

the generals got together again. Bringing the captives together, they cross-examined them about all the land encircling them, what each [district] was. (15) They said that the parts toward the south were on the road to Babylon and Media, along the road they had already traveled; that the road to the east led to Susa and Ecbatana, where the King is said to pass the summer and spring; that the road for one who crossed the river led to the west, to Lydia and Ionia; and that the road through the mountains and heading north went to the Carduchians. (16) They said that these Carduchians dwelt throughout the mountains, that they were warlike, that they did not obey the King, that, to the contrary, once a royal army of one hundred twenty thousand invaded them but that because of the roughness of the country, not one of them returned home. Whenever the Carduchians made a treaty with the satrap on the plain, however, the captives said that some of them had dealings with some of the [Carduchians], and some of the [Carduchians] had dealings with some of them.

(17) On hearing this, the generals seated separately those who professed to know the road each way, making nothing clear about which way they were going to march. It seemed necessary to the generals to go through the mountains, invading the Carduchians; for the captives had said that after passing through them, they would come to Armenia, a large and prosperous land over which Orontas ruled. From here they said it was easy to go wherever one wished.<sup>22</sup> (18) They offered sacrifice over this, in order that they might make their move whenever it should seem time, for they feared that the pass over the mountains might be seized in advance. They announced that after dining and having packed up their baggage, all should rest up, and follow whenever it was announced that the time had come.

## BOOK IV

### ~ CHAPTER 1 ~

What occurred on the ascent up until the battle; what occurred after the battle, under the treaty made by the King and the Greeks who had ascended with Cyrus; and what warring there was against the Greeks when the King and Tissaphernes violated the treaty, with the Persian army following along after them, has been made clear in the foregoing account.

(2) When they arrived where the Tigris River was in every way impassable on account of its depth and great breadth, and there was no way alongside it, but the Carduchian mountains hung sheer above the river, the soldiers thought it best that they go through the mountains. (3) For they heard from captives that if they passed through the Carduchian mountains, they would cross over the sources of the Tigris River in Armenia, if they wished, and if they did not wish, they could go around them. It was said also that the sources of the Euphrates were not far from the Tigris, and so it is. (4) They made their invasion of the Carduchians as follows, trying at once to escape notice and, at the same time, to get the jump on their enemies in taking the heights.

(5) When it was about the time of the last watch, and there was just enough night left to cross over the plain in the dark, they then made an announcement to get one another up and began to march; and they arrived at the mountain at daybreak. (6) At this point Cheirisophus

led the army, taking the troops he kept with himself and all the light-armed troops, and Xenophon followed with the rearguard of hoplites, with no light-armed troops, for there seemed to be no danger of anyone following them from the rear while they were marching uphill. (7) And Cheirisophus ascended the summit before any of the enemy were aware of it. Then he led on more slowly, and as each part of the army went over the peak, it followed him down to the villages in the hollows and nooks of the mountains. (8) At this point the Carduchians left their houses and fled with their wives and children to the mountains. As for provisions, there were many to take, and the houses were supplied with numerous bronze utensils; of the latter the Greeks took away nothing, nor did they pursue the people, sparing them on the chance that the Carduchians might somehow be willing for them to pass through their country as through a friendly one, since they too were enemies of the King. (9) They did take the provisions, however, each taking whatever he chanced upon, for necessity pressed them. The Carduchians would neither listen when they called nor do any other such friendly thing.

(10) When the last of the Greeks were descending into the villages from the summit, when it was already dark (for since the road was narrow, their ascent and descent into the villages took all day), then some of the Carduchians gathered together and attacked the ones at the end. They killed and wounded some with stones and arrows, even though there were few attackers, for the Greek army had fallen upon them unexpectedly. (11) If more had then gathered together, however, much of the army would have risked being destroyed. And for that night they bivouacked like this in the villages, while the Carduchians kept burning many fires in a circle on the mountains and kept watching each other.

(12) As day was breaking, the Greek generals and captains came together and decided that on their march they would keep only those of the baggage animals that were necessary and most powerful and would leave the others, and that they would release all newly taken captives in the army; (13) for the many baggage animals and captives were slowing down the march, and the many who were in charge of them were removed from the fighting. And they had to provide and carry double the provisions, since there were so many people. This having been decided, they had it proclaimed to do this.

(14) When they had had breakfast and were marching, the generals stood in a narrow place, and if they found anything that had been mentioned but had not been discarded, they took it away. And the troops obeyed, unless someone concealed something—for example, out of desire for an attractive boy or woman. On this day they marched like this, sometimes fighting and sometimes resting. (15) On the following day a great storm arose, but it was necessary to march on, for there were not sufficient provisions. Cheirisophus led, while Xenophon was over the rearguard. (16) And the enemy attacked with severity. When the passes were narrow, they came up close and shot their bows and slings; as a result, it was necessary for the Greeks to go out in pursuit and then to fall back, and thus to make their way slowly. And Xenophon frequently sent word to wait when the enemy was making a severe attack. (17) At other times Cheirisophus would wait when the word was passed, but on this occasion he did not. Rather, he led on quickly and passed the word to follow, so it was clear that there was a problem, but there was no leisure for anyone to go forward and see the cause of his haste. As a consequence, the march became like flight for the rear guard. (18) And here a brave man was killed, a Laconian, Cleonymus, shot in the side by an arrow that went through his shield and breastplate; and Basias, an Arcadian, was shot through the head.

(19) When they arrived at a stopping place, Xenophon went directly to Cheirisophus just as he was and began to blame him for not waiting, and for compelling them to fight at the same time they were trying to flee. "And now two noble and good men are lying dead, and we were not able either to take them up or to bury them."

(20) Cheirisophus answered: "Look," he said, "toward the mountains, and see how impassable they all are. There is this one road which you see, a steep one, and beside it, it is possible for you to see a large crowd of people, which has taken the pass that leads out and now stands guard over it. (21) It is for this I was hurrying, and I did not wait for you on account of this, that I might somehow be able to take the pass before they did. The guides we have deny there is any other road."

(22) And Xenophon said, "But I have two men. For since the enemy was giving us trouble, we set an ambush. This also allowed us to catch our breath, and we killed some of them, and we also were

eager to capture some alive so that we might have the use of guides who know the country."

(23) They brought in the people right away and cross-examined them separately about whether they knew any road other than the one that was visible. The one denied that he did, even when threatened with many frightening things. When he kept failing to say anything beneficial, he was slaughtered in sight of the other. (24) The one left said that the former had denied knowing because he chanced to have a daughter living there with a man to whom she had been given in marriage. He himself said that he would lead them on a road on which it was possible even for baggage animals to pass. (25) Asked if there was any place on it that was hard to pass, he said there was a summit that would be impossible to get by unless someone took it in advance. (26) Here they decided to call the captains, of the peltasts as well as of the hoplites, both to tell them the present circumstances and to ask if any of them were willing to be a brave man and offer to march on as a volunteer. (27) Of the hoplites the volunteers were Aristonymus, a Methydrian Arcadian, and Agasias, a Stymphalian Arcadian, and in rivalry with them Callimachus, a Parrhasian Arcadian; and he said that he was willing to march and to take volunteers from the entire army. "For I," he said, "know many of the young will follow if I lead." (28) After this they asked if any of the light-armed colonels were willing to march along. Aristeas, a Chian, volunteered, one who was of great worth to the army for such things on many occasions.

≈ CHAPTER 2 ≈

It was now late afternoon, and they bade the volunteers get something to eat and go. Binding the guide, they gave him to them; and the volunteers agreed that if they should take the summit, they would guard it through the night and, on the break of day, signal with a trumpet. And they also agreed that those who were up high would attack the enemy holding the visible way out, while they themselves [the main body of the army] would march out and join in helping as quickly as they could. (2) Having agreed to all this, the volunteers

set out, about two thousand in number, and a heavy rain fell from heaven. Xenophon led with the rear guard toward the visible way out, so the enemy would pay attention to this road and those going around would escape detection as much as possible. (3) But the rear guard came to a ravine, and once it was crossed, they had to go up a steep grade. At that very moment the barbarians began rolling down round stones large enough to fill a wagon, and others both larger and smaller; coming down and striking the rocks below, they were thrown all about. And it was by no means possible even to approach that road. (4) Some of the captains, if ever they were not able to advance in one way, tried another, and they kept doing this until it became dark. When they thought they would not be visible if they went away, then they went back for their dinner, for their rear guard chanced to have been without breakfast as well. The enemy,<sup>1</sup> however, did not cease rolling down stones through the whole night, as was possible to infer from the noise.

(5) Those with the guide circled around and came upon guards seated around a fire. Killing some and chasing others away, they remained there themselves, under the impression that they held the summit. (6) They did not hold it, but, to the contrary, there was a round hill above them, and next to it was that narrow road, at which the guards [of the summit] were seated.<sup>2</sup> There was, however, an approach from where they were to the [main body of the] enemy, who were seated at the visible road. (7) And here they passed the night. When dawn was just barely visible, [the volunteers] marched in silence and in order against the enemy. There was also fog, so they escaped notice even when they got close. When they saw each other, the trumpet was sounded, and raising the battle cry, they rushed against the people. The others, however, did not stay and wait for the attack, but because in their flight they left the road, few were killed, for they were dressed for mobility. (8) When they heard the trumpet, those with Cheirisophus directly rushed up along the visible road. Other generals marched along unbeaten paths, wherever each division chanced to be, and ascending however they were able, the troops would pull each other up with their spears. (9) And these were the first to unite with those who had already taken the position.

Xenophon, with half of the rear guard, was proceeding along the road that those with the guide had taken, for it was most easily

traveled by the baggage animals; he stationed [the other] half behind the baggage animals. (10) In their march they chanced upon a hill above the road, which had been taken by the enemy. It was necessary either to dislodge them or to be cut off from the rest of the Greeks. Although [Xenophon's party] could have passed along the other path, the one followed by the others, it was not possible for the baggage animals to get through in any other way than this. (11) At this point, encouraging each other, they charged the hill with their companies in column, not encircling it but leaving the enemy a way out, if they should wish to flee. (12) For so long as they were ascending, each wherever he was able, the barbarians kept shooting their bows and throwing, yet they did not let them get close but abandoned their position and fled. The Greeks had just gotten by this hill when they saw another occupied hill in front of them, and it was again decided to march against it. (13) Xenophon became apprehensive that if he should leave unoccupied the hill they had just taken, the enemy might retake it and attack the baggage train as it passed by (for the baggage train stretched a long way, since it was passing along a narrow road), so he left on the hill the captains Cephisodorus, son of Cephisophon, an Athenian; Amphicrates, son of Amphidemus, an Athenian; and Archagoras, an Argive exile. And he himself marched with the rest to the second hill, and they took it too in the same way. (14) There was still a third round hill remaining for them, by far the steepest, above the guard post beside the fire, which had been taken by the volunteers during the night.<sup>3</sup> (15) When the Greeks were near, the barbarians left the round hill without a fight, so that it was a wonder for all, and they suspected that the barbarians left out of fear of being surrounded and besieged. But, in fact, looking down from the summit, [the barbarians] had seen what was happening in the rear; and all had gone off to attack the rear guard. (16) Xenophon went up onto the summit with his youngest troops; the others he ordered to lead on slowly so that the last companies might join up with them. He told them to go forward along the road and to halt under arms on the level ground.

(17) Meanwhile, Archagoras the Argive came fleeing and said that they had been dislodged from the first hill and that Cephisodorus and Amphicrates had been killed, and others too, all those who had not reached the rear guard by jumping down the rocks. (18) Having

accomplished all this, the barbarians came to a hill opposite the round hill. Xenophon conversed with them through an interpreter about a truce, and he asked for the dead bodies. (19) They said that they would give them back on the condition that they not burn their houses and their villages. Xenophon agreed to this. But while the rest of the army was going by, and they were conversing about terms, all [the Carduchians] from the surrounding area flocked together. Here the enemy made a stand. (20) When the Greeks began to descend from the round hill to the others, where the heavy-armed troops were in position, the enemy rushed on in great numbers and with an uproar. And when they reached the crest of the round hill from which Xenophon was descending, they began rolling rocks. They broke the leg of one, and Xenophon's shield bearer took his shield and deserted him. (21) Eurylochus, a Lusian, an Arcadian hoplite, ran up to him, and thrusting out his shield in front of both of them, he retreated, and the others went away to those who waited in battle order. (22) After this, all the Greek force was together, and they camped there among many beautiful houses and with abundant provisions; for there was much wine, which they kept in cemented cisterns. (23) Xenophon and Cheirisophus negotiated so that they would return the guide after taking up the corpses. They did for the dead, within the limits of the possible, everything that is customarily done for brave men.

(24) They marched on the next day without a guide; and the enemy, continuing to battle and taking in advance every narrow place, kept on blocking their passage. (25) Accordingly, whenever they blocked those who were first, Xenophon went out from the rear to the mountains, and trying to get higher than the blockaders, he released the blockade of the passage for the first. (26) Whenever they attacked those in the rear, Cheirisophus went out, and trying to get higher than the blockaders, he released the blockade of the passage for those at the rear. Thus they were always helping each other and took vigorous care of each other. (27) There were also times when, for those who had ascended to higher ground, the barbarians posed many problems for them as they came back down again; for they were agile, so that even when they fled from close range, they would still escape, for they carried nothing but bows and slings. (28) They were best as bowmen. They had bows nearly three cubits long and

arrows more than two.<sup>a</sup> When they shot their arrows, they drew their strings while pressing with their left foot against the bottom of the bow, and their arrows passed through shields and breastplates. The Greeks used them, when they got them, as javelins, fitting them to their throwing thongs. In these places, the Cretans were most useful; Stratocles, a Cretan, ruled them.

~ CHAPTER 3 ~

On that day they again camped in the villages that are above the plain along the Centrites River, about two plethra in width, which is the border between Armenia and the country of the Carduchians. And the Greeks rested here, glad to see a plain, for the river was six or seven stadia from the mountains of the Carduchians. (2) At that time, then, they bivouacked with great pleasure, both having provisions and remembering many of the labors that were now passed. For they spent in continual fighting all of the seven days it took them to march though the Carduchians, and they suffered even more harm than all they had suffered at the hands of the King and Tissaphernes. In the belief that they were rid of all this suffering, then, they went to rest with pleasure.

(3) With the coming of day, however, they saw horsemen somewhere on the other side of the river, fully armed as though to prevent them from crossing, and infantry in battle order on the high banks above the horsemen, as though to prevent them from going into Armenia. (4) These were troops of Orontas and Artuchas, Armenians, Mardians, and Chaldaean mercenaries. The Chaldaeans were said to be free and dauntless; they had large wicker shields and lances as weapons. (5) The high banks on which they were in battle order were three or four plethra from the river. The one road they saw was the one leading up, like one that had been manmade, and it was at this point that the Greeks were trying to get across. (6) When they made their attempt, the water appeared to be more than breast-deep, and the river bed was rough with large and slippery stones. It was not

<sup>a</sup> A cubit, or *pēchus*, is about eighteen inches.

possible to hold one's weapons in the water, or if one did, the river swept them off. And if one carried his weapons over his head, he became exposed to arrows and other missiles. They thus withdrew and camped there beside the river. (7) And where they themselves had been the night before, in the mountains, they now saw many Carduchians gathered under arms. Then indeed was there great despondency among the Greeks: they saw a river whose crossing would be difficult; they saw troops who would block them as they tried to cross; and they saw the Carduchians who would attack them from behind as they tried to cross.

(8) For this day and night, therefore, they remained there, very much at a loss, but Xenophon saw a dream. He seemed to have been bound in fetters, but these seemed to fall off from him of their own accord, so that he was released and took strides as much as he wished.<sup>4</sup> When it was near dawn, he went to Cheirisophus and said he had hopes that all would be well, and he narrated the dream to him. (9) He was pleased, and as soon as dawn began to appear, all the generals were present and offered sacrifice. And the sacrifices were propitious right from the very first one. On going away from the sacrifices, the generals and captains spread the word to the army to have breakfast.

(10) While Xenophon was having his breakfast, two youths ran up to him; for they all knew it was possible to go up to him as he was having breakfast or dinner or, even if he were sleeping, to wake him and tell him anything one had to say that related to the war. (11) And on this occasion they said that they happened to be collecting sticks for a fire, and then—on the opposite bank, among some rocks that came down right to the river itself—they caught sight of an old man, women, and young girls putting, it appeared, bags of clothes in a cavernous rock. (12) When they saw this, they said, it seemed safe to cross over, for it was not at this point accessible even to the enemy's horsemen. So, they said, they stripped down, keeping only their daggers and began to cross, intending to investigate. But going forward, they were across before they got their genitals wet. Once across, they took the clothes and came back again. (13) Immediately, then, Xenophon himself both poured a libation and bade the youths pour one and pray to the gods who had shown both the dreams and the crossing, to accomplish as well the good things that were still

left. Having poured the libation, he led the youths immediately to Cheirisophus, and they narrated these [events]. On hearing them, Cheirisophus also poured libations.

(14) After pouring the libations, they passed the word to the others to pack up, and they themselves, calling together the generals, deliberated about how they might cross over in the finest way, and both win victory over those [of the enemy] in front and suffer no harm at the hands of those behind. (15) And they decided that Cheirisophus should lead and cross over with half of the army, but that half should still remain with Xenophon, and that the baggage animals and the crowd should cross over in the middle between these. (16) When all was well with these things, they marched. The youths led, keeping the river on their left, and the road to the crossing was about four stadia. (17) As they marched, the companies of [enemy] horsemen went along [the other side] opposite them. When they were at the crossing and the high banks of the river, they halted under arms, and first Cheirisophus himself, having put on a wreath and stripped, took up his weapons and passed the word to all the others;<sup>5</sup> and he ordered the captains to lead their companies in straight columns, some on the left of him, the others on the right. And while the soothsayers were slaughtering victims to the river [to propitiate it], (18) the enemy was shooting arrows and using their slings, though as yet they were falling short. (19) When the sacrifices were propitious, all the soldiers sang the paean and raised the war cry, and all the women joined in the shouting, for there were many female companions in the army. (20) And Cheirisophus went in, as did those with him, while Xenophon took the most mobile of the rear guard and ran headlong back toward the crossing opposite the egress into the mountains of Armenia, pretending that by crossing here he would intercept the horsemen on the bank of the river. (21) The enemy, on seeing Cheirisophus and his troops easily crossing through the water, and seeing Xenophon and his troops running back, and becoming frightened that they would be cut off, ran headlong away as if toward the egress going up and away from the river. And when they got to the road, they hurried up toward the mountain.

(22) Then Lycius, with the company of horsemen, and Aeschines, with the company of peltasts attached to Cheirisophus, saw them

running headlong away, and they began to follow after them. The other soldiers kept shouting to them not to fall behind, but to go along with them up the mountain. (23) Cheirisophus, then, when he got across, did not pursue the horsemen but immediately went out against the enemy above, along the banks that reached down to the river. Those above, seeing their own horsemen in flight, and seeing the hoplites coming against themselves, left the heights above the river. (24) And when he saw things on the other side going well, Xenophon went back as quickly as possible toward the army that was crossing, for the Carduchians were already visible as they descended onto the plain in order to attack the troops crossing last.

(25) Cheirisophus held the high banks, while Lycius undertook to pursue with his few troops and captured the lagging parts of the baggage train and, with them, both beautiful clothes and cups. (26) Both the baggage train of the Greeks and the crowd of noncombatants were just crossing, and Xenophon turned his troops toward the Carduchians and halted under arms against them; and he passed the word to the captains that each should deploy his own company in quarter-companies and then lead the quarter-companies to the left and into a phalanx,<sup>6</sup> and that the captains and rulers of the quarter-companies should proceed to the part toward the Carduchians, while they stationed rear leaders on the part next to the river. (27) When the Carduchians saw the rear guard stripped of the crowd [of noncombatants] and seeming now to be but few, they advanced against them quickly, while singing certain songs. But since things on his side were secure, Cheirisophus sent the peltasts, slingers, and bowmen to Xenophon, and he ordered them to do whatever he indicated. (28) When he saw them beginning to cross over, Xenophon sent a messenger and ordered them to remain there at the river without crossing; only when his own troops began to cross were the others to enter the river opposite them and on both sides of them, as if they intended to come across. They were to make their javelins ready with their throwing thongs and their bows ready with arrows on the strings; but they were not to advance far in the river. (29) As for those with himself, he passed the word that when the hurled stones started to reach them and their shields clattered, then they were to sing the paean and run at the enemy. And when the enemy turned and the trumpeter from

the river signaled the charge, they were to turn around to the right and let the rear guard lead, and all were to run and cross as quickly as possible, with each keeping his place in order, so as not to impede one another: he would be the best who came first to the other side.

(30) The Carduchians, seeing that those left were already quite few (for many even of those who had been assigned to remain had departed, some in order to take care of their baggage animals, others of their equipment, and still others of their [female] companions), attacked boldly at this point, and they began to use their slings and to shoot their bows. (31) But the Greeks sang the paean and rushed at them at a run, and the others did not stay and wait for them; for they were armed in a way sufficient for running up and running away in the mountains but not sufficient for accepting a hand-to-hand encounter. (32) Then the trumpeter gave his signal, and the enemy fled still much faster, while the Greeks turned to face the opposite way and fled across the river as quickly as possible. (33) Some of the enemy perceived this and ran back toward the river, and they wounded a few by shooting their arrows, but the majority were still visible running away, even when the Greeks were on the other side. (34) Those who came out to meet them, trying to be manly, advanced farther than was suitable, and they crossed back again only after those with Xenophon.<sup>7</sup> And some of these also were wounded.

#### ≈ CHAPTER 4 ≈

After they went across, they got into their formations about mid-day and marched no less than five parasangs through Armenia, all on a plain and gently rolling hills, for there were no villages near the river on account of the wars with the Carduchians. (2) The village that they did reach, however, was large and had a palace for the satrap, and there were towers on most of the houses. The provisions were plentiful. (3) From here they marched two stages, ten parasangs, until they crossed the sources of the Tigris River. From here they marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, to the Teleboas River. It was

beautiful but not big, and there were many villages around the river. (4) This region was called Western Armenia. The lieutenant governor of it was Tiribazus, who was a friend even to the King; and whenever he was present, no other lifted the King up onto his horse. (5) He rode up with horsemen and, sending forward an interpreter, said he wished to converse with the rulers. The generals decided to listen, and going within earshot, they asked what he wanted. (6) He said he wished to pour libations, over which to swear that he himself was not to do injustice to the Greeks nor were they to burn the houses, and that they were also to take whatever provisions they needed. The generals decided on these terms, and they poured the libations to confirm them.<sup>8</sup>

(7) From here they marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, across a plain, and Tiribazus followed along with his force, staying about ten stadia distant. And they reached a palace and many villages round about, filled with many provisions. (8) While they were camping there, during the night there was a heavy snowfall, and at dawn they decided to send their companies and generals into quarters throughout these places; for they saw no enemy, and it seemed to be safe because of the quantity of the snow. (9) Here they had all sorts of good provisions, animals for sacrificial victims, grain, old wines with a sweet fragrance, raisins, and all sorts of beans and peas. But some of those who strayed from the camp said that they had seen an army and many fires visible during the night. (10) The generals decided it was not safe to be in separate quarters but rather to bring the army back together again. Hence they came back together, for [the weather] also seemed to be clearing.<sup>9</sup> (11) But while they were passing the night, a tremendous snow fell upon them, so that it hid both the weapons and the people lying there. The snowfall also hampered the baggage animals, and there was a great hesitation to get up, for the fallen snow was warm to whomever it did not slip off. (12) But when Xenophon dared, undressed, to get up and split wood, someone else also got up quickly and, taking over for him, kept on splitting wood. Then also the others got up and started to build fires and anoint themselves. (13) For much ointment was found here, made of hog's lard, sesame, bitter almonds, and turpentine, which they used instead of olive oil. From these same ingredients, also, a perfume was found.



(14) After this they decided they had to go back to quartering in the villages, under separate roofs. Here, of course, the soldiers went with a great shout and with pleasure to their roofed quarters and provisions. But all those who from blind folly had burned down their houses when they had left previously now suffered the punishment of being badly quartered.

(15) Here they gave men to Democrates, a Temenite,<sup>10</sup> and sent him during the night to the mountains where those who had strayed from the camp said that they had seen the fires; for even before, he seemed to speak the truth about many such things, both the things that were, that they were, and the things that were not, that they were not. (16) After his march he said that he had not seen the fires, but he also returned having captured and brought back a man with a Persian bow, quiver, and battle-ax, just like those the Amazons have.<sup>11</sup> (17) When asked where he was from, he said he was a Persian and that he was making his way from the army of Tiribazus to get provisions. They then questioned him about the army, how big it was and for what it had been assembled. (18) He said that it was Tiribazus with both his own force and Chalybian and Taochian mercenaries. And he said that Tiribazus had made preparations as if intending to attack the Greeks at the high pass of the mountain, in the narrows, where there is only one passage. (19) When they heard this, the generals decided to bring the army together; and then, immediately after posting guards and leaving Sophaenetes, a Stymphalian, as the general over those who were remaining behind, they set out with the person they had captured as their guide. (20) When they were crossing over the mountains, the peltasts, who were going on in advance, saw the camp down below them and did not await the hoplites but, shouting out, started to run at the camp. (21) The barbarians, on hearing the uproar, did not await them but took flight. Nevertheless, some of them were killed, and as many as twenty horses were captured, and the tent of Tiribazus was captured and in it couches with silver feet, drinking cups, and some professing to be bakers and wine pourers. (22) When the generals of the hoplites heard this, they decided to return as quickly as possible to their camp, in case there should be an attack on those they had left behind. And directly on the trumpet call, they retreated, and they arrived in camp on the same day.

≈ CHAPTER 5 ≈

On the next day it seemed they had to march away as rapidly as they possibly could, before the enemy army was gathered together again and occupied the narrow passes. After packing up they set out immediately through deep snow with many guides. And on that same day they crossed over the summit at which Tiribazus was about to attack and then camped. (2) From here, they marched three desolate stages, fifteen parasangs, to the Euphrates River, and when they crossed it, they got wet to the navel, and it was said that its sources were not far away. (3) From here, they marched through deep snow and across a plain, three stages, thirteen parasangs.<sup>12</sup> The third was difficult, and a north wind blew opposite them, completely icing everything over, and freezing the people stiff. (4) Here, then, one of the soothsayers told them to offer sacrifices to the wind, and sacrifices were offered. And to all, then, the severity of the wind seemed to abate noticeably, but the depth of the snow was six feet, so many of the baggage animals and captives perished, and about thirty of the soldiers. (5) They passed the night burning fires, for there was a lot of wood at this stopping place. But those who came up late did not have wood, and those who had arrived before and were burning the fires did not admit the latecomers to the fire, unless they shared with them wheat or anything else edible they might have. (6) Here, then, they shared with each other what they had. Since the snow was melting where fire was burning, large holes developed, reaching down as far as the ground. Accordingly, one could here measure the depth of the snow. (7) From here, they marched through the snow the entire next day, and many of the people suffered hunger faintness. Xenophon was in the rear guard and kept coming upon the people who had fallen down with this, but he did not know what the affliction was. (8) When someone who had experience told him that they were clearly suffering hunger faintness, and that if they ate something, they would get up, he went around to the baggage train, and if he saw anything edible or drinkable, he distributed it and sent around those who were able to run to the afflicted and give them food. When they ate something, they got up and continued marching.



(9) While they were marching, Cheirisophus reached a village around dusk, and at the spring in front of the wall he came upon some women and girls from the village carrying water. (10) The women asked them who they were, and their interpreter said in Persian that they were passing from the King to the satrap. The women responded that he was not there but was about a parasang away. Since it was late, they went inside the wall with the water bearers to the village chief. (11) Thus Cheirisophus and as many of the army as were able to do so camped here; but of the other soldiers, those who were not able to complete the journey passed the night in the open without food or fire. And here too some of the soldiers perished.

(12) Some of the enemy had banded together and were following in pursuit, and they were seizing the baggage animals that lacked the strength to keep up, and they were fighting over them with each other. Soldiers were also being left behind, some with their eyes blinded by the snow, others with their toes rotted off by the cold. (13) It protected one's eyes against the snow to march holding something black in front of one's eyes, and it protected one's feet to move them, not ever keeping still, and to loosen one's sandals at night. (14) Of all those who went to bed without unwrapping their sandals, the bindings would dig into their feet, and their shoes would freeze to their feet; for since their old shoes had worn out, they had shoes made of undressed leather, from newly skinned oxen.

(15) Because of such necessities, then, some of the soldiers were being left behind; and when they saw a certain patch of ground that was black because the snow there had gone away, they supposed that it had melted. And it had melted because of a spring of some sort, which was steaming nearby in a dell. Turning aside here and sitting down, they said that they would not march on. (16) But when Xenophon, who had the rear guard, perceived them, he used every art and device, while begging them not to fall behind, and saying that many of the enemy were assembled together and were following in pursuit, and finally he became severe. They, however, bade him kill them, for they said that they were no longer able to go on. (17) Here it seemed best to frighten the enemy following them, if anyone were able to do so, so that they would not attack the sick. It was already dark, and the enemy was advancing and making a great racket, as they argued over what they had taken. (18) Here, then,

the rear guard, since they were healthy, got up and ran out against the enemy, while the sick, shouting out loudly to their utmost capacity, were banging their shields against their spears. The enemy hurled themselves in fright through the snow and into the dell, and none of them anywhere uttered a sound any longer.

(19) So Xenophon and those with him told the weak that others would come for them on the next day, and resuming the march, before they had covered four stadia, they chanced upon soldiers who were resting on the snow, all covered up, and a guard had not even been posted. They tried to get them up, but they said that those in front were not making room. (20) So he went along and sent forward the strongest of the peltasts and ordered them to consider what was holding them up. They reported back that the whole army was resting in just this way. (21) Right there, then, Xenophon and his troops bivouacked without fire and without dinner, posting such guards as they could. When it was near day, Xenophon sent the youngest to the weak and ordered them to get them up and compel them to go on. (22) Meanwhile, Cheirisophus sent some troops from the village to investigate how the troops at the end were. They were glad to see them, and they gave them the weak to carry to the camp, while they continued to march forward themselves; and before they had gone twenty stadia, they were at the village where Cheirisophus was bivouacking. (23) When they were together with each other, they thought it was safe to quarter the troops throughout the villages. Cheirisophus remained there, and each of the other [commanders] cast lots over the villages they saw and marched off with their own troops.

(24) At this point, Polycrates, an Athenian captain, bade them let him go off. Taking troops dressed for mobility and running at the village which had been allotted to Xenophon, he took all of the villagers inside it, the village chief, seventeen colts that were being reared as a tribute for the King, and the daughter of the village chief, she in the ninth day of marriage; her husband had gone off to hunt hares and was not captured in the village.

(25) The houses were underground, with a mouth like that of a well, but broad below. Entrances were dug for baggage animals, but human beings went down on ladders. In the houses were goats, sheep, cattle, birds, and their offspring. All the flocks were reared

inside, with fodder. (26) There was also wheat, barley, beans, and barley wine in big bowls. The very grains of the barley were in it, floating level with the brim, and there were reeds lying in it, some of which were longer, others shorter, but without joints. (27) When one was thirsty, he had to take one of these to his mouth and suck. It was quite unmixed [and strong], unless one poured in a bit of water, and the drink was quite pleasant for one who had learned to be familiar with it. (28) Xenophon made the ruler of this village his dinner companion, and he bade him take heart, saying that he would not deprive him of his children, and that when they left, they would fill his house up with provisions in return, if he should prove to have guided the army in a good way until such time as they came upon another tribe. (29) He promised this and, being kindly disposed, told them where wine was buried. On this night, then, they were quartered separately like this, and all the soldiers went to rest amid all abundance, while keeping the village chief under guard and his children together and in sight.

(30) On the next day, Xenophon took the village chief and marched to Cheirisophus. Wherever he went by a village, he turned aside to visit the troops in the village and found them everywhere feasting and in good spirits, and nowhere did they allow them to go off again until they had offered them a meal. (31) There was not a single place where they did not put on the same table lamb, kid, pork, veal, and fowl, along with many loaves of bread, some of wheat and others of barley. (32) Whenever someone was kindly disposed to another and wished to drink with him, he would draw him over to the big bowl, and then one had to bend over and drink, gulping like an ox. And to the village chief they granted that he take whatever he wished. He accepted nothing else, but wherever he saw one of his relatives, he would always take him to his side.

(33) When they came to Cheirisophus, Xenophon found his troops in quarters as well, crowned with wreaths of straw and being served by Armenian boys in barbarian garb. They showed the boys what they needed to do with gestures, as if the latter were deaf and dumb. (34) After Cheirisophus and Xenophon greeted each other kindly, they in common asked the village chief, through the Persian interpreter, what this land was. And he said it was Armenia. And again they asked him for whom the horses were being reared. He answered,

"As tribute for the King." He said that the neighboring land was that of the Chalybians, and he told them where the road was. (35) Then Xenophon departed, leading the village chief back to the members of his own household. He gave him a horse which he had taken, a rather old one, to fatten up and sacrifice, because he had heard that it was sacred to the sun,<sup>13</sup> and fearing that it might die, for it had been harmed by the journey. But he himself took some of the colts, and he gave one to each of the other generals and captains. (36) The horses here were smaller than the Persian ones, but they were much more spirited. Here the village chief also taught them to wrap small bags around the feet of the horses and baggage animals whenever they would go through the snow; for without the bags, they would sink in as far as their stomachs.

≈ CHAPTER 6 ≈

When the eighth day had come, Xenophon gave his guide over to Cheirisophus and left behind the members of his household for the village chief, except for his son, who was just in the bloom of youth. Him he gave to Episthenes,<sup>14</sup> an Amphipolitan, to guard, in order that if he should guide them well, he could then return with his son also. And they brought into his house as many things as they could, and then, after breaking camp, they began to march. (2) The village chief, who was not bound, guided them through the snow. They were already on the third stage, and Cheirisophus got angry with him because he had not led them to any villages. He replied that there were none in the area, and Cheirisophus struck him but did not bind him. (3) After this, he ran away during the night and was gone, leaving his son behind. And this was the sole disagreement between Cheirisophus and Xenophon on the march, his harsh treatment of the guide combined with his neglect [in not binding him]. Episthenes fell in love with the boy and, taking him homeward, found him most trustworthy.

(4) After this they marched seven stages at five parasangs per day along the Phasis River, a plethrum in width. (5) From here, they

marched two stages, ten parasangs. On the pass over to the plain, Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians came out to oppose them. (6) When Cheirisophus saw the enemy in the pass, he stopped marching and held off about thirty stadia in order not to approach the enemy with his own troops in column. He announced also to the others to lead their companies up alongside in order that the army might form into a phalanx. (7) When the rear guard had come up, he called together the generals and captains, and he spoke as follows: "The enemy, as you see, holds the passes over the mountain, and it is time to deliberate about how we will contend as nobly as possible. (8) Now it seems to me we should announce to the soldiers to have their meal, while we deliberate about whether we should cross the mountain today or tomorrow."

(9) "It seems to me," said Cleanor, "that as soon as we have had our meal, we should put on our arms and go against the men as quickly as possible. For if we waste the day today, the enemy that sees us now will become more confident, and it is likely that, as these become more confident, others will join them in greater numbers."

(10) After this, Xenophon said, "This is my judgment. If it is necessary to fight, we must prepare to fight with as much strength as possible. But if we wish to cross over as easily as possible, it seems to me we must consider how we might receive fewest wounds and lose as few bodies of our men as possible. (11) Now, what we see of the mountain extends to more than sixty stadia, but men are nowhere visible guarding against us except along the road itself. Now, it is much better to try to steal a bit of the deserted mountain, by being unobserved, and to seize it by getting the jump, if we can, rather than to fight against strong places and men who are prepared for us. (12) For it is much easier to march over steep ground without a battle than over level ground with enemies on this side and that, and one may see what is in front of his feet at night when there is no battle more than by day while fighting, and the rough road is more favorable for the feet of those who are marching without a battle than a level road is for those who are being struck on their heads. (13) To steal it does not seem to me to be impossible, since it is possible to march at night, so as not to be seen, and it is possible to go far enough away so as not to permit any perception [of our movements]. And it seems to me that if we should pretend to attack

here, we would find the rest of the mountain even more deserted, for our enemies would remain assembled here that much more. (14) But why should I be the one to contribute thoughts on stealing? For I hear, Cheirisophus, that you Lacedaemonians, as many of you as are Peers,<sup>15</sup> practice stealing from the time you are boys, and it is not shameful but noble to steal anything and everything not prevented by law.<sup>16</sup> (15) And in order that you steal as quickly as possible and try to escape detection, it is therefore the law that you be whipped, if you get caught while you are stealing. Now, then, it is very much the critical moment for you to display your education and to be on guard, of course, that we do not get caught stealing some of the mountain, so we do not get a beating."

(16) "But," said Cheirisophus, "I too hear that you Athenians are clever at stealing public funds, and this even though the danger is quite extreme for the thief; and, indeed, the best do it the most, if indeed the best among you are those considered worthy of ruling. So it is the time also for you to display your education."

(17) "I am therefore ready," said Xenophon, "when we have dined, to set out with the rear guard to seize the mountain. I also have guides, for our light troops set ambushes and took some of the thieves who were following us; and I have inquired and learned from them that the mountain is not impassable but is grazed by goats and cattle. Consequently, if we once take some part of the mountain, it will be passable even for our baggage animals. (18) I expect that the enemy will not remain there any longer, when they see us on the heights on a level with them, for as things stand now, they are not willing to come down to be on an equal footing with us."

(19) Cheirisophus said, "And why do you need to go and leave your defense of the rear? But send others, unless some volunteers show themselves now." (20) After this, Aristonymus, a Methydrian, came forward with his hoplites, and Aristes, a Chian, with his light troops, and Nicomachus, an Oetaean, with his light troops; and they made an agreement that as soon as they held the heights, they would light a large number of fires. (21) With these things agreed, they had their meal. After the meal, Cheirisophus led the entire army forward about ten stadia toward the enemy, in order that he might seem as much as possible to be about to march against them in this direction.

(22) When they had had dinner and night had come, the ones appointed departed and took the mountain, while the others rested where they were. When the enemy perceived that the mountain had been taken, they stayed awake and kept many fires burning through the night. (23) When it was day, Cheirisophus sacrificed and led along the road, while those who had taken the mountain went forward along the heights. (24) As for the enemy, the greater part remained at the mountain pass, but a part of them went to meet those on the heights. And before their main bodies came together with each other, those on the heights engaged, and the Greeks won the victory and went in pursuit. (25) Then also those on the plain attacked: the Greek peltasts charged at a run against those set in order against them, and Cheirisophus followed with the hoplites at a quick step. (26) When the enemy on the road saw the upper group defeated, they fled. Not many of them were killed, but a great number of wicker shields were taken; these the Greeks rendered useless by chopping them up with their sabers. (27) After they had ascended [to the pass], they sacrificed, set up trophies, and came down onto the plain; and they came to villages that were filled with many good things.

~ CHAPTER 7 ~

After this they marched five stages, thirty parasangs, against Taochians, and their provisions gave out, for the Taochians dwelt in strongholds into which they carried up and kept all their provisions. (2) When they reached a fortress which had neither a city nor houses, but where men, women, and many flocks had gathered together, Cheirisophus made an attack as soon as he arrived. When this first formation began to grow tired, another went forward, and then another in turn. For it was not possible to surround it in a body, for it was sheer all around it.<sup>17</sup> (3) When Xenophon arrived with the rear guard of both peltasts and hoplites, Cheirisophus said, "You have come at a fine time: the fortress must be taken, for the army will not have provisions, unless we take this place."<sup>18</sup> (4) Here, then, they deliberated in common. And when Xenophon asked what was preventing them from entering, Cheirisophus said, "What you see

is the one approach there is. Whenever one tries to go along it, they roll down stones from that overhanging rock. Whoever gets caught is rendered thus." And at the same time he showed him people with crushed legs and ribs. (5) "But if they use up their stones," said Xenophon, "is there anything else that prevents us from going up? Surely on the side opposite we do not see any except those few people, and of those, only two or three in arms. (6) And as you also see, the distance which we need to cross while under attack is about a plethrum and a half, and of this, as much as a plethrum is thick with large pine trees spread about, and if our men should stand behind them, what would they suffer from either the stones flying down or those rolling? The distance remaining is then about half a plethrum, which we need to run across when the stones shall have ceased." (7) "But," said Cheirisophus, "as soon as we begin to go forward toward the stand of trees, stones fly at us in great numbers." "And this," he said, "is just what we need, for thus they will use up their stones more quickly. But let us march to a place from which we will have just a short stretch to run across, if we are able, and from which it will be easier to come back, if we wish."

(8) Then they marched, Cheirisophus, Xenophon, and Callimachus, a Parrhasian captain; for leadership over the captains of the rear guard belonged to him on that day. The other captains remained in safety. After this, then, up to seventy people got under cover of the trees, not in a body, but one by one, each being on his guard as much as he could. (9) Agasias the Stymphalian and Aristonymus, a Methydrian, who were also captains of the rear guard, and others too, stood in support outside the trees, for it was not safe for more than one company to stand among the trees. (10) Then Callimachus contrived this stratagem. He would run forward two or three steps from the tree he was under, and as soon as the stones began to fly, he would easily draw back. On each run, more than ten cartloads of stones were used up. (11) When Agasias saw what Callimachus was doing, and saw that the entire army was looking on, he feared that he might not be the first to race into the fortress. So not even calling Aristonymus, though he was nearby, or Eurylochus the Lusian, both of whom were his companions, or anyone else, he began to advance on his own; and he ran by all the rest. (12) But Callimachus, seeing him go past, took hold of the rim of his shield; and in this instant, Aristonymus,

a Methydrian, ran past both of them, and after him Eurylochus, a Luvian; for all these laid claim to virtue, and they contended against one another over it. And with this sort of rivalry, they took the place; for once they ran in, not a single rock still came down from above.

(13) Here, then, was a terrible sight. Throwing their children down from the cliff, the women then would throw themselves down afterward, and the men were doing likewise. Then Aeneas the Stymphalian captain saw that someone with a beautiful robe was running to throw himself down, and he seized him in order to stop him; (14) but he dragged Aeneas along, and both went tumbling down the rocks and were killed. Here, then, only a very few people were captured, but cattle, many asses, and sheep were taken.

(15) From there they marched seven stages, fifty parasangs, through the Chalybians. These were the most dauntless of all the peoples they passed through and would come to fight hand to hand. They had breastplates of linen that reached down to the belly, with a thick fringe of braided cords at the bottom instead of flaps. (16) They also had greaves, helmets, and each a saber at his waist the size of a Laconian dagger, with which they used to slaughter those they were able to conquer; and after cutting off their heads, they would keep them as they marched, and they would sing and dance whenever their enemies were going to see them. They also each had a spear about fifteen cubits long, with a single spearhead. (17) They remained within their towns, but after the Greeks passed by, they would follow, fighting all the while. They dwelt in strongholds, and into them they carried up all their provisions, so the Greeks took nothing there but subsisted on the flocks which they had taken from the Taochians. (18) After this, the Greeks arrived at the Harpasus River, four plethra in width. From here, they marched through the Scythenians, four stages, twenty parasangs, across a plain, to some villages. Among these they remained three days, and they took provisions. (19) From here, they went four stages, twenty parasangs, to a city that was large, prosperous, and inhabited, which was called Gymnias. From this country the ruler sent a guide to the Greeks, in order to lead them through the country of their own enemies. (20) When he came, he said that he would lead them in five days to a land from which they would see the sea. If he did not, he announced, he was prepared to die. When, as he guided them along, he brought them into the land that was hostile to his own, he kept urging them

to burn and lay waste the land. It was clear by this that he came on this account, not out of goodwill toward the Greeks.

(21) They arrived at the mountain on the fifth day; its name was Echēs.<sup>19</sup> When the first troops were on the mountain and saw the sea, there was a great shout. (22) When Xenophon and the rear guard heard it, they thought that still other enemies were attacking up front, for enemies were also following behind them, from the land that was all aflame. The rear guard had killed some of them and taken others alive by setting an ambush, and they had also taken about twenty wicker shields covered with the shaggy and raw hides of oxen. (23) But since the shout kept getting louder and nearer, and since those who got up would set out at a run toward those who kept on shouting, and since the shout kept becoming far louder as those shouting became more numerous, it seemed to Xenophon that there was something quite extraordinary here. (24) He mounted his horse and, taking Lycius and the horsemen, rode up to help. And quite soon they heard the soldiers shouting, "The sea! The sea!" and passing the word along. Then everyone in the rear guard also began to run, and the baggage animals and the horses were driven on. (25) When all arrived at the summit, here, of course, they began to embrace one another, both generals and captains as well, with tears flowing. And suddenly, whoever may have bid them do it, the soldiers began to bring stones and to make a large cairn. (26) Here they offered up on it a multitude of raw oxhides, staffs, and captured wicker shields, and the guide himself cut these shields to pieces and urged others to do so also. (27) After this the Greeks sent the guide away, after giving him a horse, a silver bowl, a Persian outfit, and ten darics as gifts from the common stock. He asked especially for their rings, and he received many from the soldiers. After showing them a village where they would bivouac and the road which they would take to the Macronians, he departed after evening fell, going away during the night.

≈ CHAPTER 8 ≈

From here the Greeks marched through the Macronians three stages, ten parasangs. On the first day they arrived at the river which was the border between the land of the Macronians and that of the

Scythenians. (2) The land they had above them on the right was most difficult, and they had another river on the left, into which the river on the border flowed, which they had to cross. This one was thickly fringed with trees, not massive ones but closely packed. When the Greeks reached them, they began cutting them down, hurrying to get out of the place as quickly as possible. (3) But the Macronians, with wicker shields, lances, and hair tunics, were drawn up in order on the opposite side of the crossing. They kept encouraging one another and hurling stones into the river, but they did not reach their mark or do any harm.

(4) Then a man approached Xenophon, one of the peltasts, and claimed that he had been a slave at Athens and said that he knew the language of these people. "I think," he said, "this is my fatherland. And unless something prevents it, I am willing to converse with them." (5) "But nothing prevents it," he said, "but converse and learn first who they are." When he asked, they said that they were Macronians. "Ask, then," he said, "why they are drawn up in order against us and why they want to be our enemies." (6) They answered, "Because it is you who are coming against our land." The generals bid him say, "Not in order to do any harm, but having made war against the King, we are going back to Greece, and we wish to reach the sea." (7) The Macronians asked if they would give pledges to this effect, and they said that they were willing both to give and to receive pledges. Here the Macronians gave a barbarian lance to the Greeks, and the Greeks gave a Greek one to them, for they said that these were pledges; both called upon gods as witnesses. (8) Immediately after the pledges, the Macronians began cutting down the trees and building the road in order to get them across, mingling with the Greeks in their midst. And to the extent they were able, they provided a market; and they led them for three days, until they brought the Greeks to the borders of the Colchians.

(9) Here there was a mountain, large but accessible. And on this mountain the Colchians were drawn up in order. And at first the Greeks formed an opposing phalanx, as intending to march against the mountain like this. But then the generals decided to gather together and deliberate about how they would contend as nobly as possible. (10) Xenophon then said, "It seems we should discontinue the phalanx and put our companies in columns, for the phalanx

will immediately be broken apart, since in one part we will find the mountain impassable and in another easily passable. This will produce immediate despondency when, drawn up in a phalanx, they see it broken apart. (11) Also, if we go against them drawn up in depth, the enemy will extend beyond us, and they will use their extra troops however they wish. But if we go drawn up to only a shallow depth, it would not be amazing if our phalanx should be cut through somewhere by both masses of arrows and of people falling on us in great numbers. If this happens anywhere, it will be bad for the whole phalanx. (12) But it seems to me that we should put the companies in columns, spacing the companies with so much ground for each so that the outer companies are outside of the enemy's wings. In this way we, our outer companies, will be outside the enemy phalanx; and the best of us, leading the columns, will advance first, and each captain will lead wherever it may be easy to pass. (13) And it will not be easy for the enemy to enter into the gap between columns, since there are companies on one side and the other, and it will not be easy to cut down a company that is coming on in column. But if any of the companies is hard pressed, the neighboring one will help out. And if any one of the companies is somewhere able to ascend to the summit, none of the enemy will remain any longer." (14) They decided on this, and they put their companies into columns. Going along from the right to the left, Xenophon said to the soldiers, "Men, these whom you see are the only ones still hindering us from being where we have been hurrying to for a long time; we must even devour them raw, if we can."<sup>20</sup>

(15) When each was in his place and the companies were put into columns, there were about eighty companies of hoplites. Each company was almost one hundred troops. They put the peltasts and the bowmen in three groups, one outside the left, another outside the right, and the other in the middle, with about six hundred in each. (16) After this the generals passed the word to pray. When they had prayed and sung the paeon, they marched. Both Cheirisophus and Xenophon, and the peltasts with them, got beyond the enemy's phalanx as they marched; (17) when the enemy saw them running against them, they became divided, some going to the right and others to the left, leaving much of their own phalanx empty in the center. (18) Seeing them parting, the peltasts in the Arcadian division,

who were ruled by Aeschines the Acarnanian, believed that they were in flight, so they began to shout and run, and these were the first to ascend the mountain. The division of Arcadian hoplites, who were ruled by Cleanor the Orchomenian, followed after them. (19) When these began to run, the enemy stood their ground no longer, but each one turned in flight, one in one way, another in another. After having ascended, the Greeks camped in numerous villages with abundant provisions.

(20) In other respects, there was nothing which amazed them. But the beehives were numerous there, and all the soldiers who ate of the honeycombs lost their wits, vomited, and had diarrhea, and none was able to stand upright; but those who had eaten only a little resembled the exceedingly drunk, and those who had eaten a lot resembled madmen, while still others even resembled the dying. (21) Many were lying there as though there had been a rout, and there was great despondency. On the next day, no one had died, and they began to come to their senses at about the same hour as when they had lost them; and on the third or fourth day they stood up, just as if from having taken a drug. (22) From here they marched two stages, seven parasangs, and they came to the sea at Trapezus, an inhabited Greek city on the Black Sea, a colony of the Sinopeans, in the land of the Colchians. Here they remained about thirty days in the villages of the Colchians, (23) and setting out from here, they plundered Colchis. The Trapezuntians provided a market in the camp, and they both welcomed the Greeks and gave them oxen, barley meal, and wine as gifts of hospitality. (24) They negotiated also on behalf of the neighboring Colchians, those dwelling especially on the plain, and gifts of hospitality came also from them, more oxen in this case.

(25) After this they prepared the sacrifice which they had vowed in their prayers. Sufficient oxen had come to them to sacrifice offerings of thanks to Zeus the Savior, to Heracles the Leader, and to the other gods, which they had vowed in their prayers. And they prepared also an athletic contest on the mountain where they were camping. To take care of the racecourse and to preside over the contest they chose Dracontius, a Spartan, who when still a boy had been exiled from his home, for he had killed a boy involuntarily when he struck him with his dagger. (26) When the sacrifices were over, they gave the hides to Dracontius and bade him lead to the

place he had made the racecourse. Pointing just where they chanced to be standing, he said, "This hill is finest for running wherever one wishes." "How, then," they said, "will they be able to wrestle on so hard and rough a spot?" And he said, "The one who gets thrown will feel the pain rather more." (27) [The competition was like this:] boys, most of them from among the captives, ran a race of one stadion; more than sixty Cretans ran the long race; [there was also competition in] wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium.<sup>21</sup> It was a noble sight to behold, for many joined in, and since their companions were observing, there was a great deal of rivalry.<sup>22</sup> (28) Horses also raced, and their riders had to ride down the steep bank, turn them around in the sea, and lead them back up to the altar. Many of them rolled over on the way down, while on the way back up, against the steeply inclined hill, the horses made their way at barely a walking pace. Then there was much shouting, laughter, and cheering.



## BOOK V

### ~ CHAPTER 1 ~

What the Greeks did in their ascent with Cyrus; what they did on their journey until they got to the sea, the Black Sea or Pontus;<sup>1</sup> how they reached Trapezus, a Greek city; and how they sacrificed their offerings of thanks for their safety, the ones they had vowed to sacrifice in the very first place where they reached a friendly land, has been made clear in the foregoing account.

(2) After this they came together and deliberated about the rest of their journey. Leon, a Thurian, stood up first, and he spoke as follows: "I, for my part, men," he said, "am by now tired of this packing up, walking, running, bearing heavy arms, marching in order, standing guard, and fighting; and I now desire to cease from these labors, since we have the sea, to sail the rest of the way stretched out like Odysseus, and to arrive in Greece."<sup>2</sup> (3) Hearing this, the soldiers shouted out that he spoke well. And another said the same thing, and all those present did so as well. Then Cheirisophus rose and spoke as follows: (4) "Anaxibius is a friend of mine, men, and he chances to be admiral.<sup>3</sup> So if you send me, I think I would come back with triremes and ships to carry us. If you wish to sail, wait until I come back, and I will return quickly." On hearing this, the soldiers were pleased, and they voted for him to set sail as quickly as possible.

(5) After this, Xenophon rose and spoke as follows: "So Cheirisophus is setting out for ships, and we will wait. I am going to say

what seems to me opportune to do during this period of waiting. (6) First, we need to provide provisions from a hostile land; for neither is there a sufficient market from which to purchase nor are there sufficient means with which to purchase, except for a few. The land is hostile, so if you march out for provisions carelessly and off your guard, there is a danger that many will perish. (7) It seems to me we should get our provisions in foraging parties and not wander about at random, so that you may stay safe, and we [generals] should be in charge of this." These measures were adopted.

(8) "Then hear also the following: some of you will go out after plunder. I think it best that whoever is about to go out tell us, and that he also state where he is going, so that we may know the number of those who go out and of those who remain behind, and so that we may join in the preparations, if there should be some need; and so that, if it is opportune to go and help anyone, we may know where it is necessary to go help, and if someone who is inexperienced attempts something somewhere, we may provide counsel by trying to know the force against which they are going." These measures were also adopted.

(9) "Consider this too: our enemies have leisure to rob us; and it is just that they are plotting against us, for we possess what belongs to them. They are positioned just above us, so it seems to me we need guards around our camp. If we stand guard and keep watch by turns, sharing the task, the enemy will be less capable of hunting us.

"Then take a look also at this: (10) if we knew clearly that Cheirisophus would return with sufficient ships, nothing of what I am about to say would be needed. But now, since this is unclear, it seems to me we should try to provide ships from here as well. If he does come back, then we will sail away in a greater abundance of them, since there will be ships here as well. And if he does not bring ships back, we will use the ones here. (11) I often see ships sailing by. So if we ask for some warships from the Trapezuntians, and if we should bring them in and guard them, removing their rudders, until there are sufficient to carry us, perhaps we would not be at a loss for the sort of transport we need." These measures were also adopted.

(12) "Consider," he said, "if it is also fitting to maintain from the common [fund] the sailors we conduct to port, for as long a time as they wait for us, and to establish a price for our passage, so that they

also may be benefited for benefiting us." These measures were also adopted.

(13) "It seems to me, then," he said, "that if perchance these measures may not be carried out to the point that we have enough boats, we should order the inhabited cities along the sea to rebuild the roads, which we hear are now hard to travel; they will obey both on account of being afraid and on account of wishing to be rid of us."

(14) Here they cried out that there was no need to go by land. And Xenophon, because he knew their foolishness, did not put anything to a vote but persuaded the cities to rebuild roads voluntarily, saying that they would be rid of them more quickly if the roads were easily passable. (15) They got a ship of fifty oars from the Trapezuntians, over which they put Dexippus, a Laconian provincial.<sup>4</sup> But he, neglecting to collect ships, took his ship and fled beyond the Pontus, and left them. He did, however, later suffer what was just, for in Thrace he was meddling in something at Seuthes' court and was killed by Nicander the Laconian. (16) They also got a ship of thirty oars, and Polycrates, an Athenian, was put in charge of it, and he conducted to the camp as many ships as he captured. Their cargoes, if they had any, they removed and put under guard to keep them safe, and they used the ships for transport. (17) While these things were happening, the Greeks went out after plunder, and some got some, although others did not. Cleaenetus led out his own company and one other company against a difficult position, and both he himself and many others of those with him were killed.

## ≈ CHAPTER 2 ≈

When it was no longer possible to get provisions and return to the camp on the same day, Xenophon then took some Trapezuntians as guides and led half of the army out against the Drilae. He left the other half to guard the camp; for since the Colchians had been driven out of their houses, they were now gathered together in large numbers and were in position on the heights above. (2) The Trapezuntians would not lead them to places where it was easy to get provisions, for the people there were their friends; but against the

Drilae, at whose hands they kept suffering harm, they were eager to lead them, against places that were mountainous and hard to traverse, and against people who were the most warlike of those who dwell on the Pontus.

(3) When the Greeks were in the high country, the Drilae set fire to such of their fortresses as seemed to them to be easy to capture, and withdrew.<sup>5</sup> There was thus nothing left to take except, perhaps, a pig, ox, or other herd animal that escaped the fire. There was one fortress, however, their mother city, that they all streamed into. Around it was an extremely deep ravine, and the roads approaching the fortress were difficult. (4) The peltasts ran forward five or six stadia from the hoplites and crossed the ravine, and seeing many sheep and other things, they attacked the fortress. After them there followed many spearmen who had set out after provisions, so those who had crossed the ravine were more than two thousand people. (5) When they were not able to capture the place by fighting (for there was a wide ditch around it, with the earth heaped up, and a palisade on top of this earthwork, and wooden bastions had been built close together), they began to try to retreat, but the enemy kept pressing upon them. (6) Because they were not able to run away (for the descent from the fortress to the ravine was but single file), they sent to Xenophon, who was leading the hoplites. (7) The messenger came and said, "There is a fortress full of many things, but we are not able to take it, for it is strong. But neither is it easy to get away; for they have come out against us and are fighting, and the retreat is a difficult one."

(8) On hearing this, Xenophon led the hoplites toward the ravine and ordered them to halt under arms, and he himself crossed over with the captains and examined whether it would be better to lead back those who had already crossed over or to bring across the hoplites as well, in the expectation that the fortress could be taken. (9) For it seemed there could be no withdrawal without many corpses as well, and the captains thought they could take the place; and trusting the sacrifices, Xenophon agreed. For the soothsayers had declared that while there would be a battle, the outcome of their excursion would be noble. (10) He sent the captains to bring the hoplites across, while he himself remained, having withdrawn all the peltasts; and he forbade anyone to shoot at long range. (11) When the hoplites arrived, he ordered each of the captains to dispose his

company in whatever way he thought it would engage in the contest with the greatest strength, for the captains who were all the time in competition with one another over manly virtue were near to one another.

(12) So while they were doing this, he passed the word to all the peltasts to advance with their javelins in their throwing thongs, for they would have to hurl them whenever he gave the sign; and to the archers, to put their arrows on the bowstring, for they would have to shoot whenever he gave the sign; and to the light-armed troops to have their pouches full of stones.<sup>6</sup> And he sent around troops who were suitable to take care of these things. (13) When all this had been prepared, and the captains, lieutenants, and those who considered themselves to be in no way inferior to these were all drawn up in order, and all, of course, were watching one another (for their formation was crescent-shaped, because of their position), (14) then they began to sing the paeon, and the trumpet sounded, and at the same time they raised the war cry to Enyalios,<sup>7</sup> and the hoplites began to run at full speed, and the missiles went forward in a mass: spears, arrows, hurled stones, and vast numbers of stones thrown by hand; and there were some who applied fire as well. (15) Under this multitude of missiles, the enemy left both the palisade and the bastions, so that Agasias, a Stymphalian, putting aside his armor, ascended in only his tunic; then he dragged another up, and some others got up alone, and the place was taken, as it seemed.<sup>8</sup> (16) Then both the peltasts and those without armor ran on in and began seizing things, each whatever he could. But Xenophon, standing at the gates, kept out as many of the hoplites as he could, for other enemies were also becoming visible on certain strong heights.

(17) Before much time had passed, a shout arose from within, and those within began to flee, some with what they had seized, and soon came others who were wounded. And there was much pushing about the gates. When asked, those who were rushing out said that there was a citadel inside and many enemies as well, and that these had charged out and were pelting the people who were inside. (18) Here, then, Xenophon ordered Tolmides the herald to proclaim that whoever wished to take something should go inside. And many began to rush in, and those pushing to get in won the victory over those who were rushing out, and they closed up the enemy back in

the citadel. (19) Everything outside the citadel was seized, and the Greeks carried it out. The hoplites halted under arms, some about the palisade, others along the road leading up to the citadel.

(20) Xenophon and his captains were examining whether it was possible to take the citadel; for doing so would assure their safety. Otherwise, their retreat seemed exceedingly difficult. But as they examined it, the fortress seemed altogether impossible to take. (21) They then began preparing their retreat, and each group began culling the unsound troops by their side.<sup>9</sup> And they sent back those people who were useless, those carrying burdens, and also the bulk of the hoplites, while each of the captains kept the troops he trusted. (22) When they began to regain confidence, many rushed out against them armed with wicker shields, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian helmets. Others went up on the houses on both sides of the road that led to the citadel, (23) so it was not safe to pursue by the gates that led toward the citadel. For from above, they were throwing large logs at them, so both remaining and retreating were difficult. And it was frightening that night was coming on. (24) As they were fighting and were at a loss [as to what to do], some one of the gods granted them the means to safety. For suddenly one of the houses on the right flared up, since someone had set fire to it; and when it caved in, they fled from the houses on the right. (25) When Xenophon learned this from chance, he ordered them to set fire also to the houses on the left, which were wood, so that these too were soon on fire. They fled, then, also from these houses. (26) The only troops still troubling them were those directly in front, and it was clear that they would attack on their retreat and descent. Here, then, he passed the word to all those who were out of bowshot to bring logs into the area between themselves and the enemy. As soon as there were enough, they set fire to them; they were setting fire also to the houses beside the palisade itself, so the enemy might be occupied with this too. (27) Thus they barely got away from the fortress, by putting fire in the area between themselves and the enemy. And the entire city was burned down, houses, bastions, palisades, and everything else but the citadel.

(28) On the next day the Greeks went away with the provisions.<sup>10</sup> Since they were fearful of the descent to Trapezus, for it was steep and narrow, they set a feigned ambush. (29) A man born in Mysos,

and named Mysos, took ten of the Cretans and waited in an overgrown place, and he pretended to be trying to avoid detection by the enemy. Their shields, however, being of bronze, would now and again shine through. (30) So on seeing this, the enemy was frightened as if it were an ambush. Meanwhile, the army was making its descent. When it seemed they had come down far enough, a signal was given to the Mysian<sup>11</sup> to flee headlong; so he stood up and took to flight, as did those with him. (31) The others, the Cretans—for they later said that they were being captured on the run—plunged from the road and into the woods and were saved by rolling down the vale. (32) As he fled along the road, the Mysian shouted out for help. They did help him, and they picked him up, wounded. And then those who helped him themselves began to retreat at a walking pace, even while being hit, and some of the Cretans shot their bows in response. It was in this way that they all returned safely to the camp.

### ≈ CHAPTER 3 ≈

Cheirisophus had not returned, there was not a sufficient number of boats, and it was no longer possible to take provisions; so it seemed they had to depart. Onto the ships they put the sick, those over forty years of age, children, women, and such of the baggage as necessity did not require them to keep with them. And putting on board also Philesius and Sophaenetus, the eldest of the generals, they bade them be in charge of all this. Then the others began marching; the road had been rebuilt. (2) On the third day of their march they arrived in Cerasus, a Greek city on the sea, a colony of the Sinopeans, in the land of Colchis.

(3) Here they remained ten days, and there was a review under arms and a counting of the troops, and there were eight thousand six hundred. These had survived [from about ten thousand].<sup>12</sup> The others had perished because of the enemy, the snow, and, perhaps, some by disease. (4) Here they also divided the money that had arisen from the sale of the captives. And the tithe, which they selected for Apollo and for Artemis of Ephesus, the generals divided,

each taking a share to guard for the gods. Neon the Asinaean took Cheirisophus's share, instead of him.

(5) Xenophon, then, having made a votive offering with the portion for Apollo, set it up at Delphi in the treasury of the Athenians, and he inscribed it with his name and that of Proxenus, who had been killed with Clearchus; for he was his guest-friend. (6) As for the portion for Artemis of Ephesus, he left it behind with Megabyzus, the sacristan of Artemis, when he himself left Asia with Agesilaus on their march against the Boeotians, because it seemed that he himself was headed for danger.<sup>13</sup> And he enjoined him, if ever he himself survived, to return the deposit to him but, if he suffered something, to dedicate something made for Artemis that he thought would gratify the goddess.

(7) After Xenophon went into exile,<sup>14</sup> and while he was living at Scillus, having been settled near Olympia by the Lacedaemonians, Megabyzus arrived in Olympia in order to view [the games]<sup>15</sup> and returned his deposit to him. On receiving it, Xenophon purchased a piece of ground for the goddess where the god's oracular response indicated. (8) The river Selinus chanced to flow through the place. And also in Ephesus a river Selinus flows beside the temple of Artemis, and fish and mussels are present in both. And on the land at Scillus it is also possible to hunt all the wild animals of the chase. (9) He made also an altar and a temple with some of the sacred money, and ever after he used to sacrifice to the goddess a tithe of the fruits of the season from the field. And all the citizens and neighbors, men and women, shared in the festival. For those who tented there the goddess provided barley meal, loaves of bread, wine, sweets, and a portion of the sacrifices from the sacred herd, as also of those animals hunted in the chase. (10) For both Xenophon's sons and those of the other citizens used to hold a hunt for the festival, and the men who wished to would join the hunt with them. Boars, gazelles, and deer were captured from the sacred precinct itself, as well as from [Mount] Pholoe. (11) The place is on the road which people travel coming from Lacedaemon to Olympia, about twenty stadia from the temple of Zeus in Olympia. In the sacred precinct are both a meadow and hills full of trees, sufficient to nourish pigs, goats, cattle, and horses, so that even the baggage animals of those who come to the festival have their feast. (12) Around the temple itself a grove of cultivated

trees was planted, as many as yield sweet fruits in season. The temple is like the one in Ephesus, though as small is to large, and its statue is like the one in Ephesus, though as cypress wood is to gold. (13) And a marker with the following inscription stands beside the temple: "THIS PLACE IS SACRED TO ARTEMIS. THE ONE WHO HOLDS IT AND GATHERS IN ITS FRUITS MUST OFFER EVERY YEAR THE TITHE IN SACRIFICE. FROM THE SURPLUS HE MUST REPAIR THE TEMPLE. IF ANYONE DOES NOT DO THESE THINGS, IT WILL BE OF CONCERN TO THE GODDESS."

#### ≈ CHAPTER 4 ≈

Those who had been conveyed on the sea before were also so conveyed on departing from Cerasus, while the others marched on land. (2) When they were at the borders of the Mossynoecians, they sent to them Timesitheus the Trapezuntian, who was a guest-friend of the Mossynoecians, and asked whether they would be marching through a friendly or a hostile land. The Mossynoecians responded that they would not allow them through, for they trusted in their fortresses. (3) Upon this Timesitheus said that the Mossynoecians of the land on the far side were enemies of the nearer Mossynoecians, and [the Greeks] decided to invite them to make an alliance, if they wished it. So Timesitheus was sent, and he came back with their rulers. (4) When they arrived, the rulers of the Mossynoecians and the generals of the Greeks got together, and Xenophon said, with Timesitheus interpreting, (5) "Mossynoecian men, we wish to return safely to Greece on foot, for we have no boats. But preventing us are these people, who we hear are your enemies. (6) So if you wish, it is possible for you to take us as allies and to take vengeance upon them, if ever they have been unjust to you, and in the future to have them as your subjects. (7) But if instead you send us away, consider where you could ever again get so great a power as your ally."

(8) To this the ruler of the Mossynoecians answered that they wished this and accepted the alliance. (9) "Come, then," said Xenophon. "In what will you want to employ us, if we become your allies, and what will you be able to do for us concerning our passage?" (10) They said, "We are capable, first, of attacking this land

that is hostile to both you and us, over on its other side, and second of sending here both boats and men who will fight along with you and guide you on your way."

(11) After giving and receiving pledges on these terms, they departed, and on the next day they returned, bringing three hundred canoes, each made from a single log, with three men in each. Of these three, two got out and fell into order, standing under arms, while the other one remained. (12) The latter took the canoes and sailed back again, while the ones remaining got in order as follows: they stood in lines of very nearly one hundred each, like choral dancers, standing opposite each other, all with wicker shields, shaggy with white ox-hides, like [in shape] to a leaf of ivy, and in their right hand, a javelin of about six cubits long, with a spearhead in front and a spherical form, shaped out of the wood itself, on the butt end. (13) They had put on short tunics, above the knee, about the thickness of a linen bag for bedclothes, and on their heads leather helmets like the Paphlagonian ones, with a tuft of hair in the middle, shaped very nearly like a tiara. They also had iron battle axes. (14) From here one of them started off, and all the others marched, singing with a regular rhythm, and passing through the formations and the heavily armed troops of the Greeks, they marched directly against the enemy in the fortress which seemed most subject to attack. (15) It was situated in front of the city which they call their mother city, and which contains the highest [citadel] of the Mossynoecians. This was what the war was about. For whoever possessed it always seemed to be dominant over all Mossynoecians as well; and [these Mossynoecians] said that the others did not possess it justly, but that having seized it when it was held in common, they were taking advantage of them. (16) Some of the Greeks also followed them, not having been so ordered by the generals but for the sake of plunder. While they were advancing, the enemy kept quiet. But when they got near the fortress, they ran out and routed them, and they killed many of the barbarians and some of the Greeks who had ascended along with them, and they chased them until they saw the Greeks coming out to help. (17) At this point they turned around and began to go back; and after cutting off the heads of the dead, they displayed them both to the Greeks and to their own enemies, and at the same time they sang a certain tune and danced to it.

(18) The Greeks were deeply vexed both because [their allies] had made the enemy bolder and because the Greeks who had gone out with them had fled, even though they were very numerous, something which they had never done before on their march. (19) Then Xenophon called the Greeks together and said, "Men and soldiers, do not be dispirited on account of what has happened, for know well that a good thing has also occurred, one of no less import than the evil. (20) For in the first place, you know that those who are going to be our guides are really enemies to those with whom necessity compels us to be enemies. Second, those of the Greeks who were heedless of staying in order with us and who held that they were competent to accomplish with the barbarians the same things they do with us, have paid the penalty. They will consequently be less inclined to leave our battle order again. (21) But you must prepare yourselves in such a way that even for those who are your friends from among these barbarians, you will seem to be better than they are, and for those who are your enemies, you will show them they will not be fighting the same sort of men now as when they fought those who were in disorder."

(22) So on that day they remained there like this. But on the next they sacrificed, and when they obtained propitious omens, they had breakfast, formed their companies into columns, put the barbarians into the same sort of order on the left side, and began marching, keeping the bowmen between the columns of companies, though back a little from the very front of the hoplites. (23) For among the enemy were some who, being dressed for mobility, would run down and hurl stones, and these the bowmen and peltasts kept back. The others were marching at a walk, first to the fortress from which the barbarians and those with them had been driven in a rout on the previous day, for here the enemy had formed up in opposition. (24) Now the barbarians held their ground with the peltasts and were fighting with them, but when the hoplites got near them, they turned and ran. The peltasts followed right after them and chased them up to the city, while the hoplites followed along in order. (25) When they got up by the houses of the mother city, the enemy were now all close together, and they kept fighting and throwing their javelins; and having other thick, long spears of such size that a man could barely carry one, they tried to defend themselves hand to hand with these. (26) But as the

Greeks would not yield and kept advancing all together, the barbarians began to run away from this place, too, and all abandoned the fortress. But their king, the one in the wooden tower built upon the summit, whom they all maintain there in common, while he remains there and guards,<sup>16</sup> was not willing to come out; nor would others in the fortress taken earlier. But they were burned up right there, along with their wooden towers.

(27) While plundering these places, in the houses the Greeks found ancestral stores of loaves heaped together, as the Mossynoecians spoke of them, while the new grain had been put away with the straw, and this was mostly spelt. (28) They also found slices of pickled dolphin in amphorae, and dolphin blubber in jars, which the Mossynoecians used just as the Greeks use olive oil. (29) On the upper floors there were many flat nuts, ones without any division. These they used in the same way they used most food, boiling them and baking them into loaves. Wine was found. When unmixed [with water], because of its harshness it seemed sharp, but when mixed, both fragrant and pleasant.

(30) After having breakfast here, the Greeks marched forward, giving over the fortresses to those of the Mossynoecians who were their allies. As for the other fortresses they passed, in the case of the most accessible ones belonging to their enemies' allies, some were promptly abandoned, while others were surrendered voluntarily. (31) Most of these fortresses were as follows. The cities were eighty stadia distant from each other, some more, others less. They could hear each other when they shouted from one city to the next, the country had such heights and hollows. (32) When [the Greeks] were marching among their friends [among the Mossynoecians], the latter showed off the children of the prosperous to them.<sup>17</sup> These children were fattened up, were nourished on boiled nuts, were exceedingly soft and white, and were not far from being equal in length and breadth; and their backs were adorned with many colors, while they were tattooed all over the front with flowers. (33) They would seek also to have intercourse in the open with the female companions the Greeks brought along, for this was their own custom. All were pale, both men and women. (34) Those on the campaign used to say that these were the most barbaric people they had passed through and the ones furthest removed from Greek customs. For when they were in a crowd, they

did what people would only do in private, and when they were alone, they did what people do with others: they would converse with themselves, laugh at themselves, and dance, stopping wherever they chanced to be, just as if making a display to others.

~ CHAPTER 5 ~

Through this country, both the hostile and the friendly parts, the Greeks marched eight stages and reached the Chalybians.<sup>18</sup> These were few in number and subject to the Mossynoecians, and for most of them their livelihood came from working with iron. From here they reached the Tibarenians. (2) The country of the Tibarenians was much more level, and it had fortresses on the seacoast that were less well fortified. The generals desired to attack these fortresses and benefit the army in some way, and they did not accept the gifts of hospitality that arrived from the Tibarenians. Rather, they ordered them to wait while they deliberated, and they began to offer sacrifices. (3) After having sacrificed many victims, all the soothsayers presented their judgment that the gods in no way permitted war. They then did accept the gifts of hospitality, and after marching through friendly country for two days, they reached Cotyora, a Greek city and colony of the Sinopeans but situated in the territory of the Tibarenians.

(4) Up to this point the army had proceeded on foot. The full distance of the route of their descent from the battle in Babylon to Cotyora was one hundred twenty-two stages, six hundred twenty parasangs, or eighteen thousand six hundred stadia, with a duration of eight months.

(5) Here they remained for forty-five days. During these days, first, they sacrificed to the gods, and each of the groups of Greeks, nation by nation, put on processions and athletic contests. (6) As for provisions, they took some from Paphlagonia, and others from the lands of the Cotyorites, for the latter would not provide a market, nor would they accept their sick within their walls.

(7) Meanwhile, ambassadors from Sinope came, fearful both about the city of the Cotyorites (for it was theirs, and the Cotyorites paid them a tribute) and about the territory, because they heard that it



was being ravaged. They came to the army camp and began discussions; Hecatonymus, who was believed to be clever at speaking, said, (8) "Men and soldiers, the city of the Sinopeans sent us both to praise you, because you, being Greeks, are victorious over barbarians and, secondly, to join with you in pleasant rejoicing, because you have gotten here safely, having made it through many and dangerous challenges, as we hear. (9) We of course expected, since we ourselves are Greeks, that we would experience some good at your hands, since you are Greeks, and nothing harmful, for we have never begun to do you any harm. (10) These Cotyorites are our colonists, and we gave this country over to them, after we took it from barbarians. Therefore they pay us an assigned tribute, as do those of Cerasus and Trapezus as well, so that whatever harm you do to these, the city of the Sinopeans believes it suffers. (11) Now we hear that after entering into their city by violence, some of you are lodging in their houses, and that you are taking whatever you want from their lands by violence, without persuading anyone to allow it. (12) These are things, then, we would not expect. If you keep doing them, it will be necessary for us to make friends with Corylas and the Paphlagonians and anyone else we can."

(13) Against this, Xenophon stood up on behalf of the soldiers and said, "We, Sinopean men, are quite content to have arrived here having kept safe our bodies and our weapons; for it was not possible to drive [cattle and captives] along and to carry off property, while also fighting our enemies at the same time. (14) And now, since we have come to Greek cities, in Trapezus we got our provisions by purchasing them, for they provided us with a market; and in return for the things with which they honored us and the gifts of hospitality they gave the army, we honored them in return, and indeed, if any of the barbarians were their friends, we left them alone. But to their enemies, against whom they themselves led us, we did as much harm as we were able. (15) Ask them what sort of troops they found us to be; for those whom the city sent along with us as guides, because of their friendship, are present here. (16) But wherever we may arrive and do not have a market, whether it is a barbarian land or a Greek one, we take our provisions—not out of insolence, but out of necessity. (17) Even though the Carduchians, the Taochians, and the Chaldaeans were not subjects of the King, and though they were

also very frightening, we nevertheless took them on as enemies, because it was necessary to take our provisions, since they did not provide a market. (18) Since the Macronians, however, even though they were barbarians, provided us such a market as they could, we both believed them to be friends and did not take by violence anything that belonged to them.

(19) "But as for the Cotyorites, whom you declare to be yours, if we took anything of theirs, they themselves are the causes; for they did not deal with us as friends, but locking their gates they neither received us inside nor sent a market to us outside. They blamed the governor you sent as the cause of all this. (20) And when you say that we entered and are lodging in Cotyora by violence, we of course expected that they would receive our sick under their roofs. Since they did not open their gates, we entered where the fortress itself received us. We did no other violence, but our sick are lodging under their roofs, spending their own money. We are guarding the gates in order that our sick may not be at the disposal of your governor, but that it may be up to us to remove them whenever we wish. (21) The rest of us, as you see, are bivouacking in the open, in order and prepared, if anyone treats us well, to reciprocate, but if anyone does us harm, to pay it back. (22) As for when you threatened that if you so decided, you would make Corylas and the Paphlagonians your allies against us, we—if the necessity arises—will make war against both of you; for we have already fought with others many times more numerous than you are. (23) But if we decide to make the Paphlagonian a friend (and we hear that he desires both your city and your seaside fortresses), we will try to become his friends by working with him to get what he desires."

(24) After this, Hecatonymus's fellow ambassadors were very clearly angry with him for what he had said, and another of them came forward and said that they had not come to make war but to demonstrate that they were friends. "And if you come to the city of the Sinopeans, we shall receive you there with gifts of hospitality; but now we will order the people here to give what they are able to, for we see that everything you say is true." (25) After this, the Cotyorites sent gifts of hospitality, and the generals of the Greeks entertained the ambassadors of the Sinopeans, and they made much friendly conversation with one another; and both about other matters and,

in particular, about the journey remaining, they each made the inquiries they wanted.

≈ CHAPTER 6 ≈

This was the end of this day. On the next day the generals assembled the soldiers, and they decided to call in the Sinopeans and deliberate with them about the remaining journey. For if they needed to travel on foot, it seemed the Sinopeans would be useful (for they had experience of Paphlagonia), and if by sea, it seemed they would also need the Sinopeans, for they alone seemed capable of providing ships sufficient for the army. (2) So, then, they called the ambassadors and began deliberations and said they expected that the Sinopeans, as Greeks to Greeks, would first receive them nobly both by being well disposed to them and by counseling what was noblest.<sup>19</sup>

(3) Hecatonymus stood up and, in the first place, made a defense about his having said that they would make the Paphlagonian a friend: he had said this as intending not that they would make war on the Greeks but that, although it was possible for them to be friends with the barbarians, they would choose the Greeks. When they bade him give his advice, he said the following beginning with a prayer: (4) "If I should advise what seems to me to be best, may many and good things come to me; if not, the opposite. For what is called 'sacred counsel' seems to me to be present here, since now, if I manifestly advise well, many will be those who praise me, but if badly, many will be those who curse me. (5) Now I know that we will have many more problems, if you are conveyed by sea, for we will need to provide the boats. But if you set out by land, you will need to be the ones who fight. (6) Nevertheless, I must say what I know, for I have experience both of the Paphlagonians' land and of their power.<sup>20</sup> Their land has both features, both the most beautiful plains and the highest mountains. (7) First, then, I know just where it is necessary to make your entry. For there is no other place than where the peaks of the mountain are high on each side of the road; by possessing these peaks, even a very few troops would be able to dominate [the pass]. When these are held, not even all the human beings there

are would be able to get through. And I would show you all this, if you should wish to send someone along with me.

(8) "Second, I know there are plains and a cavalry which the barbarians themselves believe to be stronger than all of the King's cavalry. And just recently they did not report to the King when he summoned them, but their ruler's thoughts were too grand for this. (9) But if you were able to seize the mountains, either by stealing them secretly or by getting the jump on the enemy, and to dominate the plain, by fighting both their cavalry and more than one hundred twenty thousand infantry, you would arrive at the rivers. First is the Thermodon, three plethra in width, which I think is difficult to cross, especially with many enemies in front of you and many following after you from behind. Second is the Iris, similarly three plethra. Third is the Halys, no less than two stadia, which you could not cross without boats. And who will be the one to provide you with boats? In like manner, also, the Parthenius is impassable: you would come to it if you should get across the Halys. (10) I, then, do not believe this journey to be hard for you but altogether impossible. But if you sail, it is possible to sail along the coast from here to Sinope, and from Sinope to Heracleia. From Heracleia, there is no difficulty either on foot or by sea, for there are many boats in Heracleia."

(11) After he said all this, some suspected that he spoke out of friendship for Corylas, for he was his guest-friend, and others that he expected to get gifts because of this advice; still others suspected he spoke with a view to their doing no harm to the land of the Sinopeans, as they would if they went on foot. Then the Greeks voted to make their journey by sea. (12) After this, Xenophon said, "Sinopeans, the men have chosen the passage which you advise, but the matter stands thus: if there should be boats in sufficient numbers not to leave a single person here, we would sail. But if some of us should have to be left behind, while others should sail, we would not embark on the boats. (13) For we know that wherever we are strong, we would be able both to stay safe and to get provisions. But if we are anywhere caught when we are weaker than our enemies, it is quite clear, of course, that we will be in the position of slaves." When they heard this, the ambassadors bade them send ambassadors. (14) And they sent Callimachus, an Arcadian; Ariston, an Athenian; and Samolas, an Achaean; and they departed.

(15) During this time Xenophon saw many Greek hoplites and saw many peltasts, bowmen, hurlers, and horsemen, all of them now exceedingly competent through constant practice; and he saw that they were on the Pontus, where so great a power could not have been provided from any small sum of money; and it seemed a noble thing to him to acquire both land and power for Greece by founding a city.<sup>21</sup>

(16) And it seemed to him that it would become a great city, as he calculated both their own numbers and those dwelling around the Pontus. And with this in view, before speaking to any of the soldiers, he began offering sacrifice, and he called along Silanus, who had been Cyrus's soothsayer, the Ambraciot. (17) Fearing that this might come to pass and that the army might settle down somewhere, Silanus brought word to the army that Xenophon wished the army to settle down and that he found a city and obtain a name and power for himself. (18) Silanus himself wished to reach Greece as quickly as possible, for the three thousand darics he had taken from Cyrus, when he had sacrificed for Cyrus and told the truth about the ten days, were still safe.<sup>22</sup>

(19) When the soldiers heard this, it seemed best to some to remain there, but not to others. Timasion the Dardanian and Thorax the Boeotian said to some Heracleot and Sinopean merchants who were present that unless they provided wages for the army, so that they would have provisions when they sailed away, there would be the danger that this great force would remain in the Pontus. "For Xenophon wishes this and is calling upon us, whenever the boats may come, then to say suddenly to the army, (20) 'Men, we see now that you are at a loss both about how to get provisions while sailing back and how, when you get back home, to benefit in any way your people at home. But if you wish to select a place, wherever you wish from this inhabited country encircling the Pontus, and to take possession of it, with the one who wants to going back homeward and the one who wants to remaining there, then ships are ready for you here, so that you could attack suddenly wherever you wish.'"

(21) When they heard this, the merchants reported it to their cities. Timasion the Dardanian sent along with them Eurymachus the Dardanian and Thorax the Boeotian to say the same things. On hearing this, the Sinopeans and Heracleots sent to Timasion and bade him accept some money to take the lead in getting the army to sail away.

(22) He was glad to hear this, and when the soldiers were gathered together, he said this: "You must not think of remaining, men, nor hold anything of greater value than Greece, yet I hear that some are offering sacrifices with a view to remaining, without even telling you. (23) But if you sail away, I promise to provide each of you a Cyzicene per month as a salary, starting from the beginning of the month.<sup>a</sup> And I will lead you to Troas, whence I am an exile, and my city will be yours, for they will welcome me willingly. (24) I myself will lead you where you will get a lot of money. I have experience of Aeolis, Phrygia, Troas, and the entire domain of Pharnabazus, in some places because I am from there and in others because I campaigned there with Clearchus and Dercylidas."

(25) Standing up next was Thorax the Boeotian, who was always doing battle with Xenophon over the generalship, and he said that if they went out of the Pontus, they would have the Chersonese, a beautiful and prosperous country. Thus, whoever wished could dwell there, and whoever wished could head off for home. He said it was ridiculous to seek it among barbarians when there was abundant and bounteous land in Greece. (26) "And until you get there," he said, "I too promise you a salary, just as Timasion did." He said this knowing what the Heracleots and the Sinopeans were promising to Timasion to get them to sail away. Xenophon was silent during all this. (27) Then Philesius and Lycon got up, both Achaeans, and said that it was terrible for Xenophon in private, not in common with the army, both to be persuading people to stay behind and to be sacrificing on behalf of remaining, while not speaking publicly to the common about these things.

Thus Xenophon was compelled to get up and say this: (28) "As you see, men, I am offering sacrifices, as many as I can, both on your behalf and on mine, in order that I may chance to say, think, and do the sort of things that are going to be both for you most noble and best, and for me. And I was now offering sacrifices over just this very thing, whether it was better to begin to speak to you and to act about these things or not to touch the matter in any way at all. (29) Silanus the soothsayer answered me on the point of greatest importance, that the sacrifices were propitious, for he knew that I am

<sup>a</sup> The Cyzicene had a value of about twenty-eight Attic drachmas.

not inexperienced, because I am always present at the sacrifices. But he said that in the sacrifices there appeared a certain fraud and plot against me, because he knew, of course, that he himself was planning to slander me to you, for it was he who brought out the report that I already intended to do all this, without first persuading you. (30) Now if I saw that you were seriously at a loss, I would be examining this: from what plan could it be arranged that, by seizing a city, any one of you who wished might sail off right away, while any one who did not so wish, might do so later, after he acquired sufficient things so as to benefit to some extent the members of his household. (31) But since I see that the Heracleots and Sinopeans are sending boats to you, so that you might sail away, and that there are men who are promising you a salary from the beginning of the month, it seems to me a beautiful thing to arrive safe where we wish to go and also to get a salary for our very difficulties.<sup>23</sup> So I myself have given up that other thought, and to those who used to come to me saying that we had to undertake it, I say they too need to give it up. (32) For I am so minded: when you are many together, as now, it seems to me you would both be honored and have provisions, for in the being stronger lies the taking of what belongs to the weaker. But if you become scattered and your power is split into small pieces, you would not be capable of getting your subsistence, nor would you long rejoice at your separation. (33) It seems to me then, just as it does to you, that we should set out for Greece, and if someone remains behind or is caught leaving anyone behind before the entire army is in safety, that he should be judged as unjust. And whoever is so resolved, let him raise his hand." All raised them.

(34) But Silanus was shouting, and he was trying to say that it was just for whoever wished to go off; but the soldiers would not endure it and threatened that if they caught him running away, they would punish him. (35) After this, when the Heracleots knew that it had been decided that they would sail away and that Xenophon himself had put it to the vote, they sent the ships; but as for the money which they promised to Timasion and Thorax for the soldiers' salary, they had lied. (36) Here, then, these who had promised the salary were stunned, and they became terrified of the army. So they went to Xenophon, taking along also the other generals with whom they had shared counsel about what they had been doing before (and this was

all of them except Neon the Asinaean, who was lieutenant general for Cheirisophus, since Cheirisophus was not yet back). They said that they regretted what had happened and that it seemed best to sail to Phasis, since there were boats, and to occupy the land of the Phasians. A grandson of Aeetes chanced to be their king. (37) Xenophon answered that he would say nothing of this to the army. "But you, if you wish," he said, "gather them together and speak." Then Timasion the Dardarian expressed the judgment that they should not hold an assembly but that each should first try to persuade his captains. When they went away, they began to do this.

## ≈ CHAPTER 7 ≈

The soldiers learned that these things were being agitated, and Neon said that Xenophon had persuaded the other generals and was intending to deceive the soldiers and lead them back to Phasis. (2) On hearing this, the soldiers took it hard, and gatherings began to take place and circles to be formed, and it was greatly to be feared that they would do the sort of things that they had done also to the heralds of the Colchians and the market managers, for as many of these as did not flee into the sea were stoned to death.<sup>24</sup> (3) When Xenophon became aware of this, he decided to convene an assembly of them as quickly as possible and not to allow them to gather spontaneously. So he ordered the herald to call an assembly. (4) When they heard the herald, they ran together with great readiness.

Here Xenophon did not accuse the generals for having come to him but spoke as follows: (5) "I hear that someone is slandering me, men, saying that I am going to deceive you and take you to Phasis. Hear me, then, by the gods, and if I am manifestly unjust, I ought not to leave here until I pay the penalty. But if it is those slandering me who are manifestly unjust in your view, then treat them as they deserve.

(6) "You surely know," he said, "where the sun rises and where it sets, and that if someone is going to go to Greece, he must travel toward the setting sun; but if someone wishes to go to the barbarians, he must travel back the other way toward the rising sun. So does

anyone exist who would be able to deceive you on this, that the sun sets where it rises and rises where it sets? (7) But you also know this, that the north wind carries one out of the Pontus into Greece, and the south wind does so toward Phasis. And, as the saying goes, 'When the north wind blows, there are fair sailings toward Greece.' Is there, then, any way someone could deceive you into embarking when a south wind is blowing? (8) So, then, will I get you on board when there is a calm? Then I will sail in one ship, and you in at least one hundred. How, then, could I either force you to sail with me, if you did not wish to, or lead you along by deception? (9) Let me suppose that you have been deceived and bewitched by me and you arrive in Phasis, and, furthermore, that we ascend from the harbor into the country. You will realize, surely, that you are not in Greece. I, then, the one who has deceived you, will be but a single person, and you, the deceived, will be nearly ten thousand, and you will be armed. How, then, could any one man bring on his punishment more than by deliberating like this about himself and you?

(10) "But these are the arguments of men both foolish and envious of me, because I am honored by you. And yet their envy of me would not be just. Whom among them do I prevent from speaking if anyone is able to say anything good in your midst, or from fighting if anyone is willing to do so on your behalf and his own, or from caring and being wakeful about your safety? What, then, am I a hindrance to anyone when you are electing your rulers? I yield: let him rule; but only let it be evident that he is doing you some good. (11) But as for me, what has been said about all this is sufficient, but if one of you either thinks that he himself could have been deceived in this or that he could have deceived another, let him speak and teach us how. (12) And when you have had enough of such things, do not go away until you hear what sort of problem I see beginning in the army; for if it advances and proves to be anything like the glimpses it is now showing, it is time for us to take counsel about ourselves, in order that we not be revealed as both the worst and the most shameful men in the eyes of both gods and human beings, both friends and enemies, and come to hold ourselves in contempt."

(13) On hearing this, the soldiers began wondering what it was, and they bade him speak. He thereupon began again. "You know, I suppose, that in the mountains there were barbarian lands, friendly

to the Cerasuntians, from which some came down and sold us sacrificial victims and other things they had, and it seems to me there were also some of you who used to go to the nearest of these lands, buy something, and come back again. (14) Learning that it was both small and unguarded, on account of their believing it was on friendly terms, Clearatus the captain went to them at night in order to plunder, without saying anything to any of us. (15) He intended, if he took the place, not to return to the army again but to get on board a ship on which his messmates happened to be sailing, to put on board anything he might take, and to sail away and depart from the Pontus. And his messmates from the ship agreed with him on these plans, as I am now aware. (16) So he summoned to his side as many as he could persuade and led them against the place, but the coming of day overtook him as he was marching, and the people got together and shot at them from their strongholds. Striking Clearatus, they killed him and a throng of others, though some of them also retreated to Cerasus.

(17) "This occurred on the day on which we were setting out [from Cerasus] on foot to come here, and there were still in Cerasus some of those who were sailing who had not yet put to sea. After this, as the Cerasuntians say, three men who were among the elders arrived from the barbarians' country, and they desired to come before our common [council]. (18) Since they did not overtake us [in Cerasus], they told the Cerasuntians that they were wondering why we had decided to attack them. When, however, as the Cerasuntians reported to us, they said that the action had not proceeded from our common [council], the elders were pleased and were going to sail here, in order to explain to us what had happened and to invite those who wanted to bury the corpses to take them and do so. (19) Of the Greeks who [had been with Clearatus and who] had escaped, some chanced still to be at Cerasus. Becoming aware of the barbarian elders and where they were going, [the renegade Greeks] dared to strike them with stones, and they also incited others to do so. And the men—three in number, ambassadors—were killed, stoned to death.

(20) "When this occurred, the Cerasuntians came to us and reported the matter. When we heard this, we generals were vexed at what had happened, and we deliberated with the Cerasuntians about how the corpses of the Greeks might be buried. (21) When

we were seated [with the Cerasuntians] outside our armed camp, we suddenly heard a great uproar: 'Strike! Strike! Throw! Throw!' And right away we saw many running up with stones in their hands, and others picking them up. (22) And since they had also seen this sort of problem back at Cerasus, the Cerasuntians were frightened, and they retreated to their ships, and there were also, by Zeus, some of us who were frightened.<sup>25</sup> (23) I, for my part, went up to them and asked what the problem was. There were some of them who knew nothing but nevertheless had stones in their hands. But when I chanced upon someone who did know, he told me that the market managers were treating the army most terribly. (24) At this moment, someone saw the market manager Zelarchus going away toward the sea, so he started shouting; when the others heard it, they rushed at him, just as if a wild boar or a deer had appeared. (25) And now the Cerasuntians—when they saw them rushing toward them, and certainly believing that they themselves were the object of the charge—began to flee at a run and plunged into the sea; and some of us also followed after them, and any who did not chance to know how to swim drowned.

(26) "And what do you think about these Cerasuntians? They were unjust in no way at all but feared that some rabid frenzy had fallen upon us, as upon dogs. So if such things as these are going to occur, observe what sort of condition your army will be in. (27) You, all of you, will not have the authority either to start a war with whom you wish or to bring one to an end, but whoever wishes will lead an army in private for whatever object he wants. And if some ambassadors come to you, asking either for peace or for something else, those who wish, by killing them, will make it so you do not hear the words of those who have come to you. (28) Further, those whom you all elect to be your rulers will have no place, but whoever elects himself to be general and wants to say, 'Throw! Throw!' will be sufficient to kill both a ruler and an ordinary person, whomever of you he wishes, without a trial, if there shall be those who obey him, as happened just now.

(29) "Consider what sort of things these self-elected generals have done for you. If Telarchus the market manager has been unjust to you, he is gone, having sailed away, without paying the penalty; and if he has not been unjust, he has fled from the army in fear that he

might be killed unjustly without a trial.<sup>26</sup> (30) Those who stoned the ambassadors have achieved this result for you, that it is not safe for you alone of all the Greeks to arrive in Cerasus, unless you do so in strength. And regarding the corpses, which earlier you were invited to bury even by the very people who had killed them, [the Greek renegades] have achieved this result, that it is no longer safe to take the dead up even when carrying a herald's staff. For who is willing to go as a herald if he has killed heralds? So we asked the Cerasuntians to bury them. (31) So now, if all this is fine with you, let there be a decree to this effect, that since things are going to be like this, one may also post a guard for himself in private and try to pitch his tent with strong positions off to the right.<sup>27</sup> (32) If, however, such deeds seem to you to be the part of wild beasts but not of human beings, consider putting a stop to them. If you do not, by Zeus, how shall we sacrifice to gods with pleasure, since we are committing impious deeds, or how shall we do battle with our enemies if we are killing one another? (33) What city will be our friend and receive us, if it sees such lawlessness in us? Who will be confident in bringing us a market, if we manifestly make mistakes about the greatest things of this sort? And here, where we have been thinking we would obtain praise from all, who would praise us when we are such as we are? For we ourselves, I know, would say that those who do such things are evil."

(34) After this all stood up and said that those who began all this should pay the penalty; that for the future, to incite lawlessness would no longer be permitted; that if anyone did, they should be brought in on a penalty of death; that the generals should bring all such to trial; and that there should be trials if anyone was unjust in anything since the time Cyrus was killed. They made the captains judges. (35) With Xenophon advising it and with the soothsayers joining in this counsel, it was decided also to purify the army. And the purification occurred.

≈ CHAPTER 8 ≈

It was decided also to subject the generals to a trial covering all the time that had passed. And after they gave an account of their

conduct, Philesius and Xanthicles were each fined twenty minae, to cover the loss which had accrued, for the way they guarded the cargoes of the merchant ships;<sup>28</sup> and Sophaenetos was fined ten minae for neglect after he had been elected to office. And some brought accusations against Xenophon, professing that they had been beaten by him, and they made the accusation that he did this out of insolence.

(2) Xenophon stood up and bade the first who had spoken to say at what point of the march he had been struck. He answered, "When we were perishing with the cold and there was so much snow." (3) And Xenophon said, "But surely, if it was such a bad winter as you say, and our food was failing us, and it was impossible to get even a whiff of wine, and with many of us giving out under the burden of our labors, and with the enemy closely following us, if I was insolent on such an occasion, I agree that I am more insolent even than asses are, of which they say that because of their insolence they never suffer fatigue. Nevertheless, tell us also why you were struck. (4) Was I asking you for something, and did I strike you when you did not give it to me? Was I asking you to return something? Was I fighting over a favorite? Was I abusive because I was drunk?" (5) When he said it was none of these things, he asked him if he were a hoplite. He said that he was not. He asked him next if he were a peltast. He said, "Not even this, but even though I am a free person, I have been assigned by my messmates to drive a mule." (6) At this point Xenophon recognized him and asked, "Are you the one who was bringing the sick person along?" "Yes, by Zeus," he said, "for you compelled me to do so, and you scattered the baggage of my messmates." (7) "But," said Xenophon, "the 'scattering' was something like this: I distributed the baggage to others to bring along, and I ordered them to bring it back to me. When I got it all back safe, I returned it to you, when you too showed me the man. But hear, all of you, how this episode was," he said, "for it is worth hearing.

(8) "A man was being left behind because he was no longer able to march. I knew the man only to this extent, that he was one of us. I compelled you to bring him along so that he might not perish, for, as I think, the enemy was following us." The fellow agreed to this. (9) "Then," said Xenophon, "after I sent you onward, I overtook you again as I marched along with the rear guard, and you were digging a pit, as if about to bury the person. And I stopped and praised you.

(10) But when, with several of us standing by, the man bent his leg, those present shouted out, 'The man is alive!' You said, 'Yes, as much as he wishes, but I, at least, am not going to bring him along.' At this point I struck you, so what you say is true, for you seemed to me like one who knew that he was alive." (11) "What of it?" he said. "Did he die any the less after I showed him to you?" "We all will die," said Xenophon, "so should we therefore all be buried alive?" (12) All now shouted out that Xenophon had struck him with too few blows.

He bade others say why each was struck. (13) When no one stood up, he himself said, "Men, I agree that because of their disorder, I did indeed strike men. I struck those for whom it was enough that they be kept safe by those of you who stayed in order as we marched and kept fighting wherever there was the need, while they themselves would abandon order and run forward, being quite willing to seize plunder and take advantage of you. If we had all done this, we would all have perished. (14) And also, when someone would go soft and was unwilling to get up but rather was abandoning himself to the enemy, I struck him and compelled him to march on; for once in severe winter, while waiting for some others who were still packing up, I kept seated for a long time, and I myself learned that I could barely stand up and stretch my legs. (15) Having gained experience of this in my own case, then, I would drive on any other, too, whenever I saw anyone sitting down and being lazy; for moving and acting like a man produced a certain warmth and moisture, whereas I saw that sitting down and keeping at peace was useful only for freezing the blood and rotting away one's toes. And you too know that many suffered precisely these things. (16) And perhaps there was someone else who was somewhere falling behind because he was easygoing, thus preventing both you up front and us in the rear from marching on, and I struck him with my fist so that he would not be struck by an enemy's spearhead. (17) And therefore it is now possible for them, since they have been saved, to seek judicial redress, if in any way they suffered anything from me contrary to what is just. But if they had fallen into the hands of the enemy, what could they have suffered, however extreme, for which they could have expected to seek judicial redress?

(18) "My argument," he said, "is simple. If I punished anyone for a good [reason], I of course expect to undergo such judicial redress



as do parents with their children and teachers with their pupils (and doctors also burn and cut for a good [reason]). (19) But if you believe that I do all this out of insolence, consider that I am now more confident, with the help of the gods, than I was then, and I am bolder now than I was then, and I drink more wine; but nevertheless, I strike no one, for I see you are in fair weather. (20) But whenever there is a storm, and a great sea rushes on, do you not see that even on account of a mere nod, the bow leader gets angry with those in the bow, and the pilot gets angry with those in the stern; for even small errors are sufficient to destroy everything at such a juncture. (21) You have also judged that I struck them justly: you were there with swords, not votes, and it was possible for you to come to their aid if you wished. But, by Zeus, neither did you come to their aid, nor did you join with me in striking whoever was out of order. (22) You therefore gave license to the bad among them, since you allowed them to be insolent. For I think, if you are willing to examine it, you will find that the same were then the worst and are now the most insolent. (23) At least Boiscus, the Thessalian boxer, then fought to avoid carrying his shield, on the grounds that he was worn out, and now, as I hear, he has already stripped many Cotyrites.<sup>29</sup> (24) If you are moderate, you will do to him the opposite of what people do to dogs. For they tie up harsh dogs during the day and let them loose at night; but him, if you are moderate, you will bind at night but release during the day. (25) But I am amazed," he said, "that if I am hateful to anyone among you, you recall it and do not stay silent, but if for anyone I lightened the burden of winter, or kept an enemy away, or joined in providing something for one who was weak or at a loss, no one recalls it; nor if I praised someone who acted nobly or if I honored as well as I was able anyone who was good, you recall nothing of it. (26) And yet it is noble, just, pious, and more pleasant to recall the good things more than the bad."

Then they got up and began recalling them, and all ended well.

## BOOK VI

### ~ CHAPTER 1 ~

But after this, during their stay [in Cotyora], some got their living from the market, others by also taking plunder from Paphlagonia. The Paphlagonians, however, were also very good at kidnapping the stragglers, and during the night they kept trying to do harm to those in the forward camps. The two groups were thus extremely hostile to each other from all of this. (2) Corylas, who chanced then to be the ruler of Paphlagonia, sent ambassadors to the Greeks, along with horses and beautiful apparel, and his ambassadors said that Corylas was ready [to agree] not to be unjust to the Greeks and not to suffer injustice himself. (3) The generals answered that they would deliberate about these terms with the army, and they received the ambassadors with hospitality [at dinner], and they invited also those who seemed most just from among their other men.<sup>1</sup>

(4) After sacrificing some of the captured cattle and other sacrificial victims, they provided a sufficient feast; they dined while reclining on couches, and they drank with cups made of horn, which they had chanced upon in the country. (5) After the libations had been performed and they had sung a paean, first Thracians got up and danced to the flute with their weapons, leaping high and nimbly and using their swords. Finally, one hit the other (at least it seemed to all that he had struck the man), and he fell somewhat artfully; (6) and the Paphlagonians cried out. Then the one stripped the weapons