

BOOK III

~ CHAPTER 1 ~

What the Greeks did in their ascent with Cyrus until the battle and what happened after Cyrus met his end, when the Greeks began to go back with Tissaphernes under the truce, has been made clear in the foregoing account.

(2) After the generals had been seized, and the captains and soldiers who followed them had been killed, the Greeks were very much at a loss: they reflected that they were at the gates of the King; that many peoples and cities, hostile ones, surrounded them on every side; that no one was going to provide a market for them any longer; that they were no less than ten thousand stadia distant from Greece; that there was no guide to show them the way; that impassable rivers were barriers between them and their way homeward; that they had been betrayed even by the barbarians who had ascended with Cyrus; that they had been left alone without even a single horseman as an ally, so that it was quite clear that even if they were victorious in battle, they could not [catch and] kill anyone, and if they were defeated, not one of them could escape. (3) Reflecting on all this and being dispirited, few of them tasted food that evening, few lit a fire, many did not go to their arms that night, but each rested wherever he chanced to be, unable to sleep because of their distress and longing for their fatherlands, parents, wives, children, whom they no longer believed they would ever see again. So disposed, then, all were trying to rest.

(4) In the army there was a certain Xenophon, an Athenian, who followed along even though he was neither a general nor a captain nor a soldier; but Proxenus, a guest-friend of his from long ago, had sent for him to come from home. He promised that if he came, he would make him a friend of Cyrus, whom Proxenus himself said he believed to be better for himself than his fatherland was. (5) So Xenophon, on reading his letter, took common counsel with Socrates the Athenian about the journey. And Socrates, suspecting that becoming a friend of Cyrus might bring an accusation from the city, because Cyrus had seemed eager in joining the Lacedaemonians in making war against the Athenians, advised Xenophon to go to Delphi and take common counsel with the god about the journey. (6) Xenophon went and asked Apollo to which one of the gods he should sacrifice and pray in order to make the journey he had in mind in the noblest and best way and, after faring well, to return safely.¹ And Apollo indicated to him the gods to whom he needed to sacrifice.

(7) When he came back again, he told the oracular response to Socrates. On hearing it, Socrates blamed him because he did not first ask whether it was more advisable for him to make the journey or to remain, but he himself had judged that he was to go and then inquired how he might go in the noblest way.² "However, since you did ask it in this way," he said, "you must do all that the god bade."

(8) So after sacrificing to the ones the god had indicated, Xenophon sailed off. He overtook Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardis, when they were already about to set out on their upward journey, and he was introduced to Cyrus. (9) While Proxenus was encouraging him to remain with them, Cyrus also joined in offering this encouragement. He said that as soon as the campaign was over, he would at once send him back. It was said that the expedition was against the Pisidians.

(10) He went on the campaign like this, then, fully deceived—not, however, by Proxenus, for he did not know that the attack was against the King, nor did any other of the Greeks except Clearchus. ~~When they came to Cilicia, however,~~ it then seemed clear to all that the expedition was against the King. Although they feared the journey and were unwilling, the majority nevertheless followed along out of shame both before each other and before Cyrus. Xenophon too was one of these.

(11) When they were so at a loss, he was distressed along with the others, and he was unable to sleep. Still, getting a little sleep, he saw a dream. It seemed to him that there was thunder and a bolt fell upon his father's house, and from this the whole house was ablaze. (12) Extremely afraid, he woke up immediately, and he judged the dream to be in one way good, because when he was in the midst of hardships and dangers, he seemed to see a great light from Zeus. But in another way, because the dream seemed to come from Zeus the King and the fire blazed bright in a circle, he was also afraid that he might not be able to get out of the country of the King and might be shut in on all sides by various difficulties.

(13) One can consider what sort of thing it is to see such a dream through the events that happened after the dream, which were as follows: first, immediately upon his awakening, a thought struck him: "Why am I lying here? The night advances, and it is likely that the enemy will arrive together with the coming of day. If we fall into the King's hands, what is to prevent us from being killed, victims of insolence, after looking upon all that is harshest and suffering all that is most terrible? (14) As for defending ourselves, no one is making preparations or showing any care; rather, we are lying here as if it were possible to stay at peace. From what city do I expect a general who will carry out these measures? And as for myself, what age am I waiting for? I will not get any older, if I give myself up to the enemy today."

(15) After this, Xenophon stood up and first called together the captains of Proxenus. When they had come together, he said, "I am not capable, men and captains, either of sleeping, as I think you are not either, or of lying down any longer, for I see the circumstances we are in. (16) For the enemy, clearly, did not reveal their war against us until they believed they had prepared their own things well, but no one of us is taking any care in response about how we might contend as nobly as possible. (17) And if we submit and fall into the King's hands, what do we think we will suffer? Even in the case of his own brother, one born from both the same mother and the same father, even when he was already dead, ~~he cut off his head and hand and impaled them.~~ And in our case, since we have no protector, and since we campaigned against him, intending to make him a slave instead of a King, and to kill him if we were able, what do we think we would suffer?³ (18) Would he not go to every length, torturing us

to the greatest extremes, so that he might thus produce in all human beings a fear of ever campaigning against him? Then we must do everything so that we do not fall into his hands.

(19) "For my part, as long as the truce was in place, I never ceased feeling pity for ourselves, on the one hand, while on the other hand, I never ceased regarding the King and those with him as blessedly happy, as I examined how much and what sort of land they had, how abundant it was in provisions, how many servants there were, and how much livestock, gold, and clothing. (20) When, in turn, I took to heart the circumstances of our soldiers, that we had no share in any of the good things unless we paid for them (and I knew that there were already but few of us who had the means with which to make purchases), and I knew our oaths constrained us from providing provisions in any way other than by purchasing them—reasoning like this, then, I sometimes feared the truce then more than I do the war now. (21) Since they, however, have done away with the truce, it seems to me that their insolence and our suspicion have also been done away with.⁴ Now all these good things lie as prizes in the middle for whichever of our two sides may be better men; and the gods, who are the judges of the contest, will be on our side, as is likely. (22) For the others have sworn falsely by them, and we, although we have seen many good things, have firmly held off from them because of our oaths by the gods. Consequently, it seems to me to be possible to enter the contest with much higher spirits than can they. (23) Moreover, we have bodies that are more capable than theirs of bearing cold, heat, and labor; and we have souls, with the help of the gods, that are also better.⁵ And their men are more liable to being wounded and killed than we are, if the gods grant us victory again, as they did before. (24) But perhaps there are others who are thinking like this, so by the gods, let us not wait for others to come and call us to these most noble deeds: let us be the ones who begin to incite the others to virtue. Show yourselves to be the best of the captains and more worthy to be generals than the generals. (25) And if you are willing to incite toward these things, I wish to follow you; but if you assign me to lead, I will not cite my young age as an excuse, but I hold that I am in my very prime for warding off harm from myself."

(26) He said all this, then, and on hearing it, the rulers ordered him to take the lead, all except a certain Apollonides, who spoke Boeotian

as his dialect.⁶ He said anyone who maintained that they could obtain safety in any other way than by persuading the King, if they were able, was talking nonsense; and at the same time he began to mention their inextricable difficulties. (27) Xenophon, however, interrupting him in the midst of his remarks, spoke as follows: "Most wonderful human being! You do not understand even when you see, and you do not remember even when you hear. You were certainly in the same place with these, at least, after Cyrus had been killed, when the King had such big thoughts because of this and sent and ordered us to surrender our weapons. (28) But when we did not surrender them but put them on instead, and went and camped right next to him, what did he not do—sending ambassadors, asking for a truce, providing us with provisions—until he obtained a truce? (29) When, on the other hand, our generals and captains went for discussions with them without their weapons—just as you now insist we do—and trusting in the truce, are they not now being beaten, tortured, wantonly abused, the poor wretches not even being able to die, even though it is this, I think, that they would especially love? Knowing all this, do you say that they who insist that we defend ourselves are speaking nonsense, while you insist that we go again and try persuasion? (30) It seems to me, men, that we should not admit this human being into the same service with ourselves and that, taking away his captaincy and loading him up with baggage, we should use him in this way; for he also brings shame upon his fatherland and all of Greece since, in spite of being a Greek, he is such as he is."

(31) Then Agasias, a Stymphalian, interrupted and said, "But it is not fitting for him to be from Boeotia or from any other part of Greece at all, since I have seen that he has both of his ears pierced, like a Lydian." (32) And it was so. Thus, then, they drove him away. The others went around to the various divisions, and where there was a general who had survived, they summoned this general; where the general was gone, they summoned the lieutenant general; where, in turn, the captain had survived, they summoned the captain. (33) When all had come together, they sat down in front of the weapons, and there were about one hundred assembled generals and captains. It was about midnight when this happened.

(34) At this point Hieronymus, an Elean, who was the eldest of Proxenus's captains, began to speak as follows: "Since we see the

present circumstances, men, generals and captains, we decided both to come together ourselves and to call you along as well, in order that we might deliberate and counsel any good we can. Say, then, Xenophon," he said, "what you said also to us."

(35) Then Xenophon said the following: "Now we all know, of course, that the King and Tissaphernes have seized those of us they had the power to seize; and as for the rest of us, it is clear that they are plotting how they may destroy us, if their power permits. I think we must do everything so that we never fall into the hands of the barbarians but rather, if it is in our power, that they fall into ours.

(36) "Know well, then, that you who have now come together in such numbers have the greatest opportunity. For all these soldiers are looking to you, and if they see that you are dispirited, they will all be cowards.⁷ But if you yourselves are openly visible in preparing for the enemy, and if you call along the others to do the same, know well that they will follow you and will try to imitate you. (37) Perhaps it is also just that you surpass them somewhat. For you are generals, you are colonels and captains. When there was peace, you had the advantage over them in both money and honors.⁸ And now, then, since there is war, one must expect that you yourselves should be better than the multitude and that you should deliberate and labor on their behalf, if ever the need should arise.

(38) "And now, first, I think you would confer a great benefit on the army if you should take care as quickly as possible to have generals and captains appointed in place of those who have perished. For without rulers, nothing either noble or good could arise anywhere, to put it briefly, and most especially not in matters of war, for good order seems to bring safety, and lack of order has by now destroyed many. (39) When you have appointed as many rulers as are needed, if you should gather together also the other soldiers and encourage them, I think you would be doing something very opportune. (40) For now, perhaps, you too have perceived with what lack of spirit they went to their weapons, and with what lack of spirit they went to their guard posts. Consequently, being as they are, I do not know how one could make use of them either during the night, should there be any need, or even during the day. (41) If any change their outlook,^a so that

^a See Glossary: Judgment.

they think not only of what they will suffer but also of what they will do, they will become much more inspirited; (42) for you know, surely, that what makes victory in war is neither numbers nor strength. But whichever side goes against the enemy stronger in its souls, with the gods, these, for the most part, are not withstood by their opponents.⁹

(43) "For my part, men, I have pondered also this, that regarding all those who crave staying alive through wars in whatever way they can, these for the most part die both badly and shamefully; but all those who know that death is common to and necessary for all human beings, and compete over dying nobly, these I see somehow arriving more often into old age and, for as long as they live, passing their time more happily. (44) We too must now learn all this, for we are in such a crisis, and we must both be brave men ourselves and call upon the others to be so too."

(45) Having said this, Xenophon ceased. After him Cheirisophus said, "Previously, Xenophon, I knew you only so far as to have heard you were an Athenian, but now I praise you for what you are saying and doing, and I would wish that as many as possible be of this same sort, for the good would be shared in common. (46) And now," he said, "let us not delay, men, but go apart and directly choose new rulers, you who need to, and after you have made your choices, come to the center of the camp and bring those you have chosen, since there we will summon the other soldiers. Let also Tolmides the herald be present there with us."

(47) And as he said this, he got up, so that what was needed might be carried out, not delayed. After this, rulers were chosen: in place of Clearchus, Timasion, a Dardanian; in place of Socrates, Xanthicles, an Achaean; in place of Hagias, Cleanor, an Arcadian; in place of Menon, Philesius, an Achaean; and in place of Proxenus, Xenophon, an Athenian.

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When they were chosen and as day was nearly breaking, the rulers came to the center of the camp, and they decided to station guards and call the soldiers together. When the other soldiers had

come together, Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian stood up first and spoke as follows: (2) "Men and soldiers, our present circumstances are difficult, since we have been deprived of such men, generals, captains, and soldiers; and in addition, Ariaeus and his troops, our former allies, have betrayed us. (3) Nevertheless, we need in these present circumstances to be brave men and not give up but try—if ever we are able—to save ourselves by conquering nobly; and if we are not, let us at least die nobly, and let us never fall into the hands of our enemies while we live. For I think we would suffer such things as—may the gods inflict them upon our enemies!"

(4) Upon this, Cleanor the Orchomenian stood up and spoke as follows: "But you see, men, the King's perjury and his impiety. And you see Tissaphernes' infidelity. It was he who said that he was a neighbor of Greece and that he would consider it of the utmost importance if he could save us; and it was he himself who swore oaths about all this to us, he himself who gave us his right hand, he himself who deceived and seized our generals; and he was not even reverent before Zeus the god of hospitality; rather, by sharing his table with Clearchus, at least, he deceived them by these very means and destroyed the men. (5) And as for Ariaeus, whom we were willing to establish as King and with whom we both gave and received pledges not to betray each other, even he—neither having feared the gods nor having shown respect for Cyrus when he was dead,^b even though he was honored above all by Cyrus when he was living—has now revolted to Cyrus's bitterest enemies and is trying to harm us, Cyrus's friends. (6) May they, then, be punished by the gods! But since we, on the other hand, have seen all this, we must never again be deceived by them, and while we fight as stoutly as we can, we must experience whatever may be decided upon by the gods."

(7) After this, Xenophon stood up, having equipped himself for war as nobly as he could, for he believed that if the gods should grant victory, the noblest adornment was fitting for being victorious, but if there should be the need for his life to come to an end, he believed it was right that, considering himself worthy of the most noble [things or arms], he meet his end in these [noble arms]. He began his speech as follows:

^b See Glossary: Respect.

(8) "Cleanor tells you of the perjury of the barbarians and of their infidelity, and you too know it, I think. Now if we wish to proceed again on the basis of friendship with them, it is necessary that we suffer great despondency when we see what sort of things our generals have suffered, who trustingly put themselves in their hands. If, however, we have in mind, with the help of our weapons, to make them pay the penalty for what they have done and to attack them in the future in all-out war, we have, with the help of the gods, many noble hopes of salvation."

(9) As he was saying this, someone sneezed, and hearing it, all the soldiers prostrated themselves to the god with a single impulse, and Xenophon said, "Men, since an omen from Zeus the Savior appeared when we were speaking about salvation, it seems to me that we should vow to sacrifice thank offerings for our salvation to this same god wherever we first arrive in a friendly land, and that we should vow as well to sacrifice also to the other gods to the extent of our power.¹⁰ Let whoever is so resolved raise his hand," he said. And all raised their hands. After this, they made their vows and sang the paean. When all was fine with what pertained to the gods, he began again as follows.

(10) "I chanced to be saying that we have many noble hopes of salvation. For first, we are firm in our oaths to the gods, while our enemies have both violated their oaths and, contrary to their oaths, broken the truce. This being so, it is likely that the gods are opposed to our enemies, and are allies for us; and the gods are the very ones who, whenever they wish, are competent swiftly to make the strong weak and easily to save the weak, even if they are in terrible dangers. (11) Next, I shall remind you also of the dangers faced by our ancestors, so you may know both that it is fitting for you to be brave and that the brave are saved with the help of the gods even from very terrible dangers. For when the Persians and others along with them came in a vast expedition in order to obliterate Athens again, the Athenians dared to stand up to them and were victorious over them.¹¹ (12) Having vowed to Artemis that they would sacrifice to the goddess as many she-goats as they killed of the enemy, since they were not able to find enough, they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year, and they are still performing this sacrifice even now.

(13) "Next, when Xerxes later collected that innumerable army and came against Greece, even then our ancestors were victorious over the ancestors of these [our barbarian enemies] on both land and sea. There are trophies to see as signs of these events, but the greatest witness is the freedom of the cities in which you were born and reared, for you prostrate yourselves before no human master but before the gods. (14) You descend from such ancestors, and yet I certainly will not say that you bring shame upon them. To the contrary, when you were marshaled in order opposite these descendants of those [earlier Persians] not many days ago, you were victorious over them, with the help of the gods, though they were many times more numerous than yourselves. (15) And then it was over the kingship of Cyrus that you were brave men, but now, when the contest is over your salvation, it is surely very fitting that you be both better and more eager. (16) And surely it is fitting that you now be also more confident against the enemy. For then, when you were inexperienced of them and saw their immeasurable multitude, you nevertheless dared to go against them with the high spirits of your fathers. But now, when you already have the experience of them that they are not willing to stand up to you, even though they are many times as numerous, how could it be fitting for you to fear them any longer?

(17) "And, indeed, do not suppose that you are worse off if the Cyrean troops, who were previously deployed along with us, have now revolted. They are even worse than the ones we defeated, for certainly they were running away from them when they abandoned us. It is much better that those who are willing to begin the flight be deployed with the enemy than to see them in our own battle order. (18) And if any one of you is dispirited because we have no horsemen, while our enemies have many, consider that ten thousand horsemen are nothing else than ten thousand human beings. For no one has ever yet been killed by being bitten or kicked by a horse in battle, but it is the men who do whatever is done in battles. (19) And are we not on a much safer foundation than horsemen? For they hang onto their horses fearful not only of us but also of falling off, while we, having come to the encounter on the ground, will strike much more forcefully, if any one approaches, and we will more often hit whatever we wish. On one point only do horsemen surpass us: it is safer for them to flee than it is for us.

(20) "But if you are confident when it comes to fighting but are vexed because Tissaphernes will no longer be our guide and the King will no longer provide us a market, consider whether it is better to have Tissaphernes as a guide, he who is manifestly plotting against us, or those men whom we seize and command to guide us, ones who know that if they make any mistake that affects us, they will also be making a mistake about their own souls and bodies. (21) And as for provisions, consider whether it is better to purchase them from the market, where they provide small measures for large amounts of money, when we do not even have any of this any longer, or to seize them ourselves, if we conquer, using as a measure however much each wishes.

(22) "If, however, you realize that things are better in these respects, but believe the rivers to be something impassable, and if you hold that you were greatly deceived in crossing over them, then consider whether the barbarians have not done something foolish in the extreme. For all rivers, even if they are impassable far from their sources, become passable by those who proceed to their sources, even without getting their knees wet. (23) But even if the rivers will not allow us across and no guide for us appears, even in this case we should not be dispirited. For we know of the Mysians, who we would not say are better than we are and who dwell in many prosperous and large cities in the King's land, though he is unwilling that they do so, and we know it is similar with the Pisidians, and we ourselves saw firsthand that the Lycaonians seized the fortifications on the plains and reap the fruits of his land.¹²

(24) "And I, at least, would have said that we should not yet have visibly started out for home but should make preparations as if we were going to make our homes somewhere around here. For I know that the King would give many guides to the Mysians, and would also send many hostages, to assure them that he was sending them away without deceiving them, and he would even build roads for them if they wished to go away on four-horse chariots. And I know that he would be three times as glad to do these things for us, if he saw us making preparations to remain. (25) But I fear that once we learned to live lazily and to pass our lives amid abundance, and to consort with the tall, beautiful women and maidens of the Medes and Persians, like the lotus eaters, we would forget our way home.¹³

(26) It thus seems to me fitting and just to try first to reach Greece and our families and to show the Greeks that they are voluntarily poor. It is, after all, possible for them, if they bring themselves here, to see those become rich who now live at home in hardship as citizens. But, men, all these good things clearly belong to those who conquer.

(27) "Now one must say both how we would march as safely as possible and, if we must fight, how we would fight as stoutly as possible. First, then," he said, "it seems to me that we should burn what wagons we have, in order that our cattle not be our generals; let us instead march wherever it may be advantageous to the army. Next, we should also burn our tents along with them; for these present a burden to carry, but they contribute no help either for fighting or for having provisions. (28) Moreover, let us also abandon other superfluous baggage, except what we have for war or for food and drink, in order that as many as possible of us may be under arms and as few as possible may be carrying baggage. For you know that for those who are conquered, all that they possess then belongs to others. But if we conquer, we must believe that our enemies will then be our baggage carriers.

(29) "It remains for me to say the very thing I believe to be of greatest importance. For you see that our enemies did not even dare to bring on the war against us until they seized our generals, for they believed that as long as there were rulers and we were obedient to them, we were competent to prevail in war, but they believed that after they seized the rulers, we would perish by anarchy and disorder. (30) It is thus that our present rulers must be much more careful than our former ones, and that the ruled be much more orderly and obedient to their rulers now than they were formerly. (31) And if anyone disobeys, vote that whoever of you who chances to be on hand must join with the ruler in punishing him. In this way the enemy will have been deceived to the greatest degree, for today they will see not one Clearchus but ten thousand, who will not allow anyone to be a bad soldier.¹⁴ (32) It is already time to act, for perhaps the enemy will be present at once. To whomever, therefore, these things seem noble, let them be confirmed as soon as possible, in order that they may be accomplished in deed. But if there is any way better than this, let

even the private soldier dare to teach us. For we all are in need of safety in common."

(33) After this, Cheirisophus said, "If there is need of anything else besides what Xenophon said, it will presently be possible to do it also; but as for the measures he has just now spoken of, it seems to me best to vote on them as soon as possible. Let whoever is resolved on these measures raise his hand." All raised their hands.

(34) Standing up again, Xenophon said, "Men, hear what else seems to me to be necessary. It is clear that we must march where we will have provisions. I hear that there are beautiful villages no more than twenty stadia from here. (35) Now I would not be amazed if, just as cowardly dogs pursue and bite those who pass by, if they are able, but run away from those who pursue them, our enemy also would themselves follow close after us as we go away. (36) Perhaps, then, it would be safer for us to march making a hollow square with our hoplites, in order that our baggage carriers and our great crowd [of camp followers] might be in a safer place. If, then, it should now be indicated who must lead the square and put into order what is up front, and who should do so on each flank, and who should guard the rear, we would not need to deliberate whenever the enemy might come, but we would directly put into use troops that were already in order. (37) Now if, then, anyone sees anything better, let it be otherwise. But if not, let Cheirisophus lead, since he is also a Lacedaemonian. Let the two eldest generals take care of the two flanks. Let us younger ones, Timasion and me, be the rear guards for the time being. (38) In the future, after we have tested this formation, we will deliberate about whatever may at any time seem to be best. But if anyone sees something better, let him speak." Since no one spoke in opposition, he said, "Let whoever thinks these measures best raise his hand." These measures were adopted.

(39) "Now then," he said, "we must go and do what has been adopted. And whoever among you desires to see his family members, let him remember to be a brave man. For it is not possible to obtain this in any other way. And whoever desires to live, let him try to be victorious. For the victorious kill, the defeated are killed. And if anyone desires money, let him try to conquer. For the victorious both keep safe what is their own and take what belongs to the defeated."

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After these things were said, they got up and, going off, burned the wagons and the tents; of the superfluous baggage they gave to one another whatever anyone needed, but they threw the rest into the fire. When they had done this, they had their breakfast. While having this breakfast, Mithradates arrived with about thirty horsemen, and calling the generals into earshot, he spoke as follows: (2) "I, Greek men, was faithful to Cyrus, as you know, and now I am well disposed to you; and I tarry here in great fear. Now, if I should see that you are deliberating on some means of salvation, I would come to you with all my attendants. So, as a friend, as one well disposed to you, and as one wishing to make the expedition in common with you, tell me what you have in mind."

(3) After deliberating, the generals decided to answer as follows, and Cheirisophus did the speaking: "We have decided, if anyone allows us to go away toward home, to pass through the country doing as little damage as we possibly can, but if anyone blocks us from our route, to make war with him as stoutly as we possibly can."

(4) Mithradates then tried to teach how difficult it was for them to save themselves as long as the King was unwilling. From this they knew that he had been sent as a spy, for one of Tissaphernes' relatives also followed along to ensure his fidelity. (5) And the generals then decided that it was better to make a decree to fight the war without admitting heralds as long as they should be in enemy territory. For when heralds came they would try to corrupt the soldiers, and they did corrupt at least one captain, Nicarchus, an Arcadian, and he departed, going away by night with about twenty people.

(6) After this they had their breakfast and, after crossing the Zapatas River, they marched in order, with the baggage train and the crowd in the middle. Before they had gone forward very far, Mithradates appeared again, with about two hundred horsemen and about four hundred bowmen and slingers, ones very nimble and dressed for mobility. (7) And he approached the Greeks as a friend, but when they were near, suddenly, some of them, both horsemen and foot soldiers, shot their arrows, and others used their slings, and they began to inflict wounds. The Greek rear guard was suffering severely,

and yet they were doing nothing in response. For the Cretan archers had a shorter range than the Persians, and since they were without armor, they were enclosed among the hoplites, and the javelin throwers also had too short a range to reach the slingers. (8) It thus seemed to Xenophon that they had to go out in pursuit. So those of the hoplites and peltasts who chanced to be with him in the rear guard went out in pursuit, but in their pursuit they did not overtake any of the enemy. (9) For the Greeks had neither horsemen nor foot soldiers capable of overtaking in a short space other foot soldiers who were fleeing from afar, for it was not possible for them to go out in pursuit very far from the rest of the army. (10) Even when they were in flight, the barbarian horsemen would inflict wounds by shooting backward as they rode their horses, and whatever distance the Greeks advanced in their pursuit, this same distance they had to cover while fighting in their retreat.

(11) Consequently, they covered no more than twenty-five stadia during the whole day, but they arrived at the villages in the late afternoon. Here again, of course, there was despondency. Both Cheirisophus and the oldest of the generals blamed Xenophon because he went off in pursuit, away from the phalanx, and because he ran risks himself and yet was no more able to do harm to the enemy. (12) After Xenophon heard this, he said that they were correct to blame him and that the deed itself bore witness for their case. "But," he said, "I was compelled to pursue, since I saw that you were suffering badly by remaining in place and that you were not able to do anything in response. (13) But when we went out in pursuit," he said, "what you said is true: we became no more able to harm the enemy, and we retreated only with great hardship. (14) Thanks, then, to the gods, that our enemy did not come with a large force but with only a few troops, so that they did not hurt us greatly, while they showed us what we need. (15) Now the enemy shoot their arrows and use their slings from such a distance that the Cretans are not able to reach in response, nor are those who throw by hand able to reach them. And whenever we pursue them, it is not possible to pursue far from the army, but in a short distance no foot soldier, not even if he were swift, would be able to overtake another who had a head start the length of a bowshot. (16) If, therefore, we are going to ward them off so that they are not able to harm us as we march along, we have

immediate need of both slingers and horsemen. I hear that there are Rhodians in our army, and it is said that the majority of them know how to use slings and that their shot carries twice the distance of the Persian slings. (17) For theirs, because they sling stones big enough to fill your hand, reach only a short way, whereas the Rhodians know how to use leaden shot. (18) Now if we observe which among them have slings, and give money to each of them for them, and pay money also to anyone willing to plait more, and find some privilege for anyone willing to be a slinger, perhaps some who are able to help us will show themselves.

(19) "I see also that there are horses in the army: some few mine, others left by Clearchus, and many others captured and now carrying baggage. If, then, collecting all these, we give pack animals in return, and equip the horses to carry horsemen, perhaps also these will harass somewhat those who are in flight." (20) These measures also were adopted. During the night, as many as two hundred became slingers; and on the next day, as many as fifty horses and horsemen were approved as fit for service, and leather jackets and breastplates were provided for them; and Lycius, the son of Polystratus, an Athenian, was made cavalry commander.

≈ CHAPTER 4 ≈

After remaining there for the day, they got up earlier than usual the next day and marched on, for they had to cross over a ravine, where they feared the enemy might set upon them as they crossed. (2) After they had crossed, Mithradates appeared again, with a thousand horsemen and as many as four thousand bowmen and slingers. For he had asked Tissaphernes for this many, and he took them on the promise that, if he were to have these troops, he would hand the Greeks over to him. He thought scornfully of them because in the previous encounter he had not suffered at all, even though he had few troops, while he believed that he had done great harm. (3) After the Greeks had crossed over and were as far as eight stadia from the ravine, Mithradates also crossed with his force. Assignments had already been given to those of the peltasts and the hoplites who had to

go in pursuit, and it had been announced to the horsemen to pursue with confidence, on the grounds that a sufficient force would follow up after them. (4) When Mithradates overtook them, and his arrows and hurled rocks were already beginning to reach them, a trumpet signal was given to the Greeks, and they to whom it had been assigned ran out in a charge, and the horsemen attacked. The others, however, did not stand up to them but fled to the ravine. (5) Many of the barbarian foot soldiers were killed during this pursuit, and as many as eighteen of their horsemen were taken alive in the ravine. The Greeks, spontaneously and without orders, mutilated the slain, that they might be as frightening as possible for their enemies to see. (6) And after faring like this, the enemy went away, while the Greeks marched safely for the rest of the day and arrived at the Tigris River.

(7) Here was a city, deserted and large, whose name was Larisa. Medes used to inhabit it long ago. Its wall was twenty-five feet across, one hundred high; the circuit of the wall was two parasangs. It had been built of clay bricks, but there was a stone foundation under it, twenty feet high. (8) The King of the Persians had besieged it when the Persians were taking the empire from the Medes, but he was not able to take it in any way. A cloud covered the sun, however, and made it disappear, until the people left it, and thus was it captured. (9) Beside this city was a stone pyramid, one plethrum wide and two plethra high. Many of the barbarians were on it after having fled from the nearby villages.

(10) From here they marched one stage, six parasangs, to a fortress, deserted and large, set against a city. The name of the city was Mespila; Medes once inhabited it. There was a foundation of worked stone full of shells, fifty feet across and fifty feet high. (11) On it a brick wall had been built fifty feet across and one hundred feet high; the circuit of the wall was six parasangs. Here Medea, wife of the King, is said to have fled when the Medes lost their empire at the hands of the Persians. (12) Besieging this city, the King of the Persians was not able to take it either by time or by force. But Zeus terrified the inhabitants with thunder, and thus it was captured.

(13) From here they marched one stage, four parasangs. During this stage Tissaphernes appeared, and he came with the horsemen that he himself had, with the force of Orontas (who had the King's

daughter with him), with the barbarians with whom Cyrus had made his ascent, with those with whom the King's brother had helped the King, and, in addition to these, with as many as the King had given to him, so that the army appeared exceedingly large.¹⁵ (14) When he was near, he stationed some of his units behind the Greeks, and others he led beside them, opposite their flanks, but he did not dare to charge, nor did he wish to run risks, but he ordered them to use their slings and to shoot their arrows. (15) But when the Rhodians, who had been set in battle order, began to hurl and the Scythian archers began to shoot their arrows, no one missed his man (for even if he had been very eager to miss, it was hardly easy); Tissaphernes very quickly retreated out of range, and his other units also retreated.¹⁶

(16) For the rest of the day, one army marched, and the other followed. But the barbarians were no longer doing harm by their usual long-range fighting, for the Rhodians hurled farther than the Persians did and farther than most bowmen [could shoot]. (17) The Persian bows were also large, so that such of their arrows as were taken were useful to the Cretans, and they continued using their enemies' arrows; and they practiced shooting them upward, sending them a long way. They found a lot of gut in the villages, and lead, which they could put to use for the slings. (18) And on this day, after the Greeks chanced upon villages and began to camp, the barbarians went away, having on this occasion gotten the worst of the fighting at long range. The Greeks remained there on the next day and gathered provisions, for there was a great deal of grain in the villages. On the day that followed, they marched across the plain, and Tissaphernes followed, shooting at them from long range.

(19) The Greeks then realized that the square is a bad formation when enemies are following. For it is necessary, if the wings of the square draw together—either where the road is narrow, when the mountains make it necessary, or where there is a bridge—that the hoplites be squeezed out of their places and advance poorly, being at once hemmed in and thrown out of order. Consequently, since they are out of order, they necessarily become hard to use. (20) When the wings again separate from each other, it is necessary for those who then were squeezed now to become spread out, for the center between the wings to become empty, and for those who thus suffer to

become dispirited when the enemy is following. And whenever they needed to cross a bridge or some other crossing, each hurried up, wishing to get ahead and be first. And here it was easy for the enemy to set upon them.

(21) When the generals realized all this, they made six companies of one hundred men, and they set a captain over each one, other officers over each half-company, and others over each quarter-company. Marching in this way, when, on the one hand, the wings drew together, the captains remained a little behind so as not to crowd together with the wings, for then they proceeded rather on either side of the wings.¹⁷ (22) When, on the other hand, the sides of the square moved apart again, they filled up the center again, by companies if the gap was narrow, by half-companies if it was broader, and by quarter-companies if it was very broad, so that the center would be filled in every case.¹⁸ (23) And if they had to cross some crossing, or a bridge, they were not thrown into confusion, but the companies crossed in their turn. And if the phalanx was needed somewhere, they came on up. In this way they marched four stages.

(24) When they were marching on the fifth stage, they saw a certain royal palace and many villages around it, and a road coming to this place through some high hills, which reached down from the mountain at whose base were the villages. And the Greeks were glad when they saw the hills, as was likely, since their enemies were cavalry. (25) But when marching from the plain they ascended the first hill and began to come down in order to ascend the next, the barbarians came upon them, and from a high post they began to shoot down the hill, being lashed to keep them slinging and shooting their arrows; (26) and wounding many, they overcame the Greek light-armed troops and shut them up inside the hoplites.¹⁹ Both the slingers and the bowmen were thus entirely useless on that day, since they were mixed in with the crowd. (27) When the hard-pressed Greeks attempted to go out in pursuit, they reached the summit only very slowly, since they were hoplites, and the enemy sprang away quickly. (28) When they went back to the rest of the army, they suffered the same things again; and the same things occurred on the second hill; so from the third hill they decided not to move the soldiers until they led peltasts up to the mountain from the right side of the square. (29) When these had gotten above the enemy that had

been following them, the enemy no longer set upon those who were descending, fearing that they might be cut off and have enemies on both sides of them. (30) Marching like this for the rest of the day, with some on the road through the hills and others marching along beside them through the mountains, they reached the villages and appointed eight doctors, for many were wounded.

(31) Here they remained three days, both for the sake of the wounded and, at the same time, because they also had many provisions: flour, wine, and lots of barley gathered for the horses. All this had been collected by the one who was satrap of the country. On the fourth day they descended onto the plain. (32) When Tissaphernes overtook them with his force, necessity taught them to make camp wherever they saw the first village and not to march on while still fighting; for many were out of action, not only the wounded but also those carrying them and those who took over the weapons of those doing the carrying. (33) When they had made camp, and the barbarians approached the village and tried to attack them at long range, the Greeks proved superior by far; for to repel an attack by rushing out from a position was vastly different from doing battle while marching, against enemies who kept on attacking. (34) And when it was late afternoon, it was time for the enemy to leave; for the barbarians never encamped less than sixty stadia distant from the Greek camp, since they feared that the Greeks might set upon them during the night. (35) The Persian army is worthless at night: their horses are tethered and for the most part also hobbled, so that if they should get untied, they do not run away. If some confusion arises, the Persian man needs to load up his horse, and he also needs to bridle it and, after putting on his breastplate, to mount the horse. All these things are difficult to do at night and when there is confusion. It is on this account that they used to encamp far from the Greeks.

(36) When the Greeks realized that they wished to depart and were announcing this, proclamation was made to the Greeks, with the enemy listening, to pack up their things. For some time the barbarians held off their march, but when it got late, they left, for it did not seem to them to pay to march and to get back to their camp during the night. (37) When the Greeks saw that they were clearly going away, they themselves broke camp and began to march, and they covered as much as sixty stadia. There arose so great a distance

between the armies that on the next day the enemy did not appear, nor did it even on the third; but on the fourth, by going forward during the night, the barbarians took some high ground on the right of the road by which the Greeks were going to travel, on a ridge of the mountain beneath which was the descent to the plain. (38) When Cheirisophus saw that the ridge had been taken in advance, he called Xenophon from the rear and bade him come with the peltasts to the front.

(39) Xenophon, however, did not bring the peltasts, for he saw Tissaphernes coming into view with his whole army; but riding up by himself, he asked, "Why do you call?" And Cheirisophus said to him, "It is possible to see: the crest above our descent has been taken in advance, and there is no going by it unless we cut them off. But why did you not bring the peltasts?" (40) He said that it did not seem that he should leave the rear all alone with the enemy coming into view. "But it is time," he said, "to deliberate about how one will drive these men from the crest." (41) Here Xenophon saw that the peak of the mountain was above their own army and that from it there was a way toward the crest where their enemy was; and he said, "It is best, Cheirisophus, for us to hurry as quickly as possible to the summit. For if we take it, those above the road will not be capable of remaining there. If you wish, remain with the army; I am willing to go. Or if you desire it, you go to the mountain, and I will remain here." (42) "But I grant to you," Cheirisophus said, "to choose whichever you wish." Saying that he was younger, Xenophon chose to go, and he bade him send men from the front with him, for it was a long way to get them from the rear. (43) And Cheirisophus sent along peltasts from the front, and he took those that were at about the middle of the square. And he ordered also that the three hundred of the picked troops he himself had for the front of the square should join in following along with Xenophon.

(44) Then they marched as quickly as they could. As for the enemy on the crest, when they understood that they were marching for the summit, they themselves also rushed forward to contend for the summit. (45) Here there was much shouting from the Greek army, cheering on their own, and much shouting from those with Tissaphernes, cheering on their own. (46) As he rode along on his horse, Xenophon kept giving encouragement: "Men, believe that

you are contending now for Greece, now for your children and wives; if we do a little labor now, we will march the rest of the way without a battle." (47) Soterides the Sicyonian said, "We are not contending on equal ground, Xenophon; for you are carried on a horse, but I am laboring hard, carrying this shield." (48) Hearing this, Xenophon leaped down from his horse, pushed him out of the order and, taking away his shield, began to march with it as quickly as he could. He happened also to have on his horseman's breastplate, so that he was hard pressed. And he was encouraging those in the front to lead on and those in the rear, who were struggling to follow, to come on up.²⁰ (49) The rest of the soldiers struck, threw at, and cursed Soterides, until they compelled him to take back his shield and march. And remounting, Xenophon went on horseback as long as the way was passable; but when it was impassable, he got down from his horse and hurried forward on foot. And they got to the summit before the enemy.

≈ CHAPTER 5 ≈

Then the barbarians turned and fled wherever each was able, while the Greeks held the summit. Those with Tissaphernes and Ariaeus turned off by another road and went away, and those with Cheirisophus descended onto the plain and made their camp in a village filled with good things. There were also many other villages filled with many good things on this plain beside the Tigris River. (2) When it was late afternoon, the enemy suddenly appeared on the plain, and they cut down some of the Greeks who were scattered across the plain for plundering; for many herds of cattle had been seized as they were being ferried across to the far side of the river. (3) Here Tissaphernes and those with him were trying to burn the villages, and some of the Greeks became very dispirited, being mindful that if they should burn the provisions, they would not have any other place to get them. (4) Those with Cheirisophus were returning from having gone to help out, while Xenophon, when he descended, rode beside their formations as the Greeks met him on their return from having given aid, and said, (5) "Do you see, men of Greece, that they

are conceding the country to be yours? For when they made the truce, they stipulated that we not burn the King's country, but now they themselves are burning it as though it belongs to someone else. And if they leave provisions for themselves anywhere, they shall see us also marching there. (6) But, Cheirisophus," he said, "it seems to me that we should help out and oppose those who are doing the burning, as in behalf of our own country." Cheirisophus said, "Well, it does not seem so to me. Rather, let us burn it as well," he said, "and thus they will cease more quickly."

(7) When they went back to their tents, the others were busy about provisions, but the generals and captains got together. And here they were very much at a loss. For on one side there were very high mountains, on another there was a river so deep that their spears did not even break the surface of the water when they tested its depth. (8) While they were at a loss, a certain Rhodian man approached them and said, "I am willing, men, to convey you across, four thousand hoplites at a time, if you will furnish me with what I need and provide me a wage of one talent." (9) On being asked what he needed, he said, "I will need two thousand bags made of hide. I see that there are many sheep, goats, cattle, and asses, which, when they are skinned and their hides inflated, would easily provide the crossing. (10) I will also need the fastenings which you use on the baggage animals. Yoking the skins to each other with these, mooring each skin by hanging stones from it, releasing them into the water like anchors, extending them across the river and fastening them on both sides, I will put wood on them and bring on earth as well. (11) That you will not sink, you will know at once; for every skin will keep two men from sinking, while the wood and earth will keep them so they do not slip." (12) To the generals who heard this, the thought seemed elegant but the deed impossible, for there were many on the other side to prevent it, horsemen who right from the outset would not allow the first arrivals to do any of this.

(13) Hence they retreated on the following day, going away from Babylon, toward the villages that had not been burned, after burning the one from which they departed.²¹ Consequently, the enemy did not attack, but they kept observing them and were like people wondering where the Greeks would turn and what they had in mind. (14) Here the other soldiers were busy about provisions, while

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

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

BOOK IV

~ CHAPTER 1 ~

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

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

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