

Seeming and Being in Xenophon's On Horsemanship and On the Cavalry Commander

This paper will examine how Xenophon's neglected works on horsemanship, *περὶ Ἴππικῆς* and *Ἴππαρχικός*, can inform readings of his leadership theory. Some authors, including Tatum and Nadon, have proposed that Xenophon's use of words such as *δοκέω* and *φαίνω* suggests that an ironical and cynical undertone is present throughout the *Hellenica* and *Cyropaedia*. Xenophon's use of these words, they suggest, indicates that he believes that leadership is about the creation of an image for followers, though this image does not in fact correspond to reality. Vivienne Gray in *Xenophon's Mirror of Princes* contends the opposite. She cites multiple examples when Xenophon uses 'seeming' in places where irony is not possible. She shows, instead, that Xenophon commonly uses this phrase in order to emphasize the viewpoint of those seeing the situation at the time and that this image corresponds to reality (Gray 2011; 101).

Through an analysis of *περὶ Ἴππικῆς* and *Ἴππαρχικός* I refine Vivienne Gray's thesis on the *Hellenica* and *Cyropaedia*. I demonstrate that the frequency of verbs of seeming, like *δοκέω* and *φαίνω*, in these two works is because leadership, according to Xenophon, is always something that has to be observed by an audience. This reflects Xenophon's idea of leadership as something that has to be viewed and the theatrical nature of leadership. This is natural as both works were interested in the display of the horse and spectacle was essential for the success of the cavalry. The addition of these two works shows that these verbs were not only used to demonstrate the viewpoint of the audience but to emphasize Xenophon's notion of leadership in general.

Select Works Cited

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