have been instituted in memory of the seven *Persian* Noblemen, who put the Magi to death: of whom *Darius Hystaspes*, afterwards King of *Persia*, was one. Jew. Ant.
c. 6.
Zonaras.
1 tom.
Esdras 7c.
Herodot.
in Thalia.

Hands, they obeyed his Commands, and brought with them about three thousand heavy-armed Men. He also called *Clearchus* to the Council, as a Man, whom both he, and the rest looked upon to be of the greatest Dignity among the *Greeks*. When he came out, he gave his Friends an account of the 'Trial of *Orontas*, (for Secrecy was not enjoined,) and of the Speech which *Cyrus* made, as follows:

FRIENDS! I have called you hither to the end that I may consider with you of what is most just both in the fight of Gods and Men, and accordingly proceed against this Criminal Orontas. In the first place, my Father appointed ' this Man to be my
sub=

^e Τῆς κρίσεως τοῦ Ὀρόντου. Sure, *comme le procès d'Oronte avoit été jugé*, would have been as proper a Translation of these Words, as *comme la chose s'étoit passée*, in *d'Ablancourt*.

^f Τῶρον γὰρ. Γὰρ in this place is not designed to introduce a Reason for what precedes, but to enforce what follows, as in *Homer*,

Homer
Il. α.

Ἀνήρω γὰρ ἐγὼ τῷ δ' ἀνέρω, ὄφρα δασίω,
ὄσις ὄδε κραταίει.

D'Ablancourt has rendered ὑπάρξων ἔμοι σίνας in the same Sentence, *pour m'accompagner*.

subject; ^a afterwards, by the Command, as he says, of my Brother, he made war upon me, being then in possession of the Citadel of Sardes; this War I prosecuted in such a manner, as to dispose him to desire an end of it, and I received his ^b Hand, and gave him mine; since that time, say Orontas, have I done you any Injury? To which he answered, None. Cyrus again asked him, Did not you afterwards, without any Provocation from me, as you yourself own revolt to the Mysians, and lay waste my Country to the utmost of your Power? Orontas owned it. After that (continued Cyrus) when you again became sensible of
your

^a *Ἐπι δὲ*. I have translated this as if *Xenophon* had said *ἔπειτα δὲ*, in which Sense *ἔπι δὲ* seems to answer better to *postquam* μὲν: *Hutchinson* has said *postquam*, which has no relation to *primum*, I think *deinde* would have been better.

^b *Δεξιὰν ἔλαβον*. *Hutchinson*, in his Annotations upon the Institution of *Cyrus*, has brought several Authorities to prove, that the Kings of *Persia* used to pledge their Faith by giving their right Hands, which to be sure is true; but this Custom was also observed by all Nations, and by the *Greeks*, so early as in *Homer's* Days, as we learn from *Nestor's* Speech to the *Greek* Commanders,

Σπονδαὶ τ' ἀρητοί, καὶ δεξιάι, ἤς ἐπίπιδμεν.

Homer II.
β.

Which I need not translate, because *Ovid* has almost done it for me.

Jura, Fides ubi nunc, commissaque dextera dextræ?

Ovid.
2 *Epist*

your want of power, did not you fly to the ¹Altar of Diana, profess repentance, and having prevailed with me, give me again your Faith, and receive mine? This also Orontas confessed. What Injury then, (says Cyrus) have I done you, that you should now, for the third time, be found endeavouring to betray me? Orontas saying that he was not provoked to it by any Injury, Cyrus continued, You own then you have wronged me? I am under a necessity of owning it, replied Orontas; upon which,

¹ Ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος Βῆμον. Hutchinson is of opinion, that this must be the Altar of Diana of Ephesus: which to me seems very probable, for this reason, because that Altar was a very ancient Sanctuary; so ancient that Eustathius, in his Annotations on Dionysius περιηγητής, says, the Amazons being pursued by Hercules, and flying to this Altar, were protected by the Religion of it. As the Persians worshipped the Sun and Moon, it is no wonder they had a respect for the Altar of Diana, which may be the reason why they spared Delus and Ephesus, when they burned all the other Greek Temples. It is equally certain this could not be a Persian Altar, if what Herodotus says be true, that the Persians erected none to their Gods. Though it is certain there was a temple in Ecbatana dedicated to Diana, under the Name of Anitis; since Plutarch tells us, that Artaxerxes made Aspasia a Priestess of that Goddess, to disappoint Darius, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Σελυτάνοις, ἢ Ἀνίτι κελύσει, ἵερὰν ἀνίδουξεν αὐτῇ. (τῆν Ἀσπασίαν.) But, as Ecbatana was far distant from the Government of Cyrus, it is not at all probable that Orontas fled to that Temple for Protection. However, the Persians had a particular Respect for Diana of Ephesus, an Instance of which may be seen in Thucydides, where we find Tissaphernes offering Sacrifice to that Goddess.

Eustathius on Dionysius.
Herodotus Clío.
Strabo,
14 B.
Scholiast of Aristophanes in Εἰρήνῃ.
Herodotus ib.
Plutarch in Artaxerxes.

Thucyd.
8 B.

which, *Cyrus* asked him again, *Can you yet be an Enemy to my Brother, and a Friend to me?* Though I should, says *Orontas*, *O Cyrus!* you will never think me so.

HEREUPON, *Cyrus* said to those who were present, *Such are the Actions of this Man, and such his Words:* at the same time, desiring the Opinion of *Clearchus*, who delivered it as follows: *My Advice is, that this Man be forthwith put to death, to the end that we may no longer be under a necessity of guarding against his Practices, but have leisure, being freed^k from him, to do good to those who desire to be our Friends:* after which, upon declaring the rest were unanimous in this Advice, they all rose up, and, together with his Relations, by Order of *Cyrus*, laid hold on ¹*Orontas's* Girdle, as a Token of his being

^k Τὸ κατὰ τῶτον εἶναι. This Addition of εἶναι is very common in all the *Attick* Writers. *Herodotus* has also admitted it into his *Ionick* Stile; thus he makes *Damaratus* in *Po-say* to *Xerxes*, Εὐὸν γε εἶναι εἰδ' ἂν μονομαχίῳσι: *d' Ablan-lyhymnia* court, I imagine, found some difficulty in this Passage, for he has left it out.

¹ Ελάσαντο τῆς ζώνης. *Hutchinson* has shewed from a *Diod. Sic.* Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, in the Affair of *Charidemus*, 17 B. who

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ing condemned; and instantly led out by the proper Officers; when, although in that *dishonourable* situation, those who used to prostrate themselves before him, even then paid him the same "Veneration, though they knew he was leading to death. He was carried into the Tent of *Artapates*, who was in the greatest Trust with *Cyrus* of any of his Sceptre-Bearers"; from which time, no one ever

who was ordered to be put to death by *Darius*, that it was a Custom among the *Persians* to lay hold on a Criminal's Girdle when they condemned him to die.

^m Προσκύματα. Hence it appears, that this Custom of Adoration was not only used by Subjects to the Kings of *Persia*, but by Subjects of an inferior Degree to those of a Superior: We have the whole Ceremonial in *Herodotus in Clio. dotus*; if two *Persians* of equal Degree meet, says he, they kiss one another's Mouths; if one of them is something inferior to the other, he kisses his Check; if much inferior, he falls down and adores him. When *Alexander*, intoxicated with Success, endeavoured to prevail with the *Macedonians* to imitate the conquered *Persians* in this Servility, *Callisthenes* opposed him to his Face with a Spirit becoming both a *Greek* and a Philosopher; by what he says to *Alexander* upon that occasion, we find that *Cyrus*, the Founder of the *Persian* Empire, was the first of all Mankind, to whom Adoration was paid, which from thence was looked upon as a Duty from the *Medes* and *Persians* to his Successors. To this Day the *Greeks* call the Compliments they send one to another προσκύματα, Adorations.

Herodotus
in Clio.

Arrian,
4 B.

ⁿ Σκηνόρατον. Sceptres both in the ancient and modern World, are Ensigns of great Dignity. All Authors agree,

ever saw *Orontas* either ° alive or dead, nor could any one certainly relate how he was put to death, though various Conjectures were made about it; neither

agree, that they were borne by the Kings of *Perſia*; upon which occaſion, I cannot help tranſlating a fine Sentiment made uſe of by the firſt *Cyrus*, (or rather by our Author) in the Speech he makes to his Children; *You Xenophon are ſenſible, ſays he, O Cambyſes! that this golden Sceptre is Inſtit. of not the Support of the Empire, but that faithful Friends are Cyrus, the trueſt and ſecureſt Sceptre of Kings, οἶσθα μὲν ἔν κ' σὺ, ᾧ 8 B. Καμβύση, ὅτι ἐ τὸδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τῆν βασιλείαν διασφᾶλῆν ἴστω, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλείων ἀληθίστατον κ' ἀσφαλίστατον.* This Thought, *Salluſt* has paraphraſed in the Speech of *Miciſpa*. *Non exercitus, neque Jug. War. theſauri, præſidia Regni ſunt, verum amici.* *Homer* gives all his Greek Commanders Sceptres; with him a King is *II. A. Σκῆπτροῦ βασιλεύς*, which *Milton* has rendered *sceptred Kings*: By this Paſſage in *Xenophon*, we find, that *Perſian* Milton Noblemen were alſo diſtinguiſhed by this Mark of Dig- Par. Loſt. nity. However, I look upon the *Σκῆπτροῦχοι*, or Scept- 1 B. tre-Bearers, to have been a kind of Guard attending upon the Perſons of the *Perſian* Kings, ſince we find in *Xenophon*, that three hundred of them, richly dreſſed; attended the firſt *Cyrus* upon a very ſolemn occaſion, *ἰφῆ- Xenophon πορο οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σκῆπτροῦχοι κεκοσμημένοι — ἀμφὶ τὰς τρι- 8B. Inſtit. κκοσίως.* *D' Ablancourt* has ſtrangely miſtaken this Paſſage, of *Cyrus.* he ſuppoſes *Artapats*: to have been one of thoſe; whoſe Duty it was to carry the Sceptre of *Cyrus*; but I do not think it fair to cenſure him, without quoting his Words, *l'un des plus fideles ſerviteurs de Cyrus, d'entre ceux qui portoi- ent ſon Sceptre.*

° Μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτι ζῶντα Ὀρόντην, ἔτι θιθνήατα εἶδεν; κῶποτε εἶδεν. *Hutchinſon* has left out this Line in his Tranſlation; when I ſay this, I deſire not to be miſtaken, I am convinced that his leaving it out was owing to ſome accident; for he is certainly not, like ſome others, a ſhy Tranſlator, where he meets with a difficulty.

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ther was it ever known that any Monument was erected to his memory.

CYRUS next proceeded through the Country of *Babylon*, and after completing twelve Parasangas in three days march, reviewed his Forces, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, in a Plain about Midnight, (expecting the King would appear the next Morning, at the Head of his Army, ready to give him Battle) giving the Command of the right Wing to *Clarchus*, and that of the left to *Me-non* the *Thessalian*, while he himself drew up his own Men. After the Review, and as soon as the Day appeared, there came Deserters from the great King, bringing an account of his Army to *Cyrus*, who thereupon called together the Generals and Captains of the *Greeks*, and advised with them concerning the Order of Battle; at the same time encouraging them by the following Persuasions: O *Greeks!* *it is not from any want of Barbarians, that I make use of you as my Auxiliaries, but, because I look upon you as superior to great Numbers of them;*
for.

for that reason I have taken you also into my Service: Shew ^p yourselves therefore worthy of that Liberty you enjoy, in the possession of which I think you extremely happy; for be ^a assured that I would prefer Liberty before all things I possess, with the Addition of many others. But, that you may understand what kind of Combat you are going to engage in, I shall explain it to you: Their Numbers are great, and they come on with mighty Shouts, which if you can
with-

^p Ὅπως ἐν ἰσοθῆ ἀνδρες ἀξιοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, &c. These Ellipses, as well in Prohibitions, as in Exhortations, are often to be met with in the best Authors, particularly the *Attick* Writers; in the former *φωλάριον*, or something like it, is to be understood, and in the latter *πειρῶ*, or something equivalent to it; and, as ὅπως leads to the Ellipsis in Exhortations, so μήπως leads to it in Prohibitions; a remarkable Instance of which we find in *Homer*, where *Sarpedon* says to *Hector*,

Μήπως ὡς ἀψίσι λίνα ἀλόττι πανάγρε,
Ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἴλαρ κ' ἔκρυμα γίνεσθαι,

Il. i.

where, by the way, the dual Number is used for the plural, which is not uncommon.

^a Εὐ γὰρ ἴτε ὅτι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀπὸ ὧν ἔχω πάντων κ' ἄλλων πολλαπλασίῳ. *Cyrus* with great Judgment expresses himself with so much warmth upon the Subject of Liberty, which he knew to be the reigning Passion of the People to whom he addresses his Discourse. Whether *d' Ablancourt* found any difficulty in this Sentence, or whether he was afraid of offending the tender Ears of his Monarch with the Harshness of it, I know not; but so it is, that he has left out every Syllable of this Period.

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withstand, for the rest I am almost ashamed to think what kind of Men you will find our Country produces. But you are Soldiers; behave yourselves with Bravery, and, if any one of you desires to return home, I will take care to send him back the Envy of his Country; but I am confident that my Behaviour will engage many of you rather to follow my Fortunes, than return home.

GAULITES, a banished Samian, a Man of Fidelity to Cyrus, being present, spoke thus; It is said by some, O Cy-

Herodo-
tus in Po-
lyhymnia.

Ἰ Ανδρώπεις* ὑμῶν δὲ Ανδρῶν ὄντων. This Opposition between *ἄνθρωποι* and *ἄνδρες*, is finely supported in *Herodotus*, where he says, that *Leonidas*, and his four thousand Greeks, having repulsed the *Persians* in several Attacks at *Thermopylae*, made it plain to all the World, that they were many Men but few Soldiers, *δῆλον ἐπέειπεν*—*ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἰεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες*: I am apt to think our Author had that Passage of *Herodotus* in his Eye upon this occasion. This Opposition is preserved in *Latin* by *homines* & *virī*, of which *Hutchinson* and *Leunclavius* have very properly taken advantage in rendering this Passage: I imagine *d'Abblancourt* thought his Language would not support this distinction, having left out the whole Passage: But I do not see why the Opposition which his Language allows between *des Hommes* and *des Soldats*, might not have encouraged him to attempt it. There is a fine Instance of that Opposition in a very beautiful, though a very partial Writer of his Nation, *Father d'Orleans*, where, speaking of the *French Army* at the ever memorable *Battle of Crecy*, he says, *les François avoient beaucoup de Troupes & point d'armée, grand multitude d'Hommes & peu de Soldats, des Rois à leur tête, & point de Chefs.*

Cyrus! that you promise many things now, because you are in such imminent Danger, which, upon any Success, you will not remember; and by others, that, though you should remember your Promises, and desire to perform them, it will not be in your power. Cyrus then replied; Gentlemen! my paternal Kingdom to the South, reaches us far as those Climates that are uninhabitable through Heat, and to the North, as far as those that are so through Cold: Every thing between is under the Government of my Brother's Friends; and, if we conquer, it becomes me to put you, who are my Friends, in possession of it; so that I am under no apprehension, if we succeed, lest I should not have enough to bestow on each of my Friends; I only fear, lest I should not have Friends enough, on whom to bestow it: But
to

Ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ παρρησία. Plutarch has given us the Substance of a most magnificent Letter, written by Cyrus, to the Laedæmonians, desiring their Assistance against his Brother; he there tells them, that, if the Men, they send him, are Foot, he will give them Horses; if Horsemen; Chariots; if they have Country Houses, he will give them Villages; if Villages, Cities; and that they shall receive their Pay by Measure, and not by Tale. Οἷς ἔφη δώσειν, ἰὰν μὲν ἄνθρωποι ἀποπέσω, ἵππους ἰὰν δὲ ἵππεῖς, συρμασίδας ἰὰν δὲ ἀγροὺς ἔχουσι, κώμας ἰὰν δὲ κώμας, πόλεις μισθὸν δὲ τοῖς στρατιωμένοις ἐκάρημιδον, ἀλλὰ μέτρον ἰσθεῖται. This Letter seems to be full of the same eastern Fast, with the Speech Cyrus makes to the Greeks upon this occasion. Plutarch in Artaxerxes.

to each of you Greeks, besides what I have mentioned, I promise a Crown of Gold, Hereupon, the Officers espoused his Cause with greater Alacrity, and made their Report to the rest; after which, the Greek Generals, and some of the private Men, came to him to know what they had to expect, if they were victorious; all whom he sent away big with hopes; and all who were admitted, advised him not to engage personally, but to stand in the Rear: *Clearchus* himself put this Question to him; *Are you of Opinion, O Cyrus! that your Brother will hazard a Battle?* Certainly, answered *Cyrus*: *If he is the Son of Darius and Parysatis, and my Brother, I shall never obtain all this without a stroke.*

WHILE the Soldiers were accomplishing themselves for the Action, the number of the *Greeks* was found to amount to ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed Men, and two thousand four

¹ Ασπίς. Ασπίς is taken here in the same Sense *Suidas* gives it, ἡ τάξις, that is ἀσπιστάι, which is very properly explained by the Scholiast upon these Words of *Homer*,

II. Δ.

κρατερὰ ἄρ' ἔχεις ἀσπιστάων

λαῶν,

by κίτων, ὀπλιτῶν, heavy-armed Men,

four hundred Targeteers; and that of the *Barbarians* in the Service of *Cyrus*, to one hundred thousand Men, with about twenty " Chariots armed with Scythes. The Enemy's Army was said to consist of twelve hundred thousand Men, and two hundred Chariots armed with Scythes, besides six thousand Horse, under the Command of *Artagerfes*, all which were drawn up before the King, whose Army was commanded by four Generals, Commanders and Leaders, *Abrocomas*, *Tissaphernes*, *Gobryas*, and *Arbaces*, who had each the command of three hundred thousand Men; but of this Number, nine hundred thousand only were present at the Battle, together with one hundred and fifty Chariots armed with Scythes; for, *Abrocomas* coming out of *Phœnicia*, arrived five Days after the Action. This was the Account the Deserters gave to *Cyrus* before the Battle, which was afterwards

αεματα δεσπανηφόμε. *Xenophon* in his *Cyropædia*, *Xenop. in* ascribes the Invention of these Chariots armed with Scythes to the first *Cyrus*: though *Diodorus Siculus*, from *Κύρου και* *Ctesias*, says *Ninus* had great Numbers of them in his *δία*. *Expedition* against the *Babrians*: It is certain they were *Diod. Sic.* not in use in the *Trojan* War, for which reason *Arrian*, *z B.* in his *Tactics*, opposes αεματα Τρωϊκά to Περσικά, as he *Arrian in* does ψιλὰ to δεσπανηφόμε. *his Tact.*

wards confirmed by the Prisoners. From thence *Cyrus*, in one day's march, made three *Parasangas*, all his Forces, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, marching in Order of Battle; because he expected the King would fight that day; for, in the middle of their March, there was a Trench cut five Fathom broad, and three deep; extending twelve *Parasangas* upwards; traversing the Plain as far as the Wall of *Media*. In this Plain are four * Canals derived from the River *Tigris*; being each one hundred Feet in breadth, and deep enough for Barges laden with Corn, to sail therein: they fall into the *Euphrates*; and are distant from one another one *Parasanga*, having Bridges over them,

THE great King, hearing *Cyrus* was marching against him, immediately caus-

Arrian,
7 B.
ἀναβάσεις
Ἀλεξάν-
δρου

Strabo,
16 B.
Pl. Nat.

Hist. 5 B.

* Ἀσ δὲ διώρυχες ἀπὸ τῆς Τίγριτος ποταμῶ ἐίησαν. *Arrian* differs very much from our Author, in relation to these Canals; he says, that the Level of the *Tigris* is much lower than that of the *Euphrates*, and consequently all the Canals that run from the one to the other, are derived from the *Euphrates*, and fall into the *Tigris*. In this, he is supported by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, who say, that in the Spring, when the Snows melt upon the Hills of *Armenia*, the *Euphrates* would overflow the adjacent Country, if the Inhabitants did not cut great numbers of Canals to receive and circulate this Increase of Water, in the same manner as the *Egyptians* distribute that of the *Nile*.

caused a Trench to be made, (by way of Fortification,) near the *Euphrates*; close to which also, there was a narrow Pass, through which *Cyrus* and his Army marched, and came within the Trench; when, finding the King did not engage that day, by the many Tracks that appeared both of Horses and Men which were retreated, he sent for *Silanus*, the Soothsayer of *Ambracia*, and (agreeable to his promise) gave him three thousand *Daricks*, because the eleventh Day before that, when he was offering Sacrifice, he told *Cyrus*, the King would not fight within ten Days; upon which, *Cyrus* said, “*If he does not fight within that time, he will not fight at all; and, if what you say proves true, I’ll give you ^y ten Talents.*” Since therefore the King had suffered the Army of *Cyrus* to march through this Pass unmolested, both *Cyrus* and the rest concluded that he had given over all Thoughts of fighting; so that the next day *Cyrus* marched with less Circumspection; and the third day, rode on his Car;

^y Δίκα τάλαντα. By this it appears, as *Hutchinson* has observed, that three thousand *Daricks*, and ten *Talents*, were of equal Value. See note ^m, page 9.

Car, very few marching before him in their Ranks; great part of the Soldiers observed no Order, many of their Arms being carried in Waggon, and upon sumpter Horses.

IT was now about the time of Day, * when the Market is usually crowded, the Army being near the place, where they proposed to encamp, when *Patagyas*, a *Perſian*, one of thoſe whom *Cyrus* moſt confided in, was ſeen riding towards them full ſpeed, his Horſe all in a Sweat; and he calling to every one he met, both in his own Language, and in *Greek*, that the King was at hand with a vaſt Army, march-

* *Αμφι αγορῶν πλῆθεσαν.* It is very common with the *Greek* Authors to denote the time of the Day by the Employment of it: Thus *περὶ λύχγων ἀφ᾽ ἑσπέρης* is often uſed by *Dionyſius Halicarnanſenſis* to ſignify the Evening, and *ἀμφὶ πλῆθεσαν ἀγορῶν*, as *Kuſter* has proved in his Notes upon *Suidas*, what they called the third Hour, that is, nine o'Clock with us. Poſſibly *πλῆθεσα ἀγορῶν* may not improperly be rendered in *Engliſh* Full Change. There is a very particular Deſcription of the Evening in the *Odyssey*, where *Ulyſſes* ſays he hung upon the wild Fig-Tree, 'till *Charybdis* had caſt up his Raft, which appeared at the time, when the Judge left the Bench, to go to Supper,

Odyſſ. M.

— Ἦμῶ δ' ἐπὶ δόρυον ἀντὶ ἀγορῆθεν ἀνέστη,
 Κρίτων νίκια πολλὰ διαζομένων αἰζηῶν,
 Τῆμῶ δὲ τάγε δῦρα Χαρυβδιῶ· ἔξεφ' ἀνέθη.

marching in Order of Battle; which occasioned a general Confusion among the *Greeks*, all expecting he would charge them, before they had put themselves in Order: but *Cyrus* leaping from his Car, put on his Corset, then mounting his Horse, took his Javelins in his Hand, ordered all the rest to arm, and every Man to take his Post; by virtue of which Command they quickly formed themselves, *Clearchus* on the right Wing, close to the *Euphrates*, next to him *Proxenus*, and after him the rest: *Menon* and his Men were posted upon the left of the *Greek Army*. Of the *Barbarians*, a thousand *Paphlagonian* Horse, with the *Greek* Targeteers, stood next to *Clearchus* on the right: upon the left, *Ariæus*, *Cyrus's* Lieutenant-General was placed with the rest of the *Barbarians*: they had large Corsets, and Cuiſſes, and all of them Helmets but *Cyrus*, who placed himself in the Center with six hundred Horse, and stood ready for the Charge, with his Head unarmed; ^a in which manner

^a Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. D'Ablancourt has left out all this, unless he designed that *selon la coutumè des Perses* should

ner, they say it is also customary for the rest of the *Persians* to expose themselves in a day of Action: all the Horses in *Cyrus's* Army had both Frontlets and Breast-plates, and the Horsemen *Greek* Swords.

IT was now the middle of the Day, and no Enemy was yet to be seen; ^b but in

Herodotus in Terpsichore and Polyhymnia. Plutarch in Artaxerxes.

should be taken for a Translation of it. I have said that *Cyrus stood ready for the Charge with his Head unarmed, and not bare*, in which I have differed from all the Translators, but am supported by *Briffenius*, who in his third Book *de Regno Persarum*, from whom *Hutchinſon* has taken his whole Annotation upon this Passage is of opinion, which he proves from *Herodotus*, that, both *Cyrus*, and the rest of the *Persians*, though they had no Helmets in a Day of Battle, wore however *Tiaras* upon their Heads. This is confirmed by *Plutarch*, who says, that in this Battle *the Tiara of Cyrus fell from his Head*. Besides, $\psi\lambda\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, which is the Word our Author uses upon this occasion, has a visible relation to what goes before; after he has said therefore that the six hundred Horse had all Helmets but *Cyrus*, when he adds that he had $\psi\lambda\eta\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta$, he does not mean that he stood with his Head bare, but that he had no Helmet; in the same manner, when *Arrian* calls the light-armed Men $\psi\lambda\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, he does not mean they were naked, but that they had neither Corsets, Shields, Greaves, or Helmets, which the Reader will see in his own Words in note ^f, page 5.

^b $\text{Ὥνικα δὲ δειλὴ ἐγένετο. Hutchinſon quotes upon this occasion a Passage out of Dio Chryſoſtemus, in which he divides the day into five parts; 1. ὠρῶν. 2. πλῆθυσαν ἀγορῶν. 3. τὰς μεσημβρίας. 4. δειλὴν. 5. ἑσπέραν; this Di-$

In the Afternoon there appeared a Dust like a white Cloud, which not long after spread itself like a Darkness over the Plain; when they drew nearer, the brazen Armour flashed, and their Spears and Ranks appeared; having on their left, a Body of Horse armed in white Corlets (said to be commanded by *Tissaphernes*) and followed by those with ^c *Persian* Bucklers, besides heavy-armed Men with wooden Shields, reaching down to their Feet, (said to be *Egyptians*) and other Horse, and Archers; all which marched ^d according to their respective Countries, each

Division of the Day, perfectly agrees with that of *Xenophon*; and, as *πληθευσα ἀγορά* is the middle Hour between the Morning and Noon, so, *δαίλον* will be the middle Hour between that and the Evening, that is, three o'Clock.

^e *Γεζφοφόροι*. *Περσικὰ μὲν τινα ὄπλα τὰ γέζφα ἐστί.*
Harpocration. This kind of Buckler is also mentioned by *Homer* in the following Verse,

Τῆ δ' ἐτίεθ' ἰσάκ[⊙]· ἐυρὺν, γέρον πεπυλαγαμίον δῆζη.

Homer
Odyss. x.

where *Eustathius* explains *Γέζφα* by *ἀσπίδες Περσικαὶ ἐκ λύγων*, *Persian* Bucklers made of Wickers.

^d *Κατὰ ἔθνη*. This seems to have been customary among the *Persians*; for we find in *Herodotus*, that, in Herodotus the prodigious Army, with which *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, tus in each Nation was drawn up by itself, *κατὰ ἔθνη* *Polyhymnia*.

each Nation being drawn up in a solid oblong square; and before them were disposed at a considerable distance from one another, Chariots armed with Scythes fixed afloat at the Axle-Trees, with others under the Body of the Chariot, pointing downwards, that so they might cut asunder every thing they encountered, by driving them among the Ranks of the *Greeks*, to break them; but it now appeared that *Cyrus* was greatly mistaken when he exhorted the *Greeks* to withstand the Shouts of the *Barbarians*; for they did not come on with Shouts, but as silently and quietly as possible, and in an equal and slow march. Here *Cyrus*,
riding

^e *Ε*, *πλασιόν*. As *πλαίσιον* and *πλιθιον* are Dispositions often mentioned by *Xenophon* and other *Greek* Authors, it may not be amiss to shew the difference between them. They are thus defined by *Arrian* in his *Tactics*, *πλαίσιον* ἰσομάχεται, ὁπόταν πρὸς πᾶσας τὰς πλευρὰς παρατάξῃται τις ἐν ἰστρομήκει σχήματι· *πλιθιον* δὲ, ὅταν ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι αὐτὸ τὸτο πρᾶξῃ, (rather *πραχθῆ*;) so that *πλασιον* is an oblong Square, and *πλιθιον* an equilateral Square: Had *D' Ablancourt* attended to this, he would not have translated it *πλασιόν*, *avec autant de Front que de Hauteur*.

^f Ἐπὶ τοῖς δίφροις. The Grammarians derive *δίφρο* from *δίφορος*, because both the ἡνίοχος, the Charioteer, and the *παραβάτης*, the Soldier, sat in the body of the Chariot. This Hint may be of use to History-Painters, who oftentimes place the Charioteer upon a Seat by himself, in the modern way.

e

riding along the Ranks with *Pigres* the Interpreter, and three or four others, commanded *Clearchus* to bring his Men opposite to the Center of the Enemy, (because the King was there) saying, *if we break that, our Work is done*: but *Clearchus*, observing their Center, and understanding from *Cyrus* that the King was beyond the left Wing of the *Greek Army*, (for the King was so much superior in number, that, when he stood in the Center of his own Army, he was beyond the left Wing to that of *Cyrus*) *Clearchus*, I say, would not however be prevailed on to withdraw his right from the River, fearing to be surrounded on both sides; but answered *Cyrus*, *he would take care all should go well*.

Now the *Barbarians* came regularly on; and the *Greek Army* standing on the same Ground, the Ranks were formed, as the Men came up; in the mean time, *Cyrus* riding at a small distance before the Ranks, surveying both the Enemy's Army and his own, was observed by *Xenophon* an *Athenian*, who rode up to him, and asked whether he had any

any thing to command; *Cyrus*, stopping his Horse, ordered him to let them all know, that the ^g *Sacrifices* and *Victims* promised success. While he was saying this, upon hearing a noise running through the Ranks, he asked him what meant it? *Xenophon* answered, that the Word was now giving for the second time; *Cyrus*, wondering who should give it, asked him what the Word was; the other replied, ^h *Jupiter the Preserver*, and *Victory*: *Cyrus* replied, *I accept it, let That be the Word*: After which, he immediately returned to his Post, and the two Armies being now within three or four Stadia of each other, ⁱ the *Greeks* sung the *Pæan*,
and

^g Ταῖς ἱερὰς καὶ τὰ σφάγια. The last of these properly signifies *Victims*, though I am sensible the first is sometimes taken also for *quests*; but in this place I should rather think it means some religious Rites, upon which, Conjectures were formed of future Events.

Dion Caf- ^h Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ καὶ Νίκη. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that at the
sius, 47 B. Battle of *Philippi*, *Brutus's* Word was Ἐλευθερία, *Libertas*; at the Battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cæsar's* Word was Ἀφροδίτη νικήσασα, *Venus victrix*; and that of *Pompey*, Ἡρακλῆς αἰώνιος, *Hercules immortalis*.

ⁱ Ἐπαυμένῃσιν οἱ Ἕλληνας. *Achilles*, after he has slain *Hector*, says thus to his Men, in *Homer*,

Homer
II. x,

Νῦν δ' ἀπ' ἀπείδοιτο Πηλεΐωνα, κῆρος Ἀχαιῶν,
Νῦσιν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῆσι νώμαθα —————

Whence

and began to advance against the Enemy; but the Motion occasioning a small ^k Fluctuation in the Line of Battle, those who were left behind, hastened their march, and at once, gave a general ^l Shout, as their Custom is when they invoke the God of War, and all ran forward, striking their Shields with their Pikes (as some say) to frighten the Enemy's Horses; so that, before the *Barbarians* came within reach of their Darts, they turned their Horses and fled, but the *Greeks* pursued them as fast as they could, calling out to one another not to run, but to follow in their Ranks: some of the Chariots were borne through their own People without their Charioteers, others through the *Greeks*, some
of

Whence the *Greek* Scholiast observes, that, the Ancients sung two *Pæans*; the first before the Battle, to *Mars*; and the second after it, to *Apollo*.

^k Εξικόμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος. This Expression is celebrated by *Demetrius Phalaræus*, as an Instance of the Beauty which Metaphors give, when they descend from greater things to smaller. Sect. 85.

^l Ελελίζουσι. Ελελιῦ, ἐπιφώνημα πολεμικόν. *Hesychius*. From thence comes ἐλελίζω. I am at a loss to guess what *D'Ablancourt* means by translating this, *comme on fait dans les solennitez de Mars*.

of whom seeing them coming, ^m divided; while others being amazed, like Spectators in the ⁿ Hippodrome, were taken un-

^m Οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἀροῦσιν, ἴσαντο. *Hutchinson* has employed his whole Annotation upon this Passage in shewing, that οἱ δὲ in this place signifies τινές, which to be sure is so; but he has said nothing of a much greater difficulty that occurs in it: If we are to read ἴσαντο in this place, as all the Translators have rendered it, the Sense will be, that, when the *Greeks* saw the Chariots coming towards them, they stood still, which sure was not the way to avoid them. I find in *Leunclavius's* Edition the word διῆσαντο in the Margin, and also in the *Eton Manuscript*, quoted by *Hutchinson* in his Addenda though neither of them have followed it in their Translations, or said any thing to support it; however, I make no doubt but this is the proper Reading, and then the Sense will be very plain; the *Greeks* avoided the Chariots, by dividing. This is confirmed by a Passage in *Arrian*, which fully explains that before us. At the Battle of *Arbela*, or, as he will have it, of *Gaugamela*, *Darius* had placed before his left Wing one hundred of these Chariots armed with Scythes, which proved of no greater effect than those of *Artaxerxes*; for *Alexander*, who was upon the right of his own Army, and consequently opposite to the Chariots, had ordered his Men to divide, when they saw them coming, which they did accordingly, and by that means, rendered them ineffectual. But the Words of *Arrian* are the best Comment upon this Passage, which it is probable he had in view, ἴσι δὲ ἂν κ' διεξέπειε διὰ τῶν τάξιων. διέσχον γὰρ, ὥσπερ παρήγελτο αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσέπιπτε τὰ ἄρματα.

ⁿ Ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ. This Word is used also by *Homer*, to signify the Place where the Chariots ran, the Lists.

II. ↓.

—— λαῖοι δ' ἵπποδρόμοι ἀμφίς.

At the Battle of *Thurium*, were *Sylla* defeated *Archelaus*, one of the Generals of *Mitridates*, the Roman Soldiers treated these Chariots armed with Scythes, with so great

Con-

unawares; but even these were reported to have received no harm, neither was there any other *Greek* hurt in the Action, except one upon the left Wing, who was said to have been wounded by an Arrow.

CYRUS seeing the *Greeks* victorious on their side, rejoiced in pursuit of the Enemy, and was already worshipped as King by those about him; however, he was not so far transported as to leave his Post, and join in the Pursuit: but, keeping his six hundred Horse in a Body, observed the King's Motions; well knowing that he was in the Center of the *Persian* Army; ° for in all *Barbarian* Armies, the Generals ever place themselves in the Center, looking upon that Post

Contempt, that, after the first which were sent against them had proved ineffectual, as if they had been Spectators of a Chariot-Race, they called out for more, *ἀλλὰ ἦτον*, as *Plutarch* says, *ὥσπερ ἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς θιατρικαῖς ἰαποδρομίαις.* *Plutarch in Sylla.*

° Καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Βασιλέων ἀρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἦγοντο. Thus *Arrian* tells us, that *Darius* placed himself in the Center of his Army at the Battle *Arrian 2* of *Iffus*, according to the Custom of the Kings of *Persia*; *B. Exp.* the reason of which Custom, he says, *Xenophon* assigns in *Alex.* the Passage now before us.

Post as the safest, on each side of which their Strength is equally divided; and, if they have occasion to give out any Orders, they are received in half the time by the Army. The King therefore being at that time in the Center of his own Battle, was however beyond the left Wing of *Cyrus*; and, when he saw none opposed him in front, nor any Motion made to charge the Troops that were drawn up before him, he wheeled to the left, in order to surround their Army; whereupon, *Cyrus* fearing he should get behind him, and cut off the *Greeks*, advanced against the King, and charging with his six hundred Horse, broke those who were drawn up before him, put the six thousand Men to flight, and, as they say, killed *Artagerfes*, their Commander, with his own hand.

THESE being broken, and the six hundred belonging to *Cyrus* dispersed in the Pursuit, very few were left about him, and those almost all Persons who used to eat at his Table; however, upon dif-

P discovering the King, properly attend-
 ed, and, unable to contain himself,
 immediately cried out, *I see the Man*;
 then ran furiously at him, and, striking
 him on the Breast, wounded him through
 his Corflet, (as *Ctefias* the Physician says,
 who affirms that he cured the Wound)
 having while he was giving the Blow,
 received a wound under the Eye, from
 somebody, who threw a Javelin at him
 with great force; at the same time, the
 King and *Cyrus* engaged hand to hand,
 and those about them, in defence of each.
 In this Action *Ctefias*, (who was with
 the King) informs us how many fell
 ON

P I cannot help translating a very fine Passage in
Plutarch in his Life of *Artaxerxes*, where he excuses
 himself for not entering into the Detail of this Battle,
 because *Xenophon* had already described it in so masterly
 a Style, that he thinks it folly to attempt it after him;
 he says, that many Authors have given an Account of this
 memorable Action, but that *Xenophon* almost shews it, and,
 by the Clearness of his Expression, makes his Reader assist with
 Emotion at every Incident, and partake of every Danger, as
 if the Action was not past, but present: However, that I
 may neither rob *Xenophon* of the Praise *Plutarch* gives
 him, or *Plutarch* of his manner of giving it, I shall
 transcribe the whole Passage, τὴν δὲ μάχην ἐκείνην, says
Plutarch, πολλῶν μὲν ἀπηγγελκότων, Ξενοφῶντος δὲ μοι οὐκ ἔστι
 δεῖν ἰδέσθαι, ὅψαι, καὶ τοῖς πραγμάσιν, ὡς ἐγεννημένοις, ἀλλὰ
 γινόμενοις, ἐφίσαντο τὸν ἀκροατὰν ἐν πάθει, καὶ συγκινδύ-
 νουοντα, διὰ τὴν ἐπείγειαν, ἐκ ἑστῆς ἔχοντο ἐπιξηγείσθαι,
 πλὴν ὅσα τῶν ἀξίων λόγου. The same Author calls the
 Place where this Battle was fought, *Cunaxa*.

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on his side; on the other, *Cyrus* himself was killed, and eight of his most considerable Friends ³ lay dead upon him. When *Artapates*, who was in the greatest Trust with *Cyrus* of any of his sceptred Ministers, saw him fall, they say, he leaped from his Horse, and threw himself about him; when, (as some say) the King ordered him to be slain upon the Body of *Cyrus*; though others assert, that, drawing his Scimitar, he slew himself; for, he wore a golden Scimitar, a Chain, Bracelets, and other Ornaments, which are worn by the most considerable *Persians*; and was held in great esteem by *Cyrus*, both for his Affection and Fidelity.

THUS died *Cyrus*! a Man universally acknowledged by those who were well acquainted with him, to have been, of all the *Persians* since the ancient *Cyrus*, indued with the most princely Qualities, and

³ Εξιπτο εν' αυτω. I am so much pleased with the reason d' *Ablancourt* gives for not translating these Words, that I must mention it; he says *le Grec dit, qui se firent tous tuer sur lui, mais cela est répété ensuite dans son Éloge, & j'avois besoin de cette Expression là dix lignes après.* There is a Frankness in this Acknowledgement that has more merit in it, than the best Translation.

and the most worthy of Empire. First, while he was yet a Child, and educated with his Brother, and other Children, he was looked upon as superior to them All in all things: For all the Children of the great Men in *Persia* are brought up at Court, where they have an opportunity of learning great Modesty, and where nothing immodest is ever heard or seen. There the Children have constantly before their Eyes, those who are honoured and disgraced by the King, and hear the Reasons of both: So that, while they are Children, they presently learn to command, as well as to obey: *Cyrus* was observed to have more Docility than any of his Years, and to shew more Submission to those of an advanced Age, than any other Children, though of a Condition inferior to his own; he was also observed to excel not only in his Love of Horses, but in his Management of them; and in those Exercises that relate to War, such as Archery and lancing of Darts, they found him the most de-

^r Ἐν ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδίσκται. Litterally at the Door of the King, concerning which, see note ^f, page 20.

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desirous to learn, and the most indefatigable. When in the Flower of his Age; he was, of all others, the fondest of Hunting, and in hunting, of Danger. And once, when a Bear rushed upon him, he did not decline the Encounter, but closed with her, and was torn from his Horse, when he received those Wounds, of which he ever after wore the Scars; at last he killed the Bear, and the Person, who first ran to his assistance, he made a happy Man in the eyes of all that knew him.

WHEN he was sent by his Father Governor of *Lydia*, the greater *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, and was declared General of all those who are obliged to assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*, the first thing he did was to shew, that, if he entered into a League, engaged in a Contract, or made a Promise, his greatest Care was never to deceive; for which reason both the Cities that belonged to his Government, and private Men, placed a Confidence in him: And, if any one had been his Enemy, and *Cyrus* had made Peace with him, he was under no ap-
pre-

prehension of suffering by a Violation of it: So that, when he made war against *Tissaphernes*, all the Cities, besides *Miletus*, willingly declared for him: And these were afraid of him, because he would not desert their banished Citizens; for he shewed by his Actions, as well as his Words, that, after he had once given them assurance of his Friendship, he would never abandon them, though their Number should yet diminish, and their Condition be yet impaired. It was evident that he made it his endeavour to out-do his Friends in good, and his Enemies in ill Offices; and it was reported that he wished to live so long, as to be able to overcome them both, in returning both. There was no one Man therefore of our Time, to whom such numbers of People were ambitious of

^s Αλιξόμενος. It is to be observed that ἀλιξασθαι, in this place, signifies, to reward and to revenge; both which Significations, this Word admits of. Αλιξασθαι, βοηθεια κ' αντιτισις. *Hesychius*. Αρῶσθαι is used in the same manner by *Thucydides*, where *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse* *Thucydides* 4 B₄ tells the Inhabitants of *Sicily*, τὸν εἶ κ' κακῶς δρώντα ἐξ ἑσῶ ἀρετῇ ἀμυνόμεθα, where ἀμυνόμεθα is thus explained by the *Greek Scholiast*, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῶν δύο σημασιῶν ἔλαλεν αὐτὸ κ' ἐπὶ καλῶ, κ' ἐπὶ κακῶ.

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of delivering up their Fortunes, their Cities, and their Persons.

NEITHER can it be said, that he suffered Malefactors and Robbers to triumph; for to these he was of all Men, the most inexorable. It was no uncommon thing to see such Men in the great Roads deprived of their Feet, their Hands, and their Eyes; so that any Person, whether *Greek* or *Barbarian*, might travel whithersoever he pleased, and with whatsoever he pleased, through the Country under his Command, and provided he did no Injury, be sure of receiving none. It is universally acknowledged that he honoured, in a particular manner, those who distinguished themselves in Arms. His first Expedition was against the *Pisidians* and *Mysians*; which he commanded in Person, and those whom he observed forward to expose themselves, he appointed Governors over the conquered Countries, and distinguished them by other Presents; so that brave men were looked upon as most
for-

¹ Ως φαίνεται τὸς μὲν ἀγαθὸς, ἰουδαίμοιστάς, τὸς δὲ κακὸς, δόλους τέρων ἀξιοῦσθαι. D' Ablancourt has not taken the

fortunate, and Cowards as deserving to be their Slaves; for which reason, great numbers presented themselves to danger, where they expected *Cyrus* would take notice of them.

As for Justice, if any Person was remarkable for a particular regard to it, his chief care was, that such a one should enjoy a greater Affluence than those, who aimed at raising their Fortunes by unjust means. Among many other Instances therefore of the Justice of his Administration, this was one, that he had an Army which truly deserved that Name, for the Officers did not come to him from Countries on the other side of the Sea, for Gain, but, because they were sensible that a ready Obedience to *Cyrus's* Commands was of greater Advantage to them, than their monthly Pay; and indeed, if any one was punctual in the execution of his Orders, he never suffered his Diligence to go unrewarded; for which reason, it is said, that *Cyrus* was
the

the least notice of these Lines in his Translation; if the Reader will give himself the trouble of comparing his Version with the Original in this Character of *Cyrus*, he will find many Omissions, as well as strange Liberties.

the best served of any Prince in all his Enterprizes. If he observed any Governor of a Province joining the most exact Oeconomy with Justice, improving his Country, and encreasing his Revenue, he never took any share of these Advantages to himself but added more to them; so that they laboured with Chearfulness, enriched themselves with Confidence, and never concealed their Possessions from Cyrus, who was never known to envy those who owned themselves to be rich; but endeavoured to make use of the Riches of all who concealed them. It is universally acknowledged, that he possessed, in an eminent degree, the Art of cultivating those of his Friends, whose Good-will to him he was assured of, and whom he looked upon as proper Instruments to assist him in accomplishing any thing he proposed; as an acknowledgement for which, he endeavoured to shew himself a most powerful Assistant to them in every thing he found they desired.

As, upon many accounts, he received, in my opinion, more Presents than any one Man, so, of all Men living, he distributed

buted them to his Friends, with the greatest Generosity, and in this Distribution consulted both the Taste, and the Wants of every one. And, as for those Ornaments of his Person that were presented to him, either as of use in War, or Embellishments to Dress, he is said to have expressed this Sense of them, that it was not possible for him to wear them all, but that he looked upon a Prince's Friends, when richly dressed, as his greatest Ornament. However, it is not so much to be wondered at, that, being of greater Ability than his Friends, he should out-do them in the Magnificence of his Favours; but, that he should surpass them in his Care and his Earnestness to oblige, is, in my opinion, more worthy of Admiration. He frequently sent his Friends small Vessels half full of Wine, when he received any that was remarkably good, letting them know, that he had not for a long time tasted any that was more delicious; besides which he also frequently sent them half Geese, and half Loaves,

² Βίβλος. Βίβλος, σάμνος ἄρα ἕχων. *Hesychius*. It was a Wine Vessel.



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Loaves, &c. ordering the Person who carried them to say, *Cyrus* liked these things, for which reason he desires you also to taste of them. Where Forage was very scarce, and he, by the Number and Care of his Servants, had an opportunity of being supplied with it, he sent to his Friends, desiring they would give the Horses, that were for their own riding, their share of it, to the end they might not be oppressed with Hunger, when they carried his Friends. When he appeared in publick upon any occasion, where he knew many People would have their eyes upon him, he used to call his Friends to him, and affected to discourse * earnestly with them, that he might

* Εσπουδαίολογίαν. *Hutchinson* has rendered this *gravidus de rebus sermonem habebat*, which is, no doubt, the general Sense of the *Greek* Word, but does not, in my Opinion, explain that which our Author has given it in this place. The Subject of the Discourse between *Cyrus* and his Friends, was of little consequence to let the Spectators know how much he honoured them, his manner of conversing with them could only do it; and, as σπουδή signifies Earnestness in the manner of speaking, as well as the Seriousness of the Subject, I thought proper to give it that Sense in the Translation. This puts me in mind of a practice of some Persons of Quality in *Scotland*, when King *Charles* the First made a Progress thither; my Lord *Clarendon* says, that, in order to render themselves considerable in the Eyes of their Country-

men



might shew whom he honoured. So that by all I have heard, no Man, either of the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, ever deserved more esteem from his Subjects: this, among others, is a remarkable Instance: No one ever deserted from *Cyrus*, though a Subject, to the King; *Orontas* alone attempted it, yet he soon found, that the Person on whose Fidelity he depended, was more a Friend to *Cyrus* than to him: many who had been most in favour with *Cyrus*, came over to him from the King after the War broke out between them, with this Expectation, that in the Service of *Cyrus* their Merit would be more worthily rewarded than in that of the King. What happened also to him at his Death, made it evident, that

men, they used to whisper the King, when he appeared in Publick, though the Subject of those Whispers was often of very little consequence. I have known some Men of Gallantry so happy in this practice, that, upon no other foundation than the Art of whispering Trifles, they have been thought to be well with Women of Distinction, which possibly was all they aimed at.

† *Ovto* δὲ, &c. The *Latin* Translators have rendered this Parenthesis, as if *ἄλλο* related to the King, for which I think there is no foundation: I have understood it of *Orontas*, who entrusted a Person, in whom he thought he might confide, with his Letter to the King, but soon found to his Cost, that he was more attached to *Cyrus*, than to him.

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that he was not only himself a good Man, but that he knew how to make choice of those, who were faithful, affectionate, and constant; even when he was killed, all his Friends and his ² Favourites died fighting for him, except *Ariæus*, who, being appointed to the Command of the Horse on the left Wing, as soon as he heard that *Cyrus* was killed, fled with all that Body which was under his Command.

WHEN *Cyrus* was dead, his Head and right Hand were cut off upon the spot, and the King, with his Men, in the Pursuit, broke into his Camp; while those with *Ariæus* no longer made a stand, but fled through their own Camp to their former Post, which was said to be four Parasangas from the Field of Battle. The King, with his Forces, among many other things, took *Cyrus's* Mistress, a ² *Phocæan*, who was said to be a Woman
of

² *Ευτράπεζοι*. Properly those who eat at his Table.

Plutarch, ² *Ἡ Φυναίδα*. As this favourite Mistress of *Cyrus* was afterwards very near being the Cause of a Revolution in the *Persian* Empire, it may not be amiss to give some Account of her. She was of *Phocæa* in *Ionia*, (the Mother-City of *Marseilles*, and the Daughter of *Hermotymus*,

of great Sense and Beauty. The other, a *Milesian*, who was the younger of the two, was also taken by the King's Troops, but escaped naked to the Quarter of the *Greeks*, who were left to guard the
Baggage,

motymus, her Name *Milto*; she was Mistress of so much Wit and Beauty, that *Cyrus*, who was very fond of her, called her *Aspasia*, from *Aspasia*, the Mistress of the great *Pericles*, who was so much celebrated for those Accomplishments. After the Death of *Cyrus*, she was in the same degree of favour with his Brother *Artaxerxes*, whose eldest Son *Darius* had so unfortunate a Passion for her, that, upon his being declared by his Father Successor to the Crown, when, it seems, it was customary for the Successor to ask some Favour of the King, which was never refused, if possible to be granted, he demanded *Aspasia*: The King, though besides his Wife *Arossa*, he had three hundred and sixty Ladies in his Seraglio, one for every Night, according to the old *Babylonian* Year, yet was unwilling to part with *Aspasia*, though she was now far from being young; so told his Son that she was Mistress of herself, and, if she consented to be his, he should not oppose it, but forbid him to use Violence. It seems this Caution was unnecessary, for *Aspasia* declared in favour of the Son, which so displeased *Artaxerxes*, that, though he was under a necessity of yielding her to *Darius*, yet he shortly after took her from him, and made her a Priestess of *Diana*. This exasperated *Darius* to that *Plutarch* degree, that he conspired with *Tiribazus* to put his Father to death; but his Design being discovered, ended in his own Destruction. After this short Account of *Aspasia's* Adventures, I believe the Reader will smile to find her called *la Belle* and *la Sage* by *D'Abzacourt*: She was the occasion of so much mischief, that I am persuaded even the *Persian* Ladies could not refuse her the first of these Qualities; but there is little room to call her *chaste*, for that is the Sense of the word *Sage* in his Language when applied to a Woman: Had *Xenophon* designed to give her that Character, he would have called her *σωφρονα*, instead of *σοφία*: the last of which I should think might be more properly translated in *Kerck* by *Sense* than *Sage*.

Baggage. These, forming themselves, killed many of those who were plundering the Camp, and lost some of their own Men; however, they did not fly, but saved the *Milesian*, with the Men and Effects, and, in general, every thing else that was in their Quarter. The King and the *Greeks* were now at the distance of about thirty Stadia from one another, pursuing the Enemy that were opposite to them, as if they had gained a compleat Victory; and the King's Troops plundering the Camp of the *Greeks*, as if they also had been every where victorious. But, when the *Greeks* were informed, that the King, with his Men, were among their Baggage, and the King, on his side, heard from *Tissaphernes*, that the *Greeks* had put those before them to flight, and were gone forward in the Pursuit, he then rallied his Forces, and put them in order. On the other side, *Clarchus* consulted with *Proxenus*, who was nearest to him, whether they should send a Detachment, or should all march to relieve the Camp.

IN the mean time the King was observed to move forward again, and seemed

ed resolved to fall upon their Rear; upon which, the *Greeks* ^b faced about, and put themselves in a posture to march that way, and receive him: However, the King did not advance that way; but, as be-

^b Συσεραφίρσις. I am sorry I find myself obliged to differ from *Hutchinson* in translating this. I agree with him that *conglobati*, the Sense he has given of it, is the general Sense of the Word, as he has proved from *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus*; as for those synonymous Words, he has quoted from *Julius Pollux*, I do not look upon to concern the present case, since they relate only to the Contraction of the human Body, as the Title of that Chapter plainly shews, Περὶ τῆ συνσπέρψαι τὸ σῆμα, ἢ ἀπλῶσαι. Julius But, in order to form a right Judgment of the Sense of *Pollux* this Word in this place, we are to consider the Situation ^{5 B. 168} of the two Armies; the *Greeks*, after they had broken ^{Segm.} that part of the Enemy's Army that stood opposite to them, were engaged in pursuing them; and the King, having plundered *Cyrus's* Camp, followed the *Greeks*, in order to fall upon their Rear, *προσίων ὀπισθεν*; but the latter seeing this Motion of the King, faced about to meet him. Now I believe it will be allowed, that it was not enough for the *Greeks* (though they had been dispersed, which we do not find) to get together in a body, in order to meet the King, who was following them; I say, I believe it will be thought that it was also necessary for them to face about, in order to put themselves in a proper Posture to receive him. This Motion of facing about to receive the Enemy, is often described by this Verse in *Homer*,

Οἱ δ' ἰλιλίχθησαν ἢ ἐναντίοι ἔσαν Ἀχαιῶν.

Homer ff.

Which the *Greek* Scholiast explains by the very Word made use of by our Author in this place. *συσεραφίρσαν, μεταβαλλόμενοι ἰλιλίθησαν*. It is with pleasure I lay hold on this opportunity of doing justice to *d' Ablancourt*, who has said, I think, in a very proper and military manner, *les Grecs firent la Conversion pour l'aller recevoir; cela s'appelle parler guerre*. *Leuclavius* has also given it the same Sense.

before, passed beyond their left Wing, led his Men back the same way, taking along with him those who had deserted to the *Greeks* during the Action, and also *Tissaphernes* with his Forces: for *Tissaphernes* did not fly at the first Onset, but penetrated with his Horse, where the *Greek* Targeteers were posted, quite as far as the River: However, in breaking through, he killed none of their Men, but the *Greeks* dividing, wounded his People both with their Swords and Darts. *Episthenes* of *Amphipolis* commanded the Targeteers, and is reported to have shewn great Conduct upon this occasion. *Tissaphernes* therefore, as sensible of his Disadvantage, departed, when, coming to the Camp of the *Greeks*, found the King there, and reuniting their Forces, they advanced, and presently came opposite to the left of the *Greeks*, who being afraid they

Ἡ δὲ παρέλθει ἐξω τῶ ἰωνίου κέρατος. *Xenophon* considers the *Greek* Army as it stood when the Battle began, otherwise after they had faced about, their left Wing was become their right. This *d' Ablancourt* has observed, but *Léonclavius* and *Hutchinson* take no notice of it.

Ἄ Διασάντες. This is the Word contended for in note^m, page. The Motion made by the *Greeks* to let *Tissaphernes* and his Men pass through their Body upon this occasion, is the same they then made to let the Chariots pass through them.

they should attack their Wing, by wheeling to the right and left, and annoy them on both sides; they resolved to open that Wing, and cover the Rear with the River. While they were consulting upon this, the King * marched by them, and drew up his Army opposite to theirs, in the same Order in which he first engaged: whereupon, the *Greeks*, seeing they drew near in Order of Battle, again sung the *Pæan*, and went on with much more Alacrity than before; but the *Barbarians* did not stay to receive them, having fled sooner than the first time, to a Village, where they were pursued by the *Greeks*,

* Παραμειψάμενοι, εις τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα παύσασθαι ἐναντίας τῶν βαρβάρων, ἄσπις, &c. I have translated this Passage, as if there was a Comma after παραμειψάμενοι, which I have rendered *marching by them*, a Signification very common to the Word; for *Xenophon* does not say that the *Greeks* did actually open their Wing; but that, while they were consulting about doing so, the King drew up his Army against theirs, upon which the *Greeks* advanced to attack him; this I do not understand how they could well do, while the Enemy was upon their Flank; but, if we suppose the King marched by them, and drew up upon the same Ground, and in the same Disposition in which he first came on, we may easily understand how the *Greeks*, by facing about again, might put themselves again in a Posture to attack him: And this seems to agree very well with their pursuing the King's Troops to a Village, which Pursuit led them to some distance from their Camp. since they made it a matter of Consultation, whether they should send for their Baggage, or return thither.

Greeks, who halted there; for there was an Eminence above the Village, upon which the King's Forces faced about. He had no Foot with him, but the Hill was covered with Horse in such a manner, that it was not possible for the Greeks to see what was doing: However, they said they saw the royal Ensign there, which was a golden Eagle with its Wings

Ἰστίον τινα χρυσοῦ ἐπὶ ξυσῆ ἀνατεταμένον. I think *Hutchinson* has been very happy in substituting ξυσῆ to ἴσθον, but then I do not see what ἐπὶ πέλτῃς has to do here, unless it is supposed to signify a Shield upon which the Eagle rested; however, I cannot think *Xenophon* said αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πέλτῃς, ἐπὶ ξυσῆ ἀνατεταμένον, and, if ἐπὶ πέλτῃς is to be changed into ἐπὶ πάλτῃ, as *Leinclavius* will have it, it will then be visibly a marginal Explanation of ἐπὶ ξυσῆ.

Xenoph.
in Κύρου
ῥασιδία.

7 B.

Curtius,
3 B. 3 c.

Dion.

Cassius,
40 B.

Eusebius
in his

Chronic.

Dionys.

Hal. 10 B.

Xenophon, in his Institution of *Cyrus*, tells us, that the Ensign of the first *Cyrus* was a golden Eagle upon a Spear, with its Wings extended, which, he says, still continues to be the Ensign of the *Persian* Kings, and which we find by *Curtius*, continued to be so as long as the *Persian* Empire subsisted. The Description *Xenophon* gives us of this Eagle, comes so very near to that given by *Dion Cassius* of the *Roman* Eagle, and also to the Representation of it upon *Trajan's* Pillar, that one may reasonably conclude the *Romans* received theirs from the eastern Part of the World. I own it is very probable that the *Romans* had an Eagle for their Ensign before the Battle, in which the first *Cyrus* defeated *Cræsus*, and in which *Xenophon* says he had an Eagle for his Ensign; for this Battle was fought in the first Year of the 58th Olympiad, that is, about the 205th Year of *Rome*. Indeed the earliest mention I can find of the *Roman* Eagle is in the Year of *Rome* 209, and the third of the eighty first Olympiad, *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius* being Consuls; where *Hal. 10 B. Siccius Dentatus* tells the People, that, in an Action he there

Wings extended, resting upon a Spear. When the *Greeks* advanced towards them, the Horse quitted the Hill, not in a Body, but some running one way, and some another: However, the Hill was cleared of them by degrees, and at last they all left it. *Clearchus* did not march up the Hill with his Men, but, halting at the foot of it, sent *Lycius* the *Syracusan*, and another, with Orders to reconnoitre the place, and make their Report; *Lycius* rode up the Hill, and, having viewed it, brought Word that the Enemy fled in all haste. Hereupon the *Greeks* halted, (it being near Sun set) and lying under their Arms, rested themselves; in the mean time wondering, that neither *Cyrus* appeared, nor any one from him; not knowing he was dead, but imagined, that

there mentions, he recovered the Eagle from the Enemy; but it must be owned also, that it is there spoken of as a thing already established. I say this to shew the mistake of some learned Men, who have maintained that *Marius* was the first who introduced the Use of this Ensign. I will hazard a Conjecture: It is this. If the Account given by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* be true, which he supports by *Dionys. Hal. 1 B.* so many probable Circumstances, that *Aneas*, after the Destruction of *Troy*, came into *Italy*, and built *Lavinium*, whose Inhabitants built *Alba*, of which the City of *Rome* was a Colony; if, I say, this Account be as true as it is probable, why may not *Aneas* have brought this Ensign with him from the East? where possibly it might have been in use long before the Conquest of *Cyrus*.

that he was either led away by the Pursuit, or had rode forward to possess himself of some Post: however, they consulted among themselves, whether they should stay where they were, and send for their Baggage, or return to their Camp: to the latter they resolved upon, and arriving at their Tents about Supper-time, found the greatest part of their Baggage plundered, with all the Provisions, besides the Carriages which, as it was said, amounted to four hundred, full of Flour and Wine, which Cyrus had prepared, in order to distribute them among the *Greeks*, lest at any time his Army should labour under the want of Necessaries; but they were all so rifled by the King's Troops that the greatest part of the *Greeks* had no Supper, neither had they eaten any Dinner; for, before the Army could halt in order to dine, the King appeared. And in this manner they passed the Night.

The End of the First Book.

T H E

THE
EXPEDITION
OF
C Y R U S.

B O O K II.

IN the foregoing Book we have shewn, by what means *Cyrus* raised an Army of *Greeks*, when he marched against his Brother *Artaxerxes*, what was performed during his March, and in what manner the Battle was fought, how *Cyrus* was killed, and the *Greeks*, thinking they had gained a compleat Victory, and that *Cyrus* was alive, returned to their Camp,

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and

BOOK II. and betook themselves to rest. As soon as the Day approached, the Generals, being assembled, wondered that *Cyrus* neither sent them any Orders, or appeared himself; resolved therefore to collect what was left of their Baggage, and armed themselves to move forward in order to join *Cyrus*; but just as they were on the point of marching, and as soon as the Sun was risen, ^a *Procles*, who was Governor of *Teuthrania*, a Descendant from *Damaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Glus*, the Son of ^b *Tamos*, came to them, and declared that *Cyrus* was dead, and that *Ariæus* had left the Field, and was retired, with the rest of the *Barbarians*, to the Camp they had left the Day before; where

^a Πρωκλής. *Teuthrania* was a City of *Myfia* in *Asia Minor*, of which *Procles* was Governor; he was descended from *Damaratus*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, who was deprived of his Kingdom by his Colleague *Cleomenes*; upon which he fled to *Darius Hystaspes*, who entertained him with great Magnificence; he afterwards attended *Xerxes* in his Expedition to *Greece*.

Herodotus in Polyhymnia.

^b Ταμύς. He was of *Memphis*, and Admiral to *Cyrus*; after his Death, he sailed with his Fleet to *Egypt*, and, having formerly conferred some Obligations on *Psammitichus*, who was then King of that Country, he made no doubt of his Protection; but *Psammitichus*, forgetting all Obligations, as well as the Laws of Hospitality, put him to death, and seized his Fleet.

Diod. Sic. 14 B.

where ^c he said he would stay for them that Day, if they thought fit to come; but that the next, he should return to *Ionia*, whence he came. The Generals, and the rest of the *Greeks*, hearing this, were greatly afflicted; and *Clearchus* with astonishment said, “^d *Would to God Cyrus was alive! but since he is dead, let Ariæus know, that we have overcome the King, and, as you see, meet with no further Resistance, and that, if you had not come, we had marched against the King; at the same time, assure Ariæus from us, that, if he will come hither, we will place him on the Throne: for those who gain the Victory, gain with it a right to command.*” After he had said this, he directly sent back the Messen- BOOK II.

^c Καὶ λέγει ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένειεν ἂν αὐτὸς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἔπει· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπύναι Φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ ἦλθε. All this is left out by *d'Abblancourt*.

^d Ὁφελει μὲν Κύρῳ ζῆν. Ὁφελον is here joined with an infinitive Mood, though in an optative Sense. In all these Phrases ὀφελον, or the *Ionick* ὕφελον, is not an Adverb, whatever the Grammarians say, ὡς or εἶθε being always understood, which Construction of the Phrase is so true, that one of them is frequently expressed. Thus *Helen*, reproaching *Paris* for his inglorious Behaviour in the Duel between him and *Menelaus*, tells him,

Ἠλυθες ἐκ πολέμου. ὡς ὄφελος αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι,
Ἀνδρὶ δαμῆς κρατερῶν, ὅς ἐμός· πρότερον· πόσις ἦεν.

II. γ.

Many other Examples may be given from the same Author, where εἶθε or εἶθε is expressed.

BOOK II. Messengers, together with *Cberisophus* the Lacedæmonian, and *Menon* the *Thessalian*: for *Menon* himself desired it, he being a Friend to *Ariæus*, and engaged to him by an Intercourse of Hospitality. *Clearchus* staid 'till they returned, making Provisions as well as he could, by killing the Oxen and Asses that belonged to the Baggage; and, instead of other Wood, made use of the Arrows, which they found in great Quantities in the Field of Battle, not far from the place where their Army lay, (and which the *Greeks* obliged the Deserters to pull out of the Ground) and also of the *Persian* Bucklers, and the *Egyptian* Shields, that were made of Wood, besides a great many Targets, and empty Waggons; with all which they dressed their Victuals, and, in this manner, supported themselves that Day.

IT was now ° about the time the Market is generally full, when the Heralds arrived with the Message from the King and *Tissaphernes*, all of whom were *Barbarians*, (except *Pbalinus*, who was a *Greek*, and happened then to be with *Tissa-*

° Περὶ πλῆθους ἀγορᾶν. See note 2, page 82.

Tissaphernes, by whom he was much **BOOK**
 esteemed; for he pretended to under- **II.**
 stand *Tactics*, and the ' *Exercise of Arms*)
 who, after assembling together the *Greek*
 Commanders, said, that the King, since
 he had gained the Victory, and killed
Cyrus, ordered the *Greeks* to deliver up
 their Arms, and, repairing to ^s Court,
 endeavour to obtain some favourable
 Terms from the King. The *Greeks* receiv-
 ed this with much Indignation; however,
 Clear-

^f Ὀπλομαχίαν. *Leunclavius* has translated this *gladia-*
toriae peritiam, which I cannot think so proper as *artem*
armis depugnandi in *Hutchinson*; *d'Ablancourt* has artfully
 evaded this difficulty, by comprehending both τῶν πνεύ-
 τας τὰς τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν in these general Words *l'Art*
militaire. It is very certain the *Romans* took many things,
 both in civil and military Affairs, from the *Greeks*, but I
 believe the gladiatorian Spectacles were in use in *Rome*,
 before they were heard of in *Greece*: The Origin of
 which seems to have been the early Custom in use among
 most Nations, of sacrificing Captives to the Manes of
 great Generals, who were slain in war: Thus *Achilles* **Homer**
 sacrifices twelve *Trojans* to the Manes of *Patroclus*, and **II. ψ.**
Aeneas sends Captives to *Ewander*, to be sacrificed at the **Virgil**
 Funeral of his Son *Pallas*: *Valerius Maximus* says, that *M.* **Æneid,**
 and *D. Brutus* in the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M.* **11 B.**
Fulvius, honoured the Funeral of their Father with a **Val. Max.**
 gladiatorian Spectacle, which from that time became **2 B. c. 4.**
 frequent upon those occasions; but this was many Years
 after the time our Author speaks of, when I am con-
 vinced the *Greeks* had never heard of these Spectacles;
 my Reason is, that whenever any *Greek* Author of, or
 near the Age *Xenophon* lived in, speaks of ὀπλομαχοί, I
 dare say they always understand *Masters* appointed to
 teach *military Exercises*.

^f Ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλῆως θύρας. See note ^f, page 20.

BOOK II, *Clearchus* said no more to them than that, *It was not the Part of Conquerors to deliver up their Arms; but* (addressing himself to the Generals) *do you make the best and most becoming Answer you can, and I will return immediately: (he being called out by one of his Servants to inspect the Entrails of the Victim, which he was then offering up in Sacrifice.) Whereupon, Cleonor the Arcadian, the oldest Person present, made answer, "They would sooner die than deliver up their Arms." Then Proxenus, the Theban, said, "I wonder, O Phalinus! whether the King demands our Arms, as a Conqueror; or, as a Friend, desires them by way of Present; if, as a Conqueror, what occasion has he to demand them? ^b Why does he not rather come and take them? if he would persuade us to deliver them, say, what are the Soldiers to expect in return for so great an Obligation?" Phalinus answered; "The King looks upon himself as Conqueror, since he has killed Cyrus; for who is now his Rival in the Empire? He looks upon*

^b Τι δὲ αὐτὸς εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἔλαβεν ἰθὺντα; Thus, when *Xerxes* sent to *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae* to deliver up his Arms, the latter bid him come and take them; λαβὴ μολὼν, says he, according to the concise Style of his Country.

upon you also as his Property, since he has you in the middle of his Country, surrounded by impassable Rivers; and can bring such numbers of Men against you, that, though he delivered them up to you, your Strength would fail you before you could put them all to death.”

BOOK
II.

AFTER him Xenophon an Athenian, said, “ You see, O Phalinus! that we have nothing now to depend upon, ¹ but our Arms, and our Courage; and, while we are Masters of our Arms, we think we can make use of our Courage also; but that, when we deliver up these, we deliver up our Persons too; do not therefore expect we shall deliver up the only Advantages we possess; on the contrary, be assured, that with these we are

¹ Εἰ μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἀρετή. Αρετή is here taken for Courage, in which Sense it is frequently used by the best Authors; in this Sense Idomeneus says an Ambuscade is the Trial of a Soldier's Courage,

— λόχον ἔθα μάλις ἀρετὴ διαίδεται ἀνδρῶν,
ἐνθ' ὅτε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ, ὅς τ' ἄλκιμος, ἐξεφάνθη.

Homer
II. N.

In this Sense also Virgil says,

— Dolus, an virtus quis in hoste requirit?

Virgil

After this, I believe, it will be allowed, that d' Ablancourt ^{Æneid,} does not give the Author's Sense, when he says, *il ne nous est resté autre chose, que les armes & la liberté*; to justify this, he says the Greek Word signifies *la vertu*, though ἀρετή in this place signifies neither Liberty nor Virtue.

BOOK II. *are resolved to fight with you, even for those you are in possession of."* Phalinus, hearing this, smiled, and said, "^k Young Man! indeed you seem to be a Philosopher, and speak handsomely; but, believe me, you are mistaken, if you imagine, that your Courage will prevail over the Power of the King." However, it was reported, that others, whose Resolution began to fail, said, that, as they had been true to Cyrus, they would also be of great service to the King, if he were disposed to be their Friend; and that, whatever Commands he had for them, they would obey him; and, if he proposed¹ to invade Egypt, they would assist him in the Conquest of it. In the mean

Lucian
 πρὸς μα-
 κροβίαν.
 Laërtius
 11 B. c. 22.

^k Ω νεανίωκε. I find all the Translators have rendered this in the same manner I have done; though if Lucian's Account of our Author be true, that is, that he was above 90 Years old when he died; and if, according to Laërtius, he died in the first Year of the 105th Olympiad, he must have been fifty, at least, at the time of this Expedition: which I mention for the sake of some worthy Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, who will not be sorry to find a Man of fifty treated as a young Man.

¹ Ἐπ' Αἰγυπτῶν στρατεύων. This Expedition is proposed, because the Egyptians had several Years before withdrawn themselves from their Subjection to the Persians, and were at this time governed by a King of their own, called Psammitichus, descended from the ancient Psammitichus, who, being one of the twelve Kings, put all the rest to death, and, by that means, made himself King of all Egypt.

Diod. Sic.
 13 B.
 Herodot.
 in Euterp.

mean time, *Clearchus* returned, and asked **BOOK**
 if they had already given their Answer. **II.**
 To whom *Phalinus* said, "*These Men, O*
Clearchus! say one, one thing, and another,
another; but pray let us have your Thoughts."
 To which he replied; *I rejoice, O Pha-*
linus! to see you, as, I am persuaded, all
these do, who are present; for you are a
Greek, as well as we, whom you see before
you in so great numbers; wherefore, in our
present Circumstances, we desire you to advise
us what we ought to do with regard to the
Proposals you bring; ^m and intreat you, by all
the Gods, give us that Advice, which you
think best, and most becoming, and which
will do you most honour in the Eyes of Poste-
rity, when it shall be said, that Phalinus,
being sent by the King with Orders to the
Greeks that they should deliver up their
Arms, and, being consulted by them, gave
them this Advice: for you are sensible, that
your Advice, whatever it is, must be reported
in Greece." *Clearchus* insinuated this,
 with a view of engaging the King's Em-
 bassador himself to advise them not to
 deliver up their Arms, that, by this
 means, the *Greeks* might entertain better
 hopes :

^m Συμβουλευόμεθα σοι, See note °, page 12,

BOOK hopes: But ⁿ *Phalinius* artfully avoided
 II. the Snare, and, contrary to his Expecta-
 tion spoke as follows :

“ If you had the least hope of a thousand to preserve yourselves by making war against the King, I should advise you not to deliver up your Arms; but, if you cannot hope for Safety without his Concurrence, I advise you to preserve yourselves by the only means you can.” *Clearchus* replied, “ This, I find, is your Sense of the Matter; and this Answer you are desired to return from us; that we think, if it is proposed we should be Friends to the King, we shall be more valuable Friends

ⁿ Φαλίῳ δ' ὑπορέψας. It is with great reason that *Hutchinson* rejects the Sense *Leunclavius* gives to ὑπορέψας in this place, as if it signified returning; he has shewn out of *Julius Pollux*, that ἐξαπατᾶν, γείφισθαι, and ὑπογείφισθαι, are synonymous; whence he very properly derives the Latin word *strophæ*, a Deceit, to which I shall add, that *Pliny* the younger makes use of the Word in this Sense, in one of his Epistles, where he says, *inveniam aliquam stropham, agamque Causam tuam*. There is also a Passage in *Aristophanes*, where γροφῆ is used in the same Signification, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἔργου ἐς' ἔδην γροφῶν, which the Scholiast explains in a manner very agreeable to the Sense of ὑπορέψας in this place: γροφαί, says he, οἱ συμπεπλεγμένοι, κ' δολεροὶ λόγοι. *D'Ablandcourt* was aware of the Difficulty of this Word, and has left it out: Nothing surprises me so much, as that *Hutchinson*, after having so justly condemned *reversus* in his Notes, should follow it in his Translation. The French Language has an Expression, which very properly explains ὑπορέψας in this place, *détournant le Coup*.

Friends by preserving our Arms, than by parting with them; and that, if we are to go to war with him, we shall make war with greater advantage by keeping our Arms, than by delivering them." Phalinus said, "I shall report this Answer: However, the King ordered me also to let you know, that, if you stay where you are, you will have Peace; but, if you advance or march back, you must expect War: let me have your Answer also to this; and whether I shall acquaint the King, that you will stay here, and accept of Peace, or that you declare for War." Clearchus replied, "Let the King know, that in this we are of the same opinion with him." What is that? said Phalinus. Clearchus answered, "If we stay there may be Peace, but, if we march back, or advance, War." Phalinus again asked, "Shall I report peace or war?" Clearchus replied, "Peace, if we stay, and, if we march back, or advance, War; but did not declare what he proposed to do. So Phalinus, and those with him, went away.

IN the mean time *Procles* and *Cherisophus* came from *Ariæus*, leaving *Menon* with him, and brought word that *Ariæus*

BOOK II. said, there were many *Persians* of greater Consideration than himself, who would never suffer him to be their King: but desires, if you propose marching away with him, that you will come to him to-night; if not, he says he will depart the next Morning early. *Clearchus* answered, what you advise is very proper, if we join him; if not do whatever you think expedient to your advantage; for he would not acquaint even these with his Purpose. After this, when it was Sun-set, he assembled the Generals and Captains, and spoke to them as follows: "*Gentlemen! I have consulted the Gods by Sacrifice, concerning marching against the King, and the Victims, with great reason, forbid it; for I am now informed, that, between us and the King, lies the Tigres, a navigable River, which we cannot pass without Boats; and these we have not: neither is it possible for us to stay here, for we are without Provisions. But the Victims were very favourable to the Design of joining Cyrus's Friends. The Order therefore we ought to pursue, is this; let every Man retire, and sup upon what he has; and, when the Horn sounds to rest, pack up your Baggage; when it sounds*

a second time, charge the sumpter Horses; and, when a third, follow your Leader, and let the Baggage march next to the River, and the heavy-armed Men cover it." The Generals and Captains hearing this, departed, and did as they were directed; *Clearchus* having taken upon him the command of the Army, who submitted to him, not, as having elected him to that Employment, but, because they were sensible that he alone was equal to the Command, the rest being without Experience. They had made from *Ephesus*, (a City of *Ionia*,) to the Field of Battle, ninety-three Marches, which amounted to five hundred and thirty-five Parafangas, or ° sixteen thousand and fifty Stadia: ^p and, from the Field of Battle

° Σταδίοις πεντήκοντα η̄ εξακισχίλιοι η̄ μύριοι. This confirms what was advanced in note ^x, page 15; viz. that a Parafanga contained thirty Stadia.

^p Από δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἑξήκοντα η̄ τρισχίλιοι. Here must be some mistake, probably, in the Transcriber, though *Xenophon* says upon Report only, that there were three thousand and sixty Stadia from the Field of Battle to *Babylon*: However, *Plutarch* seems to come much nearer the truth, when he says there were but five hundred; for, if the Reader will compute the Distances mentioned by our Author from *Thapsacus*, where *Cyrus* passed the *Euphrates*, to the Field of Battle, he will find that they amount to no less than

four

BOOK II Battle to *Babylon*, it was computed there were three thousand and sixty Stadia.

AFTER this, as soon as it was dark, *Miltocythes*, the *Thracian*, with his Horse, being forty in number, and three hundred *Thracian* Foot, deserted to the King. *Clearchus*, in the manner he had appointed, led the rest, and, about Midnight, arrived at their first Camp, where they found *Ariæus* with his Army; and the Men being drawn up and standing to their Arms, the Generals and Captains of the *Greeks* went in a body to *Ariæus*, and both they and he, with the most considerable Men about him, took an Oath not to betray one another, and to become Allies: The *Barbarians* also swore that they would conduct them without Deceit. This was the Substance of their Oath, which was preceded by the
Sacri-

Strabo,
 2 B.

four thousand six hundred and fifty Stadia; now the ancient Geographers allow no more than four thousand eight hundred, from *Thapsacus* to *Babylon*, in following the Course of the *Euphrates*, which we find was the Rout the Army took; so that there will, in that case, remain no more than one hundred and fifty Stadia, from the Field of Battle to *Babylon*, which is so vastly short of the Distance mentioned by *Xenophon*, that the difference seems to be rather owing to a fault in the Transcriber, than to a mistake in those, from whom *Xenophon* received his Information. I am surprized none of the Translators have thought fit to take notice of this Passage.

¹ *Sacrifice of a Bear, a Bull, a Wolf, and a Ram, whose Blood being all mixed together in the hollow of a Shield, the Greeks dipped a Sword therein, and the Barbarians a Spear. When they had pledged their Faith, Clearchus said, "Since, O Ariæus! your ¹ Routs and ours are the same, say, what is your Opinion concerning our march? Shall we return the same way we came, or have you thought of any other more convenient?" Ariæus, answered, "If we return the same way we came, we shall all perish with Hunger; since we are now entirely destitute of Provisions: for, during the last seventeen days march, we could supply ourselves with nothing out of the Country, even in our way hither; and, whatever was found there, we have consumed in our Passage; so that though the way we now propose to take is longer, yet we shall be in no want*

BOOK
II.

¹ Σφάξαντες κείπων, &c. The Custom of giving a Sanction to solemn Leagues and Treaties, by the Sacrifice of particular Animals, is very ancient: Thus the Agreement of particular Animals, is very ancient: Thus the Agreement between the Greeks and Trojans, and the single Combat of Paris and Menelaus, which was consequent to it, was preceded by the Sacrifice of three Lambs, one to the Earth, another to the Sun, and a third to Jupiter. The Blood of the Victims was often mixed with Wine, and sometimes received in a Vessel, in which the contracting Parties dipped their Arms, as Herodotus informs us was practised by the Scythians.

Homer
II. γ.

Herodot.
in Melpo-
mene.

¹ Στάλας. See note ¹, page 15.

BOOK want of Provisions. We must make our first
 II. Marches as long as ever we can, to the end
 we may get as far as possible from the King's
 Army: for, if we can once gain two or
 three days march of him, it will not after
 that be in his power to overtake us: Since
 with a small Army he will not dare to follow
 us, and with a great one he will not be able
 to make quick marches; it is also probable he
 may want Provisions." This, says he, is
 my Opinion.

THIS Scheme, for the march of the
 Army was calculated for nothing but a
 Retreat, or a Flight; but Fortune prov-
 ed a more glorious Conductor. As soon
 therefore as it was Day, they began their
 march, with the Sun on their right, ex-
 pecting to arrive by Sun-set at some
 Villages that lay in the Country of *Baby-
 lon*; and in this they were not mistaken.
 But 'in the Afternoon they thought they
 saw the Enemy's Horse; upon which,
 not only the *Greeks*, who happened to
 have left their Ranks, ran to them in all
 haste, but *Ariæus* also alighting, (for be-
 ing wounded, he was carried in a Cha-
 riot)

^a Ἀμφὶ δειλῶν. See note ^b, page 84.

riot) put on his Corset, as did all those about him. But, while they were arming, the Scouts, who had been sent out, brought word, that they were not Horse, but only sumpter Horses at Pasture, whence every one presently concluded that the King's Camp was not far off: For a Smoke also appeared in the neighbouring Villages. However, *Clearobus* did not lead them against the Enemy (for he knew the Men were tired, and had eaten nothing all Day; besides it was late); neither did he march out of the way, avoiding the Appearance of a Flight; but leading them directly forward, at Sun-set he quartered with the Vanguard, in the Villages nearest to him, out of which the King's Army had carried away even the Timber that belonged to the Houses. Those who arrived first, encamped with some kind of Uniformity, but the others who followed, coming up when it was dark, quartered, as they could, and made so great a noise in calling out to one another, that the Enemy heard them, of whom those who lay nearest to the *Greeks* ran away, leaving even their Tents; which being known

BOOK
II.

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R

the

BOOK the next Day; no sumpter Horses or
 II. Camp appeared, neither was there any
 Smoke to be seen in the Neighbourhood;
 and the King himself it seems was struck
 at the Approach of our Army, by what
 he did the next day.

ON the other side, the Night advancing, the *Greeks* also were seized with Fear, which was attended with a Tumult and Noise, usual in such cases; upon this, *Clearchus* ordered *Tolmides* of *Elis*, the best Cryer of his time, whom he happened to have with him, to command silence, and make Proclamation from the Commanders, that, whoever gave Information of the Person, who had turned the ' *Ass* into the

' Ος ἂν ἀφίεντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, &c. *Hutchinson*, I think, very justly finds fault with *Leunclavius* for changing τὸν ὄνον into τὸν φόβον, without the Authority of any Manuscript; for, as he observes, we find in the beginning of this Book, that they had Asses among their Beasts of Burden: But then I cannot think *Exercitui* in *Leunclavius*, or in *Castra* in *Hutchinson*, a close Translation of εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, which last Sense I find d' *Ablancourt* has also given to it. I rather take τὰ ὄπλα in this place to signify the Quarter of the heavy-armed Men; in which Sense I dare say our Author uses it afterwards, where he says that *Proxenus* and himself were walking *ωπερ τῶν ὀπλων*; and in this Sense I am sure *Thucydides* uses the Word in the beginning of the third Book, where he says, that the Peloponnesians being encamped in Attica, laid waste the Country, 'till the Athenian Horse coming up, put a stop to

u

the

the Quarter of the heavy-armed Men, should receive the Reward of a ^u *silver Talent*. By this Proclamation, the Soldiers understood, that their fear was vain, and their Commanders safe. At break of Day, *Clearchus* ordered the *Greeks* to stand to their Arms in the same Disposition they had observed in the Action.

BOOK
II.

WHAT I said concerning the King's being terrified at our Approach, became then manifest; for, having sent to us the Day before, demanding our Arms, sent also Heralds by Sun-rise to treat of a *Truce*: when, coming to the Out-guards, enquired for the Commanders; *Clearchus*, who was then viewing the Ranks, ordered them to stay 'till he was at leisure; and, as soon as he had drawn up the Army

the Excursions of the light-armed Men, and hindered them from leaving the heavy-armed, and continuing their Depredations in the Neighbourhood of the City: τὸν πλεῖστον ὄμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον, τὸ μὴ προεξιώντας τῶν ὀπλων, τὰ εἶγος τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν, where τῶν ὀπλων is explained by the Greek Scholiast by τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

^u Τάλαντον ἀργυρίω. See note ^m, page 9. Possibly the Drachmæ and Minæ of which this Talent was composed, might be of a different Standard from those there mentioned.

BOOK II. Army with much Elegance, ² the Ranks being closed on all sides, and no unarmed Men to be seen, sent for the Messengers; came forward himself, attended by those of his Soldiers, who were the best armed, and most graceful in their Persons, desiring the rest of the Generals to do the like, and asked the Messengers what they wanted? they replied; they were Persons come to treat of a *Truce*, being properly qualified to carry Messages between the King and the *Greeks*. He answered, let the King know, that first we must fight: for we have nothing to dine on, and there is no Man so hardy as to mention a *Truce* to the *Greeks*, unless he first provides them a Dinner. The Messengers, hereupon departed, but returning presently, (by which it appeared that the King was near at hand, or some other Person, who was appointed to transact this matter) brought Word; *the King thought their Demand very reasonable,* and

² Φάλαγγα πυκνή. Πύκνωσις τῆς Φάλαγγος, among the Greek Masters of Tactics signifies properly, *the closing both of the Ranks and Files*. ἵστ' ἀπύκνωσις μὴ ἐκ τῆ ἀραιοτέρου ἐς τὸ πυκνότερον συναγωγή κατὰ παραστάτην τε καὶ ἐπιστάτην. *Arrian*. This is unfortunately rendered by d' *Ablancourt* après avoir rangé l'armée en bataille au meilleur-état qu'elle put être.

and that they had with them, *Guides*, **BOOK II.** who, if a *Truce* were concluded, should conduct them to a place, where they would find Provisions. *Clearchus* then asked, whether the King proposed to comprehend *those* only in the *Truce*, who went between him and them, or whether it should extend to *all*; they said to *all*, 'till the King is informed of your *Proposals*. Whereupon *Clearchus*, ordering them to withdraw immediately, held a Council, where it was resolved to conclude a *Truce*, and to march *peaceably* to the place where the Provisions were, and supply themselves therewith. *Clearchus* said, I join with you in this opinion; however, I will not directly acquaint the Messengers with our Resolution, but defer it 'till they apprehend lest we should reject the *Truce*. I imagine that our Soldiers also will lie under the same Apprehension. Therefore, when he thought it time, he let them know that he

Ἦ Εἰς ἂν ἀνήσσωσι οἱ Ἄγγελοι. Οὐκ ὄ. φοβῆμαι. ἢ πικρῶς
τέτῳ κίχρηται Σοφοκλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ φοβείσθαι.

Φρονῶντα γὰρ ἢ ἐκ ἂν ἐξίτην ἄνω.

Soph. in
Ajax.

This is from *Suidas*, whom I quote upon this occasion, because this Word, in its general Acceptation, signifies to be unwilling, to be backward.

BOOK he would enter into a *Truce*, and immediately ordered the Guides to conduct them where they might get Provisions.

II.

CLEARCHUS, upon marching with his Army in Order of Battle, to conclude the *Truce*, having himself taken charge of the Rear, met with Ditches and Canals full of Water, so that they were not able to pass without Bridges, which they made with *Palm-Trees*, having found some lying upon the Ground, and others they cut down. Upon this occasion it might be observed, how equal *Clearchus* was to the Command; for, taking his *Pike* in his left Hand, and a ² *Staff* in his right, if he saw any of those he had appointed to

² Εν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βάρησιν. The *Lacedæmonian* Commanders carried a *Staff* or *Stick*, (I am afraid of calling it a *Cane*) possibly for the same purpose, as the *Roman* Centurions used a *Vitis*, that is, to correct their Soldiers.

Thucyd. *Thucydides* gives one to *Astyochus*, the *Lacedæmonian* Commander; and we find in *Plutarch*, that *Eurybiades*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, and *Themistocles*, differing in opinion concerning the Operations of their united Fleet, the former, impatient of Contradiction, held up his Stick threatening to strike *Themistocles*, who, instead of being diverted by this Outrage from supporting his Opinion, upon which he knew the Safety of all *Greece* depended, generously sacrificed his Resentment for a private Indignity to his Zeal for the public Good, and made him that memorable Answer, *Strike, if you will, but hear me*,
πάταξον μὲν, ἀκούσον δέ.

to this Service, backward in the execution of it, he displaced him, and substituted a proper Person in his room, he himself, at the same time, going into the Dirt, and assisting them; so that every one was ashamed not to be active. He had appointed Men of thirty Years of Age to this Service, but, when those of a more advanced Age, saw *Clearchus* forwarding the Work in Person, they gave their Assistance also. *Clearchus* pressed it the more, because he suspected the Ditches were not always so full of Water, (for it was not the Season to water the Country) imagining the King had ordered the Waters to be let out, with this view, that the *Greeks* might foresee great Difficulties attending their march.

BOOK
II.

AT last, coming to the Villages, where the Guides told them they might supply themselves with Provisions, they found plenty of Corn, and ^a *Wine* made of the Fruit of the *Palm-Tree*, and also Vinegar drawn, by boiling, from the same Fruit. These *Dates*, such as we have in *Greece*, they give to their *Domesticks*; but those which

^a Οὐζο φονίκαν. See note ^x, page 61.

BOOK
II.

which are reserved for the *Masters*, are *chosen* Fruit, and worthy of Admiration, both for their Beauty and Size, having in all respects, the Appearance of *Amber*, and so delicious, that they are frequently dried for Sweet-meats: The Wine that was made of it, was sweet to the Taste, but apt to give the Head-ach: Here the Soldiers eat, for the first time, ^b the *Pith* of the *Palm-Tree*, many admiring both the ^c Figure, and its peculiar Sweetness, although it also occasioned violent Head-achs; but the *Palm-Tree*, whence this *Pith* was taken, withered entirely. Here they staid three Days; during which, *Tissaphernes*, with the Queen's Brother, and three other *Persians*, coming from the great King, attended by many Slaves, were met by the *Greek* Generals, when *Tissaphernes*, by an Interpreter, first spoke in the following manner:

I

Pl. N. H. ^b τὸ ἐκίφαλον τῆ φόνικου. *Pliny* and *Theophrastus* both 13 *B. c. 4.* say, that the *Pith* here mentioned grows on the top of *Theoph.* the *Palm-Tree*.

2 *B. c. 8.* ^c Εἶδος. I cannot like *genus ipsum* in the *Latin* Translators for εἶδος: had *Xenophon* meant *the kind* of Food, as *Hutchinson*, I find, understands it, since he has added the word *cibi*, he sure would also have added τῷ ἰδίω ματῷ. I rather think that our Author meant the particular Figure of it, which is no uncommon Signification of the word εἶδος; *d' Ablancourt* has also understood it in this Sense.

“I live, O Greeks! in the Neighbour-
 hood of Greece; and, seeing you involved in
 many insuperable Difficulties, looked upon it
 as a ^a piece of good Fortune, that I had room
 to request the King to allow me to conduct
 you safe into Greece: for I imagine, I shall
 find no want of Gratitude either in you, or
 in the whole Greek Nation; upon which
 Consideration, I made my request to the King,
 alledging, that I had a Title to this Favour,
 because I was the first Person, who informed
 him that Cyrus was marching against him,
 and, together with this Information, brought
 an Army to his Assistance: And also, because
 I was the only Commander in that part of
 the Army, opposite to the Greeks, who did
 not fly, but broke through, and joined the
 King in your Camp; whither he came, after
 he had killed Cyrus; and, with these Troops,
 here present, who are most faithful to him,

BOOK
 II.

I

^a Εὐχρημα ἐπινοήσασιν. In this sense Εὐχρημα is used by
 Thucydides, where Nicias tells the Athenians, that the
 Affairs of the Lacedæmonians having taken an unhappy
 Turn, they would look upon it as a piece of good Fortune
 to have it in their power immediately to hazard a Battle,
 ἐκείνοις δὲ δυστυχῶσιν, ὅτι τάχιστα εὐχρημα εἶναι διακινδυνεύ-
 σαι: I think Leunclavius has not said properly, reperium-
 dum mihi aliquid duxi; how much happier has Hutchin-
 son rendered it, in lucro mihi deputandum censui? J'ay taché
 d'apporter quelque remède à vos maux in d'Ablancourt, has
 not the least pretence to a Translation of this Passage.

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BOOK I pursued the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus.
 II. *These things, the King said, he would take into Consideration; but commanded me to ask you, what Motive induced you to make war upon him? I advise you to answer with Temper, that I may, with the greater ease, obtain some favour for you, from the King."*

UPON this, the Greeks withdrew, and, having consulted together, *Clearchus* made answer, "We did not come together with a design of making War upon the King, neither did we march against him: But *Cyrus* found many Pretences, as you very well know, that he might take you unprepared, and lead us hither. However, when we saw him in Difficulties, our Respect both to Gods, and Men, would not allow us to abandon him, especially since we had formerly given ourselves leave to receive Obligations from him: But since *Cyrus* is dead, we neither contend with the King for his Kingdom, nor have any reason to desire to infest his Country: neither do we mean to destroy him, but to return home, provided no one molests us; but, if any Man offers an Injury to us, we shall, with the Assistance of the Gods, endeavour to revenge it. And, if any one confers a Fa-

vour

our on us, we shall not, to the utmost of our power, be behind-hand in returning it."

BOOK
II.

TISSAPHERNES in answer to this, replied; "I shall acquaint the King, and immediately return with his Sentiment; 'till then, let the Truce continue; in the mean time we will provide a Market for you." The next Day he did not return, which gave the Greeks some uneasiness; but the third Day he came, and informed them, that he had prevailed upon the King to allow him to conduct them safe to Greece, though many opposed it, alledging, that it was unbecoming the Dignity of the King, to suffer those to escape, who had made war upon him. He concluded thus; "And now you may rely upon the Assurance we give you, that we will effectually cause the Country to treat you as Friends, conduct you without Guile into Greece, and provide a Market for you: And, wherever we do not provide one, we allow

* Αἰ σπονδαὶ μόνων. See note ³, page 45.

^f Ως ἐκ ἀξίον εἰν βασιλεῖ. *Thucydides* uses this Word in the same Sense, where the Embassadors of *Plataea* tell ² *B. Archidamus*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, that, by making an Irruption into their Country, they act unjustly, and in a manner unbecoming both themselves and their Ancestors, ἢ δίκαια ποιοῦσι, ἢ δ' ἀξία ἔτι ὑμῶν, ἢ τι πατέρων δεῖ εἶναι, εἰς γὰρ τὴν Ἠλαταίων γεραιόντες.

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II.

allow you to supply yourselves out of the Country. On your side, you must take an Oath to us, that you will march, as through a Friend's Country, without doing any damage to it, and only supply yourselves with Meat, and Drink, when we do not provide a Market for you; and, when we do, that you will pay for what you want." This was agreed upon; and *Tissaphernes*, with the Queen's Brother, took the Oath, and gave their Hands to the Greek Generals, and Captains, and received those of the Greeks; after which, *Tissaphernes* said, I must now return to the King, and, when I have dispatched what is necessary, I will come back to you with all things in readiness both to conduct you into Greece, and return myself to my own Government.

HEREUPON, the Greeks and *Ariæus*, being encamped near to one another, waited for *Tissaphernes* above twenty Days; during which, the Brothers, and other Relations of *Ariæus*, came to him, and some of the *Persians* came to those who were with him, giving them Encourage-

ε Ως βασιλῖα. See note^t, page 14.

couragement, and Assurances from the **BOOK**
 King, that he would forget their taking **II.**
 up Arms against him in favour of *Cyrus*,
 and every thing else, that was past.
 While these things were transacting, it
 was manifest that *Ariæus* and his People
 paid less regard to the *Greeks*: many of
 whom, therefore, being dissatisfied, came
 to *Clarchus*, and to the rest of the Gene-
 rals, saying, “*Why do we stay here? Do we*
not know, that the King desires, above all
things, to destroy us, to the end that all the
rest of the Greeks may be deterred from
making War against him? He now seduces
us to stay, because his Army is dispersed,
which being re-assembled, it is not to be ima-
gined, but that he will attack us: Possibly
also he may obstruct our march, either by
digging a Trench, or raising a Wall in some
convenient place, in such a manner, as to
render it impracticable. ^h *For he will never*
 wil-

^h Ου γάρ ποτε ικόν γε βελήσεται ημάς ιλθόντας εις την
 Ελλάδα απαγγελίαι, ως ημείς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ἰσχυροὶ τῆν
 βασιλείωσ δύνάμιν ἐπὶ ταῖσ θύραισ αὐτῶ, καὶ καταγελᾶσαντες
 ἀπήλθομεν. I have transcribed this Period, that the
 Reader may confront it with *d'Abnancourt's* Translation.
 Thus he has rendered it, *car il ne souffrira jamais que nous*
repussions en Grece pour y publier notre gloire & sa honte.
 This is one of those many Periods in that Translator, the
 Vivacity of which could not fail to please, were they not
 designed for Translations.

BOOK II. willingly suffer us to return to Greece, and publish, that, being so few in number, we have defeated his Army at the very Gates of his Palace, and returned in triumph."——

CLEARCHUS replied to those who alledged this; " I consider all these things as well as you; but I consider at the same time, that, if we now depart, it will be thought, our Intention is to declare War, and to act contrary to the Terms of the Truce; the Consequence of which, will be, that no one will provide a Market for us, or a Place, where we may supply ourselves: besides, we shall have no Guide to conduct us; and the moment we enter upon these Measures, Ariæus will desert us; so that we shall presently have no Friend left, and even those, who were so before, will become our Enemies. I don't know whether we have any other River to pass, but we all know that it is not possible for us to pass the Euphrates, if the Enemy oppose it. If we are obliged to fight, we have no Horse to assist us, whereas those of the Enemy, are very numerous, and very good; so that, if we conquer, how many shall we be able to kill? And, if we are conquered, none of us can possibly escape. Therefore I don't

don't see why the King, who is possessed of so many Advantages, should, if he desires to destroy us, think it necessary first to take an Oath, and pledge his Faith, then to provoke the Gods by Perjury, and shew both the Greeks and Barbarians, how little that Faith is to be relied on." He said a great deal more to the same purpose.

BOOK
II.

IN the mean time *Tissaphernes* arrived with his Forces, as if he designed to return home, and with him *Orontas* also with his Men, and the King's Daughter, whom he had married. From thence they began their march, *Tissaphernes* leading the way, and providing them with a Market. *Ariæus* marched at the Head of the *Barbarians*, who had served under *Cyrus*, with *Tissaphernes* and *Orontas*, and encamped with them. The *Greeks*, being diffident of these, marched by themselves, having Guides to conduct them. Each of them always encamped separately, at the distance of a *Parasanga*, or less; and were each upon their Guard against one another, as against an Enemy, and this immediately created a Suspicion; Sometimes, while they were providing them-

BOOK II. themselves with Wood, Forage, or other things of that nature, they came to Blows; which also bred ill Blood between them. After three days march, they came to, and passed through the Wall of *Media*,¹ which was built with *burned* Bricks laid in *Bitumen*; being twenty Feet in thickness, one hundred in height; and,

¹ Ηο δὲ ἠχοδομημένοιον ὀλίθοις ἔπταϊς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμή-
ταις. The Walls of *Babylon* were also built with *burnt*
Bricks cemented with *Bitumen* instead of Morter: ἰκασ-
σαντες δὲ, says *Herodotus*, ὀλίθος ἰκανὰς, ἄπησαν αὐτὰς ἐν
καρίνοισι: μετὰ δὲ τελευτῇ χειρῶν ἀσφάλτῳ θηροῦ. I
am convinced from these, and several other Passages
among the Ancients, that they employed *raw* Bricks for
many uses, otherwise it cannot well be understood why
these two Authors should lay so much stress upon these
Bricks being *burned*: but this is not all, I am persuaded
that the Directions given by *Vitruvius* and *Palladius*, for
making Bricks, relate chiefly to *raw* Bricks, for they
both direct the Earth, of which the Bricks are made, to
be wrought up with *Straw*. These Directions, no
doubt, very proper, where the Bricks are not to be
burned, because the *Straw* holds the Earth together; but,
if Bricks made in this manner were to be *burned*, the
consequence would be, that the *Straw* being consumed
in the Fire, as many pieces of *Straw* as there were in
every Brick, so many hollow places there would be in
them. There is a Passage in *Pausanias*, where he tells
us, that *Agessopolis*, making an Irruption into the Country
of *Mantineia*, turned the River *Ophis* that ran near the
Town, against the Wall, and, by that means, dissolved
it; the reason he gives for it, is, that it was built of *raw*
Brick, ὅμῃς ἠχοδομημένης τῆς ὀλίθου. Upon this occasion
he says, that *raw* Bricks are better to resist battering
Engines, than Stones, because they are not so subject to
break and fly out of their Courses: but then he adds,
that *raw* Bricks are as easily dissolved by Water, as Wax
is by the Sun.

and, as it was said, twenty Parasangas in length, and not far from *Babylon*. BOOK
II.

FROM thence they made, in two days march, eight Parasangas, and passed two *Canals*, one upon a Bridge, the other upon seven Pontons: ^k These *Canals* were derived from the *Tigres*; from them Ditches were cut that ran into the Country, the first, broad, then narrower, which at last ended in small Water-courses, such as are used in *Greece* to water Panic. Thence they came to the River *Tigris*, near which stood a large and populous City, called *Sitace*, at the distance of fifteen Stadia from the River; the *Greeks* encamped close to the Town, near a large and beautiful ^l Park, thick with Trees of every kind, and the *Barbarians* on the other side of the *Tigris*, but out of sight of our Army. After Supper *Proxenus* and *Xenophon* happened to be walking before the ^m Quarter where the heavy-armed Men lay encamped;

^k Αυται δε ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. See note ^x, page 80.

^l Ἐργὸς Παραδείσου. See note ^y, page 17.

^m Πρὸ τῶν ὄπλων. See note ^z, page 15.

BOOK
II.

ed; when a Man came and asked the Out-guards, where he might speak with *Proxenus* or *Clearchus*; but did not enquire for *Menon*, though he came from *Ariæus*, with whom *Menon* lived in ° Hospitality: and, when *Proxenus* told him he was the Person he enquired after, the Man said, *Ariæus* and *Artaezus*, who were faithful to *Cyrus*, and wish you well, sent me to advise you to stand upon your guard, lest the *Barbarians* attack you to-night, there being numerous Forces posted in the neighbouring Park. They advise you also to send a Detachment to guard the Bridge over the *Tigris*, because *Tissaphernes* designs, if he can, to break it down to-night; to the end, that you may not be able to pass the River, but be shut in between the *Tigris*, and the *Canal*. Hereupon, they carried him to
Clear-

ⁿ Πῶς ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον. Both the *Latin* Translators have said *ubinam Proxenum vel Clearchum reperirent*; *d' Ablancourt* has translated it in the same Sense. There is a Passage in *Thucydides* which induces me to differ from them; he says, τὸν Περόικαν — ἠνάγκασαν, πρὶν τὸν Βρασιδαν ἰδῆν — πρὸς ἀπελθεῖν: where πρὶν τὸν Βρασιδαν ἰδῆν is thus explained by the *Greek* Scholiast, πρὶν διαλεχθῆναι τῷ Βρασιδα, ἔτι γὰρ πρὶ Ἀττικοῖς λέγουσι, ὡς τὸ ἰδῆν τί σε ἰθαλόμην ἀντὶ τῆ διαλεχθῆναι σοί τι. And indeed frequent Instances of this Atticism are to be met with in the best Authors.

• *Ξίτυ*. See note ⁿ, page 11.

Clearchus, and informed him of what he said; upon which, *Clearchus* was in great Trouble and Consternation; when a young Man, who was present, having considered the matter, said, “*To attack us, and break down the Bridge too, are things inconsistent; for it is plain, if they attack us, they must either conquer, or be conquered: if they conquer, why should they break down the Bridge? For, in that case, though there were many Bridges, we should have no Place to retreat to with safety: on the other side if we conquer them, and the Bridge be broken down, they themselves will have no Place to fly to; neither can the rest of their Army, though in great numbers on the other side, if they break it down, give them any Assistance.*”

CLEARCHUS, hearing this, asked the Messenger, ^p of what Extent the Country was, that lay between the *Tigris*, and the *Canal*: he answering; it was of

a

^p Πόση τις εἴη χώρα. *D' Ablancourt* has visibly mistaken the Sense of this Expression, he says *Clearque demanda au Messager quel étoit le País entre le Tigre & le Canal*, whereas ποσόν denotes *Quantity* not *Quality*, as the Grammarians speak, for which reason he should have said, *de quelle étendue étoit le País*; had *Xenophon* said ποία τις εἴη χώρα, his Translation would have been proper. The *Latin* Translators have rendered it as they ought. What I have said is justified by the Messenger's Answer, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ἕτεροι πολλή.

T 2

BOOK a large Extent, and contained, besides
 II. Villages, many large Cities; they con-
 cluded, that the *Barbarians* had sent this
 Man infidiously, ^a from an Apprehension,
 lest

^a Οκνήντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληες διαλθόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. So the *Latin* Translators give the Text, without taking any notice of a very great Difficulty that occurs in it; but, in order to understand this, let us cast our Eyes upon the Situation of the *Greeks*. They had passed the last of the two *Canals*, that lay in their way, and were now encamped under the Walls of a Town called *Sitace*, that stood close to the River *Tigris*; while they lay there, the *Persians*, who were encamped on the other side of that River, sent this insidious Message to them: But what was the occasion of this Message? Certainly not the fear, lest the *Greeks*, after they had passed the Bridge, should remain in the Island, *ne Græci cum transissent Pontem, in Insula manerent*, as *Hutchinson* has translated it. The Bridge, *Xenophon* has told us, lay over the *Tigris*, and the Island was the Country that lay between that River and the *Canal* they had already passed, which Island *Xenophon* has already told us in two places, was a large and plentiful Country, and very populous: The end of this Message therefore was to divert the *Greeks* from staying in this Island, for the Reasons alledged by our Author, and the readiest way to effect that, was, to induce them to pass the *Tigris* immediately, from an Apprehension, lest the Enemy should break down the Bridge; and, that the View of the *Persians* was to engage them to pass the River, and not to prevent them from doing so, as *Hutchinson* and *Leunclavius* have translated it, appears very plainly from their Behaviour afterwards; for we find they did not attempt to molest them in their Passage. By this time I believe the Reader is satisfied there must be some fault in the Text, which I will venture to cure by the Addition of one little Word; if we read *οκνήντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληες μὴ διαλθόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*, the Sense will be complete; and, that this Correction, which is the first I have made, may not seem too bold, I will put the Reader in mind of a Passage in our Author, where there is exactly the same Turn of

Xenoph.
 ἀπομνη
 μονευμά-
 των, 1 B.

Phras.

left the *Greeks* should not pass the Bridge, BOOK
II. but remain in the Island, which was defended on one side, by the *Tigris*, and on the other, by the *Canal*; where the Country, that lay between, being large, and fruitful, and in no want of Labourers to cultivate it, might both supply them with Provisions, and afford them a Retreat, if they were disposed to make War upon the King: after which, they went to Rest; however, they sent a Detachment to guard the Bridge: but no Attempt of any kind was made upon their Camp, neither did any of the Enemy come up to the Bridge, as the Guards informed us. The next Morning, by break of Day, they passed the Bridge, which was supported by thirty-seven Pontons, with all possible Precaution: for, some of the *Greeks*, who were with *Tissaphernes*, sent word, that the Enemy de-

Phrase, I am here contending for; he says of his Master *Socrates*, ἰθαύμαζε δ' εἴ τις ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελόμενος, ἀργύριον πρᾶττοιτο, ἢ μὴ νομίζοι τὸ μέγιστον κέρδος ἔξεν, φίλον ἀνθρώπων κτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖτο μὴ ὁ γινόμενος καλὸς ἀγαθός, τῶ τὰ μέγιστα ἐπιεργετήσαντι μὴ τὴν μέγιστην χάριν ἔχει. *D'Ablancourt*, by his Translation, seems to have been aware of this Difficulty, in which he must be allowed to have the Advantage over the *Latin* Translators, though neither he nor they have said one Word to clear it up, or even to discover it.

BOOK designed to attack them in their Passage ;
 II. but this did not prove true. However,
 while they were passing the River, *Glus*
 appeared with some others, observing
 whether they passed it or not ; when,
 perceiving they did, he rode off.

FROM the *Tigris* they made, in four
 days march, twenty Parasangas, and
 came to the River *Phycus*, one hundred
 Feet in breadth, having a Bridge over it.
 Here stood a large and populous City,
 called *Opis*, where they were met by a
 natural Brother to *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*,
 who was marching to the Assistance of
 the King, at the head of a numerous
 Army, which he had drawn out of *Susa*
 and *Ecbatana* ; and, causing his Troops
 to halt, he took a view of the *Greeks*, as
 they passed by him. *Clearchus* led his
 Men two by two, standing still from time
 to time : Thus, while the Vanguard halt-
 ed, the whole Army was obliged to stand
 still which made their Forces appear very
 numerous, even to the *Greeks* themselves,
 and the *Persian* was struck with the sight.
 From thence they made, in six days
 march, thirty Parasangas, through the
 de-

desert Part of *Media*, and arrived at the Villages belonging to *Parysatis*, the Mother to *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*: These *Tissaphernes*, to insult the Memory of *Cyrus*, gave the *Greeks* leave to plunder of every thing but Slaves; by which means they found a great Quantity of Corn, Cattle, and other things. From thence they made twenty Parasangas, in five days march through a desert, having the *Tigris* on their left. At the end of their first Day's march, they saw a large and rich City, on the other side of the River, called *Cænæ*; whence the *Barbarians* transported Bread, Cheese, and Wine upon Rafts made of Skins.

AFTER that, they came to the River *Zabatus*, four hundred Feet in breadth, where they staid three days, during which time, there were Jealousies, but no Evidence of Treachery: *Clearchus* therefore resolved to have a Conference with *Tissaphernes*, and, if possible, to put an end to these Jealousies, before they broke out into

² Πρόβατα. Πρόβατα, πάντα τὰ τετραπόδα. *Suidas*.

³ Χέρματα. See note ¹, page 35.

⁴ Σχιδιαίς. See note ¹, page 60.

BOOK II. into Hostilities: with this view he sent a Person, to let him know that he desired a Conference with him. *Tissaphernes* having readily answered, *he might come*; *Clearchus* spoke thus: " *I am sensible, O Tissaphernes!* that we have sworn, and pledged our Faith, not to do any Injury to one another. Notwithstanding which, I observe you are upon your guard against us, as against an Enemy; and we, perceiving this, stand also upon our guard. But, since upon Consideration I cannot find that you endeavour to do us any mischief, and am very sure that we have not the least Thought of hurting you, I judged it proper to have a Conference with you, to the end that we might, if possible, extinguish our mutual Diffidence: for I have known Men, who, while through Calumnies or Jealousies, they stood in fear of one another, have, with a View of inflicting a Mischief before they received one, done irreparable Injuries to those, who never had either the Intention, or Desire to hurt them. As therefore I am of opinion, that such Mistakes are easiest removed by Conferences, I come with an Intention of convincing you, that you have no reason to distrust us: for to mention that first, which is of the greatest moment

ment; our Oaths, to which we have called **BOOK**
 the Gods to witness, forbid us to be **II.**
 Enemies; and that Person who is conscious to
 himself of having neglected them, in my opi-
 nion, can never be happy; for, whoever be-
 comes the Object of divine Wrath, I know no
 Swiftneſs can ſave him, no Darkneſs hide
 him, no ſtrong Place defend him; ſince, in
 all Places, all Things are ſubject to their
 Power, and every where they are equally
 Lords of all. This is my Opinion concern-
 ing both our Oaths, and the Gods, whom,
 by our Agreement, we have made the Depo-
 ſitaries of our Friendſhip. As to human
 Advantages, I look upon you to be the greateſt
 we can promiſe ourſelves at this juncture;
 for, while we are with you, every Road is
 pervious, every River paſſable, and we are
 ſure to know no want: but, without you,
 every Road becomes obſcure, (for we are
 utterly unacquainted with them) every River
 impaſſable, every Multitude terrible, and
 Solitude the moſt terrible of all; for ^u that is
 at-

^u Μετὴ πολλῆς ἀπορίας εἰν. The Latin Translators do not ſeem to have attended to the general Contraſt there is between theſe two Periods, otherwiſe they would not have rendered μετὴ πολλῆς ἀπορίας, multis difficultatibus reſerta; for, as ἕδος διὰ σκότους is oppoſed to ἕδος ἠεροῦς, and πᾶς ποταμὸς δρόμος to πᾶς ποταμὸς δια-

BOOK II. attended with the want of every thing. If therefore we should arrive to such a degree of Madnefs, as to put you to death, what should we do else but destroy our Benefactor, and still have the King, the most powerful of all ² Avengers, to contend with? I shall now let you see what hopes I should deprive myself of, if I endeavoured to hurt you. I desired to make Cyrus my Friend, because I looked upon him as the most capable of all Men living to serve those he wished well to. Now, I find, you have not only obtained the Army, but the Country, that belonged to Cyrus, as an Accession to your own; and that the King's Power, of which he felt the Weight, is become your Support. In these Circumstances therefore, who would be so mad as not to desire to be your Friend? Yet further I shall let you know upon what I found my hopes, that you will also desire to be a Friend to us :

I

κατὰς, so μετὰ πολλῆς ἀπόριας is visibly opposed to τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἢ ἀπορία. D' Ablancourt has, in my opinion, said much better, *parce qu'elle entraîne après soy la nécessité.*

Sophoc.
Ajax, v.
615.

* Εφιδρον. Εφιδροῦ, according to the Greek Scholiast upon Sophocles, is properly ἡ παρισκινασμίον, ὅταν δύο τινὲς παλαίωσι, παλαίωσι τῷ κνήσαντι. Plutarch very beautifully applies this to Telestinus, who was very near defeating Sylla, after so many Victories, at the Gates of Rome, τὸν μίντοι τελευταῖον ἀγῶνα, καθάπερ ἔφιδροῦ ἀθλητῆς καταπύου προσημαχθεῖς ὁ Σανίτης Τηλεσίον, ἰσχυρὸς ἦλθε τῷ σφῆλαι κ' καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς Ρώμης. This cannot be preserved in a modern Translation.

Plutarch
in his Life
of Sylla.

I know the Myfians are troublesome to you ; these, with the Forces under my Command, I hope I can oblige to submit to your Power : I know the same thing of the Pifidians, and am informed that many other Nations are in the same Disposition, who, by my means, shall cease for ever to disturb your Happiness. I find you are incens'd against the ' Egyptians, more than against any other Nation, and cannot see what Forces you can better employ than ours, to assist you in chastising them. If you desire to be a Friend to any of your Neighbours, your Friendship, through our means, will become most valuable ; and, if any of them molest you, you may, as their Superior, destroy them by our Assistance ; for we shall not only be subservient to you for the sake of our Pay, but also in return for the Obligation we shall justly owe to you, as to our Deliverer. When I consider all these things I am so much surprized to find you diffident of us, that I would willingly know the Person, who is so powerful an Orator, as to persuade you, that we form Designs against you." Tissaphernes answered him as follows :

“ I

† Αἰγυπτίαις. See note ¹, page 120.

BOOK
II.

“ I am pleased, O Clearchus! to hear you speak with so much prudence; for, while you entertain these Thoughts, if you should meditate any thing against me, you would, at the same time, act contrary to your own Interest: but do you hear me in your turn, while I inform you, that you yourselves cannot, with justice, distrust either the King, or me; for, if we were desirous to destroy you, do you think we are in any want of numerous Horse, or Foot to effect it? or of Arms defensive and offensive, with which we have it in our power to do you mischief, without the danger of receiving any? Or do you think we want proper Places to attack you? Are there not so many Plains inhabited by our Friends, through which you must march with great difficulty? So many Mountains within your sight, over which your Road lies, and which, by our possessing ourselves of them, we can render impassable to you? So many Rivers which afford us the Advantage of chusing out what numbers of you we think proper to engage? Some of these you cannot even pass but by our Assistance. But say, we are inferior in all these: Fire at least will prove superior to the Fruits of the Earth. By burning these we can oppose Famine to you, with
which,

which, though you are ever so brave, you will not be able to contend. Why therefore should we, who have so many Opportunities of making war upon you, none of which carry any Danger with them, chuse the only one of all these, that is both impious and dishonourable; the Refuge of those, who are destitute of all others, distressed and driven to Extremities, and who, being at the same time wicked Men, resolve to accomplish their Designs through Perjury towards the Gods, and Breach of Faith towards Men? We are not, O Clearchus! either so weak, or so void of Reason. When it was in our power to destroy you, why did we not attempt it? Be assured, the desire I had of approving my Fidelity to the Greeks was the Reason; and that, as Cyrus marched against the King, relying on foreign Forces, from the Pay he gave them; so I might return home supported by the same Troops, from the Obligations I had conferred on them. As to the many things, in which you may be of service to me, some of them you have mentioned; but I know, which is the greatest: It is the Prerogative of the King to wear ² an upright Tur-

² Τὴν ἀρετὴν ἰσχυρῶς. Most Authors who treat of the Affairs of Persia, have taken notice of this Custom; but there is

BOOK II. *Turban upon his Head; but, with your Assistance possibly another may, with some Confidence, wear it in his Heart."*

CLEARCHUS, thinking all he said to be true, replied; "Since therefore we have so many Motives to be Friends, do not those, who, by Calumnies, endeavour to make us Enemies, deserve the severest Punishment?" "If you, says *Tissaphernes*, with the rest of the Generals, and Captains, think fit to come to me in publick, I will acquaint you with those, who aver that you have Designs against me and my Army." "I will bring them all, says *Clearchus*; and, at the same time, let you know, in my turn, whence I received my Information concerning you." As soon as this Conference was over, *Tissaphernes* shewed him great Civility, and, desiring him to stay, entertained him at Supper. The next day

Clear-

a Print of it on a *Persian* Monument found among the Ruins of *Persepolis* by *De Bruyn*, and given by *Gronovius* in his Notes upon *Herodotus*, to shew that this is the very Monument the latter says *Darius Hystaspes* caused to be erected in honour of his Horse and Groom, to whom he owed the Kingdom; I take no notice of the Reasons alledged by *Gronovius* to support his Conjecture, which seems well founded, because this Monument is here exhibited with another view, namely to let the Reader see the difference of the *Turbans* worn by the Kings and Subjects of *Persia*.

Herodot.
in Thalia.

Clearchus, returning to the Camp, made it manifest that he entertained very friendly Thoughts of *Tissaphernes*, and gave an Account of what he proposed. He said, those *Tissaphernes* demanded, ought to go to him; and that the Persons who were found to be the *Authors* of these *Calumnies*, ought to be punished as *Traitors* and ill-affected to the rest of the *Greeks*: for he suspected *Menon* to be one of them, knowing that he and *Ariæus* had been in Conference with *Tissaphernes*, and that he was forming a Party against him, and intriguing in order to draw the whole Army to a dependence upon himself; and, by that means, to recommend himself to *Tissaphernes*. *Clearchus* also himself was no less solicitous to engage the Esteem of the whole Army, and to remove those, who opposed him: but some of the Soldiers in contradiction to him, said, that all the Generals and Captains ought not to go, neither ought they to trust *Tissaphernes*. However, *Clearchus* so strongly insisted upon it, that he prevailed to have five Generals, and twenty Captains sent to him: about
two

BOOK two hundred Soldiers followed, under
 II. colour of going to the Market.

WHEN they came to the Door of *Tissaphernes*, the Generals, *Proxenus* a *Bæotian*, *Menon* a *Thessalian*, *Agius* an *Arcadian*, *Clearchus* a *Lacedæmonian*, and *Socrates* an *Achaian*, were called in; the Captains staid without: Not long after, at the same Signal, those who were without, were apprehended, and those without, cut to pieces. After this, some of the *Barbarian* Horse, scouring the Plain, killed all the *Greeks* they met with, both Freeman and Slaves. The *Greeks*, from their Camp, seeing these Excursions of the Horse, were surprized, and in doubt of what they were doing, 'till *Nicarchus*, an *Arcadian*, came flying from them, being wounded in the Belly, and bearing his Bowels in his Hands, and informed them of all that had passed. Upon this, the *Greeks* were amazed, and expecting they would immediately come and attack their Camp, ran to their Arms. But they did not all come; only *Ariæus* with *Arteazus* and *Mithridates* came, Persons who

who had shewn the greatest Fidelity to *Cyrus*. However, the Interpreter of the *Greeks* said, he saw the Brother to *Tissaphernes* with them, and knew him. They were followed by three hundred other *Persians* clad in Armour; who, when they drew near, ordered, if any Generals or Captains of the *Greeks* were present, they should advance, to the end, they might acquaint them with the King's Pleasure. Upon this, the Generals, *Cleanor*, an *Orchomenian*, and *Sophænetus*, a *Stymphalian*, went out of the Camp with great Caution; and with them *Xenophon*, an *Athenian*, that he might learn what was become of *Proxenus*. (*Cheirisophus* happened to be absent, being employed, with others, in getting Provisions in some Village.) When they came within hearing, *Ariæus* said, “*Clearchus*, O *Greeks*! having been found guilty of a Violation both of his Oath, and of the Articles of Peace, is justly punished with death; while *Proxenus*, and *Menon*, for having given Information of his Designs, are in great honour. Of you, the King demands your Arms, for he says they are his,

BOOK as having belonged to Cyrus, who was his
 II. "Subject."

HEREUPON, the Greeks made answer, Cleanor the Orchomenian, speaking in the Name of the rest: "O Ariceus! thou most wicked of all Men, and the rest of you, who were Friends to Cyrus! have you no regard either to the Gods or Men? You, who after you have sworn to us to look upon our Friends and Enemies as your own, now conspire with Tissaphernes, the most impious and deceitful of all Men, to betray us; and having^b both destroyed those Persons, to whom you gave your Oaths, and deceived the rest of us, now come with our Enemies to
 in-

^a Δέλε. Literally his Slave; this, it seems, was the Style of the Persian Court, which not only treated their Subjects as Slaves, but had the Insolence to call them so.

^b Οἱς ἄμυντε ὡς ἀπολώλεκατε. Hutchinson, with great reason, finds fault with Leunclavius for translating this, *Sacramentis confirmabatis vos plane perisse*; but takes no notice of the Difficulty arising from the Particle ὡς, which, I own, weighs so much with me, that I cannot persuade my self Xenophon wrote τῆς τε ἀνδρας αὐτῶν, ὡς ἄμυντε, ὡς ἀπολώλεκατε; at least not in the Sense he has translated it, *posteaquam viros ipsos, quibus dedistis Jusjurandum perdidistis*. If, instead of ὡς ἀπολώλεκατε, we might venture to read ἀπολωλεκότες, without ὡς, I think the Period would be more intelligible: I believe it will be owned, that ἀπολωλεκότες agrees very well with προδιδωκότες in the following Sentence, and it seems to have been the Author's Design to connect them together with the Particles τε and καί.

invade us?" To this Ariæus answered, "But it first appeared that Clearchus was forming Designs against Tiffaphernes, Orontas, and all the rest of us." Upon this, Xenophon replied, "If Clearchus, contrary to his Oath, has been guilty of a Violation of the Peace, he is justly punished; for it is just, that those who are guilty of Perjury, should be put to death. However, send Proxenus and Menon to us, since they are both your Benefactors, and our Commanders: For it is evident, that, being Friends to both of us, they will endeavour to advise that, which is best for both." To this the Barbarians made no answer, but, having conferred together for a considerable time, they departed. —

BOOK
II.

THE Generals being thus apprehended, were carried ^e to the King, by whose Orders their Heads were cut off. One ^d of them, *Clearchus*, was allowed by all that knew him to have been a Man both of a military Genius, and one who delighted in War to the last degree. For, as long as the *Lacedæmonians* were at war with

^e Ως βασιλεῖα. See note ^t, page 14.

^d Εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος. See the Introduction.

BOOK
II.

with the *Athenians*, he continued in the Service of his Country; but, after the Peace, he persuaded his Fellow-Citizens, that the *Thracians* oppressed the *Greeks*, and having prevailed on the *Ephori*, ° by some means or other, he set sail with a design to make war upon the *Thracians*, who inhabit above the *Chefonesus* and *Perinthus*. After his Departure the *Ephori*, for some reasons, changed their Minds, and recalled him from the *Ißmus*; but he refused to obey them, and sailed away for the *Hellespont*; whereupon, he was condemned to die by the Magistrates of *Sparta*, as guilty of Disobedience. Being now a banished Man, he comes to *Cyrus*, and by what means he gained his
Con-

° Παρὰ τῶν Εφῶρων. The ancient Authors do not agree concerning the Person who instituted these Magistrates. *Herodotus* attributes their Institution to *Lycurgus*, and *Xenophon* to him, jointly with the most considerable Citizens of *Sparta*. On the other hand, *Plutarch* says *Theopompus*, who reigned many Years after *Lycurgus*, was the Author of it. However, this is certain, that the three Orders of the State, that is, the two Kings, the Senators, all the Magistrates, even during their Magistracy, and the People were subject to their Power. But the thing that gives the greatest Relief to the Reputation of their College, is, that it served as a Model to the Institution of the *Roman Tribunes*, who, like the *Ephori*, were only five in number, 'till the Year of *Rome* 297, and the first of the 81 Olympiad, C. *Horatius* and Q. *Minucius* being Consuls, when five more were added to them.

Herodot.
in Clio.
Xenoph.
of the
Lacedæ-
monian
Common-
wealth.
Plutarch
Life of
Lycurg.
Xenop. ib.
Dionys.
Hal. 6 B.
ib. 10 B.

Confidence, has been mentioned in another place: *Cyrus* gave him ten thousand *Daricks*. Having received this Money, he did not give himself up to Indolence, but, raising an Army with it, made war upon the *Thracians*; and, over-coming them in Battle, plundered their Country, and continued the War, 'till *Cyrus* had occasion for his Army, when he departed with a design of attending him in his Expedition. —

BOOK
II.

THESE therefore seem to be the Actions of a Man delighting in War, ^s who, when it is in his power to live in Peace without Detriment or Dishonour, prefers War; when to live in Ease, chuses Labour, with a View to War; and when to enjoy Riches without danger, chuses rather, by making War, to diminish them: so that he spent his Money in War, as chearfully as if it had been in Gal-

^f Δαρικός. See note ^m, page 9.

^s Οσις, ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἀνευ ἀισχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἰρεῖται πολεμῆν. *D'Ablancourt* has strangely mistaken this Passage, thus he has rendered it, *que pouvant vivre en Repos après la Paix, cherche la guerre aux dépens même de son bonheur, & de sa vie*: This he says is stronger than the Text: but I believe the Reader will be of opinion, that instead of strengthening the Author's Sense, he has destroyed it.

BOOK Gallantry, or any other Pleasure: so
 II. much he delighted in it. His Genius
 for War appeared by his Forwardness to
 expose himself, and to attack the Enemy
 either by Night or Day, and by his Con-
 duct in danger; as those who attended
 him upon all occasions, universally ac-
 knowledged. He was said to have pos-
 sessed the Art of commanding, as far as
 could be expected from a Man of his
 Temper: for, being as capable, as any
 other, of taking care his Army was sup-
 plied with Provisions, and of providing
 them, he was not less so of inspiring
 those, who were present, with a Dread of
 disobeying *Clearchus*. This he effected
 by Severity; for his Look was stern, and
 his Voice harsh: He always punished
 with Rigour, and frequently in Passion;
 so that he sometimes repented it. But
 he also inflicted Punishments with Deli-
 beration, looking upon an Army without
 Discipline to be of no service. He is re-
 ported to have said, that ^h a Soldier ought
 to

^h Ως δέοι στρατιώτην φοβείσθαι μάλλον, &c. This Say-
 Livy, B. ing of *Clearchus* is imitated by *Livy*, where *Gamillus*,
 V. having restored the Roman Army to its ancient Discipline,
effecit, says he, *ne hostis maxime timendus militi esset*. *D'Ab-*
lancours has thought fit to leave out above half this Pe-
 u riod

to fear his Commander more than the Enemy, if it is expected that he should do his Duty upon Guard, abstain from what belongs to a Friend, or attack the Enemy without Reluctance. In Dangers the Men obeyed him absolutely, nor ever desired to be commanded by any other; for they said his Sternness seemed then changed to Chearfulness, and his Severity to Resolution; so that they looked upon it no longer as Severity, but as their Preservation. However, when the Danger was over, and they had an opportunity of serving under other Commanders, many of them left him; for he was not in the least gracious but always rough and cruel: so that the Soldiers were in the same Disposition to him, as Scholars to their Master; none ever following him out of Friendship or Goodwill. Those, who were appointed by his Country, or compelled through Want, or any other Necessity to serve under him, were perfectly obedient to him. And, when they began to conquer under his Command, many things concurred to make

riod, the reason he gives for it is, *parce qu'il ne faut rien ajouter à un bon mot*: but sure this is a liberty no Translator ought to indulge himself in.

BOOK II. make them good Soldiers: for their Confidence in their own Strength, joined to their Fear of him, made them observant. This was his Character as a Commander: but it was said that he was unwilling to be commanded by others. When he died, he was about fifty Years of Age. —

PROXENUS, the *Bœotian*, even from a Child, was desirous of becoming equal to great Employments; and, to satisfy this desire, gave a Sum of Money to ¹*Gorgias* the *Leontine*. After he had been some time with him, thinking himself now both able to command, and, if he

Diod. Sic. ¹ *Γοργίας*. This *Gorgias* was a celebrated Master of Eloquence. He so far surpassed all the rest of his Profession, that *Diodorus Siculus* tells us he received no less from his Scholars than one hundred Minæ, that is, 1.322 : 18 : 4 Sterling. This *Gorgias*, it seems, was not of ancient Coins. at the head of the Embassy which the *Leontines* sent to *Athens*, the second Year of the 88th Olympiad, to desire their Assistance against the *Syracusans*. In the first Audience he had of the *Athenians*, his Eloquence, or rather the Novelty of it, so enchanted that People, who were great Admirers of both, that they were unfortunately prevailed upon to engage in the *Sicilian War*, the Event of which gave them so fatal a Blow, they could never recover it. *Diodorus Siculus* says also, that he was the Inventor of the Art of Rhetoric, and the first who made use of studied Figures and laboured Antitheses of equal Length, and the same Termination; this manner of speaking, the same Author says, pleased at first from its Novelty, but was afterwards looked upon as affected, and, if frequently practised, ridiculous.

he entered into the friendship of great Men, to return all Obligations, he engaged in this Enterprize with *Cyrus*, whence he promised to himself great Reputation, great Power, and great Riches: Though he was earnest in the pursuit of these, yet on the other side his Conduct plainly shewed that he did not desire to gain any of them through *Injustice*; but that he ought to attain them with *Justice* and *Honour*, and not otherwise. He was very capable of commanding an orderly and a well-disciplined Army; but incapable of inspiring Respect or Fear, and stood in greater Awe of his Men, than they of him; it being visible, that he was more afraid of disobliging them, than they of disobeying him. It was his opinion, that all which was required to be, and seem to be equal to the Command, was to praise *worthy* Men, and not to praise the *unworthy*; for which reason he was beloved by Men of Worth and Honour, while ill Men were for ever forming Designs against him, as against a Man easy to be circumvented. He was about thirty Years old, when he died. —

BOOK
II.

MENON the *Theſſalian*, did not either conceal his immoderate Deſire of Riches; or his Deſire of commanding, in order to increaſe them; or of being eſteemed for the ſame reaſon. He deſired to be well with thoſe in Power, that his Injuſtice might eſcape Punishment. He thought the ſhorteſt ways to accompliſh his Deſigns were Perjury, Falſhood, and Deceit; and that Simplicity and Truth were Weakneſſes. He was obſerved to have no Affection for any Man, and, where he profeſſed a Friendſhip, it was viſible he deſigned to betray. He never ſpoke with Contempt of an Enemy, but was ever turning all thoſe he converſed with into ridicule. He never formed any Deſign againſt the Poſſeſſions of an Enemy, (for he thought it difficult to rob thoſe who were upon their guard) but looked upon himſelf as the only Perſon that was ſenſible how very eaſy it is to ſeize the unguarded Poſſeſſions of a Friend. He ſtood in fear of thoſe whom he obſerved to be guilty of Perjury and Injuſtice, as of Men well armed; but practiſed upon Perſons of Piety and Truth, as upon thoſe, who are defenceleſs.

less. And, as others value themselves upon Religion, Veracity, and Justice, so *Menon* valued himself upon being able to deceive, to invent Falshoods and abuse his Friends; and looked upon those as ignorant, who were without Guile. When he endeavoured to gain the first place in any Man's Friendship, he thought the most effectual way of recommending himself, was by slandering those who were in possession of it. He sought to make himself obeyed by the Soldiers, by becoming an Accomplice in their Crimes, and aimed at being esteemed and courted, by shewing that he had both the Power and the Will to commit great Injustice. If any one forsook him, he spoke of it as a favour, that while he made use of his Service, he did not destroy him. Whatever is not publicly known in this Man's Character, may seem to be feigned, but the following Particulars all the World is acquainted with. While he was in the Flower of his Youth he obtained the Command of the Mercenaries in the Service of *Aristippus*. At that Age also he was in great favour with *Ariæus*, a *Barbarian*, because he delighted in

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II.

beautiful Youths; and before he himself had a Beard, he had a bearded Favourite, called *Tharypas*. When the rest of the Generals suffered for having made war against the King with *Cyrus*, he though equally guilty, did not lose his Life; but was afterwards punished with death by the King, not like *Clearchus*, and the rest of the Generals, by losing his Head, which was looked upon as the most *honourable* Death; but, as it is said, after he had been tortured, a whole Year, like a Malefactor. —

AGIAS, the *Arcadian*, and *Socrates*, the *Achaian*, were both put to death at the same time; these were without Reproach both in War, and Friendship. They were then about forty Years of Age. —

The End of the Second Book.

T H E

THE
EXPEDITION
OF
C Y R U S.

BOOK III.

IN the foregoing Discourse, we have related the Actions of the *Greeks* during the Expedition of *Cyrus* to the Battle, and what happened after his Death, when the *Greeks* marched away with *Tissaphernes* upon the Peace. After the Generals were apprehended, and the Captains and Soldiers who accompanied them, put to death, the *Greeks* were in
great

BOOK III. } great distress; knowing they were not far from the King's Palace, surrounded on all sides with many Nations and many Cities, all their Enemies; that no one would any longer supply them with Provisions; that they were distant from Greece above ten thousand Stadia, without a Guide to conduct them, and their Road thither intercepted by impassable Rivers; that even those *Barbarians*, who had served under *Cyrus*, had betrayed them, and that they were now left alone without any Horse to assist them. By which it was evident, that if they overcame the Enemy, they could not destroy a Man of them in the Pursuit, and if they themselves were overcome, not one of them could escape. These Reflections so disheartened them, that few eat any thing that Evening, few made Fires, and many that Night never came to their "Quarter," but laid themselves down, every

^a Ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. See note ^b, page 15. Here it plainly signifies that part of the Camp, which was appointed for the Quarters of the several Companies, particularly of the heavy-armed Men. *D' Ablanovus* has left it out, as he generally does this Expression where he meets with it.

^b Ἀνεκάνετο δὲ ὅτε ἐπὶ χανὶ ἔκαστος, ἢ δυνάμει καθένης ἐπὶ λάμπης καὶ σόβης παρὰ τὴν ἡμέραν, γυναικῶν, παιδῶν, ἕως ὅτε ἐπέμεινον ἕως ἄψεσθαι. This Period, so beautifully melan-

every Man in the place where he hap- BOOK
III.
 pened to be, unable to sleep through
 Sorrow, and a Longing for their Coun-
 try, their Parents, their Wives and Chil-
 dren, whom they never expected to see
 again: In this Disposition of Mind, they
 all laid down to rest.

THERE was in the Army, an *Athe-*
nian, by Name, *Xenophon*, who, without
 being a General, a Captain, or a Soldier,
 served as a Volunteer: for, having been
 long attached to *Proxenus* by the Rights
 of Hospitality, the latter sent for him
 from home, with a promise, if he came,
 to recommend him to *Cyrus*; from whom,
 he said, he expected greater Advantages,
 than from his own Country. *Xenophon*
 having read the Letter, consulted *Socrates*
 the *Athenian* concerning the Voyage, who
 fearing lest his Country might look up-
 on his Attachment to *Cyrus* as criminal,
 because that Prince was thought to have
 espoused the Interest of the *Lacedæmo-*
nians

melancholy, is cruelly mangled by *d'Abzacourt*, whose
 Translation I shall also transcribe, that the Reader may
 compare it with the Original. *Ils étoient si abbatus qu'ils*
ne pouvoient repôser, comme ne devant plus revoir ni femmes, ni
enfants, ni patrie.

^c Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑπετίθει. See the Introduction.

BOOK III. *nians* against the *Athenians* with great Warmth, advised *Xenophon* to go to *Delphos*, and consult the God of the Place concerning the Matter. *Xenophon* went thither accordingly and asked *Apollo*, to which of the Gods he should offer Sacrifice, and address his Prayers, to the end that he might perform the Voyage he proposed in the best and most reputable manner; and, after a happy Issue of it, return with safety. *Apollo* answered, that he should sacrifice to the proper Gods. At his Return, he acquainted *Socrates* with this Answer; who blamed him, because he had not asked *Apollo* in the first place, whether it were better for him to undertake this Voyage, than to stay at home: but, having himself first determined to undertake it, he had consulted him concerning the most proper means of performing it with success: but, since says he, you have asked this, you ought to do what the God has commanded. *Xenophon* therefore, having offered Sacrifice to the Gods according to the Direction of the Oracle, set sail, and found *Proxenus* and *Cyrus* at *Sardes* ready to march towards the *Upper Asia*. Here he was presented to *Cyrus*, and *Proxenus* pressing him

him to stay, *Cyrus* was no less earnest in BOOK
III. persuading him, and assured him, that, as soon as the Expedition was at an end, he would dismiss him; this he pretended was designed against the *Pisidians*.

XENOPHON, therefore, thus imposed on, engaged in the Enterprize, though *Proxenus* had no share in the Imposition, for none of the *Greeks*, besides *Clarchus*, knew it was intended against the King: but, when they arrived in *Cilicia*, every one saw ^d the Expedition was designed against him. Then, though they were terrified at the length of the way, and unwilling to go on, yet the greatest part of them, out of ^e a regard both to one another, and to *Cyrus*, followed

^d Ο Στόλοϛ. See note ^a, page 15.

^e Δι' αἰσχύνῃ δὲ ἀλλήλων. Where any number of Men are embarked in the same Design, they generally meet with success, but always deserve it, if they are once brought to be ambitious of one another's Praises, and to stand in awe of one another's Reproaches. *Homer*, who knew every Spring of the human Soul, was sensible how powerful a Motive this mutual Respect is to a proper Behaviour in a Day of Battle, when he makes *Agamemnon* say to his Men,

Ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς υσμῖνας^c
Αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλεονες σοοί, ἢ ἐπίφανται.

Homer
II. 1.

By the way, 'tis from this Sense of the word αἰδώς, that the *Latin* Authors have used *verecundia* to signify *Respect*.

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BOOK III. loved him: and *Xenophon* was of this number. When the *Greeks* were in this distress, he had his share in the general Sorrow, and was unable to rest. However, getting a little sleep, he dreamed he thought it thundered, and that a Flash of Lightning fell upon his paternal House, which upon that was all in a blaze. Immediately he awoke in a fright, and looked upon his Dream as happy in this respect, because, while he was engaged in Difficulties and Dangers, he saw a great light proceeding from *Jupiter*. On the other side, he was full of fear, when he considered that this Dream was sent by *Jupiter* the King, and that the Fire, by blazing all round him, might portend, that he should not be able to get out of the King's Territories, but should be surrounded on all sides with Difficulties. —

HOWEVER the Events, which were consequent to this Dream, sufficiently explain the Nature of it; for presently these Things happened: As soon as he awoke, the first Thought that occurred to him was this, Why do I lie here? the
Night

Night wears away, and as soon as the Day appears, it is probable the Enemy will come and attack us; and if we fall under the Power of the King, ' what can preserve us from being Spectators of the most tragical Sights, from suffering the most cruel Torments, and from dying with the greatest Ignominy? Yet no one makes Preparation for Defence, or takes any Care about it: but here we lie, as if we were allowed to live in Quiet. From what City therefore do I expect a General to perform these things? What Age do I wait for? But, if I abandon my self to the Enemy this Day, I shall never live to see another. Upon this, he rose, and first assembled the Captains who had served under *Proxenus*; and, when they were together, he said to them, "*Gentlemen! I can neither sleep, (which, I suppose, is your case also) nor lie any longer, when I consider the Condition to which we are reduced. For it is plain the Enemy would*

not

† Τί ἔμποδόν μὴ ἔχει πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλιπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παρόντας; ὄβριζομένης ἀποθανῶν; Thus translated by *d' Ablancourt*, *quelle esperance nous reste-t'il que d'une mort cruelle?* So pathetick a Description of the Miseries, which our Author had then in view, deserved, methinks, that he should have been more particular in his Translation.

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not have declared War against us, had they not first made the necessary Preparations: while, on our side, none takes any care how we may resist them in the best manner possible. If we are remiss, and fall under the Power of the King, what have we to expect from him, who cut off the Head and Hand of his own Brother, even after he was dead, and fixed them upon a Stake? How then will he treat us, who have no support, and have made war against him, with a design to reduce him, from the Condition of a King, to that of a Subject, and, if it lay in our power, to put him to death? Will he not try the power of every Extremity, to the End, that, by torturing us in the most ignominious manner, he may deter all Men from ever making war against him? We ought therefore to do every thing rather than fall into his Hands. While the Peace lasted, I own, I never ceased to consider ourselves, as extremely miserable, and the King, with those who belonged to him, equally happy: When I cast my Eyes around, and beheld how spacious and beautiful a Country, they were Masters of, how they abounded in Provisions, Slaves, Cattle, Gold, and rich Apparel; and, on the other hand, reflected on the Situation of our Men,

who

who had no share of all these Advantages, without paying for them, which I knew very few were any longer able to do, and that our Oaths forbid us to provide ourselves by any other means; when I reflected, I say, on these things, I was more afraid of Peace than now I am of War. But, since they have put an end to the Peace, there seems to be an end also both of their Insolence, and our Jealousy: And these Advantages lie now as a Prize between us, to be given to the bravest: In this ^ε Combat the Gods are the Umpires, who will, with Justice, declare in our favour; for our Enemies have provoked them by Perjury, while we, surrounded with every thing to tempt us, have, with Constancy, abstained from all, that we might preserve our Oaths inviolate: So that, in my opinion, we have reason to engage in this Combat with greater Confidence than they. Besides, our Bodies are more patient of Cold, of Heat, and of Labour than theirs; and our Minds, with the divine Assistance, more resolved: And if, as before, the Gods vouchsafe to grant us the Victory, their Men will be more obnoxious to Wounds
and

^ε Ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ ἴσσι. This alludes to the Umpires, who were chosen to preside at the Olympick and other Games: This Allusion, which gives great Beauty to the whole Passage, is entirely left out by *d'Ablancourt*.

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and Death. But possibly others may also entertain these Thoughts: For Heaven's sake then, let us not stay 'till those who do come and encourage us to glorious Actions, but let us prevent them, and excite even them to Virtue. Shew yourselves the bravest of all the Captains, and the most worthy to command of all the Generals. As for me, ^h if you desire to lead the way in this, I will follow you with Chearfulness; and if you appoint me to be your Leader, I ^l shall not excuse myself by reason of my Age, but think myself even in the Vigour of it to repel an Injury. —

THE Captains, hearing this, all desired he would take upon him the Command, except a certain Person, by Name *Appollonides*, who affected to speak in the *Bæotian* Dialect. This Man said, that, whoever proposed any other means of returning to *Greece*, than by endeavouring to persuade the King to consent to it, talked impertinently; and, at the same time,

* Εἰ μὴν ἰθὺλατε ἰξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. The Reader will observe, that *ἰξορμᾶν* is here used neutrally, it was used actively a few Lines above.

^l Οὐδὲν προσφασίζομαι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. See note ^k, page 120, and particularly the Life of *Xenophon*.

time, began to recount the Difficulties BOOK
III. they were engaged in. But *Xenophon* interrupting him, said, "*Thou most admirable Man! who art both insensible of what you see, and forgetful of what you hear. You were present, when the King, after the Death of Cyrus, exulting in his Victory, sent to us to deliver up our Arms, and when, instead of delivering them up, we marched out ready to give him Battle, and encamped near him, what did he leave undone by sending Embassadors, begging Peace, and supplying us with Provisions, 'till he had obtained it? And afterwards, when our Generals and Captains went to confer with them, as you advise us to do, without their Arms, relying on the Peace, what has been their Treatment? Are not these unfortunate Men daily scourged, ^k tortured, and insulted, and forbid even to die, though, I dare say, they earnestly desire it?*"

^k Κεῖτάμνοι. I have ventured to depart from the Latin Translators in rendering this Word; *Leuclavius* has said *vulneribus affecti*, and *Hutchinson* *vulnera passi*; *d'Abancourt* has left it out: I have translated it *tortured*; in the same Sense *Xenophon*, a little above, speaking of the Usage the Greeks were to expect, if they fell into the King's hands, says ἡμᾶς τὰ αἰσχρὰ αἰκισάμεθα, and a little before that πάντα τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας. It is from this Sense of the word κείτω, that *Suidas* tells us a Thief is called κίττων, because, as he says, κίττρα were part of their Torture. κίττων ὁ κλέπτης· διὰ τὸ βασανίζομένους τοῖς κίτταις· κίττρα πρὸς φέρουσαι.

BOOK III. *it? When you know all this, can you say that those, who exhort us to defend ourselves, talk impertinently, and dare you advise us to sue again to the King for favour? For my part, Gentlemen! I think we ought not to admit this Man any longer into our Company, but use him as he deserves, by removing him from his Command, and employing him in carrying our Baggage: for, by being a Greek with such a Mind, he is a Shame to his Country, and dishonours all Greece."*

THEN *Agafias of Stympbalus* said, "*This Man has no relation to Bœotia, or to any other Part of Greece; for to my knowledge, both his Ears are bored, like a Lydian. Which was found to be true: so they expelled him their Company. The rest went to all the Quarters of the Army, and where any Generals were left, they called them up; where they were wanting, their Lieutenants; and where there were any Captains left, they called up them. When they were all assembled, they placed themselves¹ before the Quarter, where the heavy-armed Men lay encamped; the Number of the Generals and*

¹ Εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὀκλῶν. See note¹, page 130.

and Captains amounting to about a hundred. While this was doing, it was near Midnight. Then *Hieronimus* of *Elis*, the Oldest of all the Captains, who had served under *Proxenus*, began thus: “Gentlemen! we have thought proper, in the present Juncture both to assemble ourselves, and call you together, to the end we may, if possible, consider of something to our Advantage. Do you, O *Xenophon*! represent to them what you have laid before us.” Upon this, *Xenophon* said:

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“We are all sensible that the King, and *Tissaphernes*, have caused as many of us as they could to be apprehended, and it is plain they design, by the same treacherous means, if they can, to destroy the rest. We ought, therefore, in my opinion, to attempt every thing, not only to prevent our falling under their Power, but, if possible, to subject them to ours. Know then, that, being assembled in so great Numbers, you have the fairest of all Opportunities; for all the Soldiers fix their Eyes on you: if they see you disheartened, their Courage will forsake them; but, if you appear resolute yourselves, and exhort them to do their Duty, be assured, they will follow you,

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and

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and endeavour to imitate your Example. It seems also reasonable that you should excel them in some degree, for you are their Generals, their Leaders, and their Captains: and, as in time of Peace you have the Advantage of them both in Riches and Honours, ^m so now in time of War, you ought to challenge the Pre-eminence in Courage, in Counsel, and, if necessary, in Labour. In the first place then, it is my Opinion, that you will do great service to the Army, if you take care that Generals and Captains are immediately chosen in the room of those who are slain: Since, without Chiefs, nothing either great or profitable can indeed be achieved upon any occasion, but least of all in War.

^m Καὶ ἴν τόνον, ἐπὶ πόλεμος ἴεν, ἀξίον δὲ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀμείνους τε τὸ πλῆθος ἵναί, καὶ προβαλεῖν τῶτων, καὶ προπονή, ἢ πῶ δὲη. D' Ablancourt has left out every Tittle of this fine Period, the reason he gives for it in his own Words, is, *parce qu'elle est déjà exprimée*: I am afraid the Reader will not think that Reason to have much weight. The Attick Writers, when they speak of their own Affairs, always use the word *προβάλουμα*, for an Act passed by the Senate, before it was sent down to the People; for the same reason the Greek Writers of the Roman History call a *Senatus consultum προβάουμα*, and this Sense seems to agree better with *διαφέρειν* and *ἐπιλομεκτιῖτε*, which our Author applies to the Generals a few Lines above, and which seem very naturally to introduce *ἀμείνους ἵναί, προβαλίωι, and προπονή*: The Latin Translators have given it another Sense; *Leunclavius* has said *horum causã Consilia suscipienda*, and *Hutchinson pro iis Consilia capere*; the Decision therefore is left to the Reader.

War. For, as Discipline preserves Armies, so the want of it has already been fatal to many. After you have appointed as many Commanders, as are necessary, I should think it highly seasonable for you to assemble and encourage the rest of the Soldiers; for no doubt you must have observed, as well as I, how dejectedly they came to their Quarters, and how heavily they went upon Guard: So that, while they are in this Disposition, I don't know what Service can, either by Night or Day, be expected from them. They have at present nothing before their Eyes, but Sufferings, if any one could turn their Thoughts to Action, it would greatly encourage them. For you know, that, neither Numbers nor Strength give the Victory: but that side which, with the Assistance of the Gods, attacks with the greatest Resolution, is generally irresistible. I have taken notice also, that those Men who in War seek to preserve their Lives at any rate commonly die with Shame and Ignominy; while those who look upon Death as common to all, and unavoidable, and are only solicitous to die with honour, oftener arrive at old Age, and while they live, live happier. As therefore we are sensible of these things, it behoves us at this

BOOK critical juncture, both to act with Courage
 III. ourselves, and to exhort the rest to do the
 same."

AFTER him Cbeirisophus said: "Before this time, O Xenophon! I knew no more of you than that you were an Athenian: but now I commend both your Words and Actions, and wish we had many in the Army like you; for it would be a general good. And now, Gentlemen! let us lose no time: those of you, who want Commanders, depart immediately and chuse them; and when that is done, come into the middle of the Camp, and bring them with you: after that, we will call the rest of the Soldiers hither: and let Tolmides the Cryer, attend." Saying this, he rose up, that what was necessary, might be transacted without delay. After this Timasion a Dardanian was chosen General in the room of Clearchus, Xanthicles an Achaian in the room of Socrates, Cleanor an Orchomenian in the room of Agias an Arcadian, Philysius an Achaian in the room of Menon, and Xenophon an Athenian in that of Proxenus. —

As soon as the Election was over, it being now near break of Day, the Officers

cers advanced to the middle of the Camp, and resolved first to appoint Out-guards, and then to call the Soldiers together. When they were all assembled, *Cbeiriso-phus*, the *Lacedæmonian* first got up, and spoke as follows: “Soldiers! we are at present under great Difficulties, being deprived of such Generals, Captains, and Soldiers: Besides, the Forces of *Arizæus*, who were before our Auxiliaries, have betrayed us. However, we ought to emerge out of our present Circumstances, like brave Men, and not be cast down, but endeavour to redeem ourselves by a glorious Victory. If that is impossible, let us die with honour, and never fall alive under the power of the Enemy: for, in that case, we should suffer such things, as I hope the Gods keep in store for them.”

AFTER him *Cleanor* of *Orchomenus* rose up and said, “You see, O Soldiers! the Perjury and Impiety of the King, as well as the Perfidy of *Tissaphernes*, who amused us by saying that he lived in the Neighbourhood of Greece, and should, of all things, be most desirous to carry us in safety thither: It was He that gave us his Oath to perform this; He that pledged his Faith; He that betrayed-

BOOK III. *trayed us, and caused our Generals to be apprehended: And this he did in defiance even of " Jupiter the Avenger of violated Hospitality; for, having entertained Clearchus at his Table, by these Arts he first deceived, and then destroyed our Generals. Ariæus also, whom we offered to place upon the Throne, with whom we were engaged by a mutual Exchange of Faith not to betray one another; this Man, I say, without either Fear of the Gods, or Respect for the Memory of Cyrus, though, of all others the most esteemed by him when alive, now revolts to his greatest Enemies; and endeavours to distress us, who were his Friends. But of these may the Gods take Vengeance! It behoves us, who have these things before our Eyes, not only to take care that these Men do not again betray us, but also to fight with all possible Bravery, and submit to what the Gods shall determine."*——

THEN Xenophon rose up, dressed for the War in the most gorgeous Armour he could provide, for he thought, if the Gods granted him Victory, these Ornaments would become a Conqueror, and
if

† Διά ξένον. See note ⁿ, page 11.

if he were to die, they would decorate **BOOK**
 his Fall. He began in the following **III.**
 manner: "*Cleanor has laid before you the*
Perjury and Treachery of the Barbarians:
which, to be sure, you yourselves are no Stran-
gers to. If therefore we have any Thoughts
of trying their Friendship again, we must be
under great Concern, when we consider what
our Generals have suffered, who by trusting
to their Faith, put themselves in their power.
But, if we propose to take Revenge of them
with our Swords for what they have done,
and persecute them for the future with War
in every shape; we have, with the Assistance
of the Gods, many fair Prospects of Safety."
 While he was speaking, one of the Com-
 pany sneezed, upon this the Soldiers all
 at once adored the God. Then *Xenophon*
 said, "*Since, O Soldiers! while we were*
speaking of Safety, Jupiter the Preserver,
sent us an ° Omen, I think we ought to make

a

• Οἰωνός τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι. Οἰωνός is here taken for
 the Omen itself; in which Sense we find it in that noble
 Sentiment of *Heztor* to *Polydamas*.

Εἰς οἰωνός ἀγρίῳ ἀμύνησθαι ὡς ἐπὶ κέρει.

Homer

Il. μ.

This Superstition of looking upon sneezing as ominous,
 is very ancient, and to be met with in many *Greek*
 Authors; possibly it may have given rise to the modern **Anthol.**
 Custom of saying *God bless you!* upon that occasion. 2 B. 12 c.

a

BOOK
III,
a Vow to offer Sacrifice to this God, in
Thanksgiving for our Preservation, in that
Place where we first reach the Territories
of our Friends; and also to the rest of the
Gods, in the best manner we are able. Who-
ever, then is of this Opinion, let him hold
up his Hand." and they all held up their
Hands; then made their Vows, and
sung the *Pæan*. After they had per-
formed their Duty to the Gods, he
went on thus :

" I was saying that we had many fair
Prospects of Safety. In the first place we
have observed the Oaths, to which we called
the Gods to witness, while our Enemies
have been guilty of Perjury, and have violat-
ed both their Oaths and the Peace. This
being so, we have reason to expect the Gods
will declare against them, and combat on our
side; and They have it in their power, when
they think fit, soon to humble the High, and,
with ease, to exalt the Low, though in
distress. Upon this occasion, I shall put you
in mind of the Dangers our Ancestors were
involved in, in order to convince you that it
behoves you to be brave, and that those who
are

are so, are preserved by the Gods amidst the greatest Calamities: ^p for, when the Persians, and their Allies, came with a vast Army to destroy Athens, the Athenians, by daring to oppose them, overcame them; and having made a Vow to Diana to sacrifice as many Goats to her as they killed of the Enemy, when they could not find enough, they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every Year; and even to this Day they offer Sacrifice in Thanksgiving for that Victory. ^q Afterwards when Xerxes

BOOK
III.

in-

^p ΕΛΘόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν. This was the first Expedition of the Persians against the Greeks, when under the Herodot. Command of Datis and Artabernes, they invaded their in Erato. Country, and were defeated by Miltiades at the Battle of *Ib. in Maratton*. This Invasion seems to have been occasioned Thalia. by the twenty Ships which the Athenians sent to *Miltus*, under the Command of *Melantbius*, at the Instigation of *Aristagoras*, to assist the Ionians against the Persians; this, *Ib. in* and their peremptory Refusal to receive *Hippias*, their Erato. Tyrant, who had fled to *Persia* for Refuge, provoked *Plutarch* *Darius Hystaspes* to send a powerful Fleet to invade *Athens*, in *Camil-* the Success of which has been mentioned. In this De- lus. feat the Persians lost six thousand four hundred Men, and the Athenians with their Allies, the *Plataeans*, only one hundred and ninety-two: but on the Persian side fell *Arundel* *Hippias*, and lost that Life in the Field, which had been *Marble* long due to the Sword of Justice. This Battle was *Ep. 62.* fought on the sixth Day of the *Attick* Month *Boëdromion*, *Severus* (with us, *September*) the third Month from the Summer *Sulpicius,* Solstice, and the third Year of the seventy-second Olym- *2 B. Holy* piad, *Phenippus* being Archon, and four Years before the *History.* Death of *Darius*. *1 hucyd.*
1 B.

^q Επειτα ὄτε ἐπέζη. This is the second Expedition of the Persians against the Greeks, in which *Xerxes* himself commanded: The Year in which this was undertaken, Vol. I. B b was

BOOK invaded Greece, with an innumerable Army,
 III. then it was that our Ancestors overcame the
 Ancestors of these very Men, both by Sea and
 Land; of which the Trophies, that were
 erected upon that occasion, are lasting Monu-
 ments still to be seen. But of all Monuments
 the most considerable is the Liberty of these
 Cities, in which you have received your
 Birth and Education: for you pay Adora-
 tion to no other Master but the Gods. From
 such Ancestors are you descended: neither can
 I say that you are a dishonour to them, since,
 with-

was the tenth from that, in which the Battle of *Marathon* was fought. *Xenophon* had reason to call this Army innumerable, since *Herodotus* makes it amount to about three Millions; which Number is expressed in the Epitaph that was inscribed on the Monument erected at *Thermopylae*, in honour of those *Greeks* who died there in the Service of their Country. This Inscription says, that in that Place four thousand *Peloponnesians* engaged three Millions of the Enemy; the Words are these,

Μυριάσι ποτὲ τῶδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
 Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

Diodorus Sicul. 2 B. This seems very authentick, though I am sensible that *Diodorus Siculus* has *διηκοσίαις* instead of *τριηκοσίαις*; *Herodot.* However, an Army of two Millions of Men, will, I *in* *Uriana*. am afraid, scarce gain that general Credit, which possibly it may deserve. The Victories here hinted at *Ib. in Cal-* by *Xenophon*, which the *Athenians*, with their Allies, *kiop.* gained over the *Persians*, by Sea and Land, were *Plutarch* *Ar-* gained over the *Persians*, by Sea and Land, were *lus*, and of *stemisum* and *Salamine*, *Plataea* and *Mycalæ*, the two *the Glory* last being gained the same Day, that is, the third of *of the A-* the *Attick* Month *Boëdromion*, *September*, a Day, it *thenians.* seems, auspicious to the Cause of Liberty, the first *Herodot.* in *Baotia*, and the last at *Mycalæ*, a Promontory of *in Calliop.* *Ionia*.

within these few Days, you engaged the BOOK
III.
*Descendants of those Men, many times supe-
 rior to you in number, and, with the Assis-
 tance of the Gods, defeated them. Then you
 fought to place Cyrus on the Throne, and in
 his Cause fought bravely: Now your own
 Safety is at stake, you ought certainly to shew
 more Courage and Alacrity. You have also
 reason now to entertain a greater Confidence
 in your own Strength than before; for though
 you were then unacquainted with the Enemy,
 and saw them before you in vast numbers,
 however you dared to attack them with the
 Spirit of your Ancestors: whereas now you
 have had Experience of them, and are sen-
 sible that, though they exceed you many times
 in number, they dare not stand before you,
 why should you any longer fear them? Nei-
 ther ought you to look upon it as a Disad-
 vantage, that the Barbarians belonging to
 Cyrus, who, before fought on your side,
 have now forsaken you; for they are yet
 worse Soldiers than those we have already
 over-*

Ἄρισταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἰσχύοις—ινικᾶται. This
 is ridiculously translated by *d'Ablancourt*, *vous avez vaincu
 les Descendants de Xerxes en Bataille rangée*. Xerxes must
 indeed have had a numerous Posterity, if the whole Army
 of *Artaxerxes* were his Descendants; but *οἱ ἐκείνων ἰσχυοῖς*
 visibly signifies the Descendants of those *Persians* who
 were defeated under *Xerxes*.

BOOK overcome. They have left us therefore, and
 III. are fled to them: and it is our Advantage
 that those who are the first to fly, should be
 found in the Enemy's Army rather than in
 our own. If any of you are disheartened be-
 cause we have no Horse, in which the Enemy
 abound, let them consider that ten thousand
 Horse are no more than ten thousand Men;
 for no one was ever killed in an Action by
 the Bite or Kick of a Horse. The Men do
 every thing that is done in Battle. But
 further, we are steadier upon the Ground
 than they on Horseback; for they, hanging
 upon their Horses are not only afraid of us,
 but also of falling; while we standing firmly
 upon the Ground, strike those who approach
 us, with greater Force, and a surer Aim.
 The Horse have but one Advantage over us,
 they can fly with greater Security. But if
 you are confident of your Strength in Battle,
 yet look upon it as a Grievance that Tiffa-
 phernes will no longer conduct us, or the
 King supply us with a Market; consider
 which is the most advantageous to have Tif-
 faphernes for our Conductor, who, 'tis plain
 has betrayed us, or such Guides as we shall
 make choice of, who will be sensible that, if
 they mislead us, they must answer it with
 their

their Lives. Consider also whether it is **BOOK**
better for us to purchase, in the Markets they **III.**
provide, small Measures for great Sums of
Money, which we are no longer able to fur-
nish, or, if we conquer, to make use of no
other Measure but our Will. If you are
convinced that these things are best in the
way they are in, but think the Rivers are
not to be repassed, and that you have been
greatly deluded in passing them, consider with
yourself, whether the Barbarians have not
taken very wrong Measures even in this; for
all Rivers, though at a distance from their
Springs, they may be impassable, yet if you go
to their Sources, you will find them so easily
fordable, as not even to wet your Knees.
But, if the Rivers refuse us Passage, and no
Guide appears to conduct us, even in that case
we ought not to be disheartened; for we know
that the Mysians, who are certainly not
braver Men than ourselves, inhabit many
large and rich Cities in the King's Terri-
tories against his Will. The Pisidians, we
also know, do the same. We have ourselves
seen the Lycaonians, who, after they had
made themselves Masters of the strong Places
that command the Plains, enjoy the Product
of the Country, And I should think we ought
not

BOOK III. not yet to betray a desire of returning home ;
 III. but prepare every thing as if we proposed to
 settle here : for I am well assured that the
 King would grant many Guides to the My-
 sians, and give them many Hostages, as a
 Security, to conduct them out of his Terri-
 tories without fraud ; he would even level
 the Roads for them, if they insisted upon being
 sent away in Chariots. And I am convinced
 he would, with great Alacrity, do the same
 for us, if he saw us disposed to stay here :
 But I am afraid, if once we learn to live in
 Idleness, and Plenty, and converse with the
 fair and stately Wives and Daughters of the
 Medes and Persians, we shall, like the Lo-
 to-

^o Ὄσπις οἱ λωτοφάγοι. This Tradition seems derived
 from *Homer*, who says that those who eat of the Lotus
 never think of returning home,

Homer
 Odyss. I.

Τῶν δ' ὄσπις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδία καρπὸν,
 οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγίλλαι πάλιν ἤθειναι, εἰδὲ τίσθαι.

Eusebius in his Explication of this Passage quotes many
 Authors, but, I think, none whose Account of the Lotus
 seems so satisfactory as that of *Herodotus*, who says that
 when the Nile overflows the Country, there grow in the
 Water great Quantities of Lilies, which the Egyptians
 call Lotus's ; these, he says, they dry in the Sun, and of
 the Heads of them, which are like the Heads of Poppies,
 they make Bread ; the Root of it, he says, is also eatable
 and sweet ; he adds, that it is round, and about the Size
 of an Apple. But there is another kind of Lotus, describ-
 ed by *Theophrastus*, and, after him, by *Pliny*. This is a
 Tree of the Size of a Pear-Tree, or something less, *εὐκλύθης*,
 13B.c.32, ἰλιχὸν ἄπιθον, ἢ μικρὸν ἰλασίον, magnitudo quæ Piro, says
Pliny ;

Theoph.

4 B. c. 3.

Pl. N. H.

13B.c.32,

ἰλιχὸν ἄπιθον, ἢ μικρὸν ἰλασίον, magnitudo quæ Piro, says
Pliny ;

tophagi, forget to return home. It seems therefore to me both just and reasonable that
 we

BOOK
 III.

Pliny; the Leaves are jagged, like those of the Ilex, φύλλον δι' ἰντομάς ἔχον, καὶ περιωδές, thus translated by Pliny, incisuræ folio crebriores, quæ llicis videntur. Theophrastus, and his Translator Pliny, thus pursue the Description; the Wood is black, τὸ μὲν ξύλον, μέλαν, ligno color niger. There are different Kinds of this Plant distinguished by the difference of their Fruit, γίνη δὲ αὐτοῦ πλείω διαφορὰς ἔχοντα τοῖς καρποῖς, differentiæ plures æque maxime fructibus sunt. The Fruit is like a Bean, and changes its Colour, as it ripens, like Grapes: The Fruit of this Lotus grows opposite to one another, like Myrtle-Berries, and thick upon the Boughs; ὁ δὲ καρπὸς ἡλίκευ κναιμῶν περιπίπτει, δι, ὡςπερ οἱ βότρυες, μεταβάλλον τὰς χροιάς. Φύεται δὲ καθάπερ τὰ μύρτα παραάλληλα· πυκνὸς ἐστὶ τῶν βλαστῶν. Magnitudo huic Fabæ, color ante maturitatem alius atque alius, sicut in uvis; nascitur densus in ramis myrti modo: Theophrastus adds that the Fruit is sweet, pleasant to the Taste, and without any ill Quality; on the contrary, that it helps Digestion: The most delicious are those that have no Stone, which one of the Kinds has not; he says the Inhabitants also make Wine of them, γλυκὸς ἡδύς· καὶ ἀσυνῆς· καὶ ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν κοιλίαν ἀγαθόν· ἡδίων δὲ ὁ ἀπύρητος· ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι. ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἐξ αὐτῶ. Tam dulci ibi Cibo, ut nomen etiam genti terræque dederit, nimis hospitali advenarum olivione Patriæ. Ferunt ventris non sentire morbum, qui eum mandant. Melior sine interiore Nucleo, qui in altero genere offeus videtur; vinum quoque exprimitur illi. I have been so particular in translating the Description of this Plant, because I have never yet met with an Account of it in any modern Writer, that agreed with this given by Theophrastus; and, what is more extraordinary, Monsieur Maillet, who was many Years Consul at Cairo, says he never saw any Plant in that Country, that had any Resemblance to the Lotus of the Ancients; I have read the Description of the Lotus given by the polite and learned Author of the Spectacle de la Nature, which agrees, no doubt, very well with the Nelumbo of the East-Indies, but, I believe, he will own, that it does not, in all respects, answer this Description of Theophrastus. But there seems to be a third kind of Lotus, upon which

Maillet,
 ninth Letter.

BOOK *we first endeavour to return to Greece, and*
III. *to our Families, and let our Countrymen see*
that they live in voluntary Poverty, since it
is in their power to bring their Poor hither,
and enrich them; for all these Advantages,
Gentlemen! are the Rewards of Victory.
The next thing, I shall mention to you, is in
what manner we may march with the greatest
Security, and, if necessary, fight with the
greatest Advantage. In the first place, con-
tinued he, I think we ought to burn all the
Carriages, that the Care of them may not in-
fluence our march, but that we may be directed
in it by the Advantage of the Army. After
that, we ought to burn our Tents also; for
they are troublesome to carry, and of no use
either in fighting, or in supplying ourselves
with Provisions. Let us also rid ourselves
of all superfluous Baggage, and reserve only
those

the Horses belonging to the Companions of Achilles fed during his Inaction,

Homer
II. B.

— Ἰσπτοὶ δὲ παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστῳ
 Λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι, ἰλιόθρεπτόν τε σίλινον
 Ἔρασαν.

This is thought to be a kind of Trefoil, and this, I imagine, was the Lotus that, together with Saffron and Hyacinths, formed the Couch of Jupiter and Juno upon a very amiable Occasion,

II. H.

Ταῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθῶν Δία Φύει νεοθηλία ποίην,
 Λωτὸν θ' ἐρασόντα, ἰδὶ κρόκον, ἠδ' ὑάκινθος
 Ποκίον κ' μαλακόν.

those things, that are of use in War, or for our Meat and Drink; to the end as many of us, as possible, may march in their Ranks, and as few be employed in carrying the Baggage; for the Conquered, you know, have nothing they can call their own; and, if we conquer, we ought to look upon the Enemy as Servants to be employed in carrying our Baggage. It now remains that I speak to that which is, in my opinion, of the greatest Consequence. You see that even the Enemy did not dare to declare War against us, 'till they had seized our Generals, for they were sensible, that, while we had Commanders, and yielded Obedience to them, we were able to conquer them: but, having seized our Commanders, they concluded that we should from a want of Command and Discipline, be destroyed. It is necessary therefore that our present Generals should be more careful than the former, and the Soldiers more observant, and more obedient to Them than to their Predecessors; and, if you make an Order, that whoever of you happens to be present, shall assist the Commander in chastising those who are guilty of Disobedience, it will be the most effectual means to frustrate the Designs of the Enemy; for, from this Day, instead of one Clearchus,

VOL. I.

C c

they

BOOK III. *they will find a thousand, who will suffer no Man to neglect his Duty. But it is now Time to make an End, for it is probable the Enemy will presently appear; and, if you approve of any thing I have said, ratify it immediately, that you may put it in Execution. But, if any other Person thinks of any thing more proper, though a private Man, let him propose it; for our Preservation is a general Concern.* —

AFTER that, Cbeirifophus said, “If it is necessary to add any thing to what Xenophon has laid before us, it may be done by and by: At present I think we ought to ratify what he has proposed, and whoever is of that opinion, let him bold up his Hand:” and they all held up their Hands. Then Xenophon, rising up again, said, “Hear then, O Soldiers! what, in my opinion, we are to expect. It is evident that we must go to some place where we may get Provisions. I am informed there are many fair Villages
not

^c Μυρίας ἑξήκονταί. Μυρία πολλά, καὶ ἀναριθητὰ μυρία δὲ, ὁ ἀριθμὸς. Suidas. Sexcenti is used in the same manner in Latin, to signify an indefinite Number; I have translated μυρίας a thousand, because I think our Language makes use of this Number in that Sense: In French cent has the same effect, for which reason I was surprized d'Abzacourt did not say ils en verront renâitre cent, rather than dix mille.

not above twenty Stadia from hence : I should BOOK
III.
not therefore be surprized if the Enemy, like cowardly Dogs that follow, and, if they can, bite those who pass by, but fly from those who pursue them, should also follow us when we begin to move. Possibly therefore we shall march with greater Safety, if we dispose the heavy-armed Men in an hollow Square, to the end the Baggage, and the great number of those who belong to it, may be in greater Security. If then we now appoint the proper Persons to command the Front, each of the Flanks, and the Rear, we shall not have to consider of this, when the Enemy appears ; but shall presently be ready to execute what we have resolved. If any other Person has any thing better to propose, let it be otherwise : If not, let Cheirisophus command the Front, ^u since he is a Lacedæmonian ; let two of the oldest Generals command the Flanks ; and Timasion and myself, who are the youngest, will, for the present, take charge of the Rear. Afterwards, when we have had Experience of this Disposition, we may consider what is best to be done, as occasion offers. If any one thinks of any thing better, let

^u Ἐπειδὴ ἐστὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστίν. The reason why Xenophon does this Honour to the Lacedæmonians, will appear in the Introduction.

BOOK III. *let him mention it.*" But no body opposing what he offered, he said, "*Let those who are of this Opinion, hold up their Hands:*" so this was resolved. "Now, says he, *you are to depart, and execute what is determined: And whoever among you desires to return to his Family, let him remember to fight bravely, (for this is the only means to effect it:) Whoever has a mind to live, let him endeavour to conquer; for the part of the Conqueror is to inflict Death, that of the Conquered to receive it. And if any among you covet Riches, let him endeavour to overcome: for the Victorious not only preserve their own Possessions, but acquire those of the Enemy.*"

AFTER he had said this, they all rose up, and departing, burnt their Carriages, and Tents; as for the superfluous part of their Baggage, they gave that to one another where it was wanted, and cast the rest into the Fire, and then went to Dinner. While they were at Dinner, *Mitbridates* advanced with about thirty Horse, and, desiring the Generals might come within hearing, he said, "O Greeks! *I was faithful to Cyrus, as you yourselves know,*

*know, and now wish well to you; and do assure you that while I remain here, I am under great Apprehensions. So that if I saw you taking salutary Resolutions, I would come over to you and bring all my People with me. Inform me therefore of what you resolve, for I am your Friend and Wellwisher, and desire to join you in * your march.*" After the Generals had consulted together, they thought proper to return this Answer, *Cbeirisophus* speaking in the Name of the rest. " *We resolve, says he, if we are suffered to return home, to march through the Country with as little damage to it as possible; but, if any one opposes our march, to fight our way through in the best manner we are able.*" *Mithridates* upon this endeavoured to shew how impossible it was for them to return in safety, without the King's Consent. This rendered him suspected, besides, one belonging to *Tissaphernes* was in his Company, as a Spy upon him. From this time forward the Generals determined, that they would admit of no further Treaty while they continued in the Enemy's Country: for, by coming in this manner, they not only debauched the

* Τὸν εὐλογεῖ. See note ^u, page 15.

BOOK the Soldiers, but *Nicharobus*, an *Arcadian*,
 III. one of the Captains, who deserted to them
 that Night, with about twenty Men.

As soon as the Soldiers had dined, the Army passed the River *Zabatus*, and marched in Order of Battle, with the Baggage, and those who attended it, in the middle: They had not gone far, before *Mitbridates*, appeared again with about two hundred Horse, and four hundred Archers and Slingers very light, and fit for Expedition. He advanced as a Friend; but, when he came near, immediately both the Horse and Foot discharged their Arrows; the Slingers also made use of their Slings, and wounded some of our Men, so that the Rear of the *Greeks* received great Damage, without being able to return it: For the Bows of the *Cretans* did not carry so far as those of the *Persians*: The former also, being lightly armed, had sheltered themselves in the middle of the heavy-armed Men, neither could our Darters reach their Slingers. *Xenophon* seeing this, resolved to pursue the Enemy, and the heavy-armed Men and Targeteers, who
 were

were with him in the Rear, followed the Pursuit. But they could come up with none of them; for the *Greeks* had no Horse, and their Foot could not in so short a Space overtake those of the Enemy, who had so much the Start of them. Neither durst they in the Pursuit separate themselves too far from the rest of the Army; for the *Barbarian* Horse wounded them even as they fled, shooting backward from their Horses: And, as far as the *Greeks* were advanced in the Pursuit, so far were they obliged to retreat fighting. Insomuch that they could not march above five and twenty Stadia all that Day; however, in the Evening, they arrived in the Villages. Here the Troops were again disheartened; and *Cheirisophus* with the oldest Generals blamed *Xenophon* for leaving the main Body to pursue the Enemy, and exposing himself without any possibility of hurting them.

XENOPHON hearing this, said they had reason to blame him, and that they were justified by the Event. "But, says he, I was under a Necessity of pursuing

BOOK
III.

BOOK III. } suing the Enemy, since I saw our Men suffer great Damage by standing still, without being able to return it: but when we were engaged in the Pursuit, continued he, we found what you say to be true: For we were not more able to annoy the Enemy than before, and retreated with great Difficulty. We have reason therefore to thank the Gods that they came upon us only with a small Force and a few Troops, so that, instead of doing us great Damage, they have taught us our Wants. For now the Enemy's Archers and Slingers wound our Men at a greater distance, than either the *Cretans*, or the Darters can reach them; and when we pursue them, we must not separate ourselves far from the main Body; and in a short Space our Foot, though ever so swift, cannot come up with theirs, so as to reach them with their Arrows. If we mean therefore to hinder them from disturbing us in our March, we must immediately provide ourselves with Slingers and Horse. I hear there are *Rhodians* in our Army, the greatest part of whom, they say, understand the Use of the Sling; and that their

their Slings carry twice as far as those of the *Persians*, who throwing ^γ large Stones, cannot offend their Enemy at a great Distance: whereas the *Rhodians*, besides Stones, make use of leaden Balls. If therefore we enquire who have Slings, and pay them for them; and also give Money to those who are willing to make others, granting at the same time some other Immunity to those, who voluntarily list among the Slingers, possibly some will offer themselves, who may be fit for that Service. I see also Horses in the Army, some belonging to me, and some left by *Clearchus*; besides many others that we have taken from the Enemy, which are employed in carrying the Baggage. If therefore we chuse out all the best of these, and accoutre them for the Horse, giving to the Owners ^z sumpter Horses in Exchange, possibly these also may annoy the Enemy in their Flight." These things were resolved upon: and the same Night two hundred Slingers listed themselves. The next Day proper Horses

^γ Χειροπλάθισι τοῖς λίθοις. Literally Stones so large, that every one of them is a handful.

^z Σκίνοφάρα. See note ^c, page 33.

BOOK III. } Horfes and Horsemen were appointed to the number of fifty, and ^a buff Coats and Corsets were provided for them; and the Command of them was given to *Lycius* the Son of *Polystratus*, an *Athenian*.

THAT Day the Army staid in the same Place: and the next they began their March earlier than usual; for they had a ^b Valley formed by a Torrent to pass, and were afraid the Enemy should attack them in their Passage. As soon as they had passed it, *Mitbridates* appeared again with a thousand Horse and four thousand Archers and Slingers; for so many *Tissaphernes* had granted him, at his Desire, and upon his undertaking, with that Number to deliver the *Greeks* into

^a Στολάδες. *Hutchinson* inclines to read *σπολάδες*, which has the Sense I have here given to *κολάδες*, though *Suidas* acknowledges *κολάδες* in the Sense our Author takes it.

^b Χαράδραν. In this Sense *χαράδραι* is taken by *Homer* in that sublime Description of an Inundation, in which the Bishop of *Thessalonica* thinks he had the universal Deluge in his Eye.

Homer
Il. π.

Τῶν δὲ τε πάντες μὲν ποταμοὶ πλῆθυσι ῥέοντες,
Πολλὰς δὲ κλιτύς τὸτ' ἀποτμήγῃσι χαράδραι,

Where *χαράδραι* is thus explained by the *Greek Scholiast*, Οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χιμαῤῥῶν ἐκρησόμενοι ἀλῶνες· παρὰ τὸ χαράσσειν, ἢ τραχύνει τὴν γῆν· οἱ κοῖλοι τόποι ἢ χιμαῤῥῶν, so that *χαράδραι* is a Valley formed by a Torrent.

into his Power: for having, in the last BOOK
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Action, with a small Force, done them
(as he imagined) great Damage, without
receiving any, he had a Contempt for
them. When the *Greeks* were advanced
about eight Stadia beyond the Valley,
Mithridates also passed it with the Forces
under his Command. The *Greek* Generals
had given Orders to a certain Number
both of the Targeteers and heavy-armed
Men to follow the Chace, and also to the
Horse to pursue them boldly, with Assu-
rance that a sufficient Force should fol-
low to sustain them. When therefore
Mithridates overtook them, and was now
within Reach of their Slings and Arrows,
the Trumpet sounded, and those of the
Greeks, who had Orders, immediately at-
tacked the Enemy, the Horse charging at
the same time. However, the *Persians*
did not stand to receive them, but fled to
the Valley. In this Pursuit, the *Barba-*
rians lost many of their Foot, and about
eighteen of their Horse were taken Prison-
ers in the Valley. The *Greeks*, of their
own accord, mangled the Bodies of those
that were slain, to create the greater
Horror in the Enemy.

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AFTER this Defeat, the *Persians* retired, and the *Greeks*, marching the rest of the Day without Disturbance, came to the River *Tigris*, where stood a large uninhabited City, called *Larissa*, anciently inhabited by the *Medes*, the Walls of which were twenty-five Feet in Breadth, one hundred in Height, and two Parasangas in Circuit; all built with Bricks, except the *Plinth* which was of Stone, and twenty Feet high. This City, when besieged by the King of *Persia*, at the Time the *Persians* were wresting the Empire from the *Medes*, he could not make himself Master of it by any means; when
it

^c Λαρίσσα. It is very judiciously remark'd by the great *Bochart*, that it is improbable there should be any such Name of a Town in this Part of the World as *Larissa*, because it is a *Greek* Name; and though there were several Cities so called, they were all *Greek*: And as no *Greeks* settled in these Parts, 'till the Time of *Alexander's* Conquests, which did not happen 'till many Years after *Xenophon's* Death, so he concludes they could meet with no such Name so far from *Greece* as beyond the River *Tigris*. He therefore conjectures, that this City is the *Resen*, mentioned by *Moses*, Gen. x. 12. where he says, *Ashur* built *Resen* between *Nineveh* and *Calah*: the same is a great City. This agrees exactly with what *Xenophon* says of it; who calls it *ὄλις μεγάλη*, and affirms the Walls of it to be in Circumference two Parasangas. *Bochart* therefore supposes, that when the *Greeks* asked the People of the Country, what City are these the Ruins of? They answered *Ῥεσέν* *Laresen*, that is, of *Resen*. It is easy to imagine how this Word might be softened by a *Greek* Termination, and made *Larissa*.

Thaleg.
B. 4. c. 23.

it happened that 'the Sun, obscured by a Cloud, disappeared, and the Darknefs continued 'till, the Inhabitants being seized with Confternation, the Town was taken. Clofe to the City flood a *Pyramid

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^d Ηλιος δι' νεφέλη προκαλύψασα, &c. This Passage, I find, admits of different Readings, however, I prefer that of *Hutchinson*, which is supported by *Stephens* and *Muretus*, but differ both from him and *Leunclavius*, and also from *d' Ablancourt*, in translating it. They all make ἡφάνισε to relate to the Town, which, I think, is neither so agreeable to the Sense, nor to the Genius of the *Greek* Language; since ἡλιος being the accusative Case, governed by προκαλύψασα, I think ἡφάνισε ought to relate to the same; which every body knows is very common in *Greek*, and not to another thing, which has not been mentioned in this Sentence.

^e Πυραμῖς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρεος ἐνὸς πλῆθους, τὸ δὲ ὕψους πλῆθους. These are very extraordinary Dimensions for a Pyramid, and very different from those of the *Egyptian* Pyramids: so that we find the *Egyptian* and *Asiatick* Taste disagreed very much in this Respect. For, though there is some Diversity in the Accounts given by the ancient Authors, of the Dimensions of the *Egyptian* Pyramids, yet they all make them very different in their Proportions from this described by *Xenophon*. *Herodotus* makes the great Pyramid at *Memphis* 800 *Greek* Feet Square, and as many in Height, τῆς ἐς παντακῆ μίτρωπος ἑκατον ὀκτώ πλῆθους, ἰσότητος τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψους ἴσον. If the Reader pleases to turn to note ^x, page 15, of the first Book, he will find that the *Greek* Foot exceeded ours by .0875 Decimals of an Inch. *Diodorus Siculus* says the great Pyramid was four-square, and that each Side of the Base was 700 Feet, and the Height above 600. *μεγίστην, τετραπέλευρον ὄσα τῷ σχήματι, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως πλεονάζον ἑκάστη ἔχει πλῆθους ἑπτά, τὸ δ' ὕψους ἔχει πλείω τῶν ἐξ πλῆθους.* There is another Account given of its Dimensions by a modern Author, *Thevenot*, who says the great Pyramid is 520 Feet high, and 682 square. Of these

Herodot. in Euterp.
Diod. Sic. 1 B.
Theven. 2 B. c. 5.
three

BOOK III. mid of Stone one hundred Feet square, and two hundred high, in which a great number of *Barbarians*, who fled from the neighbouring Villages, had conveyed themselves.

THENCE they made, in one day's march, six Parasangas, to a large uninhabited Castle, standing near a Town, called *Mespila*, formerly inhabited also by the *Medes*. The *Plintb* of the Wall was built with polished Stone full of Shells, being fifty Feet in Breadth, and as many in Height. Upon this stood a brick Wall fifty Feet also in Breadth, one hundred in Height; and six Parasangas in Circuit.

three Accounts that of *Diodorus Siculus* seems to give the most rational Proportion of a Pyramid, which, if supposed to be an equilateral Triangle, and the Base to contain 700 Feet, as he says, will, in that Case, have 606 Feet, and a Fraction of $\frac{2177}{1000}$ for its perpendicular Height: for if an equilateral Pyramid, of which the Base contains 700 Feet, be divided into two equal Parts by a Perpendicular let down from the Top, it will make two right-angled Triangles, of which the Hypothenuse will contain 700 Feet, the Square of which will consequently be equal to the Square of the two other Sides: If therefore from 490000 the Square of 700, you deduct 122500 the Square of 350, of which the Base consists, there will remain 367500 for the Square of the Perpendicular, the square Root of which will be 606, with a Fraction of $\frac{2177}{1000}$; so that the perpendicular Height of an equilateral Pyramid, the Base of which is 700 Feet, will be 606 Feet with that Fraction.

Encl. 1 B.
47 Prop.

cuit. Here *Media* the King's Confort, BOOK
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is said to have taken Refuge, when the *Medes* were deprived of the Empire by the *Persians*. When the *Persian* King besieged this City, he could not make himself Master of it either by Length of Time or Force, but *Jupiter* ^f having struck the Inhabitants with a panick Fear, it was taken.

FROM this place they made, in one day's march, four Parasangas. During their March *Tissaphernes* appeared with his own Horse, and the Forces of *Orontas*, who had married the King's Daughter, together with those *Barbarians*, who had served under *Cyrus* in his Expedition; to these was added the Army which the King's Brother had brought to his Assistance, and the Troops the King had given him. All these together made a vast Army. When he approached, he placed some of his Forces against our Rear, and others against each of our Flanks, but durst not attack us, being unwilling to hazard a Battle: however, he ordered his
Men

^f Εμβροτήτης. Εμβρότητῶ· καρδίῳληκτῶ· μαυόμενῶ·
ἔαφρων. *Suidas*.

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Men to use their Slings and Bows. But, when the *Rhodians*, who were disposed in Platoons, began to make Use of their Slings, and the *Cretan* Bowmen, in Imitation of the *Scythians*, discharged their Arrows, none of them missing the Enemy, (which they could not easily have done, though they had endeavoured it) both *Tissaphernes* himself quickly got out of their Reach, and the other Divisions retired. The remaining part of the Day the *Greeks* continued their March, and the others followed, without harassing them any more with Skirmishes; for the Slings of the *Rhodians* not only carried further than those of the *Persians*, but even than most of the Archers could throw their Arrows. The *Persian* Bows are long, so that their Arrows, when gathered up, were of service to the *Cretans*, who continued to make use of them, and accustomed themselves to take a great Elevation, in order to shoot them to a greater distance. Besides, there were found a considerable Quantity of Bowstrings in the Villages, and some Lead, both which were employed for the Slings.

THIS

THIS Day, after the *Greeks* were encamped in the Villages, the *Barbarians*, having suffered in the Skirmish, retired: the next the *Greeks* staid where they were, and made their Provisions: for there was Plenty of Corn in the Villages. The Day after they marched over the open Country, and *Tissaphernes* followed, harassing them at a Distance. Upon this occasion the *Greeks* observed that an equilateral Square was not a proper Disposition for an Army, when pursued by the Enemy; for, whenever the Square has a narrow Road, a Defile between Hills, or a Bridge to pass, the Wings must close, and consequently the heavy-armed Men be forced out of their Ranks, and march uneasily, being both pressed together and disordered; so that of necessity they become useless for want of Order. On the other Side, when the Wings come to be again extended, the Men who before were forced out of their Ranks, must divide, and consequently leave an Opening in the Center; which very much disheartens those who are thus exposed, when the Enemy is at their Heels. Besides, when they have a Bridge, or any other Defile

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to pass, every Man is in a Hurry, wanting to be first. Upon which occasion the Enemy has a fair Opportunity of attacking them. After the Generals had discovered this, they formed six Companies of one hundred Men each, whom they subdivided into others of fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and appointed Officers to all of them. The Captains of these Companies upon a March, when the Wings closed, staid behind, so as not to disorder the Rear; they at that Time marching clear of the Wings. And when the Sides of the Square came to be again extended, ^ε they then

^ε Τὸ μέσον ἀνεξέπιμπλασαν, ἢ μὲν σφοδρότερον εἰς τὸ δίεχον, κατὰ τὰς λόχους· ἢ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ σπληνοκοῦς, ἢ δὲ πᾶν πλατὺ, κατ' ἰσωμοτίας· ὅτι αἱ ἀπληθῶν εἶναι τὸ μέσον. Here a great Difficulty presents itself, which the Translators have either not seen, or if they have seen it, they have not thought fit to take Notice of it. But let us follow *Xenophon* in stating the Inconveniences to which the equilateral Square was subject, with the Remedies proposed by the Generals to cure them. The Inconveniences, it seems, were two, the first that in passing through Defiles, the Wings closed, which put the Men in Disorder. The second, that, after they had passed the Defiles, and the Wings were again extended, the Men were forced to run to the Wings, in order to recover their Ranks, by which means there was a Void in the middle. In order therefore to remedy these Inconveniences, the Generals formed six Companies or Bodies of one hundred Men each, which they subdivided into others of fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and

o

and

then filled up the Center, if the Opening was narrow, with the Companies of one hundred

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and appointed Officers to each of these Bodies. The Captains of these Companies, when the Wings closed, marched clear of them, so as not to put them into any Disorder; by this Means the first Inconvenience was cured, but how was the second to be remedied? If you believe the Text, as it now stands, by filling up the Void, if it was narrow, with the Companies of one hundred Men each, if larger, with those of fifty, and if very large, with those of twenty five; so that the narrower the Interval, the greater was the number of Men to be made use of in filling it up, and the larger, the fewer were to be employed for that Purpose. But this is obviously contrary to common Sense: If therefore the Text be so far altered, as to transpose *κατὰ τὰς λόχους*, and *κατ' ἑνωμοτίας*, every Thing will be natural. This Correction however I have not followed in the Translation, because it is very possible to explain the Text as it now stands, and if so, no Alteration ought to be made in it. It is possible, I say, very possible, that the Meaning of *Xenophon* may be this. Let it be supposed that the Square has passed some Defile, and that the Men running to each of the Wings in order to recover their Ranks, there remains a Void in the Center; in that Case, I say, possibly the Captains of these six Companies, marching in the Rear, filled up the Void, if it was narrow with their six Companies of one hundred Men each, drawn up, for example twenty-five in Front, and twenty-four in Depth; if the Void was larger, with those of fifty Men each drawn up fifty in Front, and twelve in Depth; and if very large, with the Companies of twenty-five Men each, drawn up one hundred in Front, and six in Depth; and by this means, as our Author says, the Center was always full. This Passage seems very well to have deserved the Attention of the Translators, for, if I am not mistaken, this is a very fine Disposition, and very well calculated to cure the two Inconveniences to which a Square was subject, when an Enemy followed. But the Merit of this, and of all other Dispositions practised by our Author in this memorable Retreat, must be submitted to the military Men, who alone are the proper Judges in these

BOOK III. hundred Men each; if larger, with those of fifty; and if very large, with those of five and twenty; so that the Center was always full. If therefore the Army were to pass any Defile or Bridge, there was no Confusion, the Captains of these several Companies bringing up the Rear; and, if a Detachment were wanted upon any Occasion, these were always at hand. In this Disposition they made four Marches.

WHILE they were upon their March the fifth Day, they saw a Palace and many Villages lying round it. The Road, which led to this Place lay over high Hills, that reached down from the Mountain, under which there stood a Village. The *Greeks* were rejoiced to see these

Cases. As to the Signification of *πυρρηγορός*, and *ἐνωμοτία*, they were both military Terms among the *Lacedæmonians*, the first explains itself, and the second is thus explained by *Suidas*. *Ενωμοτία*. τάξις τις στρατιωτικὴ ἀνδρῶν ἑξήκ' ἢ ἑπτά, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἕρεται, διὰ ἐκ τῶ ὁμόνοια αὐτῶς μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν, a Body of Soldiers among the *Lacedæmonians*, consisting of twenty-five Men. It must be observed, that in the first Book, where *Xenophon* mentions two of *Menon's* λόχοι, or Companies to have been cut off, he says they amounted to one hundred Men, whereas these Companies consisted of one hundred Men each; but these seem to have been formed for this particular Purpose.

these Hills, and with great Reason, the Enemy's Forces consisting in Horse. But after they had left the Plain, and ascended the first Hill, while they were descending thence in order to climb the next, the *Barbarians* appeared, and from the Eminence showered down upon them, under ^h the Scourge, Darts, Stones, and Arrows. They wounded many, and had the Advantage over the *Greek* light-armed Men, forcing them to retire within the Body of the heavy-armed; so that the Slingers and Archers were that day entirely useless, being mixed with those who had Charge of the Baggage. And when the *Greeks*, being thus pressed, endeavoured to pursue the Enemy, as they were heavy-armed Men, they moved slowly to the Top of the Mountain, while the Enemy retreated: And when the *Greeks* retired to their ⁱ main Body, the same thing

^h ὑπὸ ματίγων. It was Part of the *Persian* Discipline to make their Soldiers do their Duty, as *Xenophon* says, ὑπὸ ματίγων, under the Scourge. So *Xerxes*, after he had landed in *Europe*, saw his Army passing the *Hellepont* under in Polythe Scourge, ἰθυσίτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ ματίγων διαβαίνοντα; hymnia. *D' Ablancourt* has left it quite out, chusing rather to leave his Readers uninformed of this Custom, than to clog his Translation with so uncommon a Circumstance.

ⁱ Πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατιμα. *Scil. Barbarorum*, says *Hutchinson* in his Notes; *Leunclavius* has also translated it in the

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thing happened to them again. They found the same Difficulty in passing the second Hill; so that they determined not to order out the heavy-armed Men from the third Hill; but, instead of that, brought up the Targeteers to the Top of the Mountain from the Right of the Square. When these were got above the Enemy, they no longer molested our Men in their Descent, fearing to be cut off from their own Body, and that we should attack them on both Sides. In this Manner we marched the rest of the Day, some in the Road upon the Hills, and others abreast of them upon the Mountain, 'till they came to the Villages; when they appointed eight ^k Surgeons, for there were many wounded.

HERE

the same Sense: I am sorry to find myself obliged to differ from them both; but I think it plain that τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα here signifies the main Body of the Greeks, from which these heavy-armed Men were detached to drive the Enemy from the Emirence, which after they had effected, the Enemy attacked them in their Retreat to their main Body. Our Author used the same Expression in the same Sense some pages before, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλο στρατεύματος διώκειν where all the Translators have translated τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα, in the same manner I have rendered it here: Besides, the word ἀπίστων shews clearly that the Thing here spoken of is their Return.

^k ἰατροί. I have said Surgeons instead of Physicians, because both Professions being anciently exercised by the same

HERE they staid three Days, both on **BOOK III.** account of the wounded, and because they found plenty of Provisions, as Wheat-Meal, Wine, and a great quantity of Barley for Horses; all which was laid up for the Satrape of the Country. The fourth Day they descended into the Plain; where, when *Tissaphernes* had overtaken them with the Army under his Command, he taught them how necessary it was to encamp in the first Village they came to, and to march no longer fighting; for some being wounded, some employed in carrying those who were so, and others in carrying the Arms of the latter, great numbers were not in a Condition to fight. But, when they were encamped, and the *Barbarians*, coming up to the Village, offered to skirmish, the *Greeks* had greatly the Advantage of them; for they found a great difference between falling from their Camp to repulse the Enemy, and being obliged to march

same Persons, they were chiefly employed as Surgeons upon this Occasion. There are two Verses in *Homer*, upon *Machaon's* being wounded by *Paris*, which shew both the great Regard that was paid to the Profession, and that Surgery, as I said, was a Branch of it.

Ἰητρός γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιον ἄλλων,
ὡς τ' ἐκτάμνει, ἐπὶ τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσει.

Homer
Il. Δ.

BOOK III. march fighting, whenever they were attacked. When the Evening approached, it was Time for the *Barbarians* to retire; because they never encamped at a less distance from the *Greeks*, than sixty Stadia, for Fear these should fall upon them in the Night. A *Persian* Army being then subject to great Inconveniences; for their Horses are tied, and generally shackled, to prevent them from running away; and, if an Alarm happens, a *Persian* has the ¹ *Housing* to fix, his Horse to bridle, and his Corset to put on, before he can mount. All these Things cannot be done in the Night without great Difficulty, particularly, if there is an Alarm. For this Reason they always encamped at a Distance from the *Greeks*. When these perceived they designed to retire, and that the Word was given, they,

¹ Ἐπιστάλας τὸν ἵππον. I was surprized to find this translated by d' Ablancourt, *selle son Cheval*, which I had rather attributed to his Inadvertence, than to his Ignorance, since he could not but know that the Ancients, instead of Saddles, used a kind of *Housing*, or Horse-cloth, which the *Greeks* called *σπίς*, and the *Latins* *Sagum*. This *Housing* is to be seen upon the Horses represented on *Trajan's* Pillar, and in many other Monuments of Antiquity. The *Romans* called these *Housings* also *strata*, the Invention of which, together with that of Bridles, Pl. N. H. *Pliny* ascribes to *Peletronius*, *franos* & *strata* *Equorum* 7 B. c. 57. *Peletronium*.

they, in the Enemy's hearing, received Orders to make ready to march; whereupon, the *Barbarians* made a Halt; but, when it grew late, they departed; for they did not hold it expedient to march, and arrive at their Camp, in the Night.

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WHEN the *Greeks* plainly saw they were retired, *they* also decamped, and marching away, advanced about sixty Stadia. The two Armies were now at so great a Distance from one another, that the Enemy did not appear, either the next Day, or the Day after. But on the fourth, the *Barbarians*, having got before the *Greeks* in the Night, possessed themselves of an Eminence that commanded the Road, through which the *Greeks* were to pass. It was the Brow of a Hill, under which lay the Descent into the Plain. As soon as *Cheirisophus* saw this Eminence possessed by the Enemy, he sent for *Xenophon* from the Rear, and desired him to bring up the Targeteers to the Front. *Xenophon* did not take these with him, (for he saw *Tissaphernes* advancing with his whole Army) but, riding up to him himself, said, Why do

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F f

you

BOOK III. you send for me? *Cbeirisophus* answered, you see the Enemy have possessed themselves of the Hill that commands the Descent, and unless we dislodge them, it is not possible for us to pass: but, adds he, why did you not bring the Targeteers with you? *Xenophon* replied, because he did not think proper to leave the Rear naked, when the Enemy was in Sight: but, says he, it is high time to consider how we shall dislodge those Men. Here *Xenophon* observing the Top of the Mountain, that was above their own Army, found there was a Passage from that to the Hill, where the Enemy was posted. Upon this he said, “ O *Cheirisophus* ! I think, the best Thing we can do, is to gain the Top of this Mountain, as soon as possible ; for, if we are once Masters of That, the Enemy cannot maintain themselves upon the Hill. Do you stay with the Army, if you think fit, I’ll go up to the Hill, or, do you go, if you desire it, and I’ll stay here.” *Cbeirisophus* answered, I give you your Choice: To this *Xenophon* replied, that, as he was the younger Man, he chose to go ; but desired he would send with him some Troops from the Front, since it would take

take a great Deal of Time to bring up a Detachment from the Rear. So *Cbeirifophus* sent the Targeteers that were in the Front: *Xenophon* also took those that were in the Middle of the Square. Besides these, *Cbeirifophus* ordered the three hundred chosen Men, who attended on himself in the Front of the Square, to follow him.

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AFTER that they marched with all possible Expedition. The Enemy, who were upon the Hill, the Moment they saw them climb the Mountain, advanced at the same time striving to get there before them. Upon this Occasion there was a vast Shout raised both by the Greek Army, and that of *Tissaphernes* each encouraging their own Men. And *Xenophon*, riding by the Side of his Troops, called out to them, "*Soldiers! think you are this Minute contending to return to Greece, this Minute to see your Wives and Children: After this momentary Labour we shall go on without any further Opposition.*" To whom *Soteridas* the *Sicyonian* said, "*We are not upon equal Terms, O Xenophon! for you are on Horseback, while I*

F f 2

am

BOOK III. *am greatly fatigued with carrying my Shield."* Xenophon hearing this, leaped from his Horse, and thrust him out of his Rank; then, taking his Shield, marched on as fast as he could. He happened to have a Horseman's Corset on at that Time, which was very troublesome. However, he called to those who were before to mend their Pace, and to those behind, who followed with great Difficulty, to come up. The rest of the Soldiers beat and abused *Soteridas*, and threw Stones at him, 'till they obliged him to take his Shield, and go on. Then *Xenophon* remounted, and led them on Horseback, as far as the Way would allow; and, when it became impassable for his Horse, he hastened forward on Foot. At last they gained the Top of the Mountain, and prevented the Enemy.

HEREUPON, the *Barbarians* turned their Backs, and fled every one as he could; and the *Greeks* remained Masters of the Eminence. *Tissaphernes* and *Ariæus* with their Men, turning out of the Road, went another way; while *Cbeirisophus* with his Forces came down into the Plain,

Plain, and encamped in a Village abound- BOOK
III.
 ing in every Thing. There were also
 many other Villages in this Plain, near
 the *Tigris*, full of all Sorts of Provisions.
 In the Evening the Enemy appeared on
 a sudden in the Plain, and cut off some
 of the *Greeks*, who were dispersed in
 plundering; for many Herds of Cattle
 were taken, as the People of the Country
 were endeavouring to make them pass
 the River. Here *Tissaphernes* and his
 Army attempted to set Fire to the Vil-
 lages; whereby some of the *Greeks* were
 disheartened, from the Apprehension of
 wanting Provisions if he burned them.
 About this time *Cheirisophus* and his Men
 came back from relieving their Com-
 panions, and *Xenophon*, being come down
 into the Plain, and riding through the
 Ranks, after the *Greeks* were returned,
 said. “ You see, O *Greeks*! the Enemy
 already acknowledge the Country to be ours;
 for, when they made Peace with us, they
 stipulated that we should not burn the Country
 belonging to the King, and now they set Fire
 to it themselves; as if they looked upon it no
 longer as their own. But, wherever they
 leave any Provisions for themselves, thither
 also

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also they shall see us direct our March. But, O Cheirisophus! I think we ought to attack these Burners, as in Defence of our own Country." Cheirisophus answered, I am not of that Opinion. On the contrary, let us also set Fire to it ourselves, and by that Means they will give over the sooner."——

WHEN they came to their Tents, the Soldiers employed themselves in getting Provisions, and the Generals and Captains assembled, and were in great Perplexity: for, on one Side of them were exceeding high Mountains, and on the other, a River so deep, that, when they sounded it with their Pikes, the Ends of them did not even appear above the Water. While they were in this Perplexity, a certain *Rhodian* came to them, and said, "Gentlemen! I'll undertake to carry over ^m four thousand heavy-armed Men at a Time, if you'll supply me with what I want, and give me ⁿ a Talent for my Pains." Being asked what he wanted, "I shall want, says he, two thousand leather Bags.

I

^m Κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους. This is the known Force of the Preposition *κατά*, as might be shewn by many Examples taken from the best Authors.

ⁿ Τάλαντον. See note ^m, page 9.

C^a

I see here great numbers of Sheep, Goats, Oxen and Asses: if these are slayed, and their Skins blown, we may easily pass the River with them. I shall also want the Girts belonging to the sumpter Horses: With these, adds, he, I will fasten the Bags to one another, and hanging Stones to them, let them down into the Water, instead of Anchors, then tie up the Bags at both Ends, and, when they are upon the Water, lay Fascines upon them, and cover them with Earth. I will make you presently sensible, continues he, that you can't sink, for every Bag will bear up two Men, and the Fascines and the Earth will prevent them from slipping."

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THE Generals, hearing this, thought the Invention ingenious, but impossible to be put in Practice; there being great Numbers of Horse on the other Side of the River to oppose their Passage, and these would at once break all their Measures. The next Day the Army turned back again, taking a different Road from that which leads to *Babylon*; and marched to the Villages that were not burned, setting Fire to those they abandoned. In-somuch that the Enemy did not ride up
to

BOOK to them, but looked on, wondering which
 III. Way the *Greeks* meant to take, and what
 their Intention was. Here, while the
 Soldiers were employed in getting Provi-
 sions, the Generals and Captains re-assem-
 bled, and ordering the Prisoners to be
 brought in, °enquired concerning every
 Country that lay round them. The
 Prisoners informed them that there was
 to the South a Road that led to *Babylon*
 and *Media*, through which they came;
 another to the East, leading to *Susa* and
Ecbatana, where the King is said to pass
 the Summer, and the Spring; a third to
 the West over the *Tigris*, to *Lydia* and
Ionia; and that the Road, which lay over
 the Mountains to the North, led to ° the

Car-

• Ηλιγγον. Ελιγγι βασιανου. *Helychius*.

Β Καρδύχης. This People came afterwards to be better
 known under the Name of *Partians*. I should not have
 advanced this upon an Authority of less Weight, than
 that of *Strabo*; Περὶ δὲ τῆς Τίγρις, says he, τὰ τῶν Παρ-
 θυαίων χωρία ἕς δι' ἀλάς Καρδύχης ἔλιγγον. It was the
 Posterity of this very People, with whom we shall find
 the *Greeks* engaged in the next Book, who, under the
 Conduct of their King *Arfaces*, freed their Country from
 the Dominion of the *Seleucides*, and afterwards became a
 Terror even to the *Romans*, who were so to the rest of
 Mankind. They are still called *Curdes* and their Country
Curdistan. *Plutarch* informs us that *Artaxerxes* (the same
 against whom this Expedition was formed) afterwards
 marched into the Country of the *Carduchians*, at the Head
 of

Strabo,
 16 B.

Dion. Caf-
fius, 40 B.

Plutarch
Life of Ar-
taxerxes.

Carduchians. This People, they said, inhabited those Mountains, and that they were a warlike Nation, and not subject to the King; and that once the King's Army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand Men, penetrated into their Country; whence not one of them returned, the Roads being hardly passable. But that whenever there was a Peace subsisting between them, and the Governor residing in the Plain, there was an Inter-course between the two Nations.

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THE Generals, hearing this, kept those Prisoners by themselves from whom they received the Intelligence of each Country, without discovering what Rout they designed to take. However, they found there was a Necessity to pass the Mountains, and penetrate into the Country of the *Carduchians*: for the Prisoners informed them, that, as soon as they had passed through it, they should arrive in *Armenia*, which was a spacious and plentiful

of three hundred thousand Foot and ten thousand Horse; and that his Army had in all probability been destroyed by Famine, had not *Tiribaxus*, by infusing into the Minds of the two Kings of the *Carduchians* a mutual Distrust, induced them to make Peace with the *Persians*.

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G g

BOOK III. } tiful Country, and of which *Orontas* was Governor; whence they might, without difficulty, march which Way soever they pleased. Upon this they offered Sacrifice, to the End, that, when they found it convenient, they might depart, (for they were afraid the Pass over the Mountains might be possessed by the Enemy) and commanded the Soldiers, as soon as they had supped, to get their Baggage ready; then all to go to Rest, and march upon the first Order.

The End of the Third Book.



T H E

THE
EXPEDITION
OF
C Y R U S.

BOOK IV.

WE have hitherto given an Account of what happened in the Expedition of *Cyrus* to the time of the Battle, of what happened after the Battle, during the Truce concluded between the King and the *Greeks* who had served under *Cyrus*, and in what Manner, after the King and *Tissaphernes* had broken the Truce, the *Greeks* were

G g 2

ha-

BOOK harassed, while they were followed by the
IV. *Persian Army.*

WHEN the *Greeks* came to the Place, where the River *Tigris* is, both from its Depth, and Breadth, absolutely impassable, and no Road appeared, the craggy Mountains of the *Carducians* hanging over the River, the Generals resolved to march over those Mountains: For they were informed by the Prisoners, that, after they had passed them, they would have it in their Power to cross the Head of the *Tigris* in *Armenia*, if they thought proper; if not, to go round it.

^a The Source of the *Euphrates* also was said

- Strabo, 11 B. ^a Καὶ τὸ Εὐφράτη τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο ἢ πρόσω τὸ Τίγρητος εἶναι. *Strabo* informs us that the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* both rise out of Mount *Taurus*, the former on the North of it, and the latter on the South, and that the Sources of these Rivers are distant from one another about two thousand five hundred Stadia, διέχουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων αἱ πηγαὶ τὴν τε Εὐφράτην καὶ τὴν Τίγρητος περὶ διαχίλις καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων. I cannot omit, upon this occasion, an Observation of the learned Bishop of *Avranches*, who says that the Name of Mount *Taurus* comes from the general Word *Tor*, which in the *Chaldaic Language*, signifies a Mountain, and is applicable to every Mountain in the World: this he confirms by the Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, who, speaking of the Building of *Tauraminium* in *Sicily*, calls the Mountain *Taurus* upon which it stood, ὄρεος, a Hill. But it must be observed, that the Mountain from whence the *Euphrates* rises, is

said not to be far distant from that of **BOOK**
 the *Tigris*: and indeed the Distance be- **IV.**
 tween these two Rivers is in some places
 but small. To the End therefore that
 the Enemy might not be acquainted with
 their Design of penetrating into the
 Country of the *Carduchians*, and defeat it,
 by possessing themselves of the Emi-
 nences, they executed it in the follow-
 ing Manner. When it was ^b about the
 last

more properly a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, which *Strabo*
 in the same Book calls *Abos*. *Tournefort* who was upon Tourne-
 the Place, says, that the *Euphrates* has two Sources rising fort, 18
 out of that Mountain, which Sources form two beautiful Letter.
 Rivulets, both called by the Name of *Frat*: And that
 these Rivulets make a kind of Peninsula of the Plain, in
 which *Erzeron*, the Capital of *Armenia*, stands, and after-
 wards unite their Streams at a Village, called *Mommaco-*
tum, which, he says, is about three Days Journey from
Erzeron. I shall only add that *Moses*, in his Description Gen. c. ii.
 of Paradise, calls this River פְּרַת *Phrath*, which the ver. 14.
 Septuagint has translated Ευφράτης; though by the way Origines
 it is pretty plain these Letters were not those made use of in a Frag-
 by *Moses*, since the *Jews* used the *Samaritan Letters* 'till ment in
 their Captivity at *Babylon*, and adopted the *Syriac* or Montfau-
Chaldaic at their Return. con.

^b Τελυκείαν φυλακήν. The Author of the *Etymolo-*
gicum thinks that φυλακή comes from φυλή; the Reason his *Pres.to*
 he gives for it is, because the Watches were kept by the Tribes, Kings.
 λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τὰς φυλακὰς αἱ φυλαὶ εἶχον ἄθην λέγεται καὶ Scalig. in
 πρώτη φυλακῇ τῆς νυκτός, καὶ δευτέρα, καὶ τρίτη κατὰ γὰρ his Notes
 τρεῖς ὥρας ἰφύλαττε μία φυλή. From thence, says he, they upon Euf.
 say the first, second, and third Watch, because one tribe watch-
 ed three Hours. The Invention of these Watches, toge-
 con, 2 B.
 ther with that of many other military Institutions, *Pliny* Palæogr.
 ascribes to *Palemedes*, *Ordinem exercitus, signi dationem*, Pl. N. H.
Tesseræ, Vigiliæ invenit Palemedes Trojano Bello. 7 B. c. 56.

BOOK IV. last Watch, and so much of the Night was left, as to allow them to traverse the Plain while it was yet dark, they de-camped, and, marching when the Order was given, came to the Mountain by break of Day. *Cbeirisophus* commanded the Vanguard with his own People, and all the light-armed Men; and *Xenophon* brought up the Rear with the heavy-armed, having none of the light-armed, because there seemed no Danger of the Enemy's attacking their Rear, while they were marching up the Mountain. *Cbeirisophus* gained the Top before he was perceived by the Enemy: then led forward; and the rest of the Army, as fast as they passed the Summit, followed him into the Villages, that lay dispersed in the Valleys and Recesses of the Mountains.

UPON this, the *Carducians* left their Houses, and, with their Wives and Children, fled to the Hills, where they had an Opportunity of supplying themselves with Provisions in Abundance. The Houses were well furnished with all sorts of brass Utensils, which the *Greeks* forbore to plunder; neither did they pursue the
the

the Inhabitants, in Hope, by sparing them, to prevail upon the *Carduchians*, since they were Enemies to the King, to conduct them through their Country in a friendly Manner: But they took all the Provisions they met with; for they were compelled to it by Necessity. However, the *Carduchians* paid no Regard to their Invitations, or shewed any other Symptoms of a friendly Disposition: and, when the Rear of the *Greek* Army was descending from the Top of the Mountains into the Villages, it being now dark, (for as the Way was narrow, they spent the whole Day in the Ascent of the Mountains, and the Descent from thence into the Villages) some of the *Carduchians*, gathering together, attacked the hindmost, and killed and wounded some of them with Stones, and Arrows. They were but few in number; for the *Greek* Army came upon them unawares. Had the Enemy been more numerous at that Time, great Part of the Army had been in Danger. In this Manner they passed the Night in the Villages: the *Carduchians* made Fires all round them upon the Mountains, and both had their Eyes upon one another.

As

BOOK IV. As soon as it was Day, the Generals and the Captains of the *Greeks* assembled, and resolved to reserve only those sumpter Horses upon their March that were necessary and most able, and to leave the rest, and dismiss all the Slaves they had newly taken: for the great number of sumpter Horses and Slaves retarded their March; and many of their Men, by having Charge of these, were unfit for Action. Besides, there being so many Mouths, they were under a Necessity of providing and carrying double the Quantity of Provisions. This being resolved, they gave Orders to have it put in Execution. —

WHILE therefore they were upon their March after Dinner, the Generals placed themselves in a narrow Pass, and, whatever they found reserved by the Soldiers, contrary to Order, they took it away; and the Men submitted, unless any of them happened privately to have retained some Boy, or beautiful Woman he was fond of. In this Manner they marched that Day, sometimes fighting, and sometimes resting themselves. The
next

next Day there was a great Storm, how-
 ever, they were obliged to go on; for
 their Provisions failed them. *Cbeirisophus*
 led the Van, and *Xenophon* brought up
 the Rear. Here, the Ways being narrow,
 the Enemy made a brisk Attack upon
 them, and, coming up close, discharged
 their Arrows, and made use of their
 Slings: So that the *Greeks*, sometimes
 pursuing, and sometimes retreating, were
 obliged to march slowly; and *Xenophon*
 often ordered the Army to halt, when the
 Enemy pressed hard upon them. Upon
 one of these Orders *Cbeirisophus*, who used
 to stand still on the like Occasions, did
 not stop, but marched faster than usual,
 and ordered the Men to follow. By this
 it appeared there was something extraor-
 dinary, but they were not at Leisure to
 send to him to enquire the Cause of this
 Haste: So that the March of those in the
 Rear had the Resemblance more of a
 Flight, than a Retreat. Here fell a brave
 Man, *Cleonimus* a *Lacedæmonian*, who
 was wounded in the Side by an Arrow,
 that made its Way both through his
 Shield and his buff Coat. Here also fell
Basias an *Arcadian*, whose Head was
 VOL. I. H h pierc-

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pierced quite through with an Arrow. When they were arrived at the Place, where they designed to encamp, *Xenophon* immediately went, as he was, to *Cheirisophus*, and blamed him for not stopping, but obliging the Rear to fly and fight at the same Time. “ *Here we have lost two brave and worthy Men, says he, without being able either to bring them off, or to bury them.*” To this *Cheirisophus* answered, “ *Cast your Eyes, upon those Mountains, and observe how unpassable they all are. You see there is but one Road, and that a steep one. It is, you may observe, possessed too by a great Multitude of Men, who stand ready to defend it. For this Reason I marched hastily, without staying for you, that, if possible, I might prevent the Enemy, and make myself Master of the Pass: for our Guides assure us there is no other Road.*” *Xenophon* replied, “ *I have two Prisoners: for, when the Enemy molested us in our March, we placed some Men in Ambush, (which gave us time to breathe) and, having killed some of them, we were also desirous of taking some alive with this View, that we might have Guides who were acquainted with the Country.*”

THE

THE Prisoners therefore being brought before them, they questioned them separately, whether they knew of any other Road than That, which lay before them. One of them said he knew no other, though he was threatened with divers Kinds of Torture. As he said nothing to the Purpose, he was put to Death in the Presence of the other. The Survivor said, this Man pretended he did not know the other Road, because he had a Daughter married to a Man, who lived there: But that he himself would undertake to conduct us through a Road that was passable even for the sumpter Horses. Being asked whether there was any difficult Pass in that Road, he said there was a Summit, which, if not secured in Time, would render the Passage impracticable. Upon this it was thought proper to assemble the Captains, the Targeteers, and some of the heavy-armed Men: And, having informed them how Matters stood, to ask them whether any of them would shew their Gallantry, and voluntarily undertake this Service. Two of the heavy-armed Men offered themselves,

Arif-

† Ηλσγχου. See note °, page 232.

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Aristonymus of *Metbydria*, and *Agasias* of *Stymphalus*, both *Arcadians*. But *Callimachus* of *Parrhasie*, an *Arcadian*, and *Agasias* had a Contest who should undertake it. The latter said that he would go, and take with him *Voluntiers* out of the whole Army. "For I am well assured, says he, if I have the Command, many of the Youth will follow me." After that they asked if any of the light-armed Men, or of their Officers would also be of the Party. Upon which *Aristeas* of *Chios* presented himself. He had, upon many Occasions of this nature, done great Service to the Army.

THE Day was now far advanced; So the Generals ordered these to eat something, and set out; and delivered the Guide to them bound. It was agreed that if they made themselves Masters of the Summit, they should make it good that Night, and, as soon as it was Day, give them Notice of it by sounding a Trumpet: And that those above should charge that Body of the Enemy that was post-

^a και η̄ μιν δειλν. That is the middle of the Afternoon. See note ^b, page 84.

posted in the Passage that lay before them, while those below marched up to their Assistance with all the Expedition they were able. When Things were thus ordered, they set forward, being about two thousand in Number. And, notwithstanding it rained most violently, *Xenophon* marched at the Head of the Rear-Guard towards the Passage before them, in order to draw the Attention of the Enemy that Way, and conceal, as much as possible, the March of the Detachment. When *Xenophon*, with the Rear-Guard, came to a Valley which they were to pass, in order to climb the Ascent, the *Barbarians* rolled down vast round Stones, each a Ton in Weight, with others both larger and smaller. These, being dashed against the Rocks in their

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ο Χαράδρας. See note ^b, page 210.

^f Ολοτρέχης αμαξιαίως. Ολοτρέχης is here a Substantive, like ολοίτροχος in *Homer*, and used in the same Sense with that in the following Verse,

— ολοίτροχος ως από πίστεως
 Ον τι κατά γειφάνης ποταμίδι χιμαίρῳ ὄση,
 Ρήξας ἀσπίτω ἄμβρογ ἀναιδίῳ ἰχματα πίστεως,
 Υψι τ' ἀναβράσκων πίστεται.—

Homer
 II. N.

Where ολοίτροχος is thus explained by the *Greek* Scholiast, λίθος περιφερής, γροσγύλος. Αμαξιαῖοι λίθοι literally signifies Stones so large, that each of them was a Cart Load, or, what we call, a Ton Weight.

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their Fall, the Splinters ^ε were hurled every Way, which made it absolutely impossible to approach the Road. Some of the Captains despairing to gain this Passage, endeavoured to find out another, and employed themselves in this Manner, 'till it was dark. When they imagined they could retire without being seen, they went away to get their Supper; for the Rear-Guard had not dined that Day. However, the Enemy continued to roll down Stones all Night, as was perceived by the Noise they made in their Fall. In the

^ε Δισσφειδοῦντο. This Word happily expresses the impetuous Dispersion of the Splinters, when the Stones were shattered by falling against the Rocks. There is a Passage in *Euripides*, where this Word without the Preposition is very beautifully, or rather dreadfully made Use of to express the scattering of the Limbs of *Capaneus*, when he was dashed to pieces by a Thunderbolt just as he was scaling the Battlements of *Thebes*;

Euripides
Φοίνισσαι
4th AB.

Ἦδη δ' ὑπερβαίνοντα γείσσα τειχέων
Βάλλει κεραυνῷ Ζεὺς νιν. ἐκτύπησε δὲ
Χθῶν, ὅτε δῖσαι πάντας. ἐκ δὲ κλιμάκων
Ἐσφειδοῦντο χωρὶς ἀλλήλων μέλη.
Κόμαι μὲν εἰς Ὀλυμπον· αἶμα δ' εἰς χθόνα
Κεῖρες δὲ κ' κῶλ' ὡς κύκλωμ' Ἰξίου
Ἐλίσσεται· εἰς γῆν δ' ἔμπυρε πῖπται νεκρός.

*While o'er the Battlements Capaneus sprung,
Jove struck him with his Thunder, and the Earth
Resounded with the Crack; mean while Mankind
Stood all agast; from off the Ladder's Height
His Limbs were far asunder hurl'd, his Hair
Flew tow'rd's Olympus, to the Ground his Blood,
His Hands and Feet whirl'd like Ixion's Wheel,
And to the Earth his flaming Body fell.*

the mean Time, those, who marched round with the Guide, surprized the Enemy's Guard as they were sitting round a Fire: And, having killed some of them, and forced others down the Precipice, they staid there, thinking they had made themselves Masters of the Summit. But in this they were mistaken, for there was still an Eminence above them, near which lay the narrow Way, where the Guard fate: There was indeed a Passage, from the Post they had taken, to that the Enemy were possessed of in the open Road. Here they remained that Night.

As soon as it was Day, they put themselves in Order, and marched in Silence against the Enemy: And, there being a Mist, came close to them before they were perceived. When they saw one another, the Trumpet sounded, and the *Greeks* shouting, made their Attack. However the *Barbarians* did not stand to receive them, but quitted the Road, very few of them being killed in the Flight: for they were prepared for Expedition. *Cbeirisophus* and his Men, hearing the Trumpet, immediately marched up

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up the Pass which lay before them. The rest of the Generals took Bye-paths, each of them where he happened to be, and, climbing as well as they could, ^a drew up one another with their Pikes; And these were the first who joined the Detachment that had gained the Post. *Xenophon*, with one half of the Rear-Guard, marched up the same Way those went who had the Guide, (this Road being the most convenient for the sumpter Horses) the other half he ordered to come up behind the Baggage. In their March they came to a Hill that commanded the Road, and was possessed by the Enemy, whom they were either to dislodge, or to be severed from the rest of the *Greeks*. The Men indeed might have gone the same Way the rest took, but the sumpter Horses could go no other. Encouraging therefore one another, they made their Attack upon

51 B.

^a *ἄνιμον*. From *ἰμάς*; but *ἀνιμῶν* in the best Authors signifies to draw up any thing generally. So *Dion Cassius* uses the Word, when he says *Marc Antony* begged of those who were about him, to carry him to *Cleopatra's Sepulchre*, and draw him up to the Top of it by the Ropes that hung down to draw up the Stones employed in the Structure of it: *ἰλίττω τὰς κωρόντας, ὅπως πρὸς τὸ μῆμα αὐτὸν κομίσωσι, ἢ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάκλιαν τῶν λίθων κρημαμῆτων ἀνιμῶσι.*

upon the Hill 'in Columns, not surrounding it, but leaving the Enemy Room to run away, if they were so disposed. Accordingly, the *Barbarians* seeing our Men marching up the Hill, every one where he could, without discharging either their Arrows, or their Darts upon those who approached the Road, fled, and quitted the Place. The *Greeks*, having marched by this Hill, saw another before them also possessed by the Enemy. This they resolved to attack likewise: But *Xenophon* considering, that, if he left the Hill, they had already taken, without a Guard, the Enemy might repossess it, and from thence annoy the sumpter Horses as they passed by them; (for the Way being narrow, there was a long File of them.) He therefore left upon this Hill *Cephisodorus* the Son of *Cephisophon*, an *Athenian*, and *Archagoras* a banished *Argive*, both

¹ Ορθοίς τοῖς λόχοις. What λόχοι ὄρθοι, or φάλαγξ ὄρθια, is, we may learn from *Arrian* in his *Tactics*: ὄρθια (φάλαγξ) says he, ὅταν ἐπὶ κίρας, (or κίρω) πορεύηται· ἔτω, δι' αὐτὸ βάθος τῆ μήκους πολλαπλασίονι παρέχεται· ὅπως τε παραμυκτεῖ μὲν τάγμα ὀνομάζεται, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ μήκος ἔχη ἐπιπλεῖον τῆ βάθους ὄρθιον δὲ, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸ βάθος τῆ μήκους. So that ὄρθια φάλαγξ is properly an Army, and λόχοι ὄρθιοι are Companies drawn up in Columns, where as *Arrian* says, there are many more men in Depth, than in Front.

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both Captains; while he, with the rest, marched to the second Hill, and took that also in the same manner. There yet remained a third, by much the steepest. This was the Eminence that commanded the Post where the Guard was surprized at the Fire, the Night before, by the Detachment. When the *Greeks* approached the Hill, the *Barbarians* quitted it without striking a Stroke: So that every body was surprized, and suspected they left the Place, fearing to be surrounded and besieged in it. But the Truth was, that, seeing from the Eminence what passed behind, they all made Haste away with a Design to fall upon the Rear.

XENOPHON, with the youngest of his Men, ascended to the Top of this Hill, and ordered the rest to march slowly after, that the two Captains, who were left behind, might join them: And that when they were all together, they should chuse some even Place in the Road, and there stand to their Arms. He had no sooner given his Orders than *Archagoras*, the *Argive*; came flying from the Enemy, and brought an Account, that they were driven

driven from the first Hill, and that *Cephi-* BOOK
sodorus and *Amphicrates*, and all the rest, IV.
 who had not leaped from the Rock and
 joined the Rear, were slain. The *Barba-*
rians, after this Advantage, came to the
 Hill opposite to that where *Xenophon*
 stood; and *Xenophon* treated with them,
 by an Interpreter, concerning a Truce,
 and demanded the Dead. They consented
 to deliver them, provided he agreed not
 to burn their Villages. *Xenophon* came
 into this. While the other part of the
 Army approached, and these were em-
 ployed in treating, all the Men moved
 from the Post they were in towards the
 same Place. Upon this the Enemy made
 a stand, and, when the *Greeks* began to
 descend from the Top of the Hill to join
 those who were drawn up in Order of
 Battle, they advanced in great Numbers,
 and with Tumult; and, after they had
 gained the top of the Hill, which *Xeno-*
phon had quitted, they rolled down Stones,
 and broke the Leg of one of our Men.
 Here *Xenophon's* Armour-bearer deserted
 him, taking away his Shield: But *Eury-*
lochus of *Lusia*, an *Arcadian*, and one of
 the heavy-armed Men ran to his Relief,

BOOK and covered both himself and *Xenophon*
 IV. with his Shield, while the rest joined
 those who stood ready drawn up.

AND now the *Greeks* were all together, and quartered there, in many fine Houses, where they found Provisions in Abundance: For there was so great a Plenty of Wine, that they kept it in plaistered Cisterns. Here *Xenophon* and *Cbeirisophus* prevailed upon the *Barbarians* to deliver up their Dead in Exchange for the Guide. These, as far as they were able, they buried with all the Honours that are due to the Memory of brave Men. The next Day they marched without a Guide, and the Enemy, both by fighting with them, and seizing all the Passes, endeavoured to hinder them from advancing. Whenever therefore they opposed the Vanguard, *Xenophon* ascending the Mountains from behind, endeavoured to gain some Post that commanded the Enemy, and by this Means opened a Passage for those who were in the Van: And, when they attacked the Rear, *Cbeirisophus* ascended the Hills, and endeavouring also to get above the Enemy, removed the Obstruction

tion they gave to the march of the Rear. Thus they were very attentive to relieve one another. Sometimes also the *Barbarians*, after the *Greeks* had ascended the Eminences, gave them great Disturbance in their Descent: For they were very nimble; and though they came near to our Men, yet still they got off, having no other Arms but Bows and Slings. They were very skilful Archers: Their Bows were near three Cubits in length, and their Arrows above two. When they discharged their Arrows, ^k they drew the String

BOOK
IV.

^k Εἰλον δὲ τὰς νευράς, ὅποτε τοξίμου, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τῷ τόξῳ τῷ ἀριστερῷ πρὸς πρὸςβαίνοντες. This Passage has, I find, very much puzzled the Translators. Both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have attempted to amend it: But, without entering into the Merits of those Amendments, I shall produce a Passage out of *Arrian*, which will, I believe, not only explain this, but also shew that no Amendment at all is necessary. The Passage, I mean, is, where he is speaking of the *Indian* Archers, who, like these *Carduchians* in *Xenophon*, assisted themselves with their left Foot in drawing their strong Bows. It is this, *Arrian* οἰ-μὲν πιζοὶ αὐτοῖσι (τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι) τόξον τε ἔχουσι ἰσόμηκεις περὶ τῶν τῷ φορέοντι τὸ τόξον ἢ τῷ κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες, ἢ τῷ Ἰνδικῶν. πρὸς τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, ἕτως ἐκτοξίμουσι, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπιμίγα ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες. Where *Xenophon* says πρὸςβαίνοντες, which all the Translators have been desirous to alter, *Arrian* says ἀντιβάντες, which, I think, sufficiently explains it. The only Thing that remains is to take away the Comma after τόξῳ, that πρὸς τὸ κάτω τῷ τόξῳ may belong to τῷ ἀριστερῷ πρὸς πρὸςβαίνοντες, and not to εἰλον τὰς νευράς, as both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have translated it; the first having said *nervos, emissuri sagittas,*
versus

BOOK IV. String by pressing upon the lower part of the Bow with their left Foot. These Arrows pierced through the Shields and Corsets of our Men, who taking them up, made Use of them instead of Darts, by fixing Thongs to them. In these Places the *Cretans* were of great Service. They were commanded by *Stratocles*, a *Cretan*.

THIS

versus imam partem arcus tendebant; and Hutchinson, nervos, cum sagittas missuri essent, ad imam arcus partem adducebant Neither of which has any Meaning, for I appeal to all my Brother Archers, (having the Honour to be of that Number) or indeed to any other Person, whether they understand what is meant by drawing the String to the lower Part of the Bow. After all this, I desire I may not be thought to claim any Advantage over those two learned Gentlemen by this Discovery, since I am entirely persuaded, that, had they chanced to cast their Eyes upon *Arrian*, while the Difficulties of this Passage were fresh in their Memories, which happened to be my Case, they would have made the same, or a better Use of it. *D'Ab-lancourt* has left out that Part of the Passage, that occasions the Difficulty.

¹ Τα δὲ τοξόματα ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. We find the Posterity of these *Cardeucians* using the same Weapons with the same Success against the *Romans* in the Expedition of *Marcus Crassus*, the Death of whose Son, who was pierced by these irresistible Arrows, is so pathetically described by *Plutarch*. *Mark Antony* also, and his Men, in their unfortunate Retreat, felt the violent Effect of them, which drew from him this Exclamation Ω μύριοι! Happy the ten thousand *Greeks* who being pursued by the same Enemies, retreated with so much better Success! but alas! his Thoughts and Heart were in *Egypt*, whither he was hastening, for which Reason all the Disadvantages his Army suffered from the *Parthians*, were grievous to him, rather as they were Delays than Defeats.

Plutarch
in Crassus
and Mark
Antony.

THIS Day they staid in the Villages BOOK
IV.
 situate above the Plain that extends to
 the River *Centrites*, which is two hundred
 Feet broad, and the Boundary between
Armenia and the Country of the *Cardu-*
chians. Here the *Greeks* rested themselves.
 This River is about six or seven Stadia
 from the *Carduchian* Mountains. Here
 therefore they staid with great Satisfac-
 tion, having Plenty of Provisions, and
 often calling to Mind the Difficulties
 they had undergone: For, during the
 seven Days, they had marched through
 the Country of the *Carduchians*, they were
 continually fighting, and suffered more
 than from all the Attempts of the King
 and *Tissaphernes*. Looking upon them-
 selves therefore, as freed from these Hard-
 ships, they rested with Pleasure. But, as
 soon as it was Day, they saw a Body of
 Horse, on the other Side of the River,
 compleatly armed, and ready to oppose
 their Passage; and, above the Horse, ano-
 ther of Foot drawn up upon an Emi-
 nence, to hinder them from penetrating
 into *Armenia*. These were *Armenians*,
Mygdonians, and *Chaldæans*, all mercenary
 Troops, belonging to *Orontas* and *Artu-*
chus.

BOOK *chus.* The *Chaldaeans* were said to be a
 IV. free People, and Warlike: Their Arms
 were long Shields and Spears. The Emi-
 nence upon which they were drawn up,
 was about three or four hundred Feet
 from the River. The only Road the
Greeks could discover, led upwards, and
 seemed to have been made by Art.
 Over-against this Road the *Greeks* en-
 deavoured to pass the River: But, upon
 Trial, they found the Water came up
 above their Breasts, that the River
 was rendered uneven by large slippery
 Stones, and that it was not possible for
 them to hold their Arms in the Water,
 which if they attempted, they were borne
 away by the Stream, and, if they carried
 them upon their Heads, they were ex-
 posed to the Arrows, and the other missive
 Weapons of the Enemy. They retired
 therefore, and encamped on the Banks
 of the River.

FROM hence they discovered a great
 Number of armed *Carduchians*, who were
 got together upon the Mountain, in the
 very Place where they had encamped the
 Night before. Here the *Greeks* were very
 much

much disheartened, seeing on one Side of them a River hardly passable, and the Banks of it covered with Troops to obstruct their Passage, and on the other, the *Carducians* ready to fall upon their Rear, if they attempted it. This Day therefore, and the following Night, they remained in the same Place under great Perplexity. Here *Xenophon* had a Dream, he thought he was in Chains, and that his Chains breaking asunder of their own accord, he found himself at Liberty, and went whithersoever he pleased. As soon as the first Dawn of Day appeared, he went to *Cbeirisophus*, and told him he was in hopes every thing would be well, and acquainted him with his Dream. *Cbeirisophus* was pleased to hear it: And, while the Morn advanced, all the Generals, who were present, offered Sacrifice, and the very first Victims were favourable. As soon therefore as the Sacrifice was over, the Generals and Captains departing ordered the Soldiers to ^m get their Break-

^m Ἀριστοποιῆσαι. I have translated this in the same Sense *Homer* says of *Ulysses* and *Eumæus*,

Τὸ δ' αὖτ' ἐν κλισίῃς Ὀδυσσεὺς κ' θεῖο Ὑφορβὸς
Ἐντύοντ' ἄριστον ἅμ' ἡοῖ. —

Homer
Odyf. π.


Where ἄριστον is thus explained by the *Greek* Scholiast,
τὴν ἰωθινὴν τροφήν.

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K k

BOOK Breakfast. While *Xenophon* was at Breakfast, two young Men came to him, for it was well known that all Persons might have free access to him at his Meals; and, that, were he even asleep, they might wake him, if they had any thing to communicate concerning the Operations of the War. These Youths informed him, that, while they were getting Brush-wood for the Fire, they saw on the other Side of the River, among the Rocks that reached down to it, an old Man, and a Woman with some Maid-Servants, hiding something, that looked like Bags full of Clothes, in the hollow of a Rock. That, seeing this, they thought they might securely pass the River, because the Place was inaccessible to the Enemy's Horse. So they undressed themselves, and, taking their naked Daggers in their Hands, proposed to swim over: But the River being fordable, they found themselves on the other Side before the Water came up to their Middle: And, having taken the Clothes, repassed it.

XENOPHON, hearing this, made a Libation himself, and ordered Wine to be

be given to the Youths to do the same, **BOOK**
 and that they should address their Prayers **IV.**
 to the Gods, who had sent the Dream, 
 and discovered the Passage to compleat
 their Happiness. After the Libation, he
 immediately carried the two Youths to
Cheirisophus, to whom they gave the same
 Account. *Cheirisophus*, hearing this, made
 Libations also. After that, they gave
 Orders to the Soldiers to get their Baggage
 ready. Then, assembling the Generals,
 they consulted with them in what Man-
 ner they should pass the River with most
 Advantage, and both overcome those who
 opposed them in Front, and secure them-
 selves against the others, who threatened
 their Rear. And it was resolved that
Cheirisophus should lead the Van, and pass
 over with one half of the Army, while
 the other staid with *Xenophon*: And that
 the sumpter Horses, with all those that
 attended the Army, should pass in the
 middle. After this Disposition was
 made, they began their March. The
 two Youths led the way, keeping the
 River on their left. They had about
 four Stadia to go before they came to
 the Ford.

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IV.

As they marched on one Side of the River, several Bodies of Horfe advanced on the other opposite to them. When they came to the Ford, and to the Bank of the River, the Men stood to their Arms, and first *Cheirisophus*, with a Garland upon his Head, pulled off his Clothes, and, taking his Arms, commanded all the rest to do the same: He then ordered the Captains to draw up their Companies in ⁿ Columns, and march some on his left Hand, and some on his right. In the mean Time the Priests offered Sacrifice, and poured the Blood of the Victims into the River; and the Enemy from their Bows and Slings discharged a Volly of Arrows and Stones, but none of them reached our Men. After the Victims appeared favourable, all the Soldiers sung the Pæan and °shouted, and all the Women answered them; for the

ⁿ Δίχως δεξιῶς. See note ¹, page 249.

° Οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνθλάαζον, συνολύουζον δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες. The first is known to be a military Shout, the other is properly a supplicatory Acclamation of Women: So *Homer* says of the *Trojan* Women addressing their Prayers to *Minerva*,

Homer
Il. Z.

Αἰ δ' ὀλολυγῆ πᾶσαι Αθήνη χειῖρας ἀνίσχον.

Upon which the *Greek* Scholiast observes, φωνὴ δὲ αὐτῆ γυναικῶν ἐνχορμέων θεοῖς.

the Men had many Mistresses in the Army.

BOOK
IV.

IMMEDIATELY *Cbeirisophus* with his Men, went into the River; and *Xenophon*, taking those of the Rear-guard, who were most prepared for Expedition, marched back in all Haste to the Passage opposite to the Road that led to the *Armenian* Mountains, making a Feint, as if his Design was to pass the River in that Place, and intercept the Horse that were marching along the Bank of it. The Enemy, seeing *Cbeirisophus* with his Men passing the River with great Ease, and *Xenophon*; with his Forces, marching back in all Haste, were afraid of being intercepted, and fled with Precipitation to the Road, that led from the River up into the Country. Having gained that Road, they continued their March up the Mountain. As soon as *Lycius*, who had the Command of the Horse, and *Æschines*, who commanded the Targeteers belonging to *Cbeirisophus* saw the Enemy flying with so much Haste, they pursued them, the rest of the Soldiers crying out to them that they would not be left behind, but

BOOK but would march up the Mountain in a
 IV. Body. When *Cbeirifobus* had passed the
 River with his Forces, he did not pursue
 the Horse, but marched along the Bank
 against the other Body of the Enemy
 that was posted upon the upper Ground.
 These, finding themselves abandoned by
 their Horse, and seeing our heavy-armed
 Men coming up to attack them, quitted
 the Eminence that commanded the River.

XENOPHON therefore perceiving
 every thing went well on the other Side,
 returned in all Haste to the Army that
 was passing over; for, by this Time the
Carduchians were seen descending into the
 Plain, as if they designed to fall upon the
 Rear. *Cbeirifobus* had now possessed
 himself of the Eminence, and *Lycius*,
 while he was pursuing the Enemy, with
 a few of his Men, took Part of their
 Baggage that was left behind, and in it,
 rich Apparel, and drinking Cups. The
 Baggage of the *Greeks*, with those who
 had Charge of it, was yet passing; when
Xenophon, facing about, ^p drew up his
 Men against the *Carduchians*. He order-
 ed

^p Ἀπὸ τῆς καὶ ὄρδα ἰδίου. See note ^z, page 63.

ed all the Captains to divide their several **BOOK**
 Companies into two distinct Bodies of **IV.**
 twenty-five Men each, and to extend
 their Front to the Left, and that the
 Captains with the Leaders of these distinct
 Bodies should march against the *Cardu-*
rbians, while the hindmost Men of every
 File posted themselves upon the Bank of
 the River.

Now the *Carduchians*, when they saw
 the Rear reduced to a few by the De-
 parture of those who had the Charge of
 the Baggage, advanced the faster, singing
 as they came on. Upon this, *Cheirifophus*,
 seeing all on his Side was secure, sent the
 Tar-

¹ Δόχον. See note ², page 28.

² Καὶ ἐνωμολίας. See note ³, page 218.

³ Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος. This is the Reverse of ἐπὶ κίβητος,
 which was explained in note ¹, page 249. As therefore
 ἐπὶ κίβητος is a Disposition, in which the Depth very much
 exceeds the Front, so ἐπὶ φάλαγγος is another, in which
 the Front very much exceeds the Depth.

⁴ Παρ' ἀσπίδας. All the ancient Masters of Tactics
 inform us, that ἐπὶ δεξιῶν κλίνας, ἢ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα κλίνας, were
 Words of Command among the Greeks for the Foot; the
 first signifying to the Pike, that is, to the Right; and the
 second, to the Shield, that is, to the Left; and that the
 Words of Command for the Horse were the same as to
 the first, but that, instead of the second, they said, ἐπὶ
 ἡνιάν κλίνας, to the Bridle.

⁵ Ουραγός. These in Arrian are, what we call the
 Bringers-up, that is, the hindmost Men of every File.

Arrian
 in his
 Tactics.

BOOK Targeteers, the Slingers, and Archers to
 IV. *Xenophon*, with Directions to do whatever

he commanded: But he, as soon as he saw them coming down the Hill, sent a Messenger to them with Orders to halt, as soon as they came to the River; and that, when they saw him begin to pass it with his Men, they should come forward in the Water on each side opposite to him, * the Darters with their Fingers in the † Slings of their Darts, and the Archers with their Arrows on the String, as if they designed to pass over, but not advance far into the River. At the same Time he ordered his own Men, when they came near enough to the Enemy to reach them with their Slings, and the heavy-armed Men ‡ struck their Shields with

* *Ακόντιστας*. The *Ακόντιον*, or Dart, was properly part of the Arms both of the Targeteers and light-armed Men, as the Reader will see, if he pleases to cast his Eye on note f, page 5, where he will also find that these were different Corps, and differently armed; so that d' *Ablancourt* should not have comprehended under the general Name of *gens de Trait*; the Targeteers, Slingers and Archers, whom *Cherisophus* sent to the Relief of *Xenophon*.

† *Διησχυλισμένους*, &c. *Διησχυλίσθαι*, τὸ ἐπιβραβεῖς δακτύλους τῆ ἀσπίδος τὴ ἀκόντιω. *Hesychius*. *Ἀσπίς* is what the Romans called *Amentum*, the Thong or Sling with which they lanced their Darts.

‡ *Ἀσπίς* ἰσοφῶν. I have said when the heavy-armed Men struck their Shields with their Pikes, because the Ἀσπίς, or
 a Shield

with their Pikes, to ^a sing the Pæan, and rush at once upon the Enemy: And, when they were put to Flight, and the Trumpet from the River ^b sounded a Charge, to face about to the Right, ^c and that the hindmost Men of every File should lead the Way, and all make what Haste they could to the River, which they were to pass in their Ranks, that they might not hinder one another; telling them that he should look upon him as the bravest Man, who first reached the opposite Side.

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THE

Shield properly belonged to the heavy-armed Men, as may be seen in note ^f, page 5. The light-armed Men being *ἀνεῖ ἀσπίδος*, as *Arrian* says there, *without a Shield*, and the Targeteers having *πίλην*, a *Target* instead of it. *Arrian*, This Custom of striking their Shields with their Pikes upon an Attack, continued among the Greeks in *Alexander's* Time, as may be seen in *Arrian*. Αναβ.
Αλεξ.
1 B.

^a Παιανισάσις. See note ^f, page 38.

^b Ὁ σαλπικτήης σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν. This seems to have deserved the Attention of the Commentators; τὸ πολεμικόν σημαίνειν, every body knows, signifies *to sound a Charge*, as τὸ ἀνακλιθικόν σημαίνειν, *to sound a Retreat*; why therefore should *Xenophon* order a Charge to be sounded, when his Men were to retreat? I imagine his Intention was, to make the Enemy fly the faster, that so they might be at a greater Distance from them, when they were engaged in passing the River; and this seems to have been the Effect of it, for *Xenophon* will tell us presently, that, when the Trumpet sounded, the Enemy fled much faster than before.

^c Ἐπὶ δόξῃ. See note ^f, page 263.

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BOOK
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THE *Carduchians*, seeing those who remained, but few in Number, (for many even of those who had orders to stay, were gone, some to take Care of the sumpter Horses, some of their Baggage, and others of ^d other things) came up boldly towards them, and began to use their Slings and Bows. But, when the *Greeks*, singing the Pæan, ran forward to attack them, they did not stand to receive them, (for though they were well enough armed for a sudden Onset and Retreat upon the Mountains they inhabited, yet they were not at all so to fight Hand to Hand.) In the mean Time the Trumpet sounded, upon which the Enemy fled much faster than before; and the *Greeks*, facing about, passed the River in all Haste. Some of the Enemy seeing this, ran back to the River, and wounded a few of our Men with their Arrows; but many of them, even when the *Greeks* were on the other Side, were observed to continue their Flight. In the mean Time those

^d *Επίγον*. I have followed the *Eton* Manuscript in translating this Word. *Hutchinson* says it should be *Εραιγον*, because *Xenophon* has very lately told us, that the Soldiers had a great many *Mistresses* with them; but in that Case it should have been *ιραιγον*, not *ιραίγον*.

those who had met them in the River, carried on by their Courage, advanced unseasonably, and repassed it after *Xenophon* and his Men were on the other Side; by this Means some of them also were wounded.

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THE Army, having passed the River about Noon, drew up in their Ranks, and, in this manner, marched at once over the Plain of *Armenia*, intermixed with Hills of an easy Ascent, making no less than five Parafangas: For there were no Villages near the River, by Reason of the continual Wars with the *Carducians*. However at last they came to a large Village, that had a Palace in it belonging to the ° Satrape, and upon most of the Houses there were Turrets: Here they found Provisions in Abundance. From this Place they made, in two Days March, ten Parafangas, 'till they were advanced above the Head of the *Tigris*. From thence they made fifteen Parafangas in three Days March, and came to the River *Teleboas*. The † River though not large,

was

° Τῷ Σατραπῇ. See note °, page 5. Demet. Phal. of
 † Οὐτὸ δ' ἦν μίσας μὲν ἔ, καλὸς δέ. *Demetrius Phalereus* Eloquent, Sect. 121.
 gives great Commendations to this Period: He says, that, by

BOOK IV. was beautiful, and had many fine Villages on its Banks; This Country was called the western Part of *Armenia*. The Governor of it was *Teribazus*, who had behaved himself with great Fidelity to the King, and, when he was present, no other^s lifted the King on Horseback. This Person rode up towards the *Greeks* with a Body of Horse, and, sending his Interpreter, acquainted them that he desired to speak with their Commanders, Upon this the Generals thought proper to hear what he had to say, and, advancing within hearing, asked him what he wanted. He answered that he was willing to enter into a League with them upon these Terms: That He should not do any Injury to the *Greeks*, or they burn the Houses, but have Liberty to take what

by the Conciseness of it, and its Termination in δι, the Author almost lays before our Eyes the smallness of the River.

See note¹,
page 224.

^ε Ουδεις ἄλλο βασιλία ἐπι τὸν ἵππον ἀνίσταλλεν. I was desirous to excuse *d' Ablancourt*, when, in the third Book, he made the *Persians* saddle their Horses; but don't know what to alledge in his Defence upon this Occasion, where he has given them Stirrups as well as Saddles. I shall say no more than that *il lui tenoit l'étrier lorsqu'il montoit à cheval*, is an unfortunate Translation of βασιλία ἐπι τὸν ἵππον ἀνίσταλλεν. It is very well known that the Ancients, having no Stirrups, had a Person whom the *Greeks* called *Ἀναβολεύς*, and the *Latins* *Strator*, to lift them on Horseback.

what Provisions they wanted. The Generals agreed to this: so they concluded a League upon these Conditions. BOOK IV.

FROM thence they advanced through a Plain, and in three Days March made fifteen Parasangas, *Teribaxus* following them with his Forces, at the Distance of about ten Stadia; when they came to a Palace surrounded with many Villages abounding in all Sorts of Provisions. While they lay encamped in this Place, there fell so great a ^h Snow in the Night, that

^h *Επιτιμιαι χιων ἀπλησι.* Left the Veracity of our Author should be suspected, when he speaks of deep Snows and excessive Frosts in *Armenia*, a Country lying between the fortieth and forty-third Degrees of Latitude, I desire it may be considered, that all Authors, both ancient and modern, agree that the Hills of this Country are covered with Snow ten months in the Year. *Tournefort*, who was an Eye-witness of it, thinks that the Earth, upon these Hills, being impregnated with Sal Ammoniac, the Cold occasioned by it, may hinder the Snow melting; to support this, he says, that this Salt being dissolved in any Liquor, renders it excessive cold. This puts me in mind of an Experiment mentioned by *Boerhaave* as having been made by himself; he says that four Ounces of this Salt being infused in twelve of Water, generated twenty-eight Degrees of Cold; though I rather believe that the Reason why the Tops of Mountains the warmest Climates are generally covered with Snow, while the Plains below are often parched with Heat, is because the Atmosphere is vastly less compressed upon the Top than at the Foot of those Mountains. Whatever may be the Cause, the Fact is certain. When *Lucullus*, 1557.

BOOK that it was resolved the next Morning
 IV. the Soldiers, with their Generals, should
 remove into the Villages, and quarter
 there: for no Enemy appeared; and the
 great Quantity of Snow seemed a Secu-
 rity to them. Here they found all sorts
 of good Provisions; such as Cattle, Corn,
 old Wines exceeding fragrant, Raisins and
 Legumens of all Kinds. In the mean
 Time some of the Men, who had straggled
 from the Camp, brought Word that they
 had seen an Army, and that in the Night
 many Fires appeared. For this Reason
 the Generals thought it not safe for the
 Troops to quarter in the Villages at a
 Distance from one another; so resolved
 to bring the Army together. Upon this
 they re-assembled, and it was determined
 to encamp abroad. While they passed
 the Night in this Camp, there fell so
 great a Quantity of Snow, that it covered
 both the Arms and the Men as they lay
 upon

in his Expedition against *Mitbridates*, marched through
Armenia, his Army suffered as much by the Frost and
 Snow, as the *Greeks* under *Xenophon*: And, when *Alex-
 ander Severus* returned through this Country, many of his
 Men lost their Hands and Feet through excessive Cold.
Tournefort also complains, that, at *Erzeron*, though situat-
 ed in a Plain, his Fingers were so benumbed with Cold,
 he could not write 'till an Hour after Sun-rise.

Tourne-
 fort, *ib.*

upon the Ground: the sumpter Horses also were so benumbed with the Snow, that it was with Difficulty they were made to rise. It was a miserable Sight to see the Men lie upon the Ground still covered with Snow. But, when *Xenophon* was so hardy as to rise naked, and rive Wood, immediately another got up, and, taking the Wood from him, cleft it himself. Upon this they all rose up, and, making Fires, anointed themselves; for they found there many Sorts of Ointments, which served them instead of Oil, as Hogs-grease, Oil of Sesame, of bitter Almonds, and of Turpentine. There was also found a precious Ointment made of all these.

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AFTER this they determined to disperse themselves again in the Villages, and quarter under Cover. Upon which the Soldiers ran with great Shouts and Pleasure to the Houses and Provisions: But those who had set Fire to the Houses, when they left them before, were justly punished by encamping abroad, exposed to the Inclemency of the Weather. From hence they sent that Night a Detachment

BOOK IV. ment to the Mountains, where the Strag-
 glers said they had seen the Fires, under
 the Command of *Democrates of Temnus*,
 because he was ever thought to give a
 true Account of things of this Nature,
 reporting Matters as they really were.
 At his Return he said he had seen no
 Fires, but, having taken a Prisoner, he
 brought him with him. This Man had
 a ¹ *Persian Bow* and *Quiver*, and ² an
Amazonian Battle-Ax; and, being asked
 of what Country he was, he said he was
 a *Persian*, and that he went from the
 Army of *Teribazus* to get Provisions.
 Upon this they asked him of what Num-
 bers that Army consisted, and with what
 Intention it was assembled. He answer-
 ed, that *Teribazus* besides his own Army,
 had mercenary Troops of *Chalybians* and
Taochians; and, that his Design was to at-
 tack the *Greeks* in their Passage over the
 Mountains, as they marched through the
 Defile, which was their only Road.

THE Generals, hearing this, resolved
 to

¹ Τέξον Περσικόν. See page 217, where *Tissaphernes* attacks the *Greeks*.

² Σάσαρον. Σάσαρις. κοπίς. ἢ πώλεκος. *Suidas*. Where he quotes this Passage.

to assemble the Army, and, leaving a Guard in the Camp under the command of *Sophænetus* of *Stymphalus* they immediately set forward, taking the Prisoner with them for their Guide. After they had passed the Mountains, the *Targeteers*, who marched before the rest, as soon as they discovered the Enemy's Camp, ran to it with Shouts, without staying for the heavy-armed Men. The Barbarians, hearing the Tumult, did not stand their Ground, but fled. However, some of them were killed, and about Twenty Horses taken, as was also the Tent of *Teribazus*, in which they found Beds with Silver Feet, and drinking Cups, with some Prisoners, who said they were his Bakers and Cup-Bearers. When the Commanders of the heavy-armed Men were informed of all that passed, they determined to return in all Haste to their own Camp, lest any Attempt should be made upon those they had left there; and immediately ordering a Retreat to be sounded, they returned, and arrived there the same Day.

BOOK
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THE next Day they resolved to march
VOL. I. M m away

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away with all the haste they could, before the Enemy should rally their Forces, and possess themselves of the Pass. Their Baggage therefore being presently ready, they set forward through a deep Snow with many Guides; and, having the same Day passed the Eminence, upon which *Teribazus* designed to attack them, they encamped. From thence they made three Marches through a Desert, and came to the *Euphrates* which they passed, the Water coming up to their Navel. It was said the Sources of this River were not far off. From thence they made, in three Days March, fifteen Parasangs over a Plain covered with a deep Snow. The last Day's March was very grievous, for the North Wind, blowing full in their Faces, quite parched and benumbed the Men. Upon this one of the Priests advised to sacrifice to the Wind, which was complied with, and the Vehemence of it visibly abated. The Snow was a Fathom in Depth, insomuch that many of the Slaves and sumpter Horses died, and about thirty Soldiers. They made Fires all Night, for they found Plenty of Wood in the Place where they encamp-
ed;

ed; and those who came late, having no Wood, the others, who were before arrived, and had made Fires, would not allow them to warm themselves, 'till they had given them a Share of the Wheat, or of the other Provisions they had brought with them. By this Exchange they relieved one another's Wants. In the Places where the Fires were made, the Snow being melted, there were large Pits which reached down to the Ground; this afforded an Opportunity of measuring the Depth of the Snow.

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IV.

FROM thence they marched all the next Day through the Snow, when many of the Men contracted the 'Bulimy. *Xenophon*, who commanded the Rear, seeing them lie upon the ground, knew not what

¹ *Εβουλμίασαν.* The Bulimy is a Distemper creating excessive Hunger; it is thus described with all its Symptoms by *Galen*: Βουλμῆς ἐστὶ διαθεσις, καθ' ἣν ἐπιζήτησις ἐκ Med. Def. μικρῶν διαλειμμάτων γίνεσθαι τροφῆς. Εκλύσθαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ- vol. 2. πίπτεισι, καὶ ἀχρεῶσι, καὶ καταλύουσι τὰ ἄκρα, θλίβουσι τε τὸν σῶμαχον, καὶ ὁ σφύσμος ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀμυδρὸς γίνεσθαι. *The Bulimy is a Disorder in which the Patient frequently craves for Viçuals, loses the Use of his Limbs, falls down, and turns Transf. pale; his Extremitities become cold, his Stomach oppressed, and Philof. his Pulse scarce sensible. The French Philosophical Transac- N^o. 264. tions speak of a Countryman who was violently afflicted p. 598. with this Distemper, but was cured by voiding several And tom. Worms of the Length and Bigness of a Tobacco-pipe. 3. p. 111.*

M m 2

BOOK what their Distemper was: But, being
 IV. informed by those, who were acquainted
 with it, that it was plainly the Bulimy,
 and that, if they eat any thing they
 would rise again, he went to the Baggage,
 and, whatever Refreshments he found
 there, he gave some to those who were
 afflicted with this Distemper, and sent
 Persons able to go about, to divide the
 rest among others, who were in the same
 Condition: And, as soon as they had
 eaten something, they rose up, and con-
 tinued their March. During which,
Cheirisophus came to a Village, just as it
 was dark, and, at a Fountain, without
 the Walls, he found some Women and
 Girls, who belonged to it, carrying
 Water. These enquired who they were?
 the Interpreter answered in *Persian* that
 they were going to the Satrape from the
 King. The Women replied, that he was
 not there, but at a Place distant about a
 Parasanga from thence. As it was late,
 they entered the Walls together with the
 Women, and went to the Bailiff of the
 Town. Here *Cheirisophus* encamped with
 all that could come up. The rest, who
 were unable to continue their March,
 passed

passed the Night without Victuals or Fire, by which Means some of them perished: And a Party of the Enemy following our March, took some of the sumpter Horses that could not keep Pace with the rest, and fought with one another about them. Some of the Men also, who had lost their Sight by the Snow, or whose Toes were rotted off by the Intenfeness of the Cold, were left behind. The Eyes were relieved against the Snow by wearing something black before them, and the Feet against the Cold, by continual Motion, and by pulling off their Shoes in the Night. If any slept with their Shoes on, the Latchets pierced their Flesh, and their Shoes stuck to their Feet; for, when their old Shoes were worn out, they wore ^m Carbatines made of raw Hides. These Grievances therefore occasioned some of the Soldiers to be left behind; who, seeing a Piece of Ground that appeared black, because there was no Snow upon it, concluded it

was

^m Καρβατίνας. Καρβατίη μὲν, ἀγροικῶν ὑποδήμα, κληθὲν ὑπὸ Κζζων. Julius Pollux. I hope I shall be excused for calling these ὑποδήματα Shoes. All the Monuments of Antiquity shew the Ancients wore a kind of Sandal instead of Shoes, but, as this is not generally understood, I have chosen the latter.

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was melted ; and melted it was by a Vapour that was continually exhaling from a Fountain in a Valley near the Place. Thither they betook themselves, and, sitting down, refused to march any further. *Xenophon*, who had Charge of the Rear, as soon as he was informed of this, tried all Means to prevail upon them not to be left behind, telling them that the Enemy were got together in great Numbers, and followed them close. At last he grew angry. They bid him kill them, if he would, for they were not able to go on. Upon this, he thought the best Thing he could do, was, if possible, to strike a Terror into the Enemy that followed, lest they should fall upon the Men who were tired. It was now dark, and the Enemy came on with great Tumult, quarrelling with one another about their Booty. Upon this, such of the Rear-guard as were well, rising up, rushed upon them ; while those who were tired, shouted out as loud as they could, and struck their Shields with their Pikes. The Enemy, alarmed at this, threw themselves into the Valley through the Snow, and were no more heard of.

T H E N

THEN *Xenophon*, with the rest of the Forces, went away, assuring the sick Men, that, the next Day some People should be sent to them: But, before they had gone four Stadia, they found others taking their Rest in the Snow, and covered with it, no Guard being appointed. These they obliged to rise who acquainted him, that those in the Head of the Army did not move forward. *Xenophon*, hearing this, went on, and sending the ablest of the Targeteers before, ordered them to see what was the Occasion of the Stop. They brought Word that the whole Army took their Rest in that Manner. So that *Xenophon* and his Men, after they had appointed such Guards as they were able, passed the Night there also without either Fire or Victuals. When it was near Day, he sent the youngest of his Men to oblige the Sick to get up and come away. In the mean Time *Cbeiriosophus* sent some from the Village to enquire in what Condition the Rear was. These were rejoiced to see them, and having delivered their Sick to them to be conducted to the Camp, they marched forward: And, before they had gone
 twenty

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BOOK twenty Stadia, they found themselves in
 IV. the Village, where *Cheirisophus* was quar-
 tered. When they came together, they
 were of Opinion that the Army might
 quarter in the Villages with Safety. So
Cheirisophus staid in the Place he was in,
 and the rest went to the several Villages
 that were allotted to them.

HERE *Polycrates*, an *Athenian*, one of
 the Captains, desired he might have Leave
 to absent himself; and, taking with him
 those who were most prepared for Expe-
 dition, he made such Haste to the Vil-
 lage that had fallen to *Xenophon's* Lot,
 that he surpris'd all the Inhabitants to-
 gether with their Bailiff in their Houses.
 He found here seventeen Colts, that were
 bred as a Tribute for the King; and also
 the Bailiff's Daughter, who had not been
 married above nine Days. However, her
 Husband, being gone to hunt the Hare,
 was not taken in any of the Villages.
 Their Houses were under Ground; the
 Mouth resembling that of a Well, but
 spacious below: There was an Entrance
 dug for the Cattle, but the Inhabitants
 descended by Ladders. In these Houses
 were

were Goats, Sheep, Cows and Fowls, with their young. All the Cattle were maintained within Doors with Fodder. There was also Wheat, Barley, and Legumens, and ^a Beer in Jars, in which the Malt it self floated even with the Brims of the Vessels, and with it Reeds, some large, and others small, without Joints. These, when any one was dry, he was to take into his Mouth and suck. The Liquor was very strong, when unmixed with Water, and exceeding pleasant to those who were used to it.

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XENO-

^a Οἶνον κριθῶν. Literally Barley Wine. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Osfiris*, that is, the *Egyptian Bacchus*, was the Inventor of Malt Liquor as a Relief to those Countries, where Vines did not succeed, which is the Reason assigned by *Herodotus* for the *Egyptians* using it. This was also the Liquor used in *France*, 'till the Time of the Emperor *Probus*, when Vines were first planted there. *Pliny* says they called it *Cervisia*, a Word probably derived from *Cervoise*, which, among the ancient *Gauls*, signified Beer. *Julian*, who was Governor of *France*, before he was Emperor, vents his Spleen against Malt-Liquor, which Necessity, or rather Ignorance, in his Time, had made the Drink of that Country. As there is a good deal of Poetry in the Invention both of the Person of this unknown *Bacchus*, and of his Qualities, the Reader may not be displeas'd to find the Epigram here:

Τίς; πόθεν ἴ; Διόνυσε; μὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀληθῆ Βάκχον
 Οὐ σ' ἐπιγιγνώσκω· τὸν Διὸς οἶδα μόνον.
 Κεῖν ἴκταρ ὄδωδε· σὺ δὲ τράγον· ἢ ῥά σε Κελτοὶ
 Τῇ σπιῆ βοτρυῶν, τιῦξαν ἀπ' ἀραχῶν.
 Τῷ σε χεῖ καλεῖν Δημήτριον ἢ Διόνυσον,
 Πυρογενὴ μᾶλλον, ἢ Βρόμον, ἢ Βρόμιον.

Anthol.
1 B.

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N n

BOOK *XENOPHON* invited the Bailiff of
 IV. this Village to sup with him, and encouraged him with this Assurance, that his Children should not be taken from him, and that, when they went away, they would leave his House full of Provisions in Return for those they took, provided he performed some signal Service to the Army, by conducting them, 'till they came to another Nation. The Bailiff promised to perform this, and, as an Instance of his Good-will, informed them where there was Wine buried. The Soldiers rested that Night in their several Quarters in the midst of Plenty, keeping a Guard upon the Bailiff, and having an Eye at the same Time upon his Children. The next Day *Xenophon*, taking the Bailiff along with him, went to *Cheirisophus*, and, in every Village, through which he passed, made a Visit to those, who were quartered there; and found them every where feasting and rejoicing. They all would force him to sit down to Dinner with them, and he every where found the Tables covered with Lamb, Kid, Pork, Veal and Fowls; with Plenty of Bread, some made of Wheat, and
 some

some of Barley. When any one had a Mind to drink to his Friend, he took him to the Jar, where he was obliged to stoop, and, sucking, drink like an Ox. The Soldiers gave the Bailiff leave to take whatever he desired; but he took nothing, only wherever he met with any of his Relations, he carried them along with him.

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WHEN they came to *Cbeirifophus* they found them also ° feasting, and crowned with Garlands made of Hay, and *Armenian* Boys, in *Barbarian* Dresses, waiting on them. To these they signified by Signs what they would have them do, as if they had been deaf. As soon as *Cbeirifophus* and *Xenophon* had embraced one another, they asked the Bailiff, by their Interpreter who spoke the *Persian* Language, what Country it was. He answered, *Armenia*. After that they asked him for whom the Horses were bred.

He

° *Συνίερας*. *Xenophon* uses *συνίε* in the same Sense in *Xenoph.* his *Cyropædia*, where he says, *τὴν σκηνὴν εἰς κοίτην διέλθουσιν*, *the Inst. of they dissolved the Feast to retire to rest*. *Hutchinson* has sup-ported this Sense of the Word from other Passages out of *2 B.* our Author. Had *Leunclavius* attended to them, he would not have rendered this Passage, *illos etiam milites & ab Teētis reperiunt*. *D' Ablancourt* has said much better, *ils trouvoient tout le monde à Table*.

N n 2

BOOK He said for the King, as a Tribute. He
 IV. added that the neighbouring Country
 was inhabited by the *Chalybians*, and in-
 formed them of the Road that led to it.
 After that *Xenophon* went away, carrying
 back the Bailiff to his Family, and gave
 him the Horfe he had taken some time
 before, which was an old one, with a
 Charge that he should recover him for a
 Sacrifice, (for he had heard he was con-
 secrated to the Sun) being afraid that,
 as he was very much fatigued with the
 Journey, he should die. At the same
 Time he took one of the young Horses
 for himself, and gave one of them to
 each of the Generals and Captains. The
 Horses of this Country are less than those
 of *Persia*, but have a great deal more
 Spirit. Upon this Occasion the Bailiff
 taught us to tie Bags to the Feet of the
 Horses and Beasts of Burden, when they
 travelled through the Snow, for, without
 them, they sunk up to their Bellies.

AFTER they had staid here eight
 Days, *Xenophon* delivered the Bailiff to
Cheirisophus, to serve him as a Guide, and
 left him all his Family, except his Son,

a

a Youth just in the Flower of his Age. This Youth he committed to the Charge of *Episthenis* of *Amphipolis*, with a Design to send him back with his Father, if he conducted them in a proper Manner. At the same Time they carried as many Things as they could into his House, and, decamping, marched away. The Bailiff conducted them through the Snow unbound. They had now marched three Days, when *Cbeirisophus* grew angry with him for not carrying them to some Villages. The Bailiff said there were none in that Part of the Country. Upon this *Cbeirisophus* struck him, but did not order him to be bound: So that he made his Escape in the Night, leaving his Son behind him. This ill Treatment and Neglect of the Bailiff was the Cause of the only Difference, that happened between *Cbeirisophus* and *Xenophon* during their whole March. *Episthenis* took an Affection to the Youth, and, carrying him into *Greece*, found great Fidelity in him.

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AFTER this they made seven Marches at the Rate of five Parasangas each Day, and

BOOK and arrived at the River ^p *Phasis*, which
 IV. is about one hundred Feet in Breadth.
 From thence they made, in two Marches,
 ten Parasangas; when they found the
Cbalybians, *Taochians*, and *Phasians* posted
 upon the Passage that led over the Moun-
 tains to the Plain. As soon as *Cbeiri-*
sophus saw the Enemy in Possession of that
 Post, he halted at the Distance of about
 thirty Stadia, that he might not approach
 them while the Army marched in a
 Column: For which Reason he ^q ordered
 the Captains to bring up their Compa-
 nies to the Front, that the Army might
 be drawn up in a Line.

WHEN the Rear-Guard came up, he
 call-

^p Παρὰ τὸν Φάσιον ποταμὸν. It must be observed that
 this is not the River *Phasis*, which falls into the *Euxine*
 Sea, and to which Sportsmen are obliged for the Breed
 of Pheasants. *Delisse* is of opinion that the *Phasis* here
 mentioned is the *Araxes*, which falls into the *Caspian* Sea,
 the same, whose impetuous Course is so boldly described
 by *Virgil*,

Virgil
Æneid.
 8 B.

————— *Pontem indignatus Araxes.*

Arrian in
his Tac-
tics.

^q Παρήγαυε δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παραύγειν τὰς λόχους, ὅπως
 ἐπὶ φάλαγγι γίνοντο τὸ στρατεύμα. The Translators do
 not seem to have attended to the Force of the word *πα-*
ράγειν in this Place; it is a military Term, and signifies
 to bring up the Files to the Front, and march in a Line,
 in which Disposition *Cbeirisophus* proposed to attack upon
 this occasion: This is called *παραγωγή* by *Arrian* the re-
 verse of which is *ἐπαγωγή*, as *ἐπίστατης* is of *παραστάτης*.

called the Generals and Captains together, and spoke to them in this Manner. BOOK
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“*The Enemy, you see are Masters of the Pass over the Mountain. We are therefore now to consider in what manner we may charge them with the greatest Advantage. It is my Opinion that while the Soldiers get their Dinner, we should consult among ourselves, whether it will be most proper to attempt the Passage to-day, or stay 'till to-morrow.*”

“*My Advice is, says Cleanor, that, as soon as we have dined, we should take our Arms, and attack the Enemy; for, if we defer it 'till to-morrow, this Delay will inspire those who observe us with Confidence, and their Confidence, will, in all Probability, draw others to their Assistance.*”

AFTER him Xenophon said, “*This is my Sense of the Matter. If we are obliged to fight, we ought to prepare our selves to fight with all possible Bravery: But, if we propose to pass the Mountain in the easiest manner, we are to consider by what means we may receive the fewest Wounds, and lose the fewest Men. The Mountain that lies before us, reaches above sixty Stadia in Length, and, in all this Extent, no Guard appears to*
be

BOOK be posted any where, but only in this Part.

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For which Reason I should think it more for our Advantage to endeavour to surprize some unguarded Place upon the Mountain, and, if possible, prevent their seizing it, than to attack a Post already fortified, and Men prepared to resist: For it is easier to climb a steep Ascent, without fighting, than to march upon plain Ground, when the Enemy are posted on both Sides of us. We can also better see what lies before us in the Night, when we are not obliged to fight, than in the Day-time, when we are: And the roughest Way is easier to those who march without fighting, than an even Way, to those whose Heads are exposed to the Darts of an Enemy. Neither do I think it impossible for us to steal such a March, since we may have the Advantage of the Night to conceal us, and may take so great a Circuit as not to be discovered. I am also of Opinion, that, if we make a false Attack upon the Post which is possessed by the Enemy, we shall, by that means, find the rest of the Mountain more unguarded: For this will oblige them to keep all their Forces in a Body. But why do I mention Stealing? Since I am informed, O Cheiriosophus!

¹ Ἦμας γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὃ Χειρίσοφος, ἀκύν τας Λακεδαιμονίους, ὄσσοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρειῶν, ἐνθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλιώται μιλίτων.
Those

Iophus! *that among you Lacedæmonians, those of the first Rank practise it from their Childhood, and that, instead of being a Dishonour, it is your Duty to steal those Things which the Law has not forbidden: And to the End you may learn to steal with the greatest Dexterity and Secrecy imaginable, your Laws have provided that those who are taken in a Theft, shall be whipped.*" This is the Time therefore for you to shew how far your Education has improved you, and to take Care that, in stealing this March, we are not discovered, lest we smart severely for it."

CHEIRISOPHUS answered, " I am also informed, that you Athenians are very expert in stealing the public Money, notwithstanding the great Danger you are exposed to, and that your best Men are the most expert at it, that is, if you chuse your best Men for your Magistrates. So that this is a proper Time for you also to shew the Effects of your Education." I am ready, replies Xenophon, to march with the Rear-Guard, as soon as we

Those who among the Lacedæmonians were called ἴμοιοι, and among the Persians ἰμώτιμοι, by the Greeks, under which Name Xenophon often speaks of them in his Institution of Cyrus, agree very well with what the Gothic Government calls Peers, with us, and with the French, Pairs; Persons of equal Dignity.

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we have supped, in order to possess myself of the Mountain. I have Guides with me: for our light-armed Men have, in an Ambuscade, taken some of the Marauders, that follow the Army. By these I am informed that the Mountain is not inaccessible, but that Goats and Oxen graze upon it, so that, if we are once Masters of any Part of it, it will be accessible also to our sumpter Horses. Neither do I believe the Enemy will keep their Post, when they see we are Masters of the Summit, and upon an Equality with themselves; because they are now unwilling to come down to us upon equal Ground."

But *Cbeirisophus* said, "Why should you go, and leave the Charge of the Rear? Rather send others, unless any offer themselves to this Service." Upon this *Aristonymus* of *Methyria* presented himself with his heavy-armed Men, and *Aristeus* of *Chius*, and *Nicomachus* of *Oete*, both with their light-armed. And it was agreed that, when they had possessed themselves of the Summit, they should light several Fires. When these Things were settled, they went to Dinner, after which *Cbeirisophus* led the whole Army within ten Stadia of the Enemy, as if he had absolutely resolved to march that Way.

SUP-

SUPPER being ended, and Night coming on, those who had Orders marched away, and made themselves Masters of the Top of the Mountain. The others went to Rest where they were. The Enemy, finding our Men were possessed of that Post, remained under Arms, and made many Fires all Night. As soon as it was Day, *Cbeirisophus*, after he had offered Sacrifice, led his Forces up the Road, while those who had gained the Summit attacked the Enemy; great Part of whom staid to defend the Pass, and the rest advanced against those who were Masters of the Eminence. But, before *Cbeirisophus* could come up to the Enemy, those upon the Summit were engaged; where our Men had the Advantage, and drove the Enemy before them. In the mean Time the *Greek* Targeteers ran on from the Plain to attack those who were ready drawn up to receive them, and *Cbeirisophus*, at the Head of the heavy-armed Men, followed as fast as was consistent with a regular March. However the Enemy that were posted in the Pass, when they saw those above give way, fled also. When great Numbers of them

BOOK IV. were slain, and many of their Bucklers taken, which the *Greeks*, by cutting them to Pieces, rendered uselefs. As soon as they had gained the Ascent, they offered Sacrifice, and having erected a Trophy, marched down into the Plain, where they found Villages well stored with all Sorts of Provisions.

FROM hence they came to the Country of the *Taochians*, making in five Marches, thirty Parafangas; and here their Provisions began to fail them: For the *Taochians* inhabited Fastnesses, into which they had conveyed all their Provisions. At last the Army arrived at a strong Place, which had neither City, nor Houses upon it, but where great Numbers of Men and Women with their Cattle were assembled. This Place *Cheiriso-phus* ordered to be attacked the Moment he came before it, and, when the first Company suffered, another went up, and then another; for the Place being surrounded with Precipices, they could not attack it on all Sides at once. When *Xenophon* came up with the Rear-Guard, the Targeteers and heavy-armed Men, *Cheiriso-phus*

phus said to him, "You come very seasonably, for this Place must be taken, otherwise the Army will be starved,"

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UPON this they called a Council of War, and *Xenophon* demanding, what could hinder them from carrying the Place; *Cbeirisophus* answered, "there is no other Access to it but This, and, when any of our Men attempt to gain it, they roll down Stones from the impending Rock, and those they light upon are treated as you see;" pointing at the same time to some of the Men, whose Legs and Ribs were broken. "But, says *Xenophon*, when they have consumed all the Stones they have, what can hinder us then from going up? For I can see nothing to oppose us, but a few Men, and of these not above two or three that are armed. The Space, you see, through which we must pass exposed to these Stones, is about one hundred and fifty Feet in Length, of which that of one hundred Feet is covered with large

* Δασὺ ὠίτυσι διαλίπυσαι; μυγάταις. The Explication of διαλίπυσαι brought by *Hutchinson* out of *Suidas* and *Phavorinus*, ἀλλέλων ἀπίχουσαι, does not, in my Opinion, give the Author's Sense of it in this Place; nobody doubts but these Pines grew at some Distance from one another; but *Xenophon* means that they grew in Groups, and then

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large Pines, growing in Groups, against which, if our Men place themselves, what can they suffer, either from the Stones that are thrown, or rolled down by the Enemy? The remaining Part of this Space is not above fifty Feet, which, when the Stones cease, we must dispatch with all possible Expedition. But, says Cheirisophus, the Moment we offer to go to the Place that is covered with the Trees, they will shower down Stones upon us. That, replies Xenophon, is the very Thing we want, for by this Means they will be consumed the sooner. However, continues he, let us, if we can, advance to that Place, from whence we may have but a little Way to run, and from whence we may also, if we see convenient, retreat with Ease."

UPON this, Cheirisophus and Xenophon, with Callimachus of Parrhasie, one of the Captains, advanced, (for the last had the Command that Day of the Captains in the Rear) all the rest of the Officers standing out of Danger. Then about seventy

then *διαλέττοι* will have the same Sense with *διτακτοί* in the second Book, where he speaks of the Rhodians being disposed in Platoons, for Groups in Planting and Painting are the same Thing with Platoons in Tactics. D^r Ablancourt has artfully avoided the Difficulty by saying generally *jeunes de grands Pins*.

seventy of the Men advanced under the **BOOK**
 Trees, not in a Body, but one by one, **IV.**
 each sheltering himself as well as he
 could: While *Agasias* the *Stymphalian* and
Aristonymus of *Methydria*, who were also
 Captains belonging to the Rear, with
 some others, stood behind, without the
 Trees, for it was not safe for more than
 one Company to be there. Upon this
 Occasion *Callimachus* made Use of the fol-
 lowing Stratagem. He advanced two or
 three Paces from the Tree under which
 he stood; but, as soon as the Stones be-
 gan to fly, he quickly retired, and, upon
 every Excursion, more than ten Cart-
 Loads of Stones were consumed. When
Agasias saw what *Callimachus* was doing,
 and that the Eyes of the whole Army
 were upon him, fearing lest he should be
 the first Man who entered the Place, he,
 without giving any Notice to *Aristonymus*,
 who stood next to him, or to *Eurylochus*
 of *Lusia*, both of whom were his Friends,
 or to any other Person, advanced alone,
 with a Design to get before the rest.
 When *Callimachus* saw him passing by,
 he laid hold on the ' Border of his Shield.

In

' *Ἐπιλαμβάνεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἴτης*. I am surprized to
 find ἴτης rendered both by *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*,
 u *umbo*,

BOOK In the mean Time *Aristonymus*, and, after
 IV. him, *Eurylochus* ran by them both: For
 all these were Rivals in Glory, and in a
 constant Emulation of each other. And,
 by contending thus, they took the Place:
 For, the Moment one of them had gain-
 ed the Ascent, there were no more Stones
 thrown from above.

AND here followed a dreadful Spectacle
 in-

umbo, when *Suidas* has explained it so particularly by
περιφρεια ὄπλων, and, to support that Explanation has
 quoted this very Passage of *Xenophon* now before us;
 and, for fear this Authority should not be thought suffi-
 cient to establish this Sense of the Word, the same Author
 quotes Part of an Inscription on the Shield of *Alexander*
 of *Phyllos*, where *ἴτυς* is very particularly distinguished
 from *ὀμφαλός* which is properly *umbo*.

Γηραλία μὲν ἴτυν πώλειμον ὑπο, γηραλία δὲ
 Ομφαλός. —————

D'Ablancourt has evaded this Difficulty also, by translat-
 ing it generally, *le prit en passant par son bouclier*. *ἴτυς*
 therefore is what *Homer* calls *ἀντιξυμάτην*, where the
 Ocean flowed in the divine Shield which *Vulcan* made
 for *Achilles*,

Homer
 II. Σ.

Ἐν δ' ἰτίθῃσι ποταμοῖο μέγα σθίνῃ. Οὐκαιοῖο
 Ἀντιγα πᾶρ θυμάτην σάκῃσ' ὠόκα ποιοῖτο.

Which *Mr. Pope* has translated with his usual Elegance
 and Exactness,

In living Silver seem'd the Waves to roll,
And beat the Buckler's Verge, and bound the Whole.

The *Latin* Translators therefore ought to have rendered
 it *ora*, as *Virgil* has in that Verse, where he speaks of the
 Javelin thrown by *Pallas* at *Turnus*,

Virgil
 Æneid.
 10 B.

————— *Viam clypei molita per oras.*
Tandem etiam magno strinxit de corpore Turni.

indeed; for the Women first threw their Children down the Precipice, and then themselves. The Men did the same. And here *Æneas* the *Stymphalian*, a Captain, seeing one of the *Barbarians*, who was richly dressed, running with a Design to throw himself down, caught hold of him, and the other drawing him after, they both fell down the Precipice together, and were dashed to Pieces. Thus we made very few Prisoners, but took a considerable Quantity of Oxen, Asses, and Sheep.

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FROM thence the *Greeks* advanced, through the Country of the "*Chalybians*, and, in seven Marches, made fifty Parafangas. These being the most valiant People they met with in all their March, they came to a close Engagement with the *Greeks*. They had linen Corsets that reached below * their Navel, and,
in-

^u Διὰ Χαλβῶν. 'Tis difficult to say what Nation these were; I am sensible *Diodorus Siculus* calls them *Chalci-deans*, but we are much in the dark as to them. The Reader will however observe, that these *Chalybians* were a different People from those he will find mentioned by our Author in the next Book. Diod. Sic. 14 B.

* Μίχρι τῆ ἥτερι. Τὸ μέντοι ὑπὸ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν πᾶν, ἀχρεῖ τῶν ὑπὲρ αἰδοῖα τριχῶσιον, ἤτρον τε καὶ ὑπογάστριον. *Julius 2 B. Pollux.*

BOOK 'instead of Tassels, thick Cords twisted.
 IV. They had also Greaves and Helmets, and
 at their Girdle ^a a short Faulchon, like
 those of the *Lacedæmonians*, with which
 they cut the Throats of those they over-
 powered, and afterwards, cutting off their
 Heads, carried them away in Triumph.
 It was their Custom to sing and dance,
 whenever they thought the Enemy saw
 them. They had Pikes fifteen Cubits in
 length, ^a with only one Point. They staid
 in their Cities 'till the *Greeks* marched
 past them, and then followed harassing
 them perpetually. After that they retir-
 ed

^γ Ἀπὸ τῶν πτερυγίων. These Tassels with which the
 Skirts of ancient Armour were adorned, are, by our Au-
 thor, in his Treatise of Horsemanship, called πτερυγες,
 which he says should be so large, and in so great Quantity,
 as to hide the lower Part of the Belly and Thighs of the
 Horseman, περὶ δὲ τὸ ἦτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ κόλα αἱ
 πτερυγες τοιαύται καὶ τοσαύται ἔσασαι, ὥστε γέγινεν τὰ μέλη.

^z Ἐυήλη. Ἐυήλη· Ἐπιφίδιον, ὃ τινες δρέπανον λέγουσι.
Hefychius.

^a Μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. This seems to have deserved some
 Attention from the Translators. What *Xenophon* calls
 λόγχην here, *Julius Pollux*, speaking of the different Parts
 of a Spear, calls αἰχμή. The sharp Iron at the other
 End, with which they fixed their Pikes in the Ground,
 the same Author calls σαυρωτήη after *Homer*, who de-
 scribes the Pikes of *Diomedes* and his Companions in that
 Posture,

1 B. Seg.
 136.

Homer
 Il. K.

— ἔγχια δὲ σφιν
 Ορθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτήησιν ἰλήλατο. —

I imagine the Pikes of the *Chalybians* had not this lower
 Iron.

ed to their strong Holds, into which they had conveyed their Provisions: So that the *Greeks* could supply themselves with nothing out of their Country, but lived upon the Cattle they had taken from the *Taochians*.

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THEY now came to the River *Harpafus*, which was four hundred Feet broad. And from thence advanced through the Country of the *Scythinians*, and, in four Days March, made twenty *Parafangas*, passing through a Plain into some Villages; in which they staid three Days, and made their Provisions. From this Place they made, in four Days March, twenty *Parafangas*, to a large and rich City well inhabited: It was called *Gymnias*. The Governor of this Country sent a Person to the *Greeks*, to conduct them through the Territories of his Enemies. This Guide, coming to the Army, said he would undertake, ^b in five Days, to

^b Οθεν πέντε ημερών ὄψονται θάλασσαν. I don't know whether the *Latin* Translators have rendered this Passage with Perspicuity enough; they have said *a quo est unde dierum quinque spatio mare conspēcturi essent*. Of which this seems to be the Sense, that the Guide said he would carry them to a Place, from whence they should see the Sea in

BOOK to carry them to a Place, from whence
 IV. they should see the Sea. If not, he con-
 sented to be put to death. And, when
 he had conducted them into the Terri-
 tories belonging to his Enemies, he de-
 sired them to lay waste the Country with
 Fire and Sword. By which it was evi-
 dent that he came with this View, and
 not from any Good-will he bore to the
Greeks. The fifth Day they arrived at
 the holy Mountain called *Thebes*. As
 soon as the Men, who were in the Van-
 guard, ascended the Mountain, and saw
 the Sea, they gave a great Shout, which,
 when *Xenophon* and those in the Rear,
 heard, they concluded that some other
 Enemies attacked them in Front, for the
 People belonging to the Country they
 had burned, followed their Rear, some of
 whom those who had Charge of it, had
 killed, and taken others Prisoners in an
 Ambuscade. They had also taken twenty
 Buck-

five Days after they arrived there; but this is not the
 Sense of our Author, for it is obvious from what follows,
 that the five Days were to be counted from the Time he
 began to conduct them, not from the Time they arrived
 at the Place to which he was to conduct them: Accord-
 ingly we find that in five Days he led them to the Moun-
 tain, from which they saw the Sea. *D'Ablancourt* has
 said much better, *il promit de montrer la Mer aux Soldats*
dans cinq jours.

Bucklers made of raw Ox-hides with the Hair on.

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THE Noise still increasing as they came nearer, and the Men, as fast as they came up, running to those who still continued Shouting, their Cries swelled with their Numbers, so that *Xenophon*, thinking something more than ordinary had happened, mounted on Horse-back, and, taking with him *Lycius* and his Horse, rode up to their Assistance: And presently they heard the Soldiers calling out SEA! SEA! and cheering one another. At this they all set a running, the Rear-guard as well as the rest, and the Beasts of Burden, and Horses were driven forward. When they were all come up to the Top of the Mountain, they embraced one another, and also their Generals and Captains with Tears in their Eyes. And immediately the Men, by whose Order it is not known, bringing together a great many Stones, made a large Mount, upon which they placed a great Quantity of Shields made of raw Ox-hides, Staves, and Bucklers taken from the Enemy. The Guide himself cut the Bucklers in
Pieces,

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Pieces, and exhorted the rest to do the same. After this the *Greeks* sent back their Guide, giving him Presents out of the public Stock, these were a Horse, a silver Cup, a *Persian* Dress, and ten *Daricks*. But, above all Things the Guide desired the Soldiers to give him some of their Rings, many of which they gave him. Having therefore shewn them a Village, where they were to Quarter, and the Road that led to the *Macronians*, when the Evening came on, he departed, setting out on his Return that Night. From thence the *Greeks*, in three Days March, made ten *Parasangas*, through the Country of the *Macronians*. During their first Day's March, they came to a River, which divides the Territories of the *Macronians* from those of the *Scythians*. The *Greeks* had on their Right an Eminence of very difficult Access, and on their Left another River, into which the River that served for a Boundary between the two Nations, and which the *Greeks* were to pass, emptied itself. The Banks of this River were covered with Trees, which were not large, but grew close

* *Δαρικὸς δίκνα*. See note ^m, page 93

close to one another. These the *Greeks* immediately cut down, being in Haste to get out of the Place. The *Macronians* were drawn up on the opposite Side to obstruct their Passage. They are armed with Bucklers and Spears, and wore Vests made of Hair. They animated one another, and threw Stones into the River; but, as they did not reach our Men, they could do us no Damage.

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UPON this, one of the Targeteers coming to *Xenophon*, said, he had formerly been a Slave at *Athens*; that he understood the Language of these People; “and, says he, if I am not mistaken, this is my own Country, and, if there is no Objection, I will speak to the People.” *Xenophon* answered, “there is none; so speak to them, says he, and first enquire what People they are.” He did so, and they answered they were *Macronians*. “Ask them therefore, says *Xenophon*, why they are drawn up against us, and seek to be our Enemies?” To which they answered, “because you invade our Country.” The Generals then ordered him to let them know it was not with a View of doing them any Injury, “but that,

BOOK IV. *that, having made War against the King, we were returning to Greece, and desirous to arrive at the Sea.* The *Macronians* asked “*whether they were willing to give Assurance of this.*” The *Greeks* answered that they were willing both to give and take it. Upon this the *Macronians* gave the *Greeks* a *Barbarian Spear*, and the *Greeks* gave them one of theirs; for this, they said, was their Method of pledging their Faith: And both Parties called upon the Gods to be Witnesses to their Treaty.

WHEN this Ceremony was over, the *Macronians* came in a friendly manner among the *Greeks*, and assisted them in cutting down the Trees in order to prepare the Way for their Passage. They also supplied them with a Market in the best Manner they were able, and conducted them through their Country during three Days, ’till they brought them to the Mountains of the ^d *Colchians*. One
of

^d Τῶν Κόλχων. We have been a long Time following *Xenophon* through Countries, the greatest Part of whose Inhabitants are scarce known but by his History. We are now beginning to tread upon *Classical Ground*, where almost every Mountain, every River, and every
a City

of these was very large, but not inaccessible. And, upon this, the *Colchians* stood in Order of Battle: The *Greeks*, at first, drew up their Army in a Line, with a Design to march up the Mountain in this Disposition; afterwards, the Generals, being assembled, thought proper to deliberate in what Manner they should engage the Enemy with most Advantage; when *Xenophon* said it was his Opinion they

City is rendered famous by the Actions of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but more so by their Writings. The *Colchians* are immortalized by the *Argonautick* Expedition, but their Origin is not so generally known: *Dionysius Periegetes*, after *Herodotus*, makes them a Colony of the *Egyptians*,

Πὰρ δὲ μυχὸν Πόντου, μετὰ χθόνα Τυρδαειδῶν
Κόλχοι ναϊτάσι, μετῆλυδες Αἰγύπτου,
Καυκάσῃ ἰσγὺς ἰόντες. ———

Herodotus says they were either settled there by *Sesostris*, *Herodotus* or, being unwilling to follow him any further, remained in *Euterpe* there. This he supports by several Arguments, as that they were Blacks, and had curled Hair, but chiefly because the *Colchians*, the *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* were the only People in the World that originally used Circumcision; the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* in *Palestine* themselves acknowledging that they learned it from the *Egyptians*: *Herodotus* adds, that the *Egyptians*, and *Colchians* agreed also in their Way of living, and spoke the same Language: If, by the *Syrians* in *Palestine*, he means the *Jews*, as it is very probable, his Opinion opens so large a Field for Argument, that, to treat it cursorily, would not be doing Justice to a Subject of so much Consequence, and, to go the whole Length of it, would be not only invading the Province of Gentlemen much more capable of discussing it, than myself, but would also swell this Annotation much beyond its due Length.

BOOK they ought to change the Disposition,
 IV. and, dividing the heavy-armed Men into
 Companies of a hundred Men each, to
 throw every Company into a separate
 Column; "for, says he, the Mountain, be-
 ing, in some Places, inaccessible, and, in
 others, of easy Ascent, ° the Line will presently
 be broken, and this will, at once, dishearten
 the Men; besides, if we advance with many
 Men in File, the Enemy's Line will out-reach
 ours, and they may apply that Part of it,
 which out-reaches us, to what Service they
 think proper; and if with few, we ought not
 to wonder, if they break through our Line,
 wherever their Numbers and Weapons unite
 to

* Η μὲν γὰρ φάλαγγ διασπασθήσεται ἰσθῶς. The Rea-
 sons given here by *Xenophon* for attacking this Mountain
 in Columns, rather than in a Line, being the same with
 those alledged by *Polybius*, in his Dissertation upon the
Macedonian Phalanx, for the Advantages which the *Roman*
Legions had over it, I thought the *English* Reader would
 not be displeas'd with a Translation of this Dissertation,
 wherein we find a much more particular Description of
 the *Macedonian Phalanx*, and of all its Operations, than
 is to be met with in any other Author, particularly, since
 the 17th Book of *Polybius*, in which this Dissertation is,
 not being entire, has not, that I know of, been translated
 into our Language. From the Reasoning both of *Xeno-*
phon, and *Polybius*, it may be gathered that *Philip*, the
 Son of *Amynias*, and Father to *Alexander* the Great, who
 we find, by *Diodorus Siculus*, instituted the *Macedonian*
Phalanx, did not improve the *Greek* Discipline by that
 Institution. As this Dissertation of *Polybius* is of too great
 a Length to come in among the Notes, I have given it a
 Place at the End of this Book.

to make an Impression; and, if this happens in any Part, the whole Line must suffer. To avoid therefore these Inconveniences, I think the several Companies, being thus drawn up in separate Columns, ought to march at so great a Distance from one another, that the last on each Side may reach beyond the Enemy's Wings; by this Means, not only our last Companies will out-reach their Line, but, as we make our Attack in Columns, the bravest of our Men will charge first; and let every Company ascend the Mountain in that Part, where it is of easy Access; neither will it be an easy Matter for the Enemy to fall into the Intervals, when the Companies are placed on each Side, or to break through them, when they advance in Columns: And, if any of the Companies suffer, the next will relieve them, and, if any one of them can, by any Means, gain the Summit, the Enemy will no longer stand their Ground." This was resolved on, so they divided the heavy-armed Men into Companies, and threw every Company into a separate Column; then Xenophon, going from the Right of the Army to the Left, spoke thus to the Soldiers; "Gentlemen! the Enemy, you see before you, are now the only remaining Obstacle, that

Q 9 2

binders

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BOOK *binders us from being already in the Place,*
 IV. *whither we are, long since, hastening. These,*
if we can, we ought even to eat alive."

WHEN every Man stood in his Place, and all the Companies were drawn up in Columns, they amounted to about eighty Companies of heavy-armed, each of which consisted of near a hundred Men; the Targeteers, and Archers, they divided into three Bodies of near six hundred Men each, one of which they placed beyond the left Wing, another beyond the Right, and the third in the Center. Then the Generals ordered the Soldiers to make their Vows to the Gods, and, after they had made them, and sung the Pæan, they marched: *Cheirisophus*, and *Xenophon* advanced at the Head of those Targeteers, who were beyond the Enemy's Line; these, seeing them coming up, moved forward to receive them, and some filed off to the Right, and others to the Left, leaving a great Void in the Center: When the *Arcadian* Targeteers, who were commanded by *Æschines*, the *Acarnianian*, saw them divide, they ran forward in all Haste, thinking they fled, and

these were the first who gained the Summit. They were followed by the *Arca-* BOOK
IV.
dian heavy-armed Men, commanded by *Cleanor*, the *Orchomenian*. The Enemy, when once they began to give Ground, never stood after, but fled some one Way, and some another. After the *Greeks* had gained the Ascent, they encamped in many Villages full of all sorts of Provisions. Here they found nothing else worthy of their Admiration, but, there being great Quantities of ^f Bee-hives in those Villages, all the Soldiers, who eat of the Honey-Combs, lost their Senses, and were seized with a Vomiting and Purging, none of them being able to stand upon their Legs. Those who eat
but

^f Τα δὲ σμύκη. The Accident, here mentioned by *Xenophon*, is accounted for by *Pliny*, and further explained by *Tournefort*: The first says there is a Kind of Honey, 21 B. c. 13. found in this Country, called from its Effect, *Mænomenon*; that is, that those who eat of it are seized with *Madness*: He adds, that the common Opinion is that this Honey is gathered from the Flowers of a Plant, called *Rhododendros*, which is very common in those Parts. *Tournefort*, when he was in that Country, saw there two Plants, which he calls *Chamærhododendros*, the first with Leaves like the Medlar, and yellow Flowers; the other with Leaves like the *Laurocerasus*, and purple Flowers; this, he says, is probably the *Rhododendros* of *Pliny*, because the People of the Country look upon the Honey, that is gathered from its Flowers, to produce the Effects described by *Xenophon*. Pl. N. H. fort, 17
Letter.

BOOK but little, ^e were like Men very drunk,
 IV. and those, who eat much, like Mad-men,
 and some like dying Persons. In this
 Condition great Numbers lay upon the
 Ground, as if there had been a Defeat,
 and the Sorrow was general: The next
 Day, none of them died, but recovered
 their Senses, about the same Hour they
 were seized, and the third, and fourth
 Day, they got up as if they had taken
 Physic.

FROM thence they made, in two Days
 March, seven Parasangas, and arrived at
 the Sea, and ^h at *Trebisond*, a Greek City,
 well inhabited, and situated upon the
Euxine Sea; it is a Colony of the *Sino-*
prians,

^e Σφόδρα μεθύσαν ἰσχυρόν. Ressembloient à des yvrognes,
 says d' *Ablancourt*. Methinks he should have rather said
 à des gens yvres, for, I believe, it will be allowed, that,
 in his Language, an *yvrogne* signifies, an *habitual Drinker*,
 and an *homme yvre*, a *Man who is actually drunk*.

^h Εἰς Τραπεζούντα. As this was a Greek City, the Greeks
 found themselves here in Safety, after their long and glo-
 rious March. The Port, which is on the East of the
 Town, was built by the Emperor *Adrian*, as we find by
 Arrian *Arrian*, who, in his *Periplus* of the *Euxine* Sea, which he
 Periplus. dedicates to that Emperor, says, that he was making a
 Port there, for, before, there was no more than a Station,
 where Ships could only ride at Anchor, with Safety, in the
 Tourne- *Summer-time*. ἰνταῦθα οὐδ' αὐτίκ' ἕκματα· ἀλάσι γὰρ ὄσον
 fort, 17 ἀποσαλεύει ἀπὸ ἔργου, ἔργου ἦ. *Tournefort* says this Port is
 Letter. now called *Platana*, and is much neglected by the *Turks*.

prians, but lies in the Country of the *Col-* **BOOK**
chians. Here they staid about thirty **IV.**
 Days, encamping in the Villages of the
Colchians, and, from thence, made Excur-
 sions into their Country, and plundered
 it: The Inhabitants of *Trebisond* supplied
 them with a Market in their Camp, and
 received the *Greeks* with great Hospitality,
 making them presents of Oxen, Barley-
 Meal, and Wine: They also concluded a
 Treaty with them in Favour of the
 neighbouring *Colchians*, the greatest Part
 of whom inhabit the Plain, and from
 these also the *Greeks* received more Oxen,
 as a Mark of their Hospitality. After
 this, they prepared the Sacrifice they had
 vowed. They had received Oxen enough
 to offer to *Jupiter* the Preserver, and to
Hercules, in Return for their having con-
 ducted them with Safety, and also to the
 other Gods what they had vowed. They
 also celebrated a *Gymnick* Game upon the
 Mountain, where they encamped, and
 chose *Dracontius* of *Sparta* (who, having
 involuntarily killed a Boy with his Faul-
 chon, fled from his Country, when he
 was a Child) to take Care of the Course,
 and preside at the Game.

WHEN

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WHEN the Sacrifice was over, they delivered the Hides of the Victims to *Dracontius*, and desired he would lead them to the Place, where he had prepared the Course. This Hill, says he, pointing to the Place where they stood, is the properest Place for running, let them take which Way they will. But, said they, how is it possible for them to wrestle in so uneven, and so bushy a Place? He that is thrown, replied he, will feel the greater Anguish. ¹ The Course was run by Boys, the greatest Part of whom were Prisoners, and the long Course by above sixty *Cretans*. Others contended in Wrestling, Boxing, and the Pancratiium. All which

¹ Σταδιον, Δόλιχον, Πάλη, Πύγμα, Παγκράτιον. The five Games, so much celebrated in Greece, are contained in the following Pentameter Verse,

Αλμα, ποδακίνη, δίσκος, άκοντα, πάλη.

Leaping, running, throwing of the Disk, and of Darts, and Wrestling. The first is not here taken notice of; under the second is comprehended σταδιον and δόλιχον, the former being a Course of six hundred Feet, τὸ σταδιον ἔχει μύδας χ'. *Suidas*. And the latter containing twenty-four Stadia. ἔστι δὲ ὁ δόλιχον καὶ στάδια. *Id.* It is possible that πάλη may, in that Verse, be taken for ἀνακλινοπάλη, that is, that both Boxing and Wrestling might be comprehended under the Word πάλη, which, in that Case, will be the same with παγκράτιον, since this consisted both of Boxing, and Wrestling, παγκρατιασταῖς ἀθληταῖς πύγματι, ὅτι ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ ταῖς ποσὶ πυκτομαχῶσι. *Suidas*. However we find them distinguished by *Xenophon* upon this Occasion.

c

which made a fine Sight: ^k For many entered the Lifts, and, as their Friends were Spectators, there was great Emulation. Horfes also ran; they were obliged to run down to the Sea, and turning there, to come up again to the ^l Altar. In the Descent, many rolled down the Hill, but, when they came to climb it, the ^m Ascent was so very steep the Horfes could scarce come in a Foot-pace. Upon this the Spectators shouted, and laughed, and animated their Friends.

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^k Πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν. In this Sense *Horace* uses the Word *descendo*,

— *hic generosior*
Descendat in Campum Pettitor.

Horat. r.
Od. 3 B.

^l Πρὸς τὸν Βωμόν. It is very probable, as *Hutchinson* has observed, that this Altar might be one of those taken Notice of by *Arrian*, in his *Periplus*, which, he says, were standing in his Time, and built of rough Stone.

^m Ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μέλις βάδην ἰπορέουοντο οἱ ἵπποι. Not only the Sense of the Words, but their Order admirably represents the Labour of the Horfes, in climbing the steep Ascent: *Homer* has led the Way in *Homer* this, as in all other Beauties both of Thought, and Style. *Odys.* λ. With what Difficulty does *Sisyphus* crowd up the Stone to the Top of the Hill?

Λᾶαν ἄνω ἄθισκε ποτὶ λόφου —————

And then, with what Celerity does it come bounding down?

— ἵππιτα πείδονδε κυλίνδεται λᾶας ἀναιδής.

The End of the Fourth Book.

VOL. I.

R r

THE
DISSERTATION
OF
POLYBIUS
UPON THE
MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

17 B.

HAVING promised, in the *fourth Book, to compare, upon a proper Occasion, the Arms of the *Romans*, and *Macedonians*, and the different Dispositions of their respective Armies, as also to consider the Advantages, and Disadvantages of both; I shall take the Opportunity of their being engaged together, to endeavour to perform my Promise. For since the *Macedonian* Dif-

* See page 306.

Disposition, recommending itself by Success, formerly prevailed over That of the *Asiatics* and *Greeks*; and, on the other Side, the *Roman* Disposition has been victorious over That of the *Africans*, and of all the Inhabitants of the western Part of *Europe*; and since, in our Time, there has been not only one but many Trials of the Dispositions and Soldiers of both Nations; it will be a useful and a creditable Undertaking to enquire into the Difference of their Discipline, and consider the Cause of the Victories of the *Romans*, and of their excelling all other Nations in military Atchievements, to the End we may not, by attributing their Success to Fortune, like weak Men, compliment the Victorious without Foundation; but, by being acquainted with the true Reasons of it, celebrate and admire the Conquerors with Justice.

As to what relates to the Battles, in which the *Romans* were engaged with *Hannibal*, and the Defeats they received from him, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them, since they were not owing either to their Arms, or their Disposition,

R r 2

but

but to a Superiority of Genius, and Conduct in *Hannibal*. This we have made appear in the Relation of those Battles: And this is farther confirmed by the Event of the War, (for, as soon as the *Romans* were commanded by a General equal to *Hannibal*, they presently became victorious) and also by the Conduct of *Hannibal* himself, who, disliking the Arms his Men had, 'till then, made Use of, upon the first Victory he gained over the *Romans*, immediately armed his Forces with the Arms of the latter, and continued to use them ever after. It is also certain that *Pyrrhus* not only made use of *Italian* Arms, but also of *Italian* Forces, in his Engagements with the *Romans*, placing a Body of *Italians*, and of his own Men, drawn up in a *Phalanx*, alternately: However, not even, by this means, was he able to beat the *Romans*, but the Event of all their Battles proved doubtful. It was necessary to premise these Things, to the End that nothing may seem to contradict our Assertions. I now return to the proposed Comparison. Many Arguments may convince us that nothing can resist the *Phalanx* in Front,

Front, or withstand its Onset, when possessed of all the Advantages, that are peculiar to it: For each Man, with his Arms, when drawn up in Order of Battle, takes up three Feet in Depth; and their Pikes, though originally sixteen Cubits in Length, are however in Reality fourteen; of these, four are taken up by the Distance between his Hands, and so much of the hinder Part of the Pike, as is necessary to balance the fore Part, when presented to the Enemy: This being so, it is plain that the Pike, when grasped with both Hands, and presented, must project ten Cubits before each Man. Hence it happens, that the Pikes of the fifth Rank will project two Cubits, and those of the second, third, and fourth, will project more than two, before the File-leaders, when the Intervals, between the Ranks, and Files of the *Phalanx*, are properly observed; as *Homer* has shewn in these Verses:

*An Iron Scene gleams dreadful o'er the
Fields,
Armour in Armour lock'd, and Shields in
Shields,*

Spears

The Dissertation of POLYBIUS

*Spears lean on Spears, on Targets Targets
throng,*

*Helms stuck to Helms, and Man drove
Man along. Mr. Pope.*

This being truly and beautifully expressed, it follows, that five Pikes, differing two Cubits from one another in Length, must project before each of the File-leaders: So that it is an easy matter to represent to one's self, the Appearance, and Strength of the whole *Phalanx*, when being, as usual, drawn up sixteen deep, and presenting its Pikes, it makes an Attack. Of these sixteen Ranks, those, that exceed the fifth, cannot contribute, with their Pikes, to annoy the Enemy; for which Reason they do not present them, but each Rank inclines them over the Shoulders of that before it, in Order to secure them from above, the Pikes, by their Closeness, defending them from the missile Weapons, which might otherwise, by flying over the foremost Ranks, fall upon those, who stand behind them. Besides, each of these Ranks, pressing in File, with the whole Weight of their Body, the Rank which immediately precedes,

cedes, they not only strengthen the Attack, but make it impossible for the foremost Ranks to retreat. This being the Disposition of the *Phalanx* in the Whole, and in Part, we are now to give an Account of the Properties, and Difference of the *Roman* Arms, and Disposition, by comparing them together. The *Romans* likewise, with their Arms, take up three Feet in Depth: But, as they cover their Bodies with their Shields, changing their Guard at every Stroke, and make Use of their Swords both to cut, and thrust, it happens that their Line of Battle is in a perpetual Fluctuation; this makes it necessary for each Man to have Room, and an Interval of, at least, three Feet, both in Rank and in File, if it is expected he should do his Duty; from whence it follows, that one *Roman* will stand opposite to two File-leaders of the *Phalanx*, and consequently be exposed to, and engaged with ten Spears, which it is not possible for one Man, when once the Armies close, to cut to Pieces, before he is annoyed by them, or easy to break through, since the hindmost Ranks can contribute nothing either to the Force of the File-

i lead-

leaders, or to the Efficacy of their Swords. From what has been said it may be easily concluded that, as I before observed, nothing can withstand the Onset of the *Phalanx* in Front, while it preserves all the Advantages that are peculiar to it. What therefore is the Cause that gives the Victory to the *Romans*, and defeats those, who make use of the *Phalanx*? It is this: military Operations are uncertain both in Time, and Place; whereas the *Phalanx* has but one Time, one Place, and one Disposition, in which it can perform the Service that is expected from it. If therefore there was a Necessity for the Enemy to engage the *Phalanx* at its own Time, and Place, in every decisive Action, it is reasonable to conclude, from what has been said, that the latter would always prove victorious. But, if this is possible, and easy to be avoided, why should that Disposition be, any longer, looked upon as formidable? And, indeed, it is allowed that the *Phalanx* stands in Need of an even, and open Ground, where there is no Impediment, such as Ditches, Chasms, Valleys, Eminences, and Rivers: For all these are capable of
con-

confounding, and breaking its Ranks. It must also be allowed that it is almost impossible, at least, very rare, to find Places of twenty or more Stadia, in which there is nothing of this Nature: However, admit there are such Places; if the Enemy does not think fit to engage the *Phalanx* there, but, instead of that, marches round, and lays waste the Towns, and Country of their Friends, what will be the Service of such a Disposition? Since, while the *Phalanx* remains in the Places, that are proper for it, so far is it from being able to relieve its Friends, that it is incapable even of preserving it self; for the Enemy will easily cut off their Provisions, the Moment they have, without Opposition, made themselves absolute Masters of the Country: And, if the *Phalanx* quits the Places that are proper for it, to engage in any Enterprize, it will become an easy Conquest. But, if the Enemy, resolving to engage the *Phalanx* in an even Place, should, instead of exposing his whole Army at once to the Onset of the *Phalanx*, retreat a little the Instant it charges, the Event may be easily foreseen from what the Ro-

mans now practise. For I desire no Judgment be formed of my Assertions from what I say, but from what has already happened: Since the *Romans* do not engage the *Phalanx* with all their Legions drawn up in a Line parallel to the former; but some Divisions of them lie behind in Reserve, while others are engaged; so that, whether the *Phalanx* forces those who are opposite to it to give Way, or is it self forced by them to give Way, the Property of it is destroyed: For, in Order to pursue those who fly, or to fly from those who pursue, some Parts of the Line must leave the rest; which no sooner happens, than an Opening is given for the Reserve to take the Ground they left, and, instead of attacking those who remain in Front, to break in upon their Flanks, or their Rear. Since, therefore, it is an easy Matter to avoid the Opportunities, and Advantages of the *Phalanx*, but impossible for the latter to avoid Those the *Romans* have over it, how is it possible there should not, in reality, be a great Difference between them? Besides, it is some times necessary for the *Phalanx* to march through, and encamp in all Sorts
of

of Places ; at others, to prevent the Enemy, by seizing some advantageous Post ; some times, to besiege, at others, to be besieged, and to meet with unexpected Occurrences ; for all these Things are incident to War, and either decide the Victory, or greatly contribute to it : And, in all these, the Disposition of the *Macedonians* is of little, or no Use ; it being impossible for the Men, either in Companies, or singly, to perform any Service : Whereas That of the *Romans* is properly adapted to all ; for every *Roman*, when once armed for Action, is equally fit for all Places, for all Times, and all Occurrences : He is also ready and equally disposed either for a general, or a particular Action, to charge with his Company, or engage in a single Combat. As, therefore, the Disposition of the *Romans* is vastly superior to That of the *Macedonians* in the Use of all its Parts, so the Enterprizes of the former are vastly more successful than Those of the latter,



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T O T H E
F I R S T V O L U M E.

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