

do with Cyrus the Younger's decision to recruit Greek soldiers to join him in his attempt to unseat his brother, and they were also one basis on which Xenophon encouraged his fellow Greeks in the *Anabasis* (3.2.11-16); Greek defections to the Persian side are also alluded to in the *Anabasis* (e.g., 2.1.3; 7.8.8). Herodotus was the chief historian of the Persian Wars.

The Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.) broke out about fifty years after the Persian Wars and saw the Greeks themselves organized into opposed alliances headed by Spartans (Lacedaemonians) and Athenians. Since Cyrus the Younger had supported Sparta toward the end of this war, Socrates worries that it might be unwise for Xenophon to become associated with him (3.1.5). And since even a very powerful Athens failed to hold out against Sparta, Xenophon insists that he and his fellow soldiers have no choice but to obey Sparta (7.1.26-9). Thucydides was the chief historian of the Peloponnesian War.

The *Anabasis* takes place in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War, a long war that left Sparta the dominant power in Greece. Even though Spartan domination is often reflected in the command structure in the *Anabasis* (3.2.37; 6.1.26; 6.2.10), Xenophon has to remind his fellow Greeks of the importance of this Lacedaemonian hegemony as they approach Greece (e.g., 6.6.12). Athens, for its part, has undergone several revolutions linked to its devastating defeat at Sparta's hands, and several students of Socrates earned very bad reputations for their participation in the extreme politics of the period. Xenophon appears to link the careers of these former associates with Socrates' trial and conviction (*Memorabilia* 1.2.12-48); and the unsettled politics of Athens, especially for a student of Socrates, may have influenced Xenophon's decision to accept Proxenus's suggestion that he get to know Cyrus (3.1.4). Xenophon was the chief historian of this period, in a work called the *Hellenica*.

The Greek mercenaries are not from a single Greek city but from many. Together, Arcadia and Achaea, regions in the Peloponnese, furnished over half the total of Greek forces (6.2.10). Parrhasia, Orchomenus, and Stymphalus were cities of Arcadia. Ten Athenians are mentioned in the *Anabasis*, if one counts Socrates, who does not make the trip, and Theopompus, who appears to be a pseudonym for Xenophon himself. Only in the case of Lacedaemon were soldiers sent along with Cyrus by the decision of a city-state rather than by the choice of the individual soldier (1.2.21; 1.4.2; *Hellenica* 3.1.1).

## Glossary

This short list of key words associates an English word (or family of words) with the Greek they translate or usually translate. It is intended to help interested readers begin to follow a few Greek terms through the English translation, and it is also a convenient way for me to acknowledge some of the more important occasions on which I did not achieve a strictly consistent translation. It is of course only a small step toward reducing the extra challenges that face the Greekless student of Greek texts.

**Anabasis:** This noun has the root meaning of "a going-up," and it is used to indicate such ordinary ascents as the mounting of a horse or a way of going up a hill. In the sense of a march upcountry, it is used first by Xenophon, only in this work, and only in the following passages: the title; the summary statements at the very beginning of Books 3, 4, 5, 7, and at the very end of Book 7; 1.4.9; and 4.1.10. It is used three times in Plato's *Republic* (515e, 517b, and 519d) to indicate the ascent from the cave.

The related verb *anabainō* is used of an "ascent" from the coast to the interior by Herodotus (5.100) and by Plato (*Alcibiades I* 123b), as well as by Xenophon. Like the noun, the verb admits a range of meanings from mounting a horse (as at 4.7.24) to ascending to heaven; it is not used exclusively or even primarily of "a march upcountry." To try to remind the reader of this range of meanings, I generally translate the verb as "to ascend" and its opposite as "to descend," but I have not favored consistency to the point of having riders "ascend" their horses.

**At a loss:** The word *aporia* and its related verb and adjective may denote a difficulty to which there appears to be no solution or one's perplexity when facing such a difficulty. Whenever possible, I employ "at a loss."

I use "difficulty" on several occasions, and when the adjective modifies a river or terrain, I use "impassable." I could think of nothing better than "extreme want" at 2.5.9 or "lacking in" at 1.7.3.

Barbarian: Greeks used the word *barbaros* to refer to someone who was not Greek; it thus might also be translated as "foreigner [to the Greeks]." The powerful Persians are the barbarians most important for most of the *Anabasis*, but the barbarian Thracians take their place in the final book, and the *Anabasis* includes descriptions of various non-Persian tribes especially in Books 4 and 5 (e.g., 5.4.16). The reader may (and should) judge whether, to what extent, and in what ways Xenophon's Greeks held the barbarians to be different from and perhaps inferior to the Greeks. Whether Xenophon agreed with ordinary Greek opinion is a distinct and more important question.

Bid, Bade: These old-fashioned words capture something of the wide range of meanings of *keleuō*. The latter, in any event, can convey either a request or a command, and it is up to the reader to infer from other evidence the force behind what someone "bids" someone else do. In several clear cases I use "order" as my translation.

Chance: The noun *tuchē* appears only twice (at 2.2.13 and 5.2.25), and I translate it as "chance" on both occasions. There is an etymological link between the verb *tugchanō* and *tuchē*, and I generally employ the word "chance" or "happen" when translating this verb. It also, however, means "hit upon," "find," or "attain," as in 2.6.29 and 3.2.7. My use of "good fortune" twice translates a cognate of *tuchē* (1.4.17 and 6.3.6).

Custom: "Custom" translates the Greek noun *nomos* on twelve of its fourteen appearances; "law" is used at 4.6.14 and "tune" at 5.4.17. The main appearances of the word involve differences between Greek and Thracian customs (7.2.23, 38; 7.3.18, 22, 28, 37, 39, 41), Greek and Mossynoecian customs (5.4.33-34), and Athenian and Spartan customs (4.6.14-15). See also 1.2.15; 7.8.5.

"Lawful" and "lawless" are used for Greek words related to *nomos*, and the related verb *nomizō* is translated as "believe"; I also translate its passive participle, used as a noun, as "what is customary."

In addition to contrasts between laws or customs, especially between Greek and barbarian examples, one might expect a direct investigation of the relationship between certain customs and nature, *nomos* and *phusis*. Interestingly, the word *phusis* does not occur in the *Anabasis*; cognates appear only at 1.4.10, 5.3.12, and 5.4.29.

Decide: Translated most often as "seems," the Greek verb *dokeō* may refer not only to what "seems" but also to decisions based on what seems good to a group, especially to a political body such as the Assembly at Athens. In this political sense, *dokeō* is generally translated as "decide,"

but I also use some variant of "these measures were adopted [or, resolved upon]," where the word "measures" does not appear in the Greek but must be inferred. "Decree" and "resolution" also translate Greek words of the same family.

Expedition: I reserve the word "expedition" to translate *stolos*, which is used of Cyrus's campaign against his brother, of Darius's campaign against the Greeks (3.2.11), and of the Greeks' march homeward. Lesser trips are mere journeys or marches.

Gods: "God" is used to translate *theos* and only *theos*. References to particular gods are listed in the Index under their names. I have on eleven occasions taken *sun theois* to mean "with the help of the gods," though its more literal rendering would be "with the gods." For the parallel phrase "with our weapons" I have likewise employed "with the help of our weapons" (3.2.8); I use the same formula for "with them" and "with you" (7.3.11; 7.3.31).

Good and Bad: *Agathos* is generally translated as "good," but since an important part of being good under the circumstances of the *Anabasis* is facing the enemy in battle, I have also employed the word "brave." "Brave" is used for no other Greek word. "Good" (and "better," "superior," or "best") may also indicate better only in rank or dignity (as at 2.2.1 and 7), not better in virtue. Except for my use of "brave," I translate *agathos* as "good" even when the person using it has a narrower understanding of its meaning. The opposite of *agathos* is *kakos*, which I translate as "bad" or "evil." It also has a narrower meaning, "cowardly" (as at 3.1.36), but I usually leave it to the reader to keep this in mind. Because I translate also *ponēros* as "bad" and "evil," any differences between it and *kakos* will not show up in English.

Guest-Friend: I use this phrase to translate one meaning of the Greek words *xenos* and *proxenos*. "Guest-friend" may indicate an official relationship between individuals from different city-states or nations or a sort of ambassadorial relationship between an individual and a foreign city-state or nation, and such relationships could be confirmed by treaty and extended to heirs. Guest-friends in this sense would help their respective cities conduct negotiations between them. One of the two uses of *proxenos* seems to denote such an ambassadorial relationship most clearly (5.4.2). Other uses of words related to *xenos* may refer only to a less formal relationship, like one of hospitality between dinner guests; only the particular context indicates what sort of guest-friendship is in question. I have taken the two uses of the verb *xenoō* to refer to such mere hospitality, not official ties (7.8.6; 7.8.8). *Xenos* also means "stranger," even when there are no official ties of hospitality (as at 7.3.22).

Happy: The Greek word for "happy," *eudaimōn*, commonly admits the more limited meaning of "prosperous." I translate words related to

*eudaimōn* as "prosperous" except at 1.7.3; 1.9.15; 2.5.7; and 3.1.43, where I use "happy" or "happily," and at 1.5.7, where I use "privileged." Words related to *makarios*, "blessedly happy," are used only at 1.9.6 and 3.1.19.

**Hoplite:** The *hoplitēs* was a heavily armed infantryman. Greek infantry comprised both these heavily armed soldiers, who formed into ranks and fought at close range, and lightly armed troops, who had little or no defensive armor and who were therefore more mobile than hoplites but also less capable of resisting onslaught and holding ground. The combined weight of the hoplite's helmet, cuirass, shield, greaves, two spears, and sword is thought to have been as much as seventy pounds. Since they fought at close range, hoplites required considerable courage, which could be enhanced by reminders that their heavy weapons made flight difficult. In the *Anabasis*, except at 1.8.9 and 7.8.15, all hoplites were Greek, and the majority of the Greek soldiers were hoplites.

**Horseman:** I have translated *hippeus* as "horseman" and, sometimes the plural, especially when viewed as a united force and contrasted with the infantry, as "cavalry." The *hippeus* was not always heavily armed and never as heavily as our ordinary use of the word "knight" might suggest. Xenophon does indicate, however, that horsemen sometimes wore rather heavy breastplates (3.4.48; cf. 3.3.20).

**Human Being and Man:** "Human being" translates *anthrōpos*, which refers to the human species in general. It is used, then, especially where we are considered in our mere humanity, in contrast with the gods (e.g., 2.5.20; 5.7.12; 6.1.21), or in our vaunted human decency or good sense, in contrast with wild beasts (5.7.32), and when no important differences among human beings are in view. Sex is one such difference and, related to it, "manliness" is another. The Greek word for a male is *anēr*, and the Greek male was often, for better or worse, expected to possess such qualities as courage (whose etymology in Greek is related to *anēr*). In Greek, to call someone a "man" often meant much more than calling someone a person, so I bend over backward to keep "man" in the translation, even if it sounds a bit superfluous. Clear examples of the differences between "man" and "human being" occur at 1.3.15 and 3.1.30. It is possible, of course, that Xenophon also, from a higher perspective, implies a critique of "manliness," just as he may also not accept the simplest version of the superiority of Greeks to barbarians. To help distinguish these different Greek words, I generally use "human being" for forms of *anthrōpos*, and I use "man" for *anēr*. When "human being" seems impossibly clumsy, I use "person" or, for the plural, "people."

**Insolence:** *Hubris* denotes arrogance and the sort of conduct—including violent abuse of weaker others—that often accompanies arrogance.

I have translated it and related words with "insolence" or a cognate, though I also use "wantonly abused" at 3.1.29.

**Judgment:** *Gnōmē* has no judicial connotations and most frequently indicates someone's more serious opinions. I translate it by "judgment" as consistently as possible, but I also use "outlook," "thoughts," or "opinion" on a few occasions. These English words translate only *gnōmē*. To translate other meanings of *gnōmē*, I use "minds" (1.7.8), "design" (1.8.10), and "thoughts" (2.5.29).

**Just and Unjust:** *Dikaíos* and its cognates are translated by "just" and its cognates. One exception is noted at 1.4.9. Another is that *dikē* generally means "trial" or the action taken at a trial. I thus often translate *dikē* as "punishment" or, when used in a common idiom, "pay the penalty." I avoid using "right" as a synonym for "justice."

**Know:** Three verbs common in the *Anabasis* are generally translated by some form of "to know" (*gignōskō*, *oída*, and *epistamai*). I have not found a consistent way of distinguishing these words by their English translations, and it would become a distraction to try to solve this problem in notes.

**Love:** The Greek word for passionate and, usually, sexual love, is *erōs*, and its only—and surprising—occurrence as a noun is at 2.5.22, although words from the same family do appear at 3.1.29; 4.6.3; and 7.4.7. The English word "love" is always used in their translation. "Love" also translates *phileō*, which lacks the sexual connotations of *erōs*; it is used to describe the attachment Parysatis feels for her son Cyrus (1.1.4), the vast extent to which Cyrus was loved as a ruler (at least based on what the author says he had heard about him: 1.9.28), Clearchus as a "lover of danger" (2.6.7), and the rivalry or "love of victory" among the Greeks in an athletic contest (4.8.27). In the many other cases of their appearance, words related to *philia* are rendered by a word related to "friend."

**Moderation:** "Moderation" and "moderate" translate *sōphrosunē* and the adjective related to it. The roots from which the word is composed suggest something like "of sound heart or mind," and its meaning in Classical Greek ranges from restraint in matters concerning bodily desires to discretion or good judgment. In the *Anabasis* it often seems to mean "sensible," especially in its five appearances in Book 7, but I must hope that consistency in this case is some compensation for awkwardness. Its use at 1.9.3 underscores its importance.

**Necessity:** I have reserved "necessary" and "necessity" for *anagkē* and the adjective related to it, but I have had to employ "compel" as well when translating the verb cognate with *anagkē*. Phrases such as "one must" or "we need to" translate other Greek words expressing obligation or action under pressure.

**Noble:** The words "noble," "beautiful," or "fine" usually translate words cognate with *kalos*; they are used with no other Greek word. Strictly noting *kalos* and related words allows not only a contrast with what is ignoble, base, or ugly but also a potential distinction from what is good or useful. (Xenophon may persuade Seuthes that generosity is noble, for example, without persuading him to be generous: 7.6.41–42.) Unfortunately, however, the adverb "nobly" (and the superlative "noblest") is more common in Xenophon's Greek than in English and often sounds more stilted in English. I have sometimes reverted to "well" to translate it, thus obscuring possible instances of a distinction I would very much like to preserve. The only other English word I use for this family of adjectives is "propitious," which I apply to omens or sacrificial victims that are identified as being *kala*, as they often are. When working in tandem and modifying a man, the adjectives "noble" and "good" (*kalos kagathos*) denote someone of high integrity and, by an unsurprising confusion, high social standing. Socrates made such a "gentleman" an object of investigation (see especially *Oeconomicus* 6.12–17). In the *Anabasis*, this phrase occurs only at 2.6.19–20 and 4.1.19.

**Paean:** A paean was a hymn, but these hymns seem to have varied in character and object. They were often sung before battle and were often dedicated to Apollo. I infer that they rallied the spirits of the troops precisely by increasing the hope of divine support. But in the *Anabasis* itself, the Greeks also sing a paean in a moment of deep religious devotion, even when battle is not immanent, and they appear in this hymn to invoke Zeus, not Apollo (3.2.9). At least Xenophon's Greeks also sing a paean when they begin a party (6.1.5 and *Symposium* 2.1).

**Peltast:** The *peltastēs* was a light-armed soldier who carried a small, crescent-shaped shield called a *peltē*. Even more lightly armed troops were deployed as archers, javelin throwers, or slingers. At 1.2.9 the term *peltastai* seems to refer to all light-armed troops taken together. There are thus four main kinds of military force in the *Anabasis*: hoplite, peltast, cavalry, and naval (there is also a brief mention of scythed chariots). The Greeks were mostly hoplites; the barbarians generally lacked hoplites but abounded in peltasts and cavalry. The relative importance of these kinds of force is of course one of the subjects of the book as a whole.

**Phalanx:** The phalanx was the ordered line used by hoplites as they went into battle. Always at least several ranks deep, the phalanx locked the troops together and allowed the spears of the second and third ranks to project beyond the front of the line, thus making a barrier of shields studded with sharp and thrusting spear points. If the members of a phalanx stayed in order, each would contribute to the protection of the

whole group. But cowardice or some countershock could threaten this order, and uneven terrain might also disturb it (see 4.8.10). The tightness of the order could be adjusted according to circumstances, with an open order granting each soldier as much as six feet and a compact order cutting this by half. At 2.3.3, for example, Clearchus puts the Greeks into a "compact phalanx" to make it look that much more formidable.

**Pious:** I have used "pious" for the two appearances of *hosios* (2.6.25; 5.8.26) and "impious" for the two uses of *asebēs* (2.5.20; 5.7.32). The noun *asebeia*, "impiety," occurs at 3.2.4; "piety" does not occur.

**Respect:** Words related to *aidōs* ("shame," "respect," or "reverence") appear only at 1.9.5; 2.6.19; and 3.2.4–5. I use "respect" in every instance except 3.2.4, where I use "reverent." Although I translate it differently, the same Greek word appears in 3.2.4, regarding Zeus, as in 3.2.5, regarding Cyrus.

**Sacred, Sacrifices, Omens:** The adjective *hieros* often means "sacred," "holy," or "hallowed." In such cases, I consistently translate it as "sacred." It appears at 4.5.35; several times at 5.3.7–13; at 5.6.4; at 7.1.15; and at 7.3.3. The same word is also used as a noun, usually in the plural (*hiera*), and is often close in meaning to *hiereion*. Whereas I always translate the latter as "sacrificial victim," the former more easily refers also to the omens believed to result from the sacrifices, and I often translate it as "sacrifices" (but sometimes use "victims"). At 2.1.9 I use "entrails" to translate the same word. "Sacrifices" and "sacrificial victims" are used also in the translation of *sphagia* and *sphagizomai* (1.8.15; 4.3.17; 4.5.4; 6.5.8 and 21; and elsewhere: see especially 6.4.25 and note) and *thumata* (6.4.20; 7.8.19). The holocaust, a sacrifice in which the whole victim is burnt, is mentioned only in 7.8.4–5. Omens in the *Anabasis* were detected or professed also in the flight of birds and in the famous sneeze at 3.2.9. Only in these cases, marked by the word *oiōnos*, do I use "omen," though I use "propitious" with "omens" to translate the three appearances of *kallierreō*. As for the results of sacrifices, I use "propitious" for *kala* and "[propitious]" for an implied *kala*.

**Satrap:** The Great King of Persia ruled most of the provinces of his vast empire by appointed regional officials called "satraps." The loyalty of satraps was often enforced by having the regional military commanders report directly to the king, not to the satrap. See Xenophon, *Education of Cyrus*, 8.6.1–13.

**Soul:** I translate *psuchē* as "soul," though it can also mean "life." It appears only in speeches by Xenophon, at 3.1.23; 3.1.42; 3.2.20; and 7.7.43.

**Trireme:** A trireme was a warship. Designed especially for speed, it was crammed with three banks of rowers behind a bronze prow. Merchant

ships rammed by triremes generally sank, so a few triremes could destroy a large number of transports (see 7.2.12, for example). I have used the words "warship" and "transport" to refer to the ships the Greeks called either "long" or "round."

Trust: I routinely translate the verb *pisteuō* as "trust" and employ this word also when translating several other Greek words related to *pistis*. One exception is that I use the word "pledge" to indicate a sign that is intended to encourage trust, such as a handshake, an oath, or a ritual. ("Pledge" also translates *dexia*, whose literal meaning is "right hand.") Another exception is that I translate the abstract noun as "fidelity" and its opposite as "infidelity," except at 2.5.4, where I use "distrust."

Units of Distance and Length: From shorter to longer, the *Anabasis* refers to these units of distance:

a foot (about twelve inches)

a cubit (about eighteen inches, 1.5 feet)

a fathom (about six feet)

a plethron (just under one hundred feet)

a stadion (just under six hundred feet)

a parasang (about 3.3 miles)

A stage or *stathmos* did not measure distance directly. It was a stopping place, a station on the king's royal road (Herodotus 5.52), and thus referred to the leg of a journey, usually a single day's march; armies on the march do not cover equal distances each day, however.

Units of Value: From least to most valuable, the units of value pertinent to the *Anabasis* are as follows:

obol

drachma (six obols)

siglus (7.5 obols)

daric (a Greek soldier's base pay per month, raised by 50% at 1.3.21; cf. 7.6.1)

Cyzicene stater (28 drachmas; perhaps 40% more valuable than a daric); the pay promised by Seuthes (7.2.36) and by Timasion (5.6.23)

mina (one hundred drachmas)

talent (sixty minas, which also equals six thousand drachmas)

## Notes

### TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

<sup>1</sup> See the *Memorabilia* as a whole and, especially, the beautiful tribute to Socrates with which it closes. For help interpreting this elusive text, see especially Christopher Bruell, *Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. vii–xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, even a glimpse of a memorable character can suggest a much deeper influence, as Alfred Hitchcock demonstrated. For other possible sightings of Socrates, see also 1.2.8 and note, and *Education of Cyrus* 3.1.38–40.

<sup>3</sup> For a sample of their work, see Christopher Nadon, *Xenophon's Prince: Republic and Empire in the Cyropaedia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Christopher Bruell, "Xenophon," in *The History of Political Philosophy*, ed. Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); William E. Higgins, *Xenophon the Athenian: The Problem of the Individual and the Society of the Polis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977); Robert C. Bartlett, ed., *The Shorter Socratic Writings* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); and Leo Strauss, *On Tyranny* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> For a second example of a scholar quick to praise Xenophon's achievements and yet no less quick to dismiss Xenophon himself as "lacking whatever it takes to transcend one's times," see Robin Waterfield, *Xenophon's Retreat: Greece, Persia, and the End of the Golden Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. xii. For the genealogy of this general opinion, see Bartlett, *The Shorter Socratic Writings*, pp. 1–3, and for the outlines of a strong case against it, pp. 4–6.

<sup>5</sup> Senofonte, *Anabasi*, trans. Franco Ferrari (Milan: Rizzoli Libri, 1999), p. 19 (my translation from the Italian).

<sup>6</sup> Unlike those imputed to Socrates, the charges made against Xenophon never included impiety, and his defenses consisted partly of religious oaths to support his professions of honesty (7.6.9–38; 5.7.1–35).

<sup>7</sup> Those interested in the precise geography of the march, in historical details about ancient Persia, or in the flora and fauna described by Xenophon will, however, strain for accuracy on these points. The translation by the Rev. J. S. Watson is a good example in this regard: *The Anabasis or Expedition of Cyrus and the Memorabilia of Socrates* (New York: Harper, 1872).

of command (6.6.29–36; but cf. 6.2.15), an unsuccessful attempt followed by many more (7.1.4; 7.1.38–40; 7.2.8–9; 7.7.57). One might say that Book 7 as a whole shows Xenophon looking for a safe way to dismount the tiger of the 10,000 without being devoured by it or by the Spartans, the Persians, or the Thracians.

<sup>66</sup> Aristarchus, like Anaxibius before him, had been promised a bribe by the Persian satrap Pharnabazus: 7.2.7.

<sup>67</sup> Xenophon refuses bribes from Seuthes on two occasions; in this, he differs strikingly from other leaders (7.1.5–6; 7.2.10; cf. 7.2.1–2). He is also very poor at (or near) the end of the expedition (7.8.1–6). Compare also his financial situation with that of Timasion at 7.3.26–33; see also 5.6.21ff.

<sup>68</sup> *Memorabilia* 3.4 (see also, to the same effect, Plato, *Statesman* 258e8–259c4). For Socrates' view of the noble, see *Memorabilia* 3.8; *Symposium* c. 5.

<sup>69</sup> *Memorabilia* 1.2.1–8 and 1.6; *Oikonomicus* c. 2 (beginning), c. 11 (beginning). Xenophon also rejects Socrates' extreme continence in matters of sexual pleasures: *Memorabilia* 1.3.8–14.

<sup>70</sup> Richard Kuderma, "The Rule of a Philosopher-King: Xenophon's *Anabasis*," in *Politikos II: Selected Papers of the North American Chapter of the Society for Greek Thought*, ed. Leslie G. Rubin (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1992).

<sup>71</sup> *Gorgias* 484c4–486d1.

<sup>72</sup> Proxenus's letter to Xenophon is silent about any military expedition or any political task that Xenophon can expect to take on, or to be part of, if he goes to Asia: the letter promises nothing more than to make Xenophon a "friend" of Cyrus. To be sure, Cyrus has not told Proxenus of his secret plan to march against the Great King, so Proxenus is in no position to relay this information to Xenophon. But the letter is also strikingly silent about what Proxenus *does* know: an army is being assembled by Cyrus to expel a certain tribe from his satrapy, as Cyrus claims, and Proxenus is going to take part in this expedition (cf. 1.1.11 with 3.1.4). When Xenophon arrives in Asia and is presented to Cyrus, Proxenus is said to be eager for Xenophon to stay and to participate in the expedition in question, an eagerness hardly intelligible if Xenophon has gone to Asia precisely to do so; he apparently has not known of the expedition beforehand (3.1.8–10). In keeping with this, Xenophon consults with Socrates about his prospective *poreia* ("travel," "journey": 3.1.4–7; the word is used twice, and so is the verb *poreuesthai*, "to travel"). When Xenophon reaches Proxenus and Cyrus, in Sardis, the words *strateia* and *stolos* ("campaign," "expedition") are substituted for *poreia*, and *poreuesthai* becomes *strateuesthai* ("to campaign": 3.1.9–10).

<sup>73</sup> For Xenophon's interest in securing a long-term refuge for himself, see 7.6.34.

<sup>74</sup> Compare the three goods mentioned by Xenophon at 6.1.20, which would likely result from his becoming the sole ruler of the army, with his "repetition" of this list of goods in his speech to the soldiers (6.1.26). In the first, narrative statement, Xenophon mentions (in the second and central position) that his name would arrive greater in Athens if he became the sole ruler of the army; in the speech to the soldiers, this prospective good is then replaced by a claim: "I am grateful." But Xenophon's fellow Athenians would not have agreed that he, the recent befrienders of Cyrus, had been a particularly grateful son of his city; a "great name" would have been undoubtedly useful for avoiding, or defending against, a public charge born of perceived ungratefulness. (Consider in this connection 6.1.23: "Small birds attack the eagle most when he is on the ground." The eagle is the symbol of the monarch [1.10.12], who is less liable to attack when "in flight.")

<sup>75</sup> Xenophon says that he returned from Asia with the Spartan king Agesilaus (5.3.6); this return would have taken place in 394 B.C. It is not known with certainty what Xenophon does between the end of the *Anabasis* (in 399 B.C.) and his return to Hellas.

<sup>76</sup> Consider, e.g., *Memorabilia* 1.4; 4.3; 4.6.1.

<sup>77</sup> *Memorabilia* 1.6.14; 4.8.11.

<sup>78</sup> Compare Xenophon's attitude on this point with that of Cyrus the Elder, who wished for all mankind to sing and hear his praises (*Education of Cyrus* 3.2.31).

<sup>79</sup> Bruell, "Xenophon," p. 111. Consider the portrait of Antisthenes at *Symposium* 4.34–44.

<sup>80</sup> Xenophon may have doubted the wisdom of Plato's strategy of undermining the already shaky reputation of the sophists, who, in the eyes of the cities, or of the non-intellectuals, are not obviously different from Socrates (e.g., *Protagoras* 314c3–e2; *Education of Cyrus* 3.1.14, §38–40, but cf. *Hunting with Dogs* c. 13). Thus, though Xenophon denies that Socrates engaged in some notorious practices of the sophists—e.g., their teaching for large sums of money—he does not stress their faults (*Memorabilia* 1.1.11ff.; 1.2.5–8; 1.5.6; 1.6). Though he pokes fun at the sophist Hippias, and shows him to be ridiculous and superficial, he dubs the sophist Prodicus "wise" and presents him (albeit playfully) as something of an authority on virtue (*Memorabilia* 4.4.5–25; 2.1.21–34). Above all, the reader should compare Xenophon's treatment of the rhetorician Gorgias with Plato's parallel treatment of him in the *Gorgias*. (Gorgias is admittedly not a "sophist" in the Platonic or narrow sense of the term, yet he does belong to the class of "teachers of wisdom," many of whom were traveling teachers and all of whom were suspect to the cities.) The comparison yields both a striking similarity and a striking difference. Gorgias is depicted by both Xenophon and Plato as an intellectual who overestimates the power of speech in political life. But whereas Plato stresses Gorgias's influence on Polus and Callicles, two disreputable characters who stoop to avow publicly their admiration for tyranny, Xenophon stresses his influence on Proxenus, a perfect gentleman who would never bring himself to make an unjust gain (2.6.18). Xenophon is also entirely silent about Gorgias's influence on the traitor Menon, the arch-villain of the *Anabasis*, even though Menon was widely known to have been an assiduous pupil of Gorgias (2.6.21–29; cf. Plato *Memo* 70a1–71d8.) This striking difference cannot be accidental.

<sup>81</sup> At 6.1.9–10, a culturally sophisticated but unmanly and unfree Mysian performs a nimble and characteristically unmartial dance, which Xenophon praises as "a beautiful sight"—the only performance of the evening he praises in his own name. But Xenophon's aesthetic sensibilities are not widely shared: the Mysian receives no applause from an audience made up of warriors and politicians (both Greek and non-Greek); he is even chased off the stage by Arcadian Greeks (6.1.11). The Mysian therefore changes his strategy: he puts on a second show and this time chooses an emphatically martial dance (the so-called "Pyrrhic") which, even though it is performed by an even more unmanly and unfree dancer than the first—see 6.1.12–13!—is the biggest hit of the evening.

<sup>82</sup> Consider Xenophon's report of Socrates' conversation with the politically ambitious Nichomachides: *Memorabilia* 3.4.

## NOTES TO BOOK I

<sup>1</sup> Darius II was the Great King of Persia from 423 to 404 B.C. See Historical Note.

<sup>2</sup> Since the loyalty of the satraps was sometimes made more secure by having the separate military leaders report directly to the Great King, it gave Cyrus an important degree of independence to have been entrusted with both political authority and military power. See *Education of Cyrus* 8.6.1–13.

The Plain of Castolus, in Lydia, was a place of assembly for the Persian army in western Asia Minor. See Map 1.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek text is ambiguous as to whether Cyrus took Tissaphernes along in the belief that he was a friend or merely treated him in the general manner one would use with a friend. The same phrase occurs at 1.4.15 and 3.3.7.

<sup>4</sup> The adjective "Parrhasian" in this translation is in fact not spelled consistently in the MSS. Here and at 6.2.7 and at 6.2.9 there is good MS authority for reading *parasios*. In the Laconian dialect, this could mean either "alongside god" or "against god." At 6.5.2 the Greek has *parnasios*, which refers to the mountain on which the Temple of Apollo was located. For these and many other such observations, I am indebted to Eric Buzzetti.

<sup>5</sup> "Slander" translates *diaballō*. Although "accuse" is reserved for *katēgoreō*, the difference between these two Greek words is less marked than that between their English translations. *Diaballō* need not absolutely require that the accusations made be false, which may be important especially in the present passage and at 5.7.5.

<sup>6</sup> The reference is especially to officials sent on a regular basis by the Great King to his satraps. Cf. *Education of Cyrus* 8.6.16.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek text here is fully open to a distinction between the expressed reason and the real reason for seeking new troops, though it does not directly indicate that a pretext is being used. I frequently use the phrase "on the grounds that" to note places where the reasons expressed may or may not match the reasons actually motivating the subject.

<sup>8</sup> This Menon, or Meno, is the title character of a dialogue by Plato. The same is true of Gorgias, who is mentioned at 2.6.16 and note.

<sup>9</sup> The Greek word for "wisdom," *sophia*, admits the narrower meaning of "skill" or "proficiency," as with a musical instrument, but Xenophon's use of the word here is nonetheless suggestive and reminiscent of his time spent seeking wisdom with Socrates. This is the only use of "wisdom" in the *Anabasis*. "Wise" occurs only at 1.10.2.

This passage may also bring Socrates to mind for its reference to Marsyas the satyr, since Alcibiades likened Socrates to Marsyas (Plato *Symposium* 215b). Marsyas was said to have challenged the god Apollo in a musical contest. On being judged the winner in this contest of wisdom, Apollo skinned him alive.

<sup>10</sup> Xerxes invaded Greece, and after having been defeated at the Battle of Salamis in 480 B.C., he left his general Mardonius in Greece and retreated to Persia. See Historical Note.

<sup>11</sup> There is also some MS authority for reading "Sosias" and "Socrates" instead of "Sosis," and for reading "one thousand hoplites" instead of "three hundred hoplites."

<sup>12</sup> The festival honored Lycaean Zeus. Mount Lycaeus was in Arcadia. The strigil was a device used to scrape the skin and remove oil and dust after exercising.

<sup>13</sup> Of several legends surrounding Midas, one reports that he caught a satyr or silen in order to gain his wisdom. He caught him by mixing wine with water to get the creature drunk.

<sup>14</sup> Here translated as "reviewed," *theoreō* in other contexts may be translated as "contemplated." This verb is also used at 1.2.10; 2.4.25, 26; 5.3.7; and 6.2.1.

<sup>15</sup> There is some disagreement over the term *phoinikistēs*, "wearer of the purple," but it appears to designate a high-ranking member of the Persian court.

<sup>16</sup> The troops "foreign" to Cyrus were Greeks. See 1.1.2 for the Greek troops in question. Not surprisingly, other Persians also referred to the Greek troops as foreign (2.5.22).

<sup>17</sup> Abrocomas was satrap of Phoenicia. Cyrus's public statement appears to underestimate the distance they face, for the march to the Euphrates ends up requiring nineteen stages, not twelve.

<sup>18</sup> Xenophon's naming of characters is sometimes surprising. When Lacedaemonian support for Cyrus is discussed in the *Hellenica*, the admiral who is called Pythagoras in the *Anabasis* was there called Samios. "Pythagoras" was also the name of a Samian philosopher. See Strauss, *Studies in Platonic Political Philosophy*, p. 106.

<sup>19</sup> More literally, "to treat unjustly" (*adikein*). See Glossary: Just and Unjust.

<sup>20</sup> Hude and other editors read "for her girdle [*zōnē*]" that is, to supply income for her adornment. Cf. Herodotus 2.98; Plato *Alcibiades I* 123b6. I translate the MSS of the c family, which read *zōē*, "livelihood" or "life."

<sup>21</sup> These earlier Greek mercenaries are referred to at 1.1.2.

<sup>22</sup> *Eremos* is translated as "desolate" when it modifies "stage" but "deserted" when it modifies "city."

<sup>23</sup> Or, "Gates." It was about one hundred miles north of Babylon.

<sup>24</sup> Thus, in Greek terms, a choenix of flour cost thirty obols, and so even did barley meal, so much that the Greeks stopped eating bread. The choenix was a bit less than a quart, and an obol was one-sixth of a drachma.

<sup>25</sup> Literally, "happiest," *eudaimonestatoi*.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. 1.2.9.

<sup>27</sup> Hude prints "Orontas," but I follow MSS CFM here and wherever this name occurs. An Orontas, satrap of Armenia, does appear at 2.4.8 and thereafter.

<sup>28</sup> Literally, "took and gave the right hand." See Glossary: Trust.

<sup>29</sup> Satraps were powerful but perhaps not free. Like other subjects of the Great King, even Cyrus is called a slave (1.9.29; it is, of course, the Great King himself who refers to Cyrus as a slave at 2.5.38).

<sup>30</sup> I follow MSS FMBC<sup>2</sup>. C<sup>1</sup> reads, "if things turn out well for me."

<sup>31</sup> The *orguia*, translated "fathom," was the natural reach of someone's two extended arms, about six feet. For a "dug trench" as a defense, see also *Iliad* 8.179.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. 2.4.12.

<sup>33</sup> I translate MSS c. Hude's text reads, "three thousand darics," and 5.6.18 also mentions three thousand darics, which conforms to Hude's reading here.

<sup>34</sup> More literally, "barbarically" and "Hellenically."

<sup>35</sup> These white breastplates may have been like the corselets made of multiple layers of linen, vinegar, and salt mentioned in Homer *Iliad* 2.529 and 2.830. Cf. Xenophon, *Education of Cyrus* 6.4.2 and *Anabasis* 4.7.15.

<sup>36</sup> I translate MSS c, which Hude questions but prefers; FM print "Xenophon." The basic meaning of *sunthēma* is "agreement." A password or watchword is agreed upon by the troops and, perhaps, is hoped to elicit the agreement of the god invoked as well. It is used in this religious sense also at 6.5.25. See also 7.3.39, 34; and 4.6.20.

<sup>37</sup> Enyalios was variously Ares, an epithet of Ares, or a distinct god of war.

<sup>38</sup> More literally, "than their gain each month."

<sup>39</sup> Literally, "a clever household manager [*oikonomos*] from the just." This word is the root word of the title of one of Xenophon's Socratic dialogues, the *Oeconomicus*, in which acquisition is an important but not the sole activity of the household manager and in which Socrates presents the Great King of Persia, and Cyrus the Younger in particular, as a household manager worthy of imitation (4.4-24). This is the only use of *oikonomos* in the *Anabasis*.

<sup>40</sup> One might also translate "has come to be loved by more Greeks and Barbarians."

<sup>41</sup> Subjects of the King were his slaves, even if they were high-ranking ones. See also 1.7.3 and note.



<sup>42</sup> I translate one MS from the c family; other MSS omit "these things." The question is whether the King is said to gather plunder or gather his troops before putting them in order.

## NOTES TO BOOK II

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word translated as "account" is *logos*; it may refer to an "argument" or "reasoned explanation" as well as to a narrative account. It is used also in the summaries that begin Books 3, 4, 5, and 7, where it is again translated as "account."

<sup>2</sup> Demaratus was a king of Sparta in the early years of the fifth century B.C. He was driven from the kingship first and then from Sparta itself, and he took refuge with the Great King. Herodotus reports that he was well received in Persia, that he was given lands to rule, and that he offered counsel pertaining to the Persian invasion of Greece in 480 B.C. See Herodotus 6.67-70 and 7.101-4.

<sup>3</sup> Sophanetus and Philesius might have been still older than Cleonor: 6.5.13 and 5.3.1.

<sup>4</sup> "Theopompus" is the reading of c, whereas "Xenophon" is the reading of f. In deciding between these two families of readings, one issue concerns the extent to which Xenophon openly identifies his every action or, alternatively, the extent to which he may invent certain fictitious characters or actions. "Theopompus" means "sent by god." As Thucydides' "Diodotus," whose name means "gift of Zeus," makes but one appearance, so "Theopompus" is not mentioned elsewhere in Xenophon's writings. I generally favor c, especially where proper nouns are concerned, and I think that a scribe would more likely depart from a puzzling text to insert the name of an important character, and the author, than invent an otherwise unknown name. Finally, it seems unlikely that Xenophon would have been present, since the King's heralds are presented as addressing "the leaders of the Greeks" (2.1.8). Cyrus's ascent is over, but Xenophon's is yet to begin.

<sup>5</sup> More literally, "be deprived of our bodies." The Greek word more commonly translated as "life" is not the word for "body" but the word for "soul," *psuchē*.

<sup>6</sup> The word translated as "not surprising" is the adverb *eikotōs*, which is often translated as "in all likelihood" or "reasonably." Its only other use in the *Anabasis* also involves a human judgment on the outcome of sacrifices (6.4.18).

<sup>7</sup> These numbers do not match the sum of the marches mentioned in Book 1 (84 stages, 517 parasangs, and 15,510 stadia), so some editors delete this sentence.

<sup>8</sup> The word translated as "amber" also means "electrum," which was a bright yellow metal made of gold and silver in a ratio of about four to one.

<sup>9</sup> More literally, here and just below, the "brain" of the palm. Xenophon seems to refer to the bud that grows on the top of the tree and from which new leaves emerge. But perhaps Ruderman is correct in reading the passage less for its botany than with the impending fate of the Greek "heads" in mind. Richard Ruderman, "The Rule of a Philosopher-King: Xenophon's *Anabasis*," in *Politikos II: Selected Papers of the North American Chapter of the Society for Greek Thought*, ed. Leslie G. Rubin (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1992), p. 217, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> The c family reads "he pursued," in which case Tissaphernes is giving credit for this pursuit to the King.

<sup>11</sup> *Sun theois* is more literally "with the gods," but I translate it as "with the help of the gods." For parallel phrases, "with our weapons" or "with them," I have likewise employed "with the help of our weapons" (3.2.8) or "with their help" (7.3.11; 7.3.31). See Glossary: Gods.

<sup>12</sup> "Relatives" is, more literally, "other necessary ones," as unusual and unflattering a way to refer to blood relations in Greek as it is in English.

<sup>13</sup> On Orontas, satrap of Armenia, see 3.5.17 and 4.3.4.

<sup>14</sup> Or, in c, "campaigned together with them," suggesting that there was already skirmishing between the Greeks and the barbarians.

<sup>15</sup> Aware of the tensions that would make them want to keep their distance from each other, some editors emend the text to read "a parasang or more." But, as Eric Buzzetti pointed out to me, they are represented as gathering wood and fodder from the same places, so the point seems to be that they are forced into close proximity, thus increasing the tension between them. This may also help explain and defend the reading of MS c in note 14.

<sup>16</sup> This wall is also mentioned in 1.7.15. Scholars disagree as to whether the armies here passed through the wall to its inner side or, having already been on the inner side, marched along it.

<sup>17</sup> It is not clear whether he arrived so late because he was not in a hurry to help until he knew he would be helping the winner, or because he had to travel so far.

<sup>18</sup> Cyrus had been his mother's favorite son (1.1.4).

<sup>19</sup> This is the reading of c, which may invite one to think not only of the Great King but also of Zeus the King, the overseer of oaths and punisher of those who break them. MSS of the f family read *ephedros* instead of *ephoron*, and they thus have Clearchus referring to the King as a third wrestler waiting to contend against the winner of a match between two others. The metaphor may be intended to suggest to Tissaphernes that the King might not be a perfectly reliable ally, as Tissaphernes soon seems to hint that he is not the perfect subject of the King (2.5.23).

<sup>20</sup> The reading of c would translate as "which Cyrus used to make war," so its reference would be to the troops of Ariaeus in particular.

<sup>21</sup> On the upright tiara as a sign of the King's authority, see *Education of Cyrus* 8.3.13. Scholars disagree about whether Tissaphernes is here hinting that he might like the help of the Greeks to unseat Artaxerxes.

<sup>22</sup> The market was in or near the barbarian camp. These soldiers would have been without their arms, perhaps induced to make the trip as a further sign of Greek trust.

<sup>23</sup> Clearchus was active in the last eight years of the Peloponnesian War (see Historical Note: Peloponnesian War). On Clearchus in particular, see Thucydides 8.8.39; *Hellenica* 1.1.35, 1.3.15, and elsewhere; and Plutarch *Life of Alcibiades* 31.

<sup>24</sup> The five ephors (overseers) were the most powerful magistrates in Sparta.

<sup>25</sup> Those arguments may be inferred, perhaps, from 1.1.9. There is no other known account of them.

<sup>26</sup> Here and elsewhere, I use "favorite" to translate *paidika*, "boy" to translate the related noun *pais*. *Paidika* usually implies an erotic relationship, whereas *pais* may refer to any child, including either a servant boy or a beloved (as at 4.6.3 and 7.4.7, for example).

<sup>27</sup> One of the most famous sophists, Gorgias is mentioned frequently by Plato, who also named one of his dialogues after him. In Xenophon's writings he is mentioned only here and at *Symposium* 1.5.

<sup>28</sup> More literally, "whoever is not a doer of all things" or "whoever does not stop at nothing." I translate the superlative of the same word, *panourgōs*, as "most evil" at 2.5.39. The noun occurs at 7.5.11.



## NOTES TO BOOK III

<sup>1</sup> Rendering literally the idiom *kalōs prattein* would yield "acting nobly," but this common idiom often indicates how one fares rather than how one acts, and the adverb *kalōs* also seems to point less to its special meaning of "noble" than to (and as distinct from) "good." Hence, here and elsewhere I translate this idiom "to fare well." Note, however, that just above, *kallista* ("most nobly") is joined by *arista* ("best"), thus suggesting that the two are not identical in meaning, but I despair of finding a way to keep alive in English the echo of "noble" in every use of Greek words related to *kalōs*. See Glossary: Noble.

<sup>2</sup> *Lōios* is translated as "more advisable." The other two uses of this word also relate to questions asked of a god: 6.2.15 and 7.6.44.

<sup>3</sup> Scholars note that in mentioning the absence of a protector, Xenophon may allude to the fact that Cyrus, by contrast, had the queen mother to help protect him (1.1.3). A more theological reading is also possible, however, and the word translated as "protector," *kēdemōn*, is sometimes used of protecting deities. See *Education of Cyrus* 3.3.21.

<sup>4</sup> *Hypopsia*, the word translated as "suspicion" both here and on its other five appearances, may also imply jealousy.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase translated "with the help of the gods" is literally "with the gods." Thus this passage might also be translated, "and we have souls that are also better with the gods." See note on 2.3.23.

<sup>6</sup> The name Apollonides is based on the name Apollo, the principal god at the Delphic Oracle, where the Boeotian dialect was spoken. The oracle had the reputation of advising Greek cities to make their peace with the Great King during the Persian Wars.

<sup>7</sup> "Will all be cowards": more literally, "will all be bad."

<sup>8</sup> "Advantage": the Greek word is *pleonekteō*, and it often implies that one is getting more than others and getting more than one's fair share. It is used also at 5.4.15 and 5.8.13. Other appearances of "advantage" translate a form of *sumpheros*.

<sup>9</sup> Since "with the gods" often means "with the help of the gods," this might also be translated, "But whichever side, with the help of the gods, goes against the enemy stronger in its souls, these, for the most part, are not withstood by their opponents."

<sup>10</sup> The Greeks' actions here show that a sneeze was commonly regarded as an omen, but there is little evidence in the surviving literature from Greek antiquity about whether Xenophon was guided by tradition in making the omen a favorable one and assigning it to Zeus the Savior. See, however, Penelope's reaction to Telemachus's sneeze in Homer, *Odyssey* 17.541–550.

The Greek word *proskuneō* is translated as "prostrate." At 1.6.10 and 1.8.21 its objects are Persian rulers; its objects here and at 3.2.13 are, respectively, a particular god and the gods in general.

<sup>11</sup> The Athenians dared to stand up to the Persians at the Battle of Marathon, in 490 B.C. although the word "again" suggests the second Persian invasion, of 480, rather than the first. Some editors thus delete the word.

<sup>12</sup> The Greeks encountered the Lycaonians at 1.2.19, when Cyrus allowed them to plunder the Lycaonians' lands on the grounds that they were enemies.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 9.82–104.

<sup>14</sup> More literally, "to be bad."

<sup>15</sup> See 1.2.4 for the approximately 500 horsemen Tissaphernes brought from his satrapy; see 2.4.8 on Orontas; and see 2.4.25 for the arrival of Artaxerxes' illegitimate brother with troops from Susa and Ecbatana.

<sup>16</sup> There is no mention of Scythians elsewhere in the *Anabasis*. Scythians were known to shoot while riding, and it may be that "Scythian archers" came to mean "mounted archers." But did the Greeks even have mounted archers?

<sup>17</sup> The generals found a way to change a square into a narrow rectangle by removing units from the front and rear lines of the square. These units, the six companies, apparently fell behind the front and rear lines they vacated, though their independence would make them available for other service as well. The second aspect of the reform was to break each of these companies into half- and quarter-companies, thus allowing the generals to calibrate more precisely the number of troops to be removed or reinserted.

<sup>18</sup> This sentence has occasioned confusion, for it sounds as though the larger the gap, the smaller the unit used to fill it. The most common explanation holds that "by companies" means "by companies in column" and hence with a narrow front; that "by half-companies" means half-companies not in column but side by side; and that "by quarter-companies" means putting all four quarter-companies side by side, thus giving the broadest front of all.

<sup>19</sup> For the lashing of troops to keep them fighting, see Herodotus 7.21, 56, 223.

<sup>20</sup> Or, with the c family of MSS, "even though he was struggling to follow."

<sup>21</sup> Since a retreat or change in direction here would seem to lead them toward Babylon, not away from it, editors often emend the text, either by eliminating the reference to Babylon or by making it the direction of this day's march.

<sup>22</sup> The reading of c is "difficult" rather than "easy." This reading is in harmony with the difficulties the Greeks continue to face even after leaving Carduchia, but it also suggests that the generals do not report this bad news to the troops in general. This is but one of many cases in which Eric Buzzetti has shown me that, and how, the rejected readings of c often have merit.

## NOTES TO BOOK IV

<sup>1</sup> The c family of MSS adds the words, "clearly being afraid."

<sup>2</sup> I take this narrow road to be the same as the steep road mentioned in 4.1.20. It is also the same as, or is a portion of, the visible road.

<sup>3</sup> This is the hill the volunteers, unknowingly, did not take at 4.2.6.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek verb *diabainein* can mean both "to cross over" a river and to walk or "take strides." In dreaming that he can walk, Xenophon also dreams that he can cross over.

<sup>5</sup> The word that Cheirisophus passes here is certainly to arm, perhaps to put on wreaths as well. Xenophon wrote that Lycurgus, the legendary founder of Sparta, arranged for the Spartans to wear wreaths before battle; see *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 13.8.

<sup>6</sup> The maneuver changes the formation from a series of long columns into a phalanx with a broader fighting front. The first "quarter-company" of the column stands still while the other three move up to its left. The result is a formation that is one fourth as deep but four times broader.

<sup>7</sup> The verb translated "trying to be manly" is *andrizomai*. Its root is the word for "man," but whether it is used to convey true manliness is not clear.

<sup>8</sup> Since the pouring of libations accompanied the making of treaties, the verb *spendō*, "to pour libations" also means "to make a treaty."

<sup>9</sup> This sentence might also be rendered, "It seemed they should bivouac in the open air."

<sup>10</sup> There is some uncertainty about his home. Temenus was a district of Syracuse, and Temenum was in the Argolid.

<sup>11</sup> The Amazons were women warriors of myth, referred to in the *Iliad* and central to the ninth labor of Heracles, when he secures the belt of Hippolyte, Queen of the Amazons.

<sup>12</sup> The MSS and editors disagree as to whether this distance is three, five, thirteen, or fifteen parasangs.

<sup>13</sup> Since the word for "priest" (*hieros*) is the same as that for "sacred," this could also mean that Xenophon had heard that the village chief was a priest of the sun. See also *Education of Cyrus* 8.3.12.

<sup>14</sup> One MS reads "Pleisthenes," and two read "Kleisthenes." The same variants appear in section 3, just below, though Hude fails to note them.

<sup>15</sup> The Spartan *homoioi* were those citizens—a very small fraction of the total population—who were permitted to hold political office. Xenophon speaks of them at *Hellenica* 3.3.5 and *On the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 13.1, 7. In his *Education of Cyrus* he invents a class of Spartan-like peers among the Persians: see 1.2 in its entirety; 1.5.5; 2.1.3; and elsewhere.

<sup>16</sup> Xenophon discusses this peculiar aspect of Spartan education in *On the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 2.6–9; Plato does so in *Laws* 633b. See also Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 28.

<sup>17</sup> Or, reading other MSS, "for there was a river around it."

<sup>18</sup> The Greek word *chōrion* can mean "land," "place" or "fortress," and my translation varies both within this section and elsewhere. "For the noble" also translates the Greek I have rendered as "at a fine time."

<sup>19</sup> I transliterate c, which suggests a translation as "Mount Roar [or Echo]." Hude follows FM and prints "Theches."

<sup>20</sup> *Iliad* 4.34.

<sup>21</sup> Although biting and eye-gouging were prohibited, this violent event was otherwise a free mix of kicking, boxing, and wrestling.

<sup>22</sup> The literal or etymological meaning of *philonikia*, here translated "rivalry," is "love of victory." This is its only appearance in the *Anabasis*.

## NOTES TO BOOK V

<sup>1</sup> "Pontus" is a transliteration of a Greek word meaning "the open sea" in general and the Black Sea in particular. In the *Anabasis*, it seems always to refer to the Black Sea or its region. See Geographical Note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Odyssey* 13.75ff., although the speaker's recollection of the passage seems distorted by his present hopes.

<sup>3</sup> That is, head of the Lacedaemonian fleet, based in Byzantium: 7.1.2ff.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, *perioecus*. These "provincials" inhabited towns of Laconia other than Sparta. They enjoyed civil but not political liberty; in status, then, they stood between the Spartan ruling class and the Helots, who were slaves.

<sup>5</sup> As previously noted, the Greek *chōrion* may mean either "land," "place," or "fortress," and it is not always clear which word best captures Xenophon's meaning in a particular passage.

<sup>6</sup> *Gymnētēs*, "light-armed troops," is often a general term that includes archers, javelin throwers, and slingers, as at 3.4.26.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 1.8.18 and note on Enyalios.

<sup>8</sup> I translate c. FM has "Philoxenus, a Pellene," joining Agasias in this bold action.

<sup>9</sup> I translate c. Hude's text has the Greeks dismantling a palisade rather than culling unsound troops.

<sup>10</sup> The MSS of the c family read "went away for the provisions," which might suggest that "the Greeks" were those who stayed and fought, not those who left earlier with the booty.

<sup>11</sup> The Greek phrasing is open to the possibility that it was the Mysian who gave the word to run.

<sup>12</sup> The bracketed words are omitted from c.

<sup>13</sup> The departure from Asia of Agesilaus, which occurred in 394 B.C., is described in the beginning of *Hellenica* 4.2. Although he was present, Xenophon does not discuss his participation either in the departure or in the ensuing battle of Coronea, which is described in 4.3.

<sup>14</sup> Xenophon was exiled from Athens, but he declines to say why and, in particular, whether Socrates' fears on his behalf were justified (3.1.5). One common inference, based on Socrates' fears, is that Xenophon would have irked the Athenians by associating with Cyrus, who had aided their enemies the Spartans during the Peloponnesian War. Moreover, at the time of Xenophon's ascent, the target of that ascent, Artaxerxes, was on good terms with Athens. And if this was not the occasion of Xenophon's exile, he had also consorted with Spartans and with Agesilaus in particular in 396–94 B.C., and this too might have been the issue that got him into trouble with the Athenians. See also 7.7.57.

<sup>15</sup> This phrase might also be translated "in order to contemplate." There is no direct object in the Greek.

<sup>16</sup> Editors following Dindorf emend the text so that the king does not guard but is guarded by the Mossynoecians.

<sup>17</sup> Literally, "of the happy [*eudaimones*]."

<sup>18</sup> See also 4.7.15.

<sup>19</sup> I translate the c family of MSS; other MSS have "best" rather than "noblest."

<sup>20</sup> Or "of its power."

<sup>21</sup> The Greek is open to both "it seemed to him to be a noble thing" and "it seemed to be a noble thing for him."

<sup>22</sup> See 1.7.18, where Cyrus gave Silanus two (or three) thousand darics.

<sup>23</sup> I follow MSS CAE in translating *aporia* as "very difficulties." Hude's text has "salvation" instead of "difficulties."

<sup>24</sup> See below: 5.7.13–25.

<sup>25</sup> MSS in c omit the oath to Zeus and read "there were clearly some of us who were frightened."

<sup>26</sup> "Telarchus" is the reading of three MSS of the c family; "Zelarchus" is found in other MSS. See note 56, p. 259.

<sup>27</sup> Scholars wonder whether the text is corrupt here. If it is not, "strong positions off to the right" may stand for strong positions in general: if there is to be a general breakdown of organized authority, each soldier will need to become responsible for where he pitches his tent and positions any guards he might command.

<sup>28</sup> Philesius is mentioned as sharing this responsibility with Sophænetus in 5.3.1.

<sup>29</sup> This appears to mean that he robbed them of their clothes.

## NOTES TO BOOK VI

<sup>1</sup> It is of course possible that the word "most just," *dikaioṭatoi*, here means "most deserving [to be dinner guests]" or "most appropriate [to be dinner guests]," but

translating it literally invites reflection on Xenophon's treatment of justice more generally. Even more unusual uses of the word "just" appear at *Memorabilia* 4.4.5 and *Education of Cyrus* 2.2.26. See also *Anabasis* 1.4.9 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Although this particular song is no longer known at all, there were several Thracian kings of this name.

<sup>3</sup> The Carpaea is not otherwise known. *Karpas* may mean either "fruit" or "wrist," both of which have some importance in the dance as described here.

<sup>4</sup> There is a reference to this war dance at Plato *Laws* 815a-b.

<sup>5</sup> A unit of measure, the *medimnus* contained about twelve gallons; the *keramion* ("jar") was over five gallons.

<sup>6</sup> More literally, "by the victorious [opinion]" or "by the prevailing [judgment]."

<sup>7</sup> See 3.1.6.

<sup>8</sup> In MSS CA, "when" is replaced by "because," making the dream an effect, not the cause of his budding political involvement. This dream was reported at 3.1.11-13; Xenophon's other dream was at 4.3.8-13.

<sup>9</sup> *Hellenica* 2.2.20.

<sup>10</sup> Literally, to be "ruler of the symposium."

<sup>11</sup> I have supplied the proper nouns "Dexippus" and "Xenophon" in this sentence; only the pronoun "he" is implied in the Greek. In 3.2.37, Xenophon proposed acting together with Timasion, who in 3.1.47 had been elected to replace Clearchus.

<sup>12</sup> Commentators are surprised by the geography here, for if the Greeks are indeed sailing from Sinope to Heracleia, they should be sailing west, and yet these rivers, save the last of them, are east of Sinope. This perplexity calls for an explanation I cannot offer; some maintain that this passage could not have been written by Xenophon.

<sup>13</sup> On what is now known as his twelfth labor, Heracles is said to have descended into Hades and brought back the fierce three-headed dog Cerberus, who had served to keep the shades below.

<sup>14</sup> See 6.1.15 and notes on these measures and such gifts. The Heracleots prove slightly more forthcoming than the Sinopeans, especially when it comes to meat.

<sup>15</sup> More literally, they charge the generals with "corrupting" the undertaking. The word is *diaphtheirō*. It is used also in 7.2.4, where it is translated as "destroyed."

<sup>16</sup> Again, more literally, "by the victorious [opinion]" or "by the prevailing [judgment]," as at 6.1.18.

<sup>17</sup> "Governor" translates *harmost*, and this was the term used to refer to a governor sent out from Sparta to rule one of their subject cities. For the *Anabasis*, at least, the most important of these subject cities was Byzantium. Note that the authority of the *harmost* in Byzantium was checked by that of an admiral also stationed there, as well as by a limited term of office.

<sup>18</sup> See 6.4.1-3 for a description of Asian or Bithynian Thrace. Calpe Harbor was near the middle of the coast of Asian Thrace. In other contexts "Thrace" usually refers to European Thrace.

<sup>19</sup> This sentence appears in f but is missing from c.

<sup>20</sup> The Greek word is *probata*, and in Attic prose it generally means sheep in particular. In other Greek dialects, and perhaps here, it refers to small cattle and other four-legged animals raised in flocks and herds. I translate it as "herd animals" also on other occasions.

<sup>21</sup> Translated as "booty," the Greek word *pragmata* might also here mean "problems."

<sup>22</sup> Chrysopolis is in Asia, just opposite Byzantium. See Geographical Note and Map 2.

<sup>23</sup> Xenophon's speech calls for action in section 14 and then is interrupted by the actions described in 15. To avoid this interruption and to put the actions called for at the end of the speech, Hude and some other editors think the text got rearranged and put

14-15 after 18. The original order, followed here, has Xenophon delivering the latter part of his speech only to a smaller group of hoplites.

<sup>24</sup> It is not easy to see that it has already been five days since the battle, but perhaps the following is possible: Day 1, they are killed (6.1.5); Day 2, the Thracians besiege the Arcadians (6.1.6ff.); Day 3, Xenophon hurries to help them (6.1.10ff.); Day 4, they reach Calpe Harbor (6.1.21-26); Day 5, this day. Another possible solution is to read MSS CBE, which has "they had to be sent away" rather than "were already in their fifth day."

<sup>25</sup> The c MSS lack the reference to the nobility of the burial and read "as much as possible."

<sup>26</sup> The c family of MSS does not refer to a fire, and the lack of bodies seems to remove the need for one.

<sup>27</sup> They appear to reverse the splitting out of the Arcadians described in 6.2.9-12.

<sup>28</sup> This sacrifice concerns an *aphodos*, or "road back [home]," in particular, not merely a local "going out" (*exodos*) for provisions or to bury fallen comrades (6.4.9, 17-18; 6.5.2).

<sup>29</sup> Some scholars read these lines as encouraging Cleanor to be ready to act if the sacrifice produces favorable omens. Others read them as inviting him to take the lead in seeing whether the sacrifice results in any favorable signs, thus removing Xenophon from bearing the full burden of reporting any continued bad news. My reading tends to stress the pious Cleanor's despondency.

<sup>30</sup> The word *hēgemōn* may be translated also as "guide," but since 6.5.25 will have Heracles as *hēgemōn* and here "a Heracleian fellow" is *hēgemōn*, I translate them both as "leader" to help the English reader associate the passages.

<sup>31</sup> The verb here is *sphagizomai*, which occurs also in 4.3.17 in a sacrifice to a river, in 4.5.4 in a sacrifice to the wind, and elsewhere. The related noun occurs at 1.8.15 and 6.5.21. It is of course striking that in this passage it is not said what the victims seemed to show or who joined in their interpretation.

<sup>32</sup> That is, they close off the neck of the peninsula.

<sup>33</sup> The meaning of the text here may be disputed. If *keras* cannot mean "column," there may not be a long line of bodies but few enough that all the burying was done at the end of the line.

<sup>34</sup> The differences between *hiera* and *sphagia*, the first and last elements of this trio, are not entirely clear, so my distinction between "victim" and "sacrifice" is not intended to carry great significance. Some surmise that the latter refers more to the way the victim moves when sacrificed than to its physical makeup when examined. However that may be, this reference to three different possible signs of divine favor is unique in the *Anabasis*, although Cyrus also added *sphagia* to the more common *hiera* back in 1.8.15. See Glossary: Sacrifice.

<sup>35</sup> As Agamemnon told Menelaus to do at *Iliad* 10.68.

<sup>36</sup> See 5.1.15; 6.1.32.

<sup>37</sup> Or, with MS f, which is followed by the Hude edition, "since you are sharp."

<sup>38</sup> This oath is in the Doric dialect, which was used by Spartans such as Cleander. The two gods are probably the twins Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri. See also 7.6.39.

## NOTES TO BOOK VII

<sup>1</sup> Or, with f, "in whatever way may seem [good] to him."

<sup>2</sup> Translated as "spiritedness," *thumos* appears in the *Anabasis* only on this one occasion. Very common, however, are its cognates. For its opposites, I use "despondency" for the noun *athumia* and "dispirited" for the adjective *athumos*. "Eager" appears in

my translations of the many instances of *prothumos* and *prothumeomai* (except at 3.1.9, where I use "encourage"), but I use "zeal" for *prothumia*. I have also used the word "spirit" in other cognates of *thumos*, as well as in the two appearances of an unrelated word, *phronēma* (3.1.22; 3.2.16).

<sup>3</sup> Coeratadas also appears in *Hellenica* 1.3.15–22, where he is entrusted with joint control of Byzantium by Clearchus, only to see the city betrayed to Alcibiades.

<sup>4</sup> A number of MSS from both families read "if he is going to sail away with him." Although it is not said directly whether Xenophon and Anaxibius sail away together, they both end up in Parium (7.2.7; 7.2.25; 7.3.20).

<sup>5</sup> The words between the dashes are bracketed by Dindorf and other editors on the suspicion that they represent a mistake by a copyist rather than part of the original text.

<sup>6</sup> See 7.1.2 for Pharnabazus's promise to Anaxibius.

<sup>7</sup> So reads c. The MSS of family f read, "the Cyrean army," as at 1.10.1.

<sup>8</sup> The Thracian Chersonese was a narrow peninsula. See Map 2 and Geographical Note.

<sup>9</sup> In claiming that the Thracians and the Athenians were related, Seuthes may refer to a tradition according to which a Thracian leader named Tereus or Teres married Procne, the daughter of Pandion, an Athenian king. Thucydides (2.29) denies a relation between Tereus, the old Thracian leader, and Teres, the newer leader from whom Seuthes descended. If Seuthes was not drawing upon this myth, he could have been referring to an alliance struck in 431 B.C. between Athens and Sitalces, the king of the Odrysians. As a consequence of this alliance, which is also described by Thucydides in 2.29, Sitalces's son is made an Athenian citizen.

<sup>10</sup> The phrase "like a dog" is omitted in MS c.

<sup>11</sup> A Cyzicene *each month*, is probably understood, at least by the Greeks. See 7.3.10.

<sup>12</sup> Oddly, perhaps, the better MSS read "Macedonians," not "Lacedaemonians," in this passage.

<sup>13</sup> Alcibiades, another Athenian, had fortifications on the Chersonese peninsula: *Hellenica* 1.5.16–17 and 2.1.25.

<sup>14</sup> The choenix was a bit less than a quart.

<sup>15</sup> It is also possible to take "they themselves" as referring to the Greeks, in which case the gifts they will bear have just been enumerated.

<sup>16</sup> Sprinkling the last drops appears to have been a Thracian custom. Cf. Plato *Laws* 637e.

<sup>17</sup> Little is known of this instrument or part of an instrument.

<sup>18</sup> I have translated the MSS, but modern editors replace *theois* with *hippois*, thus having Seuthes lead not with the gods but "with the horses." This emendation has the merit of inviting even more forcefully Xenophon's caution that the slowest should lead at night, and the phrase also is used by Seuthes in section 39. On the other hand, Xenophon (and his characters) often use the phrase "with the gods," and the reference to peltasts is sufficient to raise the question, if Xenophon needed a prompt, of how the hoplites would keep up with the other more mobile elements of the alliance. And the MS reading has the further merit of raising the question of whether this Greek custom is not at least as potent an ally as the gods.

<sup>19</sup> On this possible kinship, see 7.2.31 and note.

<sup>20</sup> I translate the reading of most MSS. Editors following Dindorf emend the text to read "led the others."

<sup>21</sup> The Greek here uses only the pronouns "him" and "that one." Perhaps surprisingly, Seuthes appears to ask the boy not if he accepts Episthenes' offer to die for him but if he would be ready to die for Episthenes.

<sup>22</sup> The MSS of family c read "many days had passed."

<sup>23</sup> The "way," or *tropos*, of the Thracians could be either their manner of carrying their shields or their tendency toward flight. *Tropos* often refers to a way of doing things, as at 2.2.17 and 2.5.20, but it may also, by extension, refer to the character or disposition of a person or group. See, e.g., 1.2.11; 2.6.8; or 7.4.8 in the passage just above regarding Episthenes' attraction to boys. The Thynian Thracians were "said to be the most warlike of all, especially at night," at 7.2.22.

<sup>24</sup> The word translated as "best," *kratistos*, also means strongest or most powerful.

<sup>25</sup> The word translated "judgment," *dikē*, often means judicially determined punishment.

<sup>26</sup> Maesades was Seuthes' father (7.2.32), so they are now expanding upon Seuthes' ancestral rule.

<sup>27</sup> MSS of c read *Philēx*, rather than *Phryniscus*.

<sup>28</sup> *Melinophagoi* means "millet-eaters."

<sup>29</sup> On Thibron and this change in the policy of Sparta toward the Persians, see *Hellenica* 3.1.3. The end of the *Anabasis* is made more ominous by emphasizing this important change (7.8.24).

<sup>30</sup> Instead of "for you," one might also translate "against you." And Xenophon did have to oppose his troops to keep them from becoming the enemies of the Lacedaemonians, for example at 7.1.18–31.

<sup>31</sup> "Attack or blame" translates the single Greek adverb *anepilēptōs*, which can mean both "not to be set upon" and "without blame."

<sup>32</sup> One might think this is "home," but they are about to sail to Asia, again.

<sup>33</sup> The two gods are probably the twins, Castor and Pollux, by whom the Lacedaemonians often swore. See also 6.6.34.

<sup>34</sup> Other MSS have "arose and spoke on behalf of Xenophon" or "spoke in praise of Xenophon," without the suggestion that Polycrates was prompted to do so.

<sup>35</sup> The same formula, "more advisable and better," is used at 6.2.15.

<sup>36</sup> On those who came down from the interior, see 7.4.21 and 7.5.15.

<sup>37</sup> The Greek word is *kratos*. I have generally translated the related verb, *krateō*, as "to be master."

<sup>38</sup> MSS c read "because of us" rather than "because of you."

<sup>39</sup> Xenophon was exiled from Athens, but he does not tell us exactly when or why. See notes on 5.3.6 and 5.3.7.

<sup>40</sup> The text is highly uncertain here. Nothing is known of this Cleagoras, and the MSS disagree about whether he was "Phliasian" or "Phiasion." Some think he painted, others that he wrote. By "household things," I translate *enoikia*, the reading of most MSS, but Hude and Masqueray favor MSS FM, which suggest it was "The Dreams in the Lyceum" that he painted or wrote.

<sup>41</sup> This appears to refer to Zeus in his readiness to be moved or propitiated by sacrifices. Cf. Thucydides 1.126.6. *Melichius* means "gentle" or "kind."

<sup>42</sup> "Bion" is the reading of MSS c; Hude prints "Biton."

<sup>43</sup> I translate c; f reads "Eucleides," and Hude prints "Nausicleides."

<sup>44</sup> "Asia" is the reading of c. The f family reads "Lydia" here and in the next section; the text is often emended to read "Mysia," since "Mysia" is the reading of c in the next section.

<sup>45</sup> Differences among manuscripts recommend caution regarding the geography in this sentence, and Certonus is unknown.

<sup>46</sup> Gongylus the Eretrian collaborated with Pausanias when this Spartan king planned to betray his city and the rest of Greece to Xerxes. See Thucydides 1.128.3–7, which includes the text of the letter, conveyed by Gongylus, in which Pausanias laid

out his treachery. Gongylus's possession of Pergamus may derive from his father's participation in this plot (cf. *Hellenica* 3.1.6).

<sup>47</sup> This is an emendation. The MSS have Itamelis, Itamelisi, Itabelios, or Itabelis.

<sup>48</sup> On Demaratus, see 2.1.3. Like Pausanias, who was assisted by the elder Gongylus, Demaratus was a Spartan who collaborated with Persian enemies of Greece (cf. *Hellenica* 3.1.6 and Herodotus 6.67–70). The cities Halisarna and Teuthrania had been given to Demaratus in return for his defection to Persia.

<sup>49</sup> Literally, "all beings," *panta ta onta*.

<sup>50</sup> The verb *aspazō* regularly means "to greet or salute," "to take one's leave," or "to embrace or kiss," as people often do in greeting one another. It is used also at 7.1.8 and 40, when Xenophon says goodbye to Cleander and the Greeks, respectively, and at 6.3.24 and 7.2.23.

<sup>51</sup> Editors often consider this epilogue to be an interpolation, even though it is included in the MSS. They note especially that points mentioned here do not seem to have been historically accurate (Cyrus and Tissaphernes were satraps of Lydia and Phrygia, not Artimas and Artacamas, for example); other important rulers or peoples are omitted, such as the Drilae; and peoples not mentioned in the body of the text now make an appearance, such as the Coetians.

## Index

- Abrocomas, Phoenician ruler, 9, 51–52, 55, 61–62, 256n19, 263n17  
 Abrozelmēs, interpreter for Seuthēs, 229  
 Abydus, town on Hellespont  
 (see map 2), 42  
 Acarnanian, of an area of northern Greece, 148  
 Achaea, area of Peloponnese, or Achaean, 26, 43–44, 103, 167, 169, 184–85, 189, 194, 207–8, 222, 244, 258n55. *See also* Lycon; Phileusius; Phryniscus; Samolus; Socrates; Xanthicles  
 Acherusian Chersonese, peninsula into the Pontus, 184  
 Adramyttium, town in Mysia, 237  
 Aeetes, grandfather of king of Phasians in Colchis, 171  
 Aeneas, Stymphalian (Arcadian) captain, 144  
 Aenianians, of a town in southern Thessaly, 44, 180  
 Aeolis, area of Asia Minor near the Aegean coast, 169  
 Aeschines, Acananian commander of Peltasts, 130, 148  
 Agasias, Stymphalian (Arcadian) captain, 23, 101, 124, 143, 155, 183–84, 190, 198–99, 238, 259n60, 269n8  
 Agesilaus, a Spartan king, 2, 158, 254n6, 255n14, 260n75, 269n13, 269n14  
 Alcibiades, xi, 7, 245, 255n12, 262n9, 263n20, 265n23, 272n3, 272n13  
 Amazons, women warriors of myth, 134  
 Ambraciote, of Ambracia in Epirus, west of Thessaly, 62, 168, 191. *See also* Silanus  
 Ameusicleides (or Nausicleides), agent of Thibron, 236  
 Amphicrates, an Athenian captain, 126  
 Amphipolitan, of Amphipolis in Macedonia, 71, 139. *See also* Episthenes  
 Anaxibius, a Lacedaemonian admiral, 28–9, 151, 181, 183, 198, 203–9, 260n66, 272n4, 272n6  
 Antandrus, town of western Asia Minor, 237  
 Apollo, principal god of Delphic oracle, 5–6, 13, 19, 45, 98, 157–58, 236, 250, 258n46, 262n4, 262n9, 266n6  
 Apollonia, town in Mysia, 238  
 Apollonides, Lydian captain, 100, 266n6  
 Arabia, 1, 55, 239  
 Araxes River, 55  
 Arbaces, Persian general, 61  
 Arcadia, an area in the central Peloponnese, including Lusi, Orchomenus, Parrhasia, Stymphalia, or Arcadian, 4, 5, 15, 26–27, 43, 45, 53, 103, 110, 167, 180, 183–87, 189–92, 194, 244, 255n10, 256n29, 258n55, 259n62, 261n81, 262n12, 271n24, 271n27. *See also* Aeneas; Agasias; Arexion; Arystas; Basias; Callimachus; Cleanor; Eurylochus; Hagias; Nicarchus; Pyrrhias; Sophaenetus; Xenias  
 Archagoras, an Argive captain, 126  
 Ares, god of war, 263n37  
 Arexion, a Parrhasian (Arcadian) soothsayer, 191, 193–94  
 Argive, of Argos (or surroundings), town of eastern Peloponnese, 126, 268n10  
 Ariaeus, Persian commander of Cyrus's barbarian contingent, 63, 70, 73–74, 76–78, 83–85, 90–91, 95, 104, 118, 265n20  
 Aristarchus, Lacedaemonian governor of Byzantium, successor of Cleander, 29–30, 208–10, 212–13, 225–226, 260n66  
 Aristaeas, Chian ruler of light troops, 124, 141  
 Aristippus, Thessalian guest-friend of Cyrus, 43, 95  
 Ariston, Athenian, 167