

XENOPHON



The Anabasis of Cyrus

BOOK I

~ CHAPTER 1 ~

To Darius and Parysatis were born two sons, the older Artaxerxes and the younger Cyrus.¹ When Darius fell sick and suspected the end of his life to be near, he wished both sons to be at his side. (2)^a Now the older happened to be present, but Cyrus he summoned from the province over which he had made him satrap;^b he had also appointed him general of all the troops that assemble on the plain of Castolus.² So Cyrus ascended^c from the coast, taking Tissaphernes as a friend,³ and he ascended with three hundred Greek hoplites,^d with Xenias the Parrhasian as their commander.⁴ (3) When Darius had died and Artaxerxes was settled in the kingship, Tissaphernes slandered Cyrus to his brother, saying that he was plotting against him.⁵ And he believed this and had Cyrus seized, so that he might put him to death. Their mother, however, interceded and sent him back again to his province.

(4) After he departed, having been in danger and dishonored, Cyrus began planning how he would avoid being subject to his brother ever again but rather, if he were able, would rule as King instead of him.

^a These parenthetical numbers are those of the Hude edition's Greek text.

^b A satrap was the governor of a province of the Persian Empire.

^c The verb cognate with the title of the work, *anabainō*, is generally translated as "ascend."

^d A hoplite was a heavily armed infantry soldier.

Parysatis, their mother, was on the side of Cyrus, for she loved him more than the ruling King, Artaxerxes. (5) And, as for those who came to him from the King,⁶ Cyrus would make them all such that they became friends more to himself than to the King, and then he would send them back. Of the barbarians^e with him, he took care that they would be capable of making war and would also be well disposed to him. (6) He went about assembling his Greek force as secretly as he could, in order that he might catch the King as unprepared as possible.

This is how he carried out this collection of troops: he passed the word to the garrison commanders of all the garrisons he had in the cities to secure men from the Peloponnese as numerous and as good as possible, on the grounds that Tissaphernes was plotting against their cities.⁷ For the Ionian cities had anciently belonged to Tissaphernes, having been given to him by the King, but at that time they all had revolted to Cyrus, except for Miletus. (7) In Miletus, Tissaphernes perceived in advance those who were planning to do the same—to revolt to Cyrus—and he killed some of them and banished others. But Cyrus took up the exiles and brought an army together, and besieged Miletus by both land and sea, and he was trying to restore the exiles. And this, then, was another of his pretexts for assembling an army. (8) He sent to the King and claimed that, since he was his brother, these cities should be given to him rather than be ruled by Tissaphernes, and his mother assisted him on this. As a result, the King did not perceive the plot against himself but believed that Cyrus was spending on armies because he was at war with Tissaphernes. As a result, he was not the least bit vexed that they were at war, for Cyrus also sent to the King the tribute that arose from the cities of Tissaphernes that he happened to hold.

(9) Another army was being collected for him in the Chersonese, opposite Abydus, in the following manner.^f Clearchus was a Lacedaemonian exile. After having associated with him, Cyrus came to admire him and gave him ten thousand darics.^g Taking the gold, he collected an army with these funds and, setting out from the Chersonese,

^e A barbarian was any non-Greek.

^f See Geographical Note and Map 2.

^g See Glossary: Units of Value.

made war on the Thracians who dwelt above the Hellespont; and he was benefiting the Greeks. As a result, the cities on the Hellespont voluntarily contributed money to him for the maintenance of his soldiers. This army also was thus being nurtured for him without being detected.

(10) Aristippus the Thessalian happened to be a guest-friend of his;^h and being hard-pressed by members of a rival faction at home, he went to Cyrus and asked him for two thousand foreign troops and for three months' wages, on the grounds that in this way he would prevail over the rival faction. Cyrus gave him four thousand troops and six months' wages and asked him not to come to terms with his rivals until he had again deliberated with him. Thus also this army in Thessaly was being nurtured for him without being detected.

(11) He bade Proxenus the Boeotian, who was a guest-friend of his, get as many men as possible and report to him, on the grounds that he wished to campaign against the Pisidians, since these Pisidians were making problems for his country. He bade Sophaenetus the Stymphalian and Socrates the Achaean, these also being guest-friends of his, get as many men as possible and to come, indicating that together with the Milesian exiles he would be making war on Tissaphernes. And these acted accordingly.

~ CHAPTER 2 ~

When it seemed to him time to march upcountry, he used the pretext that he wished to expel the Pisidians from his land altogether, and it was ostensibly against them that he gathered together both his barbarian and his Greek force. He then also ordered both that Clearchus report there with whatever army he had and that Aristippus reconcile with those at home and send him the army he had. Xenias the Arcadian, who led the mercenary force in the cities for him, he ordered to come with all his troops, except a number sufficient to guard the acropolis of each city. (2) He summoned also those who were besieging Miletus, and he bade the exiles campaign with

^h See Glossary: Guest-Friend.

him, promising that if he accomplished nobly the object of his campaign, he would not cease until he restored them to their homes.¹ They obeyed with pleasure, for they trusted him; and they reported to Sardis with their weapons.² (3) Xenias arrived in Sardis with up to four thousand hoplites from the cities; Proxenus was present with one thousand five hundred hoplites and five hundred light-armed troops; Sophaenetus the Stymphalian with one thousand hoplites; Socrates the Achaean with about five hundred hoplites; and Pasion the Megarian arrived with three hundred hoplites and three hundred peltasts.³ Both he and Socrates were among those who had been campaigning over Miletus.

(4) So these arrived in Sardis for Cyrus. But observing this and holding the preparation to be too great for one against the Pisidians, Tissaphernes went to the King as quickly as he could with about five hundred cavalry troops.⁴ (5) And when the King heard from Tissaphernes of Cyrus's expedition, he began making counterpreparations. Cyrus set out from Sardis with those I mentioned, and he marched three stages, twenty-two parasangs, through Lydia to the Maeander River. Its width was two plethra, and over it was a bridge of seven boats bound together.⁵ (6) Crossing this, he marched through Phrygia, one stage, eight parasangs, to Colossae, a city inhabited, prosperous, and large.⁶ Here he remained seven days. And Menon the Thessalian arrived with one thousand hoplites and five hundred peltasts, Dolopians, Aenianians, and Olynthians.⁸

(7) From here he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, into Celaenae, a city of Phrygia, inhabited, large, and prosperous. Here Cyrus had a royal residence and hunting ground stocked with wild animals, which he would hunt on horseback whenever he wished to exercise both himself and his horses.⁹ Through the middle of the park flows the Maeander River, whose sources were under the palace. It flows also through the city of Celaenae. (8) There is also a palace

¹ See Glossary: Noble.

² See Glossary: Trust.

³ A peltast was a lightly armed infantry soldier.

⁴ See Glossary: Horseman.

⁵ A stage was one day's march; a *parasang* was a bit more than three miles; a *plethron* was a bit less than one hundred feet.

⁶ See Glossary: Happy.

⁹ See Glossary: Royal Hunting Ground, Royal Residence.

of the Great King in Celaenae, fortified, at the foot of the acropolis, at the springs that are the sources of the Marsyas River. It too flows through the city, and it empties into the Maeander. The width of the Marsyas River is twenty-five feet. Here Apollo is said to have flayed Marsyas, having defeated him after he had challenged his wisdom, and to have hung his skin in the cave where the sources [of the river] are.⁹ On account of this, the river is called the Marsyas. (9) Here Xerxes is said to have built both this palace and the acropolis of Celaenae, when he was retreating from Greece after his defeat in the battle.¹⁰ Here Cyrus remained thirty days, and Clearchus the Lacedaemonian exile arrived with one thousand hoplites, eight hundred Thracian peltasts, and two hundred Cretan archers. At the same time Sosis the Syracusan also reported with three hundred hoplites, as did Sophaenetus the Arcadian with one thousand hoplites.¹¹ Here Cyrus held a review in the park and counted the Greeks; and there were eleven thousand Greek hoplites, five hundred peltasts, and five hundred light-armed troops, two hundred Cretans, eight hundred Thracians. In all, they numbered thirteen thousand.

(10) From here he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to Peltae, an inhabited city. He remained there three days. During this time Xenias the Arcadian celebrated the Lycaea with sacrifices^p and held an [athletic] contest, and the prizes were golden strigils.¹² Even Cyrus watched the [athletic] contest.

From here he marched two stages, twelve parasangs, to Ceramon Agora, an inhabited city, the farthest in the direction of the territory of Mysia. (11) From here he marched three stages, thirty parasangs, to Pedion Cayster, an inhabited city. He remained there five days. He owed his soldiers more than three months' wages, and they often went to his headquarters and demanded it. He continually expressed his hopes, and he was clearly distressed; for it was not in keeping with the character of Cyrus not to give them their pay, if he had it. (12) Here Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, King of the Cilicians, came to Cyrus; and it was said that she gave Cyrus a great deal of money. In any case, Cyrus did then pay four months' wages to the army. The Cilician queen had a bodyguard of Cilicians and Aspendians, and it was said that Cyrus had intercourse with the Cilician [queen].

^p See Glossary: Sacred, Sacrifices, Omens.

(13) From here he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to Thymbrium, an inhabited city. Here beside the road was the so-called spring of Midas, king of the Phrygians, at which it is said that Midas hunted the satyr, mixing the spring's water with wine.¹³

(14) From here he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to Tyriaeum, an inhabited city. There he remained three days. And the Cilician queen is said to have asked Cyrus to display his army to her. So he, wishing to display it, held a review of Greeks and barbarians on the plain. (15) He bade the Greeks deploy themselves and take their places for battle, following their own custom, and bade each put his own troops in order.¹⁴ So they deployed at four deep. Menon and those with him had the right side, Clearchus and those with him the left, and the other generals the center. (16) Cyrus first reviewed the barbarians, who were passing by deployed in troops and companies.¹⁴ Then, passing by in a chariot with the Cilician in her carriage, he reviewed the Greeks. They all had bronze helmets, purple tunics, greaves, and shields that had had their covers removed. (17) When he had passed by all of them, he stopped his chariot in front of the middle of the phalanx,¹⁵ sent Pigres the interpreter to the Greek generals, and ordered them to advance the entire phalanx with weapons facing forward; and they passed this order to their soldiers. When the trumpet sounded, they advanced with weapons forward. After this, advancing faster and faster of their own accord and with a shout, the soldiers began to run toward the camp; (18) and there was great fear among the barbarians, as both the Cilician [queen] fled in her carriage and those in the market fled, leaving their wares behind. The Greeks arrived at the camp in laughter; the Cilician [queen] was filled with wonder, having seen the splendor and order of the army; and Cyrus was pleased, having seen such fear in the barbarians provoked by the Greeks.

(19) From here he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia. There he remained three days. From here he marched five stages, thirty parasangs, through Lycaonia. He turned this country over to the Greeks to be plundered, on the grounds that it was hostile. (20) From here Cyrus sent the Cilician

¹³ See Glossary: Custom.

¹⁴ A phalanx was a formation of heavily armed infantry soldiers.

[queen] off to Cilicia by the quickest road, and along with her he sent soldiers that Menon had, as well as Menon himself. Cyrus marched with the others through Cappadocia, four stages, twenty-five parasangs, to Dana, a city inhabited, large, and prosperous. There he remained three days. At this time Cyrus executed Megaphernes, a Persian man, a wearer of the royal purple, and a certain other of his subordinates, a powerful one, charging them with plotting against him.¹⁵

(21) From here he attempted to invade Cilicia. The approach was a wagon road, exceedingly steep and, if anyone opposed, impossible for an army to enter on. Syennesis was said to be on the heights, guarding the approach, so Cyrus remained a day on the plain. On the next day a messenger arrived saying that Syennesis had left the heights because he had perceived that the army of Menon was already in Cilicia, beyond the mountains, and because he had heard that Tamos was sailing from Ionia to Cilicia with triremes of the Lacedaemonians and of Cyrus himself.¹⁶ (22) So Cyrus then ascended the mountains, since no one opposed it, and he saw the tents where the Cilicians were on guard. From here he went down onto the plain, which was vast and beautiful, well watered, and full of all sorts of trees and vines. It brought forth a great deal of sesame, millet, panicum, wheat, and barley; and a high and protecting mountain range surrounded it on all sides, from sea to sea. (23) Going down across this plain, he marched four stages, twenty-five parasangs, to Tarsus, a large and prosperous city of Cilicia, where Syennesis, the king of the Cilicians, had his palace. Through the middle of the city flowed a river named the Cydnus, two plethra in width. (24) The inhabitants of this city, except those with shops, left with Syennesis for a fortified place in the mountains; those inhabiting the seacoast, in Soli and Issus, also remained. (25) Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, arrived in Tarsus five days before Cyrus.

During the crossing of the mountains to the plain, two companies of Menon's army perished. Some said that they had been cut down by the Cilicians while taking some plunder; others said that they had perished while wandering about, having been left behind and not being able to find either the rest of the army or the roads. They were

¹⁵ A trireme was a Greek warship.

hundred hoplites. (26) When the others arrived, angry over the loss of their fellow soldiers, they plundered Tarsus, both the city and the place that was in it.

Now Cyrus, when he marched into the city, sent for Syennesis to come to him, but the latter said that he had never before put himself at the hands of anyone stronger than himself, nor was he then willing to come to Cyrus—until his wife persuaded him, and he received Cyrus. (27) After this, when they were together with each other, Syennesis gave Cyrus a great deal of money for his army, while Clearchus gave him gifts which are believed to be honors from a king: a golden bridle, a golden necklace, bracelets, a golden ring, a Persian robe; and Cyrus said that his land would no longer be plundered and that he could take back the captives that had been taken as plunder, if they anywhere chanced upon them.

~ CHAPTER 3 ~

Wherefore Cyrus and his army remained twenty days, for the soldiers said that they would go no farther, for they now suspected that they were going against the King. They said that they were not paid for their march. At first Clearchus tried to use force to get his own soldiers to march on, but they threw stones at both him and his pack animals, so that never they began to go forward. (2) Clearchus at this point narrowly escaped being stoned to death. Later, when he realized that he could not be able to use force, he summoned an assembly of his troops. First he stood and wept for a long time, and when they saw him, they were filled with wonder and fell silent.

Then he spoke as follows: (3) "Men and soldiers, do not wonder that I am troubled by our present affairs. For Cyrus became my guest-friend, and when I was in exile from my fatherland he both honored me in other respects and gave me ten thousand darics. On receiving these, I did not deposit them for my private use or squander them on pleasures: I spent them on you. (4) First I made war against the Thracians, and with you I took vengeance on them on behalf

of Greece and drove them from the Chersonese, for they wished to take away this land from the Greeks who inhabited it. When Cyrus called, I marched with you, so that if he needed anything, I might benefit him in return for the good things I experienced at his hands.

(5) Since you do not wish to march along, it becomes necessary for me either to betray you and make use of Cyrus's friendship, or to play false with him and be with you. Whether I will be doing what is just, I do not know, but I will at any rate choose you, and I will suffer with you whatever may be necessary. And no one will ever say that I was leading the Greeks against the barbarians and then that I betrayed the Greeks and chose the friendship of the barbarians; (6) but since you are not willing to obey me or to follow, I will follow along with you and will suffer whatever may be needed. For I believe that to me you are fatherland, friends, and allies, and with you I think that I would be honored wherever I may be, but separated from you I think I would not be sufficient either to benefit a friend or to defend against an enemy. Hold firm to this judgment, then, that wherever you go, I will go also."

(7) Thus he spoke. The soldiers, both his own and the others who heard this, praised him because he said he would not proceed against the King. More than two thousand troops of Xenias and Pasion took their weapons and their baggage and camped with Clearchus. (8) Cyrus, being at a loss and distressed at these events, sent for Clearchus.^a He was not willing to come, however, but unknown to the soldiers he sent a messenger and told Cyrus to take heart, for the matter would be settled as it needed to be. But he directed Cyrus to send for him, although he said that he himself would not come.

(9) After this, he assembled his own soldiers, those who had come over to him, and anyone else who wished, and he spoke as follows: "Men and soldiers, it is clear that Cyrus's position in relation to us is just as ours is in relation to him. For neither are we his soldiers any longer, since we are not following him, nor will he pay our wages any longer. However, that he believes he has been treated unjustly by us, I know. (10) Consequently, even if he sends for me, I am not willing to go; my shame is greatest, because I am aware that I have deceived him in everything, but I am also afraid that he might take

^a See Glossary: Trust.

^a See Glossary: At a loss.

me and punish me for the injustices he believes he has suffered at my hands. (11) Thus it seems to me not to be the time for us to sleep or to neglect ourselves but to take council as to what we must do in these circumstances. And for as long as we remain here, it seems to me we must consider how we will remain as safely as possible, and if it is now decided that we should leave, how we may leave as safely as possible, and how we will have provisions.^v For without these, no benefit derives from either a general or a private person. (12) That man is worth a great deal as a friend to whomever he is a friend, and he is also a most harsh enemy to whomever he is hostile; and he has a force—infantry, cavalry, and naval—which we all alike see and know. For, as it seems to me, we are not seated so very far from it. Consequently, it is time for anyone to say whatever he judges to be best.”

(13) Having said this, he ceased. After this, some stood up spontaneously to express their judgment, and others, whom he had prompted to do so, showed the extreme difficulty of either remaining or going, without the approving judgment of Cyrus. (14) Pretending to be in a hurry to proceed to Greece as quickly as possible, one proposed choosing other generals as quickly as possible, if Clearchus did not wish to lead them back; and as for provisions, that they should buy them at the market (the market was in the midst of the barbarian army) and pack up; then, that they should go and ask Cyrus for ships so they might sail back; and if he did not grant them ships, to ask Cyrus for a guide who would lead them back through friendly territory; and if he did not grant them a guide, to form into order as quickly as possible and to send troops to seize the heights in advance, in order that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians take them first, “for from these Cilicians we seized and now possess many people and much property.” This one said such things. (15) After him, Clearchus spoke only so much: “Let no one of you say that I shall be general of this command, for I see many [reasons] why I must not do this. Say rather that no matter what man you choose, I shall obey him as much as I can, so you may see that I know how to be ruled as well as any human being.”^w

^v See Glossary: Decide.

^w See Glossary: Human Being.

(16) After him another stood up, showing the folly of the one who bade them ask for ships, as if Cyrus were making his expedition in reverse, and showing that it was “folly to ask for a guide from him whose undertaking we are ruining. And if we are going to trust the guide whom Cyrus grants us, why should we not also bid Cyrus seize the heights in advance for our sake? (17) I would hesitate to embark on the ships he might give us, lest he sink us with these very triremes, and I would be afraid to follow the guide he might give, lest he lead us to a place from which it will not be possible to leave. Since Cyrus is unwilling for us to leave, I would wish to go without his noticing it, which is not possible. (18) But I assert that this is nonsense. It seems to me that men should go to Cyrus—suitable ones, along with Clearchus—to ask him in what he wishes to use us. And if the action is of a similar sort to his previous use of foreign troops,¹⁶ we too should follow and not be worse than those who ascended with him previously. (19) If the action appears greater than the previous one, and more laborious and dangerous as well, we expect that he should either persuade us before he leads us on or be persuaded by us and dismiss us in friendship. For in this way, if we follow as his friends, we would also follow more eagerly, and if we go away, we would go away safely. Whatever he says to this should be reported here, and we, after listening, should deliberate about it.”

(20) This was decided, and after choosing men, they sent them with Clearchus, and they asked Cyrus the questions that had been decided upon by the army. He answered that he heard that Abrocomas, a man who was his enemy, was at the Euphrates River, twelve stages distant.¹⁷ It was against him that he said he wished to go. And if he should be there, he said that he desired to punish him, “but if he should have fled, we will deliberate about this there.” (21) After hearing this, the elected deputies reported to the soldiers. There was for some the suspicion that he was leading them against the King, but it was nevertheless decided to follow. They asked also about their wage, and Cyrus promised to give all of them half again as much as they received previously, three half-darics per month for each soldier instead of a single one. Not even at this point did anyone hear, openly at least, that he was leading them against the King.

~ CHAPTER 4 ~

From here he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to the Psarus River, whose width was three plethra. From here he marched one stage, five parasangs, to the Pyramus River, whose width was one stadion. From here he marched two stages, fifteen parasangs, to Issus, the farthest city of Cilicia, on the sea, inhabited, large, and prosperous. (2) Here they remained three days. And the thirty-five ships from the Peloponnese arrived for Cyrus, and Pythagoras, a Lacedaemonian, was admiral over them.¹⁸ Tamos, an Egyptian, had led them from Ephesus, along with twenty-five other ships of Cyrus. He had been besieging Ephesus with them, when it was friendly to Tissaphernes, and he had joined Cyrus in making war on it. (3) Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian, who had been sent for by Cyrus, also arrived with the ships, with seven hundred hoplites. He remained the general over these, under Cyrus. The ships were moored beside Cyrus's tent. Here also the Greek mercenaries from Abrocomas, after revolting from him, arrived for Cyrus; they were four hundred hoplites, and they joined the campaign against the King. (4) From here he marched one stage, five parasangs, to the "gates" between Cilicia and Syria. These were two walls, and Syennesis and a Cilician garrison held the inner one, the one toward Cilicia, but a garrison of the King was said to guard the one toward Syria. Between these flows a river named the Carsus, a plethrum in width. The whole distance between the walls was three stadia. And it was not possible to go across by force. For the passage was narrow, and the walls reached down to the sea, and overhanging it were sheer rocks; gates had been set in both walls. (5) It was on account of this passage that Cyrus had sent for the ships, that he might disembark hoplites both inside and outside the gates and get through by using force against the enemy, if they defended the Syrian gates. Cyrus thought that Abrocomas would do this very thing, since he had a large army. Abrocomas did not do this, however, but when he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, he turned from Phoenicia and marched back to the King's side with, as was said, an army of three hundred thousand.

(6) From here Cyrus marched through Syria one stage, five parasangs, to Myriandus, a city inhabited by Phoenicians and on the

sea. It was a place for trade, and many merchant ships were moored there. He remained there seven days. (7) Xenias the Arcadian general and Pasion the Megarian embarked on a boat, put on it their most valuable things, and sailed away. They did so, as it seemed to most, out of wounded honor, because Cyrus had allowed Clearchus to retain their soldiers, those who had gone over to him with the intention of going back to Greece again, not against the King. After they had disappeared, word went around that Cyrus was pursuing them with triremes. And some prayed that they be taken, on the grounds that they were cowards, and others pitied them if they should be captured.

(8) After calling the generals together, Cyrus said, "Xenias and Pasion have left us, but let them know well that they have neither run away in secret, for I know where they have gone, nor escaped my reach, for I have triremes with which to take their boat. But, by the gods, I will not pursue them, nor will anyone say that I make use of someone as long as he is present but when he wishes to go away, I seize them, treat them badly, and rob their property. But let them go in the knowledge that they are acting worse to us than we are to them. And yet I do have their children and wives under guard at Tralles. Still, they shall be deprived not even of these, but they shall take them back because of their former virtue toward me."

(9) He said this; and if any of the Greeks were dispirited about the ascent, upon hearing of Cyrus's virtue, they followed along with greater pleasure and more eagerly.

After these things, Cyrus marched four stages, twenty parasangs, to the Chalus River, which was a plethrum in width, full of large and tame fish, which the Syrians believed to be gods and allowed no one to harm,¹⁹ and not the doves either. The villages in which they camped belonged to Parysatis, having been given for her livelihood.²⁰

(10) From here he marched five stages, thirty parasangs, to the sources of the Dardas River, whose width was a plethrum. Here was the palace of Belesys, who was ruler of Syria, and a large and beautiful park, with all that the seasons bring forth. But Cyrus cut it down and burned down the palace.

(11) From here he marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, to the Euphrates River, which was four stadia in width. And there is

inhabited there a large and prosperous city, called Thapsacus. Here they remained five days; and Cyrus, after sending for the generals of the Greeks, said that their route would be to Babylon, against the Great King. And he bade them tell this to their soldiers and persuade them to follow. (12) They held an assembly and reported this, and the soldiers became angry with the generals. They said the generals had known this for a long time but had hidden it, and they said that they would not go forward unless someone should give them money, just as was done in the case of those who had ascended with Cyrus to his father on a previous occasion, and who did not go to do battle but upon the summons of Cyrus's father.²¹

(13) The generals reported this to Cyrus, and he promised to give to each man five mina of silver when they arrived in Babylon, and he promised as well the full wage until he brought the Greeks back to Ionia again. The greater part of the Greek army was persuaded in this way, but Menon—before it was clear what the other soldiers would do, whether they would follow Cyrus or not—gathered his own army apart from the others and he spoke as follows: (14) "Men, if you are persuaded by me, you will be honored by Cyrus more than the other soldiers, even without facing dangers or working hard. What, then, do I bid you do? Cyrus now needs the Greeks to follow him against the King. Now I say you must cross the Euphrates River before it is clear what the other Greeks will answer to Cyrus. (15) For if they vote to follow, you will seem to be the causes, for you have begun the crossing, and Cyrus will both be grateful to you as having been the most eager, and he will also return the favor. And if any one knows how to do this, he does. If on the other hand the others vote against it, we all will go back again, but it is you he will treat as the most trusted, both for garrison duty and for captaincies, since you alone were obedient; and I know that you will obtain whatever else you need from Cyrus, as a friend."

(16) On hearing this, they were persuaded, and they crossed before the others answered. When Cyrus perceived that they had crossed, he both was pleased and, sending Glus to their army, said, "Men, I praise you now, but I will take care to see to it that you too will praise me, or no longer believe me to be Cyrus." (17) So being filled with great hopes, the soldiers prayed that he enjoy good fortune, but to Menon it is said that he also sent magnificent gifts. After doing

this, he began to cross, and the rest of the army followed him—all of it. While crossing the river, no one got wet above the breast by the river. (18) Those of Thapsacus said that this river was never before crossed on foot, except then, but only in boats—which then Abrocomas had burned, as he went on ahead, so that Cyrus might not cross. It seemed, then, that it was something divine and that clearly the river had made way for Cyrus, as to one who was going to be King.

(19) From here he marched through Syria, nine stages, fifty parasangs. And they arrived at the Araxes River. Here there were many villages, filled with grain and wine. Here they remained three days, and procured provisions.

~ CHAPTER 5 ~

From here he marched five desolate stages, thirty-five parasangs, through Arabia, keeping the Euphrates River on the right.²² In this place the earth was entirely a plain, level like the sea and full of wormwood. And if there were any other shrubs or reeds, they were all fragrant like spices. (2) There was not a single tree but all sorts of wild animals: a great number of wild asses, many large ostriches, and bustards and antelopes as well. The horsemen sometimes chased these wild animals. Now the asses, whenever someone gave chase, would run ahead and stand still, for they ran much faster than the horses. And again, when the horses would approach, they would do the same thing; and it was not possible to catch them, unless the horsemen divided themselves and hunted in relays. The meat of those they captured was similar to that of deer, but more tender. (3) But no one caught an ostrich, and those horsemen who did give chase would stop quite soon. For it would get far ahead in its escape, partly with its feet by running and partly with its wings, raising them and using them like a sail. The bustards, on the other hand, it is possible to catch if one starts them suddenly, for they fly only a short distance, like partridges, and they tire quickly. Their meat was most pleasant.

(4) Passing through this land, they arrived at the Mascas River, a plethrum in width. Here was a large deserted city, whose name was

Corso, and it was encircled by the Mascas. Here they remained three days and procured provisions. (5) From here he marched thirteen desolate stages, ninety parasangs, keeping the Euphrates River on the right, and he arrived at Pylae.²³ In these stages many of the baggage animals perished of hunger, for there was no fodder nor any tree besides, but the land was altogether bare. Digging and fashioning millstones from along the river, the inhabitants lived by taking them to Babylon, selling them, and buying grain in return. (6) As for the army, their grain gave out, and it was not possible to buy any except in the Lydian market in Cyrus's barbarian contingent, at four sigli for a capith of wheat flour or barley meal. The siglus has the value of seven and one-half Attic obols, and the capith contained two Attic choenices.²⁴ Thus the soldiers subsisted by eating meat.

(7) Among these stages he marched some very long ones, when he wished to reach either water or fodder. And once in particular, when a narrow and muddy place appeared, hard for his wagons to get across, Cyrus stopped with the best and most privileged²⁵ around him, and he ordered Glus and Pigres to take some of the barbarian army and join in bringing the wagons across. (8) But when it seemed to him that they did so at their leisure, as if in anger he ordered the best of the Persians around him to join in hastening the wagons onward. Here, then, it was possible to observe some portion of their good order. For throwing down their purple robes wherever each chanced to be standing, they hurled themselves, just as one might run for victory, down a very steep hill, with their very expensive tunics and multicolored trousers, and some even with necklaces around their necks and bracelets around their wrists. Leaping at once into the mud with these on, they lifted the wagons out into the air more swiftly than one might have thought possible.

(9) Upon the whole, then, it was clear that Cyrus was in haste during the entire journey and was not wasting time, except where he stopped for the sake of procuring provisions or for some other necessity. He believed that to the extent he could go faster, the more unprepared the King would be when he attacked, and to the extent he went with more leisure, the greater would be the army gathering for the King. And it was possible for anyone who paid attention to the King's empire to see that it was strong in its extent of territory

and number of people, but weak in the length of its roads and the separation of its forces, if someone should make war quickly.

(10) On the other side of the Euphrates River during these desolate stages was a city prosperous and large, named Charmande. From it the soldiers purchased provisions, crossing over on rafts in the following way: they filled skins which they had as shelter coverings with light fodder, and then they brought them together and sewed them, so that the water would not touch the dry stuffing. On these they crossed over and took their provisions, both wine made from the date of the palm tree and bread made of millet, for this was very abundant in the country.

(11) Here Menon's soldiers and those of Clearchus fell into a dispute over something, and Clearchus decided that a soldier of Menon's was unjust and beat him; and he returned to his own army and spoke about it. When the soldiers heard, they became harsh and severely angry with Clearchus. (12) On the same day, Clearchus went to the river crossing and there inspected the market, and was riding back to his own tent through Menon's army with a few of his own troops with him. Cyrus had not yet arrived but was still marching there; and some one of Menon's soldiers who was splitting wood, when he saw Clearchus passing through the camp, threw his axe at him. Now this one missed him, but another threw a stone at him, and then another, and then, with an outcry having been raised, many did so. (13) He fled to his own army and immediately called them to arms. Now the hoplites he ordered to remain there, with their shields placed against their knees, but he himself—with the Thracians and the more than forty horsemen who were with him in the army (who were mostly Thracians)²⁶—marched against those of Menon, with the result that they were struck with fear, as was Menon himself, and they ran to arms. But some also stood still, being at a loss over the matter. (14) Now Proxenus, who happened to be coming up later, with a company of hoplites following, immediately led them into the middle of both armies and halted under arms, and he implored Clearchus not to do what he was doing. Clearchus became severely angry, however, because while he had nearly been stoned to death, Proxenus spoke of his experience in mild terms; so Clearchus ordered him to get out of the middle. (15) At this point Cyrus came up and inquired into the matter. He immediately took his javelins into

his hands, and riding with those of his trusted troops who were present, he arrived in the middle and spoke as follows: (16) "Clearchus and Proxenus and other Greeks who are present, you do not know what you are doing; for if you begin a battle with each other, believe in this day that I will have been cut to pieces, and you not much later than I. For if our affairs go badly, all these barbarians whom you see here will become even more hostile to us than are those who are with the King." (17) Hearing this, Clearchus came to himself. And both sides having ceased, they put their arms in their places.

~ CHAPTER 6 ~

As they went forward from here, tracks of horses and dung kept appearing. The trail, they supposed, was from about two thousand horses. As these horsemen went forward they were burning fodder and anything else useful. So Orontes,²⁷ a Persian man who was both a relative by birth to the King and said to be among the best of the Persians in things related to war, plotted against Cyrus, against whom he had previously made war, though he was later reconciled. (2) He said to Cyrus that if he would give him one thousand horsemen, he would either lay an ambush and kill the horsemen who were burning things ahead of them, or he would take many of them alive and prevent them from burning as they advanced; he would manage it so that they would never be able to see Cyrus's army and make a report to the King. On hearing this, it seemed beneficial to Cyrus, and he bade him take a part of his contingent from each of the leaders.

(3) Believing these horsemen of his were ready, Orontes wrote a letter to the King, saying that he would come with as many horsemen as he could, and he thus directed him to tell his own horsemen to receive him as a friend. Also included in the letter were reminders of his previous friendship and fidelity. This letter he then gave to a man worthy of trust, or so he thought; but the latter took it and gave it to Cyrus. (4) Having read it, Cyrus arrested Orontes and called into his tent the seven best of the Persians about him, and he ordered the Greek generals to bring up their hoplites and have them station themselves under arms around his tent. And they did this, bringing

up about three thousand hoplites. (5) Clearchus, however, he also called inside as a counselor, for of the Greeks he seemed foremost in honor both to him and to the others. When he came out, he reported how the trial of Orontes went, for it was not forbidden.

(6) He said that Cyrus began his speech like this: "I call you, men and friends, in order that by deliberating with you about what is just, in the eyes both of gods and of human beings, I will do it regarding Orontes here. First of all, my father gave him to me to be my subject. Then, being ordered by my brother, as he himself says, he made war against me and held the acropolis of Sardis. And by fighting against him, I made it seem best to him to stop making war against me, and we shook hands."²⁸ And after these things," he said, "Orontes, is there any way I was unjust to you?" He answered that there was not. (7) Again Cyrus asked, "Then did you later, even though you had been done no injustice by me, as you yourself agree, revolt to the Mysians and harm my territory to the extent that it was in your power to do so?" Orontes said he did. "Then did you not," Cyrus said, "when you had again come to know your own power, go to the altar of Artemis, say that you repented, and, after persuading me, give me signs of trust and receive them from me?" To this too Orontes agreed. (8) "So having suffered what injustice at my hands have you now for the third time come to light plotting against me?" After Orontes said that he had suffered no injustice, Cyrus asked him, "Then do you agree that you have been unjust toward me?" "It is necessary," said Orontes. After this Cyrus asked again: "Then could you still become an enemy to my brother, and a trusted friend to me?" And he answered, "Not even if I were to become such, Cyrus, could I ever still seem such to you, at least."

(9) To this, Cyrus said to those who were present, "Such things the man has done, and such as well does he say. Now you, Clearchus, be first among these in disclosing whatever judgment seems good to you." Clearchus said this: "I counsel you to put this man out of the way as quickly as possible, so that there is no longer any need to keep guarding him, but instead there will be leisure for us—as far as he is concerned—to do good to these who are willingly friends."

(10) He said that the others joined in this judgment as well. After this, when Cyrus bade it, they grasped Orontes by the belt, indicating

a decision for death, all of them having stood up, even his relatives. Then those to whom it had been ordered led him out. When those who had previously prostrated themselves before him saw him, even then did they prostrate themselves again, even though they knew that he was being led to his death. (11) After he was borne into the tent of Artapates, the most trusted of Cyrus's mace bearers, no one ever again saw him either living or dead, nor did anyone who knew ever say how he died. Some supposed it to have been in one way, others in another. No tomb of his ever appeared.

~ CHAPTER 7 ~

From here he marched through Babylonia three stages, twelve parasangs. On the third stage Cyrus made a review of the Greeks and of the barbarians, on the plain at about midnight. For it seemed to him that on the coming dawn, the King would arrive with his army to do battle. And he ordered Clearchus to lead the right wing, Menon the Thessalian the left, and he himself put his own troops in order. (2) After the review, as day was breaking, deserters from the Great King began arriving and reporting to Cyrus about the King's army. And Cyrus, calling the generals and the captains of the Greeks together, deliberated about how he should fight the battle, and he himself exhorted them, encouraging them as follows: (3) "Men of Greece, I have led you forth as allies not because I am lacking in human beings, in barbarians, but because I believe that you are better and stronger than many barbarians, and because of this I have brought you too. So, then, be men worthy of the freedom which you have acquired and for which I consider you happy. For know well that I would choose freedom in exchange for all that I have and many times as much as well.²⁹ (4) But in order that you too may know to what sort of contest you are going, I who know will teach you. Now their numbers are great, and they will come on with a great shout; but if you hold out against these [causes of fear], I think, moreover, I will even be ashamed that you will come to know what sort of human beings those of this our land are. If you are men and show daring,³⁰ I will make anyone of you who wishes to go back an object

of envy for those back home, but I think I will make many of you choose things here by my side instead of those at home."

(5) Here Gaulites, a Samian exile who was present and was in Cyrus's trust, said, "And yet, Cyrus, some say that you are promising much now because you are in a situation with danger approaching, but if anything turns out well, that you will fail to remember; and others say that even if you should remember and wish to, you would not have the power to pay back as much as you are promising." (6) On hearing this, Cyrus said, "Well, men, my father's empire extends to the south to the point that people are not capable of living because of the heat, and to the north to the point that they cannot because of the cold; and all that lies between these extremes my brother's friends preside over as satraps. (7) If we win the victory, we will need to put you, our friends, in control of these. As a result, I do not fear that I may not have enough to give to each of my friends, if things go well, but that I may not have sufficient friends to whom to give. And to each of you Greeks I will also give a golden crown."

(8) And on hearing all this, they were much more eager themselves, and they also reported it to others. Then both the generals and some of the other Greeks went to him, expecting that they should know what they would get, if they should conquer. And he dismissed them only after he filled all their minds [with hopes].

(9) All those who were speaking with him kept urging him not to join the fight but to station himself behind them. On this occasion Clearchus asked Cyrus something like this: "Do you think, Cyrus, that your brother will do battle with you?" "Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus. "If he is indeed the son of Darius and Parysatis, and a brother of mine, I will not take all this without a fight."

(10) Now here, as they stood under arms, the number of Greeks with shields was ten thousand four hundred, of peltasts two thousand five hundred, and of barbarians with Cyrus one hundred thousand, and about twenty scythe-bearing chariots. (11) The enemy was said to be one million two hundred thousand, and two hundred scythe-bearing chariots. There were also six thousand horsemen, over whom Artagereses ruled. These were stationed in front of the King himself. (12) Over the King's army there were four rulers, generals and leaders—Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces—each with three hundred thousand troops. But of

~ CHAPTER 8 ~

these, nine hundred thousand were present in the battle, with one hundred fifty scythe-bearing chariots. Abrocomas was late for the battle by five days, marching from Phoenicia. (13) These things were reported to Cyrus by those deserting from the enemy, from the Great King, before the battle; and after the battle, those of the enemy who were captured later reported the same. (14) From here Cyrus marched one stage, three parasangs, with his whole army, both Greek and barbarian, in order together. For he thought that on this day the King would do battle, for at the middle of this stage there was a deep trench that had been dug, five fathoms in width and three fathoms in depth.³¹ (15) This trench stretched up through the plain as far as twelve parasangs, as far as the wall of Media.³² There the canals flow from the Tigris River; there are four, each a plethrum in width and extremely deep, and grain-carrying boats sail on them. They empty into the Euphrates, and each is distant from the next by a parasang, and there are bridges over them. Beside the Euphrates there was a narrow passage between the river and the trench, about twenty feet in width. (16) The Great King made this trench in lieu of a defensive wall when he learned that Cyrus was marching toward him. Through this passage, then, both Cyrus and his army went, and they arrived on the inside of the trench. (17) Now on this day, the King did not fight, but many tracks of horses and people in retreat were visible. (18) Here Cyrus summoned Silanus the Ambraciot soothsayer and gave him two thousand darics;³³ he did so because on the eleventh day previous, after sacrificing, he said to him that the King would not fight within ten days. And Cyrus said, "Then he will not fight at all, if he will not fight within these ten days. But if you should be speaking the truth, I promise you ten talents." This gold he gave him, when the ten days had gone by. (19) When the King did not hinder Cyrus's army from crossing at the trench, it seemed both to Cyrus and to the others that he had given up the thought of fighting. As a consequence, on the following day Cyrus advanced more carelessly. (20) On the third day he was making his advance both sitting in his chariot and with only a few troops in order in front of him, while the greater part of his army was advancing in disorder, and many of their weapons were being carried for the soldiers on wagons and pack animals.

And it was already about the time the market gets full, and the place he was going to stop was near, when Pategyas, a trusted Persian man among those close to Cyrus, came into sight riding at top speed with his horse in a sweat, and he immediately shouted to all he happened upon, in both the barbarian and the Greek tongue,³⁴ that the King was approaching with a vast army, prepared for battle. (2) Then indeed much confusion ensued, for it seemed to the Greeks, and indeed to all, that he would fall on them at once in their disorder. (3) And Cyrus, leaping down from his chariot, put on his breastplate and, getting up on his horse, took his javelins in his hands; and he made announcements to all the others to arm fully and to take their positions, each in his own place in the order. (4) And then they indeed took their positions in great haste, Clearchus having the right wing, toward the Euphrates River, with Proxenus next, and others after him. Menon and his army held the left wing of the Greek force. (5) Of the barbarian force, up to one thousand Paphlagonian horsemen took their positions beside Clearchus on the right, as did the Greek force of peltasts, and on the left was Ariaeus, Cyrus's lieutenant general, and the rest of the barbarian forces. (6) And Cyrus and his horsemen, as many as six hundred, were themselves armed with breastplates, with thigh-pieces, and—all of them except Cyrus—with helmets. Cyrus went into the battle with his head bare. And it is said that also other Persians run all the risks of war with their heads bare. (7) All the horses with Cyrus had armor on their foreheads and breastplates, and the horsemen also had Greek sabers.

(8) It was already midday, and yet the enemy troops were not yet in evidence. But when it was afternoon, raised dust was becoming visible, like a white cloud, and some time later a sort of blackness on the plain, extending over a great distance. And as soon as they got closer, bronze began to flash, and both the spearheads and the companies came into view. (9) There were horsemen in white breastplates on the left of the enemy, and Tissaphernes was said to be their ruler.³⁵ Next to these were troops with wicker shields and, next, hoplites with wooden shields reaching to their feet (and these were said to be Egyptians); and then there were still other horsemen and

other bowmen. All these were marching according to their nation, each nation in a square filled with people. (10) And in front of them were chariots, spread out considerably from each other, the so-called scythe-bearing chariots. These had scythes extending out from the axles to the side and from the chariot boxes looking down toward the earth, so as to cut to pieces whatever they chanced upon. And the design was that these would drive into, and cut to pieces, the ranks of the Greeks.

(11) As for what Cyrus had said when he called the Greeks together and exhorted them to endure the shouting of the barbarians, however, in this he was deceived. For it was not with shouting that they were coming forward but as silently as possible, and with calm, with an even step and slowly.

(12) At this point Cyrus himself rode by with Pigres the interpreter and three or four others and shouted to Clearchus to lead his army against the enemies' center, because the King was there. "And if we are victorious in this," he said, "everything will have been accomplished for us." (13) In spite of this, because he saw the center to be a compact mass and heard from Cyrus that the King was beyond the left wing of the Greeks (for so far was the King superior in numbers that even though he held his own center, he was beyond Cyrus's left), Clearchus was not willing to draw the right wing away from the river, fearing that he might be encircled on both sides; and he answered Cyrus that he would take care that things went well. (14) At this critical moment, the barbarian army kept even in their advance, while the Greek, still remaining in the same place, was forming its order from those who were still coming up.

And Cyrus, riding by not very close to his army, was gazing, looking off at each side, at both his enemies and his friends. (15) Seeing him from the Greek contingent, Xenophon, an Athenian, rode up so as to meet him and asked if he had any announcement to make. And he, halting his horse, said—and ordered him to tell everybody else—that the sacrifices were propitious and the victims were propitious. (16) While saying this, he heard a commotion running through the ranks, and he asked what this commotion was. Clearchus said that the watchword was already passing along for the second time.³⁶ And he wondered who had announced it, and he asked what the watchword was. He answered, "Zeus Savior and Victory." (17) On hearing

this, Cyrus said, "But I accept it, and let it be so." After he had said these things, he rode back to his own position. And the phalanxes were separated from each other by only three or four stadia when the Greeks both sang the paean and began to go against the enemy.

(18) And when, as they advanced, a part of the phalanx surged forward, the part left behind began to run fast; at the same time they all shouted a war cry of the sort they raise to Enyalios, and all started to run.³⁷ Some say that they beat their shields against their spears, to induce fear in the horses. (19) But before a bowshot reached them, the barbarians wheeled away and fled. And now the Greeks were pursuing with all their might but were shouting to one another not to run fast but to follow in order. (20) Regarding the chariots, some of them were carried along through the lines of the enemies themselves, others through the Greeks, but empty of charioteers. And when they saw them coming, they would stand aside. There was someone who was brought down, like one caught on a racecourse, panic-stricken. They said that not even he suffered anything, nor did any other of the Greeks suffer anything in this battle, except someone on the left wing was said to have been hit by a bowshot. (21) Now although pleased on seeing the Greeks being victorious over the part against them and giving pursuit, and although those around him were already prostrating themselves before him as King, Cyrus was nevertheless not led to go in pursuit; but keeping the order of six hundred horsemen in close array with himself, he paid attention to what the King would do, for he knew that he held the center of the Persian army. (22) And all those who rule barbarians hold the center of their troops when they lead them, believing that in this way they are in the safest place, if their strength is on both sides of them, and also that if they should need to announce something, the army would hear it in half the time. (23) Accordingly, although he then held the center of his own army, the King was nevertheless beyond Cyrus's left wing. Since, then, no one opposite him was giving battle to him or to those of his troops set in order in front of him, he began to wheel round as if for an encirclement. (24) Then Cyrus, fearing that he might cut down the Greek force by getting in their rear, rode against him. Assaulting with his six hundred, he was victorious over those deployed in front of the King, and he turned their six thousand to flight. And it is said that he himself killed Artagerses, their ruler, with his own hand. (25) When

this rout of the enemy occurred, Cyrus's six hundred became scattered as they set out in pursuit, except for a very few who were left around him, mostly those called his "tablemates." (26) While he was with these, he saw the King and the compact group around him; and he immediately ceased to hold back, but saying, "I see the man," he rushed at him, struck him in the chest, and wounded him through his breastplate, as Ctesias the doctor says, who also says that he himself treated the wound. (27) As Cyrus struck him, someone hit [Cyrus] violently under the eye with a javelin; and then they did battle, the King and Cyrus and those about them, on behalf of each. How many died of those about the King was reported by Ctesias, who was with him; on the other side, Cyrus himself died, and the eight best of his staff lay dead upon him. (28) When he saw that Cyrus had fallen, Artapates, the most trusted of those who served him as macebearers, is said to have leaped down from his horse and embraced him. (29) Some say that the King ordered someone to slay him on Cyrus; others say that he drew his dagger and slew himself, for he had a golden one. And he wore a necklace, bracelets, and other adornments, just as the best Persians, for he had been honored by Cyrus because of his goodwill and fidelity.

~ CHAPTER 9 ~

Thus then did Cyrus end his life, a man who, of all the Persians born since Cyrus the Elder, was both most kingly and most worthy to rule, as is agreed by all those reputed to have had direct experience of Cyrus. (2) For first, when still a boy, when he was being educated with his brother and with the other boys, he was believed to be the best of all at everything. (3) For all the boys of the best Persians are educated at the gates of the King. There one might learn moderation to a great degree, and it is not possible either to hear or to see anything shameful. (4) The boys observe those who are honored by the King, and they hear of them, as also with the others who are dishonored, so that directly from the time they are boys, they are learning how both to rule and to be ruled. (5) Here, then, Cyrus seemed to be, in the first place, both the most respectful among his age-mates

and to obey his elders even more than his inferiors did. Next, he was the most loving of horses, and he managed them best. And of the deeds pertaining to war, and of both bowmanship and spear throwing, they judged him to be most loving of learning and most diligent in their practice. (6) And when it became suitable for his age, he was both most loving of the hunt and, indeed, most loving of running risks in pursuit of wild animals. Once, even with a she-bear charging him, he did not flee but falling in with her was dragged from his horse, and though he suffered some wounds and had visible scars from these, he killed her in the end; and the one who helped him first he made blessedly happy in the eyes of many.

(7) When he was sent down by his father as satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and was also appointed as general of all on whom it was incumbent to muster in the plain of Castolus, he showed for himself first that he considered it to be of the utmost importance—if he made a treaty with someone, if he made an agreement with someone, or if he promised something to someone—not to be false in any respect. (8) And therefore the cities that turned to him trusted him, and men trusted him. When Cyrus made a treaty, even if someone was an enemy, he trusted that he would not suffer anything contrary to the treaty. (9) Accordingly, when he made war against Tissaphernes, all the cities voluntarily chose Cyrus instead of Tissaphernes, except the Milesians, and these were afraid of him because he was not willing to abandon their exiles; (10) for he showed by deed, and also said, that he would never abandon them, when once he had become their friend, not even if they should be reduced in number and not even if they should fare even worse. (11) If anyone ever did anything good or bad to him, he visibly tried to win victory [in this competition]. Some reported that he had a prayer in which he would pray to live long enough to win victory in requiting both those who benefited and those who harmed him. (12) Hence, in fact, the very greatest number desired to give up to him—and to this man alone of those of our time—their money, their cities, and their own bodies.

(13) Nor yet could anyone say that he allowed malefactors and the unjust to laugh, but he punished them most unsparingly of all. Along the well-traveled roads it was often possible to see people deprived of their feet, hands, and eyes. Consequently, it became possible in

Cyrus's realm for both a Greek and a barbarian, if he did no injustice, to travel without fear wherever he might wish, while having with him whatever suited him. (14) On those in particular, however, who were good at war, it was agreed that he bestowed honor to an exceptional degree. At first his war was with the Pisidians and the Mysians. Campaigning in person against these lands, then, whom-ever he saw willing to run risks he made them rulers over the land he subdued and then honored them with other gifts, (15) so that the good appeared most happy, and the bad were considered worthy to be their slaves. There was therefore a great abundance of those willing to run risks for him, wherever one might think that Cyrus would perceive it.

(16) As for justice, if anyone wishing to display it became manifest to him, Cyrus considered it all-important to make them richer than those who were greedy for gain from injustice. (17) Hence, in fact, many other things were handled justly for him, and he also made use of a true army. For his generals and captains, who sailed to him for the sake of money, came to know that to obey Cyrus nobly produced more gain than their wage each month.³⁸ (18) Moreover, if anyone served him nobly when he gave an order, he never allowed any such zeal to go without gratitude. Cyrus was therefore said to have had the best assistants for every task. (19) If ever he saw someone who was a clever and just manager,³⁹ both providing well for the country over which he ruled and producing revenue, he never took anything away but always gave him more. Consequently, they worked with pleasure and acquired with confidence, and, moreover, whatever anyone acquired, he least hid from Cyrus, for Cyrus manifestly did not envy those who were openly rich but did try to use the money of those who concealed it.

(20) And as for friends—as many as he made, knew to be well-disposed, and judged to be capable coworkers in whatever he happened to wish to accomplish—he is agreed by all to have been the very best at taking care of them. (21) For the very same [reason] that he himself thought that he needed friends, namely, so that he might have coworkers, he himself also tried accordingly to be the best co-worker for his friends to achieve whatever he perceived each to desire.

(22) And as for gifts, I think, he received the most, at least for one man, and for many [reasons]; and these he most of all would give

out to his friends, while considering the disposition of each of them and what he saw each to need the most. (23) And regarding all the things anyone sent to him to adorn his body, whether for war or for beautification, they say Cyrus said of them that his own body could not be adorned with all of them, and that he believed the greatest adornment for a man was friends who were beautifully adorned.

(24) As for conquering his friends in the doing of benefits, it is not to be wondered at, since he was also more powerful; but as for out-doing his friends in caring and in being eager to gratify them, this seems to me more admirable. (25) Cyrus often sent half-empty jars when he found a wine that was particularly pleasant, saying that not for a long time indeed had he chanced upon a wine more pleasant than this one. "He therefore sends this to you and he asks that you drink it today with the friends you hold dearest." (26) And often he would send halves of geese, of loaves of bread, and other such things, and would order the bearer to say, "Cyrus took pleasure in these things, so he wishes you too to taste of them." (27) And whenever fodder was very scarce, while he himself was able to provide it on account of his many assistants and on account of his care, he would send it around and bid that his friends give this fodder to the horses that were bearing their bodies, "that they might not carry his very own friends while being hungry." (28) And if ever he were passing where large numbers were going to see him, he would call his friends over and engage them in earnest conversation, in order to show whom he honored. Thus from what I hear, I, at least, judge that no one, Greek or Barbarian, has come to be loved by more.⁴⁰

(29) A sign of this is as follows: although he was a slave, no one deserted from Cyrus to join the King—except that Orontes attempted it.⁴¹ But the person Orontes thought to be trustworthy to himself, he very quickly found to have been more friendly to Cyrus than to himself. On the other hand, many deserted from the King to Cyrus when they became enemies to each other, and these moreover were those who were most cherished by him, believing that if they were good,^{*} they would obtain more deserved honor with Cyrus than with the King. (30) What happened at the end of his life is also a great sign both that he himself was good and that he was capable of judging

* See Glossary: Good and Bad.

correctly those who were trustworthy, well disposed, and steadfast. (31) For when Cyrus died, all those near him who were his friends and table companions died fighting on his behalf, except Ariaeus; for he happened to have been stationed on the left, as ruler of the cavalry. When he learned that Cyrus had fallen, he fled with the whole army he led.

~ CHAPTER 10 ~

Here, then, the head of Cyrus was cut off, and his right hand as well. But the King and those with him fell, in their pursuit, upon the Cyrean camp; and those with Ariaeus no longer stood fast but fled through their own camp to the stopping place whence they had set out previously. This was said to have been a distance of four parasangs. (2) The King and those with him both plundered other things in great amounts and took the Phocæan woman, Cyrus's concubine, the one who was said to be wise and beautiful. (3) As for the Milesian woman, the younger one, when she was captured by those with the King, she fled undressed to the Greeks in the baggage train who happened to have weapons. After falling into order, they killed many of those who were pillaging, but some of them also were killed. They nevertheless did not flee, but they saved her; and whatever else was within their lines, both possessions and people, they saved all this.

(4) At this point the King and the Greeks were separated from each other by about thirty stadia: the latter pursuing those who were opposite them, in the belief that they were enjoying victory over all; the former pillaging, in the belief that they all had already won the victory. (5) But when the Greeks perceived that the King with his army was in their baggage train, and the King in turn heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks had been victorious over the line opposed to them and that they had gone forward in pursuit, then the King gathered these things and put his own troops in order;⁴² and Clearchus called Proxenus, for he was the nearest, and deliberated about whether they should send some or whether all should go in order to bring aid to the camp. (6) Meanwhile, it was clear that the

King was advancing again, from behind them as it seemed. So the Greeks turned and began to prepare, expecting that he was coming in this direction and that they would stand up to him. But the King did not lead his troops in this direction but led them back by the way he had come, beyond the left wing, taking up those who had deserted during the battle to the Greeks as well as Tissaphernes and those who were with him. (7) For Tissaphernes had not fled in the first meeting, but he drove through the Greek peltasts along the river. He killed no one in his drive, for the Greeks stood apart and pelted them and threw their javelins. Episthenes the Amphipolitan was the commander of the peltasts, and he was said to have been prudent. (8) So since he had received the worst of it, Tissaphernes did not turn back again; but after arriving at the camp of the Greeks, he there happened upon the King, and forming up together again, they marched.

(9) When they were on the left wing of the Greeks, the Greeks were afraid that they would attack that wing and, folding around them on both sides, would cut them down. So it seemed best to them to fold back this wing and put the river behind them. (10) While they were deliberating about this, the King passed by and positioned his phalanx in opposition to theirs, in the same arrangement as when at first he had come to do battle. When the Greeks saw that they were near and in order, again they sang the pæan and attacked much more eagerly than they had before. (11) And again the barbarians did not stand up to them, but they started fleeing from farther away than they had before. And they pursued them as far as a certain village. Here the Greeks stopped. (12) For above the village was a hill, on which those for the King had turned [to face them]. No longer were they infantry, but the hill was full of horsemen, so that the Greeks did not know what was being done. They said that they saw the insignia of the King, a sort of golden eagle on a wooden shield, with its wings spread. (13) When the Greeks advanced even here, the horsemen indeed left the hill, no longer collected but different ones in different directions. The hill became bare of horsemen. Finally, all indeed had departed. (14) Now Clearchus did not go up on the hill, but stopping the army beneath it he sent Lycius the Syracusan and one other to the hill and bade them observe the things beyond the hill and report back what they were. (15) And Lycius drove and, after seeing, reported

back that they were in headlong flight. This occurred nearly as the sun began to set.

(16) Here the Greeks halted, put down their weapons, and rested. And at the same time they marveled that Cyrus was nowhere to be seen, nor did anyone else come from him; for they did not know that he had died, but they supposed that he had gone in pursuit or had gone forward in order to seize something. (17) And they themselves deliberated about whether to remain there and bring their provisions forward or go back to camp. So they decided to go back. And they arrived at their tents about suppertime. (18) Now this was how this day ended. They found most of their possessions to have been plundered, both their other things and especially if there was any food or drink. And as for the wagons that were full of barley and wine, which Cyrus had provided in order that if ever the army should be in severe need, he might make distributions to the Greeks—for there were said to have been about four hundred such wagons—also these, then, had been pillaged by those with the King. (19) Consequently, most of the Greeks were without dinner. They had also gone without breakfast, for before they had stopped for breakfast, the King had appeared. So they passed the night like this.

BOOK II

~ CHAPTER 1. ~

How, then, the Greek [force] was assembled for Cyrus when he campaigned against his brother Artaxerxes, what was done on the road up, how the battle went, how Cyrus met his end, and how the Greeks came back to their camp and went to rest thinking both that they had been victorious in everything and that Cyrus was alive, has been made clear in the foregoing account.¹

(2) On coming together at daybreak, the generals were filled with wonder that Cyrus neither sent anyone else to indicate what they should do nor appeared himself. They decided, then, to pack up what they had, arm themselves, and proceed forward until they should meet with Cyrus. (3) When they were about to set out, as the sun was rising, there arrived Procles, the ruler of Teuthrania, born of Demaratus the Laconian, and Glus, the son of Tamos.² They said, "Cyrus is dead," and said that Ariaeus had fled with the other barbarians to the stopping place from which they had set out on the day before; that Ariaeus said he would wait for them on that day, if they were going to come; but that he declared that on the next day he would go back toward Ionia, whence he had come.

(4) On hearing this the generals took it hard, as did the other Greeks, when they learned it. Clearchus said this: "Would that Cyrus were alive! But since he is dead, report back to Ariaeus that we are victorious over the King and, as you see, there is no one who still