

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.<sup>1</sup>

(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.<sup>2</sup> 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

comes out to fight with us; and if you had not come, we would now be marching out against the King. We proclaim to Ariaeus that, if he comes here, we will seat him upon the royal throne; for ruling belongs to those who are victorious in battle." (5) After saying this, he sent the messengers back and, with them, Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian and Menon the Thessalian; for Menon himself wished it, since he was a friend and a guest-friend of Ariaeus.

(6) So they departed, and Clearchus waited for them. By slaughtering the oxen and the asses from the baggage train, the army provided for itself such food and drink as it could. To get firewood they advanced a short distance from their lines, in the place where the battle had been fought, and they used the many arrows which the Greeks had compelled the deserters from the King to throw away, the wicker shields, and the Egyptians' wooden shields. And there were also many abandoned light shields and wagons for them to carry off. Using all these things, they boiled meat and ate on that day.

(7) It was already about the time the market gets full, and heralds arrived from the King and Tissaphernes. The others were barbarians, but among them was one Greek, Phalinus, who chanced to be with Tissaphernes and was held in honor, for he pretended to be knowledgeable of whatever concerned tactics and hoplite battles. (8) Coming forward and calling the rulers of the Greeks, they said that since he chanced to be victorious and had killed Cyrus, the King ordered the Greeks to surrender their weapons, come to the King's gates, and find for themselves something good, if they could. (9) So this is what the heralds of the King said, and the Greeks took it hard when they heard. Nevertheless, Clearchus said this much, that it was not for the victors to surrender their weapons. "But," he said, "you, men and generals, answer them with the most noble and best answer you have; I will return at once." For some one of his assistants called him to see the entrails that had been taken out of a sacrificial victim, for [Clearchus] chanced to have been sacrificing.

(10) Then Cleanor the Arcadian, being the oldest, answered that they would die before they surrendered their weapons.<sup>3</sup> Proxenus the Theban said, "But I, Phalinus, wonder whether the King asks for our weapons as a conqueror or asks for them as gifts of friendship. For if it is as conqueror, why does he need to ask and not rather come and take them? But if he wishes to take them through persuasion,

let him say what the soldiers will get if they gratify him in this regard." (11) To this Phalinus said, "The King holds that he has won the victory, since he has killed Cyrus. For who is there who contends with him for the empire? And he believes that you too belong to him, since he has you in the middle of his own country, inside rivers that cannot be crossed, and since he has the power to lead against you so vast a multitude of people that you would not be able to kill them all even if he should offer them up to you."

(12) After this, Theopompus, an Athenian, said, "Phalinus, now, as you see, we have no other good except our weapons and our virtue.<sup>4</sup> In having our weapons, we think that we could make use of our virtue as well; but if we surrender these, we think we would also be deprived of our lives.<sup>5</sup> Do not think, then, that we will surrender to you the only goods we have, but with these we will do battle over your goods as well." (13) Hearing this Phalinus burst out laughing and said, "But you are like a philosopher, young man, and what you say is not without charm. Know that you are a mindless fool, however, if you think that your virtue could prevail over the King's power." (14) It was said that some others were going soft and were saying that just as they had been trustworthy to Cyrus, so they would also be very worthwhile for the King as well, if he wished to become their friend, and that they would join with him in subduing others if he wanted to use them either in something else or in a campaign against Egypt.

(15) At this time Clearchus returned, and he asked whether they had already given their answer. Phalinus interrupted and said, "Clearchus, each of these says something different, so you tell us what you say." (16) He said, "I am glad to have seen you, Phalinus, and I think that all these others are also, for you are a Greek, and so too are we, as many as you see. Since we are in such circumstances, we are consulting with you about what we need to do regarding the issues of which you have spoken. (17) So, by the gods, give us the advice that seems to you to be most noble and best, and which will bring you honor in the future, when it is recounted that Phalinus, having once been sent from the King to order the Greeks to surrender their weapons, advised them like this. And you know that whatever advice you give us will of necessity be spoken of in Greece."

(18) Clearchus was leading him in this direction, for he wished that even the very ambassador from the King would counsel them not

to surrender their weapons, in order that the Greeks might thus be more filled with good hopes. But contrary to Clearchus's expectation, Phalinus turned the tables and said, (19) "If there were one hope in ten thousand for you to save yourselves by making war on the King, I would counsel you not to surrender your weapons. But if there is no hope of safety for you so long as the King is unwilling, I counsel you to save yourselves however you can." (20) Clearchus said to this, "So, then, this is what you say. But report back from us that we think this: if we should have to be friends with the King, we would be more worthy friends if we have our weapons than if we surrender them to someone else; and if we should have to wage war, we would fight better if we have our weapons than if we surrender them to someone else."

(21) Phalinus said, "We shall report this back. But the King ordered us to tell you this too, that you have a truce if you remain here, but war if you go forward or go back. So speak, then, about this too, and say whether you will remain and have a truce, or whether I shall report back from you that there is war." (22) Clearchus said, "Report back about this, then, that our decision is the very same as that of the King." "What is it then?" asked Phalinus. Clearchus answered, "If we remain, a truce, but if we go forward or go back, war." (23) He asked again, "Shall I report a truce or war?" Clearchus again answered the same, "Truce if we remain, but if we go forward or go back, war." But what he would do, he did not indicate.

## ~ CHAPTER 2 ~

So Phalinus and those with him went back, while Procles and Cheirisophus returned from Ariaeus; Menon, however, remained there with Ariaeus. These said that Ariaeus had stated that many Persians were superior to himself, and that these would not accept his ruling as King. "But if you wish to go back together, he bids you arrive at once, during the night; if you do not, he says he will go back tomorrow at dawn." (2) Clearchus said, "But it must be done like this: if we arrive, just as you say; if we do not, do whatever you think is most advantageous for yourselves." But what he would do, he did

not tell even to these. (3) After this, with the sun already going down, he called the generals and captains together and said the following: "Men, when I was sacrificing, the sacrifices were not [propitious] for marching against the King, and it was not surprising, then, that they were not.<sup>6</sup> For as I have now learned, in the middle between us and the King is the Tigris, a navigable river, which we would hardly be able to cross without boats, and boats we do not have. And surely it is not possible for us to remain here, for it is not possible for us to get provisions. But the sacrifices were very propitious for us to go to the friends of Cyrus. (4) So this, then, is what must be done: go away and have for dinner whatever you have. When the horn gives the signal to go to rest, pack up. And when it signals a second time, put your baggage up on the baggage animals. On the third, follow the part that leads, and keep the baggage animals on the side toward the river and the hoplites on the outside." (5) On hearing this, the generals and captains went away and did as he had said. And from then on, Clearchus ruled and they obeyed—not because they elected him but because they saw that he alone was prudent where the ruler had to be, while the others were inexperienced.

(6) The length of the road they had traveled from Ephesus in Ionia to the battlefield was ninety-three stages, five hundred thirty-five parasangs, sixteen thousand fifty stadia.<sup>7</sup> From the battlefield to Babylon there were said to be three hundred sixty stadia.

(7) At this point, when it was dark, Miltocythes the Thracian deserted to the King with both the horsemen that were with him (as many as forty) and the Thracian infantry (as many as three hundred). (8) Clearchus, on the other hand, led the others in accord with what had been announced, and they followed. And at about midnight they arrived at the first stage, beside Ariaeus and his army. With the troops in order and armed, the generals and captains of the Greeks went together to Ariaeus. And the Greeks, Ariaeus, and the best of those who were with him swore oaths both that they would not betray one another and that they would be allies. The barbarians also swore that they would lead the way without deceit. (9) They swore all this after slaughtering a bull, a wolf, a boar, and a ram over a shield, the Greeks dipping a sword and the barbarians a lance.

(10) After these pledges had been made, Clearchus said, "Come, then, Ariaeus, since the expedition is the same for both us and you,

tell us your judgment about the route, whether we will go back on the very road on which we came, or do you think that you have thought of some other better road?" (11) And he said, "If we should go back on the one on which we came, we would completely perish of hunger. For we have no provisions now, and during the last seventeen stages, even while coming here, we were not able to take anything from the country. And if there was something there, we consumed it on our march here. Now we have in mind to pass along a longer road, but we will not be at a loss for provisions. (12) We must make the first days' stages as long as we can make them, in order to separate ourselves from the army of the King by as much as possible. For if once we separate ourselves by a journey of two or three days, it will no longer be possible for the King to overtake us: he will not dare to follow with a small army, but if he makes a great expedition, he will not be able to travel swiftly. Perhaps he would also face a scarcity of provisions. This, then, is my judgment," he said.

(13) This sort of generalship was capable of nothing other than sneaking away or fleeing fast, but chance proved a more noble general. For when day came, they marched with the sun on their right, calculating that they would arrive with the setting sun at the villages of the country around Babylon. Now about this, then, they were not deceived. (14) But while it was still afternoon, they thought they saw enemy horsemen. And those Greeks who chanced not to be in order ran to their formations, and Ariaeus, who chanced to have been traveling in a wagon because he had been wounded, got down and put on his breastplate, as did those with him. (15) During the time in which they were putting on their armor, scouts who had been sent forward began returning, and they said that they were not horsemen but baggage animals grazing. All knew immediately that the King was encamped somewhere near, for there also appeared smoke in villages not far ahead. (16) Clearchus did not lead them against the enemy, however, for he knew that the soldiers were both exhausted and without food, and, further, it was already late.

Still, however, he did not turn away, guarding against the appearance of taking flight, but as the sun set, he led the first troops straight into the nearest villages and camped. Even the very woodwork of the houses from these villages had been plundered by the King's army. (17) These first troops nevertheless managed to camp in one

way or another; but the later ones came forward in the dark and each had to bivouac as he chanced, and they made a great deal of noise as they called to one another. Consequently, the enemy heard them, and as a result the nearest enemy troops even took flight from their quarters. (18) This became clear on the next day, for neither was there a baggage animal any longer in evidence nor a camp nor smoke anywhere near. Even the King, as it seems, was struck with fear at the advance of the army. He showed this by what he did on the next day.

(19) As the night wore on, however, fear fell upon the Greeks as well, and there was a commotion and din such as is likely when fear falls upon an army. (20) Clearchus, who happened to have with him Tolmides, an Elean, the best of the heralds of that time, ordered him—after announcing a call for silence—to proclaim that "the rulers give public notice that whoever points out the person who let an ass loose among the weapons will receive a payment of one talent of silver." (21) After this had been proclaimed, the soldiers knew that their fear was empty and their rulers safe. As dawn came, Clearchus called for the Greeks to arm and fall into the formation they had used when the battle occurred.

### ≈ CHAPTER 3 ≈

What I just wrote, that the King was struck with fear at their advance, was clear from the following: when he sent to them on the previous day, he had ordered them to surrender their weapons. But now, even as the sun was rising, he sent heralds to discuss a truce. (2) When the heralds came upon the sentries, they inquired after the rulers. When the sentries announced that they were there, Clearchus happened to be inspecting the formations, and he told the sentries to order the heralds to wait until he was at leisure. (3) After he had positioned the army so that its compact phalanx was beautiful to behold from every angle, and so that none of those without weapons was visible, he called the messengers, and he both went forward himself with the best-armed and best-looking of his soldiers and also told the other generals to do the same.

(4) When he was near the messengers, he asked what they wanted. They said that they had come about a truce and were men qualified to carry reports both from the King to the Greeks and from the Greeks to the King. (5) He answered, "Report back to him, then, that there must be a battle first; for there is no breakfast, and there is no one who will dare to speak to the Greeks about a truce without first providing breakfast." (6) After hearing this, the messengers rode away and quickly returned, by which it was clear that the King—or someone else who had the assignment of deciding this—was somewhere near. They said that what the Greeks had said seemed acceptable to the King and that they had arrived with guides who, if there were a truce, would lead them where they could get provisions. (7) Clearchus asked whether he was making a truce only with the men who were coming and going, or whether there would be a truce also with the others. "With all," they said, "until what you say and do is reported back to the King."

(8) When they said this, Clearchus had them stand aside, and he deliberated. It was decided to make a truce quickly and to go and get provisions in peace. (9) Clearchus said, "I too am so decided. Nevertheless, I will not announce this right away, but I will delay until the messengers grow fearful that we may decide not to make the truce. I think, however," he said, "that the same fear will arise also in our soldiers." When it seemed the right moment, he reported that he accepted the truce, and he ordered them to lead at once to the provisions.

(10) So they led, but Clearchus, even though he had made the truce, marched while keeping the army in order, and he himself commanded the rear guard. And they kept happening upon ditches and canals full of water, so that they were not able to cross without bridges. But they made crossings for themselves from palm trees which had fallen down, and they also cut down others. (11) And here it was possible to learn how Clearchus commanded, holding his spear in his left hand, his staff in his right. And if any of those who had been assigned to one of these tasks seemed to him to be shirking, he would pick out someone appropriate, and strike him, and at the same time he himself would get into the mud and take up the task, with the result that it shamed all who did not join him in earnest. (12) Those who were thirty years old had been assigned

to it; but when they saw Clearchus in earnest, even the older ones took up the task. (13) Clearchus hurried much more, because he suspected that the ditches were not always so full of water, for it was not the season to be watering the plain. But he suspected that the King had let the water loose onto the plain in order to make it appear to the Greeks that there were many difficulties in marching.

(14) On their march they arrived in villages in which the guides showed them where to get provisions. There was a great deal of grain and palm wine, and a sour drink made from the same by boiling. (15) As for the dates from the palms, ones like those one sees among the Greeks were kept for the servants, but those stored for the masters were handpicked, wonderful in their beauty and large size, and their appearance was no different from amber.<sup>8</sup> They also dried some and stored them as treats. And these were also pleasant with drink, though apt to lead to headaches. (16) Here the soldiers also ate the head of the palm for the first time, and many wondered at its form and the peculiarity of its pleasure.<sup>9</sup> This too was exceedingly apt to lead to headaches. The palm from which the head was taken would wither up completely.

(17) Here they remained three days. And from the Great King arrived Tissaphernes, the brother of the King's wife, and three other Persians; and many slaves followed. When the Greek generals went to meet them, Tissaphernes first spoke as follows, through an interpreter: (18) "Men of Greece, I live as a neighbor to Greece, and when I saw that you had fallen into many evils, and insoluble ones, I considered it a great find if I were somehow able to ask the King to allow me to save you and return you to Greece. For I think that there would be no lack of gratitude for me, either from you or from all of Greece. (19) Knowing this, I kept asking the King, telling him that it was just for him to gratify me because I was the first to report that Cyrus was marching against him, because I arrived with aid at the same time as my report, and because I alone of those who were ordered against the Greeks did not flee, but I drove through and joined with the King in your camp (where the King arrived, after he killed Cyrus), and along with these troops who are now here with me, the very ones who were most faithful to him, I pursued the barbarians who were with Cyrus.<sup>10</sup> (20) And he promised me that he would deliberate about this. He ordered me to ask you why you campaigned

against him, and I counsel you to give a measured answer, in order that if I am able to secure some good for you from him, I may do it more readily."

(21) In response to this the Greeks stood apart and deliberated. And they answered, and Clearchus said, "We neither assembled together in order to make war on the King, nor were we marching against the King, but Cyrus found many pretexts, as you also know well, in order both to take you unprepared and to lead us up here. (22) When, however, we saw that he was in danger, we were ashamed before gods and human beings to abandon him, since previously we had presented ourselves to be benefited. (23) But since Cyrus is dead, we do not contend with the King over his rule, nor is there any reason why we would wish to harm the King's land, nor would we want to kill him, but we would march homeward, unless someone should bother us. We shall try, however, with the help of the gods, to defend ourselves against anyone doing us injustice.<sup>11</sup> If, on the other hand, someone takes the initiative in benefiting us, we will not be outdone in benefiting him too, at least to the extent of our power." (24) Thus he spoke, and on hearing him, Tissaphernes said, "I will report this to the King, and will report back again to you what decision comes from him. Until I return, let the truce continue, and we will provide a market."

(25) And on the next day he did not return, with the result that the Greeks began to worry, but he returned on the third day and said that he had come back after having secured permission from the King that he himself save the Greeks, even though very many spoke against it, saying that it was not fitting for the King to release those who had campaigned against him. (26) Finally he said, "And now it is possible for you to receive pledges from us that, verily, we will render the country friendly to you and lead you back to Greece without deceit, while providing you with markets. And wherever we do not provide a market, we will allow you to take provisions from the country. (27) But you too will need to swear to us that, verily, you will march as through a friendly country, not damaging it, and taking food and drink only whenever we do not provide a market, but if we do provide a market, that you will purchase your provisions."

(28) They decided on these terms, and Tissaphernes and the brother of the King's wife swore and offered their right hands to

the generals and captains of the Greeks, and they received the same from the Greeks.

After this, Tissaphernes said, (29) "Now, then, I will go back to the King. When I have accomplished what I must, I will return prepared to lead you back to Greece and to go back, I myself, to my own rule."

#### ≈ CHAPTER 4 ≈

After this, having made their camps near to each other, both the Greeks and Ariaeus waited for Tissaphernes for more than twenty days. On these days both his brothers and other relatives arrived to visit Ariaeus, as did certain Persians to visit some of his followers.<sup>12</sup> They encouraged them, and some brought pledges from the King to the effect that the King would not harbor ill will against them for their having campaigned with Cyrus or for anything else from the past. (2) While all this was happening, Ariaeus's followers were clearly paying less attention to the Greeks. Consequently, they were not pleasing to the majority of the Greeks on this account, so going to Clearchus and to the other generals, these would say, (3) "What are we waiting for? Do we not know that the King would value destroying us above everything else, in order that other Greeks would also be afraid to march against the Great King? Even now he is leading us to remain here because his army has been scattered, but when his army has again been assembled, there is no way that he will not attack us. (4) And perhaps somewhere he is either digging a ditch or building a wall, so that our road may be impassable. For he will never wish—at least not voluntarily—that we, who are so few, return to Greece and report how we defeated the King right at his gates and returned home laughing about it."

(5) To those saying these things Clearchus answered, "Now I am considering all these things too, but I have in mind that if we go away now, we will seem to go away in war and to act contrary to the truce. Then, in the first place, no one will provide a market for us, nor a place from which to get food. Further, there is no one who will be our guide. And at the very moment we do this, Ariaeus will leave



us at once, so we will not have a friend left, but even those who were friends before will now be our enemies. (6) Whether we must cross any other river, I do not know, but we do know that it is impossible to cross the Euphrates if our enemies are trying to prevent it. Nor yet indeed, if we need to fight, do we have horsemen as allies, while our enemies' horsemen are both most numerous and worth a great deal. Consequently, if we are victorious, whom could we kill? And if we are defeated, it would not be possible for anyone to survive. (7) And as for the King, who has so many [advantages to serve] as allies, if he is eager to destroy us, I certainly do not know why he needs to swear an oath, give his right hand, swear falsely by the gods, and make his own pledges worthless in the eyes of both Greeks and barbarians." Clearchus said many things like this.

(8) In the meantime, Tissaphernes arrived with his own force, as if going off toward home, and Orontas arrived with his own force.<sup>13</sup> He also brought the King's daughter in marriage. (9) Hence at length they began to march, with Tissaphernes being in the lead and providing a market. Ariaeus also, with Cyrus's barbarian army, marched together with Tissaphernes and Orontas, and he also camped together with them.<sup>14</sup> (10) The Greeks, however, looking on them with suspicion, made their way with their own guides, depending on themselves alone. They would on every occasion camp at a distance of a parasang or less from each other, and both were on their guard against one another, as against enemies, and this at once provoked suspicion.<sup>15</sup> (11) There were times when they were getting wood from the same place, or gathering fodder and other such things, that they came to blows with one another, so that this too provoked enmity. (12) After going through three stages, they arrived at the so-called wall of Media, and they advanced along its inner side.<sup>16</sup> It was built of baked bricks set in bitumen, twenty feet across and one hundred feet high. It was said to be twenty parasangs long, and it is not far from Babylon.

(13) From here they marched two stages, eight parasangs, crossing two canals, one by a bridge and the other by seven boats yoked together. These were canals off the Tigris River, and from them in turn ditches had been cut that went across the country; the first were large, then they became smaller. Finally, there were very small channels, like the ones on the millet fields in Greece.

And they arrived at the Tigris River. Near it was a large and populous city named Sittace, fifteen stadia distant from the river. (14) The Greeks then pitched their tents beside it, near a park that was large, beautiful, and thick with all sorts of trees, but the barbarians crossed the Tigris, and they were no longer visible. (15) After dinner Proxenus and Xenophon happened to be walking about in front of where the weapons were stacked. A person approached and asked the advance guards where he could see Proxenus or Clearchus. He was not looking for Menon, and this though he was from Ariaeus, Menon's guest-friend. (16) When Proxenus said, "I myself am the one you are looking for," the person said the following: "Ariaeus and Artazus, who were faithful to Cyrus and are well disposed to you, sent me, and they bid you be on your guard lest the barbarians attack you during the night. There is a large army in the nearby park. (17) They also bid you send a guard to the bridge over the Tigris River, since Tissaphernes has in mind to tear it down during the night, if he can, so that you may not cross over, but may be hemmed in between the river and the canal." (18) On hearing this, they led him to Clearchus, and they reported what he said. On hearing it, Clearchus was exceedingly agitated and fearful.

(19) A certain young man among those present gave it some thought and said that it was not consistent for them to speak both of launching an attack and of tearing down the bridge. "For clearly the attackers must either win victory or lose. Now if they win, why must they tear the bridge down? Even if there were many bridges, we would not have any place to which we could flee and save ourselves. (20) But if we win, they will not have any place to which to flee, if the bridge has been torn down. Nor would anyone be able to come to help them, if the bridge has been torn down, although there are many troops on the other side."

(21) After hearing this, Clearchus asked the messenger how much territory there was between the Tigris and the canal. He said that there was a great deal and that there were villages as well as many large cities in it. (22) Then it was realized that the barbarians had sent this person out of concern that the Greeks might take down the bridge and remain on the island, having as defenses the Tigris on one side and the canal on the other, and that they might get their provisions from the land in the middle, for it was vast and good, and there were present on it also those who would work it, and, further,

it could also be a refuge from which to harm the King, should anyone so wish. (23) After this, they went to rest. Nevertheless, they did send a guard to the bridge. No one attacked from any quarter, nor did any of their enemies come to the bridge, according to the guards' report. (24) When it was dawn, they crossed the bridge of thirty-seven yoked boats, on their guard as much as possible, for some of the Greeks from Tissaphernes reported that the barbarians were going to attack as they were crossing. But this was false. As they were crossing, however, Glus was visible to them with other scouts, to see if they were crossing the river. When he saw, he rode off.

(25) From the Tigris they marched four stages, twenty parasangs, to the Phycus River, a plethrum in width; there was a bridge over it. And here a large city was situated whose name was Opis. Near it the bastard brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes encountered the Greeks, and he was leading a large army from Susa and Ecbatana in order to help the King.<sup>17</sup> And halting his own army, he contemplated the Greeks as they went by.

(26) Clearchus led them two abreast, and while he marched, he halted now and then. For as long a time as he halted the leading part of the army, it was necessary for the whole of the army to halt just as long. As a result, the army seemed to be very large even to the Greeks themselves, and the Persian was astounded as he contemplated it. (27) From here they marched through Media six desolate stages, thirty parasangs, to the villages of Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and of the King. Insulting Cyrus, Tissaphernes turned these over to the Greeks to plunder, excepting the slaves.<sup>18</sup> There was a great deal of grain, sheep, and other property within. (28) From here they marched four desolate stages, twenty parasangs, keeping the Tigris River on their left. Across the river on the first stage there was situated a large and prosperous city named Caenae, from which the barbarians brought bread, cheese, and wine across on rafts made of hide.

≈ CHAPTER 5 ≈

After this they arrived at the Zapatas River, four plethra in width. Here they remained three days. During these days there were

suspensions, but no plot appeared out in the open. (2) Clearchus decided, then, to get together with Tissaphernes to put a stop to these suspicions, if somehow he could, before a war broke out from them. And he sent someone to say that he wanted to get together with him. Tissaphernes readily bade him come. (3) When they were together, Clearchus spoke as follows: "I know on the one hand, Tissaphernes, that there have been oaths between us, and that handshakes have been exchanged as pledges that we will not be unjust to each other. On the other hand, I see you on guard against us, as if we were enemies, and we, seeing this, are also on guard against you. (4) But since upon consideration I am not able to perceive you trying to do harm to us, and since I know clearly that we, at least, do not have any such thing in mind, I decided to come to exchange words with you, in order that, if we should be able, we might remove this distrust from each other. (5) For I have known of people before now who—some because of slander, others because of mere suspicion—fearing one another and wishing to act before they suffered, committed incurable evils against those who neither intended nor even wished any such thing. (6) Because I believe, then, that such misunderstandings may be best made to cease by meetings, I have come and wish to teach you that you are not right to distrust us.

(7) "For, first and most important, our oaths to the gods prevent us from being enemies to each other. I would never consider happy anyone who is conscious in himself of having neglected them. For I do not know what sort of speed there is, in war with the gods, by which one could get away by fleeing, or what sort of darkness there is into which one could run off to hide, or how one could withdraw into a secure stronghold. For all things are subject to the gods in every way, and in all places the gods are equally masters over all. (8) Now, then, I judge it to be so with regard to both the gods and our oaths, into whose safekeeping we deposited the friendship that we contracted. But among things human, I believe that you are at present the greatest good for us. (9) For with you, every road is easy, every river crossable, and we are not at a loss for provisions. But without you, every road is through the dark, for we do not know the way at all, every river is hard to cross, and every crowd is frightening—and yet desolate isolation is most frightening of all, for it is full of extreme want. (10) And even if we should go mad and kill you, will



we not then, after having killed our benefactor, make war against the King, the greatest overseer?<sup>19</sup> Of how many and what sort of hopes I would deprive myself, if I should undertake to do you any harm, I shall state. (11) For I desired Cyrus to be my friend, believing that he was the most capable of all those of his time to benefit whomever he wished. But now I see you with both the power and the land of Cyrus, and having preserved your own rule as well, while the King's power, which Cyrus treated as hostile, is for you an ally.<sup>20</sup>

(12) "These things now being so, who is so mad as not to wish to be your friend? But I, in fact, will state also the grounds on which I have hopes that you will likewise wish to be our friend. (13) For I know that the Mysians are troublesome for you, and I believe that I, with the power I now have, could render them submissive to you. I know the Pisidians are also troublesome, and I hear that there are also many other such peoples; and I think I could make them cease from always disturbing your happiness. And as for the Egyptians, with whom I now judge you to be especially angry, I do not see with what allied power you could punish them more than with the one that is now with me. (14) In fact, if you should wish to be a friend to anyone, at least among those who dwell around you, you would be the greatest friend possible; and if anyone should annoy you, you could act as his master, if you had us as your assistants, we who would assist you not only for the sake of a wage but also for the gratitude which, having been saved by you, we would justly have toward you. (15) As I consider all these things, your distrusting us seems so amazing that I would hear with the greatest pleasure the name of the person who is so clever at speaking that he persuades you when he says we are plotting against you."

Clearchus said this much, and Tissaphernes answered as follows: (16) "But I am pleased, Clearchus, to hear prudent words from you. For if, judging all this to be so, you should plan any harm at all against me, you would seem to me at the same time to be evil-minded toward yourself as well. Listen in turn, then, in order to learn that you would not be just in distrusting either the King or me. (17) For if we wished to destroy you, do we seem to you to be at a loss for vast numbers of horsemen, or of infantry, or of weaponry, by means of which we would be able to harm you with no risk of suffering in return? (18) And would we seem to you to be at a loss

for suitable places in which to attack you? Are there not extensive plains, and even when they are friendly to you, you cross them only with great labor? And do you see how many mountains must be crossed, which it is possible for us to take in advance and to render impassable for you? And that there are so many rivers, at which it is possible for us, as you cross, to measure out as many of you as we would wish to fight? And of these there are some which you could not cross by any means whatsoever, unless we should convey you across. (19) If we should be defeated in all these places, yet fire, at least, is surely stronger than crops; and by burning them up, we would be able to deploy famine against you, and you would not be able to contend with this, not even if you were very brave. (20) When we have so many means of waging war against you, and with no one of these posing any risk for us, how then would we choose from all of these the only way which is impious in the eyes of gods and which alone is shameful in the eyes of human beings?

(21) "Now it is those who are in every way at a loss, without resources, and gripped by necessity—and who are also evil—who are willing to do something both by forswearing their oaths to the gods and by faithlessness to human beings. We, Clearchus, are neither so unreasoning nor so foolish. (22) But why, since it is possible for us to destroy you, have we not done so? Know well that my love is the cause of this, that I might become trusted by the Greeks and, hence, that I might march back with the foreign force with which Cyrus ascended, although he trusted it only because of the wages he provided, while I might be made strong by it because of my good deeds. (23) And as for those things in which you are useful to me, you too have said some of them, but it is I who know the greatest of them: for it is possible only for the King to have his tiara upright on his head, but perhaps another, if you are on hand, could easily have upright the one that is upon his heart."<sup>21</sup>

(24) In saying all this, he seemed to Clearchus to be speaking the truth. And Clearchus said, "Then when there are such grounds for friendship between us, are not those who are trying to make us enemies by slandering us worthy of suffering the most extreme penalty?" (25) "And," said Tissaphernes, "if you generals and captains wish to come to me, I will openly name those who are telling me that you are plotting against me and the army with me." (26) "And I," said

Clearchus, "will bring them all, and I will show you in turn whence I hear things about you." (27) After these words, Tissaphernes then in a friendly way both bade him remain with him and made him his guest at dinner.

On the next day, when Clearchus came back to camp, it was clear that he thought he was disposed in a friendly way with Tissaphernes, and he reported what the other had said; and he said that all those whom [Tissaphernes] had invited must indeed go to Tissaphernes, and that any Greeks who were convicted of slandering must be punished as traitors and as evil-minded toward the Greeks.

(28) He suspected that the slanderer was Menon, for he knew both that he, along with Ariaeus, had been meeting together with Tissaphernes and that he was forming a faction and was plotting against him, in order that he might become a friend of Tissaphernes by bringing the entire army over to himself. (29) But Clearchus also wished that the entire army should turn its thoughts toward himself and that those who annoyed him should be out of the way. Some of the soldiers spoke against him, saying that not all the captains and generals should go and that they should not trust Tissaphernes. (30) But Clearchus insisted vehemently until he brought it about that five generals would go, and twenty captains. And about two hundred of the other soldiers followed along, to go to the market.<sup>22</sup>

(31) When they were at Tissaphernes' doors, the generals were called inside—Proxenus, a Boeotian; Menon, a Thessalian; Hagias, an Arcadian; Clearchus, a Laconian; and Socrates, an Achaean—but the captains remained at the doors. (32) Not long after, on the same signal, the ones within were seized and those outside were cut down. After this, some of the barbarian horsemen rode over the plain, and whatever Greeks they chanced upon, whether slave or free, they killed them all.

(33) And looking out from their camp the Greeks wondered at this riding up and down; and they were in doubt about what the horsemen were doing, until Nicarchus the Arcadian reached them as he fled, wounded in the belly and holding his guts in his hands, and told all that had happened. (34) Upon this, then, the Greeks all ran to their weapons, fear-struck and believing that their enemies would come to their camp at once. (35) But not all came,

only Ariaeus, Artaozus, and Mithradates, who had been the most trusted by Cyrus. And the Greeks' interpreter said that he also saw and recognized Tissaphernes' brother with them. And other Persians, armed with breastplates, also followed along, to the number of three hundred. (36) When these were near, they summoned any Greek general or captain, if there was one, to come forward, in order that they might make a report from the King. (37) After this the Greek generals Cleanor, an Orchomenian, and Sophaenetus, a Stymphalian, came forth on their guard, and with them came Xenophon, an Athenian, in order to learn about Proxenus. Cheirisophus, however, chanced to be off in a village with some others who were getting provisions.

(38) When they had stopped within earshot, Ariaeus said this: "Men of Greece, since he both manifestly violated his oath and broke the truce, Clearchus has received his punishment and has been put to death, but Proxenus and Menon, because they reported his plot, are held in great honor. As for you, the King demands your weapons, for he says that they belong to him, since they belonged to Cyrus, his slave."

(39) To this the Greeks answered, and Cleanor the Orchomenian spoke, "Ariaeus, you worst of human beings, and all you others who were friends of Cyrus, are you not ashamed before either gods or human beings, you who after swearing with us that you would believe the same ones to be friends and enemies as we did, betrayed us with Tissaphernes, both the most godless and most evil-doing person, and you have both destroyed the very men with whom you swore the oaths, and having betrayed the rest of us, you now come against us with our enemies?"

(40) And Ariaeus said, "But Clearchus was manifestly plotting first against Tissaphernes and Orontas and all of us who are with them." (41) To this Xenophon said the following: "Clearchus, then, if he broke the truce in violation of his oaths, has received his punishment; for it is just that those who violate their oaths be destroyed. But as for Proxenus and Menon, since they are both your benefactors and our generals, send them here; for it is clear that being friends to us both, they will try to counsel what is best for both you and us." (42) To this the barbarians, after conversing with each other for a long time, gave no answer but went away.

## ~ CHAPTER 6 ~

Having been captured in this way, then, the generals were led up to the King and met their end by being beheaded. One of them, Clearchus, was agreed by all those who had experience of him, to have seemed to be a man who was both warlike and war-loving to the extreme. (2) For as long as the Lacedaemonians were at war with the Athenians, he remained with them.<sup>23</sup> But when peace arose, he persuaded his city that the Thracians were being unjust to the Greeks; and arranging it as best he could with the ephors,<sup>24</sup> he sailed out in order to make war against the Thracians who dwelt above the Chersonese and Perinthus. (3) When the ephors for some reason altered their opinion and, after he had already departed, tried to turn him back at the isthmus [of Corinth], he at this point ceased to obey and sailed off for the Hellespont. (4) Because of this he was sentenced to death by the magistrates at Sparta, on the grounds that he had disobeyed. Being now an exile, he went to Cyrus, and by what sort of arguments he persuaded Cyrus has been written elsewhere;<sup>25</sup> and Cyrus gave him ten thousand darics. (5) Although he took these, he did not turn to an easygoing life, but with this money he collected an army and made war on the Thracians. He was victorious in battle, and from this time he kept on taking them and their possessions as plunder, and he continued his warring until Cyrus needed his army. Then he went away, in order to make war together with him. (6) These seem to me to be the deeds of a man who is war-loving. When it is possible for him to be at peace without shame or harm, he chooses to make war; when it is possible for him to turn to an easygoing life, he wishes to do hard labor, so long as it be in making war; when it is possible for him to possess money without risk, he chooses to diminish his funds by making war. He was willing to spend on war just as on a favorite or some other pleasure, (7) so fond of war was he.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, he seemed to be fit for war in that he was a lover of dangers, led his troops against the enemy both by day and by night, and was prudent amid terrors, as all those with him everywhere used to agree. (8) He was also said to be fit to rule; as far as this is possible with a character such as he had. For he was as competent as any

other in thinking out how his army might have provisions and in providing them; and he was competent also to impress it upon those who were with him that he, Clearchus, had to be obeyed. (9) This he used to do by being severe. For he was also stern to behold and harsh in his voice, and he always punished with severity, sometimes in anger, so that there were times when even he regretted it. (10) He also punished as a matter of judgment, for he held that there was no benefit in an army that lacked punishment; but it was said that he even used to say that the soldier had to fear his ruler more than the enemy if he were to stand guard well, keep his hands off his friends, or go against the enemy without making excuses. (11) Amid dangers, therefore, his soldiers were exceedingly willing to listen to him, and they would choose no other. For they said that then his sternness appeared to be brightly reflected in the faces of the others, and his severity seemed to be strength against the enemy, so that it seemed to betoken safety and to be severity no longer. (12) But when they were out of danger and it was possible to go away and be ruled by others, many would leave him; for he had no charm but was always severe and fierce. The soldiers were consequently disposed to him as boys toward a teacher. (13) He therefore never had followers out of friendship and goodwill. Whatever troops were with him, either assigned by a city or held down because they were in need or by some other necessity, he rendered exceedingly obedient. (14) When they began to be victorious over their enemies with him, then the things that made the soldiers with him useful were great; for then they were confident against the enemy, and their fear of punishment at his hands made them orderly. (15) Such he was, then, as a ruler; he was said not to be very willing to be ruled by others. He was about fifty years old when he met his end.

(16) Proxenus the Boeotian desired from his very adolescence to become a man competent to do great things, and because of this desire, he paid money to Gorgias of Leontini.<sup>27</sup> (17) After he had associated with him, and believing that he was already competent both to rule and, if he were a friend to those who were preeminent, not to be outdone in conferring benefits, he came to join in Cyrus's enterprise. He thought that from this he would acquire a great name, great power, and much money. (18) Although he desired these things exceedingly, it was also clear that he would not be willing to acquire

any of them with injustice but thought he ought to obtain them with what is just and noble and, if not with these, then not at all. (19) He was competent to rule over those who were noble and good; he was not, however, competent to impress upon his soldiers either respect for himself or fear, but he was more ashamed before them than the ruled were before him. And he was manifestly more afraid of being hated by his soldiers than his soldiers were of disobeying him. (20) He thought it was sufficient for being fit to rule, and for seeming to be, to praise the one who did well and not to praise the one who did something unjust. Thus the noble and good among his associates were well disposed to him, while the unjust plotted against him as against someone easily manipulated. When he was killed he was about thirty years old.

(21) Menon the Thessalian, it was clear, was desirous of being exceedingly wealthy; desirous of ruling, in order that he might take more; and desirous of being honored, in order that he might gain more. And he wished to be a friend to those with the greatest power, in order that he might commit unjust deeds but not pay the penalty. (22) For accomplishing what he desired, he thought the shortest path passed through the violation of oaths, lies, and deception, whereas simplicity and truthfulness he thought the same as folly. (23) He manifestly felt affection for no one, and to whomever he said that he was a friend, against this very person he was clearly plotting. He never ridiculed an enemy, but of his associates he always conversed as one ridiculing them all. (24) Nor did he plot against his enemies' possessions, for he thought that it was difficult to take what belonged to those who were on their guard; but he thought that he alone knew that it was easiest to take the things that belonged to friends, because they were unguarded. (25) All those whom he perceived to be violators of their oaths and unjust, he feared, regarding them as well armed; but those who were pious and made a practice of the truth, he would try to make use of, regarding them as unmanly. (26) Just as another glories in reverence for the gods, in truthfulness, and in justice, so Menon gloried in his capacity for deceiving, his fashioning of falsehoods, his sneering laughter at his friends. Whoever had scruples,<sup>28</sup> Menon always believed to be among the uneducated. And with whomever he was trying to become foremost in friendship, these he thought he needed to acquire by slandering those who were

already foremost. (27) As for making his soldiers obedient, he would contrive this by joining them in committing injustices. He thought he was worthy of being honored and served because he showed that he would be able and willing to be unjust on the widest scale. He counted it a benefit rendered, when anyone broke off from him, that he had not destroyed him during the time he had been using him.

(28) As for what was unseen, it is possible to speak falsely about him, but what all know is this: when he was still in the bloom of youth, he managed to secure from Aristippus the generalship over his mercenaries; with Ariaeus, although he was a barbarian, he became most familiar, because Ariaeus took pleasure in beautiful youths, and he was still in the bloom of youth; and he himself had as his favorite Tharypas, who had a beard, though he himself was still beardless.

(29) When the generals were put to death because they campaigned with Cyrus against the King, he was not then killed, although he had done the same things, but after the death of the other generals he was punished by the King and killed, not as Clearchus and the other generals were, by being beheaded, which is thought to be the quickest death, but, having been tortured alive for a full year, it is said that he obtained the end of someone evil.

(30) Hagias the Arcadian and Socrates the Achaean were two others who were also put to death. No one ever ridiculed them as bad in war or blamed them in regard to friendship. They were both about thirty-five years old.